

Virgil, *Aeneid* 8

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Virgil, *Aeneid* 8

Text, Translation, and Commentary

Edited by

Lee M. Fratantuono
R. Alden Smith



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Preface and Acknowledgments

Book 8 of Virgil's *Aeneid* is a natural enough subject for investigation after Book 5; together the two books frame the second third of the poet's grand epic of Augustan Rome. Like Book 5, to date Book 8 has not been the subject of much in the way of expansive commentary; it has been both a pleasure and a challenge to work through Virgil's most Augustan book with a careful eye. Once again, we have learned much from the admirable efforts of our predecessors; for Book 8, special praise redounds to the names of Eden and Gransden. The work of both of these commentators has been supplemented by the admirable and diligent labor of Vivien Ellis in her Newcastle M. Litt. thesis, *The Poetic Map of Rome in Virgil Aeneid 8*, from which we have derived considerable profit and enjoyment.

Our method for Book 8 has been much the same as for its predecessor. Smith once again bears the lion's share of the responsibility for the critical text and translation, and for the first draft of the introduction; Fratantuono for the commentary—with both editors assuming full and shared responsibility for the integral work. Our intended audience is once again primarily anyone with a love for the poet, though throughout there is an assumption of a relatively good familiarity with the major trends of Virgilian scholarship. We have liberally cited from classical literature after Virgil (indeed, after Ovid), and from artistic works of later centuries and in other tongues that are indebted to Virgil's vision (especially the Old French *Roman d'Énéas*), out of a conviction that some of the finest commentary on Virgil has been composed by his epigones.

A number of new aids to the Virgilian scholar have appeared since our work on Book 5. Emil Kraggerud's *Vergiliana* offers a splendid and convenient assortment of the author's magisterial work on the text of the poet. Jim O'Hara's indispensable *True Names* is now in a second edition. Horsfall's *Epic Distilled* (on which Fratantuono has written for *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*) offers an always intriguing, not infrequently delightful *vademecum* for the would-be commentator. Rogerson's *Virgil's Ascanius* could not have made a timelier appearance. And, too, we continue to plunder the riches of the Thomas-Ziolkowski *Virgil Encyclopedia*, without apology or disappointment. The same must be acknowledged of Damien Nelis' work on the intertextual relationship of the *Aeneid* and the Apollonian *Argonautica*, a volume whose seemingly inexhaustible treasures continue to inspire feelings of gratitude and abiding respect. So also the splendid three volumes of the Oxford *Fragments of the Roman Historians*, which together with Chassignet's richly annotated Budé provide a luxurious treatment of tantalizing texts.

Among older aids, it is not mere sentiment that inspires us to single out for special attention the work of Warde Fowler in his trilogy of Great War-era Basil Blackwell volumes on the *Aeneid*. Our work appears a century after Fowler's treatment of "Aeneas at the site of Rome"; it is a testament to the author's perceptive and sensitive reading of Virgil that his commentary has not lost its freshness and power, notwithstanding how much has been added to the Virgilian bibliography since. Similar words of respectful *hommage* could be offered to Cartault's splendid *L'art de Virgile*, which once again we have consulted with great profit. Roiron's mammoth tome on Virgilian sounds always repays close consultation; so also the judicious notes of Mackail for his 1930 Oxford bimillenary edition. On the grammar of Book 8, the small, unassuming school edition of Mme. Guillemin is indispensable; so too Hahn's impeccably rigorous volume on coordinate and non-coordinate elements in the poet. On matters historical and religious, Saunders' *Virgil's Primitive Italy* repays frequent consultation.

We have consciously avoided polemic in our attempt to explicate Virgil's text. We do this out of immense respect for the work of our colleagues across the ages, and also out of a sense of good manners. Book 8 is especially fraught with difficulties that have stirred contentious debate; we have deliberately steered a middle course that seeks to provide assistance to the reader of Virgil, all the while also making clear our (occasionally divergent, though usually happily harmonious) views on the poet. If one of the editors came to Book 5 as more of a pessimist, and the other as more of an optimist (to use crude though useful labels), then the same binary approach (not to say instructive tension) may be felt in the journey through 8. We have found, however, that on closer examination Virgil's book of Rome offers perhaps surprisingly neutral ground for dispassionate critics; Virgil's Rome is also his Arcadia.

Once again we are indebted to the help and support afforded to us from colleagues and friends. Timothy Joseph of The College of the Holy Cross generously read through the commentary in its initial draft and offered numerous valuable suggestions. Jim O'Hara kindly afforded us the opportunity to consult a draft of his own commentary on the book for the Focus *Aeneid* series. Richard Thomas is an incisive and generous critic of our ideas (especially the misguided ones). Michael Putnam remains both friend and Virgilian mentor, and to him we express again our fondest sentiments of admiration and respect; his most welcome, self-described *munuscula* are cherished pleasures of an internet age. Sergio Casali kindly sent Fratantuono a copy of his admirable edition of Book 2 in time to be of use on certain parallels between Virgil's books of Troy and Rome. Chris Renaud generously provided a copy of her Texas dissertation on Book 8. Emil Kraggerud responded to a textual inquiry with his usual acumen

and judiciousness. Caitlin Gillespie offered her customary learning and much appreciated help on the problems posed by the Virgilian Cleopatra and the larger issue of the depiction of women at war in Latin literature.

The suggestions of the anonymous referee for the press vastly improved the final draft of this edition; we are indebted in particular to a helpful suggested emendation of the text at verse 475.

Fratantuono is especially grateful to his lynx-eyed student critics and occasional editorial assistants (the name of Sarah Foster is prominent here), and to his dear friend and indefatigable freelance photographer Katie McGarr, who kindly contributed images to the enhancement of this edition.

We have words only of praise for the editorial staff at Brill. Giulia Moriconi shepherded this project to completion with helpful attentiveness and wise counsel.

Forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit. As a first-year graduate student, Smith fell under the influence of Professor Karl Galinsky's foundational book on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the principal work of scholarship that guided him through two graduate theses. When Smith moved from Rutgers to Baylor, Karl reached out to him to help him in developing a strong classics program there. For Fratantuono, in addition to the example of his foundational scholarship on *Aeneid* 8 and the importance of Sicily and Hercules to Virgil's epic, Galinsky has been a much appreciated source of wisdom, wit, and good humor (not least in their shared realm of panhellenic collegiate life). Meanwhile, though Smith went to Penn in no small measure because of Professor Georg Nicolaus Knauer's work on Augustan poetry, their relationship would from the start be forged primarily in person. Knauer's powerful classroom presence and style of teaching his seminars informs Smith's own pedagogy to this day, as does Knauer's attention to detail and respect for the history of classical learning. For these reasons and more, we humbly dedicate this volume to Professors Galinsky and Knauer, recognizing each of them not only as prodigious researchers, but as mentors and friends.

Two may be enough; if there is a third, the three-act tragedy that is Book 4 poses its own seductive summons.

L.M. Fratantuono

R.A. Smith

Introduction

... it stands quite apart from all the other books of the poem in being devoted to a celebration of early conditions in the eternal city.¹

• • •

Von da mag der Blick am Ende zurück bis zum ersten Tag und der Nacht vorher gehen, zum Beginn des achten Buches: welche Gegensätze, zwischen denen der Gang dieses Buches verläuft!²

• • •

*Tant li a di et tant conté
qu'il entrenent en la cité:
petite, povre ert et desclose,
encor adont du povre chose,
mais puis sist Rome illuec endroit
qui tout le mont ot en destroit:
de tout le siecle fu roïne,
tout terre li fu acline.*³

• • •

Et in Arcadia ego.⁴

• •
•

If the second, Iliadic half of Virgil's *Aeneid* has suffered comparative neglect from critics, Book 8—the least warlike of the hexad—might in some sense be

1 Prescott, H.W., *The Development of Virgil's Art*. Chicago, 1927, p. 450.

2 Klingner, Friedrich, *Virgil: Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis*. Zürich-Stuttgart: Artemis Verlag, 1967, p. 544.

3 *Roman d'Énéas* 4877–4884 Petit.

4 Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, "Il Guercino."

considered a happy exception.⁵ Between the tour of the future site of Rome that the Arcadian Evander conducts for Aeneas, and the glorious revelation of the divine shield of the Trojan hero, Book 8 has proven popular even among those less inclined to plumb the depths of Virgil's Italian books.⁶ For those who prefer to view the *Aeneid* as a three-act tragedy rather than as a biform renewal of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Book 8 comes as the close of the poem's second movement, the culmination of the "intermediary" Books 5–8 of the epic that drive forward from the Trojan past of Books 1–4 to the nascent Roman (not to say Italian) future of Books 9–12.⁷ Book 8 is the most peaceful of the Virgilian books of war; it is a respite in the epic's second half. In it, Aeneas is reminded of his destiny, builds community with Evander, and kills no one; in fact, with the exception of the recollection of the Herculean victory over Cacus, no one dies in Book 8, though there is grim foreshadowing of the loss of both the Arcadian Pallas and the Egyptian Cleopatra.⁸

In many ways, Book 8 is a companion of Book 5, the books that together frame the second third of the *Aeneid*.⁹ Both books open ominously: Book 5 in

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- 5 John Tetlow notes in his student edition of the book: "Perhaps, too, not the least significant of the reasons which might be urged in favor of an occasional excursion into the field of the later books is to be found in the fact that such excursions afford relief to the teacher from the monotony of carrying successive classes, year after year, over exactly the same ground, while they give to his work a positive zest which is sure to react with happy effect on his pupils."
- 6 A survey of anglophone school texts from the late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth century will reveal that several student editions of the *Aeneid* included generous portions of Book 8 alongside the whole of 1–6. Duckworth argued that "The most important books and those with the greatest tragic impact are the books with even numbers" (G.E. Duckworth, *Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's Aeneid*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1962, p. 2).
- 7 Books 5–8 take us from Sicily to Italy; the underworld *Heldenschau* of 6 finds its companion in the glorious images of the shield in 8, while the war that starts in 7 is prefigured in the games of 5 in interlocking, balanced narrative sequence. Anchises—himself a scion of the old Troy—dies in Sicily in 3 and is memorialized in 5, a book that is in some sense a requiem for Priam's city. Palinurus then leads the way to the Italy that will soon enough prove to be the home of another Achilles, and another war for Aeneas' Trojans.
- 8 Palinurus does not, strictly speaking, die in Book 5 (though one might in some sense reasonably say that his "death" closes the book); Orontes is a precursor of Palinurus, and the sole casualty of Book 1—parallel losses for the first books of the poem's first and second thirds. If one considers Palinurus to be a death from Book 5, then Book 8 is unique in the poem for the absence of loss. Dares comes within a hair's breadth of death in the boxing match of Book 5, but his life is saved.
- 9 For a convenient account of the tripartite reading of the epic, see G.E. Duckworth, "The *Aeneid* as a Trilogy," in *TAPA* 88 (1957), 1–10.

the aftermath of Dido's suicide, as the eerie glow of the flames of her funeral pyre is glimpsed by the departing Trojans, and Book 8 with the clarion of war in Latium. Both books end with a haunting and abiding sense of unknowing, of ignorance of realities that confront and challenge the reader. At the close of Book 5, Aeneas is ignorant of the fate of Palinurus; he was not privy to what Virgil had revealed to his readership about the circumstances of the loss of the helmsman at the hands of Somnus. At the end of Book 8, Aeneas is able to marvel and wonder at the lovely and striking images on his divine shield—but he has no understanding of the significance of the events that are embossed on his shield, no appreciation for the unfolding of the future Roman history—a parallel to the hero's implicit response to the *Heldenschau*. That ignorance is a testament to the eventual suppression of Trojan *mores* in the final settlement of Rome—a suppression that is not mentioned in the consoling words of Jupiter to Venus amid the glorious, sonorous pronouncements of 1.254–296.¹⁰ Small wonder, then, that the close of Book 8 harks back powerfully to that of 2.¹¹ The second “fall of Troy” would be decidedly quieter than the first, though all the more profound.¹² The ignorance of Aeneas with respect to the “future” Roman history depicted on the shield may well find a parallel, too, in the uncertainty of the historical Augustus about the future of the empire he had, by 19 B.C., created.¹³

Despite the popularity of at least certain of its movements, the commentary tradition has not, however, been especially lavish in its consideration of the problems of this, the poet's second shortest book.¹⁴ The most extensive

10 A passage that has significant affinities to the shield ecphrasis.

11 On this parallel see Austin's note *ad* 2.804.

12 On Jupiter's comments to Juno, Tarrant notes: “... Jupiter goes well beyond what Juno had asked of him; the superiority granted to the Latins may reflect the outlook of the Mantuan v. in attributing Rome's greatness to Italian *virtus* rather than to Rome's eastern proto-founder ...” (R. Tarrant, *Virgil: Aeneid Book XII*, Cambridge, 2012, *ad* 835–836).

13 On this theme see L. Fratantuono, *Madness Unchained: A Reading of Virgil's Aeneid*, Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2007, pp. 257–258, with consideration of the later history of the Julio-Claudian principate.

14 Mention should be made from the start of the posthumous publication of Christian Fordyce's commentaries on Books 7–8 (*P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Libri VII–VIII*, Oxford, 1977), on which see J. Henderson, ‘*Oxford Reds: Classic Commentaries on Latin Classics*, London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 2006, p. 159. “VIII is half missing, and dwindles”: while there are excellent notes in Fordyce's edition, Henderson's appraisal is correct. We have profited once again with special delight from T.E. Page's Victorian school commentary, on which see now R.F. Thomas, “My Back Pages,” in Kraus, C.S., and Stray, C., eds., *Classical Commentaries: Explorations in a Scholarly Genre*, Oxford, 2016, pp. 58–70. The

editions of Book 8 are those of P.T. Eden for Brill and of K.W. Gransden for the Cambridge “green and yellow” series, volumes that appeared amid a busy period of activity on the book in the 1970s.¹⁵ No commentary on the scale standard set by Nicholas Horsfall (and Pease, and Buscaroli, before him for *il libro di Didone*) has been attempted. Between 1975 and 1977, three commentaries on Book 8 were published; all are relatively brief in scope. Still, if the 1970s were a period in Virgilian criticism in which the poem’s second half began to receive more focused critical attention, Book 8 certainly benefited the most from the renewed energies.

Foundational to the study of Book 8 is the extended interpretive treatment of Gerhard Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*—a volume that is a *de facto* literary and historical commentary on many of the issues raised by the book, an *explication de texte* that proceeds line by line through the book as it considers Aeneas as Augustan prototype.¹⁶ Very different—but of inestimable value—is the classic treatment of Warde Fowler, *Aeneas at the Site of Rome*, a slender and unassuming volume written in the shadow of another Great War.¹⁷ On problems of Virgil’s Latin, the undeservedly obscure school edition of Guillemin merits more attention.¹⁸ Beyond these noteworthy works, a rich array of journal arti-

notes of Ettore Paratore for the Mondadori Virgil (*Libri VII–VIII*, 1981) have always been worth consulting; so also the occasionally extended comments in Jacques Perret’s Budé. But the very fact that the Oxford Virgil accorded separate volumes of commentary to each of the books of the Odyssean *Aeneid*, with but one volume for Books 7–8, is another symptom of the comparative neglect of the poem’s second half.

- 15 *A Commentary on Virgil, Aeneid VIII*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975; *Virgil: Aeneid VIII*, Cambridge, 1976. The virtues of Eden’s edition are shown in sharp relief against those of his competitors. We might add to the mention of these commentaries the 1974 Brill monograph of Edward Vincent George, *Aeneid VIII and the Aitia of Callimachus*, a groundbreaking study of the Hellenistic influences on Virgil’s book of the future Rome (supplemented by the important work of M. Tueller, “Well-Read Heroes Quoting the *Aetia* in *Aeneid* 8,” in *HSCPh* 100 (2000), 361–380).
- 16 *Aeneas und Augustus: Interpretationen zum 8. Buch der Aeneis*, Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain, 1971.
- 17 W.W. Fowler, *Aeneas at the Site of Rome: Observations on the Eighth Book of the Aeneid*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1918.
- 18 A.-M. Guillemin, *Virgile: Énéide, Livre VIII*, Paris: A. Hatier, 1935. We should note here too the work of Keith Maclennan and James O’Hara; the former has produced a school commentary for Bloomsbury’s Latin texts series, while the latter is the editor for the forthcoming Focus Classical Library edition of Book 8. We acknowledge the kindness of Jim in providing us with a draft of his excellent notes; we have profited much from consultation of his work. We might note too the slender school edition of Bertha Tilly, *The Story*

cles consider various challenges posed by Virgil's book of the future Rome.¹⁹ Still, the close reader of Book 8 finds a surprising dearth of aids to the slow going labor, at least on certain points and for certain scenes. We have found Book 8 on the whole to be better served by existing scholarship than Book 5. But solutions to several interpretive (and, in a few instances, significant textual) problems remain elusive, and we hope to have contributed something worthwhile to the ongoing scholarly investigation and dialogue.

The eighth is arguably the most complicated book of the *Aeneid* (certainly a close rival of the sixth), for it encompasses pre-existing lore about Aeneas' arrival in Latium, touches upon religious issues that hark back to a mythical realm but point toward Virgil's own (Augustan) time, comprises the theme of *amicitia* (both as "friendship" and "alliance"), and anticipates Rome's future at several junctures, most notably when Evander takes Aeneas on a walking tour of the physical city, as well as in the politically charged description of the future history of Rome portrayed on Aeneas' new shield.²⁰ *Qua* panoply, on the one hand, the shield is symbolic of a self-protective mentality, for shields are defensive; on the other hand, the shield may be seen to betoken Roman martial prowess, for shields are weapons.²¹ And these are just a few of the themes that emerge as vital not simply to the book but to the *Aeneid* as a whole. Per-

of Pallas (Cambridge, 1961), with excerpts from Books 8, 10, 11 and 12. Among larger scale treatments of the epic, we would single out the work of Luis Rivero García et al. for the Madrid *Eneida* project; "Volumen 111" of that series (2011) provides a critical text, Spanish translation, and very helpful annotations for Books 7–9.

- 19 Nicholas Horsfall noted his temptation to list ten less than rewarding works on Virgil's book of the underworld (happily, he did not succumb); from a rich repertoire of candidate studies we shall cite positively Papaioannou on Evander's role in the origins of Rome; Galinsky on Hercules and Cacus; Miller on Virgil's Salian hymn to Hercules; and Casali on the making of the shield of Aeneas.
- 20 With the arrival of Aeneas at Evander's settlement we may compare the return visit of Aeneas to Acestes in Sicily in Book 5; there the atmosphere of the games was a light-hearted, even happy mere mimicry of war both at sea and on land; by this closing book of the epic's second third, the circumstances of Aeneas' reception by new "guest-friends" will be decidedly more perilous—the war has come all too soon, and death has in some sense arrived in Arcadia.
- 21 The book opens with the all too real threat of war waged on the Trojans from the Laurentine citadel; it draws to a close with Aeneas shouldering the protective divine shield provided at the behest of his mother Venus. The shield, for its part, is in some sense of particular comfort because of the coherence of its images; on this see further S.J. Harrison, "The Survival and Supremacy of Rome: The Unity of the Shield of Aeneas," in *JRS* 87 (1997), pp. 70–76.

haps more so than in any other book of the epic (again, with the sixth as close rival), the poet indulges in anachronistic and even exuberant blends of past and future.²² The shield unites the Homeric world and the Augustan; Aeneas is the conduit that provides a route of access between the ages.²³ Book 8 is thus at once in some sense the poet's most Homeric and most Augustan of books.

Like all books of the *Aeneid*, Book 8 is deeply imbued not only with the spirit of Homer, but also that of later Greek poets (especially Apollonius and Callimachus, and with no small influence from the world of tragedy). From the Homeric world, in addition to the evocation of the Shield of Achilles from *Iliad* 18, the deception of Zeus in *Iliad* 14 is recalled in the seduction of Vulcan by Venus. From the Apollonian, it has been argued by Damien Nelis that Virgil's Tiberinus and Venus correspond to Hera and Aphrodite from *Argonautica* 3, with Evander as Medea and Rome as the Golden Fleece.²⁴ The *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* is an influence on the narrative of Cacus' stolen cattle. Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis* offered inspiration for the account of the forge of the Cyclopes where Aeneas' divine arms were crafted. Euripides' *Heracles* is also a significant influence on the eighth *Aeneid*. The pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield* casts its own spell, too, over Virgil's poetic composition. Stesichorus' sixth-century *Geryoneis* presents another important source.

Beyond concern with literary antecedents, the eighth *Aeneid* has proven an irresistibly fertile field for those interested in the topography of Augustan Rome.²⁵ Evander's wonderland²⁶ tour with Aeneas has provided rich material

22 Cf. A.M. Seider, *Memory in Vergil's Aeneid: Creating the Past*, Cambridge, 2013, p. 53. For a challenging, insightful study of related points, see A. Kirichenko, "Virgil's Augustan Temples: Image and Intertext in the *Aeneid*," in *JRS* 103 (2013), pp. 65–87.

23 "... als Aeneas, nachdem er seinen neuen Schild genugsam bewundert hat, sich zum Weitemarsch anschickt, hebt er ihn auf die Schulter ... er trägt ihn an einem Riemen auf dem Rücken wie der römische Legionar bei Marsch und wie Odysseus κ 149 ..." (R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, Leipzig-Berlin: Teubner, 1915 (3rd edition)).

24 Nelis 2001, p. 328.

25 The field is well served by an impressive array of scholarly aids. We single out here one work that happily enriched our study: the Princeton *Atlas of Ancient Rome* edited by Andrea Carandini (Princeton, 2017), the anglophone successor to the 2012 *Atlante di Roma antica*. One of the best introductions to the landscape of Rome is the exemplary work of Caroline Vout, *The Hills of Rome: Signature of an Eternal City*, Cambridge, 2012—a lucid, sober, and beautifully written introduction to its subject.

26 The memorable term is borrowed from the classic article of J.R. Bacon, "Aeneas in Wonderland: A Study of *Aeneid* VIII," in *CR* 53.3 (1939), pp. 97–104.

not only for lovers of the sites of the ancient city, but also for ideological battles.²⁷ *Aeneid* 8 can be considered the most “Augustan,” perhaps even the most “positive” or “optimistic” book of the epic—yet certain brighter features of its landscape will be seen to darken in light of the poet’s backward glances, and especially in view of the progress of the Latin war and its divine resolution in Book 12.²⁸ There are glories in Book 8, to be sure, but as elsewhere in the epic the victories are suffused with hints of tragedy that sometimes come into sharper relief, especially when baleful events are prognosticated alongside future gains. In the epic of sacrifice, each boon is accompanied by a victim. The Tiber is the source of seemingly positive messages for Troy’s hero and Rome’s would-be proto-founder—but the storied river is also associated with the tradition of Aeneas’ death.²⁹ The Tiber (and, for that matter, the Numicus) is not the Xanthus or the Scamander of Homeric, Trojan lore—but the last mention of the river in the book will come with a vision of the bones and blood that were as much the inheritance of Priam’s city as of Romulus.³⁰ Evander’s conveyance of Aeneas through the celebrated sites of the future city that is barely in its advent is a testament, too, to the Augustan building program and public works of the poet’s own day.³¹

To establish the themes that we have already touched on, Virgil employs several strategies. One of these is that of the narrative feature known as ecphrasis, which turns up in the book both for Evander’s tour that includes his commen-

27 Cf. here, e.g., H.-P. Stahl, *Poetry Underpinning Power: Virgil’s Aeneid: The Epic for Emperor Augustus, A Recovery Study*, Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2016, pp. 251 ff. The ideological battles over the content of the eighth *Aeneid* also encompass the topographical, not least in the occasionally attempted, we think ultimately quixotic quest to map precisely the tour of Evander and Aeneas. Deliberately, we have eschewed any attempt to impose cartographical dogma, even on those hungry for such doctrines. The best effort in this challenging regard, we would assert, is Ellis 1985; there is much of profit to be gleaned from her pages, even if one does not subscribe to the advisability of the endeavor. The same rejection of rigid schematization can be seen in our refusal to give in to any temptation to provide a representation of the shield via some medium of the visual arts.

28 On how the Rome of Virgil’s day had lost “much of the value” of Pallanteum, see S. Mack, *Patterns of Time in Vergil*, Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1978, pp. 74–75.

29 On this see J.T. Dyson, *King of the Wood: The Sacrificial Victor in Virgil’s Aeneid*, Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 2001, pp. 50 ff.

30 Cf. 12.34–36.

31 Cf. A.G. McKay, *Vergil’s Italy*, Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society Ltd., 1970, pp. 122 ff.

tary on the future site of Rome and, most especially, in the aforementioned description of the shield.³² Another device that Virgil employs is carefully layered thematization. This narrative feature is achieved in a number of ways: first, by the poet's placing of aspects of one character upon another, as can be seen in Evander's playing the role of a father-figure to Aeneas, much as Anchises had been to him (155 ff.);³³ that relationship is itself mirrored in Aeneas' playing a similar role to Pallas, both of whom reprise the prototypical companion roles of Achilles and Patroclus from Homer's *Iliad*.³⁴ Further, Book 8 is a book deeply invested in the dialogues of the generations; in this it supplements and expands on the lessons of Book 5, even as it looks forward to the sadness of Books 10, 11 and 12 (where the bill for *pietas* will, as it were, come due in the loss of Pallas and the death of Turnus). The theme of *amicitia* and the notion of a *foedus*—both matters of inestimable importance to the nascent Augustan regime—give way ultimately to the Homeric problem of vengeance in the wake of the death of a loved one. In Virgil, the hero's shield is awarded before the death of the Patroclus figure; the reasons for the war in Latium exist before Pallas meets Turnus, but the apparent need for Turnus to die, one could argue, comes only after the events of Book 10.³⁵ The even-numbered books of the second half of the epic move inexorably toward the final scene of the poem, with no "tent of Achilles" interlude or scene to provide reconciliation and redemption for mortal heroes. Book 8 introduces Pallas (and Hercules); Book 10 will witness the death of the

32 Essential reading here is M.C.J. Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs: Ekphrasis in the Aeneid*, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1998, especially pp. 119–188.

33 The relationship will be fraught with difficulties, not least in the conflicting demands of *pietas* that mark the poem's end; on this see M.C.J. Putnam, "Anger, Blindness, and Insight in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *Apeiron* 23.4 (1990), pp. 7–40.

34 The Anchises lore of Book 5 is complemented by the Evandrian of 8, in something of a frame for the poem's second third. The poignant aspects of the Aeneas and Pallas relationship will be especially highlighted in the association of Jupiter and Hercules at 10.439 ff. On Evander as an admirer of Anchises see in particular S.F. Wiltshire, *Public & Private in Vergil's Aeneid*, Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1987, p. 116. For the Virgilian (indeed, Latin epic tradition) reception of the Patroclus and related types, note R.O.A.M. Lyne, *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid*, Oxford, 1987, pp. 156–157.

35 Virgil places the shield ekphrasis after the introduction of Pallas, but before his death in order to connect more closely the vision of the shield with the future revelation of Roman history that begins to unfold with palpable, eschatological vigor in Book 6. There the vision ended with the doomed Marcellus; in balanced narrative we meet first the doomed youth Pallas and then glimpse the future on the shield in 8 (the pattern thus = *Heldenschau*—Marcellus—Pallas—*Schild*).

young, ill-starred Arcadian (and Hercules will make another stage appearance there too, as it were); in Book 12 Aeneas will invoke Pallas' name as he exercises his revenge in an act that subverts the dream of the epic's proem.³⁶ Book 8 is thus in part a meditation on *pietas* and the expectations of that lofty, eminently Roman virtue; it is the book wherein Virgil commences his exposition of the problem of Aeneas' response to the demands inherent to his relationship with both Evander and Pallas.³⁷

Yet there are still other aspects of layered thematization: Aeneas will prove to have a clear and remarkable parallel figure in the Hercules of the heroic, epic tradition, as more than Aeneas' Herculean attire superficially suggests (552; cf. 177). Hercules himself has a central role in this book, as he achieves a signal victory over Cacus, whose very name has more than merely a subliminal feel of evil to it.³⁸ In the conflict between Hercules and Cacus, something of the ultimate engagement of Aeneas with Turnus in single combat may well be foreshadowed—typology on a grand scale. Additionally, a description of the site of Rome itself provides a foretaste of the great city that will later emerge, as does that of Aeneas' new shield, an object that portends the future, even as it elicits those aforementioned, haunting sentiments of profound unknowing.

Another interesting feature of Virgil's narrative technique is the possibility that numbers generally seem to prefigure both good and bad.³⁹ Whereas a creature with a double nature such as Cacus, who is described as both *semifer* (267) and *semihomo* (194), comes up short, the number three, which so frequently occurs in this book, often serves as a harbinger of victory.⁴⁰ The frequent repetition of threes points up the importance of one particular event depicted on the shield, the celebration of Octavian's victory, an event that anticipates *in se*

36 Cf. the indicative *condit* of 12.950 and the subjunctive *conderet* of 1.5.

37 A good start to a vast subject can be found in the articles of W.R. Johnson, "Aeneas and the Ironies of *Pietas*," in *CJ* 60.8 (1965), pp. 360–364, and K.P. Nielson, "Aeneas and the Demands of the Dead," in *CJ* 79.3 (1984), pp. 200–206.

38 Here, too, the book anticipates the loss of Pallas; Hercules will feature prominently in that narrative in Book 10.

39 For an introduction to Virgilian "Numerical Patterns," see the entry of J.D. Morgan and R.F. Thomas in *VE* 11, pp. 918–920.

40 We have discussed this and several other features of this theme; cf. R.A. Smith, *Virgil* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 131–135. Some of the problem relates to the Romulus/Remus fratricidal tradition and the tensions inherent in having two leaders; on this theme note e.g., T. Stover, "Aeneas and Lausus: Killing the Double and Civil War in *Aeneid* 10," in *Phoenix* 65.3/4 (2011), pp. 352–360. Virgil's eighth *Aeneid* is not free of the brooding specter of internecine, civil strife.

the augmentation of his name in 27 B.C. by the lofty title of Augustus. Yet Virgil's personal opinion of the Augustan experience—a subjective subject that has so dominated Virgilian studies in the second half of the twentieth century and beyond—is not a particular concern to us.

Rather, our interest lies in Virgil's thematization of the book, specifically in the way that the poet orchestrates the book's content towards a *telos*.⁴¹ In Book 8, that *telos* is the *pax Augusta*, inaugurated at the moment the doors of Janus were closed (29 B.C.). In that same year two other signal events took place. One was Octavian's dedication of the temple of Divus Julius. The third event was itself tripartite, for it occurred on three successive days.⁴² This was the majestic celebration of three triumphs: for Dalmatia, Actium, and Egypt.⁴³ A triple triumph, then, and in fact three closings of the doors of Janus (though our poet may have known of only two).⁴⁴ Augustus would never celebrate another triumph after that triduum of celebrations.⁴⁵ The third and final movement of Virgil's epic will describe the events of Aeneas' war with the Latins; the outcome of that war will be a victory, though the fruits of the win will be bitter to those who would cherish the memory of the old city of Troy (an association that may well have been dearer to Julius Caesar than to his heir). In Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Aeneas is an ally of Latinus, not a foe; Virgil's apparently novel contribution to the tradition allows him to focus on what is ultimately his central concern—the suppression of Troy in favor of Italy.⁴⁶

With regard to the aforementioned importance of the number three in this book (a feature of Virgilian compositional technique that will prove inestimably valuable in appreciating the structure of the book), let us consider, too,

41 Cf. here the sentiments of E. Vance, "Warfare and the Structure of Thought in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *QCC* 15 (1973), pp. 111–162.

42 Note here the exemplary article of F.V. Hickson, "Augustus Triumphator: Manipulation of the Triumphal Theme in the Political Program of Augustus," in *Latomus* 50.1 (1991), pp. 124–138.

43 Cf. Anton Powell, *Virgil the Partisan: A Study in the Re-integration of the Classics* (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2008) pp. 20 ff.

44 Cf. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 22 (with D. Wardle, *Suetonius: Life of Augustus*, Oxford, 2014, ad loc.); *Res Gestae* 13. The first date was 29 B.C.; the second was late in 25 after the conclusion of military operations in Spain. The third is a more "elusive" date (to quote Wardle); it is quite uncertain if it occurred before the death of Virgil.

45 Cf. M. Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2007, p. 300.

46 Cf. here N. Horsfall, *The Epic Distilled: Studies in the Composition of the Aeneid*, Oxford, 2016, pp. 66–68.

that from the very outset of the book threefold patterns occur frequently, as can be seen already in the opening lines:

Vt belli signum Laurenti Turnus ab arce
 extulit et rauco strepuerunt cornua cantu,
 utque acris concussit equos utque impulit arma,
 extemplo turbati animi, simul omne tumultu
 coniurat trepido Latium saeuitque iuuentus
 effera.

Aen. 8.1–6

When Turnus raised up the signal for war from the citadel of Laurentum and the war horns clamored with their coarse song, and when he smote his keen steeds and drove on his weapons, straightway their minds were vexed; at once all Latium swears together in fearful uprising, and its young people rage, wild.

Here Virgil lays out the action of an aggressor: Turnus has given the signal, he has roused the cavalry, and he has rushed into arms, thereby causing a threefold result: souls are troubled, Latium is described as being in an uproar, and the Latin youth are raging in a wild and uncontrolled fashion.⁴⁷ The wars predicted by the Sibyl to Aeneas (cf. 6.83–97) have commenced in the person of Turnus and his followers.⁴⁸ To explain as much, Virgil uses three successive temporal clauses, each relying on the repetition of the subordinating conjunction *ut*. Similar clusters of three will be characteristic of this book. While, as in the case cited here, these clusters are not always positive in their import, there are so many of them—more than in any other book—that it is apparent that they point toward a thematic strategy on Virgil's part for the repetition of trifold groupings.

Deliberately, in fact, the book itself falls into three sections,⁴⁹ beginning with the hero's encountering and conversing with an apparition of the god Tiber,

47 The image must have seemed especially potent to Virgil's contemporary audience in the wake of the Roman civil wars.

48 On the connection see P. Schenk, *Die Gestalt des Turnus in Vergils Aeneis*, Königstein: Verlag Anton Hain, 1984, pp. 353–354.

49 One is reminded of Horsfall's description of Book 11 as "formally and formidably tripartite." The action of Book 8 moves toward the glorious revelation of Actium on the shield; the narrative of Book 11 reaches its climax in the cavalry battle that serves as something of an allegorical Actium.

who explains the situation that lies before Aeneas in Latium and explicitly predicts the white sow that Aeneas will encounter in short order, offering an etiology for the foundation of Alba Longa (47–49).⁵⁰

Book 8 in Overview

Already in Book 7, well before Tiberinus' apparition, Virgil had shown that the Latins themselves have also been hard at work in preparing for war.⁵¹ While the pact of Aeneas and Evander will be ratified in this book, we learn only in Book 11 of the failure of the embassy dispatched by Turnus to southern Italy to visit the resettled Homeric hero Diomedes (*mittitur et magni Venulus Diomedis ad urbem / qui petat auxilium, et Latio consistere*, 8.9 ff.).⁵² And we shall learn in Book 11 of not only the failure of the Venulan mission, but also of the devastating report to Evander about the death of his son Pallas. For now, the youth of Latium are in rage (cf. 8.5–6); Aeneas is comparatively calm and reserved throughout the book, even in the face of an imminent war he did not seek. However one reads the close of the epic, the contrast in the Trojan hero's emotions from Book 8 to Book 12 could not be cast in sharper relief.

Though Book 8 commences with Turnus, he is not the figure who is to be the prime focus of the book's opening section—indeed, he will disappear from the narrative.⁵³ Rather, Aeneas captures our attention, and though he characteristically does not say much, his encounter with the river Tiber is, as we have already stated, the principal focus.⁵⁴ Aeneas is troubled as he lies down on that river's bank, even as he learns of a seemingly more positive future:

50 On the Tiber's dream appearance note the classic treatment of H.R. Steiner, *Der Traum in der Aeneis*, Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1952, pp. 66–72, with helpful analysis.

51 On the contrast between the Tiberinus who inspires Aeneas and the Allecto who visits Turnus, see A. Thornton, *The Living Universe: Gods and Men in Virgil's Aeneid*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976, pp. 112–113.

52 On the fear that Aeneas would reprise his Iliadic role as potential victim of Diomedes, see E. Dekel, *Virgil's Homeric Lens*, New York-London: Routledge, 2012, p. 110.

53 Cf. his greater prominence in the opening of Book 9; if 8 is Aeneas' book, 9 belongs to Turnus.

54 Silence is a hallmark of Aeneas in moments of great tension and emotional difficulty; on this theme note especially Y. Nurtantio, *Le silence dans l'Énéide*, Bruxelles: EME & Inter-Communications, 2014.

“o sate gente deum, Troianam ex hostibus urbem
 qui reuehis nobis aeternaque Pergama seruas,
 exspectate solo Laurenti aruisque Latinis,
 hic tibi certa domus, certi (ne absiste) penates.
 40 neu belli terrere minis; tumor omnis et irae
 concessere deum.”

Aen. 8.36–41

“O you born of the race of the gods, who restore from enemy hands the Trojan city and preserve for us eternal Pergamum, you alone who have been long expected in the land of Laurentum and the Latin fields, here will be your secure home—do not hold back—and here your household gods will be secure, as well. Nor should you be frightened by threat of war; all the swelling and ire of the gods have relented.”

The optimistic prophecy, as O'Hara has shown, is all too optimistic, as it turns out.⁵⁵ Of course the gods have not relented, and indeed the remainder of the epic will feature the struggle that Aeneas will endure before he is able to accomplish his mission—all on a mortal plane seemingly divorced from the divine action of the crucial pact that is struck between Juno and Jupiter in Book 12.⁵⁶ Like his putative descendant Julius Caesar, Aeneas is destined for apotheosis and reckoning among the gods; his mysterious death at the Numicus will be accorded a sort of compensation in divinity, just as Caesar's stab wounds would find healing (after a fashion) in the religious cult owed to the Divus Iulius.⁵⁷

Nevertheless, the prophecy of the sow with which Father Tiber follows his august address of the hero and the description of her litter of thirty piglets (43–45) is not a prophecy left unfulfilled. Ascanius will found Alba Longa (48) and

55 James O'Hara, *Death and the Optimistic Prophecy in Vergil's Aeneid* (Princeton, 1990) pp. 88–89.

56 For how the successive prophecies and revelations offered to Aeneas do not bring lasting assurance, see A.K. Michels, “The *Insomnium* of Aeneas,” in *CQ* 31.1 (1981), pp. 140–146, a perceptive and sensitive reading of difficult passages in the epic.

57 In Virgil's vision we may see a hint of an Augustan reaction to any Caesarian dream of reestablishing the site of Troy as a locus for Roman power (not to say as the capital of empire). Caesar is dead, and so too Troy; the former becomes a god, the latter a city that found rebirth in renewal in Italy, even if the new foundation would be Italian and not Trojan. Some of this theme is wrapped up, too, in the question of Caesar's entanglement and dalliance with Cleopatra—especially in light of her Antonian escapade. By 30 B.C., there was little place for the East in imperial propaganda, except as a conquered realm that was in thrall to an Italian Rome: no Trojan capital in the Augustan program.

Aeneas will prove, in the end, to be the victor, as the river god explains (50).⁵⁸ The descendants of Aeneas are of obvious importance to the question of the endurance, indeed permanence of the whole enterprise (especially in light of the last word of the book).⁵⁹

This explanation allows Virgil, through this character's mouth, to give a general overview of who will play what role in the battles that will characterize the remaining third of the poem. Indeed, the river god goes on to offer Aeneas a *dramatis personae* for some of the key events in the book: Evander, the Greek elements of whose name means "good man," hails from Greece, specifically Arcadia—and he has settled with his own band of refugees on the future site of Rome.⁶⁰ Just after Aeneas' encounter with the river god, Evander will explain the political lay of the land to Aeneas, noting that Turnus has already made Evander's own group of refugees, the Arcadians, his enemies.⁶¹ Paradoxically, it will be Greeks, formerly the enemies of Aeneas in the Trojan War that has only relatively recently come to a conclusion, who will now, once a pact has been struck, provide the troops necessary for the victory over the Rutulians:⁶²

hi bellum adsidue ducunt cum gente Latina;
hos castris adhibe socios et foedera iunge.

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- 58 On Ascanius' foundation see especially A. Rogerson, *Virgil's Ascanius: Imagining the Future in the Aeneid*, Cambridge, 2017, pp. 19 ff.
- 59 On the relationship between Aeneas and his son, note J.K. Newman and F.S. Newman, *Troy's Children: Lost Generations in Virgil's Aeneid*, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York: Georg Olms, 2005, pp. 270 ff.
- 60 A good introduction to the vast literature on the Arcadian elements in the *Aeneid* can be found at W. Clausen, *Virgil's Aeneid: Decorum, Allusion, and Ideology*, München-Leipzig: K.G. Saur, 2002, pp. 153 ff. On the juxtaposition of the "good man" and the "bad," O'Hara does well to note that Virgil never seems to allude to this onomastic opposition (*True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2017 (2nd edition), p. 204). Throughout his work, the poet resists crude contrasts.
- 61 Aeneas receives a prophecy from Tiberinus near the start of Book 8; Turnus is literally purified in the river's waters at the close of 9 (815–818). On this passage see especially P. Hardie, *Virgil: Aeneid IX*, Cambridge, 1994, ad loc., with commentary on the river framing of Books 8 and 9.
- 62 The problem of the Greek assistance to the Trojans is studied with profit by C.P. Jones, "Graia Pandetur ab Urbe," in *HSCP* 97 (1995), pp. 233–241. Note also the perceptive work of Wilhelm Blümer, "Aeneas und die Griechen: Bemerkungen zur Heldendarstellung bei Vergil," in Stefan Freund and Meinolf Vielberg, eds., *Vergil und das antike Epos*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2008, pp. 105–126.

ipse ego te ripis et recto flumine ducam,
 aduersum remis superes subuectus ut amnem.
 surge age, nate dea, primisque cadentibus astris
 60 Iunoni fer rite preces, iramque minasque
 supplicibus supera uotis. mihi uictor honorem
 persolues.

Aen. 8.55–62

These continually wage war with the Latin nation; receive them as allies to your camp and make an alliance with them. With my banks I myself will lead you to them, straight up stream, that impelled by oars, you may subdue the tide as it flows against you. Come! Rise up, goddess-born, and as the first stars fall from the sky, with all proper respect, make your prayers to Juno, and overcome her wrath and threats by suppliant vows. To me, once you have prevailed, you will pay tribute.

Complying with the Tiberine prophetic utterances, Aeneas promptly takes his ship up that selfsame river, ceasing from the journey only when he encounters Evander's son Pallas who is dutifully performing a religious festival rite in honor of the Greek hero Hercules (103 ff.). After a moment of greeting exchange worthy of the epic genre, Pallas, struck by Aeneas' status and reputation, sends for his father in short order. As noted above, when Aeneas and Evander meet there is no trace of the previous situation of hostility between them from their (even if only technical) alignment on opposite sides in the war that had just come to a close. Rather, Evander elaborates in some detail on the connection that a prior incident of guest-friendship and blood ties now affords them (132), thrice repeating the name of Atlas, the Titan who was their common forebear (135, 140, 141).⁶³ While the past is one basis for their present alliance, the fact that they now share a common foe in Turnus underscores the need for a pact between them for the immediate future (169 ff.).

The importance of the setting to this alliance and to the narrative of the book is not forgotten, and soon Evander tells the story of Hercules' victory over the monster Cacus in response to his theft of the hero's cattle.⁶⁴ This story is one of

63 The mention of Atlas is not without problematic associations; we may compare the references to the rebellious giant at 4.245–255, and the theory that the Stoic Atlas who endures his Jovian punishment is a “prefiguration of Aeneas,” rebellious as he is in Carthage with Dido (on this see S. Casali, “Atlas,” in *VE* 1, pp. 145–146). By the end of Book 8 Aeneas will be another Atlas, as he shoulders a burden he can admire and not read.

64 For the larger issue of the concerns of the Augustan poets with the image of the monstrous,

the two most important for understanding the action of this book, for though the hero will emerge triumphant, it is not without the cost of a great struggle and a leveling of justice in a brutal fashion.⁶⁵ It is a story deeply invested in the traditions of Greek mythology, of Heracles and Geryon, of Hermetian cattle theft—and, not least, of native, local folklore. In Virgilian hands it is transformed into something of a typological commentary on the conflict of Aeneas and Turnus—even as we do well to remember that the poet avoids crude dichotomies and broadly drawn characterization, and almost always invests his typological epiphanies with surprises.

Thrice does Hercules attempt to assail Cacus' den, and just so many times does he angrily scour the Aventine as he considers how to take the stony threshold. Weary from failure, Hercules also sits in repose three times, as each of his three offensives have been rendered fruitless (230–232). Victory comes, however, notably after Hercules is able to shine a brilliant light into the monster's dark cave (240–246).

Hercules' throttling of Cacus, which even causes the monster's eyes to pop out (261), presents not only the image of the victory of light over darkness, but also suggests the brutality that is a part of this particular victory. Virgil's description of Hercules standing triumphantly over Cacus' lifeless corpse evokes well-known portraits of the similar situation of Theseus standing triumphantly over the Minotaur, suggesting Hercules' role here not only as the half-divine son of Jupiter (whose victory over Cacus the cattle thief forges a connection between that hero and the local Italian tradition of the monstrous brigand), but also as a *typos*, a kind of exemplary heroic figure who may be associated with Theseus—a connection that had also been forged in *Aeneid* 6. There Hercules is explicitly put on par with Theseus and Orpheus (6.119–123), serving as an example to Aeneas, who in that very book makes his own corresponding *katabasis*.

Not only had Aeneas obviously been the central character in that descent to Avernus, but now in Books 7–12 he will engage in a Herculean struggle against

see D. Lowe, *Monsters and Monstrosity in Augustan Poetry*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2015. For an introduction to the major problems posed by the Virgilian depiction of Hercules and his Italian foe, indispensable is G.K. Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode in *Aeneid* VIII," in *AJPh* 87.1 (1966), pp. 18–51.

65 For an overview of the problem of Hercules (the Stoic icon) with respect to anger, note E. Henry, *The Vigour of Prophecy: A Study of Vergil's Aeneid*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987, pp. 170–171; more broadly on the problem of wrath cf. G. Indelli, "The Vocabulary of Anger in Philodemus' *De Ira* and Vergil's *Aeneid*," in D. Armstrong et al., eds., *Vergil, Philodemus, and the Augustans*, Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2004, pp. 103–110.

Turnus.⁶⁶ The battle of Hercules in this book against Cacus anticipates the poem's final scene, which can be seen as a victory, albeit a brutal one, of good over evil.⁶⁷ In the case of the close of Book 12, to categorize the victory as that of good over evil is insufficient, though, to point up the nuances of the narrative, one in which Aeneas has donned some of the characteristics of the very mindset he set out to defeat. The poet's trick will be the revelation that the "evil" side is actually victorious, at least insofar as Italy will dominate Troy. And the wrath of Juno from the commencement of the epic will be inherited by the Trojan Aeneas at the very end—with no redemption for Virgil's hero in the manner of the Homeric Achilles.

Yet however one might interpret the close of the twelfth book, there can be little doubt about the implication of Cacus' name here, for it evokes the Greek word *kakos* ("evil one"). Thus it is not surprising that Virgil describes a chorus as singing of Hercules' heroic pursuits at the banquet that Aeneas now shares with Evander. Notably, the chorus sings of the particular struggles that Hercules undergoes in response to the labors imposed upon him by the goddess Juno, who is quite clearly Aeneas' own divine nemesis, however appeased she may have optimistically been described as by Tiberinus just a few lines earlier (40 ff.).⁶⁸ And her final reconciliation (after a fashion) with the Trojan destiny will come only after she learns of the suppression of Trojan *mores* (12.832 ff.). Neither Aeneas nor Turnus are ever made aware of the divine machinations of Jupiter and Juno that settle the question of the future Roman identity (Italian, not Trojan)—a final (and most telling and profound) case of ignorance in the epic. Turnus, like Cacus, may perish as part of the coming to be of a new order—but that new order will be one that is preeminently Italian, with the legacy of Aeneas' (and Priam's) Asian city relegated to the mists of mythology.⁶⁹

66 On such Herculean/Augustan associations see e.g. F. Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 102; cf. P. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium*, Oxford, 1986, pp. 214 ff.

67 What are we to make of the fact that Heracles was an ancestor of the Ptolemies? On this see further J.K. Newman, "Virgil's *Iliad*: Reflections on a Secondary Epic," in H.-C. Günther, ed., *Virgilian Studies: A Miscellany dedicated to the Memory of Mario Geymonat*, Nordhausen: Verlag T. Bautz, 2015, pp. 347–348, especially in light of the problematic Ptolemaic associations of Aeneas and Dido (on which see P. Hardie, "Virgil's Ptolemaic Relations," in *JRS* 96 (2006), pp. 25–41).

68 O'Hara, pp. 88–89.

69 On the place of Trojan "Mayflower" credentials in first century B.C. Rome, see G.K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome*, Princeton, 1969, pp. 52–53. It is likely that Augustus had different views on the place of Troy in the Roman imagination than did his adoptive father Julius.

Yet in Book 8 Virgil does not dwell upon the binary parallel between “good” and “evil,” which he hints at but leaves to the reader to deduce.⁷⁰ Instead, the narrative proceeds to the details of Aeneas strolling with Evander, who speaks to his new ally about the future site of Rome where once, Aeneas learns, Jupiter’s father Saturn had taken refuge in a specific region where gods once seem to have walked freely among men—“wo die Grenzen zwischen menschlicher und göttlicher Welt überschritten oder verwischt werden”⁷¹—calling the region Latium because the word used for his time of hiding (*lat-uisset*, 323) contains part of the word Latium; thus the Latin tribal name. To this overarching etiological explanation details are soon added that touch upon the particulars of what will come to pass in the Roman experience.

Among these details are specific place names, including sites connected with foundation myths such as the Lupercal (343), the Tarpeian rock (347), and the Argiletum (344 ff.). The first of these concerns the cave wherein the she-wolf rescued and nursed the twins Romulus and Remus; the second, the story of Tarpeia and her betrayal,⁷² and the third, the story of the death of Argus. Then, as the story unfolds, Evander comes to the very entrance to the Palatine Hill itself (362), where the *scala Caci* (Cacus’ steps) ascend toward a spot right beside the hut of Romulus, in the specific direction, too, of the very houses of Augustus and Livia. Scholars have noted that the connection between the house of Augustus and that of Evander, as described in the text, is an important parallel that serves in part to blend the past with the Augustan present.⁷³

After this description of the affairs of men (which features the visual connection of past with present via father and son, the resolution of tension between Trojan and Greek, the parallelism, however approximate, of Hercules and Aeneas, and the triumph of one hero over an essentially evil character), Virgil shifts the scene entirely towards Olympus.

Venus’ cleverness is highlighted in the next scene, as she convinces her husband, Vulcan the craftsman of the gods, to make a new set of armor. Paradoxically, this armor is not to be for their son but for another, her child fathered by

70 How simplistic an epic it would be were there to be a duality of the good Aeneas and the bad Turnus. The poet was acutely aware that most human endeavors are cast in hues other than black and white.

71 Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe, *Virgil und die Tradition von der römischen Urkönigen* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997), p. 15.

72 On which see especially Tara Welch, *Tarpeia: Workings of a Roman Myth* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2015). A Tarpeia will “reappear” as a companion of Camilla at 11.655–656.

73 Fordyce, ad loc.; cf. Gransden ad 360 ff.

the mortal, Anchises, with whom she once had a tryst.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, Venus' charms overcome the god, and he grants her wish to fashion the weapons. In that description, Virgil resumes the theme of thrice repeated ideas. Notably, Vulcan's craftsmen forge three shafts from hail, another three out of storm clouds, while three more are crafted from flame (429–430). After this fanciful account, Virgil portrays with some detail the forging of Aeneas' weapons, though he saves the description of the shield itself until Venus' dramatic, portent-heralded presentation of those arms, when at the book's close the reader is privileged to see the shield through Aeneas' eyes—and with the benefit of a knowledge of “future” Roman history.

In the meantime, the poet redirects the narrative to the interaction of Evander and Aeneas. The two meet and validate the pact between them. This pact also includes the Etruscans, whose former king, Mezentius, had been driven into exile specifically for his Cacus-like behavior.⁷⁵ While Cacus had appended the flayed visages of men upon his doors (*ora uirum tristi pendebant pallida tabo*, 197), Mezentius is described as having behaved in an equally macabre manner, morbidly pressing those captured together face to face and hand to hand as a kind of torture (*tormenti genus*, 487) that lasted until they died in that wretched embrace. The cruel Mezentius will prove to be a formidable foe for Aeneas. Their final confrontation will occur in *Aeneid* 10, where their violent clash offers a tragic foreshadowing of the epic's final battle, when the father-son relationship of Daunus and Turnus resumes and reverses the same connection between Mezentius and Lausus.

But in the case of Aeneas and Evander, a further aspect of their relationship is yet to be fully developed. Though Evander sees in Aeneas (who, as a Trojan, is thus a non-Italian) the fulfillment of the prophecy of the foreign ruler that the Etruscan *haruspex* had announced (498–503), there is, as yet, no guarantee of the final victory. Thus, Aeneas is commissioned for battle by Evander who himself offers an emotional farewell, imitative of Apollonius, *Arg.* 2.799–805,

74 For the problematic aspects of the characterization of Vulcan, cf. A. Syson, *Fama and Fiction in Vergil's Aeneid*, Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2013, pp. 44–46; also L. Fratantuono, “*Aeterno Devinctus Amore*: Vulcan in Virgil,” in *Paideia* 70 (2015), pp. 225–242. The anonymous Norman cleric who composed the *Roman d'Énéas* is careful to note that Venus and Vulcan had been quarreling ever since the revelation of the goddess' affair with Mars.

75 On Evander's report of Mezentius—itsself replete with the stock imagery of atrocity and designed for maximum propaganda effect—see G. Thome, *Gestalt und Funktion des Mezentius bei Vergil—mit einem Ausblick auf die Schlußszene der Aeneis*, Frankfurt am Main-Bern-Las Vegas: Peter Lang, 1979, pp. 24–42.

where the Mariandynian Dascylus (the son of the “wolf” Lycus—cf. the Arcadian connection to lupine lore) is entrusted to Jason.⁷⁶

The emotion for Evander runs deep, for he adds his own son Pallas to Aeneas’ entourage, an action that is soon accompanied by a sign, both visible and audible, from Venus. This sign consists of a lightning bolt from heaven, a sign that would at first blush appear to be more suited to Jupiter than to Aeneas’ mother (*ni signum caelo Cytherea dedisset aperto. / namque improviso uibratus ab aethere fulgor / cum sonitu uenit et ruere omnia uisa repente ...* 523–525).⁷⁷ Yet, we have seen that the Venus of the *Aeneid* has, in terms of characterization, a great deal of range, as we recall that she had, in the first book, first appeared to her son in the guise of a Spartan huntress, a Diana-like, virginal woodland figure. Such range of characterization aligns well with her mythological range, as the Greek Aphrodite in Cythera, as at Sparta, was worshipped also as a goddess of storm and lightning, and thus the apparent toponym Cytherea may have particular significance here.⁷⁸ Aeneas interprets the Cytherean omen as a harbinger of victory; he may well have incorrectly (or at least incompletely) appreciated its import.⁷⁹

Though Pallas is now placed under Aeneas’ tutelage, the Trojan leader does not immediately behave as an Achilles toward Patroclus.⁸⁰ Rather, his actions continue to evoke those of Hercules, a character so very central to this book. And, too, Evander’s prayer to Jupiter harks back to that of Nestor in *Iliad* 7, where Nestor complains of age holding him back from engaging in the fray (132–135). The fact that in the Homeric passage Nestor had, in a brief catalogue, mentioned the Arcadians is not insignificant, for it provides a further connection between Homer’s Nestor and Virgil’s Evander.⁸¹

Nestor, of course, had been a prolix character in the *Iliad*, and this connection allows Virgil to give Evander, now nearly four-fifths of the way through

76 On all Virgilian debts to Apollonius, the virtues of the magisterial, encyclopedic work of Damien Nelis cannot be overestimated.

77 With this sign we may compare the mysterious Acestes arrow portent of Book 5, 519–544, a portent that may prefigure the death of Pallas (on this see L. Fratantuono, “*Seraque terrifici*: Archery, Fire, and the Enigmatic Portent of *Aeneid* 5,” in C. Deroux, ed., *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History XVI*, Bruxelles: Éditions Latomus, 2010, pp. 196–218).

78 Cf. Pausanias 3.23; *Harper’s Dictionary* s.v. “Venus.”

79 Cf. again the parallel problem of the archery portent of Book 5, with Fratantuono 2010.

80 He will be more imitative of Achilles by the end of the epic—at least of Achilles before his reconciliation with Priam—as he in some sense inherits the wrath and rage that Juno happily foregoes in light of the revelation *Teucris subsident*.

81 We might note that Jupiter, too, has Arcadian origins; cf. S.J. Harrison, “Evander, Jupiter, and Arcadia,” in CQ 34.2 (1984), pp. 487–488.

the eighth book, a Nestorian moment when he can recount his *aristeia* without seeming out of step with the sequence of the narrative (563–567). In the rendering of this account Evander also resumes the notions of “thrice” this and “thrice” that, providing yet again a threefold repetition of triplets followed by a triple protasis (574–577), along with three *dum* clauses, reinforcing yet again the notion that threefold images and verbal patterns are important for this book.

That imagery will reach its culmination in Venus’ presentation of the weapons to Aeneas and especially in the ecphrasis of the shield, which follows immediately upon this passage.⁸² Though each piece of weaponry is clearly worthy of Aeneas’ consideration (618–619), the shield stands out because it, in particular, contains the stories that forge the Roman character. It is an artistic gem, eminently worthy of its divine origins. The story of Romulus and Remus (630–634), fittingly enough, opens the narrative which, from Aeneas’ point of view is, of course, the distant future—but from the the Roman reader’s point of view, the remote and mythical past. Other foundation tales of the Roman experience follow, including the abduction of the Sabine women, the tale of Tarquinius Superbus and Lars Porsenna (646–648) and even, well into Republican times, the *dies ater* of 390 B.C. when the Gauls sacked the city (655–662).⁸³

For by no means are all of the images of the Roman future on the shield positive. Catiline is portrayed as getting the just desserts that in the first Catilinarian (1.13.33) Cicero had prayed for when he condemned him to eternal punishment in the afterlife.⁸⁴ Yet in spite of the various hardships and often self-inflicted wounds that the Romans have suffered, the center of the shield bears one very important story for the Rome of Virgil’s day, a story of victory over the monstrous Cleopatra and her consort, Antony. The victory at Actium can be seen and is likely to have been portrayed both as justification of the nascent Augustan regime, and as an assertion of Roman identity in the face of eastern

82 And once again—as so often in the book—setting will be important; the grove where Venus presents the arms (8.597–599) will provide the poet another opportunity for indulgence in *topothesia* (on this see R.F. Thomas in *VE* III, pp. 1279–1280).

83 On the internecine strife that is at the center of some of the shield’s iconography, see A. Rossi, *Contexts of War: Manipulation of Genre in Virgilian Battle Narrative*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2004, pp. 193–194. On how Virgil presents the war in Latium as a civil war for the sake of emphasizing that there was always unity (at least after a fashion) in Italy, see R.J. Pogorzelski, “The ‘Reassurance of Fratricide’ in the *Aeneid*,” in *AJPh* 130.2 (2009), pp. 261–289; cf. K.F.B. Fletcher, *Finding Italy: Travel, Colonization, and Nation in Vergil’s Aeneid*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2014, pp. 243 ff.

84 R.A. Smith, *Poetic Allusion and Poetic Embrace in Ovid and Virgil* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1997), pp. 182–184.

influence.⁸⁵ Antony had, in Cleopatra, taken an “Egyptian wife” (8.688), and thus become un-Roman; he had fallen into the Didonic trap that Aeneas had escaped.⁸⁶ That this foreign couple, who together form a solitary if variegated foe, suffers defeat is central to the assertion both of Roman identity in the face of both external influences and of the martial competence of Augustus and Agrippa.⁸⁷ And in some sense at least the central image of the shield will come to fruition in the unfolding of the Latin War in Books 9–12.⁸⁸

To establish divine sanction for the military and political reality described herein, Virgil shows that the immortals have more than a background role to play in this war.⁸⁹ They, too, are deeply concerned with the outcome of the battle, and thus Rome, whose origins are both mythical and historical, has not lost,

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- 85 Hercules, too, was a conqueror of the East; on this theme note J.D. Reed, *Virgil's Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the Aeneid*, Princeton, 2007, p. 159. The associations of eastern conquerors could be problematic for a contemporary Virgilian audience; Antony was a would-be adventurer in Parthia, and Dionysus provided another powerful divine image of eastern triumph—and of Antonian hazard. See further here C. Weber, “The Dionysus in Aeneas,” in *CPh* 97.2 (2002), pp. 322–343.
- 86 On certain aspects of how the Actium description shows the invasion of the upper regions by infernal monsters, with attendant concerns of ritual pollution, see V. Panoussi, *Virgil's Aeneid and Greek Tragedy: Ritual, Empire, and Intertext*, Cambridge, 2009, pp. 91–92.
- 87 Of course the Trojans are themselves Asian and not Italian; in some sense the victory of Octavian and Agrippa over Cleopatra is a resurgence of the same spirit of conflict between east and west that was at play in both the Greek and Persian wars and the Trojan War of mytho-history. In Virgil's conception, the Asian, Trojan element of identity will be suppressed as part of the divine agreement by which Juno's wrath will be quelled (at least for the moment; cf. the eruption of the Punic Wars).
- 88 The narrative of the cavalry battle of *Aeneid* xi, for example, offers parallels with the drama of Actium, with Octavian's officer Lucius Arruntius replaced by the lupine Etruscan Arruns, and Camilla standing in for Cleopatra; on this see L. Fratantuono, *The Battle of Actium 31 B.C.*, Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2016, pp. 53 ff.
- 89 A comprehensive study of the depiction of the Olympians in the *Aeneid* remains a desideratum in Virgilian studies, especially in the aftermath of Feeney's *Gods in Epic*. For Feeney, Hercules is a bridge between the divine and the human (D.C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition*, Oxford, 1991, p. 156). For Gordon Williams, the gods in Virgil are (mere?) tropes of human emotion (cf. G. Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid*, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University, 1983, pp. 20–35). Virgil consistently shows, however, when mortals can be absolved of guilt by ascribing blame to the gods, and when not—while at the same time reinforcing the idea that there are larger issues and destinies at play than mortals sometimes readily grasp. At 12.554 ff., e.g., it is Venus—“most beautiful” (*pulcherrima*) Venus—who sends Aeneas the idea to attack Latinus' capital. Here the poet is concerned principally with the sentiments of the goddess who is the pre-

in the substance of the Augustan present, a sense of its mythical dimensions. As we have noted elsewhere, this style of presentation accords with Virgil's earlier description of the fall of Troy (2.602–623). There Aeneas could view divine agents engaged in warfare that shaped and paralleled human events.⁹⁰ Aeneas was given a rare chance by his divine mother to see the workings of the immortals; the mysteries of the divine colloquy between Jupiter and Juno in Book 12 would remain private to gods and the reader.⁹¹ The immortals participate also in the battle at Actium, where Mars rages in the midst. Anubis and the anthropomorphic gods of Cleopatra's Egypt face Neptune and Minerva—veterans of the destruction of Troy, we might note—and also Venus (who was most decidedly not involved in the ruin of Priam's city).⁹²

Yet not only does the divine/human parallelism hold significance here, but also the frequent repetition of specific groups of three or threefold grammatical constructions all would seem to lead up to the paradoxically *inenarrabile textum* of the shield's description. Beyond the obvious tripartite temporal consideration of Rome's past and its future hinging upon the hopeful reality of the Augustan present, the repetition of threes has been pointing toward something very specific on the shield, a scene located at the center of the armor and being described at what is most certainly the climax of this section of the narrative and of the book as a whole:

at Caesar, triplici inuectus Romana triumpho
moenia, dis Italis uotum immortale sacrabat,
maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem.
laetitia ludisque uiae plausuque fremebant;
omnibus in templis matrum chorus, omnibus arae;
ante aras terram caesi strauere iuenci.

Aen. 8.714–719

eminent patroness of Troy; she is quite willing to attack the city that is in some sense a prefiguration of the future Rome.

- 90 For commentary on the passage see especially Horsfall ad loc.; he notes that "... Juno's personal enmity [i.e., for Troy] is familiar and only Jupiter's motives are unclear, just as his specific, active role—except as a supervisor of his divine colleagues—is slightly vague." The supreme god is already focused, as it were, on the active accomplishment of the ultimate state of affairs in which Rome will not be Trojan.
- 91 On Aeneas' reaction to his mother's visitation, with comparison to the very different attitude of Homer's Achilles with Thetis, see R. Jenkyns, *Virgil's Experience: Nature and History; Times, Names, and Places*, Oxford, 1998, p. 544.
- 92 On certain aspects of the divine action at Actium as depicted on the shield, see L. Fratanuono, "Saevit Medio in Certamine: Mars in the *Aeneid*," in *Arctos* 48 (2014), pp. 146–148.

But Caesar, borne in triple triumph into the walls of Rome, was consecrating to the Italian gods his undying votive offering—three hundred very great shrines through the entire city. The streets were resounding with happiness, games and applause; in every temple there was a chorus of matrons, and in all the sanctuaries there were altars, and before the altars slain bullocks were strewn upon the ground.

That Virgil includes a detailed description of Augustus' triple triumph is far from insignificant.⁹³ By its inclusion, Virgil places this triumphal procession on a par with the foundational myths and the great battles—whether victories or losses—of Rome's historical past. That this event is seen as central to the reformation of the Roman experience by Augustus—as the apex, as it were, of the Augustan Age—offers a cogent explanation for this book's frequent three-fold repetitions. Notably, Augustus will celebrate the victory on three hundred altars. Roman history as a whole had led up to this grand celebration that, along with victories over Dalmatia and Egypt, focuses on the Actian victory. That signal event has rightly been called a feature that Weber has noted was a “public celebration, decreed by the government, that Vergil's contemporaries would themselves have witnessed.”⁹⁴

Though the celebration of Augustus' triple triumph would seem to point to a welcome celebration of the beginning of the Augustan Age, the ending of the book does not leave us with the clear victory of good over evil that the Hercules/Cacus battle had suggested. Rather, it is clear that Aeneas' perception of the events on the shield is well short of partial.⁹⁵ However delightful the workmanship of the shield, Aeneas fails to understand the events recorded thereon (730), in the same way that the uninformed reader will fail to recognize in the reference to the river Euphrates a subtle *recusatio* of the epic genre and, with it, perhaps of the patriotic responsibility in the Augustan Age that engaging in the genre wholeheartedly might otherwise suggest.⁹⁶ If the Euphrates refer-

93 On how much Virgil may or may not have been influenced by artistic representations of Augustus, see C. Saunders, *Vergil's Primitive Italy*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1930, pp. 174–176.

94 Clifford Weber, “Bureaucratism in Vergil *Aeneid* 8.721,” *Vergilius* 60 (2014), p. 122.

95 A.J. Boyle's “Even the transparent gap between imperial image and historical *res*, ... to which the shield itself seems subtly to point, passes unseen” may be somewhat overstated, but it underscores Aeneas' imperception (“The Canonic Text: Virgil's *Aeneid*,” in *Roman Epic* ed. A.J. Boyle (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 101).

96 Ruth Scodel and Richard Thomas, “Virgil and the Euphrates,” *AJP* 105.3 (1984), p. 339.

ence questions the epic genre, does it also raise questions about the Augustan experience that Virgil's epic poem ostensibly celebrates? We shall never know, but the question is nonetheless legitimate.

We do know, however, that this poem is written on the theme of arms and a man, and there can be little doubt but that these are specifically the arms most central to this poem, along with the baldric that will spur Aeneas to the poem's ultimate act. We also know that, despite his lack of understanding, Aeneas will carry upon his shoulders the shield whose contents represent his own and his people's best hopes for the future.⁹⁷ For the hero, the war that will prove to be the first forbidding step in the journey toward the Augustan future is itself by no means over. Indeed, it is just at hand.

A Note on Manuscripts

The eighth book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, or at least much of it, is preserved in five ancient manuscripts of roughly the fourth to fifth centuries, as well as in numerous minor witnesses. To analyze these manuscripts and to consider other extratextual evidence, we adopted the standard Metzgerian approach, with careful attention given to *usus scribendi* (consistency in language and style),⁹⁸ and to the notion of preferring, where it seemed sensible at least, the acceptance of the more difficult of two possibilities, *sc. the lectio difficilior vel potior*.⁹⁹ Yet establishing a reading is a matter far more complicated than that. Thus, we also considered carefully the testimony of modern editions, trying to distinguish the value of an approach such as that of Remigio Sabbadini, who relies primarily on collation of the major manuscripts; or of Mario Geymonat, whose robust apparatus includes a plethora of other sources; or of R.A.B. Mynors, whose textual instinct remains legendary, despite the slenderness of his published apparatus; or of Gian Biagio Conte, whose carefully compiled apparatus, a bit more selec-

97 Aptly stated half a century ago by Brooks Otis, "... in wearing this armour and carrying this shield into battle he literally takes on his own shoulders the fama et fata nepotum (731)," in *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford, 1964), p. 342.

98 Regarding the *usus scribendi*, cf. Kerstin Güthert, *Herausbildung von Norm und Usus Scribendi im Bereich der Worttrennung am Zeilenende (1500–1800)*, Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter GmbH, 2005.

99 Further on method, cf. J. Hunt, R. Smith and F. Stok, *Classics from Papyrus to the Internet: An Introduction to Transmission and Reception* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2017), pp. 213–220.

tive in its presentation than the others mentioned here save Mynors, preserves numerous valuable readings and reflects the vast knowledge of a scholar who knows Virgil as few others have.

All major and minor manuscripts that preserve Book 8 were studied *in toto*, some in digitized form, others *in situ*. As pertains to the ancient witnesses, we rank them in no particular order. The incomplete F manuscript (*schedae Vaticanae*) is likely the oldest. P (*Palatinus*) is extremely clean and thus not difficult to read; it can often be corroborated or challenged by its proximity to the Wolfenbüttel manuscript γ , an apparent apograph. Owing to the poor quality of the parchment and calligraphy, R (*Romanus*) is often difficult to read, but nonetheless immensely valuable.

We studied M (*Mediceus Laurentianus*) both from a remarkably accurate reproduction of the manuscript made in the 1930s and, for one or two readings that were too difficult to ascertain in that reproduction, from the original manuscript in Florence. This codex preserves a number of important alternate readings in the varying calligraphic hands of its different redactors. Another witness, known as the *schedae Veronenses* (V), is quite important, though it is a palimpsest and is fragmentary and often illegible. Fortunately, the great Mario Geymonat carefully collated and compiled his own reading of this text along with the aforementioned fourth-century *schedae Vaticanae* (F).¹⁰⁰ This entire group of ancient manuscripts, fragmentary or not, are of the greatest value, owing both to their antiquity and their high quality.

Most of the later principal manuscripts, the composite of whose readings is known as ω , date to the ninth to eleventh centuries. The aforementioned ninth-century manuscript (γ), housed in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, surpasses all of these in quality. Of this group of other later manuscripts, none stands out as particularly reliable, though some are notably better than others. The Brussels manuscript (j), for example, preserves several sound readings. The same can be said of the x manuscript of Montpellier. Yet other minor manuscripts reveal signs that they were copied rapidly: overuse of ligatures, hastily penned words and misspellings abound. In many of them the use of ligatures is also grossly inconsistent: *haec* might be spelled (as is typical in the late medieval period and Renaissance) *hec* (at line 42, for example, of manuscripts a, c and s). Yet paradoxically, just a few lines later (line 64), one finds another word with that same vowel combination (e.g. *caeruleus*) spelled with the full classical Latin diphthong intact in manuscript a, but without so much as a ligature (sc. *cerulus*) in c and s.

100 Mario Geymonat, *I codici G e V di Virgilio* (Milano: Memorie, L'Istituto Lombardo 39.3, 1966).

In this group of later manuscripts, if a correction appears to have been made by the selfsame copyist, we allowed it to stand as the manuscript's reading in the apparatus. If, however, such a reading was apparently added later by a different hand (in the margin, for example, merely as a competing idea or alternatively, as at line 610 in manuscript **e**, where the preposition *e* is clearly added later before the word *gelido*), we preserve the original reading in the apparatus without mentioning that a correction was inserted by a redactor. This procedure is not followed, however, for the major manuscripts, in the case of which we seek to preserve both the original reading *and* the redactor's correction.

As far as concerns the **M** and **P** manuscripts, there are clearly more than just one or two redactors. In the case of **M**, in particular, this situation has presented us with a quite complicated puzzle, especially as pertains to distinguishing one redactor from another. Although we have become familiar with the various redactors' methods and idiosyncrasies, we do not always try to establish which emendation was done by which redactor. In this regard we have mostly followed Geymonat, who devoted a great deal of his career to this very question. From time to time, however, we do deviate from his thoroughgoing and normally remarkable analysis of the scribal scrawl; when we do so, we have added the redactor to the existing category "M^x" rather than propose yet another number in the enigmatic editorial series.

The later manuscripts, fortunate products of the Carolingian Renaissance, offer important testimonies, then, but nonetheless comprise a wide variety of orthographical variants and peculiarities. We offer here but a few examples. One finds in manuscripts **b**, **c**, or **u** the spelling *michi* inconsistently used for *mihi* (e.g. variously at lines 61, 382, 538, and, 560); along the same lines, one finds at 147 *nichil* for *nihil* in manuscripts **c** and **u**. We have not acknowledged all such variants in the apparatus as they are obviously merely orthographical deviations, likely reflecting contemporary pronunciation in the region the manuscripts were copied. In other instances, however, an additional letter, even so soft a letter as *h*, is not always ignored. For example, in the case of a name such as *Archadiae* (line 159), so preserved in manuscripts **cgoz**, we have elected to note the variation.

As mentioned above, we have but rarely acknowledged the later suppression of the -ae- diphthong, as it is a standard feature in about half of the Carolingian manuscripts. Another feature common to this large group of witnesses is the lengthening of the single -e- of a word like *fetus* to the richer sound of -oe- in words such as *foetus* (e.g., line 44, for *fetus* in **adjotuy**) or *poenatis* for *penatis* (line 11 in **z**) or *poenatibus* (line 123 in **e**). Yet another example is that of *inceptum*, written *incoeptum* (line 92 in **hoy**).

Variations that are not merely tonal vowel shifts but consist of consonantal clusters are preserved regularly in the apparatus. For example, at line 126, manuscripts **cdjt** preserve the reading *affatur*, while others have *adfatur*, which we adopt. This is also true of other compounded words, such as at line 225 where *inmane*, the reading of manuscripts **chsy**, is preserved in the apparatus, though we adopt the more prevalent orthography *immane*. Other variations appear to have been copyists' mistakes. For example, at line 101 in manuscripts **jtz** the word *ocius* is written clearly (if likely hastily) as *otius*. While this is no doubt merely a scribal error, it is not simply an orthographic variant, and therefore is kept in the apparatus, even though there is no chance it could be right. Thus we did not exclude variant readings from the apparatus merely on the probability of inaccuracy.

Later manuscripts also present yet another problem: this group consists not merely of various pieces of a literary record, but it encompasses codices that, like the ancient witnesses, are themselves artifacts. As such, as in the case of the aforementioned *schedae Veronenses* or *schedae Vaticanae*, these minor manuscripts, too, may have deteriorated over time; thus, when Professors Geymonat or Mynors studied them over half a century ago, they may have been able to see more than we have seen simply because more may have been visible. Yet it is also possible that even Geymonat or Mynors (whose apparatus in the Oxford text is too slender to preserve every variation, keeping to the nature of the Oxford series) could have made an error, failing to see something that is there, or misinterpreting a stray mark as a ligature or an inserted letter; this is true of both the oldest as well as the more recent manuscripts.

Two examples from two of the oldest witnesses will suffice to demonstrate this *caveat*. In the Vatican Library we studied carefully manuscript F both in digitized form and from the original codex. As pertains to the word *miratur* (line 92), we could find no trace of a correction from the word *mirantur*, which the scribe seems simply to have repeated from the previous line. Examination of the digitized copy of the codex seems to reveal some slight trace of what could have been a correction, but it is far from definitive *per se*, and were there not a pre-existing record of it in Geymonat, we should have ignored it. Accordingly, we examined the manuscript itself, scrutinizing it with a magnifying glass. No mark appeared to be evident to us, even scantily so. Yet in his apparatus, Geymonat records a correction; this can only mean one of two things: either, when he was compiling the data for his apparatus in the early 1970s, he saw something that has since faded; perhaps the stray mark, which did not appear to us to be a correction, indeed which was barely evident in the digitized format, was indeed what he saw and was able more readily to identify as a correction.

Conversely, it is also possible that he simply made a mistake. The same can be said of a correction that Geymonat records in his book on the G and V manuscripts.¹⁰¹ Geymonat notes that at line 95 of the Verona manuscript the spelling *uarisque* occurs, corrected by V¹. We examined this word carefully using natural and ultraviolet light, and simply could not confirm any trace of the correction that Geymonat records; we thus did not include the correction in our apparatus. Yet Geymonat may have seen something that the deteriorating condition of the *schedae Veroneses* simply no longer preserves. The ravages of time are ever more apparent the more closely we study these manuscripts *in situ*.

Other aspects of the establishment of our text, such as our preference of *uolnus* to *uulnus*, are adiaphorous. For example, we acknowledge that both *uulnus* and *uolnus* occur with about equal consistency in Virgil's lifetime, as do *Vulcanus* and *Volcanus*.¹⁰² Further, we have elected not to include in the apparatus notations about punctuation, as Virgil himself relied on divisional coordinators (such as *atque*, *-que*, *sed*) and subordinating conjunctions to simulate what we would term marks of punctuation. Our own punctuation is therefore necessarily artificial, merely intended to assist a modern audience (so too our adoption of textual divisions for paragraphs, etc.). That said, the places where we have elected to put in punctuation reflect a critical process that is in fact indebted to a long scribal tradition, one acknowledged for consistency's sake not in the apparatus but in the commentary.

With regard to our protracted consultation of these textual witnesses and source materials, we thank the many librarians of Bern, Paris, Montpellier, Naples, Oxford, Hamburg, Wolfenbüttel, and others as well, particularly the staff of the Pius x Library at St. Louis University. We also would like to offer special thanks to Gianni Profita (La Sapienza), Fabio Stok (Tor Vergata), Kenneth Sammond (Seton Hall University), as well as to Bart Calender and Christine Cantera. Ms. Erica Lauriello of St. Louis University's Pius x Vatican Film Library and Ms. Eileen Bensten, reference librarian of Baylor University, were very helpful to us in our manuscript study, so also Dr. Paolo Vian of the Vatican Library. Indeed the reference librarians of the Vatican are deserving of special thanks, for when we were not able to ascertain a reading in the digitized form (as mentioned just above), they permitted us to consult the manuscript proper. That was useful to help us to confirm readings that we thought we saw in the digi-

101 Geymonat 1966, p. 413.

102 Cf. C.D. Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, Chicago, 1933, pp. 83–84; A.L. Sihler, *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, Oxford, 1995, p. 66.

tized version. Indeed, the way the text can be manipulated on the computers in the Vatican library often permitted us to reconsider some of the readings that had been made by previous editors working only from the artifact with a magnifying glass and blue light.

While we did not expect this volume to offer a startling new text of *Aeneid* 8, we hope, nevertheless, that we have offered a fresh one that does not merely take for granted the work of others. To this end, we have availed ourselves of the help of friends new and old, the advice of colleagues, as well as technological developments as we seek to re-establish, if only *per speculum et in aenigmate*, the *non enarrabile textum* of Virgil in *Aeneid* 8.

Schema of Virgilian Manuscripts Containing *Aeneid* 8

There are five major manuscripts containing *Aeneid* 8:

- F** Vaticanus Lat. 3225 Known as the *schedae Vaticanae*, it dates possibly as early as the fourth century. Sadly it is very fragmentary, containing only 27 verses from the eighth book (71–98) as well as *G.* 3.1–21; 146–214; 285–348; 4.97–124; 153–174; 471–497; 522–548; and *Aen.* l. 185–268; 419–521; 586–611; 654–680; 2.170–198; 254–309; 437–468; 673–699; 3.1–54; 79–216; 300–341; 660–689; 4.1–92; 234–257; 286–310; 443–521; 555–583; 651–688; 5.109–158; 784–814; 6.26–50; 219–272; 393–423; 491–559; 589–755; 858–872; 879–901; 7.5–58; 179–329; 428–469; 486–509; 594–646; 9.32–68; 118–164; 207–234; 509–535; and 11.858–895. This manuscript's earliest correctors (**F**¹ and **F**²) date from its own period, with a later corrector (**F**³) of the seventh to eighth century, another from the Carolingian period (**F**⁴), and others (collectively **F**⁵) from the Italian Renaissance.
- M** Mediceus Laurentianus lat. Plut. 39.1, with fol. 76 of Vaticanus lat. 3225, which contains *Aen.* 8.585–642. A subscription tells us that the **M** codex was written before A.D. 494.
- P** Vaticanus Palatinus lat. 1631, fifth or possibly sixth century; this manuscript contains all of book 8, but lacks *E.* 3.72–4.51; *G.* 1.323–2.138; 4.462–*Aen.* 1.276; 4.116–161; 7.277–644; 10.436–439, 458–508; 11.645–690, 737–782; 12.47–92. **P** has three contemporary redactors (**P**¹, **P**², **P**³), while **P**⁴ is a Carolingian editor; **P**⁵ and **P**⁶ are later correctors.
- R** Vaticanus Lat. 3867, a sixth century codex known as the “Romanus”. Though **R** contains Book 8 *in toto*, there are other lacunae (*E.* 7.1–10.9; *G.* 2.1–215; 4.37–180; *Aen.* 2.73–3.684; 4.217–5.36; 11.757–792; 12.651–686; 759–830; 939–952). There are several layers of correction, with **R**¹ being a likely

sixth century editor, while **R²**, **R³**, **R⁴**, **R⁵** are Carolingian correctors or, according to Geymonat, possibly even of the Italian Renaissance.

- V** Veronensis XL 38, known as the *schedae Veronenses*, compiled in the fifth century, probably in northern Italy. The manuscript is a palimpsest; in the eighth century Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* was written over it in Luxeuil minuscules. Geymonat and Troncarelli suggest that the rustic script of the original Virgilian document may have been written at Bobbio by a French abbot, and was possibly even corrected by Boethius. A chemical reagent applied to the folios in the nineteenth century has made parts virtually illegible. The manuscript contains *E.* 3.27–52; 5.86–6.20; 7.12–37; 8.19–44; *G.* 2.92–117; 274–299; 352–377; 535–3.12; 351–402; 4.436–464; 522–549; *Aen.* 1.1–26; 235–260; 2.80–105; 158–183; 288–313; 470–496; 623–726; 3.561–586; 691–716; 4.144–195; 5.73–96; 241–292; 448–499; 7.248–273; 326–351; 404–429; 482–507; 586–611; 664–689; 8.14–39; 93–118; 9.354–405; 10.1–26; 53–78; 183–208; 235–261; 549–574; 732–758; 12.456–508; 667–718. The first corrector is contemporaneous with the *schedae*. The second corrector's notes appear to date from perhaps a century later.

The remaining manuscripts, whose majority reading is characterized as omega (ω) in the apparatus, are numerous and occasionally quite valuable. They are:

- a** Parisinus lat. 7929 (*Aen.* 6–12), which forms a complete manuscript with Bernensis 172 (*E.* 1–*Aen.* 5). It dates to the ninth century. Some of it appears to be an apograph of **R**.
- b** Bernensis 165, ninth century; it is missing *Aen.* 12.919–952.
- c** Bernensis 184, end of ninth, beginning of tenth century.
- d** Bernensis 255, ninth century. It is missing *Aen.* 12.682–952
- e** Bernensis 167, ninth century. It lacks *Aen.* 12. 452–579; 772–952
- f** Oxoniensis Bodl. Auct. F.2.8, prepared before 850 in the monastery of Saint Germain. It lacks *E.* 1.1–54.
- g** Parisinus 7925, ninth century.
- h** Valentianensis 407 (389), housed in Valencia, dated to the ninth century.
- i** Regimensis 1669, dated to the ninth century.
- j** Bruxellensis Blbl. Reg. 5325–5327, ninth century. It appears to be an apograph of **R**, at least in some sections. Missing *Aen.* 3. 662–683, 9.425–494, 10.16–85.
- k** Hamburgensis Scrin. 52, ninth century. It lacks *G.* 4.53–566.
- n** Neapolitanus Vind. Lat. 6, dated to the eleventh century. It lacks *Aen.* 12.676–952.

- o Ausonensis (Biblioteca Episcopal Vic, Catalunya, Archivo Capitular, 197), dates to the eleventh century. It lacks *Aen.* 9.817–818; 11.1–12.301; 364–365, 493, 525, 612–613 et 816–944. Other sections are very hard to read due to damage to the manuscript: *Aen.* 9.459–466, 577–582, 584–595, 609–626, 688–719; 10.1–60, 125–189, 255–318, 383–446, 511–574, 637–701, 766–829, 862–908.
- r Parisinus lat. 7926, ninth century, which lacks *Aen.* 12.138–952.
- t Parisinus lat. 13043, ninth century, lacking *E.* 1.1–8.11; *Aen.* 2.285–3.79; 11.11–12.952.
- u Parisinus lat. 13044, ninth century, lacking *Aen.* 6.130–609; 676–7.712; 748–12.354.
- v Vaticanus lat. 1570, ninth/tenth century.
- w Guelferbytanus Gudianus 66, ninth century. It lacks *E.* 1.1–G. 4.69; *Aen.* 10.124–12.952.
- x Montepessulanus Fac. Med. 253, ninth century. Manuscript written in three hands.
- y Parisinus Latinus 10307, ninth century.
- z Parisinus lat. 7927, tenth century; some of the text has been added in a later hand.

And, lastly:

- γ Guelferbytanus Gudianus lat. 2^o70.

This is a ninth century apograph of P, and as such certainly worthy of being acclaimed as the most valuable of the non-antique witnesses.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ On the relationship between these witnesses note especially R.E. Gaebel, “The Palatinus and Gudianus MSS of Vergil,” in *Vergilius* 27 (1981), pp. 52–56.

Text and Translation



Aeneidos Liber Octavus

Vt belli signum Laurenti Turnus ab arce
extulit et rauco strepuerunt cornua cantu,
utque acris concussit equos utque impulit arma,
extemplo turbati animi, simul omne tumultu
5 coniuurat trepido Latium saeuitque iuuentus
effera. ductores primi Messapus et Vfhens
contemptorque deum Mezentius undique cogunt
auxilia et latos uastant cultoribus agros.
mittitur et magni Venulus Diomedis ad urbem
10 qui petat auxilium, et Latio consistere Teucros,
aduectum Aenean classi uictosque penatis
inferre et fatis regem se dicere posci
edoceat multasque uiro se adiungere gentis
Dardanio et late Latio increbescere nomen:
15 quid struat his coeptis, quem, si fortuna sequatur,
euentum pugnae cupiat, manifestius ipsi
quam Turno regi aut regi apparere Latino.
talia per Latium. quae Laomedontius heros
cuncta uidens magno curarum fluctuat aestu
20 atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc diuidit illuc
in partis que rapit uarias perque omnia uersat,
sicut aquae tremulum labris ubi lumen aënis
sole repercussum aut radiantis imagine lunae
omnia peruolitat late loca iamque sub auras
25 erigitur summique ferit laquearia tecti.

Tit. INCIPIT LIBER VIII FELICITER M, AENEIDOS LIB. VIII P, INCIPIT LIBER VIII R 1–13
MPR. – 1 harce s 2 sonuerunt **P corr. P²** 3 acres **bor** || aequos **cs** || inpulit **dh** 4
exemplo e extimplo **w** || animi **u** 5 saeuitque **u** || uiuentus s 6 primi Messapus ductoris
s doctores **z** || mesapus **d** messapius **i** mesappus **o** maesapus **r** || uphens **hs** 7 mzentius **P**
corr. P² mezzentius **R** 10 petat] tat **R corr. R¹** || considerare (*mut. ab ipso ex consistere*) **P** consi-
dere **γ** || teucus **γ¹** 11 aduentum **u** || aeneam **γ¹** || classis **u** || uectosque **γ corr. γ¹** || penates
abcegekors 12 infere **P corr. P¹** 13 gentes **P²Rabdegostu** 14–39 **MPRV.** – 15 cepetis **k**
16 conuentum **o** || pugne s || cupiet **tw** 17 quan **c** 18 eros **γ¹** aeros **d** haeros **g** 20 adque
Rz 21 partesque **Vbo** || aeneis **V corr. V¹** 23 repercussum **P corr. P¹** || radiantis **γ¹** 25
sumque **P corr. P²** sumique **c** || laquearea **M** aquaria **V** lacuaria, *schol. Ver.* || tectis **u**

When Turnus raised up the signal for war from the citadel of Laurentum and the war horns clamored with their coarse song, and when he smote his keen steeds and drove on his weapons, straightaway their minds were vexed; at once all Latium swears together in fearful uprising, and its young people rage, wild. The prime leaders, Messapus and Ufens, and Mezentius, despiser of the gods, muster auxiliary troops from every quarter and lay waste the farmers' broad fields. And Venulus is sent to the city of great Diomedes to seek aid and to explain that the Trojans have come to Latium, that Aeneas is come with an army and has brought with him his conquered gods and is proclaiming that he is the king demanded by the fates; that many tribes are aligning themselves with the Dardan hero and that his name is waxing great all over Latium; that what he is devising from these undertakings, what outcome of battle he desires, should Fortune follow him, would appear more evident to Diomedes himself than to King Turnus or King Latinus.

Such was the state of affairs in Latium. Seeing all of these things the Laomedontian hero rolls along on a great wave of worries, as now hither, now thither he divides his swift mind. And he pulls his mind in different directions and turns over everything, as a glimmering light, from the sun or from the radiant moon's image, is reflected in a bronze bowl of water and flits everywhere far and wide and now is lifted up to the breezes and strikes the ceiling of a lofty roof.

nox erat et terras animalia fessa per omnis
 alituum pecudumque genus sopor altus habebat,
 cum pater in ripa gelidique sub aetheris axe
 Aeneas, tristi turbatus pectora bello,
 30 procubuit seramque dedit per membra quietem.
 huic deus ipse loci fluuio Tiberinus amoeno
 populeas inter senior se attollere frondes
 uisus (eum tenuis glauco uelabat amictu
 carbasus et crinis umbrosa tegebat harundo),
 35 tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis:
 'o sate gente deum, Troianam ex hostibus urbem
 qui reuehis nobis aeternaque Pergama seruas,
 exspectate solo Laurenti aruisque Latinis,
 hic tibi certa domus, certi (ne absiste) penates.
 40 neu belli terrere minis; tumor omnis et irae
 concessere deum.
 iamque tibi, ne uana putes haec fingere somnum,
 litoreis ingens inuenta sub ilicibus sus
 triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit,
 45 alba solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.
 [hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum,]
 ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis
 Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam.
 haud incerta cano. nunc qua ratione quod instat
 50 expedias uictor, paucis (aduerte) docebo.
 Arcades his oris, genus a Pallante profectum,
 qui regem Euandrum comites, qui signa secuti,
 delegere locum et posuere in montibus urbem
 Pallantis proauis de nomine Pallanteum.

26 festa *in fessa corr.* P || omnes ag 27 pecudumque w 29 pectore M *corr.* M² 31 tyberinus aey¹ 32 adtollere bz 33 eum] cum R 34 crines Vjorsu || arundo Raeuz 35 affari cdz || his] is u 36 sata *in sate corr.* P || troyanam z || ex] e j || ostibus s 37 reueis b 38 expectate Pbcek || solo] lo M alibi solo M⁴ loco M⁶ 39 certis z || adsiste RV 40-70 MPR. - 40 neu] nu P *corr.* P¹ 42 nec RY *corr.* Y¹ || putas (*fortasse ex putes*) P putas Y *corr.* Y¹ 43 lotoriis c || inuenta ingens u || ubilicibus *in sub ilicibusuus* M ilicibus M^x ilicibus suus Py *corr.* Y¹ ilicebuxus R ilicebus sus R^x ilicibus sub cd 44 faetus z 45 recubant M *corr.* M² || ubere M *corr.* M² 46 uersum *om.* MPanry, Tib. || et] ea v 49 haut P aut R || rationem c || quod ex quid M² || uersus 49-51 *om.* u 50 expediam M²P¹ety 51 archades egy archadis c harcades z || his ex hic M⁵ || a ex ap M² || appellante Y *corr.* Y¹ a pellante ac 52 eurandrum z 53 delegare u 54 proauis] pauidae a || pallanta eum y || 55-58 *script. in marg.* B

(30) It was night, and throughout all the lands a deep sleep took hold of weary animals, families of birds and livestock, when father Aeneas, disturbed in his heart by sorrowful war, stretched himself out on the bank beneath the pole of the chilly sky, and granted rest to come late to his limbs. The aged Tiberinus himself with his pleasant stream, the god of the region, whom a delicate garment of linen enveloped with its grey-green casing and whose hair a shady reed covered, seemed to raise himself amidst the poplar leaves and then address Aeneas thus and allay his worries with these words:

“O you born of the race of the gods who restore to us from enemy hands the Trojan city and preserve for us eternal Pergamum. Long have you been awaited on Laurentian soil and Latin fields; here will be your secure home and here the household gods—no need to hold yourselves back—will be secure, as well. (40) Nor be frightened by threat of war; all the swelling and ire of the gods have relented. And now, lest you should think a mere dream is falsely reporting these vain words, a huge sow, which you will come upon beneath the oaks along the shore, will be lying there having just given birth to a litter of thirty—a white sow reclining alone, and around her teats there will be her young, also white. [This will be the place of your city, this is the sure rest of your labors.] Based on this sign Ascanius will, in thirty years’ time, found the city with a famous name, Alba. I sing things that are by no means uncertain. Now by what plan you as victor may extricate yourself from what is impending—pay attention—I shall explain in a few words. (50) Arcadians, a people descended from Pallas, possess these shores. They are friends of King Evander, who have followed his battle standards. They chose the location and placed on the hills a city, Pallanteum, after the name of their ancestor Pallas.

- 55 hi bellum adsidue ducunt cum gente Latina;
 hos castris adhibe socios et foedera iunge.
 ipse ego te ripis et recto flumine ducam,
 aduersum remis superes subuectus ut amnem.
 surge age, nate dea, primisque cadentibus astris
- 60 lunoni fer rite preces iramque minasque
 supplicibus supera uotis. mihi uictor honorem
 persolues. ego sum pleno quem flumine cernis
 stringentem ripas et pingua culta secantem,
 caeruleus Thybris, caelo gratissimus amnis.
- 65 hic mihi magna domus, celsis caput urbibus exit.⁷
 dixit, deinde lacu fluuius se condidit alto
 ima petens; nox Aenean somnusque reliquit.
 surgit et aetherii spectans orientia solis
 lumina rite cauis undam de flumine palmis
- 70 sustinet ac talis effundit ad aethera uoces:
 'Nymphae, Laurentes Nymphae, genus amnibus unde est,
 tuque, o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto,
 accipite Aenean et tandem arcete periclis.
 quo te cumque lacus miserantem incommoda nostra
- 75 fonte tenent, quocumque solo pulcherrimus exis,
 semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis
 corniger Hesperidum fluuius regnator aquarum.
 adsis o tantum et propius tua numina firmes.'

55 adsiduae **Rau** 56 athibe *in* adhibe *corr.* **P** || sotios **z** || foedere **Pbnrγ**, 'legitur et foedere iunge', *Seru.* faedera **e** || iunte **M** *corr.* **M²** 59 age *om.* **Rc** || rimisque **M** *corr.* **M²** remes **u** || astres **R** 60 uers. *om.* **k** (*postea add. in marg.*) || praeces **γ¹** || irasque **ω** (*praeter bfn*) 61 supplicibus **M** || uotis supera **o** || uotis] donis **dhjwz** 62 persoluens **b** 63 singula **M** pingua **γ** *corr.* **M²γ¹** || sequantem **g** 64 tybris **cdeu** tibris **os** thibris **r** || grandissimus **u** 65 magna] certa **Pγ** *corr.* **γ¹** || caesis **M** *corr.* **M²** celses **R** || capud **u** 66 fluuii **γ** *corr.* **γ¹** 67 aeneam **dy** || relinquit **Rev** reliquid **u** 68 urgit **P** *corr.* **P¹** || aetheria **o** etereii **r** aetherei **u** || oriantia **c** 70 sustinet] sustulit **γ¹ω** (*praeter an*) || *ad om. et corr.* **γ** || uocis **s** 71–92 **FMPR**. – 71 nimphae ... nimphae **aeor** nympa ... nimphe **u** || undest **MPe** unde sit **F** *corr.* **F¹** 72 teque **F** *corr.* **F¹** tu quoque **b** || *o om.* **e** || thybre **MR** *corr.* **M²** tybri **c** tibri **ousz** thibri **t** || flummine **γ** *corr.* **γ¹** pulchro **r** || snacto **M** sacto **γ** *corr.* **M²γ¹** 73 bericlis *in* periclis **F** || eneam **c** 74 clacu **P** *corr.* **P¹** lacu **b**, *Tib.* || miserante **F** *corr.* **F¹** 75 tenet **MPγω** (*praeter d*), *Seru.* tenes, *Tib.* || quotecumque **P** *corr.* **P²** || ex his **u** 76 celebrauere **F** *corr.* **F¹** 77 esperidum **s** speridum **z** || fluuius **F** *corr.* **F¹** 78 atsis **P** || tandem **dk** || proprius **Pγ¹** *corr.* **P²**, 'legitur et proprius' *Seru.* placide **b** placidus tua munia, *Tib.*

These continually wage war with the Latin nation; receive them as allies to your camp and make an alliance with them. By my banks I myself shall lead you to them, straight up the stream, that carried by oars, you may subdue the tide as it flows against you. Come! Rise up, goddess-born, and as the first stars fall from the sky, with all proper respect, make your prayers to Juno, and overcome her wrath and threats by suppliant vows. Once you have prevailed, you will pay tribute to me. I am he, whom you see with full flood pressing on his banks and cutting into the rich crops, the blue Tiber, the river most pleasing to heaven. This is my grand home, and from lofty cities does my source flow forth."

(65) So the river spoke, then plunged himself into his deep pool, seeking the depths; night and sleep let go of Aeneas. He surges up and, beholding the rising light of the sun of heaven, duly he draws water from the river with cupped palms, and pours forth to the heavens such prayers as these: "You nymphs, Laurentine nymphs, whence is the family of rivers, and you, O father Tiber, you with your holy stream, receive Aeneas and, at length, protect him from dangers. From whatever source lakes contain you, you who pity my troubles, from whatever ground you flow most fair, you will always be celebrated with my honor and gifts, you, horn-bearing stream, ruler of the waters of Hesperia. Only may you be present and may you more nearly strengthen your divine will."

sic memorat geminasque legit de classe biremis
 80 remigioque aptat, socios simul instruit armis.
 ecce autem subitum atque oculis mirabile monstrum,
 candida per siluam cum fetu concolor albo
 procubuit uiridique in litore conspicitur sus;
 quam pius Aeneas tibi enim, tibi, maxima Iuno,
 85 mactat sacra ferens et cum grege sistit ad aram.
 Thybris ea fluuium, quam longa est, nocte tumentem
 leniit et tacita refluxens ita substitit unda,
 mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque paludis
 sterneret aequor aquis, remo ut luctamen abesset.
 90 ergo iter inceptum celerant rumore secundo:
 labitur uncta uadis abies; mirantur et undae,
 miratur nemus insuetum fulgentia longe
 scuta uirum fluuio pictasque innare carinas.
 olli remigio noctemque diemque fatigant
 95 et longos superant flexus, uariisque teguntur
 arboribus uiridisque secant placido aequore siluas.
 sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem
 cum muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum
 tecta uident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo
 100 aequauit, tum res inopes Euandrus habebat.
 ocius aduertunt proras urbique propinquant.
 forte die sollemnem illo rex Arcas honorem
 Amphitryoniadae magno diuisque ferebat
 ante urbem in luco. Pallas huic filius una,

79 classa u || biremes bgsu birem c 80 abtat b 81 sobitum F corr. F¹ || adque R || mirabe
 F corr. F¹ || monstrum P 82 fetu] fletii c phoetu z 83 procumbuit γ corr. γ¹ || uiridique F
 corr. F¹ || suus P 84 pyus z || maxuma R 85 uers. om. h (postea add.) || aras j 86 thy-
 brim P corr. P² tybris ce tibris o tibrys s tybris u || fluuius in fluuium corr. P fluum γ fluuium
 corr. γ¹ || tumentem M corr. M¹ || om. est w 87 lenit R laeniit j liniit u || substit P subpstitit
 γ corr. γ¹ || in unda F corr. F¹ 88 im c || stagna s || placidaeque] que in ras. R¹ placideque
 u 89 sterneret] in ras. M || abisset R 90 item s || celerant] peragunt Rj celebrant no pera-
 gant γ¹ || rumone M corr. M² romore uw 92 mirantur Fγ corr. γ¹ 93–98 FMPR. – 93
 fluuio V || spictasqua M corr. M² 95 longo u || uarisque V variisque V¹ 96 uiridesque bho-
 stuwz || secunt u || aequora kz 97 urbem in orbem corr. γ 98 procula F¹ et dw 99–118
 MPRV. – 100 tunc Rbejruv, Tib. || inopis Ray¹ || euander dhjtwz 101 otius jtz || auertunt
 o 102 diem r || sollemnem PR sollempnem oz solemnem r || archas cz 103 amphitroniadae
 V corr. V¹ amphitryoniadae acdkruy amphitryoniade bo amphitryoniadae etwγ amphitronia-
 dae hj 104 pallans Vγ¹

(78) Thus he speaks, and he chooses two ships from his fleet and fits them out with rowers, and at the same time equips his comrades with weapons. Moreover, behold, suddenly a portent amazing to the eyes: in the woods a sow appears, stretched out upon the verdant bank, bright white, of the same color as her offspring. Dutiful Aeneas offers this animal, bearing it as a sacrifice to you, even you, greatest Juno and, together with her brood, did he set the sow next to your altar. Tiber then softened his swollen stream for its whole length over that night. The quiet water, flowing back, subsided in such a way that the surface of the water spread out with its flood into the manner of a mild pond and placid pool, so that there was no difficulty for rowing.

(90) Therefore with favorable shouts do they hasten their undertaken route: the oiled fir glides along the shoals and the waves marvel, as do the woods, unaccustomed to far-gleaming shields of heroes and the painted barques that swim the stream. Those men wear out the night and day with their rowing and conquer the long river bends, and they are shaded by various trees as they cut through the verdant woods on the peaceful current.

The fiery sun had ascended the middle arch of heaven, when they behold walls and a citadel afar, and sparse housetops, all of which now Rome's power has exalted to heaven; then Evander held but a modest kingdom. (100) Pretty quickly they divert their prows and approach the city. On that day by chance the Arcadian king was carrying out a solemn festival to the gods and to that great son of Amphitryon, in a grove just outside the city. His son, Pallas, was

- 105 una omnes iuuenum primi pauperque senatus
tura dabant tepidusque cruor fumabat ad aras.
ut celsas uidere rates atque inter opacum
adlabi nemus et tacitos incumbere remis,
terrentur uisu subito cunctique relictis
- 110 consurgunt mensis. audax quos rumpere Pallas
sacra uetat raptoque uolat telo obuius ipse,
et procul e tumulo: 'iuuenes, quae causa subegit
ignotas temptare uias? quo tenditis?' inquit,
'qui genus? unde domo? pacemne huc fertis an arma?'
- 115 tum pater Aeneas puppi sic fatur ab alta
paciferaeque manu ramum praetendit oliuae:
'Troiuenas ac tela uides inimica Latinis,
quos illi bello profugos egere superbo.
Euandrum petimus. ferte haec et dicite lectos
- 120 Dardaniae uenisse duces socia arma rogantis.'
obstipuit tanto percussus nomine Pallas:
'egredere o quicumque es' ait 'coramque parentem
adloquere ac nostris succede penatibus hospes.'
excepitque manu dextramque amplexus inhaesit;
- 125 progressi subeunt luco fluuiumque relinquunt.
tum regem Aeneas dictis adfatur amicis:
'optime Graiugenum, cui me Fortuna precari
et uitta comptos uoluit praetendere ramos,
non equidem extimui Danaum quod ductor et Arcas
- 130 quodque a stirpe fores geminis coniunctus Atridis;

105 omnis cks 106 thura R || dabat γ¹ 107 adque R 108 allabi o ad labia r atlabi uz ||
tacitis dfkovzγ¹ 109 relectis a 110 quod M corr. M² 111 uolat] uelat P corr. P¹ 112 e]
et o 114 qui] quod dw || unde] un R corr. R⁴ || domus n domum r || in R || V uers. obscurus
115 tunc R || puppe R puppis γ corr. γ¹ || fatus Pγ corr. γ¹ || alto γ corr. γ¹ 116 pauperaeque
R corr. R³ || praetendit γ protendit γ¹(?), Ansil. CO 2282 117 et n || ac tela uides] acie laudes
R || uides] uia es z 118 ille R || profugo regere γ corr. γ¹ || aegere o 119–731 MPR. – 120
uenisse] uenite c || duces] uiros cdhjkty || rogantes RMP²bdhjorswz 121 percussus Rc¹ω, Tib.
percussos cy 122 egredere M¹P² etgredere M etgradere PR || o add. γ¹ || parente adeuy 123
alloquere dhktwyz || et M, Non. 403.23, corr. M² hac γ || succaede o || ospes z 124 dextra-
que R || inesit c 125 progres γ corr. γ¹ || loco γ corr. γ¹ || fluuiioque γ corr. γ¹ || relinunt MP
corr. P¹ relinunt Rceh 126 affatur cdjt 127 optume Mab obtime h || praecari Rr 128 ac,
Rufin. 48.16 || pratendere P corr. P¹ 129 quo M corr. M² || arces R archas cz 130 quodque
Pγ corr. P¹ || quodque stirpe h || ad M ab M¹ || styrpe z || foret, Arus. 462.20

with him, with him were all the leaders of the youths as well as the humble senate; they were making offerings of incense, and warm blood was smoking upon the altars.

When once they have seen the high ships as they are gliding amidst the dense woods and the rowers silently pressing upon the oars, they are frightened by the sudden sight, and leaving their tables they rise up altogether. Pallas boldly forbids them to break off the sacred rites and, snatching up his spear, he himself rushes to encounter the strangers, and at a distance from a mound he shouts, "Young men, what reason has compelled you to try unknown paths? Whither do you direct yourselves? What is your race? Whence is your home? Do you bring hither peace or arms?"

Then father Aeneas speaks thus from the high deck, and he offers with his hand a peace-bearing olive branch: "You look upon men who are Trojan born and weapons that are hostile to the Latins—men whom they made exiles by their arrogant warfare. We are seeking Evander: bring him this message, and tell him that chosen leaders of Dardania have come, asking for a military alliance."

(120) Pallas was amazed, struck by so great a name. "Come," he cries, "whoever you are; openly address my father, and enter our home as an honored guest!" And grasping him with his hand he received him and took his right hand in greeting. Going forth, they enter the grove and leave the river. Then Aeneas, with friendly words, speaks to the king: "Best of those born of Greece, to whom Fortune wanted me to make my appeal and to offer boughs adorned with ribbons, indeed I was not afraid because you were a Danaan leader and an Arcadian and because you had been joined by family descent with the twin

sed mea me uirtus et sancta oracula diuum
 cognatique patres, tua terris didita fama,
 coniunxere tibi et fatis egere uolentem.
 Dardanus, Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor,
 135 Electra, ut Grai perhibent, Atlantide cretus,
 aduehitur Teucros; Electram maximus Atlas
 edidit, aetherios umero qui sustinet orbis.
 uobis Mercurius pater est, quem candida Maia
 Cyllenae gelido conceptum uertice fudit;
 140 at Maiam, auditis si quicquam credimus, Atlas,
 idem Atlas generat caeli qui sidera tollit.
 sic genus amborum scindit se sanguine ab uno.
 his fretus non legatos neque prima per artem
 temptamenta tui pepigi; me, me ipse meumque
 145 obieci caput et supplex ad limina ueni.
 gens eadem, quae te, crudeli Daunia bello
 insequitur; nos si pellant nihil afore credunt
 quin omnem Hesperiam penitus sua sub iuga mittant
 et mare quod supra teneant quodque adluit infra.
 150 accipe daque fidem. sunt nobis fortia bello
 pectora, sunt animi et rebus spectata iuuentus.
 dixerat Aeneas. ille os oculosque loquentis
 iamdudum et totum lustrabat lumine corpus.

131 et om. **Pe** add. **P**¹ || diuom **MR** 132 patris **R** || didita **R**γω(*praeter chksnu*), *Seru. ad 131*
 133 aegere **o** || uolantem **o** 134 primum **u** 135 electra ut] electram, *Rufin. 57.2* || graii **Pw** ||
 peribent **t** || atlantide **a** athlantide **owz** atlantide **γ** || tretus **a** cretam, *Rufin. 57.2* 136 aduer-
 tur **z** || tehucros **h** teucro **γ** corr. **γ**¹ || maxumus **R** || athlans **M** atlans **RMPeγ**¹ athlas **cdktowz**
 adlans **s**atlan **u** 137 eherios **M** corr. **M**² || humero **cdghjotuyz** || urbes **M** corr. **M**² orbis **γ**¹
 138 mecilius **u** 139 cyllaene **M** cyllinae **R** cillaenae **ae** cyllaenae **bw** cyllaeni **hj** cillene **o** cilleni
 s cillaene **u** cyllenio, *Tib.* || gelida **u** gelydo **z** || fundit **P** corr. **P**² 140 ad **PM** corr. **M**² || auditi
Pγ corr. **γ**¹ || cuiquam **R** || creditis **Phγ** credimus **γ**¹ || atlans **MPReγ**¹ athlas **bcdotwz** atlans **su**
 141 atlans **MPRrsuγ**¹ athlas **cdhowz** athlans **e** || gaeli *in caeli corr.* **P** 142 si **u** 143 hys **z** ||
 attem *in artem corr.* **P** 144 temptamenta **b** || memet **a** 145 om. et **k** || capud **e** || subplex **e** ||
 lumina **u** 146 bella **R** 147 pellat-credit, *Tib.* || pellunt **r** || atfore **M** adfore **M**²**P**¹γω(*praeter*
bfc), *Isid. 2.30.11, Tib.* fore **R** affori **c** affore **uz** 148 omen *in omnem corr.* **P** || esperiam **u** ||
 mittat, *Tib.* 149 teneant supra **Pγ** corr. **P**²γ¹ teneat, *Tib.* || quoque **P** corr. **P**² || abluit **R** alluit
abckuyz 151 om. et rebus **u** 152 culosque **u** 153 iamdudum **MP** *in iamdudum corr.* **P** ||
 limine **c**

sons of Atreus; but my own virtue, the gods' holy oracles, our kindred forefathers, and your fame widespread over the earth have all linked me to you, and have made of me one who willingly obeys the fates. Dardanus, the first father and founder of the Ilian city, sprung from Atlas' daughter Electra, as the Greeks tell it, came to the Teucrians. Greatest Atlas fathered Electra, Atlas who sustains on his shoulders the ethereal spheres. Your father is Mercury, whom fair Maia conceived and gave birth to on the chilly peak of Cyllene; but Maia, if we have heard anything that we can believe, is child of Atlas, that same Atlas who hoists the stars of heaven; so the family connection of both sides derives from a single bloodline. Relying on these things, I artfully composed neither an embassy nor initial overtures for you; I myself have, rather, placed myself and my life before you and I have come as a suppliant to your threshold. The same Daunian race that pursues you pursues us with cruel war; if they drive us out, they believe that there will be nothing to prevent them, having penetrated the borders, from putting all Hesperia beneath the yoke and holding the sea that washes it both above and below. Receive and give loyalty; we have hearts that are brave in war, and our spirits and youthful manhood have been seen in what we have accomplished."

(151) Aeneas had spoken. Even as he was speaking Evander had been all the while observing with his eyes Aeneas' face, eyes, even his entire body. Then

- tum sic pauca refert: 'ut te, fortissime Teucrum,
 155 accipio agnoscoque libens! ut uerba parentis
 et uocem Anchisae magni uultumque recordor!
 nam memini Hesionae uisentem regna sororis
 Laomedontiaden Priamum Salamina petentem
 protinus Arcadiae gelidos inuisere finis.
 160 tum mihi prima genas uestibat flore iuuentas,
 mirabarque duces Teucros, mirabar et ipsum
 Laomedontiaden; sed cunctis altior ibat
 Anchises. mihi mens iuuenali ardebat amore
 compellare uirum et dextrae coniungere dextram;
 165 accessi et cupidus Phenei sub moenia duxi.
 ille mihi insignem pharetram Lyciasque sagittas
 discedens chlamydemque auro dedit intertextam
 frenaque bina meus quae nunc habet aurea Pallas.
 ergo et quam petitis iuncta est mihi foedere dextra,
 170 et lux cum primum terris se crastina reddet,
 auxilio laetos dimittam opibusque iuuabo.
 interea sacra haec, quando huc uenistis amici,
 annua, quae differre nefas, celebrate fauentes
 nobiscum, et iam nunc sociorum adsuescite mensis.'
 175 haec ubi dicta, dapes iubet et sublata reponi
 pocula gramineoque uiros locat ipse sedili
 praecipuumque toro et uilloso pelle leonisi
 accipit Aenean solioque inuitat acerno.

154 tunc r || ut te] uitae **M** corr. **M**² || teuchrum z 155 abnoscoque **Md** agnoscoque **M**² adgnoscoque **hkw**γ || uera **M** corr. **M**¹ 156 uoltumque γ¹ 157 hesione **M** hesionen **M**² haesionae **Pehj**sy¹ hisionae **R** haesionae **aty** aesione **u** 158 Laomedontiadem **cy** Laomedonciadem **s** || set **M** 159 archadiae **cgoz** || inuissere **a** || finis *ex* fines **P** fines **ges** 160 tunc, *Seru. ad 659* || uestibit **c** || iuuentus **defhz** iuuenta **n** 161 teucrum γ¹ 162 Laomedonciaden **s** 163 iuuenali γ iuuenili **no**γ¹ iuuenalis **u** 164 compella **P** corr. **P**² compellare **h** || dextram ... dextrae **dz** 165 accessit **R** || phaenei **Mh** phoenei **gs** || poenei **P** (penei **P**¹) phoenei **R** 166 insygnem **z** || faretram **z** || icyasque **ad** liciasque **eoru** 167 chalamydem **M** corr. **M**¹ clamidemque **acdeh-jostuyz** chlamidem **r** clamydemque **w**γ¹ || intertexto **PRdhjt** corr. **P**², '*legitur et intertexto*' *Seru.* intextam **u** 168 binaeus **h** || que γ || area γ corr. γ¹ 169 uincta **n** || pohedere **a** phedere **u** 170 reddit γ¹ 171 lectos **P** corr. **P**² loetos **u** 173 differe **P**γ corr. γ¹ 174 nobicum **R** corr. **R**¹ || assuescite **t** 176 poculaque **P** *del.* -que **P**² || ipsa γ corr. γ¹ || sedilis(?) **M** 177 precipuumque **M** || thoro **go** turo **P** 178 aeneam **c**

thus does he respond a few words: "How willingly, you bravest of the Teucrians, do I receive and recognize you! How well you bring to my mind the words, voice, and features of your great father Anchises! For I recall how Priam, the son of Laomedon, coming to see the realms of his sister Hesione and seeking Salamis, straightaway made a visit to the chilly boundary of Arcadia. Then youth's beginning was dressing my cheeks with its blossom, and I was marveling at the Trojan leaders. I marveled, too, at the very son of Laomedon; but Anchises strode forth, taller than all. My mind was afire with youthful love to address the man and grasp his right hand with my own; I approached him and eagerly led him beneath the walls of Pheneus. He, when leaving, presented me with a remarkable quiver and Lycian arrows, a cloak woven with gold, and two golden bridles that my Pallas now possesses. And thus my right hand that you are seeking was joined in alliance, and when tomorrow's first light returns to the lands, I shall release you happy because of our military help, and with my wealth shall I aid you. (172) Meanwhile, since hither you have come as friends, these annual rites, which it is religiously improper to defer, with proper solemnity celebrate with us, and now make yourselves welcome at the tables of your allies."

When he had said these words, he orders the dinner to be brought forth and the cups, which had already been taken away, to be replaced, and he himself arranges the men on the grassy bank, and receives Aeneas, conspicuous with a shaggy lion's skin, to the couch, and invites him to his seat, wrought of maple

tum lecti iuuenes certatim araeque sacerdos
 180 uiscera tosta ferunt taurorum onerantque canistris
 dona laboratae Cereris Bacchumque ministrant.
 uescitur Aeneas simul et Troiana iuuentus
 perpetui tergo bouis et lustralibus extis.
 postquam exempta fames et amor compressus edendi,
 185 rex Euandrus ait: 'non haec sollemnia nobis,
 has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram
 uana superstitio ueterumque ignara deorum
 imposuit: saeuis, hospes Troiane, periclis
 seruati facimus meritosque nouamus honores.
 190 iam primum saxis suspensam hanc aspice rupem,
 disiectae procul ut moles desertaque montis
 stat domus et scopuli ingentem traxere ruinam.
 hic spelunca fuit uasto summota recessu,
 semihominis Caci facies quam dira tegebat
 195 solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti
 caede tepebat humus foribusque adfixa superbis
 ora uirum tristi pendebant pallida tabo.
 huic monstro Volcanus erat pater: illius atros
 ore uomens ignis magna se mole ferebat.
 200 attulit et nobis aliquando optantibus aetas
 auxilium aduentumque dei. nam maximus ultor
 tergemini nece Geryonae spoliisque superbus
 Alcides aderat taurosque hac uictor agebat
 ingentis, uallemque boues amnemque tenebant.

179 iuuenes y 180 tota γ *corr.* γ¹ || et taurorum c || canistri R 181 labobatae *in* laboratae
corr. P || cerreris k ereris z || bachumque **oswz** bacchumque c 182 ac **aeuv** 184 famaes M
corr. M² || amore u amor est e || compressus **Pbr** comprehensus R cumpressus z 185 euander
dhktz || solempnia **orz** 186 morte z || hanc] ac e 187 ueterumue M¹**cdhktwyz** *corr.* M²,
Tib. 188 inposuit **MPcehrtu** imposui R || troianae **Mt** *corr.* M² 189 meritoque n 190 pri-
 dem **Rabjuv** 191 deiectae R disciecta r 193 hyc z || submota **bcd** 194 cace R || tenebat
M¹ω(*praeter abhnrν*), *Ribbeck, Mynors, Conte* 196 afixa et affixa o 198 uulcanus **bcweyzy¹**
 199 signis R ignes **bjruz** 200 obtantibus b 201 aduentum u 202 nege P *corr.* P² ||
 geryone **Msvy** geryoni R geryonis M⁶**d** gerionae **abh** gerionis **ewz** gerione **kour** || superbi γ *corr.*
 γ¹ 203 alchides z || ac **Pgr** *corr.* P¹ 204 ingentes **bury¹**

wood. Then youths that had been selected and the priest of the altar race to bring out the roasted entrails of bulls, and they load in baskets the gifts of well-worked Ceres, and serve up Bacchus. At once together Aeneas and the Trojan youths graze upon the continuous chine of an ox and the sacrificial entrails.

After their hunger was removed and the desire for eating checked, King Evander spoke: "Superstition, vain and ignorant of the old gods, has not placed upon us these solemn rites, this customary feast, this altar of so great a god-head. Trojan guest, as men delivered from savage dangers we perform them and renew the merited honors. (190) Now first behold this crag suspended from rocks, how far apart the cliffs are cast, how deserted is the homestead of this mountain, and how the fallen rocks have pulled down a great collapse. Here there was a cave, removed with a vast cavern and inaccessible to the rays of the sun, which the dire visage of the semi-human Cacus protected. Its ground, too, was ever warm with fresh slaughter and, nailed to its haughty doors, hung the heads of men, pallid from grievous decay. Vulcan was the father of this monster. Spewing forth that god's black fire from his mouth, he used to carry himself with his great bulk. Eventually time brought us help, in answer to our prayers—and the advent of a god. For the greatest avenger was at hand, even Alcides, proud because of his slaughtering and plundering of triform Geryon, and by this route he as victor was driving huge bulls, and his oxen were holding the val-

- 205 at furis Caci mens effera, ne quid inausum
aut intractatum scelerisue doliue fuisset,
quattuor a stabulis praestanti corpore tauros
auertit, totidem forma superante iuuenas.
atque hos, ne qua forent pedibus uestigia rectis,
210 cauda in speluncam tractos uersisque uiarum
indiciis raptos saxo occultabat opaco;
quaerenti nulla ad speluncam signa ferebant.
interea, cum iam stabulis saturata moueret
Amphitryoniades armenta abitumque pararet,
215 discessu mugire boues atque omne querelis
impleri nemus et colles clamore relinqui.
reddidit una bouem uocem uastoque sub antro
mugit et Caci spem custodita fefellit.
hic uero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro
220 felle dolor: rapit arma manu nodisque grauatum
robur, et aërii cursu petit ardua montis.
tum primum nostri Cacum uidere timentem
turbatumque oculis; fugit ilicet ocior Euro
speluncamque petit, pedibus timor addidit alas.
225 ut sese inclusit ruptisque immane catenis
deiecit saxum, ferro quod et arte paterna
pendebat fultosque emuniit obice postis,

205 ad **M** corr. **M**² || furiis **PRabrtγ**, *GLK VII,351.19*, *Tib.* furi s furs, *Sabbadini* || ne quid] neque
M corr. **M**¹ nequit **r** 206 inemptatum **M**¹ inemptatum **M**²**dhkstz** || fuissent **Mγ** corr. **M**¹**γ**¹
207 quattuor **cowz** || ab **b** || praestante **γ** corr. **γ**¹ 208 superante] prestanti **n** 209 adque,
Asper p. 535.15 210 caudam *in cauda* corr. **P** || speluncham **P**¹ || tractos] raptos **dtw** 211
raptor, *Mynors, Ribbeck, Wakefield* || occultabat **gz** 212 quaerentes **Rcenuγ**¹ quaerentis **brs**,
Bentley || speluncham **P**¹**a** 213 iam a **h** || staturata **R** || mouebat **u** 214 amphitryonia-
des **acdekot** amphitryoniades **bhry** amphitryoniades **g** amphitryoniades **s** amphitryonides **u** ||
bitumque **P** corr. **P**² habitumque **Rnγ** || parabat **M** corr. **M**² pararent **R** 215 discesu **t** disces-
sum **γ** || adque **R** || querellos **P** corr. **P**² quaerellis **R** quaerelis **w** 216 relinquit **P** corr. **P**² reliqui
h 217 reddidet(?) **M** redidit **z** || bouum **P** || uocem *ex uocemq* **P** 218 mugit **R** 219 alci-
dae **M** alchidae *sy allode* **z** || antro **R** 221 et et **a** || aetherii **Mfirtγ**, *Tib. in lemm.* ethaerii **b** et
aetherii *cuy aerii e aetherii g erei k herii r etherii st* 222 trementem **γ**¹ 223 oculos **γ** ||
fuit **z** || licet **c** corr. **c**¹ || otior **tz** 224 spelunchamque **P**¹ 225 immane **chsy** 226 delectat
γ corr. **γ**¹ deiecit **P** || caxum *in saxum* corr. **P** || et *om.* **a** 227 muniit **P**²**γ** corr. **γ**¹ emunit **R**
emuniuit **o** || postes **M**(?)**P**²**b**¹**cdhjkorstuwyzγ** potes **bg**

ley and stream. But the mind of the thief Cacus, lest any crime or guile should be undared or untested, diverted four bulls of remarkable physique from their stalls, and just as many heifers, surpassing beautiful. And lest there should be tracks that went forward from the animals' hooves, he dragged them by their tails into his cave, and, with the signs of their paths turned backwards, he hid them as plunder in the dark rock: no signs thus would bring anyone looking for the oxen to the cave.

Meanwhile, as Amphitryon's son was driving the amply sated herds from their shelters and was preparing the journey, the oxen began to low at the departure, and the entire grove was filled with their lowing and the hills were abandoned in a clamorous fashion. One of the heifers responded to the cry, lowing from beneath the vast cave, and thus, though under guard, cheated Cacus of his hope. But at this point Alcides' grief, (220) engendered by black gall, had begun to be kindled with rage; he seizes his weapons in his hand and his oaken club heavy with knots and seeks with all speed the steep places of the lofty hill. Then for the first time did our people see Cacus afraid and disturbed in his eyes; straightaway he flees, swifter than the East wind, seeking out his cave, and fear gives wings to his feet. When he shut himself inside and, the chains broken, cast down a huge rock that he was suspending there by an iron clasp with the skill he had learned from his father, he fortified the firm door posts with a bolt.

ecce furens animis aderat Tiryntius omnemque
 accessum lustrans huc ora ferebat et illuc,
 230 dentibus infrendens. ter totum feruidus ira
 lustrat Auentini montem, ter saxea temptat
 limina nequiquam, ter fessus ualle resedit.
 stabat acuta silex praecisis undique saxis
 speluncae dorso insurgens, altissima uisu,
 235 dirarum nidis domus opportuna uolucrum.
 hanc, ut prona iugo laeuum incumbebat ad amnem,
 dexter in aduersum nitens concussit et imis
 auulsam soluit radicibus, inde repente
 impulit; impulsu quo maximus intonat aether,
 240 dissultant ripae refluitque exterritus amnis.
 at specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens
 regia et umbrosae penitus patuere cauernae,
 non secus ac si qua penitus ui terra dehiscens
 infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat
 245 pallida, dis inuisa, superque immane barathrum
 cernatur, trepident immisso lumine Manes.
 ergo insperata deprensam luce repente
 inclusumque cauo saxo atque insueta rudentem
 desuper Alcides telis premit omniaque arma
 250 aduocat et ramis uastisque molaribus instat.
 ille autem neque enim fuga iam super ulla pericli,
 faucibus ingentem fumum (mirabile dictu)
 euomit inuoluitque domum caligine caeca

228 adherat **u** || tirinthius **Row** tyrinthius **a** tyrinthius **bckr** thyrinthius **d** tyrnthius **ey** tyrintius
gy thyrinthius **hz** thirintius **js** tyrntius **u** 229 ouc *in huc corr.* **P** || hora **z** 230 frendens **R**
 infremens γ *corr.* γ^1 231 saxa **u** 232 uelle γ *corr.* γ^1 233 silix **R** 234 incumbens **o** 235
 dirarum] cana, *Arus. 496, 14* || oportuna **chj** oportuno γ *corr.* γ^1 236 laeuom **P corr.** **P²** 237
 auersum **b**, *Bentley in Rufin. 57, 16* 238 auolsam **M²Pr corr.** **P²** aduolsam **M** || uoluit **y** 239
 inpulit **Pbh** impulsu **MPbdh** || insonat **Rw** insonata et **h** 240 refluit **y** || enterritus **M corr.**
M² 241 ad **PR** || aparuit **Pt** 242 regi **M corr.** **M²** || umbrose **w** || patuere] at uere **P²** cauer-
 uae **be** 243 saecus **b** || penetus **M** || deiscens **o** 244 reserat **M⁴PR γ ω** (*praeter bcr*), *Non.*
41, 13, Tib. in lemm. || ac **br γ^1** 245 diis **bdorwz** || inmane **abhjstz** || barathrum **cdes** batrath-
 rum **k** 246 trepidantque **R** trepidentque **j** || inmisso **acehjsyz** 247 depressam **g** || in luce
M²R γ^1 ω (*praeter n*), *Tib.* 248 saxoque **R** 249 Alchides **s** || praemit **a** 250 uastesque **R**
 251 enim neque autem **u** || illa **c** || pericli est **Pabcefhjksvyz γ** est pericli **u** 253 euom **M corr.**
M² emouit **R** || inuoluitque γ *corr.* γ^1 || cece **c**

Behold! The Tirynthian, raging in his spirit was at hand and, scanning every possible way in, kept turning his face hither and thither, gnashing his teeth. Thrice, burning with ire, he ranges over the whole of the Aventine Hill; thrice does he try its stony thresholds in vain; thrice does he, weary, sit back down in the valley.

A sharp flint crag stood there, its rock hewn on all its sides, surging above the ridge of the cave, very high to look upon, an ideal home for the nests of doleful birds. He shook this crag from the right side, as its back inclined down towards the river on the left, struggling against it, and, having yanked it out from its deep roots, he tore it loose, rapidly driving it before him with such a thrust that greatest heaven thunders, the river banks leap back, and the terrified stream flows backward.

(240) But Cacus' lair and his vast palace appeared, and its shadowy caverns lay open deep within, just as if the earth, split deep by some force, should unlock the infernal seats and unbar the pallid realms hateful to the gods, and the vastness of the depths should be seen from above, and the shades should tremble at the invading light. With arrows from above Alcides presses him as he is caught suddenly by the unexpected light, shut in by hollow rock, and roaring unnatural sounds. Alcides calls upon all his weapons, and threatens him with branches and huge millstones.

He, however—for now no other escape from the danger remained—spews forth a vast amount of smoke from his jaws—amazing in the telling—and cov-

255 prospectum eripiens oculis, glomeratque sub antro
 fumiferam noctem commixtis igne tenebris.
 non tulit Alcides animis seque ipse per ignem
 praecipiti iecit saltu, qua plurimus undam
 fumus agit nebulaque ingens specus aestuat atra.
 260 hic Cacum in tenebris incendia uana uomentem
 corripit in nodum complexus et angit inhaerens
 elisos oculos et siccum sanguine guttur.
 panditur extemplo foribus domus atra reuulsis
 abstractaeque boues abiurataeque rapinae
 caelo ostenduntur, pedibusque informe cadauer
 265 protrahitur. nequeunt expleri corda tuendo
 terribilis oculos, uultum uillosoque saetis
 pectora semiferi atque extinctos faucibus ignis.
 ex illo celebratus honos laetique minores
 seruauere diem primusque Potitius auctor
 270 et domus Herculei custos Pinaria sacri
 hanc aram luco statuit, quae maxima semper
 dicitur nobis et erit quae maxima semper.
 quare agite, o iuuenes, tantarum in munere laudum
 cingite fronde comas et pocula porgite dextris
 275 communemque uocate deum et date uina uolentes.⁷
 dixerat, Herculea bicolor cum populus umbra
 uelauitque comas foliisque innexa pependit
 et sacer impleuit dextram scyphus. ocuis omnes
 in mensam laeti libant diuosque precantur.
 280 deuexo interea propior fit Vesper Olympo.

255 comixtis **j** || igni **Pγ** *corr.* **γ¹** 256 alchides **M** alcies **z** 257 praecipiti **M** praecipiti **P** *corr.*
P¹ || iniecit **Pγγω** (*praeter abdnrt*) || altu **P** *corr.* **P¹** 258 age(?) **γ** *corr.* **γ¹** || nebulamque **M** *corr.*
M² 259 in] ine **M** *corr.* **M²** || mouentem **d** 260 complexus **Pbsy** 261 elidens **n** || suetum
o 262 exemplo **PR** *corr.* **P¹** extimplo **d** interea **γ¹** || alta **P** *corr.* **P²** || reuulsis **Rr** 263 adiu-
 rataeque **M** abiurataeque **y** 264 hostenditur **u** || inform(?) **c** informae **h** 265 protrahitur **o**
 266 terribiles **bcdghstuw** || uoltum **P** uultum *om.* **c** || setis **Rγ** 267 ignes **PRabceghjorsuyzy**
corr. **γ¹** 268 letiique **z** || minoris **M** 269 seruare **R** || poticius **z** || altor **c** 270 sacris
R || herculei **sy** 271 arma **P** arm **γ** *corr.* **γ¹** || maxuma **R** 272 quae] que **P²o** || maxuma **R**
 274 foliisque innexa pependit *in ras.* **M** || et pocula *et cetera* **M²** || porigite **u** || 275–277 *om.* **M**
add. infra **M¹** 275 uinea **M¹** 276 herculia **P** || tum **γ¹** 277 uelabitque **M¹** || nexa **γ** *corr.*
γ¹ || immissa, *ps. Probus Georg. 2.66 Keil* 278 inpleuit **MPs** || schypus **M** sciphus **co** ciphus **z** ||
 otius **t** || omnis **h** 279 in mensam] immensam **P** 280 propior **Pbfluy** *corr.* **γ¹** || orympo **M**
corr. **M¹** olimpo **cdhoyz**

ers his home in blinding fog, snatching any view of it from the eyes, and in the cave below he blends the smoke-laden night with shadows mingled with fire. In his pride, Alcides did not bear it, and he hurled himself with a precipitous leap through the flames, where the smoke billows out in volume and the vast cave seethes with a black fog. Here in the shadows, having twisted him into a knot, he seizes Cacus, as he spews forth vain fire, and, clinging to him, he chokes him hard, making Cacus' eyes pop out and his throat bereft of blood. Immediately, once the doors had been torn off, the dark lair is laid open and the stolen oxen and forsworn plunder are revealed to the open sky, and the shapeless corpse is dragged out by its feet. Men cannot fill their hearts by gazing on the half-wild creature's terrible eyes, face, and chest bristly with hair, as well as the quenched fires in his throat. From that time has his honor been celebrated and posterity has happily observed the day; and the first to do so was Potitius, the founder of the holiday, and the Pinarian house has ever been the guardian of the Herculean rites. (270) Potitius placed in this grove this altar, which for us will be called greatest and, in fact, greatest it shall always be. Wherefore, come, young men, and bedeck your locks with a frond in honor of his great praises, and raise your cups in your right hands, and invoke our shared god, and willingly pour out wine."

He had spoken when a two-colored poplar covered his hair with Herculean shade and the poplar sprig, interwoven with leaves, hung from his hair and the sacred goblet filled his right hand. Joyful, all swiftly pour out glad libation upon the table as they make their prayers to the gods. Meanwhile, evening comes

iamque sacerdotes primusque Potitius ibant
 pellibus in morem cincti, flammasque ferebant.
 instaurant epulas et mensae grata secundae
 dona ferunt cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras.
 285 tum Salii ad cantus incensa altaria circum
 populeis adsunt euincti tempora ramis,
 hic iuuenum chorus, ille senum, qui carmine laudes
 Herculeas et facta ferunt: ut prima nouercae
 monstra manu geminosque premens eliserit anguis,
 290 ut bello egregias idem disiecerit urbes,
 Troiamque Oechaliamque, ut duros mille labores
 rege sub Eurystheo fatis Iunonis iniquae
 pertulerit. ‘tu nubigenas, inuicte, bimumbris
 Hylaeumque Pholumque manu, tu Cresia mactas
 295 prodigia et uastum Nemeae sub rupe leonem.
 te Stygii tremuere lacus, te ianitor Orci
 ossa super recubans antro semesa cruento;
 nec te ullae facies, non terruit ipse Typhoeus
 arduus arma tenens; non te rationis egentem
 300 Lernaes turba capitum circumstetit anguis.
 salue, uera Iouis proles, decus addite diuis,
 et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo.’
 talia carminibus celebrant; super omnia Caci
 speluncam adiciunt spirantemque ignibus ipsum.
 305 consonat omne nemus strepitu collesque resultant.

281 primus **g** || poticius **y** potius **z** 282 flamasque **Pceuz corr.** **P¹** flammamque **R** 283
 instaurantque **γ¹** 284 comulantque **R** || araes **z** 285 tunc **R** || salii **M corr.** **M²** || at **P** 286
 etuincti **R** || timpora **d** || ramis] tennis **γ¹** 287 et chrous **j** || laudes carmine **u** 288 ferant **M¹**
 289 geminasque, *Non. 292.1* || praemens **bty** || angues **MRcghjksuy** 290 aegregias **y** || deie-
 cerit **br** 291 que *add.* **M²** || ceghaliam *corr. in* oechaliamque **P** ocqualiamque **c** oecialiamque
y || ut] **e** **M corr.** **M²** et **Rbr**, *Macrob. 6.6.14* 292 eurystheo **P corr.** **P¹** eristeo **c** eurysteo **de** eurith-
 theo **go** euristeo **jrur** euristheo **s** aeristaeo **y** 293 pertulerit **P corr.** **P¹** pertuleri **t** || inuictae
Rγ¹ inuitae **γ** || bimumbres **Mgru** 294 hylaeumque **aberu** hileumque **cghosy** hyleumque **dk**
 ylaeumque **z** || polumque **P²Ruy** folumque **z** || gresia **u** cressiam **z** 295 nemea **M** nemea
P²Rbkyγ naemeae **r** moeneae, *Tib in lemm.* 296 stugii **R** stigy **b** stigii **eu** 297 semessa **P¹γ**
corr. **γ¹** semiesa *in* semensa **R** semiesa **t** || cruenta, *Tib.* 298 nec] non **h** || ulla **n** || tiphoeus
cosu typhoeus **h** thyphoeus **w** tifoetus **z** 299 rationes **R** 300 laerneus **Mg** || turbatur **u** 302
 dextr **y** || adii **P** || pedes **R** 303 caelebrant **ak** 304 adiciunt **d** 305 *uers. add. in margine*
b || constanz **z**

closer to the slope of Olympus, and now the priests, with Potitius in the lead, were going forth girt with skins according to custom and were bearing torches. They renew their feasting and bring pleasing gifts for a second course and heap up the altars with heavily burdened platters. Then are the Salii at hand, ready to sing round the lit altars, bound at their temples with boughs of poplar, this group a chorus of youths, that of old men, who relate the praises of Hercules and his deeds with song. They tell how he, pressing with his hand, crushed twin serpents, the first monsters of his stepmother; how in war that same hero scattered outstanding cities, Troy and Oechalia; how, under King Eurystheus, by the fates of unfair Juno he endured a thousand hard labors.

“Unconquered one, by your hand do you slay the cloud-born double-limbed creatures, Hylaeus and Pholus, and the Cretan monsters, and the tremendous lion beneath the Nemean crag. The Stygian lakes have trembled because of you, as, too, has the warden of Hell, reclining on half-eaten bones in his gory cave; no face has given you fright, not towering Typhoeus himself, as he holds his weapons; the Lernaen snake with its mass of heads did not encompass you in want of a plan. Hail, true offspring of Jove, you who are the gods' added glory! You, favorable one, draw nigh to us and your sacred rites with supportive step!”

Such things they celebrate in their songs; and, above all, they include a portrayal of Cacus himself, breathing fire, and his cave. All the grove resonates around with the din, and the hills reverberate. Then, once the matters pertain-

exim se cuncti diuinis rebus ad urbem
 perfectis referunt. ibat rex obsitus aeuo
 et comitem Aenean iuxta natumque tenebat
 ingrediens uarioque uiam sermone leuabat.
 310 miratur facilisque oculos fert omnia circum
 Aeneas capiturque locis et singula laetus
 exquiratque auditque uirum monumenta priorum.
 tum rex Euandrus Romanae conditor arcis:
 'haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant
 315 gensque uirum truncis et duro robore nata,
 quis neque mos neque cultus erat, nec iungere tauros
 aut componere opes norant aut parcere parto,
 sed rami atque asper uictu uenatus alebat.
 primus ab aetherio uenit Saturnus Olympo
 320 arma Iouis fugiens et regnis exul ademptis.
 is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis
 composuit legesque dedit Latiumque uocari
 maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.
 aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere
 325 saecula: sic placida populos in pace regebat,
 deterior donec paulatim ac decolor aetas
 et belli rabies et amor successit habendi.
 tum manus Ausonia et gentes uenere Sicanae,
 saepius et nomen posuit Saturnia tellus;
 330 tum reges asperque immani corpore Thybris,
 a quo post Itali fluuium cognomine Thybrim
 diximus; amisit uerum uetus Albula nomen.

306 exin **Raejkrvtu** || cuncti **M** *corr.* **M**² cunctis **n** 308 aeneam **ce** 309 egrediens **g** || laua-
 bat **R** 310 facilesque **hjuz** 311 loetus **u** 312 nonimenta **z** || piorum *ex* priorum **P** 313
 tum rex] tunc pater, *Isid.* 15.1.55, *Seru. Aen.* 6.773 || euander **Pca¹ekuvvγ** *corr.* **γ¹** 314 hec s ||
 indigenae **g** indigene **k** indigenae **t** || nimphaeque **ctz** 315 nati, *Seru.* 317 *pr.* aut] nec,
DSeru. Aen. 1.374 || *pr.* aut] haud **t** || componere **aer** || parto] rapto **M** *corr.* **M¹** 319 aethereo
g aetherio **w** || olympo **by** olimpo **goz** 320 adentis **c** 321 his **vγ** *corr.* **γ¹** 322 composuit
b || latumque **d** 323 malluit **o** || horis **o** 324 aureaque **P** *corr.* **P¹** aureaque ut **a¹bcekuv** ||
 peribent **egh** || fuerunt **Pcyγ** 325 secula **γ** || placida] longa, *Seru. Aen.* 4.229 et 7.162 326
 discolor **b** 327 succesit **z** 328 tunc **γ**, *Seru.* || ausoniae **Rω** (*praeter hn*), *Seru., Tib.* 330
 asperaque **γ** *corr.* **γ¹** || immani **ehy** || tybris **bcsu** thibris **j** tibris **or** 331 a quo post Itali] quopo-
 sitotali **d** || post] posit **R** || tybrim **bcu** thybrym **g** tibrim **ors** thibrym **γ**

ing to the gods had been completed, all of them betake themselves to the city. The king was making his way, impeded by his age, holding onto Aeneas by his side as a companion and his son and, proceeding along, he made the journey light with varied conversation. (310) Aeneas marvels as he moves his nimble eyes all around, and he is captivated by the scene, and joyful, he queries the king, one question at a time, and hears of the monuments of the men who lived earlier. Then King Evander, the founder of the Roman citadel, spoke:

“These groves the native Fauns and Nymphs held of yore, and a race of men born of tree trunks and hard oak, who had neither custom nor culture, nor did they know to yoke oxen or to amass riches, or to be sparing with what they had obtained; but tree-branches and the hunt hard to live on were their sources of food. From heavenly Olympus, Saturn came first, fleeing from Jove’s weaponry, (320) an exile from his stolen realm. He brought together the untrained race, scattered over the high mountains and gave them laws and he preferred the land be called Latium, since he had hidden himself safely within these shores. Under that king passed the age they call golden: thus, in calm peace was he ruling the nations until little by little, an age, inferior and of duller hue, succeeded it, and the frenzy of war and the love of possessing. Then came the Ausonian contingent and the Sicanian clans (truly rather often did the land of Saturn put that name aside). Then came kings, and fierce Thybris with his immense body, after whose name we Italians call the Tiber; it lost its true, ancient name,

me pulsum patria pelagique extrema sequentem
 Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum
 335 his posuere locis matrisque egere tremenda
 Carmentis nymphae monita et deus auctor Apollo.
 uix ea dicta, dehinc progressus monstrat et aram
 et Carmentalem Romani nomine portam;
 quam memorant, nymphae priscum Carmentis honorem,
 340 uatis fatidicae, cecinit quae prima futuros
 Aeneadas magnos et nobile Pallanteum.
 hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer asyllum
 rettulit et gelida monstrat sub rupe Lupercal
 Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycaei.
 345 nec non et sacri monstrat nemus Argileti
 testaturque locum et letum docet hospitis Argi.
 hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit
 aurea nunc, olim siluestribus horrida dumis.
 iam tum religio pauidos terrebat agrestis
 350 dira loci, iam tum siluam saxumque tremebant.
 'hoc nemus, hunc' inquit 'frondoso uertice collem
 (quis deus incertum est) habitat deus; Arcades ipsum
 credunt se uidisse Iouem, cum saepe nigrantem
 aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret.
 355 haec duo praeterea disiectis oppida muris,
 reliquias ueterumque uides monumenta uirorum.
 hanc Ianus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem;
 Ianiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.'

335 erigere tremendae R || aegere o 336 nimphae o || appollo r 337 dehinc z || et] e P
 corr. P¹ || arma MR 338 romano Rγ¹ω(*praeter flr*) || lortam P corr. P¹ || 339–352 uix uis. M
 339 nimphae bo nyphae c 340 fatidice i r || caecinit Mb^g 341 nobine P nomine Rj, Tib. ||
 nobis te γ || pallantaeum ky 342 asasyllum M corr. M¹ asyllum beors asyllum k 343 retulit
 derγ || monstrat argileti M (*cf. uers. 345*) argileti del. M² 344 parnasio Rbo parhasio d parra-
 sio e jz parrosia u || dictam M corr. M¹ || panus P corr. P² || licaei bhrt licei jo lychei k lichei s
 lychaei y 345 monstrant R || argiloeti bcegijs argilaeti y 346 testatur j || laetum Mcr corr.
 M² loetum abdeghjouy 347 huic s || ad] at P et d ac γ corr. γ¹ || turpeiam y || et saedem
 et M corr. M¹ || capitolio γ corr. γ¹ 348 olym br || siluestribus] sic uestris a 349 religio
 M¹cky || agrestes bgru 350 siluas Rb syluam h siluae r || tenebant M remebant P tremebat γ
 corr. M²P¹γ¹ 351 hunc] huc M corr. M¹ hoc γ¹ corr. γ² || inquit ksγ || collem] saxum γ¹ 352
 incertu M || deus ex deos corr. P || archades bcghs 353 se] sed P corr. P¹ 354 dextram γ
 corr. γ¹ || nymbosque cery || cierit corr. γ¹ 356 reliquias cdhjkotuyw 357 han saturnus P
 corr. P² hanc turnus a || urbem M²Radfnrotuwz 358 illi fuerat huic u illi huic z

Albula. Omnipotent fortune and intractable fate placed me in these regions, as I was driven from my fatherland, seeking the limits of the sea, and the frightening warnings of my mother, the nymph Carmentis, and the god Apollo, who inspired her, drove me on.”

Scarce had he spoken, when, making his way he points out both the altar and the Carmental Gate, which the Romans commemorate by name, the ancient honor to Carmentis, the seer and prophetic nymph, (340) who first sang of the great sons of Aeneas and the noble Pallanteum. From here he reveals a huge grove, that keen Romulus restored as an asylum, and, beneath a chilly rock, he points out the Lupercal called, in the Parrhasian fashion, by the name of Lycaean Pan. Nor does he fail to show the grove of the sacred Argiletum, and he calls the place as a witness, as he expounds, too, upon the death of his guest Argus. From here he leads him to the Tarpeian seat and the Capitolium, now golden, but once bristly with woodland shrubs. (350) Even then the place's dire sanctity was already frightening fearful rustic folk; even then were they already trembling before the woods and the rock.

“A god,” he said, “inhabits this grove, this hill with its leafy summit; (what god it is, well, that is not clear.) The Arcadians believe they have beheld Jove himself, brandishing in his right hand his dark aegis, as he does so often, and summoning clouds. Besides these things, you see these two towns with their walls toppled, the relics and reminders of men of yore. This fort citadel did father Janus built, this other one, Saturn; the name of this one was Janiculum, of that one, Saturnia.”

- talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant
 360 pauperis Euandri, passimque armenta uidebant
 Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.
 ut uentum ad sedes, 'haec' inquit 'limina uictor
 Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit.
 aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
 365 finge deo, rebusque ueni non asper egenis.'
 dixit, et angusti subter fastigia tecti
 ingentem Aenean duxit stratisque locauit
 effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae:
 Nox ruit et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis.
 370 at Venus haud animo nequiquam exterrita mater
 Laurentumque minis et duro mota tumultu
 Volcanum adloquitur thalamoque haec coniugis aureo
 incipit et dictis diuinum aspirat amorem:
 'dum bello Argolici uastabant Pergama reges
 375 debita casurasque inimicis ignibus arces,
 non ullum auxilium miseris, non arma rogau
 artis opisque tuae, nec te, carissime coniunx,
 incassumue tuos uolui exercere labores,
 quamuis et Priami deberem plurima natis
 380 et durum Aeneae fleuissem saepe laborem.
 nunc Iouis imperiis Rutulorum constitit oris:
 ergo eadem supplex uenio et sanctum mihi numen
 arma rogo, genetrix nato. te filia Nerei,
 te potuit lacrimis Tithonia flectere coniunx.

359 at P || subibat oγ corr. γ¹ 361 latis M corr. M⁵ || cauernis R 362 inquit z || uictor] nobis br 363 subit MR corr. M⁶ || coepit bkorstz caepit y 364 contempnere Racjrt contempnere bhyz contempnere g contendere u 365 deos Pγ(?) corr. P²γ¹ 366 anguisti P corr. P¹ || supter R 367 aeneam a || uers. uix uis. M 368 lybistidis bchkyw libistidis djuz 370 ad RP || haut R¹ aut PRγ || nequicquam M corr. M² 371 tumultum M corr. M¹ 372 uulcanum abcdehkwyz || alloquitur cdehwy || talamoque ey || haec om. r || auro M corr. M² 373 adspirat MRbchuy adspirit ez inspirat o, Tib. 374 reges uix uis. M 375 cassurasque R, Sabbadini 376 nullum uz || axilium Pγ corr. γ¹ auxiliumue tuos j 377 opisue dktz, Tib. || te om. G 378 incassumque Mnu corr. M¹ incasumue o 379 priam w 380 aeneadae o || saepae g 381 iouiis P corr. P² || inperiis P imperio dktwz, Seru., DSeru. || horis houy 382 eadem] ea deam n || suplex h || numen ex nomen corr. P 383 filia filia c || neri druy neraei g 384 titonia go thitonia k thithonia w tythonia z

With such words being said amongst themselves as they were approaching the house of humble Evander, they noticed that cattle, scattered about, were lowing in the Roman Forum and in the splendid Carinae. When they came to his home, he said, "To this threshold did victorious Alcides once draw nigh; this palace once received even him. Dare, O guest, to despise riches, and make yourself worthy of the god, and come not in anger when circumstances are poor." He spoke, and led Aeneas, though he was huge, beneath the roof of his narrow dwelling and placed him to rest upon leaves and the pelt of a Libyan she-bear. Night rushes on, and embraces the earth in its dark wings.

(370) But mother Venus, terrified in her heart hardly for no reason and moved by the threats of the Laurentine people and their harsh uprising, speaks to Vulcan, and she, in her husband's golden chamber, begins and breathes divine love into him through her words: "While Argive kings were destroying Pergamum in the war, as was destined to happen, and their citadel was about to fall to the enemy flames, I asked not for aid for the wretched; nor did I request the weapons of your art, your succor, nor did I, dearest husband, wish you to practice your labors in vain, albeit I both owed much to the sons of Priam and had wept often over the hard labor of Aeneas. Now, by Jove's commands, he has taken his stand upon the shores of the Rutulians; therefore, I myself come as a suppliant, and ask a divinity, holy to me, for weapons, a mother asking for her son. The daughter of Nereus, the wife of Tithonus, were able to sway you

- 385 aspice qui coeant populi, quae moenia clausis
 ferrum acuunt portis in me excidiumque meorum.
 dixerat et niueis hinc atque hinc diua lacertis
 cunctantem amplexu molli fouet. ille repente
 accepit solitam flammam notusque medullas
 390 intrauit calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit,
 non secus atque olim tonitru cum rupta corusco
 ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos;
 sensit laeta dolis et formae conscia coniunx.
 tum pater aeterno fatur deuinctus amore:
 395 'quid causas petis ex alto? fiducia cessit
 quo tibi, diua, mei? similis si cura fuisset,
 tum quoque fas nobis Teucros armare fuisset;
 nec pater omnipotens Troiam nec fata uetabant
 stare decemque alios Priamum superesse per annos.
 400 et nunc, si bellare paras atque haec tibi mens est,
 quidquid in arte mea possum promittere curae,
 quod fieri ferro liquidoue potest electro,
 quantum ignes animaeque ualent, absiste precando
 uiribus indubitare tuis.' ea uerba locutus
 405 optatos dedit amplexus placidumque petiuit
 coniugis infusus gremio per membra soporem.
 inde ubi prima quies medio iam noctis abactae
 curriculo expulerat somnum, cum femina primum,
 cui tolerare colo uitam tenuique Minerua
 410 impositum, cinerem et sopitos suscitatur ignes
 noctem addens operi famulasque ad lumina longo

385 populi que γ 386 accuant **h** || excidium que **b** dium que γ *corr.* γ^1 387 hinc ... hinc **z** ||
 adque **R** 389 accipit **R** || flammam **chu** 390 calefacta **Rd** || cucurrit **c** 391 non] haut **M**,
Sabbadini || adque **R** || tonitruum **M** tonitru **M²** || corusco **z** 392 micans **M** *corr.* **M²** || nym-
 bos **ehz** 394 deuinctus **P²cdhrstuy** *corr.* γ^1 395 quit **Mu** 396 quo] quae **M** *corr.* **M¹** quod
R || meis **R** 397 tunc **aeruv**, *Rufin*, 52.19 tu **c** || teucros nobis **Pc** *corr.* **P²** || fuisset **M** *corr.* **M²**
 398 decemque **y** || uocabant γ *corr.* γ^1 399 primum **a** || superesse(?) **M** 400 adque **R** ||
 eest **P** *corr.* **P²** 401 quitquit **M** quicquid **bcdeghkwz** γ^1 || possunt **Mknotuy** *corr.* **M²** || pro-
 mittere **P** promittere **b** 402 potestur **acdgtuvwz** potestatur **j** potestor **n** 403 ignis **bo** ||
 praecando **M** 405 amplexus **e** || placidumque] notumque, *Non.* 366.29 406 infusum *in*
 infusus *corr.* **P** infusum **R** effusus, *Diom.* 460.18 408 foemina **u** 409 cui] est *Bentley* || uita
j || calathisque Mineruae **dw** (*ex Aen.* 7.805) 410 inpositum **Mbceh** || *et om.* **z** || ignis γ^1 411
 operi **c**

with tears. Behold, what peoples are gathering, what city walls with closed gates sharpen swords against me and with a view to the destruction of my people!”

The goddess had spoken and, in a gentle embrace, she caresses him, as he hesitates, with her snow-white arms. Straightaway he caught the accustomed flame, and that well-known heat entered into his marrow and ran through his tottering bones, just as when, once in a while, a fiery flash, having burst out, runs with rolling thunder through the clouds, shining with light. Rejoicing in her tricks, his wife sensed it and was well aware of her beauty.

Then the father, bound by everlasting love, speaks: “Why do you seek pretexts so deeply? Where, goddess, has your faith in me gone? Had your concern been the same, then it would have also been right for me to arm the Trojans; neither would the all-powerful Father nor the fates have prevented Troy from standing or Priam from surviving ten more years. (400) Even now, if you are preparing to undertake war, and if this is your plan, I can promise whatever care that lies in my skill, whatever can be made out of iron or molten electrum, whatever power lies in fire and billows—cease to cast doubt upon your own strength by begging!”

Having spoken these words he gave the hoped for embrace, and, having poured himself into the lap of his wife, he sought placid slumber throughout his limbs. Then, just as when first rest had expelled sleep in the mid-circuit of driven-off night, a woman, who has been given the task of bearing the burden of her life by the distaff and by delicate Minerva, first stirs up ashes and wakes the slumbering fires, adding night to her daily task, and in the light of the lamp keeps her maidservants busy with the endless weighing out of wool, that she

exercet penso, castum ut seruare cubile
 coniugis et possit paruos educere natos:
 haud secus ignipotens nec tempore segnior illo
 415 mollibus e stratis opera ad fabrilia surgit.
 insula Sicanium iuxta latus Aeoliamque
 erigitur Liparen fumantibus ardua saxis,
 quam subter specus et Cyclopum exesa caminis
 antra Aetnaea tonant ualidique incudibus ictus
 420 auditi referunt gemitus striduntque cauernis
 stricturae chalybum et fornacibus ignis anhelat,
 Volcani domus et Volcania nomine tellus.
 hoc tunc ignipotens caelo descendit ab alto.
 ferrum exercebant uasto Cyclopes in antro,
 425 Brontesque Steropesque et nudus membra Pyragmon.
 his informatum manibus iam parte polita
 fulmen erat, toto genitor quae plurima caelo
 deicit in terras, pars imperfecta manebat.
 tris imbris torti radios, tris nubis aquosae
 430 addiderant, rutuli tris ignis et alitis Austri.
 fulgores nunc terrificos sonitumque metumque
 miscebant operi flammisque sequacibus iras.
 parte alia Marti currumque rotasque uolucris
 instabant, quibus ille uiros, quibus excitat urbes;
 435 aegidaque horriferam, turbatae Palladis arma,
 certatim squamis serpentum auroque polibant
 conexosque anguis ipsamque in pectore diuae

412 exercens **M** || cubiloe **c** 413 paruos possit **g** || posset, *Tib. in lemm.* 414 aud **c** 415 aes
 tratis **u** 416 insila **g** || aeliam quae **y** 417 lipare **R**, *Tib.* lyparem cy lyparen **dewγ** || axis **M**
 418 supter **PR(?)g** || ciclopum **bgos** || exessa **R** exesa **M** exaesa **b** 419 aetnea **MRy** aethnea
abcdektuw ethnea **o** || ictis **γ** *corr.* **γ¹** hictus **u** 420 gemitu **Md** *corr.* **M²** gemitum **Rw**, *Tib.* ||
 tridentque **M** triduntque **PM²** *corr.* **P¹** 421 structurae **o** || chalibum **abjrt** calibum **csy** calybum
d || anelat **cs** hanelat **ghu** 422 uulcani **bcdehjktyuz** uolchani **s** domos **γ** *corr.* **γ¹** || uulcania
bcdehjkstuyzγ¹ 423 huc tum **Pγ** *corr.* **γ¹** || tum **hat** 424 cyclopes **bgoy** 425 Piracmon
a phyragmon **b** pyrachmon **dhkz** pyracmon **estw** piragmon **o** piracmon **u** pyraemon **y** 426
 informatum **P** *corr.* **P¹** || in manibus **z** 428 deiecit **R** || imperfecta **Mbchkrtyu** 429 tres **bis**
o || nobis **P¹** nubes **γ** *corr.* **γ¹** 430 addiderat **Ma** *corr.* **M¹** || rutili **M²Rabeikovγ¹** || tres **otwz** ||
 alitus **P²γ** *corr.* **γ¹** halitus **uw** || haustri **w** 431 horrificos **Rdhjtw** orrificos **z** 433 marte **γ** *corr.*
γ¹ || currumque] *del.* que **P²** currum **γ** *corr.* **γ¹** || uolucres **MRbcdghjkostuwyz**, *Asper p. 540.2*
 uolcres **e** 434 intabant **P** *corr.* **P¹** || urbis **M** *corr.* **M²** ignes **o** 435 horrificam **aγ¹** 436
 polibant **R** 437 conexosque **t** || angues **P²bcdghjkuorwyzγ** *corr.* **γ¹**

may be able to keep her husband's bed chaste and bring up her little sons. By no means otherwise or more sluggishly late than at that time does the ruler of fire rise from his soft beddings to his forger's tasks.

Just near the side of Sicily and Aeolian Lipare an island rises, steep with smoking rocks, beneath which a cavern and the Aetanean caves thunder, eaten away by the smelting furnaces of the Cyclopien race; strong blows echo the groans from the anvils, ingots of steel screech in the caverns, and the fire pants forth from the furnaces, (420) the home of Vulcan and the land called by Vulcan's name. To this place did the ruler of fire then descend from lofty heaven. The Cyclopes were forging iron in that vast cave—Brontes, Steropes and Pyragmon, bare as to his limbs. They held a thunderbolt, hand-forged, of which a part had already been polished, part unfinished. Many like these does the Father cast down from all heaven upon the lands. To it they had added three rods of twisted hail, three of watery cloud, three of golden-red fire and the winged south wind; now they were mixing into the work terrifying flashes, din, and fear, and wrath, with attendant flames.

In another quarter they were hard at work on a chariot for Mars and its winged wheels, by which he rouses men, by which also cities; and competitively, they were polishing the frightening aegis with scales of serpents and gold, the armor of agitated Pallas, with its interwoven snakes, and its very Gorgon on the breast of the goddess, rolling its eyes about though its neck had been severed.

Gorgona desecto uertentem lumina collo.
 'tollite cuncta' inquit 'coeptosque auferte labores,
 440 Aetnaei Cyclopes, et huc aduertite mentem:
 arma acri facienda uiro. nunc uiribus usus,
 nunc manibus rapidis, omni nunc arte magistra.
 praecipitate moras.' nec plura effatus: at illi
 ocius incubuere omnes pariterque laborem
 445 sortiti. fluit aes riuis aurique metallum
 uulnificusque chalybs uasta fornace liquescit.
 ingentem clipeum informant, unum omnia contra
 tela Latinorum septenosque orbibus orbis
 impediunt. alii uentosis follibus auras
 450 accipiunt redduntque, alii stridentia tingunt
 aera lacu; gemit impositis incudibus antrum;
 illi inter sese multa ui brachia tollunt
 in numerum uersantque tenaci forcipe massam.
 haec pater Aeoliis properat dum Lemnius oris,
 455 Euandrum ex humili tecto lux suscitatur alma
 et matutini uolucrum sub culmine cantus.
 consurgit senior tunicaque inducitur artus
 et Tyrrhena pedum circumdat uincula plantis.
 tum lateri atque umeris Tegeaeum subligat ensem
 460 demissa ab laeua pantherae terga retorquens
 nec non et gemini custodes limine ab alto
 praecedunt gressumque canes comitantur erilem.

438 gorgonam P²γ corr. γ¹ || deiecto R disecto dz 439 inquit cuncta ru || inquit z || auferte M || ceptosque j 440 aetnei Mhk aethnei abcdegotuwy || cyclopes bgo || et] ad y || auertite γ 443 effatur e efatus h || et Pdgw corr. P² || ille M corr. M¹ ti R 444 otius t || incubere Rk || omnis c 445 ruis P corr. P¹ 446 uolnificusque R uulnificusque Mabcdeghjkostuwz uulnificus quae y || chalybs Pγ calybs Mcdku chalibs abeg calybs huz calibs o || fornaciae P corr. P² 447 clypeum aejyz clippeum u 448 taela b || litaninorum(?) γ corr. γ¹ 449 inpedium b inpediunt cky || folliibus P fontibus γ corr. γ¹ 450 ale R 451 tgemit P corr. P² || inpositis Mcuγ inpediunt stu 452 brachia bcdehotwyz 453 innumerant R || forcipe R 454 aeolus γ corr. γ¹ eoliis d || lempnius u lenius c corr. c¹ || horis co 456 et] ct s || maturtini e matutinus, *Macrob.* 5.8.6 457 tonicaque tu tuticaque y 458 et] te M corr. M² || thyrrhena bjk thyrrhena c tyrrena dghtuγz tirrena os || circumdant R circumdat o || plantas y 459 adque R || humeris cdhosu || tegeum Mrdfjnow tegaeum htuy, *Arus.* 510.29 tegaeum Pγω(*praeter dfnw*) || ensan c essem s 460 dimissa z || panthera Pγ panthere P² pantherae g panthaera r 461 ab alto] in ipso, *Macrob.* 5.8.6 462 procedunt ex praecedunt P corr. P² procedunt dktw || herilem ceotuwγ erylem jk

“Put all this away!” he said; (440) “Cyclopes of Aetna, lay aside your tasks that you have begun and turn your attention hither: weapons must be forged, weapons for a spirited hero. Now is there need of your strength, now of your swift hands, now of every bit of your masterful skill. Cast delay headlong!”

He spoke no more, but all of them, more swiftly than before, applied themselves to the task and allotted the work equally. Copper and golden metal flow in canals, and wound-dealing steel turns to liquid in the huge furnace. They fashion a giant shield, which singularly could stand against all the weapons of the Latins, and encircle it sevenfold, circle upon circle. Some with wind-breathing bellows receive and return the blasts, while others dip the hissing brass in the cooling trough. The cave groans from the anvils set upon it. They, with great force among themselves, lift their arms to a count, and turn the heavy lump with a gripping pincer. While the Lemnian father hastens these works on Aeolian shores, the nurturing light and the morning songs of birds wake Evander from his humble home beneath its gable. The old man gets up and covers his limbs with his tunic and places the Tyrrhenian sandal straps around the soles of his feet. Then he girds his Tegean sword to his side and shoulders, twisting back the panther’s skin sinking down on his left side. (460) Twin guardian dogs, too, go before him from the high threshold, and accompany their master as he walks.

- hospitis Aeneae sedem et secreta petebat
sermonum memor et promissi muneris heros.
- 465 nec minus Aeneas se matutinus agebat;
filius huic Pallas, illi comes ibat Achates.
congressi iungunt dextras mediisque residunt
aedibus et licito tandem sermone fruuntur.
rex prior haec:
- 470 'maxime Teucrorum ductor, quo sospite numquam
res equidem Troiae uictas aut regna fatebor,
nobis ad belli auxilium pro nomine tanto
exiguae uires; hinc Tusco claudimur amni,
hinc Rutulus premit et murum circumsonat armis.
- 475 sed tibi ego ingentis populos opulentaque regnis
iungere castra paro, quam fors inopina salutem
ostentat: fatis huc te poscentibus adfers.
haud procul hinc saxo incolitur fundata uetusto
urbis Agyllinae sedes, ubi Lydia quondam
- 480 gens, bello praeclara, iugis insedit Etruscis.
hanc multos florentem annos rex deinde superbo
imperio et saeuus tenuit Mezentius armis.
quid memorem infandas caedes, quid facta tyranni
effera? di capiti ipsius generique reseruent!
- 485 mortua quin etiam iungebat corpora uiuis
componens manibusque manus atque oribus ora,
tormenti genus et sanie taboque fluentis
complexu in misero longa sic morte necabat.
at fessi tandem ciues infanda furentem
- 490 armati circumsistunt ipsumque domumque,
obtruncant socios, ignem ad fastigia iactant.

463 secreta e 464 numeris y 465 sese M²P²Rγω(*praeter an*) 466 illo g || acathes eo
468 sermoni R 470 maxime R || teucrum R || quos hospite P *corr.* P² || nunquam bc 471
aud γ¹ 472 ad auxilium belli g || nomine ex numine P 473 claudimur e 474 praemit t ||
circumtonat M² || armis] arans R 475 setd c || ingentes Rbuz || regni, *Kvíčala* 476 castro
γ *corr.* γ¹ 477 hos tentat γ || affres co affers d affert n adfer w 478 hic j 479 agillinae
abejtuyz agilline c aquilinae d agilinae h || lidia cgortuy || condam u 480 iugis] luctis R
481 inde hr 482 seuis Mbhr || mezzentius M *corr.* M² || arims u 483 infundas γγ *corr.* γ¹ ||
quic u || tyranni bjou tyranni r 484 dii dehjotwz || reseruet in reseruent *corr.* P 485 iuge-
bat y 486 componens uy || horibus c 487 saniae eu || fluentes M²dhju fluenti ekγ¹ 488
complexu s || in *om.* b || necabant y 489 ad M *corr.* M²P || tanden c 490 domumquae c
491 obtruncat M || igem w

The hero, mindful of his conversations and the promised favor, was seeking the lodging and retreats of Aeneas, his guest. Nor less early was Aeneas on the move. The son, Pallas, was going with the latter, Achates was going with the former as a guest. Having come together, they shake hands and sit down in the midst of the house, and at last enjoy a conversation so permitted. The king speaks first:

“Greatest leader of the Teucrians, as long as you are safe, never shall I proclaim the affairs of Troy or its realm to be conquered—the strength to aid in war is slender for us, in comparison with so great a name. From this side we are hemmed in by the Tuscan river; on that side, the Rutulian presses us and roars about our wall in arms. But I am prepared to join to you vast nations and a camp rich in kingdoms, a deliverance that unforeseen chance offers. Hither have you come because the fates have beckoned you. By no means far from here does the seat of the city of Agylla lie, founded on an ancient rock. There the Lydian race, famed for war, once settled amidst the Etruscan hills. (480) Though it flourished for many years, King Mezentius then brought it under his haughty rule and savage arms. Why should I recall the tyrant’s unspeakable murders or his savage deeds? May the gods preserve the same for his own head and that of his family! But he was even joining dead bodies with the living, fitting them hand to hand and face to face—a type of torture—and was thus killing them with a long death, as they soaked in the gore and poison of that wretched embrace. But finally the weary citizens in arms surround him who is eager for such atrocities, both he himself and his home, and they cut down

ille inter caedem Rutulorum elapsus in agros
 confugere et Turni defendier hospitis armis.
 ergo omnis furiis surrexit Etruria iustis,
 495 regem ad supplicium praesenti Marte repositum.
 his ego te, Aenea, ductorem milibus addam.
 toto namque fremunt condensae litore puppes
 signaque ferre iubent, retinet longaeus haruspex
 fata canens: o Maeoniae delecta iuuentus,
 500 flos ueterum uirtusque uirum, quos iustus in hostem
 fert dolor et merita accendit Mezentius ira,
 nulli fas Italo tantam subiungere gentem:
 externos optate duces.' tum Etrusca resedit
 hoc acies campo monitis exterrita diuum.
 505 ipse oratores ad me regnique coronam
 cum sceptro misit mandatque insignia Tarchon,
 succedam castris Tyrrhenaque regna capessam.
 sed mihi tarda gelu saeculisque effeta senectus
 inuidet imperium seraeque ad fortia uires.
 510 natum exhortarer, ni mixtus matre Sabella
 hinc partem patriae traheret. tu, cuius et annis
 et generi fatum indulget, quem numina poscunt,
 ingredi, o Teucrum atque Italum fortissime ductor.
 hunc tibi praeterea, spes et solacia nostri,
 515 Pallanta adiungam; sub te tolerare magistro
 militiam et graue Martis opus, tua cernere facta

492 illae o || caedes M²ω(*praeter dfnt*) cedes Pcehjksuy || rutilorum *in* rutulorum *corr.* P 493
 terni o 495 praesente R praeserti e praesentia u || suplicium h 496 millibus PRγ, *Sabbadini*
 497 fremunt γ *corr.* γ¹ 498 uers. om. u || fere y || ignaque Pγ *corr.* P¹γ¹ signaquae R ||
 longaeus P *corr.* P¹ longaeus M *corr.* M¹ || aruspex PRcdg(?)h¹otyzγ hauruspex e 499 meo-
 niae deotw 500 uerum R || quo a 501 mezzentius R || iras u 502 tantum a 503 tum
 om. Z 504 diuom Rγ *corr.* γ¹ 506 tharcon acegkyγ *corr.* γ¹ tharchon d tarcon ou 507 suc-
 caedam o || tirranaque b tyrenaque c tyrrenaque deg¹hrtuyz thyrrenaque j tirrenaque o 508
 gelus M *corr.* M² || seclisque Mjoru saeculisque R saclisque γ saeraeque h || effata Pγ *corr.* γ¹
 effoeta d effeata o 509 inperium M || saereque y 510 gnatum R, *Sabbadini* || exhorta-
 rem ex exhortarer P exortarer bcgsz exortare e || armis o 511 hunc n || partem] patrem M ||
 traherent P *corr.* P² || cuius] cius M *corr.* M² || annis M || armis e 512 fata MP²cγ¹ || fato
 u || indulgent MP²ckuy indulget et R (*ubi et*] *e in ras.*) || numina] sidera r || numina poscunt]
 fata repositum b 513 adque R 514 nunc dt || solatia jz 515 pallantam R || adiugam y ||
 tolerare P *corr.* P² 516 et om. D

his followers and hurl fire upon his roof. He escaped amidst the bloodshed to find refuge in the lands of the Rutulians and to be defended by the arms of his friend Turnus. Therefore has all Etruria arisen in righteous wrath; they demand the king for punishment with prompt war. I shall make you, Aeneas, the leader of these thousands of men. For their ships, packed all along the shore, are clamoring, and they give commands to bring forth the standards; an aged soothsayer restrains them, singing the fates, 'O chosen youth of Maeonia, flower and manliness of men of yore,—you, whom just grief carries against the enemy, and whom Mezentius inflames with just ire, 'tis meet that a race so great should be subordinated to no Italian. Choose foreign leaders!'" Then did the Etruscan ranks settle down on this plain, awed by the admonition of the gods. Tarchon himself sent to me ambassadors and the crown of the realm along with the sceptre and entrusts to me the emblems of power, that I should come to camp and take the Tyrrhennan throne. But as for me, advanced years, slowed by the chill of age and exhausted by many generations, begrudge me the ruling power, and my strength is too late for brave deeds. (510) I would urge my son to it, save that he, mingled in race by Sabine mother, has drawn from her a share in his native land. You, whose years and race fate indulges, whom divine will calls, advance, bravest leader of Trojans and Italians. Moreover, I shall add to you our hope and comfort, this Pallas; under you as his teacher may he learn to endure warfare and the heavy work of Mars; let him grow accustomed to behold your

adsuescat, primis et te miretur ab annis.
 Arcadas huic equites bis centum, robora pubis
 lecta dabo, totidemque suo tibi nomine Pallas.
 520 uix ea fatus erat, defixique ora tenebant
 Aeneas Anchisiades et fidus Achates
 multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant,
 ni signum caelo Cytherea dedisset aperto.
 namque improuiso uibratus ab aethere fulgor
 525 cum sonitu uenit et ruere omnia uisa repente
 Tyrrhenusque tubae mugire per aethera clangor.
 suspiciunt, iterum atque iterum fragor increpat ingens.
 arma inter nubem caeli in regione serena
 per sudum rutilare uident et pulsa tonare.
 530 obstipuerunt animis alii sed Troius heros
 agnouit sonitum et diuae promissa parentis.
 tum memorat: 'ne uero, hospes, ne quaere profecto
 quem casum portenta ferant: ego poscor Olympo.
 hoc signum cecinit missuram diua creatrix,
 535 si bellum ingrueret, Volcaniaque arma per auras
 laturam auxilio.
 Heu quanta miseri caedes Laurentibus instant!
 quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis! quam multa sub undas
 scuta uirum galeasque et fortia corpora uolues,
 540 Thybri pater! poscant acies et foedera rumpant.'
 haec ubi dicta dedit, solio se tollit ab alto
 et primum Herculeis sopitas ignibus aras

517 adsuecat P corr. P¹ assuescat bw assuescat dt 518 archades bo archadas chuz || pubes
 Ma 519 -que] quae r || tuo sibi M corr. M² suo tibi in suo sibi corr. P suo sibi γ corr. γ¹ suos
 sibi P¹ || munere PRbnγ 521 aaneas e || anchisides t || filius u || acates eg 522 tenebant
 j 523 citherea bhkorstw 524 inprouiso Mstuy || ab om. γ add. γ¹ || aetere u aetherae y
 525 con sonitu z 526 tyrrhenusque bdehkrtyu thyrrhenusque gs || aetherae langor γ corr. γ¹ ||
 glangor P 527 suscipiunt Rahrv suspitiunt g || adque R || frangor R sonus γ¹ intonat acehouv
 insonat f inconat t 528 nubes, Non. 31.17 || in om. Mγ¹, Non. 31.17 || add. M² 529 sudum
 R suldum b || torare M corr. M² sonare PRcjky 530 aliis g || set e || aeros d haeros j 531
 agnouit MRbcdouy agdnouit r || et om. R 532 tunc c 533 cassum z || olimpo o olimpho
 z 534 caecinit g 535 uulcaniaque MP²cghktuyz uulcanique eo 536 auxilia c 537
 haeu M corr. M² o P || quante uy 538 michi poenas b || unda Rb 539 corpora] pectora
 d || uoluens R 540 thubri P tybri bce thibri gγ tibri ou || e R || phedera g 542 herculei P²
 herculeas(?) γ corr. γ¹ || sospitis u

deeds, and admire you from his first years. I shall give him two hundred Arcadian cavalry, the chosen strength of our youth, and just as many will Pallas give you in his own name.”

He had scarcely said these things, and Aeneas, the son of Anchises, and faithful Achates were holding their faces downcast, and would have pondered many harsh things in their own grieving hearts, unless Cytherea had given a sign from the clear heavens. For there comes suddenly flickering out of the sky a lightning bolt, with great crash, and everything seemed straightaway to rush headlong, and the sound of the Tyrrhenian war horns bellowed across the sky. They look up; again and again does the huge clamor resound. In the peaceful region of heaven they see amidst the clouds, weapons, gleaming red through the clear sky, and, once struck, thundering. While the others were astounded in their spirits, (530) the Trojan hero recognized the sound and the promises of his divine parent.

Then he says: “But indeed, my friend, truly seek not what fortune the portents comport: I am summoned from Olympus. My goddess mother predicted that she would send this sign, should war arise, and that through the breezes she would bring arms wrought by Vulcan for aid. Alas, what bloodshed approaches the wretched Laurentines! What penalty, Turnus, will you render to me! How many shields of heroes and helmets and brave bodies shalt you, O father Tiber, roll in your tides! Let them call for battle ranks and break their treaties!”

(540) Having offered these words, he lifts himself from his lofty throne and first stirs up the sleepy altars with Herculean fire, and gladly approaches yes-

- excitat, hesternumque larem paruosque penatis
laetus adit; mactat lectas de more bidentis
545 Euandrus pariter, pariter Troiana iuuentus.
post hinc ad naus graditur sociosque reuisit,
quorum de numero qui sese in bella sequantur
praestantis uirtute legit; pars cetera prona
fertur aqua segnisque secundo defluit amni,
550 nuntia uentura Ascanio rerumque patrisque.
dantur equi Teucris Tyrrhena petentibus arua;
ducunt exsortem Aeneae, quem fulua leonis
pellis obit totum praefulgens unguibus aureis.
Fama uolat paruam subito uulgata per urbem
555 ocius ire equites Tyrrheni ad litora regis.
uota metu duplicant matres propiusque periclo
it timor et maior Martis iam apparet imago.
tum pater Euandrus dextram complexus euntis
haeret inxpletus lacrimans ac talia fatur:
560 'o mihi praeteritos referat si Iuppiter annos,
qualis eram cum primam aciem Praeneste sub ipsa
strau scutorumque incendi uictor acruos
et regem hac Erulum dextra sub Tartara misi,
nascenti cui tris animas Feronia mater
565 (horrendum dictu) dederat, terna arma mouenda—

543 excitat] suscitāt **Rdhjkstw** || externumque **MRae** esternumque **jrūz** || penates **MRcghjrstuy** 544 laetas **z** || adiit **Pγ corr. γ¹** || mactant **M** matat **c** || bodentes **γ** bidentes **P²γ¹u** 545 *uers. om.* **u** || euander **dswz** || partier partier] pariter **k** 546 naues **Rbcerouyz** || sotiosque **z** 547 sequuntur **a** sequatur **u** 548 praestans **M** praestantes **M²cdj** prestantes **ehstuy** praestans *in* praestantes **gw** || pras **c** || caetera **b** 549 fetur **P corr. P¹** || segnis **γ¹** signisque **j** || annis **M corr. M²** anni **t** amne, *DSeru. ad Georg. 1.72* 550 nuncia **gost** || uenturo **R** || ascasio **R** || paratrisque **P corr. P²** 551 thyrrena **b** tyrrena **dehrtz** tirrena **g** tirrhena **o** || *uers. 552–555 om.* **n** 552 ducun **P corr. P¹** || exortem **Psuzγ** || fulua] insula **z** 553 pelles **γ corr. γ¹** || obiit **Pγ corr. γ¹** 554 uulgata **Rabcdehкотuyγ¹** uulgatam **g** 555 ocius **g** otius **tz** || tyrrhena **Pγ corr. γ¹** thyrrenia **b** tyrreni **cdeghtz** tirrhēni **o** thyrrena **s** || limina **Pωγ, Bentley, Mynors** 556 propriusque **PRar** proprius **o** propriisque **γ corr. γ¹** 557 it] id **P iit u** || et **R** || martys **γ** metus, *Prisc. XVIII.179* || apperet **P** 558 dextrm **P** || complexus **hu** 559 inxpletum *in* inxpletus **corr. P** inpletus **R** in amplexu **ae** inxpletum **γ¹ω(praeter b)** || lacrimis **Md, alt. inter uersus γ¹** 560 refert **Pγ corr. γ¹** referet **h** || iupiter **o** 561 primum **R** || prenestae **y** 562 scutorum **h** 563 ac **Mv corr. M²** || haec **Pkγ corr. P²γ¹** || erylum **Mcdhkrtyγ¹** erilum **begjsu** herilum **o** erylum **γ erimum, Macrobian. 5.8.8** || dexta **P corr. P²** 564 tres **P²yγ**

terday's Lar and the small household gods. As much as Evander offers up ewes chosen in the customary way, so equally do the Trojan youths. After this he goes to the ships and revisits his comrades, from whose number he selects those of exemplary virtue who are to follow him in battle. The rest are borne by the downward stream and drift along, inactive in a favoring current, about to come to Ascanius to announce of the state of affairs and of his father. Horses are given to the Teucrians to seek the Tyrrhenian fields; they lead forth one for Aeneas, chosen by lot, which the tawny skin of a lion covers, shining brightly with golden claws.

Rumor flies, suddenly spread through the small town, saying that cavalymen are coming rather quickly to the shores of the Tyrrhenian king. In fear, mothers redouble their prayers and quicker than danger does fear come, and the vision of War now appears greater. Then does Evander take hold of the right hand of his departing son and, crying insatiably, speaks words such as these:

(560) "O, if Jupiter should bring back to me the bygone years, I should be such as I once was when, just beneath Praeneste itself, I scattered the front line and as a conqueror burned the heaped up shields, and, with this right hand, sent to Tartarus King Erulus. To him, when he was born, his mother Feronia had given three souls (terrible to tell!), with three sets of armor, one to be used by each—

ter leto sternendus erat; cui tunc tamen omnis
 abstulit haec animas dextra et totidem exuit armis:
 non ego nunc dulci amplexu diuellerer usquam,
 nate, tuo, neque finitimo Mezentius umquam
 570 huic capiti insultans tot ferro saeua dedisset
 funera, tam multis uiduasset ciuibus urbem.
 at uos, o superi, et diuum tu maxime rector
 Iuppiter, Arcadii, quaeso, miserescite regis
 et patrias audite preces. si numina uestra
 575 incolumem Pallanta mihi, si fata reseruant,
 si uisurus eum uiuo et uenturus in unum,
 uitam oro, patior quemuis durare laborem.
 sin aliquem infandum casum, Fortuna, minaris,
 nunc, o nunc liceat crudelem abrumpere uitam,
 580 dum curae ambiguae, dum spes incerta futuri,
 dum te, care puer, mea sola et sera uoluptas,
 complexu teneo, grauior neu nuntius auris
 uulneret.' haec genitor digressu maesta supremo
 fundebat; famuli conlapsum in tecta ferebant.
 585 iamque adeo exierat portis equitatus apertis
 Aeneas inter primos et fidus Achates,
 inde alii Troiae proceres; ipse agmine Pallas
 in medio chlamyde et pictis conspectus in armis,
 qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda,

566 tela et osternendus s || laeto btz loeto **deghjouyγ** || ternendus γ corr. γ^1 || tum **br** || omnes **Rkr** 567 totide e || exsult **M** 568 usquam *add.* $\gamma^{2(2)}$ 569 finitimos **P** corr. **P²** || mezzentius **MR** || usquam **PRγω** (*praeter abdhst*) ostis $s\gamma^{2(2)}$ 570 capit **P** corr. **P²** || insultant **u** || seua **Peoy** corr. **P¹** || dedisset **P** 571 munera **P** corr. **P²** 572 ad **MPR** corr. **M²** || diuum **RP²gotuγ** || tum **Rγ** corr. γ^1 || maxime **MP** maximue γ 573 iupiter **ho** || archadii **dghosy** 574 praeces **Pt** corr. **P¹** prece **w** 575 incolomem **gj** incolomen **y** || palanta γ corr. γ^1 576 uisurum **M** corr. **M¹** || uiuum **R** 577 patiar **P¹bceghvγy** 579 nunc nunc **P** (*add.* o **P¹**) nunc nunc o **Mγω** (*praeter fgj*), *Geymonat, Mynors, Sabbadini* tunc tunc, o *schol. Pers. 1.11* || aprumpe **c** 581 sera et sola **Pbrγ** corr. γ^1 , *Seru. Aen. 9.480* sere et sera **y** 582 complexu **Phkst** complexus **M²Rz** complexus **r** cum inplexu **y** || teneor **P¹** || crauior **u** || ne **RP²ωγ** corr. γ^1 neu *om.* **c** nec **v** || nuncius **go** nontuis **y** || aures **bcgory** 583 uulneret **P²MRcdehjkotuvwyγ** corr. γ^1 || dicta ferebant *corr.* in dicta supremo **R** (*extremis ex uerbis uersus proximi*) || dicta **M²PRγω** || suppremo **P** 584 conlapsus **g** collapsum **o** 585 eierat **y** || apertus **Pγ** corr. **P²γ¹** 586 primus et fidos **M** 587 ali **P** corr. **P¹** 588 it, *Markland* || chlamide **ay** clamide **bceghjkoruz** calamide **d** clamyde **tw** chlamidae γ 589 ocaeani **r** || profusus **k** || Lycifer **j**

thrice did he need to be vanquished in death. From him then did this right hand take away every one of his lives and strip him of just so many weapons. [Were Jupiter to grant that prayer], not by any means would I now be pulled away, son, from your sweet embrace. Nor would Mezentius, scorning this head of mine, even though I was his close neighbor, have produced so many cruel deaths by his sword nor would he have deprived the city of so many citizens! But you, o divine ones, and you, Jupiter, greatest ruler of the gods, have mercy, I pray, on the Arcadian king, and hear the prayers of a father. If it is your will that Pallas be safe for me, if the fates preserve him, if I live to see him, to come to the same place with him, I beg for life, I would suffer to endure any labor you wish. But if, O Fortune, you are threatening some unspeakable disaster, now, o now may it be granted to break off this cruel life—while worries are ambiguous, while hope of the future is uncertain, while I still hold you, dear boy, my late and singular delight, in my embrace, lest any graver announcement wound my ears!”

The father was pouring out these sad words at their final parting; his household servants carried him, faint, back into the house. And now, too, the cavalry had gone out from the open gates, Aeneas among the first, and faithful Achates, then the other nobles of Troy; Pallas himself, in the middle of the multitude, is conspicuous in his cloak and embellished armor, like the Morning Star dipped

- 590 quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignis,
 extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resoluit.
 stant pauidae in muris matres oculisque sequuntur
 pulueram nubem et fulgentis aere cateruas.
 olli per dumos, qua proxima meta uiarum,
 595 armati tendunt; it clamor, et agmine facto
 quadripedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.
 est ingens gelidum lucus prope Caeritis amnem,
 religione patrum late sacer; undique colles
 inclusere caui et nigra nemus abiete cingunt.
 600 Siluano fama est ueteres sacrasse Pelasgos,
 aruorum pecorisque deo, lucumque diemque,
 qui primi finis aliquando habuere Latinos.
 haud procul hinc Tarcho et Tyrrheni tuta tenebant
 castra locis celsoque omnis de colle uideri
 605 iam poterat legio et latis tendebat in aruis.
 huc pater Aeneas et bello lecta iuuentus
 succedunt fessique et equos et corpora curant.
 at Venus aetherios inter dea candida nimbos
 dona ferens aderat; natumque in ualle reducta
 610 ut procul egelido secretum flumine uidit,
 talibus adfata est dictis seque obtulit ultro:
 ‘en perfecta mei promissa coniugis arte
 munera. ne mox aut Laurentis, nate, superbos
 aut acrem dubites in proelia poscere Turnum.’

590 seratorum **u** || ignes **P²bceoryz** *corr.* γ^1 591 exulit **g** 592 pauidae **uyy** || muris *om.*
g || secuntur **MRbcgity** 593 fulgentes **MRgou** 594 quam roxima **M** *corr.* *ut uid.* **M¹⁽²⁾** ||
 proxuma **R** || maeta **d** moeta **o** 595 id **P γ** 596 quadripedante **cdejktuwyz** quadripedum
n puluerulenta, *GLK VI.615.20* || capum γ 597 ceritis **Mehjrtwy** ceretis **ac** teretis **g** caeretis
z 598 relligione **cdkuy** || late *ex latu* **P** 599 caua, *Sac. 546.6* || abiecte **M** *corr.* **M¹** || cingit
d, *Macrob. 3.3.9* 600 pelasgo **o** 601 agrorum, *Macrob. 3.3.9* || que] et **M** || locumque **a** ||
 diemquae **P** *corr.* **P¹** 602 fines **MP²Rabcddeghjktuzy** *corr.* γ^1 603 haut **MR γ** *corr.* γ^1 aut **r** ||
 tarchon **MPw γ** tharco **cku** tharcho **jt** || tyrrhene **M** tyrreni **bdeghtz** thyrreni **cs** tirrheni **o** || tota
o 605 iiam **u** || poterant a peterat **y** || legio] lecto **M** *corr.* **M¹** || armis **a** 607 succaedunt
o || fesseque **M** *corr.* **M¹** || aequos **gy** 608 ad **MPs** *corr.* **M²** || asterios **M** aeterios **Rg** *corr.* **R¹**
 etherios **y** || iter **M** *corr.* **M²** || nymbos **cjky** 609 adherat **g** 610 et gelido **M²PRbdhrtyw**
corr. γ^1 gelido **e** || fulmine **a** in flumine **r** 611 effata **n** affata **cdhjotwyz** || optulit **Mk** 612
 met **M** *corr.* **M¹** 613 aut *om.* **R** || laurentes **g** 614 haut γ *corr.* $\gamma^{1(2)}$ || dubitas **y** || proaelia **a**
 praelia **bu**

in Ocean's wave. He, whom Venus loves beyond all the stars' fires, lifts up his head and sacred face toward heaven and dissolves the shadows. And on the walls stand the frightened mothers, and with their eyes they follow the dusty cloud and the ranks gleaming with bronze. Those men there, through the thickets, where there is the nearest halfway point of the streets, come bearing arms. A shout goes forth, and once a column has been formed, the horses' hooves rattle the crumbling plain with a thundering sound.

Near Caere's chilly stream there lies a huge grove, widely revered by the religious awe of the ancestors; from all sides hollow hills enclose it and gird the wood with a forest of dark firs. The story goes that the old Pelasgians, who long ago first possessed the Latin borders, consecrated both the grove and the day to Silvanus, the god of flock and fields. Not far from here Tarchon and the Tyrrhenians held their camp, safe in terms of locale, and from a high hill the entire legion could now be seen and were encamped in the broad fields.

Father Aeneas and the young men chosen for war come hither and, weary, they look after their horses and their own bodies. But the shining goddess Venus was at hand, bringing gifts in a heavenly mist; and when she saw her son at a distance, set apart from the others in a recessed vale by a cold brook, she willingly presented herself to him and addressed him with words such as these: "Behold the gifts made perfect by the pledged skill of my husband. Do not, my son, hesitate soon to demand the haughty Laurentines or eager Turnus for battle."

- 615 dixit, et amplexus nati Cytherea petiuit,
 arma sub aduersa posuit radiantia quercu.
 ille deae donis et tanto laetus honore
 expleri nequit atque oculos per singula uoluit
 miraturque interque manus et bracchia uersat
 620 terribilem cristis galeam flammisque uomentem
 fatiferumque ensem, lorica[m] ex aere rigentem,
 sanguineam, ingentem, qualis cum caerulea nubes
 solis inardescit radiis longaeque refulget;
 tum leuis ocreas electro auroque recocto,
 625 hastamque et clipei non enarrabile textum.
 illic res Italas Romanorumque triumphos
 haud uatum ignarus uenturique inscius aeu[i]
 fecerat ignipotens, illic genus omne futurae
 stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella.
 630 fecerat et uiridi fetam Mauortis in antro
 procubuisse lupam, geminos huic ubera circum
 ludere pendentis pueros et lambere matrem
 impauidos, illam tereti ceruice reflexam
 mulcere alternos et corpora fingere lingua.
 635 nec procul hinc Romam et raptas sine more Sabinas
 consessu caueae, magnis Circensibus actis,
 addiderat, subitoque nouum consurgere bellum
 Romulidis Tatioque seni Curibusque seueris.
 post idem inter se posito certamine reges
 640 armati Iouis ante aram paterasque tenentes
 stabant et caesa iungebant foedera porca.

615 natu **b** || citherea **aehkorsy** cuterea **b** tyserea(?) **g** || petunt **u** 616 *om. uers. u* || radiantia **cghy** || quertu **u** querquu **z** 617 die(?) **s** 618 impleri **ny¹**, *Macrob. 5.8.11* || nequid **Muz** || adque **R** || uingula *in* singula *corr.* P singulos **y** 619 brachia **bcdehjkkourswyzy** || uerset **y** 620 xristis **y** || flammaque **R corr. R¹** flamas **u** || minantem **Pγ corr. γ¹**, *Geymonat, Ribbeck, Sabadini* 621 lorica[m]que **aeruv** || ex] aex **j** 622 sanguinea **z** || nubis **M** 623 longaeque **M** 624 tunc **c** || laeuis **b** leues **u** || sacrea **u** || recoctas **w** 625 ex **u** || clipei **γ** || textam **s** 626 romanarum **γ corr. γ¹** || triumphus **y** 627 haut **Rγ corr. γ¹** aud **s** 628 omnipotens **M** 629 stytpis **aehr** || pugnata atque **o** 630 uiride **M corr. M¹** uiri **o** || faetam **t** foetam **cdeghouz** || antrum, *Probus 263.3* 631 procubuisse **a** || ubere **c** 632 pendentibus **corsuyz** pededis **e** || labere **e** 633 inpauidos **RMabcdegkrtuyzy** || reflexa **M²PRabnrty**, *Mynors, Ribbeck* reflexam **w** 634 lingere **M corr. M¹** 636 consensu **Rbu** consessum **o** concessu **yγ corr. γ¹** || cyrcenibus **z** 637 nouom **P corr. P¹** 638 tatque **M, io add. M²** || saeueris **g** 640 aarmati **y** || iuiuis **γ corr. γ¹** || aras **Rbdtz** || pateramque **M**

Cytherea spoke and sought the embrace of her son, and placed the radiant weapons under an oak just opposite. He, delighting in the gifts of the goddess and in so great an honor, could not be satisfied and he turns his eyes to each piece individually, and he admires them one by one. Between his arms and hands, he turns each over, the helmet, frightening in its plumes and spewing flames, the death-dealing sword, the breastplate stiff with bronze, blood-red, huge, as when a dark cloud is lit by the sun's rays and from afar casts its gleam back; then the smooth greaves made of electrum and recast gold, then the spear, and the shield's indescribable weave. There the one mighty in fire, by no means ignorant of the prophets or unknowing of the age to come, had rendered the Italian affairs and the triumphs of the Romans; there was every generation of the future offspring of Ascanius and, in order, the wars they fought. He had also wrought the pregnant she-wolf stretched out within the green cave of Mars, and twin boys playing, hanging from round about and licking their mother without fear; bent back, with her smooth neck, she caresses them, one the other, and shapes their bodies with her tongue.

Not far from here he had added Rome and the Sabine women, lawlessly abducted from the seating area of the theater, when the great Circus games were put on, and suddenly a new war arose between the sons of Romulus and the aged Tadius and the austere Cures. After this, those very kings, once their struggle had been put aside, stood armed before the altar of Jove, and were joining in a treaty, stretching forth their cups, once the pig was slaughtered.

haud procul inde citae Mettum in diuersa quadrigae
 distulerant (at tu dictis, Albane, maneres!),
 raptabatque uiri mendacis uiscera Tullus
 645 per siluam et sparsi rorabant sanguine uepres.
 nec non Tarquinius eiectum Porsenna iubebat
 accipere ingentique urbem obsidione premebat;
 Aeneadae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant.
 illum indignanti similem similemque minanti
 650 aspiceres, pontem auderet quia uellere Cocles
 et fluuium uinclis innaret Cloelia ruptis.
 in summo custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis
 stabat pro templo et Capitolia celsa tenebat
 Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.
 655 atque hic auratis uolitans argenteus anser
 porticibus Gallos in limine adesse canebat;
 Galli per dumos aderant arcemque tenebant
 defensi tenebris et dono noctis opacae.
 aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea uestis,
 660 uirgatis lucent sagulis, tum lactea colla
 auro innectuntur, duo quisque Alpina coruscant
 gaesa manu, scutis protecti corpora longis.
 hic exultantis Salios nudosque Lupercos
 lanigerosque apices et lapsa ancilia caelo
 665 extuderat, castae ducebant sacra per urbem
 pilentis matres in mollibus. hinc procul addit

642 haut R || medium M *corr.* M² 643 dispulerant M⁴ distulerat P *corr.* P¹ || ad R || albans
 γ *corr.* γ¹ 644 tellus u 645 per] pe γ *corr.* γ¹ || sparsis M *corr.* M² parsi z || rogabant j ||
 uepres] pres P *corr.* P¹ 646 iectum dw || traquinius c || porsena R 647 ingentemque γ
corr. γ¹ || praemebat M *corr.* M² 648 aeneade Mγ *corr.* M² 649 indignante M *corr.* M² indi-
 gnati y || similem om. G 650 auderet] minebat u || cochies M cochles M²Rj coccles u 651
 coclia n cloeria u 652 om. uers. u || sumo y || tarpeae o tarpeaiae z || manulus Mγ *corr.* M²
 malius R mallius ωγ¹ 653 stabant u || celsa] iussa d 654 rumoleoque R rumuleoque e 655
 adque hinc R 656 abesse R 657 Galli] olli Rj (*cf.* uers. 659) || per] -que u || dum a 658
 dodo P 659 cessaries z || ollis ex olis M² || adque R 660 lucen MP *corr.* M¹P¹ || fulgent
 c || tunc Pcyγ, *Isid.* 9.2.104 cum dt 661 aureo o || innectuntur k innectentur h || alpica y ||
 coruscant Pγω(*praeter dfttz*) *corr.* γ¹ corucant z 662 cessa M gesa M²ehsv caesa PRγω(*praeter*
afnsu) gessa ho 663 hinc γ *corr.* γ¹ || exultantes M²γ¹ exultanti R 664 apices ex acies M¹ ||
 labsa M 665 extuderant R extulerat u || castae] ca y 666 pilentis M *corr.* M¹ || addidit g

Not far from there (but, O Alban, you should have remained steadfast to your word), had swift chariots ripped Mettus asunder, and Tullus was dragging the internal organs of that mendacious man through the woods, and the sprinkled bushes kept dripping with gore.

Porsenna was there, as well, ordering that they receive Tarquin, though he had been banished, and he was pressing the city with a huge siege: the sons of Aeneas were rushing against his sword for liberty. You would have seen him like an indignant man, like one who makes threats, because Cocles dared to tear down the bridge, and Cloelia, once her bonds were broken, swam across the river.

On top of the Tarpeian citadel, Manlius was standing guard in front of the temple and was holding the lofty Capitol; the palace was bristly, fresh with the thatched roof of Romulus. And here the silver goose, winging within gilded porticoes, was crying that the Gauls were at hand, on the threshold. The Gauls were at hand, amidst the brambles, and they were trying to occupy the citadel, under the defense of darkness and by the gift of dark night. Golden is their hair, and golden their dress (660); they shine in striped military cloaks, and their milk-white necks are then fastened about with gold; each brandishes two Alpine javelins in his hand and they protect their bodies with long shields. Here he had beaten out the leaping Salii and nude Luperci, the fleecy crests and the shields that once fell from the sky; chaste matrons were leading solemn processions in comfortable carriages. At some distance from these, he adds, too,

Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis,
 et scelerum poenas et te, Catilina, minaci
 pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem,
 670 secretosque pios, his dantem iura Catonem.
 haec inter tumidi late maris ibat imago
 aurea, sed fluctu spumabat caerulea cano,
 et circum argento clari delphines in orbem
 aequora uerberabant caudis aestumque secabant.
 675 in medio classis aeratas, Actia bella,
 cernere erat totumque instructo Marte uideres
 feruere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus.
 hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar
 cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis,
 680 stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui tempora flammis
 laeta uomunt patriumque aperitur uertice sidus.
 parte alia uentis et dis Agrippa secundis
 arduus agmen agens, cui, belli insigne superbum,
 tempora nauali fulgent rostrata corona.
 685 hinc ope barbarica uariisque Antonius armis,
 uictor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro,
 Aegyptum uiresque Orientis et ultima secum
 Bactra uehit sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx.
 una omnes ruere ac totum spumare reductis
 690 conuulsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor.
 alta petunt; pelago credas innare reuulsas
 Cycladas aut montis concurrere montibus altos,
 tanta mole uiri turritis puppibus instant.

667 hostia **Rabghotuz** || dictis s 668 scaelerum **g** || catilina **M** 669 pendens γ *corr.* γ^1
 pentem **u** || frementem **w** 671 late *ex ate* **P¹** 672 aurea] rurea **M** *ut uid.*, *corr.* **M²** || aureus
 et **R** aureas γ *corr.* γ^1 || spumabant ω (*praeter bortvw*), *Conte, Ribbeck, Mynors* 673 claro **e** ||
 delfines **ceu** 675 im γ || classes **PRabcdejkorstuwyy** || eratas **M** *corr.* **M²** || accia **h** 676
 instructo **P** *corr.* **P¹** 677 leucatan **b** leucataen **b¹** leucateri **y** 678 praelia **bh** 679 renatibus
 γ^1 || diis **Pdoswz** 680 stat **Rbjnort** || celsa] prima, *Prisc. VII.59* || puppi γ || cui] huic **P¹** γ ||
 flamas γ 681 uolunt **M** *corr.* **M⁴** || auertice **M**, *a del. M¹* inuertice **d** || sidus] lector **o** 682 diis
bdow 683 arduos **a** || argmen **y** 684 tempora **dw** 685 uarisque **P** *corr.* **P¹** 686 aurore
 γ || pupulis γ *corr.* γ^1 || europe **R** || littore **c** 687 *om. uers. u* || aegyptum **bes** 688 bachtra
b || ueit γ^1 || aegyptia **c** egyptia **s** || coniux **u** 690 conuolum **P** *corr.* **P¹** conuulsum **detu** γ^1 ||
 rostris (*om. -que*) **chy** || stridentibus **R** γ^1 ω (*praeter b*) 691 innarae **u** || reuulsas **acdehktuwyy** γ^1
 692 cicladas **os** cycloclas **u** cyclades γ || montes **uy** || altis **aho** 693 uiri *add.* γ^1 || turritis **R**

the Tartarean realms, the lofty gates of Dis, and the penalties for sins, and you, Catiline, hanging from a menacing cliff and trembling at the faces of the Furies, and separately, he adds the dutiful, and Cato giving them laws.

Amidst these things the golden image of the swollen sea was broadly ebbing, yet its blue water was foaming with white surges, and round about brilliant dolphins, wrought of silver, cut through the sea swell in a circle, sweeping the seas with their tails. In the middle, it was possible to see ships in bronze, the war of Actium and, with the battle arrayed, you could see all Leucate boiling up and the waves flashing with gold. Here stands on the lofty deck Augustus Caesar, leading Italians into battle, together with the fathers and people, and the great gods, the Penates; his happy brows pour forth twin flames, and the star of his father is revealed on the top of his head.

In another part is Agrippa, high up, under favorable winds and gods, leading his contingent; his temples gleam, bedecked with the ships' beaks consisting of the naval crown, the proud mark of battle. Here Marc Antony, with barbarian help and varied weapons, victor from the nations of the dawn and from the red shore, brings along with him Egypt and the power of the East and furthest reaches of Bactra; and his Egyptian wife—an abomination!—follows.

All rush together at once, and the entire sea, upturned by the oars, now withdrawn, and the three-pronged prows, foams up. They seek the depths; you might believe that the Cyclades, uprooted, were swimming in the sea, or that high mountains were battling with mountains: in such a mass do the men press

695 *stuppea flamma manu telisque uolatile ferrum
 spargitur, arua noua Neptunia caede rubescunt.
 regina in mediis patrio uocat agmina sistro,
 necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit anguis.
 omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis
 contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Mineruam*
 700 *tela tenent. saeuit medio in certamine Mauors
 caelatus ferro, tristesque ex aethere Dirae
 et scissa gaudens uadit Discordia palla,
 quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello.
 Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo*
 705 *desuper; omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi,
 omnis Arabs, omnes uertebant terga Sabaei.
 ipsa uidebatur uentis regina uocatis
 uela dare et laxos iam iamque inmittere funis.
 illam inter caedes pallentem morte futura*
 710 *fecerat ignipotens undis et lapyge ferri,
 contra autem magno maerentem corpore Nilum
 pandentemque sinus et tota ueste uocantem
 caeruleum in gremium latebrosaque flumina uictos.
 at Caesar, triplici inuectus Romana triumpho*
 715 *moenia, dis Italis uotum immortale sacrabat,
 maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem.
 laetitia ludisque uiae plausuque fremebant;
 omnibus in templis matrum chorus, omnibus arae;
 ante aras terram caesi strauere iuueni.*

694 *stuppea dtu* *stuppei e* || *tellisque M* 696 *reginam R* || *agmine R* 697 *respicit e* *repi-*
cit r || *terra u* || *angues P²ceghkruyγ* 698 *nigenumque M*, om *add. M²* || *anobis M corr. M²*
 699 *ueterem γ corr. γ¹* 700 *tenent in tenens corr. P* *tenens γ corr. γ¹* 701 *celatus ht* || *tri-*
stisque Rr *tristeasque o* *tristosque u* || *aetherae y* || *diuae M²Radfhosuw* 702 *scisa dy corr.*
γ¹ || *gaadens d* *gaudent u* || *uidit u* 703 *cum] con c* || *flagella y* 704 *accius bg* *arcu y* ||
cernins R || *tendebat Pγ* || *opollo γ* 705 *aegyptos P corr. P², Probus 226.22 aegyptus c* *egyptus*
s 706 *araps R* || *omnes] omnis g* 708 *inmittere ej* || *funes MRabcdeghjkorstuyz* 709
illam ex ilam P¹ 710 *defecerat P corr. P¹* || *aeundis u* || *lapyge M corr. M²* *iapuge R*, *iapide n*
iapige cdgjes *ipyge u* *yapige r* || *et] set e* 711 *maerantem γ corr. γ¹* 712 *sinum d* || *totque in*
ueste t 714 *at] ad P* || *triplicli P* || *triumfo u* 715 *diis deoswz* || *talis P corr. P²* || *inmortale*
Pghrsy 716 *maxuma R* || *ubem z* 717 *laeticia o* 718 *corus w* || *aris n* *aere w* *agae t* 719
sstauere M corr. M¹ || *iuuenes u* *iuuenis Moy corr. M²γ¹*

upon the towering ships. The flame of tow and steel flying with spears rain down from their hands; the Neptunian fields reddens with fresh bloodshed. In the middle of them does the queen call upon her hosts by the Isis rattle of her fatherland, nor does she yet look back at the twin snakes behind her back. Portents of gods of all kinds and Anubis, the barker, position their weapons (700) against Neptune and Venus, and against Minerva. In the midst of the battle Mavors rages, embossed in iron, and from the sky come the grim Furies and with her robe ripped comes Discord, rejoicing, whom Bellona follows with her bloody lash.

Beholding these things, from above Actian Apollo was stretching his bow; because of this fright all Egypt and India, all Arabians, and all Sabaeans were turning their backs. The queen herself, winds invoked, appeared to put up her sails in retreat, and now and again to let the sheets loose. Amidst the slaughter, the one powerful in fire had made her appear pallid because of her imminent death as she is carried on billows and by Iapyx, the Apulian wind; moreover, across from her was the Nile, with its vast body, mourning and opening his bosom, calling the conquered, with all his garments open, into his sea blue lap and shaded streams. But Caesar, borne in triple triumph within the walls of Rome was consecrating to the Italian gods his undying votive offering—three hundred very great shrines through the entire city. The streets were resounding with happiness, games and applause; in every temple was a chorus of matrons, and in all the temples were altars, and before the altars slain bullocks were strewn upon the ground.

720 ipse sedens niueo candentis limine Phoebi
 dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis
 postibus; incedunt uictae longo ordine gentes,
 quam uariae linguis, habitu tam uestis et armis.
 hic Nomadam genus et discinctos Mulciber Afros,
 725 hic Lelegas Carasque sagittiferosque Gelonos
 finxerat; Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis
 extremique hominum Morini, Rhenusque bicornis,
 indomitique Dahae et pontem indignatus Araxes.
 talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis,
 730 miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet
 attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.

720 lymine g || foebi s 721 recognoscis M || 722–723 om. u 722 incaedunt Mbgoyn incendunt R || gentes] matres R (cf. *Aen.* 2.766) 723 abitu r 724 hinc Pbjsnyzy || numadam dgjsz || mulcifer ω(*praeter* bcd) || atros γ corr. γ¹ 725 hinc Pbcfgnsuuyγ || legas P corr. P¹ relegas R delegas o leligas γ corr. γ¹ || curasque j || sagittiferosque g 726 tinxerat R finxerat c fixerat h || euphrates MRcdehjkostuwy heuphrates r 727 uers. 727–728 rescripsit P⁵ || renhusque Pγ¹ renusque es renhusce γ 728 daae Pγ dacae d dachae ow || araxis c 729 clypeum b clippeum s || uulcani celhoswyγ¹ 730 gaadens d 731 humero cdostzy || flammamque M corr. M¹ || facta cesuv || P. VERGILI MARONIS AEN. LIB. VIII EXP. M, AENEIDOS LIB. VIII P, || VERGILI MARONIS AENEIDOS LIBER VIII EXPLIC. R

(720) He himself, sitting upon the snowy-white threshold of radiant Phoebus, reviews the gifts of nations and fixes them to the lofty door posts. The conquered peoples process in a long line, as diverse in languages and deportment as in their dress and arms. Here Mulciber had fashioned the race of Nomads, and the Africans with loose-fitting clothes, here the Leleges and the Carians and quiver-bearing Gelonians. The Euphrates was now going along gentler in his waves, and the furthest of humankind, the Morini, and the double-horned Rhine and the unconquered Dahae, and the Araxes scorning his bridge. Such things does he marvel at on Vulcan's shield, the gift of his parent, and though ignorant of its contents, he rejoices at the image, hoisting on his shoulder the fame and fate of his children's children.



The Forum Romanum

PHOTO BY KATELYN MCGARR

Commentary

1–17 Turnus raises the standard of battle from the Laurentine citadel, and at once the assembly is incited to martial frenzy and anger in the face of the alleged Trojan invasion of Latium. Venulus is sent as an emissary to Diomedes in the south of Italy, so that the great Argive hero may learn of Aeneas' arrival, and of the state of affairs in Latinus' kingdom—and, not least, in the hope that he might send aid to the Latins in their military struggle against the Trojans. “Das Kriegsignal des Turnus” (Binder 1971, 7). On the exceptional structure (two long periods: 1–8 and 9–17), see Eden ad loc. On the place of the opening of Book 8 in the overall chronology of the epic see Mandra 1934, 167: “Third period of undetermined duration: 7.623–8.25.” Crump 1920, 98 takes 7.467–8.93 as the third day of a twenty-one day war; cf. Mandra 1930, 167 ff. “The action of Book Eight takes place essentially in the space of three nights and three days” (Anderson 1969, 70). With the opening of this book we may compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.212–240, of the awareness of Aeetes and his people of what Medea had done in support of Jason and his Argonauts; cf. *Arg.* 3.576–608 (see further here Nelis 2001, 327 ff.; especially 327–328 on how Virgil has transformed Apollonius' description of Medea's passion into a reflection on Turnus' *amor ferri*). “Praeparat octavo, bellum quos mittat in hostem” (*Schol. cuiusdam poetae argumenta Aeneid. sub nomine Ovidii*).

1 Vt belli signum Laurenti Turnus ab arce

Vt: The commencement of a remarkable tricolon of battle preparations, as we move from the standard of war to the rousing of horses to the clashing of arms (1 *Vt* ... 3 *utque* ... *utque*)—a theatrically dramatic progression and blending of visual and auditory harbingers of battle. On anaphora and effects of this sort see B. Wohl, “The Phenomenon of *Sperrung* in Tibullus' Elegies,” in *TAPA* 104 (1974), 385–428, 421. “Virgil's chief contribution to the development of the Latin hexameter lay in his gradual abandoning of the single line as the unit of composition in favour of a paragraphic or periodic style in which the sense flows through a number of lines” (Gransden 1976, 45). On the “tripartite” opening of the book see Smith 2011, 131: “While the repetition of such threefold patterns serves as a structural device to unify a diverse book, the thematic significance of Virgil's repetition of triplets emerges only at the book's close.”

belli signum: Cf. Silius, *Pun.* 11.131–132 *Virrius admiscens cecinit fatale cruenti / turbatis signum belli*; Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.58.28 *signum belli Batavus dabit*. This *belli signum* follows on 7.637 *classica iamque sonant, it bello tessera signum*, which comes in the wake of Juno's dramatic opening of the *Belli Portae*. A *signum*

is properly the standard or banner of a military unit; it can refer to a sign or signal, a password or watchword that is given to a body of soldiers. A parallel image to the present passage is the call to war at 11.474–475 ... *bello dat signum rauca cruentum / bucina*. Very different is the *signum* associated with war at 8.534–535 below; cf. also 683–684. *Signum pugnae* is Caesarian (*BC* 3.90.3.2); Nepotian (*Han.* 11.1.3); Livian (e.g., 1.23.9.1–2; 3.60.8.7; 7.32.6.1; 23.16.5.1); Tacitean (*Hist* 2.25.6; *Ann.* 2.15.1–2); cf. Silius, *Pun.* 9.32.

“A red flag (*vexillum*) was hoisted on the Capitol at Rome to call the burghers to arms in case of any sudden attack, and also used in the field as a signal for battle together with the sounding of the trumpets” (Page). “Turnus has now taken command in Latinus’ own citadel” (Fordyce). “War is his preferred world and spatial setting, and he is eager to be at its centre.” (G. Hutchinson, “Space in the *Aeneid*,” in Günther 2015, 253). “Nothing can be more spirited than this commencement of the eighth Book; this hoisting of the signal of war from the top of the citadel of Laurentum ... all the more striking when taken in contrast with the sweet, soft, and tender peacefulness of the commencement of the preceding Book. How masterly the hand which drew two pendants so different ...” (Henry).

Laurenti Turnus: The opening verse of the book powerfully juxtaposes the names of Laurentum and Turnus (who is implicitly presented as the defender of Laurentum in the face of Trojan invasion); images of war and military conflict (*ut belli signum; ab arce*) provide the frame.

Laurenti: The adjective (with *arce*) recalls 7.61–63 ... *primas cum conderet arces, / ipse ferebatur Phoebosacrasse Latinus, / Laurentisque ab ea nomen posuisse colonis*; cf. 7.650, where Turnus is *Laurens*. For “Laurentine” see N. Horsfall, “Laurentes,” in *EV* III, 141–144; L. Fratantuono, “Laurentes and Laurentum,” in *VE* II, 734–735. The inherent allusion in the adjective is to the portentous laurel at Latinus’ palace on his citadel; *Laurens* offers a potent geographical rival to Troy (cf. 12.136–137 *prospiciens tumulo campum aspectabat et ambas / Laurentum Troumque acies urbemque Latini*, of Juno gazing at the opposed battle lines). “Laurentum is one of the more ancient Italic settlements in Latium ... It lay in the *ager Laurens*, near the west coast of Italy between the Tiber and the Numicus ... Morphologically, Laurentum is transparently the thematicization of the –nt- stem Laurent- ... *Laurens* ... serves as the local adjective to *Laurentum* and is thus virtually synonymous with *Laurentinus* ... as in: *Ut belli signum* ...” ... “As an –nt- stem, *Laurens* shows both i-stem and consonant stem inflection ...” (A.J. Nussbaum, “Ennian Laurentis Terra,” in *HSCPh* 77 (1973), 207–215, 209). Sabbadini argues that it could be genitive of *Laurentum*, citing 1.1; certainly the rhythm parallels the description of Aeneas’ departure from the shores of Troy at the commencement of the epic. Asia and the race of Priam are men-

tioned at 3.1 in the wake of the narrative of the fall of Troy; at 12.1, the Latins are named along with Turnus in the aftermath of the cavalry battle and aborted infantry ambush. On the questions of 1) the existence of a place *Laurentum*, 2) the exact extent of the territory apparently granted by Latinus to Aeneas, and 3) the name of Latinus' capital, see Cornell *ad Cato*, fr. 5 (with reference to Della Corte 1972, 243 ff.): "Confusion seems to have arisen from the fact that according to the *Aeneid* and some other accounts, including Cato's *Origines*, Lavinium was founded by Aeneas and Alba Longa by Ascanius ... What then was the name of Latinus' capital? Later commentators appear to have come up with the name 'Laurentum', arising partly from Virgil's references to an *urbs Laurens*, or *arx Laurens* ... and partly from the fact that in imperial times a place called Laurentum actually did exist—the Vicus Augustanus Laurentum, which occurs in the Peutinger Table." See further Saunders 1930, 53 ff.; 205n22 (with special reference to the question of whether or not Lavinium was Latinus' city, which was then "merely reconsecrated" by Aeneas after the devastation of war); Tilly 1947, 54 ff. (on Lavinium), and 83 ff. (on "Virgil's Laurentum"); McKay 1970, 147 ff.

Turnus: The last books of the second and third movements of the epic contain the name of Aeneas' Rutulian antagonist in the first line (cf. 8.1; 12.1, where his name figures especially prominently and powerfully as the first word of the book); Aeneas is named in the opening verse of the first book of the second third (5.1; cf. 7.1 *Aeneia nutrix*). Book 8 commences with Turnus; it will close with Aeneas (who in a sense frames the epic's second third via his appearances at 5.1 and the end of 8). The Rutulian hero figures too in the opening of 9 (the first book of the poem's last third). Turnus returns to the narrative here after his dramatic appearance in the catalogue of Italian heroes, where he towered over his fellows (7.783 ff.); the enigmatic Camilla has for the moment disappeared from the narrative, though the imminent embassy of Venulus to Diomedes links directly to Book 11, where she will make her return (and with a vengeance) at last. On the presentation of Turnus as a "worthy rival" of Aeneas see Knutzen 1922, 1–2.

If one compares the opening verses of the first and last books of the respective thirds of the epic, we find the pairs 1) Aeneas-Dido (the *vir* and the *regina*); 2) Aeneas-Turnus; 3) Turnus (at least implicitly, since the book opens with Iris' visit to him)-Turnus.

The opening sequences of Books 5 and 8 also share affinities. In both, the book commences in the aftermath of serious difficulties and discomfiture for the Trojans (the Dido disaster; the outbreak of the war in Latium); very quickly, Aeneas heads to a location where he will seek the assistance of an older man (Sicily's Acestes; Pallanteum's Evander); in both, a dramatic portent will fig-

ure in the narrative (the serpent on Anchises' grave mound; the sow and her brood). Sicily prefigures and anticipates Italy; the conflicts of the games are mere mimicry of the eminently civil nature of the war that has now erupted in Latium.

ab arce: For the line-end cf. 2.41 *Laocöon ardens summa decurrit ab arce*; Propertius, c. 4.4.29 *et Tarpeia sua residens ita flevit ab arce*; c. 4.10.9 *Acron Hercules Caenina ductor ab arce*; Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 57–58 *nec moriens Dido summa vidisset ab arce / Dardaniis vento vela dedisse rates*; *Met.* 1.673–674 ... *patria Iove natus ab arce / desilit in terras* (of Mercury); Statius, *Theb.* 7.184–185; *Silv.* 2.2.131–132; Silius, *Pun.* 3.15–16. At 11.490 *fulgebatque alta decurrens aureus arce*, Turnus is depicted as he prepares for the simultaneous cavalry battle and planned infantry ambush. “*Ab arce, quoniam vexillum in arce poni solebat, quod esset specimen imperati exercitus*” (Servius). The mention of the Laurentine citadel here will be recalled at the solemn, dramatic mention of the *arx Romana* of 313.

On the likely inscription of this verse at Pompeii, see W.D. Lebek, “CIL IV 10190 = VERG. AEN. 8,1,” in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 57 (1984), 72. For relevant commentary on the punctuation of the long period that opens this book, see D.L. Blank, “Remarks on Nicanor, the Stoics, and the Ancient Theory of Punctuation,” in *Glotta* 61.1/2 (1983), 48–67, 51 ff. With this opening scene Nelis 2001, 474 compares Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.212–240, of the spread and revelation of knowledge among Aeetes and his Colchians of Medea's love for Jason and resultant deeds.

Enjambment from the start; here and at 4 ff. below it serves to highlight the rush and vigor of the nascent war (cf. Dainotti 2015, 161).

2 extulit et rauco strepuerunt cornua cantu,

extulit: Cf. below 591 *extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit*, of Lucifer in comparison to Pallas; also 12.441–442, where Aeneas raises a weapon as he prepares to face Turnus. At 12.4 *attollitque animos*, Turnus remains undaunted in the face of the reverses of the previous book. “... efferre is never anything else than either *to lift out of*, or *to lift up, raise on high*, and especially a standard, light, or other visible signal” (Henry *recte, contra* Heyne). “The scene is introduced in the perfect ... The scene itself, with its two parts—the actions of Turnus and the Italians, and the reactions of Aeneas—is in the present” (Mack 1978, 37).

rauco ... cantu: Cf. the rather more dramatic Catullus, c. 64.262–264 *multis raucisonos efflabant cornua bombos, / barbaraque horribili stridebat tibia cantu*. Virgil here probably imitates Lucretius (*DRN* 2.619 ... *raucisonoque minantur cornua cantu*; 5.1084 *raucisonos cantus*). For *raucus* cf. 2.545 (the clang of Priam's armor as he dons it for his last stand); 5.866 (the noise of the sea as it crashes into the Sirens' rocks); 6.327 ... *rauca fluenta* (of the Styx); 7.615

aereaque adsensu conspirant cornua rauco (of the declaration of war, in close parallel to the present use); 9.125 *rauca sonans* (of Tiberinus); 11.458 (of swans); 11.474–475 ... *bello dat signum rauca cruentum / bucina* (before the cavalry battle, again in parallel). For “adjective and noun” that “often enclose a syntactical unit,” see T.E.V. Pearce, “The Enclosing Word Order in the Latin Hexameter, 1,” in *CQ* N.S. 16.1 (1966), 140–171, 149–150. For the common Virgilian pattern whereby “A verb form fills the line to the A 3 caesura, a conjunction appears between the A 3 and A 4 caesurae, and a new colon begins at the A 4 caesura and is framed by an adjective ending in the B caesura and a noun at the end of the line,” see C. Conrad, “Traditional Patterns of Word-Order in Latin Epic from Ennius to Vergil,” in *HSCPh* 69 (1965), 195–258, 240–241.

strepuerunt: The verb is not particularly common in Virgil, and is possibly borrowed from Sallust (*BI* 72.2.5; 94.2.1; 98.6.3); cf. 6.709 ... *strepit omnis murmure campus* (of the bee simile in Elysium); 9.808 ... *strepit* (of Turnus’ ringing helmet as he seeks to escape the Trojan camp); 10.568 ... *streperet* (of the giant Aegaeon); *E.* 9.36 (... *sed argutos inter strepere olores*). The related noun describes the din in Dido’s palace during the banquet for Aeneas and his Trojans (1.725; cf. 1.422, of the noise in her city); the sound of the torments of the souls in Tartarus (6.559); the clamor around the shade of Marcellus (6.865); the ominous sounds of those in pursuit of Nisus (9.394 *audit equos, audit strepitus et signa sequentum*); the noise around Cacus’ lair (305 below); cf. also *G.* 3.79. A strange blend, then, of auditory associations; for the exact meaning cf. C. Schubert, “Was bedeutet *strepitus*?,” in *Glotta* 86 (2010), 145–158. Virgil does not employ the compounds *obstrepere* (Propertian; Tibullan) or *perstrepere* (Terentian; cf. *Eun.* 600, with Barsby; Propertian). The variant reading *sonuerunt* (cf. 2.113; 5.506) from P; P² replaces the rarer verb with one of Virgil’s favorites.

cornua: See here R. Meucci, “Roman Military Instruments and the *Lituus*,” in *The Galpin Society Journal* 42 (1989), 85–97, with citation of Vegetius’ definition of the *cornu* as “*quod ex uris agrestibus, argento nexum, temperatum arte spirituque canentis flatus emittit auditum*” (*Epit.* 3.5). “The musical soundscape of A. is dominated by bronze signal instruments of the horn or trumpet type ...” (S. Hagel, “Music, instrumental,” in *VE* 11, 858–859). “The *tuba* (which was straight, while the *cornu* was curved) was supposed to be of Etruscan origin ... both instruments were used in the army of v.’s time. His use of such formulas in an epic poem is not merely conventional, but part of a deliberate Romanisation of the trappings of heroic warfare” (Gransden).

cantu: For the noun see on 285.

Intonat hinc bellum tecti de culmine Turnus (*Arg. omnium operum Vergilianorum*).

3 utque acris concussit equos utque impulit arma,

utque ... utque: “The doubling and trebling of subordinate clauses is very unusual in Virgil” (Williams). Ribbeck, we might note, considered the verse spurious.

acris: A favorite Virgilian adjective. At 11.48 *acris esse viros*, Evander ruefully notes that he had warned Pallas about the men of Latium; cf. 11.800 *convertere animos acris* (of the Volscian reaction to the fatal wounding of Camilla). The adjective occurs only here in Virgil of horses; it can be applied in particular to animals of notably savage and wild temperament (*OLD* s.v. 9b). *Acer* can describe that which is especially vigorous (cf. 342 below, of Romulus).

concussit: Cf. 237 below, of Hercules, and on 3 *impulit*; 12.594, of the *fortuna* of Amata’s suicide that shakes Latinus’ city to its foundations. Here the verb means to arouse someone or something to action, to inspire or stir the spirit or emotions (*OLD* s.v. 5); it follows on 7.338 ... *fecundum concute pectus* (of Juno to the Fury Allecto). On the reversal of expected predicates, see F. Bömer, “Eine Stileigentümlichkeit Vergils: Vertauschen der Prädikate,” in *Hermes* 93.1 (1965), 130–131. The effect of the verbal exchange here is to enact and convey something of the confusion of the hurried reaction to Turnus’ summons to arms. With *concussit equos* cf. the Statian imitation *ter concussit equos* (*Theb.* 7.134); Ovid and Seneca have *concussit* with *arma* (*Met.* 12.468; Seneca, *Troad.* 683). “Shook the reins out over his chariot-horses” (Mackail).

equos: “Notable is the abrupt transition from the horn-signal on the citadel to horses, and the bold metathesis of verbs in which horses are treated like arms.” (Paschalis 1997, 275). The equine emphasis follows directly on the appearance of the Volscian heroine Camilla at the close of Book 7; it presages the climactic cavalry battle of 11 in which she plays the starring role. Camilla is also closely associated with arms (see further O’Hara 2017, 200; R.B. Egan, “Arms and Etymology in *Aeneid* 11,” in *Vergilius* 29 (1983), 19–26). A similar movement from arms to horses is found at 7.624–625 ... *pars arduus altis | pulverulentus equis furit; omnes arma requirunt*, in the wake of Juno’s opening of the Gates of War. At 11.492–497, Turnus is compared to a stallion among the mares as he proceeds to battle; the passage presages the signal role of Camilla and her female companions in the equestrian drama. For the question of whether or not the horses and arms are Turnus’ alone, see Eden ad loc.: “the horses of Turnus’ chariot, for they and the arms belong to him alone, in spite of both Servius and Henry, whose opposite view is due to a misunderstanding of both situation and language ... The violence of the expression of l. 3 ... eminently suits Turnus.” For Turnus’ propensity to violent action, see especially Schenk 1984, 189 ff.; the hero’s actions here, however, are not marked by a particularly noteworthy expression of *violentia* or audacity.

impulit: Cf. 239 below, of Hercules—a remarkable repetition of verbs in close sequence that serves to associate Turnus with Hercules. For the verb *vid.* OLD s.v. 1b: “to stir by applying force, set in motion.” *Extulit, concussit, impulit*: three actions that engender martial vigor in the assembly.

The striking elisions of the verse enact the speed of Turnus’ call to war and the Latin response. For the image cf. Plautus, *Amphit.* 244–245 *equites parent citi: ab dextra maximo / cum clamore involant impetu alacri*. “Et statim initio v. 3 non abunde solum, sed perversus est: nam animos prius turbari et saevire iuventutem consentaneum erat, tum demum equos et arma excitari” (Ribbeck, *ProL.*, 83). On the wording of the verse cf. Conte 2007, 119: “... the meaning of the phrase presents itself as normal without the expressive innovation standing out conspicuously.”

4 **extemplo turbati animi, simul omne tumultu**

extemplo: Ennian (*Ann.* fr. 14.377 Skutsch; *trag. incert.* fr. 90 Jocelyn). 14× in the A. (and once in the G.); cf. 262 below (of the opening of Cacus’ cavern to the light of day). With the opening of this verse cf. 11.451 *extemplo turbati animi*, of the Latins in the immediate aftermath of the news that the Trojans have resumed military operations—another close association of the present sequence to the drama of that book of Camilla. In that scene, too, anger plays an important part (11.452 ... *et arrectae stimulis haud mollibus irae*; cf. *saevit* below); for the possibility that the Trojans break the agreement with the Latins, see A. Carstairs-McCarthy, “Does Aeneas Violate the Truce in *Aeneid* 11?,” in *CQ* N.S. 65.2 (2015), 1–10. Turnus’ raising of the *vexillum*, and the sound of the *cornua* at once stir up the spirits and emotions of the Latin youth; they are roused to a state of fearful trepidation, as well as of angry rage (5 ... *saevitque*). Cf. also 11.618 *Extemplo turbatae acies* ... (during the cavalry battle).

turbati ... tumultu: Cf. 12.269 *turbati cunei calefactaque corda tumultu*. The “elision of long vowel across third-foot caesura” (Gransden) effectively helps to describe the state of unrest. Cf. 29 below, where Aeneas is *turbatus* in the face of the war. For the synaloepha that serves “to underscore the idea of the commotion and violence of war,” see Dainotti 2015, 161–162.

omne: With 5 *Latium*; the language neatly blends the images of civil war and of unanimity of purpose. “All Latium” swears an oath to do battle with Aeneas’ Trojans—but there are grave reservations (... *tumultu / trepido*). *Omne* highlights not only the union of central Italy, then, but also the paradox of unanimity in discord.

tumultu: The noun occurs 2× in Book 8 and 2× in 12; cf. 371 below (where Venus is not terrified by the threats of the Laurentines or moved by the tumult); 12.269 and 757.

turbati animi: For the image of nervous concern and the implications for the topos of civil war and internecine strife that pervades the Iliadic *Aeneid*, see T. Joseph, “The Disunion of Catullus’ *Fratres Unanimi* at Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.335–336,” in *CQ* N.S. 59.1 (2009), 274–278. The *tumultus* and its crucial adjective *trepidus* (5) literally embrace the verb that expresses the swearing of the oath of the Latin youth.

5 *coniurat trepido Latium saevitque iuventus*

coniurat: This is the only occurrence of the verb in the epic; cf. *G.* 1.280 and 2.497. It occurs in comedy, Caesar, and Sallust; in both of the uses from the *Georgics*, it carries dark associations (of the gigantomachy; of the Dacians). A *coniuratio* was literally a taking of a communal or corporate oath; it could have a secondary meaning of “conspiracy” (*OLD* s.v. 2); so too the verb (*OLD* s.v. 2; cf. the aforementioned *G.* passages). Here the poet may be playing on the conflicting demands of present and future; the Trojans and the Latins are, after all, destined one day to be united (even if the Latin element will predominate). Particularly in close conjunction with *saevit*, and in light of the other uses of the verb in Virgil, the tone may be deliberately ambivalent here: the poet strikes a deliberate balance between the wrongfulness of the war, and the fact that ultimately the future Rome will be Latin and not Trojan (cf. the climactic revelation of 12.833–840). “*Conjuratio, cum in subito tumultu dux, cui singulos sacramento adigere non vacabat, e Capitolio duplex attollebat vexillum; roseum unum quo pedites; caeruleum, quo equites conveniebant; simulque iurabant omnes*” (Ruaeus).

trepido: Aeneas is so described at 2.735 (in the wake of Creüsa’s disappearance), and at 6.290 (on the threshold of the underworld); so also Dido at 4.642 (where she is also *effera*; cf. 6 below, and 4.672). The phantom Aeneas that Juno sends to Turnus is a *trepida imago* (10.656); the Trojans are fearful in the face of Turnus’ onslaught at 9.756 (cf. 9.169). The Latins are *trepidi* in the wake of the news of Aeneas’ resumption of military operations (11.453, another verbal connection of the present scene with that climactic moment after the Latin war council; cf. 11.300, 12.583 and 12.730). At 12.901, Turnus’ hand is “trepid” as he attempts to hurl a boulder at Aeneas; cf. 12.748. Eden takes the adjective here and at 9.233 to mean “excited” as opposed to fearful or anxious; here it may convey the odd blend of nervous enthusiasm that often precedes great undertakings, though one cannot rule out genuine feelings of anxious misgiving, notwithstanding the anger (*saevit*). Cf. also 246 below.

Latium: 2× in the nominative in Virgil; cf. 12.826 *sit Latium*, of the powerful announcement of Jupiter to Juno about the future settlement in central Italy. 1 *Laurenti*; 5 *Latium*: all the emphasis is on the geographical glory of central Italy.

saevit: Cf. 700 below (of the depiction of Mars on the shield of Aeneas). There is a hint here (especially with the implications of 6 *effera*) that the rage and anger of the Latins is excessive; the Latins react in exactly the way one might expect from those who were infected by Allecto. For the idea that Turnus' faults are here transferred to his young companions, see Cairns 1989, 70. See further B. Gladhill, "Oaths," in *VE* 11, 923 (on those passages where *iurare* is used to describe a solemn pledge or vow, and on the establishment of *foedera*). Here the prefix works closely with 4 ... *omne* to highlight the cooperative nature of the swearing of fealty to Turnus' banner. For "Latium" as a "hiding place" (*latere*), see Henry 1989, 119–120.

iuventus: Cf. 151 below (of the Arcadians); 182 (of the Trojans); 499 (of the Etruscans who have turned against Mezentius); 545 (of the Trojans); 606 (of Aeneas and his chosen companions). A striking six occurrences, then, in this book that introduces the first movement of the fateful tragedy of Pallas. "... men of military age, from 17 to 46" (Sidgwick). *Iuventus* in the sense of "army" is Ennian (cf. Harrison *ad* 10.605). On the reaction of the Latin youth to Turnus' call to arms vid. Hahn 1930, 105, who connects the present scene with the scene in the aftermath of the report of Camilla's death: "Here *saevit* ... *iuventus effera* precisely corresponds to the result wrought by Acca's report on the behavior of our *iuvenis*" (105). Very different is the scene of these youth at 7.162–165, as Ilioneus commences his embassy to Latinus.

6 *effera. ductores primi Messapus et Ufens*

effera: A strong adjective (with enjambment to heighten the effect), with half a dozen occurrences in the epic—two in this book. At 4.642 it refers to Dido on the brink of her suicide; at 7.787 to Turnus' helmet crest with its emblematic Chimaera; at 205 below, to the *mens effera* of Cacus; and at 10.898, to Mezentius. See further Newman and Newman 2005, 256–257. Baleful associations, then, and a close connection to the Turnus who so recently entered the scene as part of the procession of Italian heroes; the Latin youth will soon enough be associated with Cacus and his wild intentions and mind, even as Virgil had just previously introduced what will prove to be a connection of Turnus to the storied demigod who would vanquish the monster. The Latin youth are notably fierce, indeed ferocious; they are led by a commander with a fire-breathing Chimaera emblem on his crest (7.783ff.; on this theme see further Paschalis 1997, 273). For "adjectival *rejet*" see Dainotti 2015, 106ff.

ductores primi: Cf. 9.226 *ductores Teucrium primi, delecta iuventus*; the phrase is perhaps inspired by Lucretius' *ductores Danaum delecti, prima virorum* (*DRN* 1.86). "Bona electio personarum ad dilectum habendum: unus eques bonus, id

est Messapus, alter pedes egregius" (Servius). Eden suspects that *ductores* was a metrically attractive Ennian substitute for *imperator(es)*. Conington argues that *primi* should be taken of the actions of the leaders, not of their relative rank. On the Virgilian uses of the noun see below on 129.

Messapus: "One of the most prominent Latin leaders in A." (A. Rossi in *VE* II, 816; cf. N. Horsfall in *EV* III, 495). For the etymological associations of the name see Paschalis 1997, 267–268. Messapus is introduced at 7.691–705 as the son of Neptune and a tamer of horses; he is celebrated for his invulnerability to fire and the sword. At 9.27 he commands the *primas acies* of Turnus' combined forces; he is utterly terrified in the wake of the magical transformation of the Trojan ships into sea creatures (9.123–124), and subsequently he is assigned siege duties by Turnus (9.159–160; cf. his role at 9.523–524). Messapus' contingent marks the limit of the nocturnal slaughter of Nisus and Euryalus (9.351–356); a helmet of Messapus will be the fateful trophy that dooms Euryalus (9.365–366; 457–458). He appears in more generic battle scenes at 10.354 and 749; he is a commander during the great cavalry battle (11.429; 464; 518–521; 603), though he plays no major part in the equestrian drama. At 12.128 he is a familiar presence in the Ausonian host; cf. 12.289–297, where the poet describes his slaying of the Etruscan king Aulestes; at 12.488–493, he is successful in shearing off the plumes of Aeneas' helmet with a throw of his spear. His last appearances (12.550 and 12.660–661) constitute somewhat anticlimactic references to a mysterious figure who is present for many of the greatest events of the Latin war, even if his own part in the military drama is perhaps oddly devoid of much in the way of especially dramatic incident. Messapus' alleged invulnerability is never a factor in his many appearances in the epic—except insofar as he is an apparent survivor of the war. For his place (out of alphabetical order) in the catalogue of 7, and his associations with the swan-like Ligurian Cycnus, see J.J. O'Hara, "Messapus, Cycnus, and the Alphabetical Order of Vergil's Catalogue of Italian Heroes," in *Phoenix* 43.1 (1989), 35–38.

Perhaps of greatest importance to Virgil, the poet Ennius claimed that he was a descendant of this traditional eponymous hero of the Messapii of Calabria (*Ann.* fr. 524 Skutsch); on the Messapians see Salmon 1982, 19–22. In the catalogue of heroes, however, Messapus' contingents are the *Fescenninas acies* and *Aequos Faliscos*, as well as those associated with Soracte, the Flavianian fields, the lake of Ciminus and the groves of Capena (7.695–697): southern Etruria. "Probably [Virgil] considered Messapia as too far-away a place to be included in his catalogue. Consequently he connected Messapus with Falerii, associated by tradition with Halaesus, who in turn is presented as coming from Campania." (Basson 1975, 136–137).

Ufens: Latin hero of the Aequi/Aequiculi from the central Apennines, introduced at 7.744–749; the homonymous river is mentioned at 7.801–802. “The shortest passage of the catalogue takes the reader to the heart of the Apennines.” (Basson 1975, 147). His four sons are taken as part of the grisly rites of human sacrifice conceived of by Aeneas in the wake of Pallas’ death (10.517–520). *Ufens* is killed by Gyas without description or comment at 12.460; Turnus later notes to his sister Juturna that *Ufens* died so that he might not see Turnus’ disgrace—and that the Teucrians now have his body and his weapons (12.641–642). See further A. Fo, “Ufente,” in *EV* IV, 354–355; L. Morgan in *EV* III, 1314; Rehm 1932, 29–30, 97–98. “*Ufens* ... alludes to Absence of Light and Blindness, which generate and mark the present conflict and eventually merge with the Darkness of Death” (Paschalis 1997, 270). For the “poet’s description of the Aequi and of their durable nature as farmers, hunters, and sturdy aggressors,” see McKay 1970, 238.

For the homonymous river see L.A. Holland, “Place Names and Heroes in the *Aeneid*,” in *AJPh* 56.3 (1935), 202–215: “*Ufens* in command of the Aequi ... has the name of a river in the Pontine marshes ... its general region is accounted for in the story of Metabus and his flight with the infant Camilla (XI, 540). It is hard to see why such a dull stream should figure in two capacities but the name of the *Tribus Oufentina* ... may give it some interest besides its association with Taracina ...” (206). For the settlement of the *tribus Oufentina* in 318, and the geography of the river and environs, see T.C.A. de Haas, *Fields, Farms and Colonists: Intensive Field Survey and Early Roman Colonization in the Pontine Region, Central Italy, Vol. I, Text*, Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library, 2011, 268.

“These are notably brisk lines, from a terse, rapid paragraph in which every opportunity for emotional amplification is brusquely thrust aside.” (Jenkyns 1998, 511).

7 *contemptorque deum Mezentius undique cogunt*

contemptorque deum Mezentius: A variation on 7.648 *contemptor divum Mezentius*, when this Etruscan monster was first introduced; elsewhere in Virgil *contemptor* occurs only at 9.205 ... *est animae lucis contemptor*, as Euryalus addresses Nisus in the prelude to the night raid. “Zusammen mit den beiden ebenfalls in Italerkatalog genannten Heerführern Messapus und *Ufens* hebt Mezentius nach dem Aufruf des Turnus zum Kampf weitere Truppen aus ... wobei der leitmotivartig vorangestellte Oberbegriff ‘ductores primi’ wohl prädikativ zu verstehen und damit auch auf der Mezentius zu beziehen ist.” (Thome 1979, 17). Shades again of gigantomachic rebellion against the immortals—and perhaps a hint of rational objection to the idea of the influence of the

gods on mortal affairs; see further L. Kronenberg, “Mezentius the Epicurean,” in *TAPA* 135.2 (2005), 403–431; also P.F. Burke, Jr., “The Role of Mezentius in the *Aeneid*,” in *CJ* 69.3 (1974), 202–209. Ovid has *contemptor superum* of the doomed Pentheus (*Met.* 3.514); Virgil may have borrowed the noun from Sallust (*BI* 64.1.4, of Caecilius Metellus, the commander against Jugurtha): it occurs 3× in Livy, and on the whole is fairly rare. For Virgilian use of such titles and labels, see M. Columba, “Virgilian Epithets in the Development of Plot,” in *CJ* 58.1 (1962), 22–24. Henry considers the question of the precise meaning of *contemptor*: atheist or despiser of the importance of the gods? Like the giants of yore, neither Mezentius nor Turnus so much disbelieves in the gods, as they believe more in the rightness of their cause; the Epicureans, too, could not fairly be called atheists.

On the question of the blindness of Mezentius, with commentary on certain aspects of his personality in Virgil, see Paschalis 1997, 343. The Etruscan king comes here as the crowning third in a line of lieutenants, as recruits are summoned for the war against Aeneas’ Trojans. An odd assemblage of allies, one might think; no book of the epic opens with so varied an assortment of names (“The passage is full of activity, full of names”—Jenkyns 1998, 329). For detailed consideration of the literary sources for Virgil’s Mezentius, note J. Glenn, “Mezentius and Polyphemus,” in *AJPh* 92.2 (1971), 129–155. For speculation on how the poet may have come to appropriate this inherited figure of the tradition for his own narrative purposes, see F.A. Sullivan, “Mezentius: A Virgilian Creation,” in *CPh* 64.4 (1969), 219–225.

“Like Iulius other names in –ius are not allowed at the end, but are generally placed in the fifth foot and occasionally in other feet, for such a cadence is required in the fifth, but optional elsewhere. The most noticeable illustration of this is Mezentius in the tenth book, though it is placed elsewhere in the verse 7.648 ... 8.7 ...” (R.B. Steele, “Names in the Metrical Technique of the *Aeneid*—In Two Parts—Part I,” in *The New York Latin Leaflet* 6.145 (1906), 1–2, 2). For the question of the spelling (cf. R *Mezzentius*), see Eden ad loc.

undique: Cf. 233 and 598 below. The adverb emphasizes the geographic spread of the allies for Turnus’ cause; soon enough we learn of how help is being sought even from more distant regions of the peninsula.

cogunt: Perhaps with a hint of compulsion and of an involuntary draft—though 5 ... *saevitque iuventus* points to strong support for the war, at least in some circles. The line-end *undique cogunt* occurs only here; Lucretius has *et radii solem cogeabant undique terram* (*DRN* 5.484); *turbine versanti magis ac magis undique nubem / cogit* (*DRN* 6.126–127).

8 *auxilia et latos vastant cultoribus agros.*

auxilia: A technical term from Roman military vocabulary. The quest for auxiliary aid is a key element in the drama of Book 8 and the poet's meditation on the results of such efforts in 11 (the requiem of the Arcadian Pallas and the return of the Venulan embassy to Diomedes). Venulus is soon enough sent to seek *auxilium* from Diomedes (8). There is a strong hint of corporate action and union in the face of the perceived Trojan threat that carries over from the dramatic depiction of the catalogue of Italian contingents in Book 7. *Venu-lus* will fail to secure aid for the Latins; *Venus* will provide divine assistance to her son Aeneas.

latos ... agros: Cf. *G.* 4.522; Tibullus, *c.* 2.3.3; *Aetna* 383 *flamma micat latosque ruens exundat in agros*; several times in Ovid, once each in Statius and Silius. "Single-syllable rhyme is fairly common before the strong caesura in the third foot and the end of the line; usually the rhyming words are noun and adjective ..." (Eden).

vastant: The poet emphasizes the effects of the war on the works of nature, and the disruption of the idyllic, pastoral life. The verb recurs below at 374, as Venus recalls to Vulcan the Greek destruction of Troy; cf. also 1.471, of the picture of Diomedes in Dido's temple to Juno, where the hero slays the sleeping companions of the Thracian Rhesus; 1.622, of Belus' actions in Cyprus. The verbal reminiscence of Diomedes comes just before the mention of Venulus' embassy to the same; two of the four Virgilian uses of the verb in the epic are associated with Greek actions during the Trojan War. For *vastare* with *agros* and similar imagery see e.g. Caesar, *BG* 1.11.3 *nostri agri vastari*; 3.29.3.1 *vastatis ... agris*; 4.38.3.3 *agris vastatis*; *Bellum Africanum* 20.4.11 *agros desertos ac vastatos esse*; 26.5.2–3 *agros vastari*; *Bellum Alexandrinum* 59.27–28 *agros vastat*; Cicero, *In Pisonem* 41.6 *agros vastaret*; 84.16 *vastarunt agros*; *Phil.* 6.5.4 *vastaturum agros*; Sallust, *BI* 20.8.1–2; 44.5.5; 69.1.3; Livy 1.15.4.4; 2.58.3.2; cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 6.1139–1140 (of the plague at Athens). These fields will be mentioned again at 11.208–209 ... *tunc undique vasti | certatim crebris conlucent ignibus agri*, as they burn with the lights of the funeral pyres of the Latin war dead (vid. Gransden ad loc.). The sheer size of the fields (*latos*) highlights the extent of the war, and the resultant devastation of agriculture.

"L'uso del verbo introduce la suggestione che il poeta parli di campi devastati dal passaggio delle truppe ... È l'idea dominante dell'*agricola* Virgilio, quella dell'umana follia che preferisce gli orrori della guerra alla edenica quiete dei campi coltivati; si pensi che siamo proprio nel libro in cui con Evandro si celebrerà l'ideale caro al poeta" (Paratore).

cultoribus: Elsewhere in the *Aeneid* only at 11.788, where Camilla's slayer Arruns recalls to his patron Apollo the actions of the fire-walkers on Soracte.

For *cultor* see Gaertner on Ovid, *Ep. Pont.* 1.3.54: “*cultor* is employed for ‘agricola’ mostly in prose, but also, less frequently, in poetry ...” Ovid imitated the present passage at *Met.* 7.653 *partior et vacuos priscus cultoribus agros*; so too Lucan (*BC* 9.162 ... *linquam vacuos cultoribus agros*). The separative ablative implicitly describes the transformation of the local population from farmers into soldiers. The Rutulians are closely associated with agriculture at 7.797–800, as Turnus’ contingents in the procession of Italian warriors are described.

9 mittitur et magni Venulus Diomedis ad urbem

mittitur: The third singular present indicative passive of the simple verb occurs here only in Virgil; cf. *E.* 4.7 ... *demittitur*; *G.* 2.164 ... *immititur*; 11.560 ... *committitur*; 11.589 ... *committitur*.

et: “Notice how often in the surrounding context (2, 8, 12, 14) a normal connective *et* occurs in the same position in the verse.” (Eden).

Venulus: This Latin emissary will reappear in Book 11, as the embassy to Diomedes’ settlement reports on its failed mission (11.241 ff.); Ovid has a treatment of the same material at *Met.* 14.457–511 (where see Myers); on such missions in the epic see K. Shannon, “Embassies,” in *VE* 1, 416–417. For the name see Paschalis 1997, 288; it may have connection to the idea/image of both *venio* and *Venus*. “Venulo è probabilmente un personaggio inventato da Virgilio” (Hardie *ad* Ovid, *Met.* 14.456).

Diomedes wounded Aphrodite in the *Iliad*; the great hero will refuse to accede to Venulus’ request that he come to the aid of the Latins. At 11.741 ff., Venulus is a victim of the Etruscan Tarchon’s ferocious onslaught. It is not precisely clear who is responsible for the embassy to Diomedes; it may well be Turnus and not Latinus. Something of an ill-omened name, in any case, for a messenger to the storied Argive hero. “Though Virgil never qualifies this Venulus as an *orator*—instead simply stating in the passive voice that Venulus “is sent”—it is clear from a subsequent relative clause of purpose that Turnus desires him to act as an ambassador” (Smith 2005, 134). On the “dangerous possibility” that Aeneas will reprise his Iliadic role as opponent of Diomedes and Achilles, see Dekel 2012, 110. We learn in Book 11 that Venulus is likely Tiburtine (11.742, 757).

Diomedis ad urbem: Cf. 11.226b; Ovid, *Met.* 14.457–458 *at Venulus frustra profugi Diomedis ad urbem | venerat*. Diomedes has a richly complex history in Virgil’s epic (see here the entries of S. Casali in *VE* 1, 372–373, and L. Fiocchi in *EV* 11, 82–83; cf. K.F.B. Fletcher, “Vergil’s Italian Diomedes,” in *AJPh* 127.2 (2006), 219–259; S. Papaioannou, “Vergilian Diomedes Revisited: The Re-Evaluation of the *Iliad*,” in *Mnemosyne* 53.2 (2000), 193–217; W.W. de Grummond, “Virgil’s Diomedes,” in *Phoenix* 21.1 (1967), 40–43). Not simply a new Achilles is

now threatened, then (6.89–90), but the return of a fearsome, implicitly still formidable Greek veteran of the war at Troy (for Diomedes as “understudy” of Achilles, see Hornblower *ad* Lykophron, *Alex.* 592–632). An increasingly crowded peninsula, at any rate, with a son of Venus and a Greek hero against whom the goddess likely holds something of a grudge.

The Argive (even if by immigration) Diomedes would be a fitting ally for Turnus, whose father Daunus was a descendant of Inachus, the river god who was the father of Io and the first king of Argos (vid. here C.J. Mackie, “Turnus and His Ancestors,” in *CQ* 41.1 (1991), 261–265, 263); there is also the Argive hero’s aforementioned tangling in battle with both Aphrodite and Aeneas (who was saved from likely death at Diomedes’ hands by Aphrodite and Apollo; cf. *A.* 1.96–98; Homer, *Il.* 5.239–318; Venus’ complaints at the council of the immortals at *A.* 10.28–30). In Homer, Aeneas is severely wounded by Diomedes while trying to defend the body of the slain Pandarus (*Il.* 5.241–310); Aphrodite is wounded in the hand while trying to rescue her son, who is subsequently shielded by Apollo (*Il.* 5.311ff.). For the cyclic tradition of Diomedes’ safe return home to Argos, see West 2013, 252–253; for the story of his wife’s infidelity and his departure for southern Italy, see Gantz 1993, 699ff. It is difficult to sort through the different threads of lore surrounding the Diomedean *nostos*: the scholia to *Iliad* 5 have Diomedes killed by King Daunus, or by an unnamed son of Daunus while hunting; he is then granted immortality by Athena, with metamorphosis of his companions into herons (cf. B.W. Boyd, “Ardea,” in *VE* 1, 121, on the Ovidian connection of Turnus’ Ardea with such avian lore). In Antoninus Liberalis (37), King “Daunios” makes an offer of land and a marriage alliance in exchange for help against the Messapians. At *A.* 11.269–277, Diomedes reports to the Latin emissaries that he was kept from seeing his *coniugium optatum* and “lovely Calydon” (*pulchram Calydona*); Calydon did figure in the traditions of Diomedes’ return from Troy in both Antoninus and Hyginus (*Fab.* 175; cf. *Dictys* 6.2), though in the larger context of the Virgilian Camilliad, the reference to a locale most famous for the celebrated boar hunt may be especially appropriate given the affinities of Camilla to Atalanta (Calydon is mentioned in Virgil only in Books 11 and 7 [306–307, where Juno laments that she cannot act in the way in which Diana avenged herself on Calydon with the boar], the two books in which Camilla makes an appearance). “In all, there were clearly some variants regarding the nature of Diomedes’ relationship with Daunus and the Italians, although all sources who consider the matter agree that he made his way to Italy after leaving Argos.” (Gantz 1993, 700).

Servius Danielis credits the satirist Lucilius as a source for Diomedean mythography here; on such Lucilian citations in the early Virgilian commentary tradition see Wigodsky 1972, 105.

urbem: A powerful word given the context of the attempted Trojan settlement in Latium: Diomedes already has his *urbs*. The city in this case is Argyripa/Arpi (on which see S. Harrison in *VE* 1, 122); if Servius is correct (*ap. A.* 11.246), the name is a corruption of *Argos Hippiion* (both Diomedes and Argos were associated with horses). "... the prestige of horse knowledge and management among the Greeks in Homer rests with the Thessalian Achilles ... the family of Thracian-Aetolian Diomede, who was an immigrant to Argos, and Pylia Nestor" (G.H. Macurdy, "The Horse-Taming Trojans," in *CQ* 17.1 (1923), 50–52).

10 qui petat auxilium, et Latio consistere Teucros,

qui petat: Cf. 10.150 *quidve petat*, etc., as Aeneas makes his appeal for help to the Etruscan Tarchon (with rather more successful outcome than the Venulan embassy). For the verb with *auxilium* (Caesarian; Sallustian; Livian) cf. the gruesome battle scene of 12.378; also *Ilias Latina* 907 *auxiliumque petit divini fluminis*. Venulus is sent to seek (*inter al.*) auxiliary aid from Diomedes; on how the Latins might have done better to consult the gods rather than at once to seek an alliance with their southern neighbor, see Fratantuono 2007, 233–234.

auxilium: With particular reference to military assistance. There is no awareness as yet among the Latins of any tradition that Diomedes' men have been transformed into birds (11.271–277; see here Gantz 1993, 699). In point of fact it will be the mysterious Camilla who reappears as a source of *auxilium* in the wake of the return of the Venulan embassy. The actual request is to be stated first, in prominent position; what follows is mostly in the way of explanation and information.

Latio: All Latium (4–5 *omne Latium*) was swearing allegiance to Turnus' cause; the Teucrians are in the midst of their realm. Venulus' report contains something of a fulfillment of the message of 1.6 *inferretque deos Latio* ("We sense a little stab of shock when Juno in the first book and Venulus in the eighth speak of Aeneas bringing his 'defeated penates' to Italy" (Jenkyns 1998, 428)); the implicit hope is that Diomedes will view the report as a *de facto* reversal of fate and fortune: the Trojans are now coming to invade his new home. For the etymological idea that Latium is no longer a safe hiding place for the Trojans in the face of war, see Paschalis 1997, 275–276. "The name of Latium, together with a multitude of other Italian proper names, comes three times in the first paragraph, two of these in phrases which, in empathy with Aeneas' enemies, convey the shock of this alien presence in the homeland" (Jenkyns 1998, 529). For *Latio* in close proximity to *Teucros* cf. 14 below with *Dardanio* and *Latio*.

consistere: Cf. below 381 *nunc Iovis imperiis Rutulorum constitit oris* (as Venus recounts the travails and efforts of her son to Vulcan); Virgil has it at 1.541 to

describe the Carthaginian efforts to keep the Trojans from landing in North Africa (and cf. 1.629, as Dido describes her own arrival; also the rhetorical 6.807 *aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?* and 10.75 ... *et patria Turnum consistere terra*). The verb is a favorite of Lucretius (e.g., *DRN* 1.168; 636; 706; 748; 2.322; 332; 697; 906). Here it describes the Trojan discovery of a new home (*OLD* s.v. 7); Aeneas and his men have stopped moving, as it were, and have settled into a new state of being. The prefix conveys both the corporate endeavor of the Trojans, and the strength of their initial landing. Cf. 6.67 ... *Latio considerare Teucros*.

Venulus' report describes exactly what Aeneas had begged of the Sibyl at 6.65–67 ... *tuque, o sanctissima vates, / praescia venturi, da (non indebita posco / regna meis fatis) Latio considerare Teucros* (where R reads *consistere*; the reading of the Wolfenbüttel in the present passage is *considerare*, which Sabbadini and Geymonat also cite in a correction of P).

Teucros: From Teucer/Teucus, the Cretan father of Tros and apparent father-in-law of Dardanus and ancestor of the Trojan monarchs (for the blood and marital ties see Gantz 1993, 215); he was mentioned in Hesiod (fr. 179 Merkelbach-West = 122 Most). "Legends agree about neither the relationship between Teucer and Dardanus, a son of Zeus who came to Asia from Arcadia, nor the question of who reached the Troad first" (K. Shannon in *VE* III, 1254). "Teucrican" is Virgil's favorite name for the Trojans; here the appellation stands in close conjunction with *Latio*, with a crucial verb between the two to mark the nascent union. For consideration of the point that in Virgil Aeneas is an Italian, "with a right to rule in Italy," see Cairns 1989, 109. By the end of the poem the Teucrican element in the equation of the future Rome will be suppressed.

"The speech which Venulus was to make—nowadays it would be a diplomatic note—is outlined in oratio obliqua ... Short as it is, it follows the accepted patterns of a policy-making speech (with *exordium* and conclusion omitted): a proposal ... a statement of the situation ... and, as an argument supporting the request for aid, a discreet allusion to Diomedes's experience of the military prowess of the Trojans." (Highet 1972, 55–56).

11 *advectum Aenean classi victosque penatis*

advectum: Elsewhere in Virgil the verb is used at 1.558 *unde huc advecti*, of the Trojans who have arrived in Dido's realm; 3.108 *Teucus Rhoeteas primum est advectus in oras*; 5.864 *iamque adeo scopulos Sirenum advecta subibat* (of the Trojan fleet as it passes the hazard of the Sirens' rock); 10.655 *qua rex Clusinae advectus Osinius oris*. The verb can describe conveyance by ship or vessel (*OLD* s.v. 4b), with *navi* or some similar word (here *classi*). *Classis* may here carry the implication of naval invasion, in paradoxical contrast to the mention

of the “defeated Penates”—the vanquished Trojans are depicted as seeking to invade a new homeland. For the possible influence of Catullus’ c. 101 on this passage, see J. Wills, “Divided Allusion: Virgil and the *Coma Berenices*,” in *HSCPh* 98 (1998), 277–305, 281–282. For the elision at the beginning of the second foot see Gransden ad loc.; here it enacts the conveyance of Aeneas.

Aenean: On the “indirect characterisation of Aeneas at 11 ff.” see Mackie 1988, 148 (referencing Fordyce ad loc.).

classi: Ablative; on the form cf. Sidgwick ad loc.: “older form ... usually weakened to *e*, surviving in *vis* always, *navis* and *puppis* sometimes ...”

victosque penatis: Echoing the powerful comment of Juno at 1.67–68 *gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat aequor | Ilium in Italiam portans victosque penatis*. Venulus’ name may recall the Trojan patroness Venus, but his words reproduce the indignant wrath of the inveterate divine enemy of Aeneas and his Teucrians. For the Penates and their role in the Aeneas legend see M. Stöckinger, “Lares and Penates,” in *VE* 11, 719–721; Bailey 1935, 91–96; G. Radke in *EV* IV, 12–16. Very different will be the appearance of the Penates on the shield at 675–679 below; cf. R.B. Lloyd, “*Penatibus et Magnis Dis*,” in *AJPh* 77.1 (1956), 38–46. There may be a hint, too, of studied rhetorical persuasion: Aeneas’ Penates are described as “defeated” as if to indicate that it should not be particularly difficult to dislodge the Trojans from their new home. For the question of the “defeated Penates” in terms of the final religious settlement of Book 12, see Wiltshire 1989, 79. *Victos* carries special force in the context of an appeal to Diomedes.

12 *inferre et fatis regem se dicere posci*

inferre: On the Virgilian vocabulary of “carrying,” with particular reference to the different ways in which Aeneas, Dido, Juno, and the narrator refer to the conveyance of the Penates, see Lyne 1989, 57–60.

fatis: With direct reference to the question of Lavinia’s marriage; Aeneas is depicted as having announced that he is the fated foreign spouse for Latinus’ daughter (cf. 7.96–101). “The rhyme with *penatis* perhaps serves to emphasise the link between the Trojan gods and the Trojan destiny” (Gransden). Holzberg 2015 notes the important link to the second verse of the epic.

regem: The opening of a powerful, rising set of references to kingship and monarchy; at 17 below, first Turnus and then Latinus will also be identified with regal title. Venulus’ report to Diomedes is that Aeneas has announced that he is fated to be king in Latium. Not only a new home for the defeated Trojans, then, but a Trojan king who seeks to lord it over the inhabitants of his new realm. Juno manipulates the language of this passage in the council of the gods at 10.65–66 *Aenean hominum quisquam divumque subegit | bella sequi aut hostem*

regi se inferre Latino? (with emphasis on Aeneas' status as *hostis*, and Latinus' as (implicitly rightful) *rex*). By the end of the opening verses of this book, any negative associations of kingship will be shared equally with Aeneas and his antagonist. There is almost something of a power struggle, one might think, in the wake of Latinus' *de facto* abdication from the reins of power at 7.594–600 (cf. Balk 1968, 81–83).

posci: For the passive infinitive cf. 11.221 ... *solum posci in certamina Turnum*, of Drances' angry words against the Rutulian.

13 *edoceat, multasque viro se adiungere gentis*

edoceat: The verb occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at 5.748 *edocet et quae nunc animo sententia constet* (Aeneas to Acestes about the dream visitation of Anchises); 10.152 *edocet* (Aeneas to Tarchon). The prefix is intensive; it refers to thorough and detailed instruction and information.

viro: Cf. 1.1.

multas ... gentis: Perhaps with rhetorical embellishment; Aeneas has not yet secured an alliance with either the Arcadians or the Etruscans, and it is difficult to reconcile the present military realities with the notion of “many nations.” Cf. 7.238, the possible source of the information. Tetlow takes this “of what is to be apprehended rather than of what is taking place.” See further Schauer 2007, 195–196.

adiungere: Virgil has the verb at 7.57 of Amata's desire to have Turnus as a son-in-law; at 7.238 *et petiere sibi et volvere adiungere gentes* (of Ilioneus' claims to Latinus; the assertions about Trojan popularity there have a ring of falsehood about them); 515 below of Evander's entrusting of Pallas to Aeneas; 9.199 (Euryalus to Nisus); 12.244 (of Juturna's portent); cf. the participial *adiuncta* at 9.69. For the verb with *viro* cf. Sallust, *BC* 24.4.3 *viros earum vel adiungere sibi vel interficere* (of Catiline). Especially in a republican context of the fear of civil war, the expression here hints at the dangers of factional strife.

14 *Dardanio et late Latio increbrescere nomen*:

Dardanio: Aeneas is referred to as the “Dardanian man,” with special reference to the appeal that the name might well have for a Latin audience (vid. Klause 1993, 107–108). Dardanus (vid. S. Harrison in *VE* 1, 338; cf. Robert 11.1, 388ff.) was an Italian prince, the son of Electra; he was connected in some way to Iasius (so *A.* 3.163ff. ... *hinc Dardanus ortus. Iasiusque pater* ...). He founded Troy after traveling from Italy to the Troad via Samothrace; here *Dardanio* and *nomen* frame the line, and the onomastic label comes in close conjunction with *Latio*. Aeneas offers Achilles a “capsule history” (so Gantz 1993, 557) of the Trojan genealogies at *Iliad* 20.215–241, where Dardanus is a son of Electra and Zeus. See here Hors-

fall ad 3.168 *Iasiusque pater*: “I. and Dardanus were indeed brothers ... and are paired on that account (I. would therefore not have been understood as father of Dardanus, or so one hopes)”; cf. Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.45; S. Casali and J.D. Morgan, “Iasius” in *VE* II, 639–640. See further below on 134.

late Latium: Effective parechesis. On such verbal games see W. Moskalaw, “Myrmidons, Dolopes, and Danaans: Wordplays in *Aeneid* 2,” in *CQ* 40.1 (1990), 275–279; here the trick is the play on the sense of Latium as a place of hiding (*latere*), and the increasingly widespread (*late*) fame of Aeneas. “The difference in quantity does not preclude a play on words” (Fordyce). The third mention of Latium in the opening sequence of Book 8; Venulus is to announce to Diomedes that the *nomen* of Aeneas is now the most popular onomastic reference in central Italy.

increbrescere: Cf. *G.* 1.359 ... *et nemorum increbrescere murmur* (of the preludes to a tempest); the (rare) inchoative verb is found in Plautus (*Merc.* 838); Catullus (c. 64.274); Germanicus (*Arat.* 108); Livy; Statius; and Silius; it is rather more common in the perfect system (Caesar; Cicero; once in Horace). Here it describes the increasing reputation of Aeneas in central Italy (*OLD* s.v. 2). Tib. has the orthography *increbrescere* here. Vida has *late increbrescere nomen* at *Christiad* 2.7, of the spreading fame of the name of Christ.

15 **quid struat his coeptis, quem, si fortuna sequatur,**

quid struat: The verb occurs 13× in the epic (two of those occurrences participial); cf. 2.60 (of Sinon), with Horsfall’s note; 4.235 *quid struit?* (where Jupiter indignantly sends Mercury to find out exactly what Aeneas is doing in Carthage); 4.271 *quid struis?* (Mercury’s question to Aeneas); 5.54 (Aeneas’ announcement of what he would be doing anywhere in the world on the memorial of his father’s death); 9.42 (Aeneas’ orders to his men not to engage the enemy while he is away seeking allies). Cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.586. Here the implicit point is that the Trojans cannot be trusted; there is some plan afoot of the sort that Diomedes of all people would know well (is there a hint that Diomedes himself is a skilled trickster?). *Quid*, then *quem*: embassies are often places of interrogation and speculative inquiry.

his coeptis: The participial form *coeptis* has baleful associations with scenes elsewhere in the epic; cf. 4.642, of Dido’s preparations for suicide; 9.296, of the night raid undertaken by Nisus and Euryalus.

quem: Ribbeck conjectured *quae*.

fortuna sequatur: For *fortuna* cf. 127 below, where we do better to capitalize the noun; note Bailey 1935, 234–241 on the meaning of the concept of fortune in Virgil. The line-end occurs also at 4.109 *si modo quod memoras factum fortuna sequatur* (Venus to Juno); 10.49 *et quacumque viam dederit Fortuna sequatur*

(Venus at the divine council). The three occurrences, then, are closely associated with the fate of the son of the goddess; the *fortuna* of Aeneas may well prove to be a combination of both destiny (*fatum*) and the luck attendant on the offspring of Venus. Cf. Manilius, *Astron.* 3.151.

16 *eventum pugnae cupiat, manifestius ipsi*

eventum pugnae: For *eventus* cf. 6.157–158 ... *caecosque volutat | eventus animo secum* (Aeneas pondering the Sibyl's words); 10.159–160 *hic magnus sedet Aeneas secumque volutat | eventus belli varios* (Aeneas with Pallas); 11.758–759 ... *ducis exemplum eventumque secuti | Maeonidae incurrunt* (the Etruscan response to Tarchon's leadership); *G.* 4.397. *Eventum pugnae* is Caesarian (*BG* 7.49.3.2); Livian (23.29.15.2; 27.1.10.1; 31.48.11.1; 42.61.8.2).

cupiat: The verb occurs 8× in the epic; 2× in the *E.* (3.65; 6.7). Sinon uses it of the alleged Greek desire to flee from Troy (2.108); at 4.394 it describes Aeneas' wish to console Dido. At 5.810 it is used by Neptune of his desire to destroy the *periuræ moenia Troiae*; at 6.717 Anchises employs it of his desire to enumerate his descendants in the *Heldenschau*. Desire is one of the emotions Anchises credits to our corporeal prison (6.733). At 9.796, Turnus is desirous (*cupiens*) of aggressive advance and battle against the Trojans in their camp; at 10.443, Turnus wishes that Evander might be present for his slaying of Pallas (*cuperem*, as of Neptune above). On the whole a not particularly positive set of associations for the verb; interestingly, in the Book 6 occurrences, Anchises first indicates that he desires to number his descendants, before observing that such an emotion is a consequence of our bodily nature—his purification evidently still in progress.

manifestius: Forms of *manifestus* are not particularly common in Virgil; at 2.309 *manifesta fides* refers to Sinon and the trickery of the Greeks on the night Troy fell; at 3.375, the same phrase is used by Helenus in a passage that highlights the “greater auspices” and divinely ordained fate that guides Aeneas. Aeneas describes the entrance of the god (i.e., Mercury) *manifesto in lumine* (4.358) in his explanation to Dido for why he must leave her, however unwillingly; cf. the Penates *multo manifesti lumine* at 3.151. Most significantly, the adjective appears in the wake of the news that this Venulan embassy has failed: 11.231–233 *deficit ingenti luctu rex ipse Latinus: | fatalem Aenean manifesto numine ferri | admonet ira deum tumulique ante ora recentes*. An interesting array of associations, then, encompassing both the notorious trickery of the Trojans, and divine epiphanies. Cf. also *G.* 2.246.

ipsi: I.e., to Diomedes, one might think (“a touch of flattery to the argument of military necessity”—Gransden). Williams notes that it could refer to Aeneas (citing the example of 5.788); Conington is open to the possibility (also

Sidgwick, and Eden), and the question may deserve more attention than it has received (Aeneas is the more proximate referent). If Aeneas is meant, the implication might well be that the Trojan leader plans to employ trickery and deceit as part of his war plan; we might consider the situation in the wake of the Latin war council in 11. Certainly Aeneas has not made his plans known either to Turnus or to Latinus. On the ambiguity see Alessio 1993, 86. “& addat, cognosci ab ipso Diomede clarius, quam a rege Turno, aut a rege Latino, quid Æneas machinetur his consiliis” (Ruaeus). Certainly Venus is frightened that Diomedes is again likely to prove a threat to her son and his people; cf. 10.28–29 ... *iterum in Teucros Aetolis surgit ab Arpis / Tydides* (from the war council). “Ambassadors do not indulge in irony” (Page).

17 quam Turno regi aut regi apparere Latino.

regi ... regi: Powerful anaphora of the image of kingship and monarch, especially so soon after 12 ... *regem*, of Aeneas' alleged assertion of his regal status (“ceremonious repetition”—Tetlow). Cf. the juxtaposition of 9.327 *rex idem et regi Turno gratissimus augur* (of Rhamnes); ... *regi Turno* at 9.369. Conington takes the language here to be reflective of the prosaic nature of an ambassador's report; so Gransden: “the formal repetition, and the chiasitic symmetry ... diplomatically conclude the proposed speech”; cf. Eden: “unpoetic.” There is something eminently Roman about the crisp, rapid flow of the actions taken here, and a strong reminiscence of the style and manner of the historians.

Gransden also observes that the point may be that Turnus and Latinus are legitimate kings, in contrast to the would-be usurper Aeneas. Certainly if the title *rex* has negative associations for a republican, post-Caesarian Augustan audience, then both Aeneas and Turnus are here indicted: both men are identified with the appellation, together with Latinus. There may also be deliberate point to ending the passage on the name of Latinus; the Latin monarch has more or less removed himself from the fray in the wake of the collapse of his original peace treaty with the Trojans—but the message to Diomedes closes with a reference to the king who in some sense has abdicated responsibility for what happens next. For the problem of Aeneas' legitimacy as king in Latium, note S.E. Stout, “How Vergil Established for Aeneas a Legal Claim to a Home and a Throne in Italy,” in *CJ* 20.3 (1924), 152–160. For the argument that “false” word is sent here to King Diomedes that two other kings are asking for help, when in fact it is only Turnus *rex* who is sending the mission, see Cairns 1989, 68. Turnus does not credit the embassy to Latinus; there is no mention, either, of the earlier dealings of Latinus with Aeneas. “Venulus sagt nichts von der demütigen Bitter der Troianer um ein kleines Stück Land, das eine neue Heimat für die

troischen Penaten werden soll.” (Binder 1971, 10). More names, too, to conclude an opening sequence that derives much of its force and vigor from onomastic display.

apparere: For the infinitive cf. *E.* 9.60; *G.* 1.484. The language of that which is readily apparent (*manifestum*) leads directly to the highly poetic description of Aeneas’ anxieties and fears that follows at once.

18–25 The scene shifts to Aeneas, who becomes aware of the martial enterprise of the Latins; the Trojan hero is consumed with worry and anxiety. The rapid thoughts of his mind are like the reflected light of the sun or moon that dances over the water in a brazen vessel and strikes panelled ceilings overhead. For the simile see Hornsby 1970, 100–103; for a cataloging of the passages in epic that precede prophecy scenes, O’Hara 1990, 54. On the passage more generally note Cairo 2013, 169 ff.; for the influence of Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.1537–1619 (the departure of the *Argo* from Triton and appearance of the sea god), on the whole sequence to 101 below, see Nelis 2001, 327–335.

18 Talia per Latium. quae Laomedontius heros

Talia ...: A brisk conclusion (with ellipsis) to the narrative of Latin preparations for war, almost in the manner of a military rescript. With this line opening cf. 729 below *Talia per clipeum Volcani*, as the book closes with Aeneas’ reaction to his divine shield; 10.602–603 *talia per campos edebat funera ductor | Dardanius* ... On the possible anagram and play on *Italia*, see. Ahl 1985, 48. Tib. read this verse without a stop after *Latium* (so Peerlkamp). For the Statian imitation at *Thebaid* 8.342 *talia apud Graios* see Augoustakis ad loc.

“Involving much of Italy, the war will be marked by confusion of frontier and confusion of scope. While the scene of battle is Latium proper, the scope is enlarged early to include several kinds of civil strife, cutting across many tribal limits, so that the war mirrors the Italian troubles in Vergil’s own century” (Di Cesare 1974, 141).

Laomedontius: Not Dardanian now, but Laomedontian: the Trojan hero is identified by reference to the notoriously mendacious father of Priam (vid. T. Joseph in *VE* 11, 719: “His name thus takes on strong associations with treachery”). The epithet is thus not at all complimentary here to Aeneas; the name stands in sharp relief with *Latium*, as the poet highlights the two sides in a war that is simultaneously foreign and civil (cf. the similar juxtaposition at 7.105 of *Ausonia* and *Laomedontia*). The Harpy Celaeno derogatorily refers to the Trojans as *Laomedontiadae* at 3.248 (where she accuses them of launching a war on her abode); cf. Dido’s insults at 4.541–542 (and see Newman 1986, 177–178;

Dido is the accusing conscience of a sinful Troy); note also 158 and 162 below, where Evander recalls his experiences with Priam. Neptune was one of the gods cheated by Laomedon; his son Messapus will figure prominently in the forthcoming campaign against the Trojans. The very mention of Laomedon serves to imply that Aeneas may have tricks in his repertoire of war plans. “I venture to suggest that Virgil, after just describing Aeneas in the words of Turnus, is still for the moment influenced by their hostile view.” (J. Husband in *CR* 32.5/6 (1918), 129–131). “With the hint of Virgil’s chosen epithet before us here, we may imagine the tale coming to Aeneas’ distracted mind ... a tale of broken promises, of another city besieged and captured by a foreign army, and of another king’s daughter threatened by terror from the sea ...” (Hunt 1973, 55, with reference to the lore of Laomedon’s daughter Hesione).

For the interpretation that the epithet is neutral here, “with none of its usual connotations,” see Petrini 1997, 54–55. “L’expression est singulière: Énée ne descend pas de Laomédon et le non de ce roi est lié à des souvenirs sinistres ...” (Perret ad loc.). For how the expression “seems to foreshadow the attention paid to lineage in the early section of the book,” see Mackie 1988, 148n3.

“Tros is always the father of Ilos, Ilos of Laomedon, and Laomedon of Priam” (Fowler 2013, 525, with stemma).

heros: For the noun see Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.289; here it may deliberately strike a jarring note given the liar with whom it is associated. “Grand periphrasis” (Gransden), but with pointed reference to the worst of Trojan traits. At 530 below Aeneas is the *Troius heros* just before the reception of the divine arms; at 8.464, Evander is identified as a hero as well.

“Il fluttuare dei pensieri di Enea perde spessore e acquista leggiadria mobilità vel volteggiare del riflessi di luce dall’acqua ai fregi del soffitto; l’abbandono alla grazia del calcio fisico svara dallo stato morale che richiederebbe una traduzione in immagini atipiche, se non della stessa angosciosa serietà.” (Canali 1976, 62). On Aeneas’ mood and the question of his possible “reversion” to old patterns of despair, see Otis 1964, 332.

19 *cuncta videns magno curarum fluctuat aestu*

cuncta videns: Aeneas is aware of the Latin preparations for war, and in their totality; there may be an implicit contrast with the Latin ignorance of Aeneas’ battle plans. Servius notes that Aeneas could not actually see what was happening, and so the phrase must be interpreted as “mente pertractans.” Just possibly there is a hint of a borrowing of the idea that the sun (which is soon to be introduced in simile) sees all (on which see Bömer *ad* Ovid, *Met.* 1.769). There is a deliberate contrast here between the totality of Aeneas’ knowledge, and his uncertainty about the right course of action, and between the

swift and decisive actions of the Latins and the puzzlement of Aeneas as to the appropriate set of actions.

fluctuat: Cf. 4.532 *saevit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu* (of Dido; note 4.564 ... *variosque irarum concitat aestus* (also of Dido), where some manuscripts read *varioque irarum fluctuat aestu*); 10.680 *haec memorans animo nunc huc, nunc fluctuat illuc* (of Turnus after the trick of the Aeneas phantom); 12.486 ... *vario nequiquam fluctuat aestu* (of Juturna); 12.587 *fluctuat ira intus* (of Aeneas and Turnus). The water imagery is especially appropriate as we move from the mention of Neptune's son and the memory of Laomedon's perjury against the god to the epiphany of Tiberinus. The metaphor is highly reminiscent of Dido's emotional reaction to Aeneas' planned departure from Carthage; the comparison is not flattering to the Laomedontian (and the echo of the Dido episode continues at once in the repetition of 4.285–286 that follows). On the connection between Dido's wrath and the war in Italy that now so vexes Aeneas with cares, see J.T. Dyson, "Fluctus Irarum, Fluctus Curarum: Lucretian *Religio* in the *Aeneid*," in *AJPh* 118.3 (1997), 449–457 (with reference to Moskalew 1982, 173–174). The storm and wave imagery highlights, too, how the travails Aeneas and his Trojans suffered on the sea have continued on land, both in Africa and in the promised homeland of Italy. The expression is old (Plautus, *Merc.* 890 *Quid si mi animus fluctuat?*); cf. *Rud.* 303 *atque ut nunc valide fluctuat mare, nulla nobis spes est*. Catullus has *prospicit et magnis curarum fluctuat undis* (c. 64.62) of Ariadne; cf. c. 65.4 *mens animi tantis fluctuat ipsa malis*; Lucretius, *DRN* 4.1077 *fluctuat incertis erroribus ardor amantum*; the martial imagery of *G.* 2.280–282; Livy's use of *fluctuatus animo*. "After the failure of her appeal, Dido is represented in distress like that of Ariadne, and the words that depict it are both alike and different ... Later on, in the eighth book, Vergil reverted to the *curarum* but did not venture to try the *magnis undis*, in other words, to copy a half line intact." (C.W. Mendell, "Vergil's Workmanship," in *CJ* 34.1 (1938), 9–22, 15).

aestu: The noun has a rich and evocative range of meanings, from the heat and blaze of summer to the metaphorical flames of passion and frenzied emotional fury; it can denote the motion of a stormy sea, the current and tide of water, and a state of mental disturbance and anxiety (*OLD* s.v. 9). Cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 5.1435 *et belli magnos commovit funditus aestus*; Ps.-V., *Culex* 164–165 *immanis vario maculatus corpore serpens, | mersus ut in limo magno subsideret aestu*.

Virgil's sleepless Aeneas owes much to the poet's own depiction of Dido, and to his imitation of both Catullus' Ariadne and Apollonius' Medea at *Arg.* 3.744 ff. (see here Lyne 1987, 125 ff.; Nelis 2001, 328–335, the former with consideration (131) of the notion of "poetic justice": "There is some consolation here for Dido, some *Schadenfreude* for her ghost"). This is part of the incarnation of Dido's

curse; the Trojan hero is now on another shore, and this time in seemingly less control of events than he was (at least in Dido's estimation) in North Africa. On Virgilian scenes of Aeneas in emotional and mental turmoil, see W.W. de Grummond, "Aeneas Despairing," in *Hermes* 105.2 (1977), 224–234.

20 atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc

The first of two verses repeated without alteration from 4.285–286, where Aeneas is in an emotional quandary after the visitation of Mercury and the receipt of the Jovian injunction to leave Dido's Carthage. The whole atmosphere is redolent with the spirit and memory of Aeneas' sojourn with the North African queen; the forthcoming simile that is borrowed from Apollonius' description of Medea adds emphasis to the picture (cf. the fluttering of her heart at *Arg.* 3.755). We may recall that Book 5 opened in the immediate aftermath of the Dido tragedy; even now, in the ever more distant aftermath of the hero's visit with her shade in the underworld, the spell and curse remain vivid and strong. For the question of the editorial deletion of these lines at 4.285–286, see Pease ad loc. More generally on the reminiscence here of the tragedy of Dido, see Monti 1981, 90 ff. "Bizarrely concrete metaphors for thought ... (Aeneas) is like a virtuosic animal trainer." (Reed 2007, 187). The textual allusions and echoes invite consideration of the appropriateness of Aeneas' extreme mental exertion in the matter of what to do in Carthage. For the "onomatopoeia of indecision" see Distler 1966, 300.

atque: "And, what is more ..." Heinsius (who omits the full stop after 4.286 *versat*) objected to the conjunction in this passage in Book 4; Austin ad loc. sees no problem.

animum ... celerem: The mind is swift, and it is dazzled by the rapid sequence of events. "Proverbial of the mind and its processes" (Pease). Eden takes the adjective as adverbial, or else "purely ornamental: it is not specially appropriate to Aeneas here, and the speed of the human mind was a commonplace." Indeed, Aeneas' mind may be said to be "swift," but decisive action seems to come slowly to the cautious hero.

huc ... illuc: Cf. *G.* 2.297; *A.* 4.363 *huc illuc volvens oculos* (of Dido); 5.408 *huc illuc vinclorum immensa volumina versat*; the parallel 5.701–702 *nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas / mutabat versans*; 229 below *accessum lustrans huc ora ferebat et illuc* (of Hercules); the gruesome 9.755 *huc caput atque illuc umero ex utro pendit*; the parallel 10.680 *haec memorans animo nunc huc, nunc fluctuat aestu* (of Turnus); 12.763–764 *quinque orbis explent cursu totidemque retextunt / huc illuc* (of Aeneas and Turnus).

dividit: The verb occurs 8× in the epic (3× in the *G.* and once in the *E.*), only here in Virgil of the division of one's mind. The start of another triple action:

first Aeneas' mind is described as being divided now here, now there; then the hero is said literally to snatch it away into different directions, and finally to meditate on all that has transpired.

21 in partisque rapit varias perque omnia versat,

Ps.-Acro *ad* Horace, c. 2.16.11 omits this verse in his praise of lines 20–25.

partis ... varias: With pointed force in a context rife with the imagery of civil war; it is as if Aeneas' own mind rebels against him, and he cannot settle on a fixed course of action. "In a complex, psychologically subtle way, the poet reveals Aeneas' agitated mind" (Rosenberg 1981, 50).

rapit: Following closely on 20 *celerem*.

omnia versat: The line-end is Lucretian (*DRN* 2.881–882 *non alia longe ratione atque arida ligna / explicat in flammis et in ignis omnia versat*); cf. *E.* 9.5 *nunc victi, tristes, quoniam fors omnia versat*; Silius, *Pun.* 7.141. On such Virgilian modes of expression that concisely convey complex thought, see A.K. Keith, "Briefly Speaking' in Vergil," in *The Classical Weekly* 15.7 (1921), 50–51. For the verb cf. 1.656–657 *At Cytherea novas artis, nova pectore versat / consilia*; 2.62 *seu versare dolos* (of Sinon); 4.563–564 *illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat / certa mori*; 4.630 *Haec ait, et partis animum versabat in omnis* (again of Dido); 5.701–702 *nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas / mutabat versans* (of Aeneas); 10.285 ... *secum versat* (of Turnus); 11.550–551 ... *omnia secum / versanti subito vix haec sententia sedit* (of Metabus). The elision of *perque omnia* enacts the action of Aeneas as he moves mentally through the different possible responses to Turnus' actions.

22 sicut aquae tremulum labris ubi lumen aënis

The opening of the celebrated first simile of the book, a famous imitation of Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.755–760 (where see Hunter *ad loc.*); cf. Hügi 1952, 36; Clausen 1987, 61 ff.; Nelis 2001, 331 ff. In Apollonius, Medea is consumed with sleepless worry and distress for Jason as he prepares to face fire-breathing bulls; in Virgil's appropriation of the image, Aeneas is restless in the wake of the eruption of war in Latium. Apollonius' Medea sees three options: provide the means by which Jason may defeat the bulls; destroy herself together with him; endure her turmoil and calamity (*Arg.* 3.766–769). This is one of three similes in the epic taken entirely from Apollonius; cf. 5.273–279 and 6.453–454.

More generally on the Medea-imagery of the epic, see Y. Baraz, "Euripides' Corinthian Princess in the *Aeneid*," in *CPh* 104.3 (2009), 317–330. For the background of the Medea-myth see Mastronarde 2002, 44–57. "It must be owned that the comparison is more pleasing when applied ... to the fluttering heart of Medea, than to the fluctuating mind of Aeneas" (Conington). Medea was the

granddaughter of Helios (cf. Pacuvius, *Medus* fr. 232–233 Warmington *te, Sol, invoco, / inquirendi ut mei parentis mihi potestatem duis*); cf. the solar imagery of verse 23. Dido has obvious enough affinities with Medea; Virgil here takes the extraordinary step of making the Colchian princess a model for Dido's former lover, the Laomedontian hero Aeneas; the trickery of the Trojans may lurk behind the implicit comparison, and also the situation of Lavinia (cf. the Corinthian princess). Cf. also Homer, *Od.* 4.45–46 (where a gleam as of sun or moon appears on the ceiling of Menelaus' palace); *Od.* 7.82–85, of the same phenomenon in Alcinous' hall, with brazen threshold and a reflective Odysseus ("Sun and moon appear frequently in comparisons"—Garvie ad loc.—but no moon in Apollonius' Medea simile). For further Medea imagery in this book, see below on 408–414. Book 8 has affinities with Book 4; both close respective thirds of the epic; for commentary on the Didonian threads that connect 4 to 8 and beyond to 10–12, see Newman and Newman 2005, 161–164.

Lurking here too is Lucretius, *DRN* 4.211–213 *quod simul ac primum sub diu splendor aquai / ponitur, extemplo caelo stellante serena / sidera respondent in aqua radiantia mundi*, where the stars of the sky appear in an open vessel of water. The Lucretian image of *DRN* 4.211–213 envisions the splendor of the celestial array as it appears in a small vessel of water; in the present scene, what dances on the ceiling, as it were, are the war preparations of the Latins ("By the start of book 8, Turnus, his allies, and the dangers they present have become the "constellations" which trouble Aeneas' mind" (Putnam 1995, 118–119n18)). For a cautionary note on finding too much of Epicurean philosophy in the imagery of the simile, see A.S. Pease, "Virgilian Determinism," in *The Classical Weekly* 15.1 (1921), 2–5. "Introduced by *sicut*. A nature simile from the *Argonautica* ... The resemblance is far-fetched, for the uncertainty of Aeneas' mind is compared to the dancing reflection of the sun in a caldron of water. The intended purpose is clearness; the similarity that of movement." (F.L. Black, *Virgil's Use of Simile in the Aeneid*, M.A. Dissertation, Chicago (1908), 37). Montaigne used the present simile in his *De l'oisiveté* as an example of those afflicted with an idleness that allows their minds to wander to no good purpose.

"What you say of the uneasiness & commotion, rais'd in the Soul by the eager contest of such opposite passions, as anger, love, & resentment, puts me in mind of that fine distress, in wch. we find Aeneas in the beginning of the 8th Aeneid. The comparison the Poet makes use of in order to illustrate this, is so remarkably beautiful, yt. I need not make any apology for transcribing it ..." (letter of Richard Hurd, Bishop of Worcester and editor of Horace, 18 January, 1740, in Brewer 1995, 33.). The verses effectively bounce around, casting the reader's own *lumina* now in this direction, now in that—as if reflecting the reflected the glancing *lumen* that Virgil describes.

sicut: “*Sicut* occurs several times in Lucretius, but nowhere else in Virgil” (Clausen 2002, 154n3).

aquae: “We probably need not decide whether *aquae* goes with *labris* or *lumen*; though we have to translate it with one or the other in English, in Latin why should it not go with both?” (G. Lee, “Imitation and the Poetry of Virgil,” in *G&R* 28.1 (1981), 10–22, 16, with careful consideration of this “mind-teaser” of a simile). Aeneas’ anxious thoughts are evidently compared to the light from the sun or the moon that is reflected off the water; the complex image may point to a dichotomy between the corporeal Aeneas (i.e., the water), and the dancing, reflected light of the thoughts of his mind. The water prepares us for the appearance of Tiberinus; it also reflects the long sea journey of Aeneas and his Trojans to Hesperia. The water in Apollonius has been recently poured; the omission of the detail in Virgil may reflect the length of time of Aeneas’ fraught meditation. We may compare the parallel water imagery in the description of Turnus’ anxiety at 7.462 ff.

tremulum: Also of light at 7.9 ... *splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus*; cf. 7.395 *ast aliae tremulis ululatibus aethera complent*; *E.* 8.105 ... *corripuit tremulis altaria flammis*. For the adjective with *lumen* cf. Manilius, *Astron.* 1.863; Ovid, *Her.* 18.59; the language may be borrowed from Ennius (*Melanippa* fr. 250 Jocelyn *lumine sic tremulo terra et cava caerulea candent*; Horsfall reminds us *ad* 7.9 that the Ennian context is uncertain); Jocelyn *ad loc.* compares Lucretius, *DRN* 4.404–405 and 5.697. The light is quivering because of the motion of the water in the vessel; water imagery is appropriate for an Apollonian comparison of Medea given her connection to sea journeys, and to Aeneas for the same reason.

The beginnings of Books 7 and 8, then, have “tremulous light”; the description of 7.8–9 *aspirant aerae in noctem nec candida cursus | luna negat, splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus* is in some sense recreated in the present simile. In Book 7 it heralded the approach to and skirting of the lands of Circe by the Trojan fleet; Circe was the daughter of Helios, like Medea a descendant of the sun, another sorceress and practitioner of magical arts. Aeneas and his Trojans seemingly evaded the Odyssean hazard of Circe’s lair (the credit Neptune’s), with its fantastic metamorphoses; now the *Laomedontius heros* who had left Dido is poetically transformed into Medea. For the “uneasy serenity” of the image of the moon and the night’s journey from Book 7, see P.A. Johnston, “The Storm in *Aeneid* VII,” in *Verg.* 27 (1981), 23–30. On the question of the cautious Aeneas’ propensity to avoid danger (*contra* his Odyssean heroic predecessor), see Powell 2008, 103–105; *tremulo* is a nervous word, with a sense of unease and concern about the future (cf. 4–5 *tumultu | trepido*).

labris: The noun *lābrum* occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at 12.417 ... *hoc fuscum labris splendentibus amnem* (during the Venusian curing of Aeneas’ wound); *G.*

2.6 *floret ager, spumat plenis vindemia labris*: a large basin or bowl. On the “low” word relative to epic register, see Clausen 2002, 155n4; if there is a certain homeliness to *labris*, the revelation of the *laquearia* of 25 is all the more striking.

ubi: For the postponement of the conjunction see Eden ad loc.

23 *sole repercussum aut radiantis imagine lunae*

sole ... lunae: The sun and the moon frame the line, with possible evocation of the divine twins Apollo and Diana. The reflection of moonlight will figure in the doom of Euryalus (9.373–374), as Messapus’ stolen helmet serves to betray its thief. Sunlight is eminently fitting for a description of Medea, given her family tree; Virgil reintroduces the moon that is found in the aforementioned Homeric antecedents of the passage, and, just possibly, anticipates the nocturnal nature of Tiberinus’ visit: narrative by simile, as we move toward the nighttime dream epiphany of the river god. For the sun see further on 97 below.

repercussum: Enallage. “The light ... is caused by sun and moon, by outside forces of nature ... The outside world, if viewed in relation to the book’s opening lines, seems to be that of Italy, typified in the character of Turnus. He symbolically begins the war by striking his steeds (*acris concussit equos*: line 3) and is the indirect cause of Aeneas’ thoughts, of the *lumen repercussum*, as it jumps here and there ...” (Putnam 1966, 108). The verb occurs only here in Virgil. Cf. Ovid’s imitation at *Her.* 18.77 *unda repercussae radiabat imagine lunae*. The light from the sun or the moon is reflected off the water, and strikes the ceiling; it dances over the water, as it were, and plays on the roof. There is an obvious enough connection to 7.462–466, where Turnus’ rage is compared to a scene of boiling water in a cauldron, complete with steam rising up in the air. Light, we might say, and not heat and flame, mark the thoughtful reflection of Aeneas (however nervous and inconclusive). “The light is struck back, thrown off from the water by the sun or the moon’s reflection” (Fordyce). The water is not still, but rather tremulous; still, it is not boiling over and sending smoke to the rafters. The kindling and flame of the Turnus simile can be connected with Allecto and Junonian fury; the influence on Aeneas’ anxious thoughts are less clearly expressed.

“‘Sole repercussum’ is another instance of Virg.’s recondite use of words ... the conception apparently being that the light glances from the water to the sun and is sent back. In the rest of the verse he changes the notion, making the light sent back not by the moon but by the reflection of the moon. Virg. evidently cared as little for consistency of thought as for scientific truth.” (Conington).

radiantis: Elsewhere in Virgil only at 616 below, where it describes Aeneas’ divine arms as they hang on an oak tree. The special description of the moon

as “radiant” presages the narrative of the nocturnal visit of Tiberinus. “Not at all because the moon was more radiant than the sun, or more deserving of an ornamental epithet, but because the ornamental epithet was more required by an object not only in itself inferior, but occupying an inferior position in the verse” (Henry). On Virgil’s nocturnal interiors, see Jenkyns 2014, 285 ff.

imagine: Properly of an image reflected in a mirror (*OLD* s.v. 3); also of an image emitted by an object (as in Epicurean philosophy). Fordyce (after Servius) thus takes the noun of the reflection of the moon, and not of the moon’s face (*contra* Henry, in prolix commentary). For the noun see below on 671.

lunae: For the “lunar associations” of Dido, see Newman and Newman 2005, 178–179. Aeneas is compared to Apollo at 4.141–150; Dido to Diana at 1.496–504; the sun and moon in the present simile may deliberately allude to the divine comparisons of the two lovers (an image that itself deliberately evokes Ptolemaic imagery of sibling marriage; vid. P. Hardie, “Virgil’s Ptolemaic Relations,” in *JRS* 96 (2006), 25–41). On the image of the light of the moon Jenkyns 1998, 527 notes: “Superb as an image of restless anxiety, Virgil’s simile yet has room for night, space, stillness, and a tremulous beauty—the lilting rhythm of ‘radiantis imagine lunae’ both troubles and delights.”

24 omnia pervolitat late loca iamque sub auras

For the bucolic diaeresis see Eden ad loc.: “Originally this pause seems to have carried with it overtones of pathos.”

pervolitat: The verb occurs only here in Virgil; it is probably borrowed from Lucretius (*DRN* 2.145; 346; 6.952). Cf. Manilius, *Astron.* 2.66; 5.65; 87; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.505; quite rare otherwise. The prefix (in close conjunction with the adverb *late*) describes how the light penetrates widely and deeply.

late: Cf. on 14 above; once again Virgil plays on the name of Latium. For *late loca* cf. *G.* 4.515 ... *et maestis late loca questibus implet*; *A.* 2.495 *immissi Danai et late loca milite complent*; 6.98 *dat lucem et late circum loca sulphure fumant*; 6.265 *et Chaos et Phlegethon, loca nocte tacentia late*; 9.189–190 *lumina rara micant, somno vinoque sepulti | procubuerunt, silent late loca* ... The adverb may refer both to the spread of the light, and to the large space in which it plays; as the image reaches its close, we learn just how impressive a space is envisioned. *Late loca* hints at the reality of the large coalition that has massed against Aeneas (who is for the moment bereft of allied support); it plays on the notion of hiding that is inherent in *Latium*.

sub auras: For the line-end cf. 2.158 *fas odisse viros atque omnia ferre sub auras* (of Sinon); 3.422 *sorbet in abruptum fluctus rursusque sub auras* (of Charybdis); 3.546 ... *liquefactaque saxa sub auras* (of Etna); 4.494; 504 (of the loca-

tion of Dido's pyre); 7.768 ... *et superas caeli venisse sub auras* (of the reborn Hippolytus). Lee (*op. cit.*, 16) wonders if the seemingly shifting imagery of the simile involves an outdoor fountain as well as a cauldron or similar vessel of water. Perhaps with a hint of the great, lofty height of the ornately decorated space? Aeneas is trapped in Latium, the preeminent hiding place of Saturn; the dwelling in which the light of the simile is envisioned may be large, but it also confines. Are we to think of Saturnian/Jovian rivalry, indeed of Saturnian Juno and possible associations of Saturn with Italy *contra* the Trojan origins of Aeneas?

25 *erigitur summi que ferit laquearia tecti.*

erigitur: For the form cf. 417 below; 9.239–240 (of smoke). The verb is used elsewhere in Virgil of Charybdis (3.423); of Etna (3.576); of Dido's pyre (4.495); of the setting up of the mast for the archery contest (5.488); of Allecto's raising up of her twin serpents (7.450); of the sea stirring up waves (7.530)—a mixed set of associations, though on the whole rather ominous.

summi ... tecti: So at 4.185–187 ... *nec dulci declinat lumina somno; | luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti | turribus aut altis* (of Fama); cf. 2.302 *excitior somno et summi fastigia tecti* (of Aeneas on Troy's last night), with Horsfall's note; 2.460–461 *turrin in praecipiti stantem summisque sub astra | eductam tectis*.

ferit: The light (like smoke) is raised up, until it strikes the roof—which may come as something of a surprise after 24 *sub auras*. The verb occurs twice in the narrative of the storm from Book 1 (103; 115); of the shout that reaches the stars in Priam's palace (2.488); of Aeneas striking the ropes that hold his ship as he leaves Carthage (4.580); of the shout of the sailors during the regatta (5.140); of Aeneas' infernal sacrifices (6.251); of Tarchon striking an alliance with the Trojans (10.154); of Aeneas' killing of Lichas (10.315); of Clausus' slaying of Dryops (10.346; 349); of Halaesus' attack on Thoas (10.415); of the cry that strikes the stars in the aftermath of Camilla's fatal wounding (11.832); of Messapus' killing of Aulestes (12.295); of Corynaeus' of Ebysus (12.304); of Thymbraeus' of Osiris; of Turnus in his attack on the brothers Amycus and Dioreas (12.511); of Turnus again, with his sword that is soon to break (12.630): overwhelmingly in battle contexts, and at moments of high emotion in the fall of Troy and the disastrous aftermath of the cavalry battle. (The plural *feriunt* occurs in nautical contexts at 3.290 and 5.778).

laquearia: Cf. 1.726–727 ... *dependent lychni laquearibus aureis | incensi et noctem flammis funalia vincunt* (the only other use of the noun by the poet). We are thus returned to the world of Dido's banquet, to the scene of the trickery of Venus with the substitution of Cupid for Ascanius, etc. For the (poetic,

not particularly common) noun see also Ps.-V., *Culex* 64; Manilius, *Astron.* 5.288; 659; Persius, s. 3.40; Statius, *Theb.* 1.144; *Silv.* 3.3.103; 4.2.31; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.243 (“*laquear* is an infrequent word (TLL 7.2.959.29 ff.), in poetry from the model *Aen.* 8 ... or *Aen.* 1. onwards”—Wijsmans ad loc.). The image thus closes on a powerful, almost surprise note of place and locale; the restless, sleepless Aeneas is described in language that evokes the memory of Apollonius’ Medea (herself a model for Virgil’s Dido), and the setting of the simile recalls the venue where the fateful love of the Trojan and the Carthaginian was first set in motion. “This word is generally interpreted to mean, like *lacunar*, a panel in a fretted ceiling” (Nettleship 1889, 513, with consideration of *laquear* as meaning “a chain attached to a noose,” as opposed to *lacuar* for the ceiling panel). The *schol. Ver.* reads *lacuaria* here, along with “many others” (*multi*), *teste Servio*; so Ribbeck. For the image of the “fretted” roof see J.A. Freeman, “The Roof Was Fretted Gold,” in *CompLit* 27.3 (1975), 254–266; the word strongly influenced T.S. Eliot (“no doubt because of its musicality, its feelings of languorous suavity”—G. Reeves, “‘The Waste Land’ and the ‘Aeneid,’” in *The Modern Language Review* 82.3 (1987), 555–572). For the “Lucretian images of superfluous ornament” see J.T. Dyson, “Dido the Epicurean,” in *CLAnt* 15.2 (1996), 203–221, 208. No wrath and anger in the picture of Aeneas, then, but rather the world of Medea, Dido, and her opulent palace.

For the influence of the present verse on D. 1786 B, b 2 [*aurea*] *culminibus fulgent laquearia tectis* see Hoogma 1959, 304. Ronsard has *Ce prompt esclaire ores bas ores haut | Par la maison sautelle de maint saut | Et bond sur bond aux soliveaux ondoye* (*Franciade* 3.647–649), in imitation of Virgil’s memorable image.

26–35 It was night, and throughout the animal kingdom there was the rest and peaceful slumber of the darkness; Aeneas finally succumbs to a late sleep. The river god Tiberinus manifests himself to the Trojan hero in a dream epiphany. On the association between the dreams of Aeneas and the dream appearance of the Muses to Callimachus after he was transported to Hippocrene on Helicon, see George 1974; M.A. Tueller, “Well-Read Heroes Quoting the *Aetia* in *Aeneid* 8,” in *HSCPh* 100 (2000), 361–380. For general commentary, see Buchheit 1963, 181 ff. On incubation scenes cf. Harris-McCoy 2012, 14. L.T. Percy notes that the *Aeneid* has more dreams than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combined (“Dreams,” in *VE* 1, 383–384). This night is reminiscent of that at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.744–750; cf. Nelis 2001, 333 ff.

26 *nox erat et terras animalia fessa per omnis*

Seneca the Elder (*Contr.* 7.1.27.13) cites the example of the unhappy attempt at imitation of 27–28 by one Cestius; Julius Montanus noted that the Greek was trying to copy Virgil, who had done a better job imitating Atacine Varro's *desierant latrare canes urbesque silebant*, / *omnia noctis erant placida composita quiete* (fr. 8 Morel), itself modeled also on Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.749–750. See further C. Trinacty, "Like Father, Like Son?: Selected Examples of Intertextuality in Seneca the Younger and Seneca the Elder," in *Phoenix* 63.3/4 (2009), 260–277. (Seneca quotes the the second Varran verse at *Ep.* 56.6, as part of his reflection on how night brings not rest but trouble for those who are disquieted). The present scene owes much to 4.522–523 *Nox erat et placidum carpebant fessa soporem* / *corpora per terras*, etc., where the world of nature is at rest as Phoenician Dido finds no release from her cares; also 3.147 *Nox erat et terris animalia somnus habebat* (before the dream visitation of the Penates); cf. 9.224–225 *Cetera per terras omnis animalia somno* / *laxabant curas et corda oblita laborum*. Virgil has resumed his narrative, as it were, in the wake of his Apollonian simile, but the borrowing from Medea/Dido lore continues—narrative by intertextuality.

nox erat: Cf. Horace, *ep.* 15.1–2 *Nox erat et caelo fulgebat Luna sereno* / *inter minora sidera*; *Ilias Latina* 111–112 *nox erat et toto fulgebant sidera mundo* / *humanumque genus requies divumque tenebat*; Ovid, *Am.* 3.5.1. On night in Virgil see A. Bagnolini, "Nox," in *EV* 111, 77–772; L. Fratantuono and R.F. Thomas in *VE* 11, 904–905; G.F. Osmun, "Night Scenes in the *Aeneid*," in *Verg.* 8 (1962), 27–33; also L. Fratantuono, "*Necdum Orbem Medium*: Night in the *Aeneid*," in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 56.3 (2016), 315–331. "That opening 'nox erat, et ...' has a sense of familiarity; we feel as if Virgil were always saying it. In fact, he uses that opening, in those words, twice elsewhere, and he has used the idea, though not the precise idea, twice more. The reason why we feel that we know them so well is that they are always so portentous." (J.R. Bacon, "Aeneas in Wonderland: A Study of *Aeneid* VIII," in *CR* 53.3 (1939), 97–104, 98). Gods and men may rest at *Il.* 2., 1ff., but Zeus remains awake as he ponders how to honor Achilles—a passage that Poliziano recast in Virgilian language (*Nox erat, et summo radiabant sidera caelo*, / *Divorumque hominumque genus sopor altus habebat*; see further A.L. Rubinstein, "Imitation and Style in Angelo Poliziano's *Iliad* Translation," in *RQ* 36.1 (1983), 48–70). For an argument on how this night is not the night preceding the arrival at Pallanteum, see G.E. Duckworth, "The Chronology of *Aeneid* VIII–X," in *AJPh* 59.2 (1938), 135–144, 135n2 (with extensive bibliography on timeline controversies). The present night will end at 67, as Aeneas rises from sleep and tends (more or less) to what Tiberinus enjoined on him in a dream visitation.

animalia fessa: A general zoological reference in place of the Apollonian barking of dogs; on Virgilian canines see R.F. Thomas, “Animals, Domestic: Canines” in *VE* 1, 86: “Most dogs in *A.* appear in the context of hunting.” It is possible that the Virgilian avoidance of the Apollonian mention of dogs reflects the prominent role the animal plays in the start of the Latin war (7.749–782, where Ascanius’ hunting hounds are possessed by Allecto): the animal world may be at rest, but Virgil avoids specifying the dogs of his poetic model. The Virgilian passage emphasizes the world of nature; there is no mention of the men who are soon to be involved in the full scale military operations of the war. P read *fasta* here, with a correction into *fessa*; were the animals thought to be marked aside as sacrificial victims?

per omnis: The line-end is Lucretian (*DRN* 5.398 *aethere raptavit toto terrasque per omnis*, of Phaëthon). The reference to “all the lands” once again highlights the broad expanse of territory that seems to be arrayed against Aeneas, even as it hints at the eventual broad scope of Roman dominion.

For the influence of this scene on Tasso’s description of the sorcerer Ismeno’s encouragement of Solimano in *GL* 10, stanza 3, see R.W. Lee, “Observations on the First Illustrations of Tasso’s *Gerusalemme Liberata*,” in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 125.5 (1981), 329–356, 337n43.

27 *alituum pecudumque genus sopor altus habebat*,

alituum: Archaic and eminently Lucretian (*DRN* 2.928; 5.801; 1039; 1078; 6.1216); cf. Manilius, *Astron.* 5.369; Statius, *Silv.* 1.2.184–185 *alituum pecudumque genus mihi durique ferarum | non renuere greges*. “Curious resolved gen.” (Sidgwick). “... plus propre à entrer dans l’hexamètre que le régulier *alitu*” (Guillemin).

pecudum: Cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 6.1092; 1127; in Virgil at *E.* 6.49; *G.* 3.383; 471; 480; 4.327; *A.* 4.63; 201; 5.736; 10.176; 12.174 (all five occurrences in sacrificial contexts); 6.728 *inde hominum pecudumque genus vitae volantum*. The tired animals are now specified; the birds of the air and the beasts of the land alike all find their rest.

sopor altus: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 7.667 ... *sed adhuc regem sopor altus habebat*; note *Ilias Latina* 120–122 (of Somnus’ visit to Agamemnon). *Sopor* describes a particularly deep sleep (and hence can be applied to the sleep of death); the adjective only strengthens the point. Sleep possesses the animals of the world, in contrast to the noisy beasts of 7.15–18 (the victims of Circean magical transformation). *Sopor* as the brother of Death (vid. West *ad Theog.* 755–756) is one of the personifications at the threshold of the underworld (6.278). No particularly ominous associations for the deep slumber here, though the uneasy mood continues, especially on the vigil of war; elsewhere in the epic *sopor* describes the last sleep before the fall of Troy (2.252–253 ... *fusi per moenia Tecuri | conticuere*

...); the Trojan rest at Acroceraunia (3.511 *corpora curamus, fessos sopor inrigat artus*); 406 below (of the deep sleep that Vulcan enjoys with Venus before the forging of the arms); cf. 3.173.

habebat: The tense is durative, frequentative, possibly inchoative. "... an imperfect tense form indicates what is taking place in the reference time in which this scene starts; *nox erat* and *sopor habebat* are taking place at the moment in which we enter the scene of the river Tiber and Aeneas." (Adema 2008, 83–84; cf. Tetlow's perceptive note on the verb tenses of this passage *ad* 26–35).

For the epitaphic use of the tag *sopor altus habebat* ("*innodium leti hic sopor altus habet*", D. 149,2), see J.C. Arnold, "Arcadia Becomes Jerusalem: Angelic Caverns and Shrine Conversion at Mount Gargano," in *Speculum* 75.3 (2000), 567–588, 586; cf. Hoogma 1959, 304.

"In deze regels vat Vergilius, voor het landschap met één begrip: *terras per omnis*, samen, war hij in A IV 522/8 uitvoerig, van de ene component naar de andere gaande, beschreef. Aeneas tracht hier, geplaagd door zorgen, rust te vinden, in overeenstemming te komen met de omringende natuur." (Blonk 1947, 92).

28 *cum pater in ripa gelidique sub aetheris axe*

pater: A prominent appellation, which introduces a new element in the depiction of Aeneas in the wake of the Latin war preparations: he is the father of his people (see here Fordyce); 19× in the epic (cf. 115 and 606 below). A deliberate reminder of Aeneas' status, as the poet moves from his evocation of Medea to the prophecy of Tiberinus. "Rivers that speak have the potential to be identified with the poet. By gaining a poetic voice, a river can take an active role in a poem's self-referential commentary" (Jones 2005, 51).

in ripa: The ideal location for a visitation from the river god.

gelidi: The poetic adjective is Catullan; Lucretian; Ciceronian; in the *Aeneid* it is used of fear (A. 2.120; 6.54–55; 12.447–448), blood (3.30; 259; 12.905), and sweat (3.175); old age (5.395); the Arctos (6.16); the Anio (7.683); the Ufens (7.801–802); the height of Cyllene (8.139); the territory of Arcadia (8.159); 8.343 ... *et gelida monstrat sub rupe Lupercal*; the river Caere (8.597); 11.210 *tertia lux gelidam caelo dimoverat umbram*; the river Hebrus (12.331); the clouds (12.796). Fitting here, then, in a nighttime scene by a river bank that is overlaid with a sense of dread anticipation and anxious stress about the war. On "wintry" expressions of nocturnal chill, see Dehon 1993, 33–34. Artfully, Virgil's description of the late slumber of Aeneas in the open air uses language that could apply equally well to the sleep of death or chill fear in the face of battle; this is the first sleep of the war, as it were.

aetheris axe: An ominous line-end, paralleled elsewhere only at 2.512 *aedibus in mediis nudoque sub aetheris axe* (of Priam's inner sanctum, with its altar and laurel). "... the adjective *nudus* suggests a vast, empty space, a moral chaos filled only with the horror and meaninglessness of human suffering and the demonic brutality to which the helpless and inform are left exposed ... [this passage] could suggest that everything, even the heavens, is as bare and unprotected as the human victims from this onrush of violence and chaos." (C. Segal, "The Song of Iopas in the *Aeneid*," in *Hermes* 99.3 (1971), 336–349, 347).

"... the sense of 'vault of heaven' or 'sky' is clear enough ... not, though in such passages as the present a *genitivus inhaerentiae*, since the *axis* is sensed not as a synonym of *aetheris*, but as the hemispherical vault of heaven ..." (Horsfall). Heaven's vault is also noted at 4.482 and 6.797 (of Atlas' burden); 6.535–536 (in the description of Aurora's course); 6.790 (of the coming glory of Caesar and the *Iuli progenies*); cf. 5.820 (the axle of Neptune's chariot as he calms the seas); 12.379. For the *aether* vid. L. Fratantuono in *VE* 1, 32–33: the upper air, here noted appropriately enough in anticipation of the divine epiphany of Tiberinus. Aeneas' thoughts are like the light that strikes a roof in an implicitly confined space; in corporeal reality the Trojan hero is at rest on the river bank, under the open vault of heaven. Tiberinus' epiphany will be balanced at the start of Book 9 by the mission of Juno's rainbow messenger Iris to Turnus; Book 10 will open with a council of the gods on Olympus. On the "oddity of the synecdoche by which a scientific, or pseudoscientific, term for the axis of the universe is transferred to mean the heavens in general," see P. Hardie, "Atlas and Axis," in *CQ* 33.1 (1983), 220–228. At the end of the book, Aeneas will be Atlas-like as he takes up the burden of the shield; cf. the significance of Atlas in the sequence of Jupiter's deputation of Mercury to secure Aeneas' departure from Carthage. "The simile before diverged from Apollonius in offering us sun or moon; now it is unequivocally night, and again there is a sense of wide empty space, of big dimensions, solemn height and depth" (Jenkyns 1998, 527). The open air slumber is itself a reminder that the Trojans have, as yet, no lasting home in central Italy.

For the "enclosing word-order" of 28–29 see Gransden ad loc. Virgil plays throughout this scene on the contrasting images of confinement and open space; Aeneas is trapped in nervous thought, even as the expansive heavens open outwards above his anxious frame.

29 *Aeneas, tristi turbatus pectora bello,*

Aeneas: From *Laomedontius heros* (18) we move to the name of *pater Aeneas*. The separation of title and name serves to emphasize both all the more.

tristi ... bello: For the “grim war” cf. Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.18.10 *Quid vero Phoebifax, tristis nuntia belli, | Quae magnum ad columen flammato ardore volabat*, of the meteorological phenomena that constitute the “baleful announcing of war”; 1.105.4 *augurio bellum domesticum triste ac turbulentum fore*; Ps.-V., *Culex* 81 *non avidas agnovit opes nec tristia bella*; Horace, *Ars* 73–74 *res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella | quo scribi possent numero, monstravit Homerus*; Livy 1.13.6.1; Ovid, *Her.* 13.42; Petronius, *Sat.* 119.1.6; Ps.-Seneca, *Oct.* 300; Velleius Paterculus, *Hist.* 2.1.3.1. At *E.* 6.6–7 Virgil has *nunc ego namque super tibi erunt qui dicere laudes, | Vare, tuas cupiunt et tristia condere bella*; cf. *A.* 7.323–325 *luctificam Allecto dirarum ab sede dearum | infernisque ciet tenebris, cui tristia bella | iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi*; 7.545 *en, perfecta tibi bello discordia tristi*; the *tristis portas* of war at 7.616–617. A direct echo, then, of the actions of Allecto in the preceding book. On the emotional import of this description of Aeneas see the wartime commentary of C.J. Ellingham, “Nescioquid Maius Nascitur Iliade,” in *G&R* 11.31 (1941), 10–18, 16; cf. A.K. Michels, “The Insomnium of Aeneas,” in *CQ* 31.1 (1981), 140–146; F.A. Sullivan, “The Spiritual Itinerary of Virgil’s Aeneas,” in *AJPh* 80.2 (1959), 150–161. For *triste bellum* and the problem of civil discord in the epic, see Cairns 1989, 100–101.

turbatus: Cf. 4 above, of the *turbati animi* of the Latins in the face of Turnus’ call to arms. For the verb see further Fordyce ad 8.435; for consideration of this passage in light of other moments in the epic where despair and unrest seem to consume the Trojan leader, note Mackie 1988, 148–149. The present passage is imitated by Statius at *Theb.* 7.148 *purpureum tristi turbatus pectore vultum* (of Bacchus), where see Smolenaars; for the likely “ablative of cause” there, cf. the Medicean reading *pectore* in the Virgilian verse (itself possibly the result of failure to recognize the retained accusative). The participle describes Aeneas’ concern about the best response to the threat posed by the Latin coalition against him.

pectora: Poetic plural (on which see Eden ad loc., with full discussion of its use here with the “middle (or semi-reflexive) voice”); Löfstedt 1, 24 ff.; Antoine 1882, 57–58; E. Kraggerud in *EV* IV, 149–151; for the *pectus* as seat of emotion, see Negri 1984, 202–205.

30 **procubuit seramque dedit per membra quietem.**

“For a moment Aeneas remains the lovelorn heroine—but he does fall asleep.” (Reed 2007, 189).

procubuit: For the verb cf. 2.426 (of the death of Coroebus); 2.493; 505 (of the destruction in Priam’s royal enclosure); 5.198 (of ultimate action in the regatta); 5.481 (of the sacrificial victim slain by Entellus); 6.180 (of the pine trees that are felled for the requiem for Misenus); 6.504 (of the death of Deiphobus);

631 below (of the she-wolf on the shield); 9.541 (of a collapsing tower); 11.150 (of Evander before Pallas' bier); 395 (of the house of Evander); 418 (of Pallas' death). Three times, then, in the second book of the epic in the context of the fall of Troy, and three times in the second to last book of the loss of the Arcadian Pallas; in the present book, shades of the transformative process by which we move from Troy to Rome, of Aeneas and the she-wolf—though she will be safely ensconced in the cave of Mars (*Mavortis in antro*). For the use of the perfect tense see Mack 1978, 38–40; Adema 2008, 84: "... the imperfect forms *habebat* and *erat* provide a *frame* for the event of Aeneas laying down, the perfect tense form *procubuit*. Such a framing construction at the start of a scene may be compared to a 'fade in' in films." Aeneas here is not unlike the she-wolf will appear on the shield—but when he wakes from his sleep, he will find the portentous sow that in some sense is a zoological precursor to the wolf.

dedit per membra: Perhaps influenced by Lucretius, *DRN* 3.112–113 *Praeterea molli cum somno dedita membra | effusumque iacet sine sensu corpus honestum*; cf. 405–406 (of the sleep of Vulcan). On the verb Danielis comments: "... autem mire dixit, hoc est indulsit quietem corpori suo." Cf. 1.691–692 *at Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem | irrigat ...* See further Fordyce ad loc. This is the sleep of physical exhaustion, even in the face of the stress and anxiety of the war; there is no explicit indication that the rest was sent by the gods, though it is admittedly a slumber that serves as the conduit for divine visitation. The line-end is Lucretian (*DRN* 4.907–908 *Nunc quibus modis somnus per membra quietem | inriget ...*); on such expressions and their Latin origins see Wigodsky 1972, 99. "Suffered it to spread" (Conington). For how the whole passage works to herald the coming of Tiberinus, see Williams ad loc.

seramque: At 509 below, of the *serae vires* of Evander; cf. 581, where Evander addresses Pallas as his *sera voluptas*; also the mysterious *sera omina* of 5.524; 6.659 *distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem* (of Rhadamanthus' judgment); 764–765 *quem tibi longaevo serum Lavinia coniunx | educet ...* (of Silvius); the "late night" of 7.16 that is disturbed by the eerie noise of Circe's transformed animals, and of Silvia's return home with her stag at 7.492; the powerful ... *visisque deos venerabere seris* of Latinus to Turnus on the cusp of war (7.597); 9.482 *sera requies* (Euryalus' mother, of her son); 10.94 *sera querelis* (Juno attacking Venus at the divine council); 12.864 *nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras* (of the Dira). Ominous associations, then, with echoes forwards and back of passages that concern the untimely death of the young, the defeat of Turnus and the mysteries of both portent and the underworld; the outbreak of war and the enigmatic role of Circe in the epic. "Late quiet" here; at 407 below Virgil will describe the *prima quies* of the night, as Vulcan rises

to see to the crafting of the shield. Late, then, but not *too* late—though on the whole the associations of the adjective do not inspire optimism for the future.

For the contrast between Aeneas' rest here and the sleeplessness of Dido, see Heuzé 1985, 404–407.

31 **huic deus ipse loci fluvio Tiberinus amoeno**

Cf. Milton, *Lycidas* 104–106. For how the epiphany of the river god highlights the “distinctive status” of Aeneas, see A. Feldherr, “Spectacle,” in *VE* III, 1203–1204. Cf. the appearance of the Libyan guardian heroines of Lake Triton at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.1305–1379; Triton himself at 4.1550–1585.

huic: I.e., Aeneas (deictic).

ipse loci: With emphatic geographical delineation. For *ipse* with *deus* cf. 5.640 ... *deus ipse faces animumque ministrat* (of Neptune); 12.90–91 *ensem quem Dauno ignipotens deus ipse parenti | fecerat et Stygia candentem tinxerat unda*. For general commentary on the god and his religious cult at Rome, see Le Gall 1953. “Il poeta affaccia per gradi che si tratta proprio del Tevere divinizzato; prima parla del dio del luogo, poi specifica, rivelandone il nome, ch'esso è proprio il *numen* del fiume” (Paratore). The *locus* is the river; at 65 below the god mentions his *magna domus*. For the tradition that river gods lived in houses near their body of water, see West ad Hesiod, *Theog.* 777. On the eminently localized aspects of the god, see N. Horsfall, “Corythus: The Return of Aeneas in Virgil and His Sources,” in *JRS* 63 (1973), 68–79, 68.

fluvio: Cf. 12.181 *fontisque fluviosque voco*; 651 below (of Cloelia's crossing of the Tiber). The exact force of the ablative is difficult to construe; it could be an ablative of place whence (in which case the point is that the god actually leaves the river); or an ablative of attendant circumstance, with descriptive force. Papillon and Haigh take it as an ablative of quality.

Tiberinus: The god of the “Tuscan river *par excellence*” (Saunders 1930, 85). For the river god in Virgil see N. Horsfall, “Tevere,” in *EV* V, 156–157; P.J. Jones in *VE* III, 1268; Bailey 1935, 35, 66; Blonk 1947, 174–175; Pötscher 1977, 134–135; H.W. Benario, “Virgil and the River Tiber,” in *Verg.* 24 (1978), 4–14; L. Fratantuono, “*Unde Pater Tiberinus*: The River Tiber in Vergil's *Aeneid*,” in *Classica et Christiana* 11 (2016), 95–122. For the manifestation of the god vid. Kühn 1971, 114–117; also Steiner 1952, 66–72; Binder 1971, 21ff.; Highet 1972, 102–103; Jones 2005, 86–88. On the identification of the god see Meiggs 1973², 338–343, with reference to Jérôme Carcopino's thesis that the god of the Tiber mouth should be identified with Vulcan (cf. *Virgile et les origines d'Ostie*, etc.), a view that Meiggs follows H.J. Rose in questioning (vid. “The Cult of Volkanus at Rome,” in *JRS* 23 (1933), 46–63). But cf. below on the intervention of Venus with Vulcan in the matter of the arms. For the name see especially Montenegro Duque 1949, 76–79.

The first mention of the river in Virgil is at *G.* 1.498–501, where the *patrii Indigetes*, Romulus, Vesta, and the Tiber are called upon to permit the future Augustus to bring aid to Rome in time of civil war. At *G.* 4.366–369, *pater Tiberinus* is cited as one of the rivers that originate in Cyrene's underwater haunt. In the *Aeneid*, the Tiber is first mentioned by the ghost of Creüsa at 2.780–782 *longa tibi exsilia et vastum maris aequor arandum, | et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva | inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris*; Aeneas references this prophecy in his farewell to Helenus and Andromache in Buthrotum (3.500–505). Aeneas notes at 5.82–83 that Anchises was not permitted to seek out the Tiber (*non licuit finis Italos fataliaque arva | nec tecum Ausonium, quicumque est, quaerere Thybrim*). Venus beseeches her uncle Neptune that the Trojans might be able to reach the Laurentine Tiber (5.796–798). In Book 6 the Tiber is twice connected with war and mourning, first at 6.87 *et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno* (of the Sibyl's vision of the future), and second at 872–874 (of the funeral that will be observed in memory of Marcellus). The present epiphany of the river god balances the mention of Aeneas' arrival in the vicinity of the Tiber at 7.29–32; at 7.149–151, Trojan reconnaissance scouts bring back news of the Tiber, the Numicus, and the *fortes Latini*. Ilioneus announces to Latinus' court that Apollo had urged the Trojan voyage in quest of the Tiber (7.240–242); Juno laments that the Trojans have indeed reached the fated river (7.303–304; cf. Turnus' observation at 7.436–439).

The present manifestation of the river god comes close after the intimate association of Tiberinus with Turnus at 7.797–800 *qui saltus, Tiberine, tuos sacrumque Numici | litus arant Rutulosque exercent vomere collis | Circaeumque iugum, quis Iuppiter Anxurus arvis | praesidet et viridi gaudens Feronia luco*, where the Tiber is linked with the men Turnus musters to fight against the Trojans; cf. the Tiber's reception of Turnus into its cleansing waters at the close of Book 9. For how the *Aeneid* has a tripartite structure that reaches the climax of its second movement at the "Tiber-mouth," see Putnam 1998, 84. "... Aeneas lands virtually in Rome, at the mouth of the Tiber, and the prodigies that had been associated with Lavinium come to pass there ..." (Galinsky 1969, 142).

On the transition Virgil crafts for Aeneas from Laomedon to Tiberinus, see Cruttwell 1947, 55–68. For the question of whether or not Tiberinus indulges in a certain "bending of the truth" with Aeneas, see Lyne 1987, 83; on the problem of Virgilian originality, cf. Nelis 2001, 331. The parallels between the god's intervention with Aeneas and the later colloquy of Aeneas and Evander are discussed by George 1974, 15 ff.

"Rivers are individuals to Virgil: Tiber, Mincius, and Eridanus have each his own proper character ..." (Jenkyns 1998, 18). On the Virgilian use of the different names of the river (*Thybris, Tiberinus*) see E.S. Rutledge, "Vergil and Ovid

on the Tiber,” in *The Classical Journal* 75.4 (1980), pp. 301–304, with particular reference to the Virgilian influence on Ovid, *Fasti* 5.637–662. “Tiberinus was the name usually applied to the god in religious ceremonies and Thybris was the name of the river which was commonly found in poetry ... Ovid uses the names *Thybris* and *Tiber* (the latter is the name of the river in common speech.”). Cf. Meister 1916, 53 ff. “A river always liable to spate, flooding eddies ... So still, dramatically, even, despite embanking and endless dredging.” (Horsfall *ad* 7.29–32, with consideration of the question of Virgilian innovation; cf. Fletcher 2014, 221–222; also Boas 1938, 53–68). Tiberinus is associated with the blissful image expressed by *amoeno*; cf. the Sibyl’s words about the bloody Thybris. For the metaliterary associations of the river, see Goldschmidt 2013, 78 ff. On the *cista Pasinati* forgery with its depiction of the river god, and (more generally) the place of the Tiber in the literary tradition of Aeneas, see Galinsky 1969, 162–164. On the influence of the present scene on Ovid, *Fast.* 5.637–662, see E.S. Rutledge, “Vergil and Ovid on the Tiber,” in *CJ* 75.4 (1980), 301–304; Newlands 1995, 64–65 (“In *Aeneid* 8 the Tiber gives Aeneas a prophecy of victory in Italy that, by skimming over the dreadful war that will have to precede it, therefore encourages Aeneas to persevere ... he is the spokesman for “official history.””) For the superstitions associated with the river, see especially Nisbet and Hubbard *ad* Horace, c. 1.2.13–16. On Homeric river manifestations (especially Achilles and Scamander), see B. Dietrich, “Divine Epiphanies in Homer,” in *Numen* 30.1 (1983), 53–79, 75–76n105. On the Tiber as kingly river, see Lightfoot *ad* Dionysius Periegetes 352–356. For the practicalities of river travel and seasonal changes in water levels, see Beresford 2012, 274–275.

amoeno: The adjective occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at 7.30 ... *hunc inter fluvio Tiberinus amoeno* (in almost to the line exact match to the present verse); also 5.734–735 *amoena piorum / concilia* (of the souls in Elysium); 6.638 *amoena virecta* (of Elysium); and 9.680 *sive Padi ripis Athesim seu propter amoenum*. Here the adjective immediately sets a mood of peaceful, indeed timeless serenity and relaxation; the time is night, the hour is given to sleep at last even for the anxious Aeneas, and the great river god of the future Rome is secure in his dominion. We may compare here the lovely description at 7.33–34, where Fordyce notes: “The coast at the mouth of the Tiber was probably still wooded in Virgil’s day, but the picture of trees, river, and singing birds is not realistic description but romantic scene-painting in the Hellenistic tradition.” But throughout, “there is a tension between idyllic setting and growing unease” (Jones 2005, 96). Note here also the careful analysis of Apostol 2009, 4 ff. On the adjective note *vid.* further the perceptive note of Guillemin *ad loc.* For the specific association of water with a *locus amoenus*, see D. Obbink, “Vergil’s *De Pietate*,” in Armstrong et al. 2004, 204–205. On the poet’s admixture of the

bright and refreshing with the dark and even sinister in Book 8, see D.S. Wiesen, "The Pessimism of the Eighth *Aeneid*," in *Latomus* 32.4 (1973), 737–765.

32 *populeas inter senior se attollere frondes*

senior: Both Priam and Anchises are *senior* (2.509, 544; 692); also Menoetes (5.179), Acestes (5.301, 573); Entellus (5.409), Nautes (5.704, 719, 729), the marine god Glaucus (5.823), Charon (6.304), Latinus (7.46), Galaesus (7.535), Oebalus (7.736), Thymbris (10.124), Acoetes (11.31), Drances (11.122), Iapyx (12.401), and Evander (457 below); cf. 10.418. Here with reverence and respect for older age (see further J. Burbidge in *VE* 11, 929). "Old Man River" (Eden). The river's old age naturally fits the titular deity of a signal feature of the ancient landscape.

populeas ... frondes: Cf. 10.189–190 *namque ferunt luctu Cycnum Phaëthontis amati*, | *populeas inter frondes umbramque sororum*; Sargeant 1920, 105–106; Abbe 1965, 73; W.R. Nethercut, "Trees and Identity in *Aeneid* 8 and *Bucolic* 2," in *Vergilius* 13 (1967), 16–27; Gow *ad* Theocritus, *Id.* 2.121; Clausen *ad* Virgil, *E.* 7.61; both Mynors and Erren *ad G.* 2.13. The white poplar was associated with Hercules (see below on 276); it has a particular hardiness against flood waters. The poplar leaves neatly frame the line as the god makes his appearance. For the color of the poplar see Edgeworth 1992, 148–149; for the hyperbaton, Dainotti 2015, 247.

The *populus* appears elsewhere in the epic at 276 and 286 below, in explicitly Herculean contexts; also at 5.134 (of the poplar leaf crowns of the regatta); cf. *E.* 7.61 and 66 (*populus in fluvii*); 9.41; *G.* 2.13. Danielis has a note *ad E.* 7.61 that relates the story of the nymph Leuce, the daughter of Oceanus; she was loved by Pluto and abducted (in the manner of Proserpina/Persephone). On her death, the god caused the white poplar to grow in the fields of Elysium (cf. above on *A.* 6.638 *amoena virecta*, of the realm of the blessed). It was this flower, *teste Daniele*, with which Hercules crowned himself as he returned from the infernal regions. *Populeas frondes* may have been inspired by Ennius, fr. s.i. 588 Skutsch: "the oldest form of the adjective apparently was *populnus ...* and adjectives such as *laureus*, *ulmeus*, etc. seem to have given rise to first-paenonic forms, most welcome in poetry, such as *arboreus* and *populeus*." Hints here of the forthcoming Herculean drama of Aeneas' sojourn in Pallanteum, and of the misty regions of the underworld where Leuce met her end and enjoyed her floral requiem (and cf. the association of the poplar with the mourning for Phaëthon). Paschalis 1997, 276 thinks that the adjective is meant to evoke the notion of *populus* = "people" (despite the difference in quantity), and to signify concern for Aeneas' people.

33 *visus* (*eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu*)

visus: Cf. 2.271, of Hector's dream visitation to Aeneas; 2.682–683 (of the portent of Iulus); 9.111 (of the portent at the transformation of the Trojan ships into sea creatures). On the "visual force" of the participle see Smith 2005, 47; the brief but memorable vignette of the god is very much in the Virgilian style: a clear enough picture is concisely and elegantly composed. See Eden for the "pause after a trochaic word at the beginning of the line," in variation with the same after an opening dactyl in the following verse, with discussion of the light rhythm that such variety produces: the god is, as often in such contexts, at ease and majestic in his serene gravity, in marked contrast to the emotional distress that plagued Aeneas before he succumbed at last to sleep. For the importance of the visual aspect in prophecies and portents, see Grassman-Fischer 1966, 10. On dreams that are the result of mental and physical distress and anguish, see Harris-McCoy 2012, 34–35 (with reference to the categories of dream visits in Artemidorus' *Oneirocritica*). On how the *visa* of 2.775—of the vision of Creüsa—is here transformed into the epiphany of the river god, see Putnam 1966, 109: "But the careful reference back does more than equate ghost and dream. It returns the mind of the reader to the downfall of Troy" (one of the key images of the epic, especially in light of the final suppression of Trojan *sermo* and *mores*).

eum: On the demonstrative see Gransden (and Eden) ad loc. "The oblique cases of *is* are very rare in high poetry (*eum sexies* in *Aen.*) and not used casually by V" (Horsfall ad 7.757). Here the pronoun continues the emphasis on the reality of the moment that started with 31 *huic*; both mortal and god are defined explicitly. See further on 576.

glauco: For the color (somewhere between blue and green and grey) vid. Edgeworth 1992, 133; E.A. Hahn, "Vergil's Linguistic Treatment of Divine Beings," in *TAPA* 88 (1957), 56–67, 59n12 (with consideration too of the question of the distinction between the river and the god). Juturna will be similarly described at 12.885 ... *glauco contexit amictu*, as she makes her departure from the scene of her brother's imminent death, cf. 6.416, where Charon sets Aeneas and the Sibyl down *glaucaque ... in ulva*; 10.205, of the *harundine glauca* that surrounds the river god Mincius. Two river god allusions, then, surrounded by two passages that are associated strongly with death. The color of the sea, and so of that which is associated with it; here the adjective adds to the chromatic palette that began with the description of the white poplar. "Emotive and suggestive rather than precisely descriptive" (Eden). The Tiber was *flavus* "tawny" in Book 7 (30–34): "Tiber has changed his turbulent yellow for grey" (Bacon).

velabat: For the verb cf. on 277 below.

amictu: A cloak or mantle; Venus enshrouds Aeneas and Achates in a mantle of mist at 1.412; cf. the purple cloak for religious rites at 3.405; the Phrygian *amic-tus* of 3.545; the *duplex amictus* that Entellus casts off at 5.421; Charon's *sordidus amictus* at 6.301; Aventinus' Herculean *amictus* at 7.669; Pallas' burial cloak at 11.77; Iapyx's *amictus* at 12.401; Amata's *purpureos amictus* at 12.602; Juturna's gray cloak at 12.885.

"He is clothed in a light garment ... rather than bare-chested as typical iconography suggests ... The portrayal ... evokes an image of a figure reclining on the river banks ... or of an anthropomorphic figure that is partially emerged in the water or even a part of the water itself." (G.E. Meyers, "The Divine River: Ancient Roman Identity and the Image of Tiberinus," in Kosso and Scott 2009, 236). For the thin linen of the god's garment and its appropriateness in matching the transparency of water, see Page *ad loc.* More generally on the appearance of the god in the literary and visual arts, see M. Roberts, "Rome Personified, Rome Epitomized: Representations of Rome in the Poetry of the Early Fifth Century," in *AJPh* 122.4 (2001), 533–565, 552; J. Le Gall, "Les Bas-reliefs de la statue du <<Tibre>> au Louvre," in *Révue Archéologique* 21 (1944), 115–137, 124 ff.

34 *carbasus, et crinis umbrosa tegebat harundo*),

carbasus: The noun appears elsewhere in Virgil only at 3.356–357 ... *aurae / vela vocant tumidoque inflatur carbasus Austro* (on the morning of Helenus' speech to Aeneas); 4.417 ... *vocat iam carbasus auras* (Dido's words to Anna about the Trojan departure from Carthage). The rare adjective *carbaceus* is used at 11.775–776 ... *tum croceam chlamydemque sinusque crepantis / carbaceos fulvo in nodum collegerat auro* (of Chloereus' fantastic raiment). For the linen see Conington: "properly a very fine kind of linen invented at Tarraco in Spain ..." On the connection between the garment described here and a ship's sail, see Paschalis 1997, 276: "it picks up the 'storm' in Aeneas' heart and transforms it into a voyage up the Tiber." For *carbasus* of linen vesture see Hutchinson *ad Propertius*, c. 4.11.54: "ascribed to Spain (Pliny *NH* 19.10), or the East (cf. P.4.3.54)."

umbrosus: The adjective occurs in the epic only here and below at 242 (4× in Propertius and 3× in Tibullus); cf. *E.* 2.3; *G.* 2.66; 3.331; with *harundo* cf. *Ps.-V., Copa 8 et triclina umbrosis frigida harundinibus*. Here it may convey a sense of protection and defense.

harundo: Danielis connects the mention of the reed with purificatory "asperges" rites. For the "collective singular" see Eden. On the botanical and temporal clues of the passage see Mandra 1934, 215. On waterside reeds and plants more generally, see White 1975, 236–237. "Le *roseau* orne plusieurs des plus pittoresques vers de Virgile, comme les rives mêmes du Mincio" (d' Hérouville 1930, 113).

35 **tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis:**

The last of three Virgilian uses of this verse; at 2.775 it comes in the wake of the ghostly apparition of Creüsa, the bringer of the first announcement to Aeneas about his destined arrival at the sacred river (2.781–782); at 3.153 it is used on the occasion of the dream epiphany of the Penates (who do not mention the Tiber: cf. Horsfall's *dictum ad loc.* "that Aen. is *not* told of the Tiber in any of the oracles in bk.3 matters not one jot"). See further E. Albrecht, "Wiederholte Verse und Versteile bei Vergil," in *Hermes* 16.3 (1881), 393–444, 398–399. The emphasis is on the soothing of Aeneas' concerns; the speech will be echoed later in the colloquy of the Trojan hero with Evander (cf. here George 1974, 15 ff.). The Tiber is thus connected to two of the three uses of this verse; for how the remaining occurrence is used of the "abortive settlement" in Crete that parallels the Carthaginian sojourn with Dido, see Newman and Newman 2005, 178–179. On how the dream vision of the god matches the mood and "psychological motivation" of the mortal visionary, see Kragelund 1976, 56, 72. The second third of the epic opened with a storm that forced a second Trojan landing in Sicily; it closes with the reassuring words of the tutelary god of a river that was notorious for its inundations. On the repetition cf. also the commentary of O'Hara 1990, 88–89.

adfari: For the (likely historical) infinitive cf. 9.484; also Conington's note here (after Danielis). On the "HI as one of the linguistic devices at the service of lofty language," see H. Rosén, "The Latin Infinitivus Historicus Revisited," in *Mnem.* 48.5 (1995), 536–564, 537; more generally on the Virgilian use of the stylistic feature, vid. J.J. Schlicher, "The Historical Infinitive II. Its Literary Elaboration," in *CPhil* 9.4 (1914), 374–394. Sidgwick notes *ad loc.* that the historical infinitive allows for a certain vagueness as to time: "it is often used ... of *feelings, confused scenes, rapid action* where the time is not definite or important."

demere: The verb occurs in Virgil only in this repeated verse. Tiberinus' speech is primarily another *consolatio*; by the time Venulus' embassy returns, we shall learn that there is no need for Aeneas' Trojans to fear that the hero Homer compared to a river in flood (*Il.* 5.87) will return to fight Aeneas another day. "Habitum futurae orationis ostendit" (Servius).

36–65 Tiberinus makes his address to Aeneas, assuring him that the Trojans have reached a sure and lasting home. The portent of the white sow and her thirty offspring is announced; the presence nearby of the Arcadians at Pallanteum is detailed, with the admonition for Aeneas to seek an alliance with Evander in the fight against their mutual Latin enemy. Offerings are enjoined to Juno as well as the Tiber. See further Gransden 1976, 188–190; on the progress from Trojan to more recognizably Roman locales, see Fletcher 2014, 232–233;

for the Ennian intertexts, Goldschmidt 2013, 78 ff. On the reconciliation that is enjoined here on both the divine and mortal planes, see Henry 1989, 110. For the possible inspiration of the portent of the impaled dove of Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.540 ff., see Nelis 2001, 328–335.

The *Roman d'Énéas* reverses the action of Virgil's book. Aeneas receives his divine arms from Venus, and only thereafter does he conceive of the idea to visit Pallanteum—and the idea for the embassy is his, not the Tiber's.

36 'O sate gente deum, Troianam ex hostibus urbem

sate ... deum: Cf. 6.125 *cum sic orsa loqui vates: sate sanguine divum* (of the Sibyl's address to Aeneas); E.L. Harrison, "Aeneas' Pedigree," in *CR* 22.3 (1972), 303–304; Klause 1993, 126; L. Fratantuono, "Sate Sanguine Divum: The Sibyl's Hesiodic Rebuke of Aeneas," in *Myrtia* 31 (2016), 385–391. The Tiber addresses Aeneas almost as if he were a fellow god, certainly as one endowed with a divine lineage. The vocative *sate* is rare; cf. Seneca, *HO* 1648–1649 *sate / Poeante*; Statius, *Theb.* 2.686–687 *sate gente superbi / Oeneos*. The Virgilian phrases may owe their origin to Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 108 Skutsch *sanguen dis oriundum* (cf. Horsfall *ad* 6.125; also Delaunoy 1957, 56–57). In his address to the Sibyl, Aeneas identifies himself as a scion of Jovian lineage (6.123 ... *et mi genus an Iove summo*); the language is echoed by Ilioneus at 7.219–221, where the emphasis is on Dardanus and descent from Zeus and Electra, not Zeus and Dione as parents of Aphrodite); the Sibyl's response may hint at the Hesiodic tradition of the birth of Aphrodite from the blood of Ouranos (vid. *Theog.* 154 ff., with West; Clay 2003, 18–19; Faulkner *ad HymAph* 17). The river god's honorific appellation of Aeneas is vague in its immortal reference; so too the Sibyl's, though her address strikes a sanguinary note. For genitive *deum* cf. 36; 41; 698 below. There is also an implicit agricultural metaphor; the Trojan Aeneas has been brought to Latium in accord with the decrees of fate, and there will be a sowing of Trojan seed in the soil of central Italy.

At 10.228, Cymodocea refers to Aeneas with the vocative *deum gens*; at 11.305, Latinus speaks of waging war with a race of gods (*cum gente deorum*). See Conington here for his commentary on the question of any difference between a race "consisting of gods" and one "sprung from the gods" (cf. Fairclough's "O seed of a race divine"; Perret's "O rejeton de la race des dieux"). The point of *sate* is to underscore Aeneas' immortal parentage; Venus is most especially referenced, with Jupiter not so far behind. On other such Virgilian expressions see Williams *ad* 7.152, where Aeneas is *satus Anchisa*; cf. 5.244; 424; 6.331. Allecto is the *virgo sata Nocte* at 7.331; so also the Dira at 12.860.

Troianam ... urbem: The Trojan city was rescued, as it were, and fittingly it bookends the (Greek) *hostibus*. After the reverential and polite vocative,

the first word from the god, significantly, is another geographical and ethnic marker. The city is envisioned as being embodied, as it were, in the household gods that Aeneas conveyed out of the burning ruin of Priam's city. Servius takes the *urbem* of the *cives* Aeneas has brought in exile to Italy.

37 qui revehis nobis aeternaque Pergama servas,

qui: For the emphasis on the relative by its lack of postponement, see Eden ad loc. There is an honorific quality to these lines, as the local god salutes the son of the gods who has conveyed back to their home the sacred household gods of Pergama.

revehis: The verb occurs only here in Virgil; cf. Ps.-V., *Ciris* 384; Horace, *ep.* 13.16; *Serm.* 2.5.4; Seneca, *Med.* 665; Statius, *Theb.* 2.654; 9.444; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.99; 2.575; 5.213. The language underscores the nature of Aeneas' return voyage to his ancestral homeland; the emphasis is on the journey back to one's ancient origins. Servius compares the 1.68 *Ilium in Italiam portans*.

nobis: The referential dative carries with it a hint that *aeterna Pergama* is owed to the river, that Aeneas is fulfilling a sacred duty in returning the Penates to their ancestral home.

aeterna Pergama: The eternal citadel of Troy, the dream for those who lamented the fall of Priam's city; it is named here in part as a variation on the theme of the *urbs Troiana* (see further Henry's note). For *Pergama* cf. Livius Andronicus, *Aegisthus* fr. 2–4 Warmington (*Nam ut Pergama | accensa et praeda per participes aequiter | partita est*, with Spaltenstein ad loc. (especially on the question of number)); Ennius, *Alex.* fr. 61 and 73 Jocelyn; Lucretius, *DRN* 1.476; Propertius, c. 2.1.21; 2.3.35; 3.9.39. Tiberinus' words echo Aeneas' prayer at 3.87–88 ... *serva altera Troiae | Pergama*; Aeneas was focused on "another" or "second" Troy, while the river god speaks of an eternal citadel that is returning to its home at long last (cf. Aeneas' words to Dido at 4.343–344 *reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent, | et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis*; Juno at 6.321–322 *quin idem Veneri partus suus et Paris alter, | funestaeque iterum recidiva in Pergama taedae*; Venus at 10.57–58 *totque maris vastaeque exhausta pericula terrae, | dum Latium Teucrici recidivaque Pergama quaerunt?*). Diomedes speaks of *eruta Pergama* at 11.280. Aeneas is portrayed as the custodian of the tradition of Troy and the eternal glory of her royal citadel. Danielis takes the adjective with proleptic force: "id est efficis ut aeterna sint" (cf. Gould and Whiteley's note here, and Eden's). The emphasis may be on the idea that Troy has in fact never really died; even if it has existed materially only in the fragile state of Aeneas' often stormtossed vessels. *Aeterna* also follows on the mention of divine lineage; the emphasis is on the eternal and lasting, not the ephemeral and passing.

servas: I.e., in fulfillment of the injunction of the dream apparition of Hector at 2.289 ff., where the Penates are identified as the *fatorum comites* of Aeneas' long voyage across the sea.

38 *exspectate solo Laurenti arvisque Latinis,*

exspectate: Reminiscent of 2.282–283 ... *quibus Hector ab oris | exspectate venis?*; also 6.687–688 *venisti tandem, tuaque exspectata parenti | vicit iter durum pietas?* Cf. the words of Aeneas before Pallas' bier at 11.54 *hi nostri reditus exspectatitque triumphi?* The other uses of the participle in Virgil, then, are connected with the underworld and afterlife, with deaths both at Troy (Hector) and in the rebirth of the *bellum Troianum* in Italy (Pallas); it may hint at the lore surrounding Aeneas' death and the connection of that event to a river. “Le Tibre qualifie ainsi Énée, à cause des prédictions de Faunus” (Benoist).

solo ... arvis: Continuing the agricultural motif that was emphasized at 36 *sate*; for the physicality of the description and the contrasting place names see Jenkyns 1998, 529–530. Eden (following Servius) explores the question of whether Virgil is employing the “pathetic fallacy” whereby the very realm of nature longs for someone or something; this interpretation may well accord with the pastoral imagery that recurs in the opening of the book. *Arvis* may carry a hint of the priestly college of the *Fratres Arvales*; cf. further the possible evocation of the late May Ambarvalia in the festival descriptions at *G.* 1.338–350; Murgatroyd's introductory essay *ad Tibullus*, c. 2.1; L. Fratantuono, “*Tumulum Antiquae Cereris*: Virgil's Ceres and the Harvest of Troy,” in *BStudLat* 45.2 (2015), 456–472. Cf. also 75 below.

Laurenti ... Latinis: The geographical terms associated with the current enemies of the Trojans are now juxtaposed with *Troianam* and *Pergama*; whatever unease may be felt at the union and present circumstances of war will not be resolved until the final colloquy of Jupiter and Juno in Book 12. With *solo Laurenti* cf. 8.1 above; very different is 12.547 ... *solo Laurente sepulchrum*, of the burial place of Turnus' victim Aeolus. *Arvis Latinis* occurs again at 10.299–300 *effatus Tarchon, socii consurgere tonsis | spumantisque rates arvis inferre Latinis*. The *ager Laurens* lay between the Tiber and the Numicus, the rivers of Aeneas' landfall and the tradition of his death; on this sea further Dyson 2001, 50–73. The geographical markers name the very places where Aeneas and the Rutulian Turnus are now in rivalry for dominance. The allusion to the *ager Laurens* highlights the dowried land that will entitle one ultimately to the succession to Latinus' throne. For the moment, we are reminded that Turnus has raised the standard of war from the *arx Laurens*. Cf. too 1 above, and 12.547.

39 hic tibi certa domus, certi (ne absiste) penates.

tibi: In deliberate contrast with 37 *nobis*.

certa domus: Note here the very different 6.673 *nulli certa domus; lucis habitamus opacis*, of Anchises' description to Aeneas of the haunts of Elysium; cf. Ovid, *Am.* 3.6.92 *nec tibi sunt fontes nec tibi certa domus* (in a passage clearly inspired by the present scene, though for quite different ends); Petronius, *Sat.* 119.1.53; Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.16.26. The present scene echoes 7.120–122 *continuo salve fatis mihi debita tellus | vosque ait o fidi Troiae salvete penates: | hic domus, haec patria est ...* (Aeneas after the apparent fulfillment of the omen of the tables). The present passage opens a ring that is closed at 65 below, where the Tiber announces his *magna domus* (and where P reads *certa* instead of *magna*).

certa ... certi: With strong emphasis on safety, security, and assurances of lasting peace. “Certain Penates” may be interpreted as referring to a safe and lasting home for the gods Aeneas carried out of the doomed city of Troy. The adjective recalls the description of Aeneas as *certus* at 5.1–2, as the Trojan fleet proceeded on its way from the North African coast; the hero will be cast in rather a different light at 729–731 below. The mention of the Penates follows on the mention at 11 above of the *victos Penatis* in the message sent from Turnus to Diomedes. Cf. also Catullus, c. 9.3–4 *venistine domum ad tuos penates | fratresque unanimos anumque matrem?*; Propertius, c. 4.1a.39 *huc melius profugos misisti, Troia, Penates*. Virgil has the phrase elsewhere at *G.* 4.155 *et patriam solae et certos novere penates*, of the *Bienenstaat*. On the notion of the “certain” (i.e., Roman) Penates, see Anthony 1930, 146. There is a special force to the anaphora from the words of a river god with the implied motion of the water. For the question of whether or not we should be surprised at the Latin location of this fixed home for Aeneas, see Reed 2007, 11–12.

“When a disyllabic word is repeated in the same line (for rhetorical emphasis or to enhance pathos) it is Virgil’s practice to vary the position of the metrical stress by making it coincide with the word-accent on its first occurrence and clash with it on its second” (Eden).

ne absiste: Tiberinus enjoins Aeneas not to refrain or cease (from his present course of fated, destined mission; Eden supplies *ab incepto* or *a loco*): *OLD* s.v. 2. *Ne* with the present imperative has an archaic ring, befitting the god; it is almost exclusively a poetic use (cf. Livy 3.2.9); cf. Roby 1596–1604; Distler 1966, 360. If Aeneas had given any consideration to retreat or withdrawal, the god solemnly urges him to remain firm in the security of his new (and yet also ancient) home; the hero is essentially asked to behave in a manner that accords with the “certain” status of both home and household gods. The imperative is effectively placed within the protective word order of the *certi ... penates*, with a hint of

caution that Aeneas not by his actions in any way disturb the security and surety of the fixed state of affairs the god herein declares. “Short imperative parentheses are much used by Vergil in speeches ... *ne* plus imperative appears in high poetry first in Catullus, perhaps with the appeal of a Graecism” (Harrison *ad* 10.11 *ne arcessite*). For the elision see Gransden’s note; here it conveys almost a hurried sense of urgency for Aeneas to put aside any worried, anxious thoughts. For the imperative note on 403; also 50 *advertite* below. On the Tiber’s guidance of Aeneas as Trojan leader, see Schauer 2007, 212–214.

40 **neu belli terrere minis; tumor omnis et irae**

neu ...: Tiberinus turns to the matter of the present war, with brisk encouragement that Aeneas not be terrified by the threats of military conflict. For the passive imperative construction vid. Bergh 1975; cf. 12.800 *desine iam tandem precibusque inflectere nostris*; Pinkster 2015, 202. For the possible influence of Ennius, *Ann. fr.* 7.230 *dum censent terrere minis*, note Daniels 1921, 16; Skutsch 1985, 352–353.

minis: So at 3.265 (of the threats of Celaeno); 4.44 (of Dido’s brother); 88–89 ... *minaeque / murorum ingentes* (of the building projects in Carthage); 6.113 (of the hazards and perils of the deep); 10.451 *tolle minas* (Pallas to Turnus); 695 (of wind and storm); and especially 371 *Laurentumque minis* below (of the threats that thoroughly terrify Venus). The crag that hangs over Catiline in his depiction on the shield is menacing (8.668 *minacis*); cf. 10.817 (of Lausus). On how the Aeneas who is here so consoled and assured of the resolution of trouble must nonetheless proceed at once to Evander as a suppliant, see Gransden 1984, 88–89. The direct referent for the *minae* mentioned here is Turnus and his battle preparations; on Tiberinus’ speech in light of the current political realities in Latium, see Adler 2003, 170–171. For the threats of Juno and how to soothe the wrath of the goddess, see on 60 below.

tumor: The noun occurs only here in Virgil, and is relatively rare in poetry (cf. e.g. Propertius, c. 3.30b.18 *turpia cum faceret Palladis ora tumor*; Lucan, *BC* 9.79; 10.99; 326; Manilius, *Astron.* 1.219; 230; 3.353; Ovid, *Met.* 15.305; *Fast.* 2.171; *Trist.* 5.6.45). Here almost certainly with a hint of the rising or swell of the sea; there is likely no latent medical metaphor. Certainly in terms of the perils of the deep, *tumor omnis* has subsided, and a river god might well be particularly concerned with marine dangers (cf. 86–87, of the Tiber’s own soothing of its swelling waves). Tiberinus’ speech to Aeneas is thus a companion to the exchange of Neptune with Venus (5.779 ff.), where the question of safe passage for the Trojan fleet was the principal subject. For the combination of *tumor* with *irae* see Brink *ad* Horace, *Ars* 197; Horsfall on 6.407 *tumida ... ex ira* (with consideration of the physiological imagery of the liver as seat of emotions the

heart and lungs in discussions of swelling anger). For the possible connection between the swelling referenced here and the imminent announcement of the pregnant sow, see Paschalis 1997, 278.

et irae: With direct echo of the message of 1.11 and the indignant anger of Juno; for the line-end cf. 1.128 *nec latuere doli fratrem Iunonis et irae* On the question of the god's honesty and veracity, see especially Lyne 1987, 83. There may be a hint of reference to the Junonian observation to the Fury Allecto at 7.552 *tum contra Iuno: terrorum et fraudis abunde est*, where the goddess for the first time begins to refrain from expressions of her rage. Juno is certainly the principal immortal threat to Aeneas, though she is by no means the only one; cf. here O'Hara 1990, 31–35. See Eden ad loc. for the question of hendiadys. "When two substantives are linked by a simple copula to express two complementary aspects of the same thing, it usual for the one with more general application to be placed first, as here ..." Certainly the swelling anger of the Latins has not subsided, but the god announces that nothing on that account need engender fright or anxiety; Tiberinus looks forward in an important sense to the final reconciliation of Juno, even as he reacts to the beginning of the abatement of her anger in the aforementioned final exchange with Allecto. For *irae* with *deum* (41) cf. Livy 4.25.3.4; 8.6.11.2; 10.39.16.3–4; 22.9.7.4–8.1; 40.37.2.2; the great opening of Lucan's second book, *Iamque irae patuere deum manifestaue belli / signa dedit mundus ...*; Seneca, *Oed.* 711–712.

"At best this is wishful thinking ... at worst, a lie" (Smith 2005, 48). "The claim is not true ... but it fits the pattern of deceptively optimistic prophecies" (O'Hara 2007, 82). For the importance of the Tiber god's prophecy in light of Allecto's wreaking havoc, see Moskalew 1982, 114. It is possible that part of the point of the apparent mendacity is that Tiberinus is speaking in his capacity as a local *Roman* god (however anachronistically), so that from his perspective all the swollen wrath of the immortals has indeed given way. The problem of perspective serves to highlight the quite different situations of mortals and gods, even as it looks forward to the ultimate revelation of Rome's *Latin* destiny.

41 *concessere deum.*

Servius notes *ad* 3.340 that this hemistich was supplemented with *profugis nova moenia Teucris* (with no hint as to authorship); see further Moskalew 1982, 799: "perhaps inspired by A. 10.158" (Eden). Servius' literary judgement on the completion—"mire"—may in part reflect the fact that the supplement does serve in part to relieve the problem of the alleged subsiding of divine wrath (cf. Fratantuono 2007, 235). For the half-line see further Sparrow 1931, 149; Berres 1992, 111 ff.; on the "particularly stupid supplement," Günther 1997,

69n13. There is an affinity between this unfinished verse and 2.622–623 *apparent dirae facies inimicaque Troiae / numina magna deum*. There is no evidence to support the idea that such hemistichs were peculiar metrical affectations (i.e., deliberate stylistic choices); admittedly, some are quite effective, and here there is a dramatic, solemn break as the god makes a declaration that might well be considered one of the most important in the poem's machinery of divine revelation. On the "modern" response to these unfinished lines, see Gransden 1976, 48; cf. F. Miller, "Evidence for Incompleteness in the *Aeneid* of Vergil," in *CJ* 4.8 (1909), 341–355, 344; F.W. Lenz, "The Incomplete Verses in Vergil's *Eneid*," in Bardon and Verdière 1971, 158–174 ("In the first and third case [of half-lines in 8] ... speeches end abruptly, and there is no reason for special emphasis"). For Virgilian methods of composition and the question of "flow of inspiration" and the interruption thereof, see Eden's long note.

This is the first of three such half-lines in Book 8 (cf. on 469 and 536 below); the second introduces a speech of Evander, while the third comes as Aeneas announces that his mother will bring the aid of Vulcanian arms. The problem of the half-line has helped to inspire more drastic measures of textual alteration in the present passage, including the suggestion of Ribbeck that verses 42–49 *haud incerta cano* inclusive should be deleted, largely on the grounds that 43–46 are almost exactly repeated ("male repetiti"—Heyne) from 3.390–393 (from the prophecy of Helenus; on the alleged inconsistencies between the passages in 3 and 8, see especially Horsfall 2008, xxxiii–xxxiv). In such a case *concessere deum* would then proceed to *nunc qua ratione quod instat*. Helenus' prophecy had noted what needed to be endured before an arrival and establishment of a city in a "safe land" (3.387 *quam tuta possis urbem componere terra*); the future war that would need to be waged before such urban development could commence was not mentioned. The point in both addresses to Aeneas is on the substance of the message of 3.393 *is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum*; both Helenus and Tiberinus take the long view.

concessere: The form occurs only here in Virgil; 1× in Statius (*Theb.* 1.587) and twice in Silius (*Pun.* 9.187; 14.562); Sallustian and Livian. For the pluperfect cf. 10.215 (for the yielding of day at the outset of night).

42 iamque tibi, ne vana putes haec fingere somnum,

Tiberinus announces the fulfillment of the old prophecy of the sow and her piglets, and offers the portent as evidence of the veracity of his claims. If one wondered about the question of the god's mendacity, here the poet has the river make a response, with reference back in time to the prophecy of Helenus. In light of recent developments in Latium, one might well think that what the god is saying is unworthy of belief. For how the visual confirmation is necessary

in confirmatory supplement, see Jenkyns 1998, 531. We are in a world of wonder; if the news that the anger of the immortals has subsided strained credulity, so too, one might think, the announcement of a sow with a portentous litter (on the amazing size *vid.* Horsfall *ad* 3.398–393)—and yet the marvelous sight will indeed be seen.

iamque: At the start of the verse elsewhere only at *G.* 4.496–498 *fata vocant, conditque natantia lumina somnus. | iamque vale:feror ingenti circumdata nocte* (of Eurydice); for *iamque tibi* at the start of a hexameter cf. Ovid, *Her.* 2.105; *Met.* 13.764; *Fast.* 5.715; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.500. For how prophecies often commence with an address to the “interested party,” see Eden *ad loc.*

tibi: Ethical.

ne vana putes: Aeneas is experiencing a dream manifestation of the god, and the deity is making declarations that only the credulous might well believe. Cf. Pliny’s question about belief in the existence of ghosts (*Ep.* 7.27.1.3 *Igitur perquam velim scire, esse phantasmata et habere propriam figuram numenque aliquod putes an inania et vana ex metu nostro imaginem accipere*). That which is *vana* would have no substance, like the fleeting visions of the night that are sometimes imperfectly remembered upon waking. For the “*si non vana*” motif in Virgil (and elsewhere), see O’Hara 1990, 54 ff.; the Virgilian passages include 1.392; 3.433–434; 7.272–273; 10.244–245; 10.630–631. For the expression of the prohibition cf. 613 below, and *vid.* Hofmann/Szantyr 11, 336 ff.

fingere somnum: With reference to the fashioning of dreams and other *nocturna phantasmata*. The present passage is imitated at Silius, *Pun.* 8.177–178 *molitur dirumque nefas sub corde volutat, | praeterea, ne falsa putes haec fingere somnum*. There is a hint of reminiscence of the actions of Somnus at the close of Book 5; perhaps also of the Gates of Sleep. The verb will recur in the perfect at 726 below, of Vulcan’s artistic crafting of the shield; the dream vision of Tiberinus will tell one story in the misty region of slumber, while the shield will offer another sort of dream-like vision. Cf. also 365.

43 *litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus*

The verse is repeated verbatim from 3.390. For the question of the repetition and its significance to the explication of problems of Virgilian composition, see D’Anna 1957, 26–27, 58–60.

The appearance of the fateful sow and her brood: “Il marque solennellement la fin des pérégrinations des Troyens, c’est le signe que la terre promise est maintenant atteinte” (Heuzé 2015, 1272). For the *Sauprodigium* cf. Fabius Pictor, fr. F3 Cornell (from Diodorus 7.5.3–6); Cato F10 Cornell/Chassignet I F14b; Lucius Cassius Hemina, F14 Cornell (on the establishment of the *lares Grundiles* by Romulus in honor of the wonder); Lycophron, *Alex.* 1254–1256 (with Horn-

blower); Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.56 (with an extended narrative of the sow leading the way to a first settlement, and a voice from the wood announcing a second and more flourishing site after thirty years; Dionysius notes that some writers note that Aeneas was assured of future success by a dream visitation, a passage that may refer to Virgil's Tiberinus vision); see further Grassman-Fischer 1966, 54–63; E.L. Harrison, “Foundation Prodigies in the *Aeneid*,” in *PLLS* 5 (1986), 131–164, 138–139. “... the sedentary sow of *Aen.* 3 and 8 who has become a nimble long-distance guiding trotter in other accounts” (Horsfall 2016, 5). For a treatment of porcine lore see especially Millon 1999.

The problems occasioned by the references to the portent in Virgil are many, not least because the surviving *testimonia* represent conflicting traditions. In the *Aeneid* the thirty piglets are clearly associated with the thirty years that elapsed before the founding of Alba Longa. In Lycophron Cassandra first alludes to the tradition of the eating of the tables (*Alex.* 1250–1253); Aeneas is then said to be destined to found a place in the region of the Aborigines, beyond the realm of the Latins and the Daunians (see Hornblower *ad loc.* for an attempt to reconcile the reference with Aeneas' activity in Latium; Horsfall *ad* 3.183 on the “deep doubts about date and authorship of the Rome-section”). This “place” in the land of the Aborigines would have thirty towers after the number of the piglets; the *dark* sow will have been brought from the Troad (for the perhaps unexpected color of the animal Hornblower gives a “metaphorical” explanation; Eden *ad* 43–45 sees a reference to the color of the brazen animal that was set up, or possibly a meaning such as “*horrenda*”). The sow and her offspring would be honored in a bronze artwork set up in one of those cities—apparently Lavinium, though (perhaps significantly), Lycophron does not locate the portent (cf. Cornell *ad* Hemina F14). In Cato (F10 Cornell) and Varro (*DRR* 2.4.18) the prodigy occurs at Lavinium; in Fabius at Alba Longa (though Cornell notes *ad loc.* that it is possible that Fabius' account became “badly garbled” and in fact agreed with the other sources). Hemina stands out for assigning the miraculous sow to the time of Romulus and Remus; cf. Nonius Marcellus 164L (on the *Grundules Latini*, allegedly so named after the “grunting” of the pigs (i.e., *grunnire*)). In Helenus' prophecy to Aeneas, there is no particular geographical association for the sow; the spot where the animal and her brood is sighted is identified simply as the place of rest from labors. Tiberinus will now provide more specific indication of just what place is portended (47–48 below). Was the sow originally dark in color, and the chromatic detail changed to create an easy etymology for the place name? (“Perverse and deeply problematic”—Horsfall *ad* 3.392). On the possible etymological associations of *Troia* and *troia* (i.e., a sow; cf. French *truie*) see Williams' Oxford edition *ad* 3.389 ff.; O'Hara 2017, 143. On the image of Aeneas on the Ara Pacis

with a sacrificial sow, see Eden *ad* 8.43–45; for the sow and the she-wolf on the altar, Mazzoni 2010, 17 (“Unlike the she-wolf, this newly whelped animal mother did not have the good sense to stalk away and was sacrificed in thanksgiving to the goddess Juno”). On the parallels between the portentous sow and the Golden Bough, see Putnam 1966, 118 ff., with commentary on the similarities and differences between the two journeys of the hero in Books 6 and 8.

Perhaps most significant in all of this is that no extant source outside *Aeneid* 8 places the sow-portent on the banks of the Tiber (vid. Goldschmidt 2013, 86–87). The Virgilian sow clearly portends the settlement at Alba Longa, and yet “tomorrow’s” glimpse of the animal (81 ff. below) is *here*, on the *litus* of the river (cf. *litoreis* of the trees)—and *not* at the site of Ascanius’ future settlement. Varro (*DRR* 2.4.18) notes that the corpse of the mother pig was still being displayed in his own day by priests, kept salted and preserved.

“Virgil is not really concerned (here or anywhere in the poem) with establishing continuities by antiquarian exactness, but with traditions that are moral and above all religious” (Henry 1989, 110–111). “The saga lacked uniformity even on so basic a point” (Gruen 1992, 34 on the problem of whether the *Sauprodigium* occurred at Alba or Lavinium). For a general overview of the numerous problems, see especially S. Casali, “The Development of the Aeneas Legend,” in Farrell and Putnam 2010, 37–51; N. Horsfall, “The Aeneas-Legend and the *Aeneid*,” in *Verg.* 32 (1986), 8–17. We have come quite far in a relatively short compass of verses from the *saetigeri sues* of Circe’s lair cited at 7.17. For *sus* at line-end cf. *G.* 3.255, with Thomas’ (and Mynors’) notes.

“... although the Hellenistic dating of the fall of Troy precluded Aeneas’ founding of Rome ... Virgil does have Tiberinus ... direct Aeneas to the white sow and thirty piglets that will indicate the future city of Alba Longa ...” (R.F. Thomas, “Foundation Legends,” in *VE* 1, 501).

For the possible connection of the sow prodigy to the portent of the dove and the impaled hawk from Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.540–544, see Nelis 2001, 328–329. The sow portent ends in a sacrificial offering of the mother and her brood to Juno. The sow is reminiscent of the Anchises-snake from the opening sequence of Book 5; that portent reminded one of the past, even as it evoked haunting questions of Pythagorean rebirth and reincarnation—the sow looks to the future, even as it also portends death.

litoreis: Other than in the sow passages, the adjective is found in Virgil only at 12.248 *litoreas agitabat avis turbamque sonantem*, of the shore birds that are disturbed by the bird of Jupiter in the omen of Juturna.

ingens: “The first appearance in this book of the *Aeneid*’s most overworked adjective” (Eden). See Horsfall *ad* 3.390 for argument against the particular

significance of the adjective here (“If v. were making a case for the sow’s portentous size, he would not have used tired, overworked *ingens*.” Gransden has an important note here on the “ambiguous power” of the adjective in Virgil.

inventa: Cf. the laurel of 7.60–62 *sacra comam multosque metu servata per annos, | quam pater inventam, primas cum conderet arces, | ipse ferebatur Phoebo sacrasse Latinus*. Latinus was blessed with the portent of the laurel (whence Laurentum etc.); the Trojans have the vision of the prodigiously fecund *sus*.

ilicibus: The holly or holm-oak (Abbe 1965, 86–88; cf. H. Parker, “Trees,” in *VE* III, 1292: “The holm oak marks Italy”). Elsewhere in Virgil the tree is associated with Dido’s pyre (4.505); with the *meta* that Aeneas sets up for the regatta (5.129); with the trees that are felled for the Misenus requiem (6.180); with the site of the Golden Bough (6.208–209); with the dark forest where Nisus and Euryalus meet their deaths (9.381); with the tomb of King Dercennus where Arruns will be slain by Opis (11.851); with the trees on Eryx in the comparison of Aeneas to great mountains (12.702). The tree thus has complicated associations in Virgil; it is unmistakably associated with the foundational sow, but also with death and funereal preparations. The *meta* of the ship race has significance for the transitional nature of the Sicilian sojourn as we move from Troy (via Carthage) to Italy; the mysterious Golden Bough serves a similar, liminal function as the hero makes his way into the realm of the eschatological. With *sub ilicibus* cf. Ovid, *Her.* 4.97.

For the alliterative effect of three words in close succession (*ingens, inventa, ilicibus*) see Cordier, *Allit.* 1939, 32–33, and cf. the same effect at 48.

sus: Other than in the portent passages, sows are mentioned elsewhere in the epic at 1.633–635 (during the preliminaries to Dido’s banquet for the Trojans); 5.97 (the sacrifices at the *tumulus* of Anchises); 7.17 (Circe’s menagerie); 11.198 (the sacrifices to Mors during the requiems for the Trojan battle dead); 12.170 (of the sacrifices at the ratification of the doomed treaty between the Latins and the Trojans). The *sus* of *G.* 3.255 is a Sabellic wild boar. As with the *ilex*, the Virgilian appearances of the animal present a mixed range of associations. There is a majesty to the line-end here (which may owe something to Lucretius’ ... *et horrens Arcadius sus* at *DRN* 5.25, of the Herculean labor of the Erymanthian boar), and a theatrical note of declaration as the god references the old prophecy of Helenus; soon enough whatever darker associations may lurk will be set in sharper relief. No definite association with wild boars of mythology, Calydonian or otherwise (though the sow is indeed *ingens*, and Calydon had associations with Diomedes; note also Hercules’ labor with the boar of Erymanthus, a *sus* in Lucretius, and Eden’s consideration *ad* 43–45 of the idea that the

sow/wild boat was originally a “Latin tribal totem which developed into a symbol of leadership”); on Virgilian porcines in general vid. R. Katz in *VE* 1, 85–86. On how the Helenus prophecies of Book 3 owe much to Tiresias’ predictions to Odysseus in Homer, *Od.* 11, see Dekel 2012, 104–105; cf. Knauer 1964, 246–247.

On the archaic flavor of the final monosyllable see Harrison on 10.2; cf. 83 below.

44 *triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit*,

Another word for word repetition of the earlier prophecy (cf. 3.391). “Verbatim repetition on this scale is rare in the poem” (Fordyce *ad* 42 ff.). Mackail cautiously notes the possible problems of repetition and awkward phrasing.

triginta: A significant number in Virgil given its importance in the solemn prophecy of Jupiter to his daughter Venus: 1.269–271 *triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbis / imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini / transferet, et Longam multa vi muniet Albam*—a clear enough precursor of the two sow passages, the only other places in the epic where “thirty” appears as an ordinal number; for the distributive use of *ter deni* cf. 47 below and 10.213 (of thirty ships). On Virgilian numbers and numerical patterns see the entries of N. Zorzetti in *EV* 111, 782–788 and J.D. Morgan and R.F. Thomas in *VE* 11, 917–920; also O.A.W. Dilke, “Do Line Totals in the *Aeneid* Show a Preoccupation with Significant Numbers,” in *CQ* 17.2 (1967), 322–326. A key element of the portent is its image of abundance and the promise of heirs.

capitum fetus: See Horsfall *ad* 3.391 for the prosaic, “farming idiom” language. “Dignified periphrasis” (Eden) for homelier porcine descriptions. “The sow is an authentic but quaint detail of the tradition.” The heads of the piglets look forward to the climactic, triumphant vision at 65. For the appositive or epexegetical genitive see Antoine 1882, 76 ff.

enixa: *Eniti* occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at the repeated 3.391; 3.327 (of the captive Trojan women); 7.320 (of the pregnant Cisseis/Hecuba and her disastrous delivery of Paris); *G.* 2.320. Two positive and two negative associations in the epic, then, in a balanced pattern very much in the Virgilian manner.

iacebit: The verb has a suitably languid ring to it in context; the sow’s appearance will be almost casual and unaffected, as if she were a normal part of the landscape of the riverbank. This animal (feral or not) poses no threat; there is no need for a hunt or defense against any threat. Rather, it will be a sacrificial victim, though with problematic associations (see below on 84–85).

45 *alba solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.*

The last of the exactly repeated verses (= 3.392).

On the Virgilian etymologizing see O'Hara 2017, 143 and 201; cf. Bartelink 1965, 181 ("De Romeinse traditie verbond de naam Alba met het adjectief *albus*"). On the references to Alba Longa in the epic, with special consideration of the possible allusions to Ennian treatment of the locale and Livian intertexts in light of the specter of civil war, see Rossi 2004, 42–44. This is the magnificent word portrait of the signal animal and her offspring; it prefigures the wolf that will be the proper zoological patroness of Rome. The sow will be sacrificed, just as Alba Longa will one day be defeated by Rome.

alba ... albi: The repetition underscores the chromatic point. For the color cf. Edgeworth 1992, 66–70; 44 for its use in the present passage. Priam the younger has a Thracian horse with white spots, forefeet and forehead at 5.565 ff., during the *lusus Troiae* (and Turnus a similar steed at 9.49 ff.); the rocks of the Sirens were once white with the bones of the victims of the marine succubi (5.865). Allecto has white hair in her disguise as the aged Calybe at 7.417 (cf. the same appearance of the disguised Apollo at 9.651, where some manuscripts read *flavos* and not *albos*). The Nar is white from sulfur as it reacts to the clarion call from the hellish fury (7.517). The hero Aventinus has a lion's pelt with white teeth at 7.667. The doomed priest Haemonides has the white insignia of his sacerdotal ministry at 10.539. Aeneas' foe Lucagus has a pair of white horses (10.575). Camilla hunted white swans in her youth (11.580). Lavinia's blush is compared to roses among white lilies (12.69) Turnus has armor of white orichalcum (12.87). Note also the white sheep sacrificed to the Zephyr at 3.120. A color of problematic associations on the whole, then, at least from the Trojan perspective.

solo: Echoing 38 *expectate solo*, where the reference was principally to how Aeneas was fated to arrive on Laurentine soil.

recubans: The verb is rare in Virgil; apart from the sow passages, cf. 297 below, of the hell hound Cerberus, and 6.418 of the same canine (not of Cacus). And yet this is also the first verb in Virgil in some sense; cf. *E.* 1.1 *Tityrae, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi*. Four times in the epic, then, twice of the underworld monster and twice of the sow—more troubling juxtapositions. The sow passages owe much to the image of rest and nocturnal relief that marks the frame of the first bucolic; the mention of Hercules' famous labor below reminds us, though, that Virgil applies the same verb both to Hades' watch dog and to the fruitful animal that portends the achievement of Alba Longa. The very leisureliness of the animal is a sign of peace and lack of concern amid the nearby horrors of war. For the tension between the bucolic and the urban in Book 8, note Jones 2011, 54–55.

circum ubera: With direct connection to 631–632 below (*procubuisse lupam, geminos huic ubera circum / ludere pendentis pueros ...*), of the appearance of the fateful she-wolf on the shield. When the sow is actually seen at 8.83, it will be described with the same verb (*procubuit*) as the *lupa*—which (unlike the sow) was, after all, traditionally associated directly with the Tiber's banks. Horsfall *ad* 3.392 sees a light tone in the image (“... their number, and naturally pullulating disorder, in this climactic position can hardly be altogether straight-faced”).

46 [hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum,]

This verse is traditionally bracketed as an interpolation (in something of a promotion from Ribbeck's relegation of the verse to the bottom of his text page); it occurs in R as well as our ninth and tenth century *codices* (though not the original text of the Wolfenbüttel); see further the extended note in Götte 1958, 838. It was almost certainly unknown to Tiberius Claudius Donatus, and likely also to Servius. “The line must be condemned”—Page. It is almost exactly copied from 3.393 *is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum*; the Virgilian passage seems to have inspired Tibullus, c. 2.5.56 ... *hic magnae iam locus urbis erit* (where see Murgatroyd), but Tibullus' elegy offers no definitive evidence as to the text of *Aeneid* 8 that the poet might have read (cf. here R.J. Ball, “Tibullus 2.5 and Vergil's *Aeneid*,” in *Verg.* 21 (1975), 33–50). Are we to imagine that a copyist who remembered Helenus' speech simply copied an extra verse, changing the vague *is* of the original prophecy to the specific (and erroneous) *hic* of the present verse? Eden notes here the possibility that a marginal reference to the Book 3 passage may have been promoted from commentary to text. Certainly the verse repeats the sense of 39 above, though this in itself would not be sufficient grounds to excise it from the text. Cf. the Ovidian imitation of *Met.* 15.17–18; *Fast.* 2.280 *hic, ubi nunc urbs est, tum locus urbis erat*. Certainly the deletion of the verse eases the distance problem between the Tiber and Lavinium; one notes, however, that sometimes inconsistencies and apparent errors are deliberate. Gould and Whiteley are more sympathetic to the case for authenticity. “Theme and variation embodied in one” (Henry). On the key significance of the “topographical progression” from Sicily to Cumae to the Tiber in the second third of the epic, see Putnam 1998, 64.

“... probably an interpolation from 3.393, though it is preserved by R. The narrative implies none the less a present-time association between the labour of parturition and Aeneas' distress.” (Paschalis 1997, 278). For how the visit of Aeneas to Rome and the reign of Augustus in the same city are the “reference points for all the aitia” of the epic, see George 1974, 78. O'Hara observes *ad loc.* that the Tiber has, after all, already lied, and that errors and mendacity in prophecies are common in the epic.

locus urbis erit: On this phrase at 3.393 Horsfall notes that the identification of the city is quite vague; it could be anything “as heir to Troy.” On the progress from the fall of Troy to the fulfillment of “history’s dream” with the “certitude” offered by the Tiber, see Putnam 1966, 111.

requies: Perkell notes *ad* 3.393 that Aeneas will never achieve rest. The noun is used of Lucretius at *DRN* 6.93–94 ... *callida musa | Calliope, requies hominum divomque voluptas*; in Tibullus, Bacchus brings rest to suffering mortals (c. 1.7.41 *Bacchus et adflictis requiem mortalibus adfert*). For the noun elsewhere in Virgil cf. *G.* 2.516; 3.110; *A.* 4.433; 5.458; 6.600; 9.482; 12.58; 241; 553. For “rest from labor” note Ovid, *Met.* 7.812 *auram expectabam, requies erat illa labori*. On the objective genitive with the substantive see Antoine 1882, 83 ff.

47 *ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis*

ex quo: Not entirely easy to construe in context, especially in light of the problematic case of verse 46; Servius notes “qua ratiocinatione” (i.e., of the portentous sow). Eden takes the meaning to be “after and because of this/consequently” (Gransden supplies *prodigio*); cf. Mackail’s “whereby.” Fordyce hesitantly (“probably”) renders it as “from that time”; O’Hara notes the possibilities of *ex quo prodigio* and *ex quo tempore*. Henry opts for *ex quo tempore* (with critique of Peerklamp’s note that Aeneas would have rest after the founding of Lavinium, and that then at a future date Alba Longa would be founded), though he is uncharacteristically laconic on the inconsistency with Jupiter’s speech. The action that follows on the portent is Ascanius’ founding of Alba Longa; the white sow and her piglets chromatically presaged the settlement and the significant number of years (*ter denis/44 triginta*). The passage is indebted to 1.269–271 *triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbis | imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini | tranferet, et Longam multa vi muniet Albam*, where Ascanius is said to accomplish three future acts: 1) fill up the course of thirty years in power; 2) transfer the kingdom from Lavinium to Alba; and 3) fortify Alba with significant force. The thirty years of Jupiter’s prophecy follow on three special years for Aeneas: 1.265–266 *tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aetas | ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis*. No mention by Tiberinus of the three years (i.e., *post bellum*) that will in fact end with Aeneas’ mysterious death/disappearance. Polite, in any case, for the river god to avoid any mention or implication of Aeneas’ death in a speech that is designed to offer consolation and relief from anxiety.

Ex quo appears elsewhere in Virgil at the same verse number in Book 5 (47–48 *ex quo reliquias divinque ossa parentis | condidimus terra ...*), of the anniversary of Anchises’ death; these are the only appearances of the phrase in the epic. Temporal in meaning, then, in Book 5; here also implicitly so (at least

more or less), with the emphasis on the thirty years that will elapse before the foundation of Alba—though the thirty years from the sighting of the sow to the foundation of Ascanius' settlement do not account for the three year reign of Aeneas cited by Jupiter to Venus. What is clear is that the white sow and her brood connect to the Ascanian foundation; Virgil's Tiberinus is not concerned with other prophetic matters pertaining to Aeneas' three year reign at Lavinium, etc. "Prophecies cannot be pressed for the precision they generally tend to avoid" (Eden, who notes that in theory, though "implausibly," Virgil's Jupiter could be implying that Ascanius will rule for thirty years at Lavinium before he transfers the seat to Alba Longa). A deliberate, diplomatic inconsistency, then, is quite possible.

ter denis: For the archaic tone of the poeticism see Eden.

urbem: The key word is placed pointedly at the center and heart of the verse.

redeuntibus annis: The line-end is Lucretian (*DRN* 1.311, where it comes in a context of the wearing down of surfaces over the course of many years). For the use of the present participle to denote past time in Virgil see Hahn 1930, 134n560.

48 **Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam.**

A line of glorious alliteration, assonance, elegantly balanced elements and solemn declaration; the vagueries of prophecy and animal portent give way to a simple statement of Aeneas' son as ktistic hero. Founder and foundation frame the line. Deuticke compares Propertius, c. 4.1.35 *et stetit Alba, albae suis omine nata* (where see Hutchinson; cf. K.-W. Weeber, "Properz IV, 1, 1–70 und das 8. Buch der *Aeneis*," in *Latomus* 37.2 (1978), 489–506).

Ascanius: On the son of Aeneas see Rogerson 2017; cf. Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.74. "Ascanius is mentioned in the *Aeneid* more frequently than any of the other characters except Aeneas, Jupiter, and Turnus" (Moseley 1926, 47). Mozart composed a *fiesta teatrale in due atti, Ascanio in Alba* (1771; the librettist was Giuseppe Parini), on the young hero's foundation of this settlement and marriage to the nymph Silvia; in the pastoral opera Ascanius is the son of Venus and Aeneas. On Ascanius as king see Cairns 1989, 1. On the difficult problem of Ascanius' place in relation to the question of Lavinia's descendants, cf. O'Hara 2007, 88ff. It will be for Ascanius to be preserved as a prefigurement of the dream (and almost intractable problem) of the Augustan succession; he will serve as future city-builder, while Evander's son Pallas will serve as understudy to Aeneas in the present conflict and doomed Patroclus *redivivus*. On one aspect of the possible significance of Virgil's three names for Aeneas' son (Ascanius, Iulus, Ilus), see R.A. Laroche, "Proper Names in the *Aeneid*: Their Mystical Numerical Dimension," in *Pallas* 48 (1998). 145–156: "Ascanius (8 letters), Iulus

(5), and Ilus (4)—a total of 17 letters which are distributed exactly in the same way as the 3 main intervals of Pythagorean and Greek music theory: 8, 5, and 4.” (148).

On the complicated problem of the different traditions for not only Aeneas’ westward journey from the Troad, but also the fate of his descendants and the question of whether or not they returned to the site of Priam’s city to reestablish a home there, see Fowler 2013, 561 ff.

clari: Note Peerlkamp’s wish (following Heyne) to take this of the “white” color of the sow and her piglets, a notion dismissed as fanciful by Henry (and cf. Paschalis 1997, 278); on images of brightness, gleam, and shining wonder in the epic, see Boyle 1986, 145–146. Alba Longa will be famous and renowned; there is no hint of the future internecine strife with Rome, though educated readers might well ponder the violent future. We might be reminded, too, of the poet’s recurring theme of keeping Ascanius removed (or at least distant) from the business of war; Tiberinus’ prophecy speaks of the son in terms of city-building, while it will be for the father to tend to *quod instat* (49) in the matter of the present war.

condet: The key verb comes at the middle of the line, following on *urbem* in the preceding verse. Cf. 1.276–277 *Romulus excipiet gentem et Mavortia condet / moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet*; 6.792–793 *Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet / saecula ...*; the very different 10.557 ff.

cognominis: With a clear memory of 1.267–268 *at puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo / additur*; cf. 1.530 *est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt* (Ilioneus at Dido’s court; the verse is repeated at 3.163); 3.133 *... et laetam cognomine gentem* (of Aeneas’ foundation of Pergameum); 3.334 *... qui Chaonios cognomine campos*; 3.350 (of the “Xanthus” at Buthrotum); 3.702 *immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta*; 6.383 *... gaudet cognomine terra* (of Capo Palinuro); 7.671 *fratris Tiburti dictam cognomine gentem*; 331–332 below (of the origin of the name “Thybris” for the Tiber); 9.593 *cui Remulo cognomen erat ...*; 11.246 (of the foundation of Argyripa); 12.845 *dicuntur geminae pestes cognomine Dirae*. The noun signals the poet’s etymological game. For the genitive of quality cf. 5.511; 6.429 and 778, and see further Antoine 1882, 75–76.

Albam: For Alba (Longa) vid. G.M.A. Richter in *PE*, 33/Map 16.

49 **haud incerta cano. nunc qua ratione quod instat**

For the “sense pause at the strong caesura in the third foot” and its repetition here and in 50–51, see Eden’s note (with comment on “one of Ovid’s failings as a hexameter poet,” namely “that he could not unlearn elegiac technique”). With the Tiber’s admonition of 49b–56 cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.545–554.

haud incerta: The adjective is especially appropriate in the wake of the emphasis on a sure and certain home and place of respite; Tiberinus affirms the reliability and implicit veracity of his pronouncement about Ascanius' settlement. It is possible that the assertion has a metaliterary quality, too, in terms of the quantity of sources that refer to the portent of the sow. For "*haud* modifying an adjective with a privative prefix," see Tueller, *op. cit.*, 365n11 (with extended commentary on the possible influence of Callimachus, fr. 612 Pfeiffer on the present scene). On the notion of certainty and lack thereof, cf. Jupiter's rhetorical question to Cybele at 9.96–97 ... *certusque incerta pericula lustret* / *Aeneas*? As prophecies in the epic go, Tiberinus' is reasonably devoid of mystery; he speaks of a specific settlement, not some vague western destination or eventual homecoming. For the negative adverb see Pinkster 2015, 691–692, with consideration of its historical use.

cano: Possibly with deliberate connection to the name of Ascanius in the previous line; the Tiber associates his act of verse composition with his subject. The first person singular occurs at *E.* 6.9 *non iniussa cano*; *G.* 1.12 *munera vestra cano*; *G.* 2.176 *Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen*; also *G.* 3.442. But in the *Aeneid* the form is used only here and as the first verb of the epic, 1.1, a repetition that lends the present passage an extra dignity and special solemnity. If the opening line of the poem marked the song of the *virum* Aeneas, then here the god sings of the next generation. For *cano* of "prophetic utterance" see Fordyce *ad* 7.79. For the sentiment of singing true things note Tibullus, c. 2.5.63 *vera cano*. There may be a hint, too, of the prophetic associations of Evander's mother Carmenta, as the river god proceeds to tell Aeneas of the storied Arcadians who have already arrived in Italy. (For Evander's mother as an image of hoary antiquity and archaic, obsolete speech, see Gellius, *NA* 1.10.2). Prophetic singing also at 340 and 499.

nunc qua ratione quod instat: The same hemistich occurs at 4.115 *mecum erit iste labor. nunc qua ratione quod instat* (of Juno with Venus as they engage in machinations regarding Dido and Aeneas; line 50 in turn echoes 4.116)—an ominous parallel in light of the goddess' recent actions in Book 7, and prefatory to the god's imminent mention of the Jovian *regia coniunx*. A marvelous reappropriation of language from a key moment in the earlier unfolding of the Junonian strategy against Troy, here recalled as Tiberinus prepares to instruct Aeneas in how he can avoid future difficulties from the goddess. Cf. Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 5.95–96 *nunc age vicinae circumspice tempora brumae / qua ratione geras*. The language is deliberately vague and ambiguous in its sweeping import; Aeneas is instructed in how to win over the goddess so that he may disentangle himself, as it were, from whatever presses on him. The implicit reference is to the present circumstance of the war, but this is all far more gen-

eral than Helenus' specific injunction about the departure from Sicily and the journey to Italy. On Virgilian didactic markers note R.F. Thomas in *VE* 1, 361–363.

ratione: The noun occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at 2.314 *arma amens capio*; *nec sat rationis in armis*; 4.115; 299 below (*rationis egentem*, of Hercules when he faced the Hydra); 9.67 *qua temptet ratione aditus* (of Turnus' deliberation before the Trojan camp). Of battle and conflict, then, and of how one might reason one's way through a crisis—an eminently Odyssean reference. *Ratio* may be a Lucretian echo.

quod instat: I.e., what cannot be avoided as it confronts one directly; cf. 2.489 *instat vi patria Pyrrhus*; 9.350 ... *hic furto fervidus instat*; also *E.* 9.66 *Desine plura, puer, et quod nunc instat agamus*; Ovid, *Ars* 1.717 *Quod refugit, multae cupiunt; odere quod instat*; the phrase both Ciceronian and Livian. Servius interprets the passage as referring to what remains from Aeneas' labors, since for the moment he has been preoccupied with the demands of the immediate moment and present necessity.

50 **expedias victor, paucis (adverte) docebo.**

Again the language echoes Juno's words to Venus at 4.115–116; *expedias victor* replaces *confieri possit*. The replacement in turn recalls Anchises' words to Aeneas in Elysium at 6.759 *expediam dictis, et te tua fata docebo*; Tiberinus' instructions will also be recalled at 11.315–316 *nunc adeo quae sit dubiae sententia menti, | expediam et paucis animos adhibete docebo* (Latinus at the Latin war council, where the king essentially plays the same role with Turnus as the river god does here with Aeneas—though he does not so much offer the Rutulian a path to victory as to self-preservation).

expedias: The implicit metaphor is from weaving, i.e., to disentangle or separate something from its fastenings. The verb occurs 14× in Virgil; for the subjunctive cf. 12.500–502 (of the poet's comment on the battlefield slaughter wrought by Aeneas and Turnus); also *G.* 4.396–397. With *victor* the emphasis is on victory in battle; Tiberinus proceeds from the etiological detail about Alba Longa to the immediate, martial crisis and its resolution. The echoes of this passage from Books 6 and 11 may have given rise to the variant reading *expediam*, but the point here is what Aeneas must do, not what the Tiber is going to do for him.

victor: See Gransden here for a “key-word” of Book 8; cf. 61ff. below; Binder 1971, 21.

paucis ... docebo: The phrase occurs 2× in Pliny; nowhere else in verse other than in Virgil. *Paucis* here may conceal a note of urgency; there is a war in progress, after all, and Aeneas is responsible for leading his Trojans and their soon to be allies to victory.

advertē: For the (mostly poetic) abbreviation of the original, fuller expression from *animum adverto*, see Eden; cf. 440 below.

51 **Arcades his oris, genus a Pallante profectum,**

Tiberinus briskly introduces the Arcadians who have settled in Italy, as the ethnic and military realities in Latium become significantly more complicated. On how the introduction of the Arcadians will force Aeneas to “renegotiate,” as it were, certain aspects of his ancestry and origins, see S. Nakata, “*Egrederē o quicumque es*: Genealogical Opportunism and Trojan Identity in the *Aeneid*,” in *Phoenix* 66.3/4 (2012), 335–363, 351. On how “Arcadian values” will infuse the future political and religious establishments of Rome, see A.J. Boyle, “*Aeneid* 8: Images of Rome,” in Perkell 1999, 148–161, 150. For the useful manipulation of Arcadian traditions to craft a complex narrative that echoes both Iliadic lore and the pervasive problem of the relationship of fathers and sons, see Heinze 1902/1908/1914, 178–179.

Arcades: On the Arcadians and Arcadia in Virgil note R. Jenkyns in *VE* 1, 117; the same author’s “Virgil and Arcadia,” in *JRS* 79 (1989), 26–39; Wimperis 2017, 87 ff.; D. Musti, “Arcadi,” in *EV* 1, 270–272; A. Rinaldi, “Arcadia,” in *EV* 1, 272–285. A people of storied, misty antiquity (Manilius, *Astron.* 4.768 *Arcades antiqui ...*; cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 2.271–272; 2.289–290 *ante Iovem genitum terras habuisse feruntur / Arcades; et luna gens prior illa fuit*). This is the first mention of the Arcadians in the epic; the name derives from Arcas, the son of Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon (Gantz 1993, 725–729; cf. Ps.-Eratosthenes, *Cat.* 1, where see the Budé annotations of Massana and Zucker). The Callisto story is one of ursine metamorphosis; Artemis-like devotion to the world of the chase; Jovian rape; sanctuary violation and eventual catasterism; see further A. Henrichs, “Three Approaches to Greek Mythography,” in Bremmer 1987, 496n1. Nothing remains of Aeschylus’ *Callisto*; cf. Euripides, *Hel.* 375–380 (with Allan’s notes). Arcadian lore contains more of lycanthropy and human sacrifice than of pastoral idyll (the latter owing more to the reception of Virgil than to the poet himself and his sources). Callisto’s father Lycaon (cf. *G.* 1.138) was the son of Pelasgus (cf. the lengthy account of Arcadian genealogy at the start of Pausanias 8; vid. here J. Roy, “The Sons of Lycaon in Pausanias’ Arcadian King-List,” in *ABSA* 63 (1968), 287–292). “Murderer, cannibal, werewolf: this is not a good start for the nation” (Fowler 2013, 105). It will be for Virgil to transform elements of Arcadian foundation lore and related lycanthropic folktales into part of the fabric of Roman identity as reinvisioned in and for an Augustan audience; his Camilla may be reminiscent of the anthropomorphic gods of Egypt as she plays the role of Cleopatra at, but she is also transformed into something of a precursor of the Romulean she-wolf (cf. Fratantuono 2009b).

Servius has a long note here on the background of Evander, including his act of patricide (Danielis offers an alternate story in which he kills his mother); he also details the establishment of an *oppidum* on the Palatine that was named after either Pallas, the grandfather of Evander, or Evander's daughter Pallantia (who was raped by Hercules and buried later on the Palatine), or even the bleating of sheep (*Balanteum* from *balatus*). None of the darker elements that may lurk in Evander's past are present in Virgil—though he is the Virgilian reinvention of Medea as “helper” to Aeneas as new Jason. See further here G. Arrigoni, “Da dove viene Evandro? Genealogie, topografia e culti in Virgilio,” in *Aevum* 85 (2011), 43–64.

The geographical adjective comes first in the river god's story; the Arcadians/Greeks will be prominent in the salvation of Aeneas' fledgling Trojan settlement. On the racial/ethnic question of Roman attitudes toward the Greeks, with consideration of the question of a rival tradition in which Evander was the founder of Rome, see Cairns 1989, 122; cf. D.M. Pollio, “Reconciliable Differences: Greeks and Trojans in the *Aeneid*,” in *Verg.* 52 (2006), 96–107.

his ... oris: Cf. 2.788 *sed me magna deum genetrix his detinet oris* (of Creüsa); 323 below.

Pallante: Evander's ancestor (“Evander Arcas fuit, nepos Pallantis, regis Arcadiae”—Servius), the “namesake” of his son (R.F. Thomas in *VE* II, 960). The name recalls that of the great goddess (notwithstanding declensions, accent and vowel quantities (cf. *Pallas*, *Pallantis*; *Pallas*, *Palladis/os*, etc.; accent on penult *versus* ultima)); in some sense the action of Aeneas in the Iliadic *Aeneid* represents a reversal of the Odyssean pattern of Athena's mentorship of Odysseus—in Virgil, Aeneas will mentor Pallas (with tragic ending). Pallas was the son of Lycaon (vid. Ps.-Apollodorus, *Bib.* 3.8 on the fifty sons, with a list different from the aforementioned Pausanian account; see further both Frazier and Scarpì ad loc.). Servius notes that the passage here means “profectum ad has oras genus a Pallante, non a Pallante profectum.” Pallas *rex Arcadiae* is mentioned only here and at 54 below in Virgil. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.33) notes that Lycaon's son Pallas was the father of the goddess Nike/Victory, and that she was reared with Athena, who was handed over to Pallas after she was born. See also Walbank *ad* Polybius 6.11a (the “Archaeologia”), who argues that the derivation of the name “Palatinus” from “Pallas” was probably later than the one from the Arcadian Pallantium, and probably due to Fabius Pictor. For the “obscure figure” who “appears in *h. Herm.* 100 as the father of the Moon ...”, see West on Hesiod, *Theog.* 376.

There are some textual variants to note here; the Medicean has *appallante*; note also the attestations of *appellante* and even *a pellante*. It is possible that *a Pallante* had an attractive (in etymological context) ring of *appellante/appell-*

lare for Virgil's audience; the question here is not one of correct reading, but of how the errors entered the text.

profectum: For the verb note also 1.340 (of Dido); 1.732 (of Dido's Tyrians); 3.615 (of Achaemenides); 4.111 (again of the Tyrians); 7.209 (of Dardanus); 7.255 (of Aeneas). For *genus profectum* cf. Cicero, *De Div.* 1.130.3; also *Rhet. ad Her.* 1.14.13–14.

52 **qui regem Evandrum comites, qui signa secuti,**

qui ... qui: For the metrical variety of the stressed and unstressed repetition of the relative pronoun, see Eden. The verse has an almost lilting quality that conveys something of the anticipation and excitement of the exiles in following their leader to a new home.

Evandrum: On the Arcadian king and almost stereotypical “good man” (if we can tolerate “bad Greek, but good plotting”—Small 1982, 9n20) of the epic (in opposition to the monstrous Cacus) see P. Hardie in *VE* 1, 464–465; S. Papaioannou, “Founder, Civilizer, and Leader: Vergil's Evander and his Role in the Origin of Rome,” in *Mnem.* 56 (2003), 680–702; Drew 1927, 32–39 on Evander as allegorical epic poet. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.31) identifies him as a son of Hermes and an Arcadian nymph known to the Greeks as Themis and to Roman authors as Carmenta; the expedition Evander led was the result of civil war. Faunus, an aboriginal descendant of Mars, received the exiles and gave them land; they established a settlement they named Pallantium after their home city in Arcadia, Pallantion (cf. L. Cincius Alimentus, F10 Cornell; Hemina, F2 Cornell for how Evander was the first to call Faunus a god); the Romans call it Palatium (Dionysius notes the many questionable etymologies for the name that have arisen). Dionysius indicates that Polybius of Megalopolis indicated that the town was named after Pallas, a youth who died there; he was the son of Hercules and Launa/Lavinia, the daughter of Evander—but Dionysius is skeptical of the story. Polybius is the earliest witness to a story of Pallas, the son of Lavinia; cf. Festus 245L. For Evander as an inventor of letters, see Fabius Pictor, F27 Cornell; L. Cincius Alimentus, F9 Cornell; for how he brought the Aeolic dialect to the barbarians of Italy, Cato, F3 Cornell. Stesichorus was said to have been exiled from Pallantion in Arcadia (*PMG* fr. 1); according to Pausanias 8.3.2 (= *PMG* 182; vid. Davies and Finglass on *Geryoneis* fr. 21), Stesichorus mentioned Pallantium in his *Geryoneis* (the context uncertain). “And since it happens that Arcadian Pallantion was mentioned in the *Geryoneis*, it is possible that the whole Evander story goes back to Stesichorus, or was elaborated from his famous poem” (Wiseman 2015, 15). “Heracles' adventures in Italy would no doubt have been an attractive topic for a West Greek poet” (Davies and Finglass *ad Geryoneis* fr. 21).

See further Small 1982, 7–8n13. Confusion abounded as to the identity and history of Evander; in Ps.-Apollodorus (*Bib.* 3.12.5) “Evander” is a son of Priam; elsewhere of Sarpedon (Diodorus 5.79.3). Livy’s mention of Evander at 1.5 is concerned with the establishment of the Lupercalia (where see Ogilvie’s note: “It is possible that in him is preserved the dim memory of scattered Greek migrations to Italy in the tenth century”). On Evander’s primitive settlement note Propertius’ *atque ubi Navali stant sacra Palatia Phoebos, | Evandri profugae procubere boves* (c. 1.3–4, where vid. Hutchinson: “Augustus, victor of Actium, is implicitly set against Evander, mere refugee”). For the tradition of the exile et al. cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 1.471 ff., with Frazer’s (and Green’s) notes; in Ovid there is a connection between divine anger and the threat of immortal displeasure—but the sources in general do not preserve much of the tradition for an Evandrian exile (Livy *silet*). In the *Met.* Ovid names Evander but once (14.456), in connection with the success of Aeneas’ mission to the Arcadians and the failure of Venulus’; Myers notes ad loc. that Virgil never uses *moenia* of the Pallanteum founded by Evander, with comparison of 1.7 of the lofty walls of Rome.

On Evander’s narrative role (with metapoetic implications), see P. Hardie, “Fame and Defamation in the *Aeneid*: the Council of Latins (*Aen.* 11.225–467),” in Stahl 1998, 243–270, 260–261. For how Evander serves as a cleansing power for Aeneas (i.e., of his Eastern traits), with relevance to the consideration of Evander as substitute Anchises, see V. Pöschl, “Aeneas,” in Bloom 1987, 9–30, 28–29.

comites: A favorite Virgil word of varied contextual uses (at 4.123, e.g., of Aeneas and Dido as they arrive at the fateful cave that will witness the initiation of their romantic union; 4.663 of those who witness the collapse of the queen at her suicide). Here of those exiles who followed Evander to a new home in Italy; the parallels to Aeneas (and, for that matter, Dido) are deliberate.

signa secuti: For the line-end cf. the imitations of Lucan, *BC* 2.531; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.143; Silius, *Pun.* 17.561. The phrase hints at the military aid that the Arcadians will render to Aeneas; the standards of the Arcadians will be raised against that hoisted by Turnus in the book’s opening verse. For perceptive comment on how the Trojans will seek a “spear-alliance” with the Arcadians to counter the equestrian contingents of the Latins/Diomedes, see Paschalis 1997, 278–279 (with consideration of the etymology of Pallas/Pallanteum from the swaying or poisoning of a spear); such an interpretation accords well with the development of the narrative in Book 11 (where the poet relates both the Diomedean response to the Venulan embassy, and the brilliant drama of the cavalry battle). For *secuti* cf. 5.561, of the young participants in the mock

battle of the *lusus Troiae*; 10.738 *conclamant socii laetum paeana secuti* (of Mezentius' men in the wake of the fatal attack on Orodes); 11.758–759 ... *ducis exemplum eventumque secuti / Maeonidae incurrunt*.

53 *delegere locum et posuere in montibus urbem*

Another occasion of city-building and a new foundation for exiles, and a reminder of how the new home of the Trojans is already a rather crowded place.

delegere locum: Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.31.12. For the verb in the perfect note 5.191 (of Mnestheus' choosing of Hectorean companions); 11.658 (of Camilla's choice of companions in peace and war). For the forms of the perfect plural in this verse see Eden ad loc. on the "Ennian coloring" used also by Livy, and Cicero's admiration of the sound effect of the termination, even if he considered it to be the less correct form. The verb describes the selection of something in preference to all else (*OLD* s.v. 2); there is likely no shade here of the sense of levying troops as in a military draft (*OLD* s.v. 3).

posuere ... urbem: Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.63.2. *Urbem* is once again a key-word; it is balanced by 54 ... *Pallanteum*. The sentiment is echoed at 335 below, as Evander describes his arrival in Latium.

montibus: Artfully vague and ambiguous (almost casually so), even if the Palatine location is clearly intended; certainly it could refer to "the cluster of hills of which the Palatine was one" (Conington; note Danielis' *an inter montes?*), but the (poetic?—cf. Danielis' *an in monte?*) plural avoids any definitive specificity. For mountain establishments cf. 6.774 *hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces*. The mountain city/settlement conveys a sense of protection and fortification, even as it prefigures the hills of Rome.

54 *Pallantis proavi de nomine Pallanteum*.

Powerful alliteration: *Pallanteum* was the name of the settlement, in onomastic testament to Evander's ancestor Pallas. For the etymological notes see O'Hara 2017, 202; also Bartelink 1965, 52–53; J.F. Miller in *VE* 11, 958. For the ignoring of the respective quantities of the first syllables of *Palatium* and *Pallanteum*, see O'Hara 2017, 60–62. From the derivation of Alba Longa from the white sow we have moved to the primitive settlement on the Palatine whence, ultimately, Rome. Hero and city-name neatly frame the verse. "He virtually calls the settlement Pallas-town." (O'Hara 1990, 49). For other etymologies in poetic *tour de force*, cf. Tibullus, c. 2.5.25–30 (with Murgatroyd, and Maltby). Varro lists several Palatine etymologies at *DLL* 5.53; Livy has ... *et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium, dein Palatium montem appellatum* (1.5.1.2). The first of several "explicit etymologies" in the book (cf. O'Hara 2017, 73–75). Not surprisingly given the

subject matter, Book 8 has more of these than any other book of the epic; cf. 322–323; 330–332; 338–339; 343–344; 345–346; 422. For “framing” etymologies see O’Hara 2017, 82 ff.

Pallante: For the *Aeneid* “Pallas” refers mostly to the doomed son of Evander and to the goddess Pallas Athena; the emphasis on the etymology of the Palatine permits Virgil to highlight from the start the name of the young hero whose fate will be so significant to the final third of the epic. For those not worrying about quantities and declensions, there may also be a hint of association between the goddess Pallas and her association with the Athenian acropolis and the Palatine Pallas of Arcadian history.

proavi: Great-grandfathers appear elsewhere in Virgil at 3.129 *hortantur socii Cretam proavosque petamus*; 12.225–226 *cui genus a proavis ingens clarumque paternae / nomen erat virtutis ...* (of Camers). Here as elsewhere more broadly understood to refer to ancestors; the technically inaccurate reference to Evander’s grandfather may serve in part to convey a reverential note of antiquity and tradition. The noun of venerable poetic antiquity (Ennius *tragicus*; Lucretius; 3× in Propertius and several times in Ovid).

nomine: For the “etymological signpost” see O’Hara 2017, 75 ff.

Pallanteum: Cf. 341 below; L. Fratantuono in *VE* II, 960; note also the adjectival uses of the name at 9.195–196 ... *tumulo videor reperire sub illo / posse viam ad muros et moenia Pallantea*; 9.240–241 ... *si fortuna permittitis uti / quaesitum Aenean et moenia Pallantea* (both times in connection with the night raid of Nisus and Euryalus, another episode of the epic in which the premature death of the young will figure; the camp of Aeneas that Nisus and Euryalus fail to reach may dimly presage the future Rome). The spondaic ending effectively draws attention to the signal name; for the “facilitation of recollection” see O’Hara 1990, 49n90. The other spondaic lines in Book 8 are 167; 341; 345; 402; and 679; of these the first three (like the present verse) have a quadrisyllabic final word. See further Gransden ad loc.

55 **hi bellum adsidue ducunt cum gente Latina;**

At once, a note of war, with not a moment permitted to enjoy the achievement of city-building; the declaration follows on the hint at 52 ... *qui signa secuti* of martial prowess. If there are hints of the battle goddess in this section, then appropriately we move at once to the reality of war. *Inter al.* Fordyce and Gransden (the latter citing Camps 1969, 134–135) note the inconsistency with 7.45–46 ... *Rex arva Latinus et urbes / iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat*. See further here Petrini 1997, 48n1. Whatever the exact point of the constancy of the warfare, it is clearly not as pressing as the present strife between the Trojans and Latins. For the distinction between what the poet-narrator reports and what

the god Tiberinus relates, see Adler 2003, 167–168 (with commentary on the distinction between the conflict between the Arcadians and the Latins, and the peaceful relations between Latinus and those cities over which he more or less directly rules). On the idea of Evander as Numa and a time of war as reflecting the reign of Tullius Hostilius see Goldschmidt 2013, 93n81. Gransden sees the possibility of a deliberate contrast between the more primitive, implicitly warlike Latins and the civilized Trojans. See Eden on how Evander might have been thought to be one of Turnus' allies, given their shared Greek ancestry; also on the complicated relations between the Etruscans, the Rutulians, and the Arcadians in light of the Mezentius problem. If the Latins are warlike, so also the Arcadians, one might think.

hi: Followed by 56 *hos*, with almost deictic demonstrative force: the reality of the nearby potential Trojan allies is strongly underscored.

bellum ... ducunt: Elsewhere at *Bell. Hisp.* 26.4.3; cf. Petronius' *bellumque totum fraude ducebat nova* (89.1.28, from the *Troiae halosis*), with Habermehl 2006, 177; Caesar, *BG* 1.38.4.2 *ad ducendum bellum*; *BC* 2.37.5.1; 6.4; 3.42.3.1 *Caesar longius bellum ductum iri existimans*. Servius interprets the phrase as meaning either that they wage war (i.e., *bellum gerunt*—so also Nonius Marcellus 438L), or that they are engaged in a protracted struggle (*in longum trahunt*). For the expression see further Horsfall on 11.113 *nec bellum ... gero*. With *bellum ... cum gente* cf. 3.234–235 ... *sociis tunc arma capessant | edico, et dira bellum cum gente gerendum* (of the Trojan conflict with the Harpies); 11.113 *nec bellum cum gente gero* (Aeneas on his relations with the Latins); Ovid's ... *bellum cum gente feroci | suscipitur, pactaque furit pro coniuge Turnus* (*Met.* 14.450–451).

assidue: The adverb occurs elsewhere in the epic only at 4.248–249 *Atlantis, cinctum adsidue cui nubibus atris | piniferum caput et vento pulsatur et imbris*; Evander is a descendant of the Titan; note also *E.* 2.4; *G.* 2.374; 2.441. 4× in Terence and 4× in Lucretius; twice in Tibullus. For the adverb with *bellum*, cf. Pliny, *NH* 7.10.4–5 ... *produntur Arimaspi, quos diximus, uno oculo in fronte media insignes. quibus adsidue bellum esse circa metalla cum grypis ...*

gente Latina: For the line-end cf. Statius, *Silv.* 1.2.70.

56 **hos castris adhibe socios et foedera iunge.**

castris ... socios: The emphasis on military matters continues. A subtle reminder, too, that for the Trojans there is, as yet, no *urbs*, but only *castra*.

adhibe: The verb occurs four times in Virgil; cf. 5.62, in the context of the Trojan reception by the Sicilian king Acestes (at close to the same verse of the opening book of the epic's second third); 11.315 (in a passage parallel to the present scene, where Latinus offers a proposal at the Latin war council); *G.* 3.455–456 *dum medicas adhibere manus ad vulnera pastor | abnegat*. For the

verb with *socios* note Cicero, *Phil.* 12.27.14 *socios adhibuisset*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.412 *te socios adhibere sacris*.

foedera iunge: Caesarian (*BG* 6.2.3.1 *et foedere adiungunt*); Livian (7.30.4.4–5; 10.12.1.2; 26.24.13.2); cf. *A.* 4.111–112 *esse velit Tyriis urbem Troiaque profectis, / miscerique probet populos aut foedera iungi* (of ominous memory); 7.545–546 *en perfecta tibi bello discordia tristi; / dic in amicitiam coeant et foedera iungant* (still more baleful); 8.640–641 below (from the shield); 10.105–107 *accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta. / quandoquidem Ausonios coniungi foedere Teucris / haud licitum* (Jupiter at the divine council); 10.154 *iungit opes foedusque ferit* (the Etruscan Tarchon); 11.355–356 *quin natam egregio genero dignisque hymenaeis / des pater, et pacem hanc aeterno foedere iungas* (Drances at the war council); 12.822 ... *cum iam leges et foedera iungent* (Juno's appeal to Jupiter in the ultimate, decisive divine colloquy of the epic); also 11.129–130 *et te, si qua viam dederit Fortuna, Latino / iungemus regi. quaerat sibi foedera Turnus* (Drances to Aeneas). Grattius has *dat venus accessus et blando foedere iungit* (*Cyn.* 163); cf. *Ilias Latina* 278–279 *protinus accitur Priamus sacrisque peractis / foedera iunguntur ...*; Manilius, *Astron.* 2.822; Ovid, *Her.* 4.147; *Met.* 7.403; Seneca, *Thyest.* 482; Statius, *Theb.* 5.138; 6.290; *Ach.* 1.926; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.215; 6.692; Silius, *Pun.* 11.149, etc. We move on, then, to another Trojan alliance; in Book 1 the Carthaginians were potential allies and friends; in Book 5, Acestes and his Sicilians prefigured Evander and his Arcadians in this book; in Book 7, there was the shortlived peace between the Trojans and the Latins that will be echoed in the equally doomed treaty that is struck at the beginning of Book 12. The poem concludes with peace and harmony having been established on the divine plane, and no scene of peacemaking and lasting alliance on the mortal. On *foedera* in Roman poetry see Gladhill 2016.

The Palatine manuscript reads *foedere* here (also several later codices; Servius knew both readings; cf. Fordyce's "failure to recognize this common use of the verb"). The variant is also found at the parallel 4.112, though with less attestation. But "*foedera* is plural because of the mutuality of the relationship" (Pease ad loc.). Cf. 169 below. The allies and the treaty almost shade into one. "After the anaphora with the two earlier verbs (*hi* and *hos*, each emphasized by being placed first, both in its clause and in its line), we should naturally expect some form of the demonstrative with *iunge*" (Hahn 1930, 39).

57 ipse ego te ripis et recto flumine ducam,

ipse ego: Also at *E.* 2.51; *A.* 5.846 *ipse ego paulisper pro te tua munera inibo* (the sinister words of the disguised Somnus to the helmsman Palinurus). The parallel with Book 5 is ominous, and foreshadows distantly the sacrificial death of Pallas, who like Palinurus will die as a proxy for Aeneas. The intensive and

the verb frame the verse; there is effective juxtaposition of the pronouns (*ego te*) as the god pledges his guidance to the hero. Aeneas was asleep during Palinurus' encounter with Somnus/Phorbas; here the river god offers yet another example of divine claims of assistance in navigation, though with rather more appropriate and arguably happier outcome. The river god is of course the best qualified to serve as conductor for this voyage; he will act in his own person, and not through any minion or intermediary. We may imagine that the god has risen up from the waters of his river and is separate from it, but Virgil does not make this precisely clear. Cf. 62 *ego sum*.

recto flumine: Cf. 6.900 (*rectus* with either *limes* or *litus*, on which see Horsfall ad loc. for the "moment of glory (though not undisputed) for the Carolingian mss."), a passage cited by Servius here. The direction upstream will be straight and unwinding, one might think, perhaps in implicit contrast to the actual prophecy and its implications; at 95 below we learn of the "long bends" (*longos ... flexus*) of the journey, in what amounts to not so much an inconsistency as a comment on the unhalting, indeed unerring navigation the god provides on the river he knows so well. The river and the banks (*ripis*) are ablatives of route (Williams) or direction (Page: "a sort of hendiadys"). "Rather a strained and bold use of the local ablative" (Sidgwick). "Of course the channel does not hurry the *man* heading down the stream *directly*; he is in his boat; but the vehicle can readily be ignored" (Hahn 1930, 44–45n181). "Absque errore; expedito itinere" (Ruæus).

ducam: The first person singular of this verb occurs elsewhere in the epic only at 9.323, of Nisus as he prepares with Euryalus for the night raid; cf. G. 4.403.

For "self-contained spondaic fourth feet" see Eden's note; the present verse has a languorous, almost leisurely air as the god confidently asserts his guidance upstream of the Trojan hero to his Arcadian allies, a journey in which once again Aeneas will be a passive passenger, and in consequence of which there will be a sacrificial exchange.

58 *adversum remis superes subvectus ut amnem.*

adversum ... amnem: Adjective and noun frame the verse. A hint of trouble; the god's direction is needed and useful because Aeneas will be sailing against the current, as it were. The present passage likely inspired Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.22.11 *simul naves in adversum amnem agebantur*. For how the prediction here will not be precisely fulfilled, see Jones 2005, 66–67.

remis: The god's assistance is promised, but the Trojans will still use their oars; cf. the situation at the end of Book 5. On how the oars are useless without the god, and *vice versa*, cf. Putnam 1966, 112.

superes: The theme of Aeneas as *victor* (50; 61) continues; the imperfect subjunctive here leads to the imperative *supera* at 61, as Tiberinus gives instructions for how Aeneas is to achieve victory on the immortal plane. For the verb in nautical contexts note on 95 below. “To become *victor* Aeneas must overcome both an adverse current and an adverse deity” (Gransden). On the connection between the wrath of the goddess Juno and the swelling of the river, see Putnam 1966, 112.

subvectus: The basic meaning of the verb is to convey something upwards; it can be used of the delivery of something to a place that is considered higher (in this case, “upstream”); vid. *OLD* s.v. 2. Virgil has it elsewhere at 5.721 *subvecta* (of Night carried on her two-horse chariot); 11.478 (of the conveyance of Queen Amata with her retinue). The sibilant alliteration hints at the promised smoothness of the ride; still, the spondaic rhythm emphasizes the length of the journey, and the difficulties that one might well expect are metrically enacted by the clash of ictus and accent that is resolved only in the last two feet (vid. further Eden here). On such *mots nouvellement introduits dans la langue* see Cordier 1939, 143–144.

59 surge age, nate dea, primisque cadentibus astris

surge age: The expression appears 3× in the *Aeneid*; cf. 3.169–170 *surge age et haec laetus longaevo dicta parenti | haud dubitanda refer* (the Penates to Aeneas in dream visitation); 10.241–242 *surge age et Aurora socios veniente vocari | primus in arma iube* (Cymodocea to Aeneas). There will be more help to seek, and divine wrath to avert; Tiberinus turns now to the second, rather more intractable problem. The rising will be from sleep, but it has metaphysical implications. On the brevity of the actual orders the god imparts to Aeneas, see George 1974, 72. The present scene recalls Helenus’ admonitions to Aeneas at 3.435 ff.; for comparison of the influence of Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.548–551 and 2.423 ff., with specific reference to “inversion” of prophecies, see Nelis 2001, 329 ff.

nate dea: A god addresses one born from a goddess, and the instruction will concern the reverence owed to another goddess so as to secure a soothing of her anger; vid. Klause 1993, 50. Elsewhere in Virgil note 1.582 *nate dea, quae nunc animo sententia surgit?* (Achates to Aeneas); 1.615–616 *quis te, nate dea, per tanta pericula casus | insequitur?* (Dido to Aeneas); 3.311 *verane facies, verus mihi nuntius adfers, | nate dea?* (Andromache to Aeneas); also 3.374; 3.435; 3.560; 5.383; 5.474; 5.709. A brief and subtle reminder of the divine patroness whose help will soon be manifested in the forging and bestowal of the great shield. Venus is now and again set up in opposition to Juno (most especially in the divine council of Book 10); here the one born from Venus is urged to reverence Juno before all.

primisque cadentibus astris: “Au point du jour” (Benoist). A poetic periphrasis for dawn (almost certainly), with grand and epic language to describe the first fleeing (as it were) of the stars (the lights of nights) with the coming of the color and rays of the morn. Virgil twice has *cadentia sidera* of the opposite time (2.9–10 ... *et iam nox umida caelo | praecipitat suadentque cadentia sidera somnos*; 4.81 *luna premit suadentque cadentia sidera somnos*); cf. Lucan, *BC* 5.562–563. Here Tiberinus uses language that might at first glance seem more fitting for a description of the fall of night; ultimately Virgil’s various expressions of the “falling lights” may be traced to Lucretius, *DRN* 2.209 *non cadere in terras stellas et sidera cernis?* (where see Fowler’s note). *Primis* describes the falling stars, but in context the adjective underscores the importance of Aeneas’ recognition of his priority: Juno must be appeased before all else; it also refers to a quite specific and precise moment in time, i.e., the exact beginning of the process of stellar falling (see here Eden, with reference to Housman *ad Manilius, Astron.* 5.226). Eden notes that *cadentibus* is, in contrast, rather imprecise, given that some stars begin to fall below the horizon at dusk.

Eden here offers an extended note on the chronology of the journey (following the interpretation accepted *inter al.* by Servius, Heinze, and Cartault), with the conclusion that the whole sequence from the vision of the god to the arrival in Pallanteum takes one and a half days. J.W. Mackail (“Notes on *Aeneid* VIII,” in *CR* 32.5/6 (1918), 103–106) offers the opposing view (accepted by Knauer and Binder) that the trip took about five hours (based on his personal experience of Tiber rowing: “I have myself rowed over the course in the reverse direction, with the help of a fairly strong current, and would judge from my rather imperfect recollection—for it was thirty years ago—that in quiet water the journey up would take about five hours (or more if there were a rest half-way”). “Perhaps Scottish energy is superior to Trojan” (Jenkyns 1998, 535n56). It is possible that the poet never intended such minute analysis of the hour by hour progress of the story; Eden does well to note that the time for the sacrifices and preparation of the biremes may have been extended (notwithstanding the rushed atmosphere given the pressing realities of war). Cf. also the voyage undertaken by Bertha Tilly and American friends in August (Tilly 1961, 122–123); she observes that there would be no way Aeneas and his crew could have traveled the distance in a day and a half absent divine assistance in staying the current.

On Tiberinus’ injunction see Johnson 1976, 166–167n67: “... the injunction of Tiberinus is misleading and Aeneas’ optimism is groundless ... This tragic aspect of the poem is brilliantly executed.” For how the present scene was inspired by part by Apollonius’ depiction of the seer Mopsus’ advice to Jason to seek the help of Medea (*Arg.* 3.548–551; not a particularly optimistic parallel), see Nelis 2001, 329–330.

60 **Iunoni fer rite preces, iramque minasque**

A verse that is balanced between the spirit of Roman religion and the devotion demanded by *pietas* to the great goddess, and the inveterate problem of Juno's anger and rage toward the children of Troy; for commentary on the language cf. Klause 1993, 60 ff. The solemn admonition of Helenus is recalled here from 3.437–439 *Iunonis magnae primum prece numen adora, | Iunoni cane vota libens dominamque potentem | supplicibus donis; sic denique victor | Trinacria finis Italos mittere relicta* (where see Horsfall's notes). There, too, the emphasis was on victory; were Aeneas to propitiate the goddess, he would arrive as a victor in Italy. The previous prayer was more or less fulfilled; Aeneas did leave Sicily and arrive in Italy, though Helenus leaves out the storm and sojourn in Carthage, not to mention the need for the second landfall in Trinacria.

Iunoni: The goddess is named at once; Juno is to be appeased and offered the propitiatory worship of prayer and votive appeal. On the contrast between the Tiber's optimism about Juno here and the fate of Juturna—another water deity—see Newman and Newman 2005, 134. On the goddess see F. della Corte, “Giunone,” in *EV* 11, 752–759; J.D. Hejduk in *VE* 11, 696–697; Bailey 1935, 129–132; W.S. Anderson, “Juno and Saturn in the *Aeneid*,” in *Studies in Philology* 55.4 (1958), 519–532; D.C. Feeney, “The Reconciliations of Juno,” in *CQ* 34.1 (1984), 179–194 (reprinted in Harrison 1990, 339–362); cf. Preller/Robert 1, 160–174. On how in some sense the hero inherits the wrath of Juno at the end of the poem (in other words, something of a consequence of dedication run amok), see M.C.J. Putnam, “Two Ways of Looking at the *Aeneid*,” in *CW* 96.2 (2003), 177–184, 183–184. For her “obstructive conservatism” Eden compares the Norse Fricka/Frigg; note also his commentary on the Virgilian association of Juno with the Carthaginian Tanit. For the problem of the relative successes of Virgil's goddesses, see Newman and Newman 2005, 130–134. On the possible etymological point of seeking the help (*iuuare*) of the goddess, see Paschalis 1997, 278.

fer: The singular imperative occurs also at 3.462 *vade age et ingentem factis fer ad aethera Troiam* (Helenus' final words to Aeneas); 11.370 *aude atque adversum fer pectus in hostem* (Drances to Turnus); 12.13 ... *fer sacra, pater, et concipe foedus* (Turnus to Latinus); the plural is more common. The point of the expression “*sacra ferri*” cited by Danielis here is that sacred things are literally borne to the god.

rite preces: With an emphasis on liturgical ritual and rubrical precision; for the adverb see further Fratantuono and Smith on 5.25 and 77. On how the “vague and general meaning is clear,” see Bailey 1935, 50; Virgil displays in the *Aeneid* a deep familiarity with the conventions and expectations of Roman religious rites and practice, even if he is willing now and again to express himself

in general terms and without reference to particular practices. The adverb is echoed at 69 before, though in rather a different ritual context from the one enjoined here. For the noun cf. 574.

iramque minasque: Cf. the imitations of Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.446–447 *huc Stygias transire minas iramque severi / sanguinis*; Silius, *Pun.* 2.208–209 *namque aderat toto ore fremens iramque minasque / Hannibal* (in the aftermath of the death of Asbyte); Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.15.15 *nox apud barbaros cantu aut clamore, nostris per iram et minas acta*. The *minae* here are very different from those at 40 that were dismissed as being of no real account; there the danger was from Turnus and the Latin war, here the far more perilous anger of Juno is highlighted with effective use of theme and variation. For the juxtaposition of the anger and threats with the notion of supplication in 61 *supplicibus*, see Dainotti 2015, 235. On the connection between *ira* and *Hera*, see Paschalis 1997, 34–35. The variant reading *irasque* has “too little MS authority to be acceptable” (Eden). In context the “anger and threats” are clearly meant to be Juno’s (goddess and wrathful anger frames the verse), though the *ira* and the *minae* may also point to the emotions of the Latins in the wake of the outbreak of war.

61 *supplicibus supera votis. mihi victor honorem*

supplicibus ... votis: Vid. M. Massenzio in *EV* IV, 1085–1087. An echo of 3.438–439 *Iunoni cane vota libens dominamque potentem / supplicibus supera donis* (the only two passages in Virgil where the imperative *supera* is found). The key adjective highlighted at the start of the verse; Aeneas is to assume the role of a suppliant now and always before the great goddess. The adjective *supplex* is applied in Virgil both to Priam (2.542) and to Achaemenides (3.592; 667); there may be a hint here of *Iuno supplex* (1.64), of the goddess as she seeks the aid of Aeolus in discomfiting the Trojan fleet; also of how Juno complains that no one is *supplex* at her altar (1.49). Venus refers to herself as a suppliant before Cupid (1.666), and with Vulcan (8.382); Iarbas is *supplex* before Jupiter (4.205); cf. Dido (4.414; 535); Anna (4.424); Aeneas in the religious rites before the departure from Sicily (5.745); Aeneas in the prediction of the Sibyl (6.91; cf. 115); Aeneas with Evander (8.145); Ascanius in prayer to Jupiter (9.624); Mago (10.523); Drances (11.365); Metabus at the Amasenus with the infant Camilla (11.559); Turnus at the mercy of Aeneas (12.930 *ille humilis supplex*). On the matter of ritual supplication in the epic, see Panoussi 2009, 73–76; Naiden 2006, 364 offers a convenient list of acts of supplication in the epic, with the gestures/words used and the response; cf. also his entry in *VE* III, 1230. In Book 8 the two supplicatory scenes are those of Evander with Aeneas, and of Venus with Vulcan; both requests are granted. No other supplications are positively answered in the epic after Book 8; the Odyssean half of the epic offers a mixed

assortment of requests granted and denied, though all of the denials relate to events from Aeneas' account of the fall of Troy (in the last books of the poem, Aeneas is involved in three denials: of Magus, Liger, and Turnus).

In the present circumstances, one may well wonder why there is any need to offer propitiatory supplications and votive offerings when all the anger of the immortals was said to have subsided; part of the problem is that religious rituals and liturgies continue without interruption, even when there is no readily apparent divine threat or anger.

votis: The variant *donis* (dijwz) is due to a reminiscence of 3.439; cf. Cicero, *De Leg.* 2.22.14 *Impius ne audeto placare donis iram deorum*; Seneca, *Ag.* 807 *Arabumque donis supplice et fibra colam*.

supera: Somewhat bold language, we might think; the river god invites Aeneas to win over, even to conquer the goddess, as it were. From the prophecy of Helenus to the present divine encounter Juno was responsible for significant harm to the Trojans; she will be preoccupied with more vengeance and retribution between now and the final reconciliation in Book 12. "The foundation-prodigy and the reconciliation with Juno are thus intertwined motifs" (Horsfall *ad* 3.438).

mihi: Juno may come first and be the more pressing divine recipient of honor—but the Tiber will not be forgotten.

victor: Echoing 50 above; for the predicative use in both passages see Gransden's note here. Conington notes the ambiguous word order; the noun could go closely with *supera*, or with 62 *persolves*. It is likely that its force is felt over the entire sense of the god's injunctions; we move from the imperative to the future indicative (i.e., from an emergency situation to a calmer *post bellum* religious environment). In both areas, Aeneas is envisioned as victorious.

honorem: The particular respect and homage that is owed to the gods (*OLD* s.v. 2b); cf. 268 below. Virgil uses only the nominative *honos*; the related verb occurs only in participial form (5.50). Servius praises the consolatory language here, as Tiberinus once again offers Aeneas the implicit assurance of victory in the present war. The present scene will be fulfilled in some sense at 76 below.

62 *persolves. ego sum pleno quem flumine cernis*

persolves: The verb also at 1.600 (Aeneas to Dido); 2.537 (Priam to Pyrrhus); 5.484 (Entellus to Eryx); 9.423 (Volcens to Euryalus). The contexts offer once again a mixed range of associations; two occur at moments of great violence, one at a sacrificial rite in the wake of the near killing of the Trojan Dares, and another in the all too brief moments of calm and serenity before the explosion of emotional turmoil in Carthage. The prefix conveys the sense of completed action and fulfillment of the vows one owes to the immortals. On the techni-

cal and precise force of the verb see C.M. Bowra, "Some Ennian Phrases in the *Aeneid*," in *CQ* 23.2 (1929), 65–75, 66. For a careful and sensitive reading of the present passage and the problems of Aeneas' execution of what the god enjoins, see Dyson 2001, 46–48. The verse is elegantly framed by the two second person singular verbs. Mackail argues ad 11.7 that Aeneas offers the spoils of Mezentius to Tiberinus, in fulfillment of the present admonition; see further Horsfall, and Fratantuono. The association is admittedly attractive given the highlighting of Mezentius in the opening of this book; the god of the trophy, however, is likely Mars. For how the honor that Aeneas will "thoroughly pay" to the Tiber may portend his death, see Dyson 2001, 73.

ego sum: Cf. 57 *ipse ego*; once again with emphatic force. The first person personal pronoun is not common in the epic; Dido uses it at 4.314; Neptune at 5.808; Aeneas at 6.505 (intensive *egomet*); Juno at 7.308 and 559; Aeneas at 8.533 below (*ego poscor Olympo*); Cybele at 9.88; Drances at 11.364; Turnus at 11.392. Twice each, then, of Juno; Tiberinus; Aeneas—the three key figures in the present scene. We move now to the dramatic announcement of the identity of this mysterious dream personage. The exact force of the introduction here has been disputed; does the Tiber mean to say simply "I am Thybris" (64), or "I am that one who is speaking" *vel sim*. The god here makes a direct, straightforward announcement of his identity; the pronoun and verb that signifies his essence is followed by a relative clause and then a chromatic description of the river and its status as a most pleasing feature of the natural landscape.

pleno ... flumine: Perhaps with a hint of the notorious problem of the Tiber's inundations; see Eden here for the question of the benefits to irrigation and just claim to honor (as noted below at 63). The god's magical conveyance of the Trojan fleet would be all the more impressive and noteworthy were the river to be in flood. For the phrase cf. *G.* 3.143–144; Propertius, c. 1.20.43–44; Ovid, *Met.* 1.343–344; Ovid, *Trist.* 5.4.10; Petronius, *Sat.* 5.1.21–22. Likeliest is that the image is once again ambivalent; the Tiber's waters bring both boon and bane. See Paratore ad loc. for the connection between the *flumen* and the *numen* of the god.

cernis: Once again, with emphasis on the visual aspect. The river can be seen at any time; the god's presence is manifestly apparent. Williams highlights the connection between the present, slow revelation of the god's identity and his first introduction in Creüsa's words to Aeneas at 2.780–782.

For the influence of the present passage on Ammianus Marcellinus 25.10.5, see P. O'Brien, "Ammianus Epicus: Virgilian Allusion in the *Res Gestae*," in *Phoenix* 60.3/4 (2006), 274–303, 297.

63 *stringentem ripas et pingua culta secantem,*

stringentem ... secantem: The verse is framed by the participles that describe the action of the river; the objects are neatly nestled between. For the alliteration of the participles see Cordier, *Allit.*, 40–41. Servius notes the origin of the god's titles Rumon and Serra here (also “Tarentum”), after the proper actions of the river with respect to the nearby landscape, where see Wiegand 1936, 16; O'Hara 2017, 202–203; cf. Beretta 2003, 157–158; on such “pseudo-etymological” theories, see Booth and Maltby 2006, 79. *Stringere* is used of a river that touches or “skirts” a bank in its course (*OLD* s.v. 6b); cf. the gentle action called for at 5.163 *litus ama et laeva stringat sine palmula cautes*; also Danielis' note about the interpretation “tactu modico praeterire.” “A sort of intermediate word between “lambentem” and “radentem”” (Conington). For the “chiastic symmetry” see Gransden.

pingua culta: Also at *G.* 4.372; *A.* 10.141–142 ... *ubi pingua culta | exercentque viri Pactolusque inrigat auro*; cf. *G.* 1.86–87 *sive inde occultas viris et pabula terrae | pingua concipiunt*; the fertile irrigation of the Nile at 9.31–32 *per tacitum Ganges aut pingui flumine Nilus | cum refluit campis et iam se condidit alveo*. The adjective has proleptic force; it refers to luxurious growth of the lands the Tiber waters (*OLD* s.v. 3). Note also the echo of 2.782 *inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris* (Creüsa to Aeneas). The rich and abundant agricultural life of the future Rome is hinted at in the god's observation of his role in the local ecology (cf. 2.783 *illic res laetae*, where the adjective conveys in part a sense of flourishing life and richness of harvest). See further Harrison *ad* 10.141 (in particular for the Homeric reference).

M reads *singula* here for *pingua*; it is not clear exactly how the variant entered the tradition. The emphasis is on the rich plenty and abundance that results from the Tiber's irrigation, not the individual tracts of land it waters.

secantem: For the participle of a river's action, cf. 7.717 *quosque secans infaustum interluit Allia nomen*.

64 *caeruleus Thybris, caelo gratissimus amnis.*

caeruleus: For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 107–112; Bradley 2011, 9 ff.; Fordyce *ad* 7.346; Dyson 2001, 62 ff.; also Putnam 1998, 148–149. Elsewhere in Book 8 it is applied to a cloud struck by the rays of the sun (622, in the description of the gleaming of Aeneas' corselet); the sea that is depicted on the shield at the battle of Actium (672); the blue “lap” (*gremium*) of the Nile in Egypt as it welcomes back the defeated Antony and Cleopatra after the battle (713). Three times, then, in connection with the majestic divine arms of the hero; once of the river (who, as Edgeworth notes, is “*himself*” bluish in color (as opposed to the chromatic palette of his clothing, his wreath, and his waters)). The color

does not have particularly positive associations in the epic; negatively or at least of questionable color symbolism, it is associated with the snake of the Androgeos simile (2.381); the fillets in honor of Polydorus (3.64); the storm that assails the Trojans on the way to Crete (3.194); the blue hounds of Scylla (3.432); the storm on the way from Carthage to Sicily (5.10); the blue spots on the Anchiseserpent (5.87); Cloanthus' *Scylla* (5.123); the blue ship-stern of Charon in the underworld (6.410); the blue, snaky hair of the fury Allecto (7.346): "generally a somber color, quite appropriate to the underworld context" (Edgeworth 1992, 109). On the adjective note also V.J. Warner, "Epithets of the Tiber in the Roman Poets," in *The Classical Weekly* 11.7 (1917), 52–54; Virgil is the only author who refers to the river as *caeruleus*. For the metalepsis see J.L. Moore, "Servius on the Tropes and Figures of Vergil," in *AJPh* 12.2 (1891), 157–192, 177. On the common attribution of *flavus* as a proper color for the river see Skutsch *ad* Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 453. *Caeruleus* is, like many Latin color terms, difficult to define precisely; it could refer to woad and the blue eyes of northern barbarians, even as it also described the misty, grim realms of the infernal regions—blue, but not the bright blue of the sunlit sky; perhaps blue with a significant admixture of green or even black. There may be an etymological play with the color and *caelo*; cf. O'Hara 2017, 202–203.

"... the river Tiber is actually green in colour at certain times of the year, i.e. in summer when the level of the water is low ... Virgil may be using this colouring as a preliminary indicator of the time of year at 102 ff. where August, in the height of summer, is alluded to" (Ellis 1985, 4).

Thybris: The name that was first applied to the river in the epic by the ghost of Creüsa at 2.782 *inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris*; Aeneas recalls the prediction and the river's name in his farewell to Andromache and Helenus at Buthrotum (3.500–501 *si quando Thybrim vicinaque Thybridis arva | intraro*). At 5.83 *nec tecum Ausonium, quicumque est, quaerere Thybrim*, Aeneas laments that Anchises was not fated to join him in search of the Thybris (now called "Ausonian"). Venus beseeches Neptune that the Trojans may find their way safely to the river at 5.796–797 *quod superest, oro, liceat dare tuta per undas | vela tibi, liceat Laurentem attingere Thybrim*. The Sibyl indicates that she perceives the Thybris running red with much blood (6.87 *et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno*). The actual river god is named for the first time at 6.872–874, where it is predicted that Tiberinus will witness the requiem and erection of the burial mound for Marcellus. On arrival in Italy Tiberinus is soon named again (7.29–32); when Aeneas' exploratory reconnaissance parties set out, however, they locate the Numicus, and the Thybris of prophecy and lore (7.149–151); Ilioneus mentions the Thybris in his speech at Latinus' court (7.240–242). Juno laments that the Trojans have at last arrived at the Thybris (7.303–304);

cf. Turnus' reference to the same river name at 7.436–439. Here, the god uses the name that would be most familiar to Aeneas in the context of the earlier voices of prophecy; there is also the question of the best name to use in the business of calming the waters (“è il dio a placare la corrente; stavolta il poeta per indicarlo non usa più la forma *Tiberinus*, ma il nome vero e proprio del fiume”—Paratore). Aeneas will make his prayer below to Father Thybris (8.69–78); “Thybris” will see to the settling of the waters (8.86–89). Evander will instruct Aeneas on something of the history of the lore of the river and its names (8.330–332). Soon enough, too, Aeneas will echo the words of the Sibyl as he announces how *pater Thybris* will soon carry the shields and helmets and bodies of the dead (8.537–540); cf. 11.392–395 (Turnus' words at the Latin council); 12.34–36 (Latinus' appeal to Turnus to give up the pursuit of Lavinia). Pallas will pray to Father Thybris before he attacks Halaesus (10.421–425). For the possible connection between *Thybris* and *hybris*, see R.B. Steele, “On the Archaisms Noted by Servius in the Commentary on Vergil,” in *AJPh* 15.2 (1894), 164–193, 177. On the different names of the god Servius comments succinctly *ad* 8.3: “in sacris Tiberinus, in coenolexia Tiberis, in poemate Thybris vocatur.” For the Etruscan, oracular of *Thybris* see Skutsch *ad* Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 26.

caelo: Heaven is said to find the Thybris to be most pleasing; the play on words with *caeruleus* is deliberate.

gratissimus: For the superlative cf. 9.327 (of the augur Rhamnes); also 2.269 (of the quiet of the night); 3.73 (of the island of Delos, birthplace of the divine twins); 5.128 (of the *meta* of the regatta that is most pleasing to divers); of Mount Ida that is most pleasing to Teucrians (10.158); of Juno in the estimation of Jupiter (10.607); of Juturna in the eyes of Jupiter (12.142). For the adjective with *caelo* cf. Statius, *Silv.* 3.3.1.

65 **hic mihi magna domus, celsis caput urbibus exit.**

magna domus: Here the god has his abode. The home may be envisioned as standing in apposition with the *caput* or source, but with good reason the line has occasioned some degree of controversy (as evidenced already in the Servian tradition). Some have seen an allusion to Rome in the demonstrative *hic*, notwithstanding the geographical incongruity. See further A.L. Keith, “Vergil's *Aen.* 8.65,” in *CJ* 17.9 (1922), 528–530 W.H. Semple, “Virgil, *Aen.* VIII.65,” in *CR* 50.3 (1936), 112 (with reference to Ovid, *Fast.* 4.329–330); A.W. Van Buren, review of Tilly 1947, in *JRS* 38.1–2 (1948), 169–171, 171. Henry takes the location of the *magna domus* (i.e., the referent of the demonstrative *hic*) to be Hesperia in the broad sense. “The passage is reminiscent of traditions in early Italic and Etruscan religion where sacred natural places were venerated as homes of abstracted deities without human form (*numina*)” (Kosso and Scott 2009, 237).

P reads *certa* for *magna* here, probably on the influence of 39 *hic tibi certa domus*; either adjective gives good sense.

celsis ... urbibus: Paralleled in the singular at 3.293 (Buthrotum); 5.439 (in a simile). The verse balances the complementary notions of greatness and loftiness (*magna, celsis*). Servius associated these “lofty cities” with the storied haunts of Etruria. “The objection that it is not true that the Tiber arises among the cities (of Etruria) appears trivial. Strictly and literally of course it is not correct but it is close enough to the truth for poetical purposes” (Keith, *op. cit.*, 529). The adjective is used elsewhere in Virgil of Aeolus’ citadel (1.56); of high ship decks (1.183; c. the apparatus of 3.527; 4.554; 8.680; 10.261); of lofty ships (2.375; 4.397; 8.107); of the island of Gyarus (3.76); of a mountain height (5.35; 11.320); of the heights of Nysa (6.805); of Latinus’ palace (7.343); of a high hill (8.604); of the Capitol (8.653); of Paphus (10.51); of a lofty rock (10.653); of a high mound (12.564). Only three times, then, of a city—and twice in contexts that relate to the fall of Troy (cf. the “toy Troy” of Buthrotum at 3.293, and the city of the simile at 5.439, with Fratantuono and Smith ad loc.). “... a prophecy of Rome’s future greatness is out of place here” (Fordyce). Henry does well to note that the force of *celsis* is not so much on the notion of loftiness in the sense of physical eminence, but rather of dignity and preeminent honor. Cf. the *patria alta* of Arruns (11.897); Reed 2007, 176–177.

caput: For the source or head-waters of a river see Fordyce ad loc. Effective alliteration with *celsis*.

exit: “... some have proposed that *escit*, an archaic form for *erit*, should be read. This proposal is really heroic but it is about the same as jumping from the frying-pan into the fire” (Keith, *op. cit.*, 529). On Faber’s suggestion Heinsius memorably commented: “Ingeniose profecto; utinam et vere!” (see further here Henry’s discursive note ad 62–65). Cf. below on 75.

The verse may well point at least remotely toward Rome and its lofty walls, but literally and more precisely it refers to the abode of the god Tiberinus (and he resides in Latinus’ territory), and to the source of the river (on the border of the modern Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany), in the area known as “Le Vene del Tevere.” If Servius is correct that Virgil meant for the “lofty cities” to refer to Etrurian locales, then Tiberinus is closely associated with exactly the forces that are arrayed at present against Aeneas: the Latins and their Etrurian allies under Mezentius.

The Tiber god’s message to Aeneas, then, is eminently ambivalent. Tiberinus finds his home in Latinus’ kingdom, and his source may well be closely associated with the cities of Etruria—an admittedly divided region that has witnessed the exile of Mezentius, and whose people will be arrayed on opposite sides in the war in Latium. Tiberinus indicates that all the wrath and swollen

anger of the immortals has given way—only then to instruct Aeneas on how to conquer the anger and threats of his inveterate divine enemy. The river god will indeed convey Aeneas to Pallanteum; at the end of Book 9, he will wash Turnus in his waters (“... T., throughout this book cast in the role of a would-be sacker of Rome, at the end surprisingly takes on the role of one of the most famous saviours of the city” (Hardie *ad* 9.815–818)). “Der Tiber scheint Sympathie für Turnus zu empfinden ... er rettet ihn nicht nur, sondern stellt ihn auch seelisch wieder her ... ja er gibt ihm auch gleichsam seine Reinheit zurück: *abluta caede* hat rituellen Beiklang” (Dingel *ad* 9.815–818). Chiastically, Virgil will proceed from the Tiber of the present sequence to the Nile (cf. 711–713 below) to the Nile (9.31–32) to the Tiber (9.815–818).

66–80 Aeneas rises from sleep and commences preparations for his departure to Pallanteum; he invokes the Laurentine nymphs and Father Thybris, before equipping his ships with rowers and his men with arms for the journey. On Aeneas’ execution of Tiberinus’ commands see Dyson 2001, 46–49 (with particular reference to the failure of the Trojan hero to follow the precise instructions of the god).

“Gods who act as *voyants-visibles* accomplish their agendas, and the sight of a god is less a call to marvel than it is to respond. Divine visions justify previous omens, offer guidance, and confirm faith. The one who sees must act and not equivocate.” (Smith 2005, 51).

66 dixit, deinde lacu fluvius se condidit alto

lacu ... alto: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 5.405; *Trist.* 3.10.72; Silius, *Pun.* 5.619. *Lacus* refers to a “lake, pond, or pool” (so *OLD*). The god apparently has an underground watery haunt; as Fordyce notes, god and river are one. Conington observes that we would naturally take the phrase of the source of the river, and perhaps we are meant to imagine that the god travels subterraneously (though the *magna domus* is said to be “here”); Virgil likely had no interest in such topographical perplexities. *Alto* coordinates closely with 67 *ima*; the emphasis is on protection and security. “Abutitur lacus nomine” (Danielis). See further on 74 below.

se condidit: So of Venus at 2.621 *dixerat et spissis noctis se condidit umbris* (at the fall of Troy, just before the appearance of the *dirae facies* of the immortals who are cooperative in the destruction of the city); 5.243 *ad terram fugit et portu se condidit alto* (of Cloanthus’ ship at the regatta); 7.619 ... *et caecis se condidit umbris* (Latinus at the outbreak of war); 9.32 *cum refluit campis et iam se condidit alveo* (of the Nile). The most parallel passage, however, is the departure of the water goddess Juturna at 12.885–886 *tantum effata caput glauco contextit amictu | multa gemens et se fluvio dea condidit alto*. Three times, then, of immor-

tals, with two of the occasions darkly ominous. On Virgilian descriptions of submersions note E. Laughton, “Virgil, *Aeneid* ix. 119,” in *CR* 11.1 (1961), 5–6. Cf. also Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.1331–1332 (the departure of the Libyan heroines of Triton); 1588–1591 (Triton’s disappearance).

For the association of the deep with nocturnal imagery and sleep, see Jenkyns 1998, 532 (with commentary on the “counterpoise” of Aeneas’ upward motion with the downward departure of the god). Soon enough, “A little water in the palm succeeds to the glaucous depths of the nocturnal river. The mood is one of clarity and refinement.”

67 *ima petens; nox Aenean somnusque reliquit.*

ima petens: Cf. 9.119–120 *delphinumque modo demersis aequora rostris / ima petunt* (of the transformed ships of the Trojan fleet).

nox ... reliquit: Rapid narrative in the Virgilian style; Tiberinus has made his departure, and night now leaves Aeneas. The noun is perhaps vaguely personified. For the combination of night and sleep cf. 3.147 *Nox erat et terris animalia somnus habebat*; Quintus Curtius Rufus 7.11.17.5 *pariterque eos et nox et somnus oppressit*; Lucan, *BC* 8.44–45 ... *trepida quatitur formidine somnus, / Thessaliam nox omnis habet*; Ovid, *Am.* 3.5.1; *Met.* 7.634–635; *Ep.* 1.2.42; Seneca, *Ag.* 74–75; Statius, *Theb.* 6.27; 8.216–217; Silius, *Pun.* 12.682–683. R and several of the Carolingian manuscripts read the present *relinquit* here. There is something of an effective contrast between the action of the god (which resembles a kind of slumber), and the wakefulness of the hero; the language casts Aeneas in the passive role—night and sleep took their leave of him. The break in sense came first, and then the god declared his identity; here the god exits the scene, as night departs and Aeneas rises to commence his duties. With 67b cf. Euripides, *Heracles* 1071b.

“Le poète strictement observé l’unité de temps. Le dieu du Tibre se montre à Énée pendant la nuit ... Dès que l’apparition s’évanouit, Énée s’éveille: la nuit quitte le héros en même temps que le sommeil” (Carcopino 1918/1968, 394). Poetic convenience, as “everything came to an end together” (Conington); also a hint of the magical nature of the god’s manifestation.

68 *surgit et aetherii spectans orientia solis*

surgit: Effectively juxtaposed with 67 *reliquit*, as well as the actions of Tiberinus. The verb directly echoes the river god’s imperative 59 *surge age*. More alliteration (*surgit, spectans, solis*).

aetherii ... solis: Lucretian (*DRN* 3.1043–1044 *qui genus humanum ingenio superavit et omnis / restinxit stellas exortus ut aetherius sol*; 5.215; 5.267; 5.281; 5.389. “An Ennian touch, which in later poets becomes something of an affec-

tation" (Kenney *ad* 3.1042–1044, with reference to Ennius, *Ann. fr.* 87 Skutsch *simul aureus exoritur sol*). Parallel to the present scene is the description of the *aetheria sidera* at 7.767–768 (of Diana's resurrection of Hippolytus); cf. also the *aetheria astra* of 5.517–518 (of the death of the dove in the archery contest); the same phrase at 5.838 (of Somnus' descent from the ethereal stars). The adjective is elsewhere used of Olympus (6.579; 8.319); 10.621; 11.867); the ethereal course of the dawn goddess (6.536); the ethereal fire in Anchises' eschatological discourse (6.747); cf. also 1.394 and 9.638 (with *plaga*); 1.547; 4.445–446; 6.761–762 7.557; (with *aura*); 7.281 (with *semine*); 8.137 (with *orbis*); 8.608 (with *nimbos*). The sun was invoked by Dido at her curse on Aeneas (4.607); it is the first deity Aeneas calls to witness before the single combat with Turnus (12.176); Sol was an ancestor of Latinus (vid. Tarrant *ad* 12.164; cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 1011–1013). There is probably no implicit reference to or association with Phoebus Apollo here, or to the custom of addressing prayers to the sun on waking in response to dreams (vid. Finglass *ad* Sophocles, *El.* 424)—though the sun and Apollo are certainly one and the same as early as Euripides, *Phaëth.* 255 (where see Diggle).

spectans: Once again with strong emphasis on the visual metaphor (for its particular connection to Aeneas, see Lee 1979, 72). The verb is not particularly common in Virgil (1× in the *E.*; 5× in the *G.*; 9× in the *A.*; only here in the present participial form). For the gazing toward the dawn cf. Sophocles, *OC* 477; on the East as "the region of light and purity," see Jebb *ad loc.*

orientia ... 69 lumina: Cf. 7.138 ... *tum Noctem Noctisque orientia signa*; each phrase occurs but once in Virgil. *Orientia signa* is used also by Hyginus (*Ast.* 4.13.1.1) and Manilius. *Orientia* refers both to the rising of the sun and to eastward direction. The emphasis on the rising lights of the dawn/morning contrast with the river god's injunction about the "falling/paling stars" at 59 *cadentibus astris*; in an important sense, Aeneas is already too late to fulfill the letter of Tiberinus' instructions. A hint, perhaps, of adoration and worship of the dawn and the sun, and ritually the correct posture for morning prayer.

69 lumina rite cavis undam de flumine palmis

rite: Vid. D. Lanternari, *EV* IV, 510–511. Recalling 60 above, where the same adverb was used by Tiberinus to describe the ritual offerings of prayer and supplication to Juno (and not, as here, the Laurentine nymphs and the Tiber). "Huc nescio an pertineat mos ille Aeneae, qui patrem Tiberinum Nymphasque Laurentes adoraturus VIII, 69. *rite cavis undam de flumine palmis Sustinet*, nisi verius sit, hanc lustrationem esse, non libationem." (Lersch 1843, 188). For the reverence due to rivers cf. Homer, *Il.* 11.775; *Od.* 12.362; Hesiod, *Op.* 755; Sophocles, *OC* 469 ff.

cavis ... palmis: Also at Ovid, *Met.* 4.352–353, of Hermaphroditus; 9.35, of Hercules; cf. Propertius, c. 4.9.35–36 *fontis egens circum antra sonantia lymphis*; / *et cava suscepto flumine palma sat est* (where see H.E. Pillinger, “Some Callimachean Influences on Propertius, Book 4,” in *HSCPh* 73 (1969), 171–199, 187–188). On Virgil’s mention of the palms of the hands see Heuzé 1985, 630–631.

undam de flumine: On the purifying nature of the water after the “pollution” of the sleep of the night, see Servius. “Sleep itself was thought to cause pollution, dreams even more; and as dreams usually necessitated prayer on waking, the sequence dream: purification by water: prayer was very common” (Eden). On the significance of the appearance of rivers in dreams see Artemidorus, *Oneir.* 2.27 (with Harris-McCoy). Water was the simplest and most obvious purificatory agent; cf. the use of sulfur attested at Tibullus, c. 1.5.11–12 (with Maltby). “Hand-washing may originally have been religious rather than hygienic in intent” (Steiner *ad* Homer, *Od.* 17.91). The sacred water of the Tiber is highlighted at mid-verse.

Aeneas’ actions here are more or less parallel to Turnus’ at 9.22–24 ... *et sic effatus ad undam / processit summoque hausit de gurgite lymphas / multa deos orans, oneravitque aethera votis* (where the language is rather more poetic). Virgil eschews precise identification of the location of Turnus’ watery purification rites at the start of Book 9; at the end of the book, the Tiber’s cleansing of the Rutulian hero is made explicit. The gesture of Aeneas with the water is part of the subject of a miniature of the Vatican Vergil; on “Pictura 46” see de Wit 1959, 149–141; Stevenson 1983, 83–84.

70 **sustinet ac talis effundit ad aethera voces:**

sustinet: The verb recurs at 137 below, of Atlas’ balancing of the *aetherios orbis* on his shoulders. Amata brandishes a torch in the mad quasi-nuptial rites she celebrates for Lavinia (7.398); Turnus’ helmet sustains a fire-breathing Chimaera-emblem (7.786). Cf. the battle scene at 9.705–708; 10.796–799; Aeneas at 10.808–810, as he manages the “cloud of war” (*nubem belli*) before his clash with Lausus; Aeneas’ *aureus umbo* that withstands Mezentius’ assault at 10.884; 11.769–770 (in the complicated combat between Tarchon and Venulus); the key balancing act of 12.725–726 *Iuppiter ipse duas aequato examine lances / sustinet et fata imponit diversa duorum* (of the destinies of Aeneas and Turnus). In dramatic contexts, then, almost always involving war and combat scenes; once in a moment of signal importance for the fates of the two main actors in the drama of the poet’s nascent *Iliad*. Verb and object frame the verse. “The word is really pregnant” (Sidgwick); it conveys something of the confidence that *Aeneas dux* now brings to the morning of war. He rises (68 *surgit*), and now he holds (70 *sustinet*) the water that may pour out of his hands just as the words flow forth from his mouth (*effundit*).

The inferior reading *sustulit* is found in the first corrector of the Wolfenbüttel, and in several Carolingian cursives; it may have arisen from concern over the propriety of *sustinet* in this ritual context (cf. Wagner's note here about holding water as part of a liturgical action).

ac: "And, what is more ...": Aeneas first performs the purificatory gesture, and then he raises his voice in prayer to the heavens.

talis effundit ... voces: Cf. 5.482 *ille super talis effundit pectore voces* (Entellus in his offering to Eryx in the wake of the boxing match); Albinovanus Pedo, c. 15 *obstructa in talis effundit pectora voces*; Silius, *Pun.* 13.710 *cui contra talis effundit Scipio voces*. The verb is especially appropriate in the watery context. *Talis ... voces* occurs 5× in Virgil (5.409; 482; 723; 7.560).

aethera voces: Imitated by Valerius Flaccus at *Arg.* 2.241 ... *ignotaeque implebant aethera voces*; also Silius, *Pun.* 9.304–306. The voice in prayer is directed to the upper air that is the proper abode of the immortals. The *voices* should in principle represent the *preces* that Tiberinus enjoined at 60. The noun follows close on 68 *aetherii*, with a strong emphasis on the nearness and presence of the immortals in the immediate wake of the river god's visitation.

On the absence of conflict between ictus and accent in the fourth foot of the verse as a sign of the resolved, reassured actions of Aeneas, see Gransden *ad loc.*

71 **Nymphae, Laurentes Nymphae, genus amnibus unde est,**

Aeneas was enjoined to pray first to Juno; in a departure from strict observance of Tiberinus' instructions, he turns first to the local nymphs. The scene is an imitation of Homer, *Od.* 13.329 ff., where Athena reveals the harbor of Phorcys in the land of Ithaca to Odysseus, and the returned hero makes a prayer to the naiad nymphs he had not expected to behold again; he promises presents for the water spirits, if Athena should grant him life and manhood to his son Telemachus. Athena at once reassures him, and urges him to store his goods in the cavern. See further Bowie's notes *ad loc.* Eichhoff 1825, 72 compares *Od.* 5.445 ff. Cf. also Philoctetes' invocation to the sea nymphs at Sophocles, *Phil.* 1454, and the choral tag at 1470 (with Schein's notes).

Nymphae: Vid. "Ninfe" in *EV* III, 730–736; E. Fantham in *VE* II, 921–922; Larson 2001 (also J. Larson, "Handmaidens of Artemis?," in *CJ* 92.3 (1997), 249–257, with specific focus on the question of the epic association of the nymphs with Artemis/Diana); cf. Bailey 1935, 34–37; Preller/Robert I, 718–725. For the etymology of the name cf. Roscher III.1, 500–502.

Daughters of earth and sky (Hesiod, *Theog.* 130; 187): nymphs are now and again in classical literature the victims of amorous gods and randy satyrs (cf. a rare opposite situation at Aeschylus, *PromPyr* fr. 204b Sommerstein). Appropri-

ately enough, nymphs can be invoked in oaths (e.g., Theocritus, *Id.* 4.4.29; 5.17). Nymphs make early and frequent appearances in Virgil's epic; the most developed character is Juturna, the victim of Jovian ravishing and sister of Turnus. Juno notes to Aeolus that she has seven nymphs outstanding in loveliness (1.71); when Aeneas' fleet makes landfall after the storm in North Africa, the natural harbor where seven ships gather is called the *Nympharum domos* (1.168): the nymphs are thus closely associated both with the bribery of Aeolus and Juno's plan to discomfit the Trojans, and the first landing of the epic. Indeed, soon enough Aeneas wonders if his disguised mother is actually one of the nymphs (1.329). At the tomb of Polydorus in Thrace, Aeneas venerates the rustic nymphs (3.34) as part of the rites that precede the revelation of the horrors of the locale. Nymphs howl in baleful omen at the union of Aeneas and Dido during the tempest at the hunt (4.168; most caves were sacred to nymphs (vid. Griffith *ad* Sophocles, *Ant.* 1129)). Dido's aggrieved and resentful suitor Iarbas was the son of a Garamantian nymph (4.198). At 7.47 Latinus likewise is the offspring of a local nymph (the Laurentine Marica). Aeneas prays to the nymphs and the still unknown rivers of Latium at 7.137. The Italian hero Oebalus is the son of Telon and a Sebetian nymph (7.734). Diana entrusts the resurrected Hippolytus/Virbius to the grove of the nymph Egeria (7.775). Evander notes below at 314 that fauns and nymphs inhabited Pallanteum in pre-Saturnian times (8.314); Evander's mother Carmens is identified as a nymph (8.333; 339). Juno complains of how the Trojan ships were transformed into nymphs (10.83; cf. 10.220–221; 231). Tarquitus is the son of Faunus and the nymph Dryope (10.551). Diana addresses Opis as a nymph at 11.588; Jupiter Juturna at 12.142 (cf. 12.786). Cf. Turnus' mother at 10.76, the *diva Venilia* (and vid. Ovid, *Met.* 14.333, with Myers). Of mixed associations, then; the most favorable appearance of nymphs for the Trojans is the narrative of the magical metamorphosis of the ships of Aeneas into naiads. They are closely associated, however, with the Italian/Latin cause; both Opis and Juturna can be considered hostile to the Trojans (albeit for different and quite personal reasons); the presence of the nymphs in Carthage is ultimately fraught with peril for Aeneas. The Trojan hero mistook his mother Venus in Book 1 for a nymph; now he makes a prayer to the Laurentine nymphs before addressing the problem of Juno. "We expect that Aeneas will pray to Juno first, and Fordyce even tells us that Aeneas does this ... The text makes clear, however, that this is *not* what Aeneas does ... Even if Aeneas' prayer to the river deities takes little enough time that he can still pray to Juno "at dawn," it is hardly possible that he can also equip his fleet in those few crepuscular moments." (Dyson 2001, 47–48).

That man is said to be blessed who knows the rustic deities, including the nymphs (G. 2.493–494); nymphs were responsible for the death of Aristaeus'

bees (*G.* 4.531ff.), given that the dryads were angry at the death of Eurydice. Cyrene enjoins that the *Napaeae* or “nymphs of the valleys” must be appeased; the whole matter is resolved in the climactic regenerative magic of the Bugonia.

The meter draws attention to the invocation to the nymphs: “Virgil was not fond of beginning a verse with a self-contained spondaic word ... and much less fond of entrenching it in front of a sense-pause.” (Eden). With the repetition cf. *E.* 6.55–56 ... *Nymphae*, / *Dictaeae Nymphae*; *G.* 4.321 *mater*, *Cyrene mater*; Wills 1996, 51ff. (with Damien Nelis’ *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* article; Nelis notes that the repetition “creates a connection between the moment when Aeneas discovers where to found his city and Aristaeus’ loss of his bees, whose hives represent a city of some kind ...”).

Laurentes Nymphae: The general class was named first, and now the specific goddesses of the immediate locale are addressed. The anaphora may serve in part to highlight the inappropriateness of Aeneas’ prayer as his first invocation; in some sense (geographical precision notwithstanding), Opis and Juturna will be the nymphic response to this prayer (admittedly, alongside Cymodocea and the rescued fleet of Trojan ships). The repetition may recall Theocritus, *Id.* 18.50 (of Leto, a repetition Gow ad loc. calls “singularly frigid”); cf. Euripides, *Hel.* 1 (with Allan), on the lovely virgin nymphs of the Nile: each river may be imagined as having an “entourage of nymphs.” The geographical adjective reminds us of Latinus’ laurel and harks back to the first verse of this book and Turnus’ raising of his standard from the Laurentine citadel. It is natural enough that Aeneas should want to reverence the local deities of the land in which he finds himself at war, and that water spirits should attract his particular liturgical and ritual attention in the vicinity of the Tiber—but the precise admonitions of the great river god have been implicitly disregarded. Clausen 2002, 158 compares *E.* 6.55–56 *Nymphae*, / *Dictaeae Nymphae*, noting here the “Italian place-name incorporated in an elegant Hellenistic phrase.” On how the Tiber-scene recalls the language of several of Virgil’s pastorals, see Apostol 2009, 8. For the almost awkward juxtaposition of the local name and the uncertainty of the new arrival Aeneas as to place and appropriate geographical diction, see Jenkyns 1998, 532–533. One might argue that it is improper to pray to the local deities while still in a state of war with the inhabitants of the land; Juno as principal immortal enemy of Troy must be appeased before the minor deities of the locale can be revered with expectation of favor and protection.

genus unde: With clear echo of 1.6 ... *genus unde Latinum*; cf. 5.123 (of the origin of the *gens Cluentia*). For the possible hypallage see Servius Danielis: “*nymphae, quae de amnibus genus habetis*.” “The rivers are regarded as the chil-

dren of the Nymphs who are the tutelary deities of their sources” (Mackail ad loc.). The nymphs are viewed as the mothers (and not the daughters) of the rivers and streams.

unde est: For the question of contraction in Virgilian manuscripts (and the problem of whether they are simply abbreviations) see Pezzini 2015, 37 ff., with catalogue of the contracted forms found in Virgilian witnesses: MP have *undest* here.

72 tuque, o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto,

Aeneas proceeds from the Laurentine nymphs to Thybris. The verse echoes Ennius’ *Teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto* (*Ann.* fr. 26 Skutsch; vid. Goldschmidt 2013, 78 ff.; also Norden 1915, 161–163; Wigodsky 1972, 46, 62; Fisher 2014, 19 ff.), as was noted already by Macrobius (*Sat.* 6.1.12, who places the fragment in Book 1; for the Macrobian citations of Ennius’ *Annales*, see Elliott 2013, 491 ff.). The context of the Ennian passage is unknown; the speculation and argument that Aeneas is the speaker in *Annales* 1 cannot be proven. “*Ilia* (Vahlen), Aeneas (Norden), or even Horatius Cocles (E.H. Warmington)” (Eden ad loc.). Cf. Livy’s *tum Cocles ‘Tiberine pater’ inquit, ‘te sancte precor, haec arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias* (2.10.11.2–3; vid. further Booth 2013, 23 ff.); Persius, s. 2.15–16 *haec sancte ut poscas, Tiberino in gurgite mergis | mane caput bis terque et noctem flumine purgas*. Servius quotes a prayer formula/liturgical text, *Tiberine, cum tuis undis* (of unknown provenance). The verse opens with powerful alliteration; for the archaic language (possessive adjective with an additional descriptive word, etc.) see Fordyce; on such “asyndeton bimembre adiectiuorum” see Dainotti 2015, 912–97. For prayers in the wake of omens and prophecies, see O’Hara 1990, 43. On the question of Aeneas’ *pietas* in his response to Tiberinus and actions here before his journey, see Mackie 1988, 150–151. “It is perhaps in Book 8 that Aeneas is most truly himself” (Williams 1973, 52). For comparison of the present prayer with that of Turnus at the start of Book 9, see Schenk 1984, 49 ff.

“In the seventh and eighth books Aeneas speaks seldom, and in the ninth not at all” (Highet 1972, 204).

o: For the emotional use of the interjection in reverential, respectful contexts, see Austin *ad* 2.65. Cf. 78 below.

Thybri: Aeneas fittingly enough uses the name from 64 above, where the god identified himself; the form *Tiberine* would have been the more correct ritual vocative from a Roman point of view—but Aeneas is Trojan. The river’s recent self-identification points to Aeneas’ association of the name *Thybris* with the Tiber and not to the eponymous Etruscan king, who lent his name to the river, together with the fact that Aeneas had yet to hear the local history from Evander

(cf. below at 330–332); Servius provides other Thybrian options of identification. “Thybris” had indicated that Aeneas would pay his vow to the god as a victor (61–62), but again, after the prayers to Juno were offered. “Virgil does not explain whether Thybris and Tiberis are simply alternatives, or whether the ordinary name is supposed to derive from *Thybris* ... the name of the River Tiber is constantly made to approach that of Thymbra, the village of the Troad whose Apollo Aeneas invokes on Delos, and more specifically to a river near Thymbra called Thymbris or Thymbrius.” (J.D. Reed, “The Death of Osiris in *Aeneid* 12.458,” in *AJPh* 119.3 (1998), 399–418, 402). Aeneas is once again trapped in the Trojan past, however unwittingly and/or innocently; any evocation of the Trojan Thymbris stands here in uneasy juxtaposition with *Laurentes nymphae* (71). “And Aeneas still sees the river from the Trojan viewpoint, as lord of the rivers of the west” (Jenkyns 1998, 533).

genitor: Powerfully placed at center-line, and continuing the emphasis on genealogy from 71 *genus unde*. On *genitor* and related terms as indicators of the status of dignity and honor, without any necessary implication of parenthood, see Eden’s note. On *genitor/genetrix* see Newman and Newman 2005, 48–49, with the relevant data: *genitor* 57×; always singular; 19× of Anchises; 11× of Jupiter; 6× of Aeneas; 4× of Mezentius; 2× of Neptune; Evander; once of Daunus. “But Aeneas never does anything in the role of *genitor*.”

cum flumine sancto: On the “numinous unity of the river-god with his waters,” in A. Allen, “Catullus LXIV 287–288,” in *Mnem.* 42.1/2 (1989), 94–96, 96n8. For speculation on the question of whether the ablative *sancto* of the Ennian model conceals an original vocative *sancte* (i.e., the common prayer formula *sancte pater*), see Fisher 2014, 20–21. On the restrictive use of *sanctus* by Virgil, see Brenk 1999, 8; cf. 131 below (of the *sancta oracula divum*). The river is made vividly sacred and holy by the manifestation of its titular, tutelary god; the blessed waters will provide conveyance of the hero in his quest for allies in the present strife.

73 *accipite Aenean et tandem arcete periclis.*

accipite: The first of two balancing imperatives, in a verse of marked assonance. The plural imperative is also found at 3.250 (Celaeno’s threatening words to the Trojans); 4.611 (Dido before her suicide); 4.652 (again of Dido on the verge of dying); 5.304 (Aeneas before the foot race); 10.104 (Jupiter at the divine council; the verse repeats 3.250). The Celaeno and Dido sequences represent threats to Aeneas and his Trojans; here the verb with Aeneas as object may eerily point to the tradition of Aeneas’ death at a river; cf. the parallels between Aeneas’ prayer and the Livian account of that of Horatius Cocles, who leapt into the Tiber. The imperative refers to the forthcoming river voyage to Pal-

lanteum in search of allies, and more generally to the reception and acceptance of Aeneas in central Italy. If Juturna is one of the implied nymphs, the request of the local gods is all the more problematic, especially considering that at the end of Book 9, it will be her brother Turnus who is literally accepted into the waters of the river. See below on 173 for something of the fulfillment of this prayer.

tandem: With an air of weariness at the seemingly interminable difficulties and shifting vicissitudes of destiny.

arcete: Elsewhere in the epic the verb is applied first to Juno's action in keeping the Trojans from Italy (1.31); of the prevention of Dido's inhospitality to Aeneas and his men (1.299–300); of the worker bees that ward off the drones (1.435); of the cruel chains that bind Cassandra (2.406); of Aeneas' complaint that he cannot embrace the dream apparition of his father (5.742); of Charon with certain of his would-be passengers (6.316); of the horses that are kept away from the temple of Trivia (7.779); of Acca's report of Camilla's final instructions to Turnus, namely that he should ward off the Trojans from Latinus' city (11.826). Eight occurrences, then; the first and last are concerned with keeping the Trojans from a certain destination (Latium; Latinus' city "Laurentum"). Only here in the imperative; the nymphs and Thybris are invoked as Aeneas seeks to be kept apart from perils and hazard—relatively minor deities in comparison to Juno. The present prayer is one of the rare cases where Aeneas prays directly for himself (cf. V. Warrior, "Prayer," in *VE* III, 1035); the fact that "Virgilian prayers are mainly petitionary, constituting a meticulously precise invocation of one or more deities," makes the problem of Aeneas' disregard of Tiberinus' instructions all the more pronounced.

periclis: "The syncopated forms were taken from Ennius by the Augustan poets and used too widely for any specifically archaic flavour to remain" (Eden). For the hypallage with *arcete* see Servius. Appeals to the Tiber for deliverance from peril would have aroused thoughts of the river's periodic inundations in Virgil's contemporary audience. The ablative is separative: "We may have either "arcere periculum ab aliquo," "arcere aliquem periculum alicui," or "arcere aliquem periculo." The last construction is found in Cic. and in Hor. 1. Ep. 8.10." (Conington).

74 quo te cumque lacus miserantem incommoda nostra

quo ... lacus: Madvig conjectured *qui ... locus*.

quo te cumque: With 75 *fonte*, and coordinate with *quocumque solo* there. The language reflects the hero's uncertainty; Aeneas does not know the precise topography of central Italy, or the "*fons et origo*" (Eden) of the Tiber. The carefully scrupulous, ritual language serves in part to continue to highlight Aeneas'

disregard of the liturgical rubrics. Henry perceptively notes that the language is similar to Aeneas' words to Dido at 1.613–614 (i.e., 609–610 for those not reading the *ille ego* verses): *semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt, / quae me cumque vocant terrae ...*

lacus: Cf. 66 above. English “lake” is often misleading; the word originally referred to any sort of pool or natural receptacle; there is probably no etymological link to something that “hides” something (cf. Servius’ “latentis”). Henry defines it here as “specially the pool, pond, or basin of water, which the spring forms exactly where it rises, and the overflow of which constitutes the river” (cf. Servius here on the opinion of those who think there is a reference to “superfusio”). “On croyait que les divinités des fleuves habitaient dans les grottes d’où sortent les sources qui alimentent leurs cours, et qui y forment d’abord un bassin (*lacus*)” (Benoist).

miserantem: The present participle of the verb appears in Virgil also at 5.452 (of Acestes); 10.823 (of Aeneas at the death of Lausus).

incommoda nostra: *Incommodus* occurs only here in Virgil; the phrase is Ciceronian; nowhere else in verse. *Incommoda* is found in comedy, Caesar and Livy; Catullus has it twice (c. 14A.23 *saecli incommoda, pessimi poetae*; 68A.11 *sed tibi ne mea sint ignota incommoda, Manli*); once in Lucretius (*DRN* 3.864); Horace (*AP* 169); Ovid (*Ep.* 4.9.81); never in Lucan.

The word order of 74–75 serves in part to underscore the speaker’s uncertainty as to the source of the Tiber.

75 **fonte tenent, quocumque solo pulcherrimus exis,**

fonte: Servius’ note carefully distinguishes between *lacus*, *fons*, and *alveus*. The reference here is to the “river’s most important source ... in the Apennines, visible from San Marino” (Eden).

tenent: The plural is the reading of F and R, *vs.* the singular *tenet* (MP $\omega\gamma$; Servius; cf. Tiberius’ *tenes*). Mynors reads the plural (so also Mario Martina, as cited by Geymonat 2008, 761; Heuzé’s *Pléiade*), *contra* Page; Sabbadini; Williams; Geymonat; Conte; Goold, etc. (Götte *silet*). *Lacus* occurs in the nominative singular at 7.516 (of the lake of Trivia); cf. in the plural the infernal lakes of 3.386; the “divine lakes” of 3.442; the parallel 4.526–527 *quaeque lacus late liquidos quaeque aspera dumis / rura tenent*; the *liquidus lacus* of 7.760; the Stygian lakes of 6.134 and of 296 below; the resounding banks and lakes of 12.756–757. For Mynors, the decisive argument is the frequency of the plural (11–12 \times) *vs.* the singular (1–2 \times). The plural does seem to be the more usual Virgilian use, but a definitive rationale for a choice between the balance of the capital manuscripts is elusive. The difference in meaning is of little significance. A plural verb might point, too, to a more expansive subterranean system for Tiberinus.

solo: Echoing 38 *expectate solo*. The reference is to the Trojan uncertainty as to the source of the river. *Quocumque solo* occurs only here in verse.

pulcherrimus: The superlative appears elsewhere of the nymph Deiopea (1.72); of Dido (1.496; 4.60); of Aeneas (4.141); of Venus (4.227; 12.554); of Nautes' *consilia* (5.728); of the *proles* of Teucer (6.648); of Turnus (7.55); of Virbius, the *Hippolyti proles* (7.761); of the rewards promised to Nisus and Euryalus (9.253); of Astyr (10.180); of Jupiter (10.611); of Opis (11.852); of the bodies of the sons of the Arcadian Gylippus (12.270). Once each, then, of Aeneas and Turnus; twice each of Dido and Venus; once of a river god and twice of a nymph. The handsomeness of the god contrasts effectively with the misery of mortals that he is sure to pity and soothe. The emphasis of the adjective is on physical appearance; cf. Ovid's *Met.* 4.55 *Pyramus et Thisbe, iuvenum pulcherrimus alter*; there is also a hint of heroic grandeur and the glory of the local god in his land and waters.

exis: Echoing 65 *exit*. The reference to the rising of the god reflects Aeneas' experience of the dream epiphany of Tiberinus.

76 *semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis*

semper ... semper: Still more effective alliteration. Aeneas continues to speak of the offerings and praise that will be rendered to the god of the nighttime manifestation; the longer the focus on Thybris/Tiberinus continues, the more striking the absence of any mention as yet of Juno. The adverb once again looks at the world *sub specie aeternitatis*, with particular poignance in the shadow of war.

honore meo: Cf. 61–62 above, where the Tiber spoke of the honor that Aeneas would in future pay to him. Aeneas speaks first of his personal homage to the god; he proceeds at once to the matter of public, state cult. “Amphiboliam facit” (Danielis).

honore ... donis: For the collocation cf. 617 below (of Aeneas on reception of the shield); also 3.484–485 ... *nec cedit honore | textilibusque onerat donis* (at Buthrotum); 11.50–52 (at the requiem for Pallas).

celebrabere: The verb occurs elsewhere in Virgil at 1.735 (the celebrations in Dido's Carthage); 3.280 (the anachronistic games at Actium); 4.641 ... *illa gradum studio celebrabat anili*; 5.598 ... *et priscos docuit celebrare Latinos*; 5.603 *hac celebrata tenus sancto certamina patri*; 173, 268, and 303 below; also at 12.840 *bec gens ulla tuos aequae celebrabit honores*, of the promise Jupiter makes to Juno about the future Romans (a key passage in the unfolding of the destiny of Trojan identity *contra* Italian/Latin *sermo* and *mores*, and in some sense a corrective response to Aeneas' response to the Tiber's instructions). On how the Tiber would later be celebrated in a different sort of foundation legend, as

the river that flowed between the places of martyrdom of Peter and Paul and thereby became a signal feature of the topographical landscape of Christian Rome, see Eastman 2011, 31ff. (with reference to Prudentius, *Peristeph.* 12.7–10).

For the form at the same *sedes* cf. Ovid, *Met.* 7.50; Statius, *Theb.* 4.847; Silius, *Pun.* 8.183. The verb implies the establishment of a cult and liturgy in the god's honor (vid. *TLL* III, 745, 40 on the use of the verb for divine worship); for the possible explanation for the later worship of the god, see George 1974, 5n1. Cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 5.1166–1167 *qui delubra deum nova toto suscitavit orbi | terrarum et festis cogit celebrare diebus*; Propertius, c. 1.16.3; 4.1a.19; Tibullus, c. 1.3.33; 1.4.75; 1.7.63. The future tense here responds to the future tense *persolves* at 62 above (perhaps with a certain element of hasty anticipation of victory). The honor and the presents that are promised here represent another example of theme and variation. The alternate form of the future indicative passive occurs elsewhere at 3.440; 4.32; 7.318; 10.740; 829; 866; 11.44; 857—rather more common in the second half of the epic.

77 **corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum.**

A splendid periphrasis to round off the miniature ode of praise to the god; cf. Klause 1993, 97. Nominatives for vocatives (Servius; cf. Löfstedt 1, 70): this verse has been cited as an example of certain constraints of the hexameter (cf., e.g., J. Rauk, “The Vocative of *Deus* and its Problems,” in *CPh* 92.2 (1997), 138–139; E. Dickey, “O Egregie Grammaticae: The Vocative Problems of Latin Words Ending in *-ius*,” in *CQ* 50.2 (2000), 548–562); note Eden here on the distinction between “archaic vocatives” and “nominatives of exclamation.” “A grandly constructed formal line” (Gransden, with speculation on the possible echo of an archaic formula with the exclusive use of nominatives and genitives, as well as the asyndeton), with marvelous use of interlocking descriptions of the god's regal stature over the Italian landscape.

corniger: The (largely poetic) adjective is found in Lucretius (*DRN* 2.368; 3.751) and Lucan (*BC* 3.292; 9.545); several times in Ovid and Silius; three times in Statius; once in Cicero's verse (*Arat. Phaen.* 27.1, ap. *DND* 2.110.19, of the zodiacal Taurus); once each in Propertius (c. 3.13.39–40 *corniger Arcadii vacuum pastoris in aulam | dux aries saturas ipse reduxit oves*); Calpurnius (*E.* 1.15, of Faunus); Germanicus (*Arat.* 536, of Taurus); Manilius (*Ast.* 5.39); Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.482. The connection is between rivers and bulls, one that Servius notes is a feature of the visual arts, to be derived either from the perceived similarity between taurine bellowing and the deep roar and murmur of waters, or from the way that the channels of a river spread out and seem to mimic the horns of a bull; this connection of animal and river is well attested in

Greek and Latin literature (vid. K.H. Lee *ad* Euripides, *Ion* 1261; cf. the “classic” appearance of Achelous at, e.g., Sophocles, *Trach.* 507–508). It is unclear what (if any) special meaning should be attached to the bull imagery here, especially in a book that gives significant attention to Hercules lore; the depiction was traditional enough (though we might note that Virgil’s brief description of Tiberinus’ appearance at 31–34 made no mention of the conventional horns). “Probably a primitive sign of strength” (Sidgwick); cf. Ovid’s use of taurine imagery to describe the combat of Hercules and Achelous at *Met.* 9.46 ff. (with Bömer’s notes). “The horns of rivers ... are mere emblems of their strength, like the horns of Jupiter, of Moses, of the Egyptian gods, of the visioned beasts of the prophet Daniel, and Hannah’s horn which “is exalted in the Lord”” (Henry). On the convention and the problem of the depiction of river gods in both the visual arts and literature, note M. Clarke, “An Ox-Fronted River-God, Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 12–13,” in *HSCP* 102 (2004), 97–112; also R.M. Gais, “Some Problems of River-God Iconography,” in *AJA* 82.3 (1978), 355–370.

Hesperidum: For the name see L. Fratantuono, “*Tum canit Hesperidum miratam mala puellam*: The Hesperides and Hesperia in Virgil and Ovid,” in *Eirene* 51 (2015), 1–11, 27–44; R. Rocca in *EV* 11, 391–392; V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* 11, 614; cf. Preller/Robert 1, 561–566; Roscher 1.2, 2594–2603 (including depictions in art); Buscaroli 1932, 332–334. The Hesperides appear first in extant literature at Hesiod, *Theog.* 215–216, where the “paradise-maidens” (West *ad loc.*) are the daughters of Night (appropriately enough given their western locale); the famous dragon associated with them in mythology is cited at 333–335. These traditional “Hesperides” are mentioned twice in Virgil, at *E.* 5.61 (with direct reference to their connection to the story of Atalanta’s race), and at *A.* 4.483–486, as part of the long narrative of the development of Dido’s ruse before her suicide. Servius identifies the Hesperides as the daughters of Atlas (cf. 4.48–482; so also the First Vatican Mythographer, 1, 38); Danielis observes that they may have been the daughters of Hesperus. Hesperia is first mentioned in Virgil as the ultimate destination of the Trojan exiles at 1.530–534; cf. the prophecy of the ghostly Creüsa at 2.781–782, where Hesperia is associated with the Lydian Thybris. By the commencement of the Iliadic *Aeneid*, Hesperia has been compelled to take up arms (7.41–44); Allecto takes her leave of Hesperia after the stirs up martial fury (7.543); the custom of opening the doors of the temple of Janus is associated with Hesperia (7.601 *mos erat Hesperio in Latio*). Below at 148 Aeneas warns Evander that the Rutulians seek to subjugate all Hesperia; at 12.359–361, Turnus taunts the Trojan Eumedes that he should measure Hesperia by the length of his corpse. The only “Hesperian” passages in the second half of the poem that do not have a connection to war and violent death are the

present reference, and 7.4 (in connection to the loss of Aeneas' nurse Caieta). Heracles was associated with the quest for the Hesperidean apples (Robert II.2, 488–498).

Fordyce notes here that *Hesperidum* with *aquarum* is “so used only here”; Aeneas uses the geographical descriptor that was used by his lost wife in connection to the storied western river. A possible hint, too, of the traditional connection of the Hesperides with Hercules lore; Aeneas has found his own distant west (at least from the perspective of the Troad).

fluvius: For the noun applied to a personified river god, cf. the oath formula at 12.181 *Fontisque Fluviosque voco* (with Tarrant). Cf. 1.664 *solus*.

regnator: Naevian, Plautan and Accian, with attendant venerable antiquity; cf. 2.557 (of Priam); 2.779; 4.269; 7.558; 10.437 (of Jupiter). The phrase is Ennian; cf. Fronto (*Orat.* 160 Naber/153 van den Hout/Haines 111–112, with significant textual difficulties) *Tiberis est, Tusce, Tiberis quem iubes cludi. Tiber amnis et dominus et fluentium circa regnator undarum; Ennius ... fluvius qui ... omnibu' princeps, qui sub ovilia ait* (*Ann.* fr. 63 Skutsch *Postquam constitit isti fluvius, qui est omnibus princeps | Qui sub ovilia*). Note also Callimachus, *Aetia* fr. 7c, 16 Harder; Virgil, *G.* 1.482 (of the Eridanus as king of rivers); *CIL* VI, 773 *Tiberino patri aquarum* (an inscription of Diocletian and Maximian). For this metaphorical sense of “ruler/king” cf. Pindar, *P.* 4.181 ff. (of Boreas as lord of the winds). Here the phrase has more to do with the traditional place of the Tiber in the catalogue of Italian rivers, rather than any geographical exactitude as to its dominance over other streams and waters. First *genitor* (72), and now *regnator*.

78 *adsis o tantum et propius tua numina firmes.*'

adsis: The form occurs four times in the epic; cf. 4.576–579, of Aeneas' prayer at the moment of departure from Dido's Carthage; 10.255, of Aeneas to Cybele after the portentous appearance of the transformed nymph Cymodocea; 10.460–461, of Pallas' fateful prayer to Hercules before his combat with Turnus. For the two framing verbs see Eden's note.

o tantum: For the interjection cf. 72; the appeal is for the god to manifest himself by direct presence (implicitly, as opposed to in a dream manifestation). Several Carolingians read *tandem* here (a reminiscence of 73).

propius: The adverb occurs 7× in the epic; cf. Ilioneus to Dido at 1.526 *parce pio generi et propius res aspice nostras*; 2.706 ... *propiusque aestus incendia volvunt*; 556–557 below; 10.712 *nec cuiquam irasci propiusque accedere virtus* (in a hunting simile); 11.564 (the crowd approaching Metabus and the infant Camilla at the Amasenus); 12.218 *tum magis ut propius cernunt non viribus aequos* (of the Rutulians as they see Turnus prepare for single combat). *Proprius* is read here by P (before correction) and a corrector of the Wolfenbüttel, and was a recog-

nized reading for Servius, who opts for *propius* on the grounds that the point is the swiftness of the *augurium impetrativum* (i.e., the appearance of the sow). The reading *placide* of Bernensis 165 is an attractive variant that was probably introduced in light of Tiberius' *placidus tua munia firmes*.

tua numina: As at G. 1.29–30 *an deus immensi venias maris ac tua nautae / numina sola colant*; A. 1.666 *ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco*; cf. *Ilias Latina* 32, 88–89; 573; Ovid, *Her.* 7.87; *Trist.* 2.1.573; *Ep.* 4.9.133; Seneca, *Phaed.* 73; Statius, *Theb.* 8.191; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.674; 4.34; Silius, *Pun.* 10.346. The god is invited to strengthen and confirm his divine will by direct epiphany to manifest his will; the noun refers specifically to the intention and willful power of the god. “Tua oracula et promissa” (Servius). We remember, perhaps, the *numine laeso* of Juno (1.8). The present passage may have inspired Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 7.80 *vidissem propius mea numina*.

firmes: Cf. 2.691, where Anchises asks for a confirmatory omen in the wake of the Iulus fire portent; 3.611, of Anchises' assurances to Achaemenides; 3.659, of the Cyclops Polyphemus' steadying of his steps; 9.788, of the Trojan response to Mnesteus' words of encouragement; 11.330 (also possibly 356); and 12.212, of treaty alliances; 11.466, of Turnus' instructions for the defense of Latinus' capital; 12.188 *ut potius reor et potius di numine firment* (Aeneas' words on the occasion of his treaty truce with Latinus). Aeneas reasonably enough asks for a confirmatory sign; in point of fact he will at once be blessed with the sight of the promised, portentous sow. Somewhat astonishingly, Aeneas ends his extended prayer with no mention of Juno; at 84–85 below, Aeneas will make a sacrificial offering of the portentous sow to the goddess.

79 sic memorat, geminasque legit de classe biremis

sic memorat: As at 1.631, as Dido prepares to lead Aeneas and the Trojans into her banquet hall; 9.324, as Nisus encourages Euryalus at the commencement of the slaughter of the night raid: both parallels are ominous. From prayer and liturgical ritual we move to practical preparations, as Aeneas makes ready for his voyage in search of allies. The verb is Ennian.

biremis: Mentioned elsewhere in Virgil only at 1.182 ... *Phrygiasque biremis*, as Aeneas looks for a sign of his lost ships soon after his landing in Carthage; for the noun in high poetry cf. Horace, c. 3.29.62; Lucan, *BC* 8.562; 10.56; Manilius, *Astron.* 5.425; Statius, *Theb.* 6.19; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.427; Silius, *Pun.* 17.275. For Roman biremes see Pitassi 2011, 78 ff.; on the invention of the “two-banked galley,” Casson 1971, 53 ff. Technically *Anachronismus*. These would be reasonably fast, seaworthy vessels, of relatively small size; one might note the *biremes* that are depicted on Trajan's column. Pirates often employed biremes for their ease of speedy flight and relatively inexpensive cost. These two-level galleys

could permit the erection of towers for defense and attack at stern and bow; Virgil may have envisioned the Liburnian vessels that appear to have made such a difference for Octavian and Agrippa at Actium. A small expeditionary force, then, for the journey to Pallanteum. There is perhaps no particular significance to the detail about the two ships, though it is difficult to think of twins and the Tiber in the same context without giving thought to the infants Romulus and Remus; we may consider the parallels between the imminent appearance of the *Sauprodigium* and the she-wolf and her sucklings at 630 ff. below. The notion of doubling is itself effectively doubled by the two two-banked vessels; a different sort of “twinning” will occur at 130 below, of the two sons of Atreus.

The biremes introduce a note of *Anachronismus*, in any case, though a “mistake” that is well suited to the poem’s role as a national epic. One might imagine that Aeneas chose vessels that were in the best condition and most seaworthy.

80 **remigioque aptat, socios simul instruit armis.**

The verse is modeled on 3.471 *remigium supplet, socios simul instruit armis*, of the preparations for the departure from Buthrotum, where Horsfall notes: “v. later found this economically phrased passage ... a useful quarry when required to furnish credible but banal details for the routine business of rapid narrative.” On the repetition see Moskalew 1982, 123; Zwierlein 2000, 45–46. We are reminded here of the encounter with Helenus, i.e., the occasion of the first announcement of the *Sauprodigium* to Aeneas. The rapidity of the actions stands in marked relief with the slow unfolding of the homage and honor shown to Thybris. The action is carefully balanced, as Aeneas outfits both his ships and his men.

remigio: Mercury relies on a *remigio alarum* at 1.301; cf. the oarage of Sergestus’ damaged ship (5.280); also the parallel 3.471.; 91 below. The noun refers specifically to equipment, though obviously men will be needed to man the oars; cf. Danielis: “id est remigium, officium remigantium. alibi pro turba remigantium.”

aptat: The verb also in nautical contexts at 1.552 *et silvis aptare trabes et stringere remos*; 3.472; 4.289 *classem aptent*; 5.753 ... *aptant remos rudentisque*; 6. cf. 2.390 and 672; 721 below (of the setting up of spoils; cf. 11.8, of the Mezentius *tropaeum*); 7.731; 9.305 and 364; 10.131, 259 and 588 (all in connection with warfare and combat).

instruit: The verb has a varied range of meanings; cf. 1.638, of the preparations for Dido’s banquet; 2.152, of how Sinon was *instructus* in trickery and the arts of deceit; 3.231, of the makeshift meal preparations before the attack of the Harpies; 5.549, of the arrangements for the *lusus Troiae*; 6.831, of Pompey and his Eastern arms in the *Heldenschau*; 9.368, of the disposition of a

Latin *legio*; 11.449 *instructos acie Tiberino a flumine Teucros*, of the report of Trojan military operations to the Latin war council; 12.124 (of troops in battle array). Normal military Latin for the arraying of a battle line (*aciem*): Caesar, Livy.

armis: The word can apply both to oars/equipment for sailing (cf. Page's note here on the "equal applicability" of both ideas, and Williams' on the translation of *armis* as "equipment"), and to weapons—but here the detail comes in a context of martial strife. The Tiberinus passage stands forth as an interlude of peace in the midst of war; the arming of the crews of the biremes is a reminder of the hazards of war, and of the departure to unknown shores. The section of narrative closes on a note of martial strife. The oarage and the arms frame the verse; on such a use of nouns of the "same semantic register," see Dainotti 2015, 224. In the book 3 model for this passage (471), the *armis* refers specifically to the weapons that Helenus presented to Aeneas. "He picks crews for the two ships, and as a further precaution, arms them" (Mackail).

For the line-end here cf. Manilius, *Astron.* 1.345 *digna Iove et caelo, quod sacris instuit armis* (of the *ales Iovis*). Another sea journey, then, and once again in the shadow of Juno and her wrath.

81–101 The prodigiously fruitful sow of the prophecies of Helenus and Tiberinus is glimpsed at last; Aeneas' ships reach Evander's Pallanteum. On the particular vividness of the appearance of the sow see Putnam 1966, 119–121. Cf. V.L. Johnson, "The Case for Vergil's Venerable Pig," in *Vergilius* 7 (1961), 19–21; more generally, Walter 1999, especially J. Thomas' "La truie blanche et les trente gorets dans l'Énéide de Virgile" (51–72). The passage is reminiscent of the appearance of the portentous horse from the sea at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.1364–1379.

81 **Ecce autem subitum atque oculis mirabile monstrum,**

Ecce autem: For the interjection cf. on 228 below. Ennian (*Hectoris Lytra* fr. 167 Jocelyn *ecce autem caligo oborta est, inbnen prospectum abstulit. | derepente consulit sese in pedes*, where Jocelyn notes "*Ecce autem* indicates either the speaker's surprise at an unexpected turn of the action ... or ... his feeling that the hearer will be surprised at what he is to narrate" (comparing *A.* 2.201–205, of the appearance of the serpents that kill Laocoön and his sons). Elsewhere in Virgil cf. *G.* 3.515; *A.* 2.318 (of Panthus' appearance); 2.526 (of Polites in flight from Pyrrhus); 2.673 (of Creüsa with Iulus); 3.687 (of Boreas); 6.255 (before the entrance into the underworld); 7.286 (of Juno); 12.672 *Ecce autem flammis inter tabulata volutus | ad caelum undabat vertex turrimque tenebat*). The phrase is frequent in comedy (both Plautus and Terence), where it describes the com-

mon reversals of fortune and sudden plot developments that are proper to the genre; there is no hint here of a lower poetic register (Fordyce speculates that the phrase may have been borrowed by Cicero from Ennius). For the accusative after *ecce* see Gould and Whiteley.

subitum: For the adjective with *monstrum* cf. 5.522–523 *hic oculis subitum obicitur magnoque futurum / augurio monstrum*, of the Acestes arrow portent at the memorial games for Anchises (with Fratantuono and Smith). What happened was both sudden and marvelous to behold, as an *augurium impetrativum* in response to what Aeneas had requested of the Tiber god. The sense of the narrative is that the portent was seen immediately and at once after Aeneas' prayer and the practical preparations for the voyage. The arrow portent was of especially mysterious import (for the possibility that it heralds the doom of Pallas, see L. Fratantuono, "Seraque Terrifici: Archery, Fire, and the Enigmatic Portent of *Aeneid* v," in Deroux 2010, 196–218); the sow is connected clearly with Ascanius' settlement of Alba Longa (cf. the respective destinies of the two young heroes in war; Ascanius' brief venture into archery in Book 9).

oculis: Continuing the emphasis on the visual. The elision is effective, as the portent suddenly strikes the eyes.

mirabile monstrum: Ciceronian (c. fr. 23.20–21 Soubiran *nos autem timidi stantes mirabile monstrum / vidimus in mediis divom versarier aris*; quoted at *DND* 2.64.4). Virgil has it of the Bugonia (*G.* 4.554); of the Ascanius flame-portent (2.680 *cum subitum dictuque oritur mirabile monstrum*); of the eerie portent at the grave of Polydorus (3.26 *horrendum et dictu video mirabile monstrum*); of the transformation of the Trojan fleet into sea creatures (9.120–121 ... *hinc virgineae mirabile monstrum / reddunt se totidem facies pontoque feruntur*); of the phantom Aeneas (10.637–639). Cf. Germanicus, *Arat.* 50; Ovid, *Fast.* 3.799; Silius, *Pun.* 17.595; also Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.1619a.

Conington notes that the prodigy would have been a source of wonder and marvel to the Trojan crews, but not to Aeneas (since he had already learned of the portent)—but surely the sight would have been an occasion of amazement even to the Trojan leader.

82 candida per silvam cum fetu concolor albo

candida: For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 114–116; it occurs 7× in the epic. At 5.571, the horse that Ascanius rides at the Troy game was a gift of *candida Dido*, where the adjective may describe a wide range of possible traits of either body or character: light complexion, even simplicity and innocence; perhaps blond hair or simply the lovely, beautiful appearance of the queen. At 6.708–709, it refers to the lilies to whom the souls of those to be reborn are compared; here

the chromatic point is clear. At 7.8–9 it describes the moon that shines down on Aeneas' fleet as it approaches the Tiber mouth; at 138 below, it is an epithet of Maia, the Titaness-mother of Mercury. The *dea candida* of 8.608 is Venus, resplendent in loveliness and light in complexion as she appears to her son with the gift of the arms. One might think that the associations of the color improve after the signal appearance of the sow and her brood, but at 9.432 the *candida pectora* or pale, i.e. white body of Euryalus is pierced at his death scene. We might compare, too, the snow-white horses of the portent at 3.538; the significant repetition of the same image at 12.84, where Turnus' horses are described in similar language (in other words, the portent of Book 3 is ultimately fulfilled in the appearance of Turnus' white steeds). The verb *candere* is used of the white ash of Etna (3.573); Dido has a white cow at the sacrifice rites she performs to win the love of Aeneas (4.61); Cloanthus promises a white bull if he achieves victory in the regatta (5.236; cf. Ascanius' prayer before his archery feat at 9.628); one of the Gates of Sleep is of gleaming white ivory (6.895). Augustus on the shield is depicted on the threshold of the bright god Phoebus (8.720); Turnus is compared to an eagle—the bird of Jupiter—as it carries off a white swan (9.563). Turnus girds himself with a sword that was white-hot as Vulcan thrust it into the Styx (12.91). A mixed range of uses, then, with occurrences that connect to the underworld and the paleness of death, and to the Dido story and its lasting effects on Aeneas and his family; note the effective suspense as the referent of the adjective is delayed until the end of line 83, with neat framing of the two-line description of the portent. The verse is framed by the similar color adjectives; the first one has an attractive quality and connotation of the gleam of white that first strikes the eyes of Aeneas and his men as they approach the fateful site.

per silvam: Putnam sees the seemingly otiose, “merely poetic” detail as evidence of the connection between the appearance of the sow and the Bough. For the phrase cf. *G.* 2.414; *A.* 6.658–659 ... *unde superne | plurimus Eridani per silvam volvitur amnis*; the graphic description of Tullus on the shield at 644–645 below.

fetu ... albo: The sow and her brood are of the significant color. For *albus* see above on 45. On Virgil's description of the appearance of the white offspring, Daniels notes the “expedita elocutio.”

concolor: For the adjective (which appears here only in Virgil), see Edgeworth 1992, 121–122; also 43–44 (who finds “the language ... somewhat strained”). The allusive chromatic parallel is to 6.204 *discolor ... aura*, of the contrast between the Golden Bough and the branches in which it is concealed (see further Horsfall ad loc.). The sow is the same color as her offspring; the Bough, in contrast, is of different color from its surroundings. On the color adjective Con-

ington notes, “superfluous, but [it] serves to impress the notion of the prodigy.” On the question of Virgilian neologisms, see Eden *ad loc.* (with extensive listing of Virgilian compound adjectives).

83 *procubuit viridique in litore conspicitur sus;*

procubuit: For the verb cf. 30 above; the posture of the sow is identical to that of Aeneas before the dream visitation of the god. Noun and verb frame the line. The scene of easy repose of mother and brood is at once replaced with the implicit violence of the sacrifice of the animals to Juno.

viridi: The striking color imagery continues; *vid.* Edgeworth 1992, 166–167. Grim associations of the color include 3.24, at the grave of Polydorus; 3.304, of the color of the straw mound of the Hector cenotaph at Buthrotum; 5.295, of the green youth of the ultimately doomed Euryalus; 5.300, of the green grass that is wet with the blood of sacrificial offerings where Nisus slips and falls; 6.304, of the vigorous old age of the underworld ferryman Charon. The color is also used for the first and second place wreaths in the ship race (5.246 and 494; cf. 5.110), and for the *meta* of the race (5.129)—a noteworthy accumulation of uses in the narrative of the games. Note also the green island of Donusa at 3.125; the green earth of 6.192; the green forests of 96 below. See Eden’s note for the “dense primeval forest” of old Latium. The green color provides a suitable contrast with the gleaming white of the sow; it continues the emphasis of 82 *per silvam* on the wooded locale cf. 96 below.

conspicitur: Cf. 1.152 (of the vision of the peacemaker of the first simile of the epic); 1.487 ... *conspexit*, of Aeneas’ tour of the pictures in Dido’s temple to Juno; 3.306, as Andromache sees Aeneas near the Hector cenotaph (and note the disputed reading at 3.652, of Achaemenides as he sees the Trojan fleet); 4.261 (Mercury seeing Aeneas as he works on the building of the “wrong” city of Carthage); 4.648–649 (Dido just before her suicide); 5.611 (the disguised Iris as she sees the Trojan women on the shore); 6.508 (of the sight of the doomed Deiphobus); 6.631 (of the Sibyl in the underworld); 6.588 (of the depiction of Pallas); 9.237 (of Nisus and Euryalus); 9.420 (of how Volcens does not see the weapon that killed Tagus); 10.725 (of a lion in a simile). On the whole, then, a rather dark set of other uses; the language continues to express ominous themes in subtle unfolding.

The appearance of the sow here clearly enough foreshadows the depiction of the she-wolf and her twins at 630 ff. below. The sow is precursor of the she-wolf; the sacrifice of the *sus* to Juno in some sense makes possible the incarnation of what will be heralded in the splendid prophecy of the shield.

For the monosyllabic ending see the judgment of Servius here; the word carries with it the force of a “surprise” that is slowly revealed, coming to full fruition

only in the final syllable of the verse. If there is anything ridiculous about the ending, it serves only to undercut the solemnity of the vision. The sow, in any case, is no she-wolf; she is in some sense mere sacrificial fodder for the queen of the gods. See further Dainotti 2015, 211n651; for the “interlinear framing hyperbaton,” 258–259. On the question of diastole and the possible ursine misinterpretation of the verse, see J.F. Mountford, “Some Neglected Evidence Bearing on the *Ictus Metricus* in Latin Verse,” in *TAPA* 56 (1925), 150–161, 155 ff. On monosyllabic endings in epic poetry, see Curtis on Stesichorus, *Geryon*. fr. 1.1; cf. 43 above.

84 **quam pius Aeneas tibi enim, tibi, maxima Iuno,**

Perhaps more of a surprise than the promised appearance of the sow. Aeneas had been told to bring prayers and votive offerings to Juno (60–61 above)—and now, rather late, he proceeds to sacrifice the sow and her progeny to the greatest goddess. The scene of the sacrifice of the sow has been connected to the artwork on the southwest side of the Ara Pacis, where Aeneas may be depicted pouring a libation, with two attendants—one of whom has a pig. The discovery of Romulus and Remus by the shepherd Faustulus is the scene on the northwest panel; Mars and the she-wolf are present. The southeast wall has a woman (of uncertain, no doubt divine identification), with twin babies. A female warrior (Roma?) appears on the fragmentary, partially reconstructed northeast panel; she is apparently flanked by Virtus and Honos (would any reader of Virgil think of Camilla?). See further here J. Elsner, “Cult and Sculpture: Sacrifice in the Ara Pacis Augustae,” in *JRS* 81 (1991), 50–61; P. Rehak, “Aeneas or Numa? Rethinking the Meaning of the Ara Pacis Augustae,” in *The Art Bulletin* 83.2 (2001), 190–208; G.K. Galinsky, “Venus in a Relief of the Ara Pacis Augustae,” in *AJA* 70.3 (1966), 223–243; *Idem*, “Venus, Polysemy, and the Ara Pacis Augustae,” in *AJA* 96.3 (1992), 457–472; Galinsky 1996, 141 ff. For the “complete equilibrium” with which the hero responds to the *subitum monstrum*, see George 1974, 22.

pius Aeneas: The signal, hallmark characteristic of Aeneas, here in reference to his respect and homage for his tireless divine enemy. The appellation calls into question in even sharper relief the problem of whether or not Aeneas has fulfilled the injunctions of the river god. See further L. Fratantuono, “Pietas,” in *VE* III, 1007–1008; Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.26; Erdmann 2000, 184–187.

tibi ... tibi: Striking anaphora, especially in light of the problem of whether Aeneas made one error in delaying his attention to Juno, and whether or not he makes another now by sacrificing the wrong animal to the goddess (vid. Dyson 2001, 48); of possible ritual significance. On the use of apostrophe in describing sacrifices, see G. Williams 1983, 184–185 (with reference to 6.249–251).

enim: The conjunction *enim* adds to the emphasis on Juno's identity here; for the "asseverative particle" and archaic tone see Fordyce; Hofmann/Szantyr 11, 508 (with comparison of *G.* 3.69 ff.); and (for the development of meaning from Plautus to Terence), Eden's note. Servius found it merely ornamental ("et tantum ad ornatum pertinet"). See further here J. Fontenrose, "The Meaning and Use of *Sed Enim*," in *TAPA* 75 (1944), 168–195.

maxima Iuno: Authorial commentary and reminder on the goddess' relative status. For the title cf. Catullus, c. 68B.138–139 *saepe etiam Iuno, maxima caelicolum, | coniugis in culpa flagrantem contudit iram*; *A.* 4.371–372 ... *iam iam nec maxima Iuno | nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis* (Dido to Aeneas); 10.685–686 *ter conatus utramque viam, ter maxima Iuno | contuit iuvenemque animi miserata repressit* (Juno with Turnus). At 3.546–547, the commands enjoined by Helenus about Aeneas' reverencing the goddess are referred to as the *maxima praecepta*. *Maxima Iuno* and *pious Aeneas* stand forth in uneasy juxtaposition in this verse of rich and subtle import and allusion. Eden notes *ad* 85 that the sow is an appropriate animal because of her gender (should we assume mixed genders for the astonishingly large brood?) and color (appropriate for the gods of the upper air). If the sow was a more appropriate animal for Mercury's mother Maia, then the mention of the Titaness at 138 ff. may be portended; it was certainly the right animal for Ceres (vid. here Spaeth 1996, 141–142, with commentary on the possible relevance of the detail to the Ara Pacis; also Toynbee 1973, 134–135). The appellation here may relate to the Ara Maxima that is allusively referenced during the Trojan visit to Pallanteum (with shades of Juno vs. Hercules, the son of one of her many rivals).

85 **mactat sacra ferens et cum grege sistit ad aram.**

mactat: Elsewhere in Virgil the verb is used of Laocoön's ill-fated taurine sacrifice (2.202); of Aeneas' fear of seeing his family slaughtered (2.667); of the sacrifices in Thrace (3.21) and on Delos (3.118); of the sacrifices of Dido and Anna (4.57); of the rites before the commencement of the games (5.101); of the Sibyl's instructions to Aeneas (6.38); of Latinus' sacrifices (7.93); 294 and 544 below; of Halaesus' slaughter in battle (10.413); of sacrifices to Mors (11.197); cf. *G.* 3.489; 4.546 (the instructions to Aristaeus). The actions are inverted (see Servius for the *hysteron proteron*), with attendant emphasis on the notion of sacrifice (but see Eden for the possibility that *mactare* is used here in its archaic sense of "to hallow, to consecrate"). For the story of how a voice from the temple of Juno Moneta demanded an expiatory sacrifice of a sow during an earthquake, vid. Littlewood *ad* Ovid, *Fast.* 6.183–190.

sacra ferens: Cf. 6.808–809 *quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae | sacra ferens? nosco crinis incanaque menta* (of Numa); Manilius, *Astron.* 1.5–6 *can-*

tibus et viridi nutantis vertice silvas / hospita sacra ferens nulli memorata priorum; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.96; Juvenal, s. 2.125; Silius, *Pun.* 1.668. Compound expression with *mactat*, Aeneas makes his sacrifice to the goddess. Sacrifice is the art of making something sacred, which technically demands the proper animal, divine recipient, and sacrificer (i.e., a priest or *paterfamilias*, at least for public ritual), and fitting place of sacrifice, even if temporary (cf. *E.* 1.7–8; *G.* 3.486–493; *A.* 6.243–254). The obsessive attention to liturgical rubric allowed for the easy introduction of ill-omened interruptions. Slaughter (either of animals or humans) can always be ritualized, but not every slaying is thereby sacrificial (cf. *A.* 1.185–193, where seven stags serve both symbolic and practical purpose, and 2.116–133 of Iphigenia and Sinon; 10.517–520 and 11.81–82, of the victims to be slain at Pallas' requiem). Virgil in general is not a source for ritual specificities and the rubrical demands of Roman religion (still less for moralizing commentary on ritual killing), though he is regularly keen on the offering of the right animal to the right deity in many contexts that extend beyond sacrifice in its strict sense and precise definition. Sacrifices (whether proper or improper) always convey information about the relationship between divinities, mortals, and animals.

cum grege: An important note: the greatest goddess will receive the entire portentous *tableau* in solemn offering.

sistit: Cf. Opis at 11.853; Turnus at 10.309 and 12.355.

ad aram: A ritual detail that cannot be pressed too far; there has been no mention of the erection of any altar, but one was needed for the impromptu sacrifice, and so the poet provides it.

"It is also worth nothing that this vital, founding ritual, Aeneas' sacrifice, a central piece of Augustan iconography, received at the hands of "Augustus' poet" a perfunctory couplet, lacking in ritual elaboration or narrative detail" (Thomas 2001, 74). It is, in context, possibly the wrong sacrifice for *maxima Iuno*, and almost certainly the wrong time. On Virgilian sacrifice note I. Shatzman, "Religious Rites in Virgil's Writings," in *SCI* 1 (1974), 47–63. The goddess makes no response to the dramatic sacrifice ritual; the calm and seemingly unworried Aeneas renders his offering to a divinity whose anger may well have increased in the course of the night and first hours of the new day. "Das Situation des Aeneas gleicht der vom Anfang des 6. Buches: er hat ein neues Land betreten und steht sorgenvoll vor schweren Aufgaben, die er ohne göttlichen Beistand nicht lösen kann. Die Hilfe kam ihm dort von der Apollopriesterin, hier hilft ihm Tiberinus." (Binder 1971, 3199).

86 Thybris ea fluvium, quam longa est, nocte tumentem

Thybris: The name used in the prophecies to Aeneas and by the Trojan in his invocation to the god is once again employed.

ea ... nocte: Virgil returns here to the action of the Tiber/Thybris, with implicit reference back to the promise of 57–58 *ipse ego te ... ducam*, etc. The problem of the exact chronology has vexed the ingenuity of commentators. Aeneas clearly rose up in the vicinity of dawn (68–69 ... *orientia solis / lumina*); he arrives at Pallanteum at midday (97 *sol medium*, etc.). The two difficulties are occasioned by the present verse, and (especially) 94 ... *noctemque diemque fatigant*, with the latter detail seeming incompatible with a river journey of some twelve miles. Gransden (vid. Appendix A of his commentary) thought that Virgil allowed thirty miles for the journey, perhaps in consideration of the importance of the number to the tradition of Alba Longa (cf. Jenkyns 1998, 535). *Ea ... nocte* here could conceivably (if rather loosely) refer to the actions of the Tiber on the night of the dream; the god has already been at work in calming his waters in advance of the Trojan journey—this would still leave the problem of 94 and the noon hour arrival at Evander's settlement. Certainly it is easy to postulate that preparations for the journey (especially the outfitting of the ships and crews, not to mention the sacrificial rituals) took some time; the appearance of the *Sauprodigium* would introduce an unexpected complication that would delay the planned departure time (i.e., to permit time for the ritual slaughter of the sow and her exceptionally large brood). In this case we might conclude that *ea ... nocte* refers to the night *after* the dream vision, and that the night and morning are spent in sailing. Just possible, especially if Virgil were not concerned with geographic precision in his poetic narrative. On the inconsistencies here see especially Dyson 2001, 68 ff. For the rare use of the demonstrative in high poetry, see Gransden's note; the form highlights the importance of this night in the onward progress of the Trojan mission and destiny.

"*Nocte* alludes to the night of 16–17 January, 27 B.C., just after Octavian had received the title Augustus, when the Tiber actually burst its banks and flooded" (Ellis 1985, 14).

fluvium: Cf. 93 below.

quam longa est: A reference to the duration of the night and the Tiber's action therein, not necessarily with reference to the perception that the night was especially long, though the expression hints at the image of length and weary labor. Not only do we have the apparent difficulty of just how long the journey to Pallanteum took, but we have the detail that the night when Thybris calmed his waters was "long," a note that does not help the perceived problem that too much time has apparently been allotted to the journey. Somewhat

parallel to the present use is 4.193–194 *nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere / regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos* (of the winter spent by Dido and Aeneas in indulgence of their romantic relationship)—not a positive association. See Eden ad loc. for the evocation of Athena's assistance to Telemachus at *Od.* 2.420 ff., (especially 434), and on the influence of the Homeric *Telemachy* on Virgil, note Hatch 1974.

For the “durative historic” *est* see Fordyce ad loc.

Hight 1972, 167 concludes that “surely there is a gap in time and action between 8.85 and 8.86”; cf. “The impression given [is] of endless travel, inspired not by explicit description but by a suggestiveness which goes beyond the literal signification. Through the language this short passage seems to become a journey into the interior ...” (Jenkyns 1998, 535). Certainly the image of a thirty hour trip was appealing in light of the years of Ascanius' reign at Alba Longa, even if the easiest interpretation may result in something approaching an eighteen-hour journey—if Virgil were minding the clock. 90 *celerant* points to a speedier than anticipated departure, as a direct consequence of the apparently calm state of the river; the implication is that the two biremes departed at night, and not on the morning after the *Sauprodigium*.

We may remember, too, Venus' observation to Neptune at 5.783–784 *quam nec longa dies pietas nec mitigat ulla, / nec Iovis imperio fatisque infracta quiescit* that Juno is not soothed by the long day, or by any exercise of *pietas*; see further Putnam 1966, 115–117. “The sacrifice of expiation has occurred, and it is only a matter of one long night—the long night of propitiation and change—before the wrath of Juno gives away, at least momentarily ...”

tumentem: The verb occurs elsewhere in the epic at 2.273 ... *pedes ... tumentis* (of the swollen feet of Hector's corpse after he has been lashed to Achilles' chariot); 2.381 ... *colla tumentem* (of the serpent in the Androgeos simile; cf. *G.* 3.421); 6.49 *et rabie fera corda tument ...* (of the possession of the Sibyl Deiphobe); 7.810 ... *fluctu ... tumentis* (of the swollen waters over which Camilla was able to bound without wetting her feet); 11.854 ... *vana tumentem* (of the vain preening of the Etruscan Arruns in the wake of his killing of Camilla, just before he is slain in turn by Diana's nymph Opis). The inchoative form occurs only at *G.* 1.357; 465; also 2.479.

An interesting range of uses, then, with reference back to the horror of the desecration of Hector's body at Troy; elsewhere in connection to water only of Camilla, who did not need to cross a body of water in the conventional sense (cf. 11.562–563, of the infant Camilla's miraculous crossing of the Amasenus on a spear—the childhood antecedent of the detail about her incredible speed and dry shod water crossing). The swollen sea that Camilla was able to navigate so easily is verbally connected to the death scene of her killer Arruns, the

shadowy doublet of Aeneas. The Sibyl passage occurs in a context of prophetic revelation and discernment; the Androgeos scene is one of mistaken identity and the problem of national and ethnic identity. Another subtle hint, perhaps, of the ultimate fate of Aeneas in connection with a body of water: the present scene owes much to the depiction of the stilling and calming of the waters by Neptune in response to the prayer of Venus at 5.817ff. (cf. especially below on 89); that magical journey ended in the loss of Palinurus as a sacrifice for the safe passage. The death of Aeneas' helmsman foreshadows the eventual end of Aeneas himself, also in connection with a body of water.

The verb hints at the regular threat of the flooding of the Tiber (no hint of storm or rain here, though; cf. the rationalizing explanation for the flooding of the Scamander at Hellan., fr. 28 Fowler, with his notes ad loc.); the language harks back to 40–41 ... *tumor omnis et irae / concessere deum*, and offers the important detail that the river was, in fact, swollen and in potential or actual flood (nature, we might think, matching the anger and wrath of the Latin forces). On the semantic association of the swelling with the pregnancy of the sow, see Paschalis 1997, 278; the subsiding of the water's swollen flood corresponds then to the delivery of the piglets, and, more darkly, to their sacrifice.

87 *leniit, et tacita refluens ita substitit unda,*

leniit: Cf. 1.450–452 *hoc primum in luco nova res oblata timorem / leniit, hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem / ausus et adflictis melius confidere rebus*, where the same form/*sedes* describe Aeneas' reaction to his arrival at Dido's temple to Juno in Carthage—another dark memory, and an occasion where Aeneas is perhaps wrong to feel reassurance. At 4.393–394 *At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem / solando cupit et dictis avertere curas*, Aeneas is depicted as desirous of soothing Dido's cares; cf. 6.467–468 *talibus Aeneas ardentem et torva tumentem / lenibat dictis animum lacrimasque ciebat*, of Aeneas with the shade of Dido in the underworld (4.528, of the Trojan behavior that contrasts with that of sleepless Dido, does not have capital manuscript support; see further Pease, and Buscaroli, ad loc.). The verb occurs elsewhere always, then, in connection to the problem of Dido, especially of her consolation in the wake of Aeneas' departure from Carthage. For the distinction between the actions of the god and those of the river proper, see Jones 2005, 67. On the tense of the verb note Mack 1978, 41: “statements of fact in the perfect ... and purpose clauses ... expressing the causative idea.”

tacita ... unda: Imitated by Statius at *Theb.* 4.723; Silius, *Pun.* 14.191 (both times in the plural). The emphasis is on the quiet and silence of the calmed

river in the still of the night; the scene offers a neat contrast to the speech of the river god—now there is need for action, not words. For the adjective see Nurtantio 2014, 157–158.

refluens: “Per facilitare la navigazione de Enea contro corrente Tiberino interrompe il flusso e quasi lo inverte, sì che l’acqua ristagna *in morem ... paludis*” (Paratore). “Checking its flow” (Gould and Whiteley). The verb occurs 3× in the epic (1× in the *G.*); cf. 240 below, and 9.32 (of the Nile); cf. Silius, *Pun.* 15.621–622 ... *qua curvatas sinuosis flexibus amnis | obliquat tipas refluoque per aspera lapsu*. Elsewhere the verb is regularly employed in a context of fright and surprise, with a river in distress or turmoil. The point here would seem to be not that the river actually reverses course (cf. *Ps.* 114, of the Jordan), but rather that the unrush of its torrent has been stayed (as Servius observed), so that in effect it can be said that it moves in reverse—but the balance of Virgilian occurrences reminds one of the picture of a frightened river, or at least one in a state of amazement; on the “venerable literary trope” see Eden. A moment of magic and wonder, even in the midst of troubling associations.

ita: Closely coordinate with 88 *ut*. “Virgil never uses *ita ut* in the sense of ‘so that’” (Mackail).

substitit: At 2.243, of the wooden horse that stopped four times at the threshold of Troy; at 2.739, of Creüsa at her disappearance; at 9.806, of the failure of Turnus to withstand the massive assault on him within the Trojan camp; at 10.711, of a boar in a simile; at 11.95, of Aeneas before the bier of Pallas; at 11.506, of Camilla’s instructions to Turnus before the cavalry engagement; at 11.609, of action during said battle; at 12.491, of Aeneas at his wounding; lastly at 12.609, of Turnus in a moment of mindless (*amens*) distress. More problematic imagery, especially of the horse, Creüsa, at the scene of Pallas’ obsequies, and of Aeneas’ own serious wound. The implication is that the current has been stilled; there will be no need to fight against it, and so the rowing will be effortless (cf. 89 ... *remo ut luctamen abesset*).

88 *mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque paludis*

mitis: Not a particularly common adjective in Virgil, occurring here only in the epic; cf. *E.* 1.80; *G.* 1.344; 448; 2.522, always in connection with fruit or the vine. The first word of the verse sets the tone (cf. 87 *leniit*). On the un-Homeric nature of the description of a pleasurable river voyage, see Clausen 1987, 152n16, “Virgil being the first epic poet to describe the special pleasure of traveling by ship.” “Evidently the sacrifices and preparations have occupied the day: the Trojans set out at the end of the day and row through the night till noon on the next day” (Williams). The adjectives *mitis* and *placidae* contribute to the continuing

nocturnal effect of the whole passage; the emphasis is on the peace of sleep that so easily relates to the slumber of death.

in morem: Thybris takes on the characteristic of a *stagnum* and a *palus*; in an eerie sense, it becomes like some sluggish underworld river that lacks a vivid current. For the phrase cf. 282 below.

stagni: Cf. 1.125–126 *emissamque hiemem sensit Neptunus et imis | stagna refusa vadis* (of Neptune's awareness of the Junonian/Aeolian storm); 6.323 *Cocyti stagna alta*; 6.330 *tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt*; 7.150 *diversi explorant: haec fontis stagna Numici*; 10.764–765 *cum pedes incedit medii per maxima Nerei | stagna viam scindens* (of Orion/Mezentius); 11.458 *dant sonitum rauci per stagna loquacia cycni* (the swan simile that describes the Latin reaction to the news of Trojan military operations); 12.139–140 ... *stagnis fluminibusque sonoris | quae praesidet* (of Juturna); 12.476–477 ... *nunc umida circum | stagna sonat* (in a Juturna simile). Once, then, of the river that is associated with Aeneas' death; 2× of Juturna and 1× of Mezentius; 2× of the underworld.

placidaeque paludis: Recalling Palinurus' rhetorical question to Somnus/Phorbas at 5.848–849 *mene salis placidi vultum fluctusque quietos | ignorare iubes?* The phrase is imitated by Apuleius, *Met.* 1.19.15. *Palus* is used at 6.107 and 438 in underworld contexts; cf. the *pulsa palus* of 7.702 (the swan-simile that describes the Neptunian Messapus' contingent); 7.801 *quae Saturae iacet atra palus* (of "dark," possibly "sinister" because "unhealthy" waters—see here Horsfall's note), in a passage that comes soon after the mention of Turnus' Numician soldiers; 10.709 (in a boar simile); 12.745 (of a vast marsh that defends the Trojans from Turnus). Undeniably peaceful waters, then, for the magically stilled Tiber—but with strong hints of the underworld, the loss of Palinurus, and a resultant sense of false calm. Cf. further on 96 below.

"A striking example of Virgil's technique of conveying the same notion in two coordinated phrases" (Fordyce). In this case, verbal echoes point to the Numicus and the Palinurus episode, with ominous import for Aeneas even as the scene is one of quiet, tranquil calm.

89 *sterneret aequor aquis, remo ut luctamen abesset.*

An imitation of 5.819 *sternitur aequor aquis, fugiunt vasto aethere nimbi*, and thus one of the closest parallels between the present scene and the Palinurus episode. The present verse is neatly framed by the imperfect subjunctives. There is a subtle contrast (not to say contradiction) between the action of the god here and what was promised at 57–58, where the assurance was given that the Tiber god would guide the Trojans against the opposing current that here is flattened out. See further Jones 2005, 66–67, who distinguishes

between the persona of the god and the actions that can be taken by the world of nature (with comparison, too, of the instructions surrounding the plucking of the Golden Bough and the circumstances of its actual discovery).

sterneret: Elsewhere in Virgil the form occurs at 11.796 *sterneret ut subita turbatam morte Camillam*, of the granting of Arruns' prayer that he might slay Camilla (though without successful appeal for his own life). Connections are thus drawn between both Palinurus and Camilla (indeed, the cavalry battle of 11 is compared to storms and the vigorous motion of the sea at 624–628). The god essentially flattens out the sea, smoothing the surface of the water to make for an easier voyage.

aquis: The syntax is difficult (perhaps deliberately so) in its ambiguity; the Tiber uses its waters, and what it accomplishes necessarily occurs in its waters, and it owns its own waters. "Aquaes ipsius aequalitatem" (Servius). Sidgwick takes it as instrumental ablative, "the phrase being strained in Vergil's manner." Effective assonance describes the action of the waters. Cf. Lucan, *BC* 3.521–522; 5.338–339; also Ovid, *Her.* 18.35–36.

luctamen: For the noun cf. *Aetna* 375; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.234; 3.39; 6.510. Not found in extant Latin before Virgil; on such neologisms see Eden's note here.

90 **ergo iter inceptum celerant rumore secundo:**

ergo iter: Also at 6.384 and 7.467–468 *ergo iter ad regem polluta pace Latinus / indicit primis iuvenum et iubet arma parari*.

iter inceptum: Cf. 6.384 *Ergo iter inceptum peragunt fluvioque propinquant* (of the approach of Aeneas and Deiphobe to the Styx, another underworld echo for the present scene); Plautus, *Merc.* 913; Ovid, *Ars* 2.226; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.399–400. The phrase conveys no indication of how much of the journey had been undertaken before this new development. *Inceptum* is used twice in Book 5 of the great undertaking that has wearied the Trojan women (678; 714); elsewhere of battle initiatives (9.694, of Turnus; 12.566, of Aeneas); of Dido's suicide preparations (4.452). *Iter inceptum* may be borrowed from military prose (*Bell. Afr.* 75.6.3; 80.3.2).

celerant: Cf. 10.249 *inde aliae celerant cursus*, of the magically transformed ships/mercreatures. R reads *peragunt* here (cf. Macrobius, *Sat.* 6.1.27; Nonius Marcellus 614–615L), likely from reminiscence of 6.384, or perhaps out of concern for the question of the length of the journey. Elsewhere in Virgil the verb describes the hasty flight of Dido and her people from Tyre (1.357); Achates' swift journey back to the ships (1.656); the nervous Trojan departure with Achaemenides (3.666); Iris's mission to the Trojan women (5.609); cf. the tex-

tually uncertain 4.641. They hasten on a journey that will require no effort in the sailing (89). Indeed, the sense of the verb may be relevant to a discussion of just how long the voyage took; for the moment, there is hasty zeal and enthusiasm in light of the various portents and omens of success. The variant *celebrant* (cf. 303 below) has little textual support. For *celerare* with an accusative see Augoustakis on Statius, *Theb.* 8.156–158.

rumore secundo: A challenging phrase of Ennian antiquity. Nonius Marcellus (614–615L) cites this verse in his entry on *rumor*, with quotes from Book 22 of Fenestella's *Annales* and Book 7 of Ennius' *Annales*, *legio rediit rumore* and *mox auferre domos populi rumore secundo* (cf. *Ann. fr.* 243 Skutsch *legio redditur rumore ruinas* / *Mox auferre domos populi rumore secundo*, with commentary ad loc. on the serious textual difficulties; Goldschmidt 2013, 210; Wigodsky 1072, 49–50; 99; 122). “A stereotyped phrase denoting the murmur of approval from a crowd. In the hexameter it naturally goes to the end ...” “*Sparso inter milites; de successu itineris bene ominantes*” (Ruaeus).

According to Macrobius (*Sat.* 6.1.37), this verse was inspired by Suetonius fr. 7 Courtney ... *redeunt, repetita ferunt rumore secundo*; little is known of the poet or the context of the fragment (and on the “poor case” for Virgilian imitation, see Wigodsky 1972, 99). Cf. Horace, *Ep.* 1.10.9; Hoogma 1959, 304 for *cum gererem fasces patriae rumore secundo* (B. 252,2). The commentators argue about the source of the encouraging murmur—sailors, or crowds on the shore—even the question of whether we should expect such noise and disturbance in the midst of war, in a largely unexplored locale (Henry). De la Cerda referred this passage to the *celeusma nauticum*, on the evidence of 10.266 *clamore secundo*; cf. 5.338 *fremitu secundo*. “Whether to punctuate before or after *rumore secundo* is a matter of individual taste” (Mackail).

Rumor is used at 4.203 ... *rumore accensus amaro* of Iarbas' anger over the news of Dido's union with Aeneas; at 7.144–145 *diditur hic subito Troiana per agmina rumor* / *advenisse diem* of the (perhaps overly optimistic) rumor that the fated day of city-founding had arrived; at 7.549 of Allecto's report to Juno about her work in instigating war in Latium; at 9.464 of the terrible reports of the deaths of Nisus and Euryalus; and at 12.228 of the rumors spread by Juturna/Camers: another troubling set of parallels. Tacitus has *secundo rumore* at *Ann.* 3.29.14 (where see Martin and Woodman); 2× in Fronto, once each in Apuleius' *Met.* and in Claudian. Cf. the anonymous tragic fragment *solvere imperat secundo rumore adversaque avi* (89 Ribbeck², on the departure of the Greeks from Troy, with Calchas in opposition to the departure).

The Medicean originally read *Rumone* here (see further above on 63), after an ancient name of the Tiber. Eden notes the double-edged textual sword here; the obscure name may well have been corrupted at an early date, while the

very obscurity may point to a “late antiquarian fiction.” Servius comments on what Conington calls “an absurd reading,” noting “aut ‘rumore’ pro ‘Rumone’ posuit,” etc., the point being that the river favored the journey. “Not at all likely” (Williams). It is possible that the name of the god was softly heard even with the reading *rumore*. Note also O’Hara 2017, 202–203 on the graduated implausibility of the Servian Rumon arguments at 62–64 and here.

The argument has also been made that *rumore secundo* has nothing to do with the shouts of men or obscure divine appellations, but rather with the ripples of the water (so Tiberius, followed by Heyne, Henry, and Hirtzel; Henry notes the work of Wagner in “undoing as usual” that of Heyne). Eden (cf. Henry) cites the example of Ausonius, *Mosel.* 21 ff. *amoena fluenta / subterlabentis tacito rumore Mosellae* (where see Green), noting that the poet may have been “inspired by an individual interpretation of Virgil’s phrase here.” “Misplaced ingenuity which puts a stop after *celerant* and explains of the ‘keel gliding with a cheerful whisper’ or ‘rippling’” (Page). Servius notes also that the phrase could refer to a good report or good reputation (the point here being that the journey was commenced under favorable auspices). One is left to wonder if the Medicean preserves the original reading here (with *secundo* as an especially appropriate descriptor for the river’s divine action), with the name of a god that would have occasioned antiquarian commentary and interest (though with straightforward meaning), as opposed to the difficult *rumore*, which invites different and conflicting interpretations. We do well to remember also that Virgilian verse revels in the more or less peaceful coexistence of diverse meanings. See further Blonk 1947, 116–117.

For the Apollonian intertexts and the literary connection between the Tiber and the Phasis, the Golden Fleece and the dream of Rome, see Nelis 2001, 335–337. For the hazards of misguided adventures into Ennian echo chambers, see Wigodsky 1972, 122.

91 *labitur uncta vadis abies; mirantur et undae,*

The opening of this verse is indebted to two Ennian fragments: *Ann.* 14.376 Skutsch *Labitur uncta carina, volat super impetus undas* (preserved by Macrobius, *Sat.* 6.1.51); *Ann.* fr. s.i. 505 *Labitur uncta carina per aequora cana celocis* (preserved by Isidore because of the rare word). We may assume that Ennius used the phrase elsewhere of ships that glide on under full sail *vel sim*. “Holo-dactylic” in Ennius to convey the notion of swiftness after 90 *celerant*. See further Thomas 1999, 30, with commentary on the conflated influence of Ennius and Catullus, c. 64.6–7 *ausi sunt vada salsa cita decurrere puppi, / caerula verrentes abiegnis aequora palmis*; also the same author’s “Catullus and the Polemics of Poetic Reference (Poem 64.1–18),” in *AJPh* 103.2 (1982), 144–164,

160 ff. On the meter of 91–95 see W.F. Jackson Knight, “Homodyne in the Fourth Foot of the Vergilian Hexameter,” in *CQ* 25.2/4 (1931), 184–194, 189.

labitur: Of the smooth glide of the divinely guided vessels. The verb form has dark associations: 3.309 (of Andromache’s swoon at Buthrotum); 5.329 (Nisus’ fateful fall, where see Fratantuono and Smith); 11.818 (of the fatally wounded Camilla); cf. 10.687 (of the ship that carries Turnus, on which see Reed 2007, 67–68); cf. the doomed horse of *G.* 3.498–499 *labitur infelix studiorum atque immemor herbae / victor equus*; also Lucan, *BC* 5.799; Silius, *Pun.* 5.526. Dido is *conlapsam* at 4.664. With the verb cf. also 107–108 below, of the glide (*adlabi*) of the Trojan vessels as they approach the Arcadian coast.

uncta: So at 4.398 ... *nata uncta carina*, of the departure of the Trojans from North Africa; for the participle cf. *G.* 3.284. The verb occurs elsewhere in the poem only of the washing of the body of Misenus before burial (6.219), and of the anointing of shafts with poison (9.773). “Caulked with pitch or wax” (Fordyce)—a technical detail very much in Virgil’s style. See further here Reed 2007, 68 (on the Ennian and Catullan intertextual interplay in Virgilian passages describing Aeneas, Turnus, and Dido): “It would be interesting to know what nation-making voyages Ennius’ verses described.”

“Always explained [as] ‘tarred,’ but boats are actually ‘greased,’ and in Ireland smeared with butter” (Page).

vadis: Cf. 5.221. The noun refers properly to water in which one could safely wade; with reference to ships it can thus be used of shoals and like hazards to navigation. In the poetic plural it can also be used simply of the sea, as here (*OLD* s.v. 4); in the context of the god’s assistance there may be a hint of the more perilous uses of the term.

abies: Also of the materials for the wooden horse (2.16); of the Trojan ships as they are threatened by fire (5.663); of the fir trees in the sacred grove near Caere (599 below); of the weapon Camilla uses to kill Euneus (11.667). For the Virgilian pine see Sargeant 1920, 8; Abbe 1965, 12–13: “The fir that shall know the perils of the sea ...” Light, and thus suitable for vessels, with long, straight timber that makes for easier ship construction. “The tallest mountain tree” (Sargeant). Poetic singular for the two biremes that set out for Pallanteum. Cf. *E.* 7.66 *populus in fluviiis, abies in montibus altis* (with Coleman’s note). For the Virgilian use of the *abies* here (as opposed to the *pinus*), see Thomas, op. cit., 147–148, 161n66. On the possible etymological derivation from *abire*, note N. Adkin, “Virgil’s Wooden Horse: Which Wood?,” in *Arctos* 45 (2011), 11–26.

mirantur: Closely coordinate with 92 *miratur* in a marvelous display of the admiration of the natural world for the unexpected sight of the amazingly rapid vessels. The repetition recalls the similar scene at 1.709 *mirantur dona Aeneae, mirantur Iulum* (of the Tyrian reaction to the presents of Aeneas, and to his

son); there is also the marveling at the Trojan horse (2.32 *et molem mirantur equi*); the Rutulian amazement at the sluggish Teucrians as they refuse to give battle (9.55). The same sort of anaphora is found at 1.421–422 *miratur / miratur*, of Aeneas at Carthage; 161 below (of Evander's state of wonder). "Laus Troianorum per phantasiam quandam ex undarum vel nemoris admiratione venientem." (Servius). Another magical moment, as the action of the god occasions the wonder of the physical landscape, even as we find shades of a journey to the underworld. On the depiction of the marvelous see A.G. McKay, "Virgilian Landscape Into Art," in Dudley 1969, 139–160, 150 ff. The pathetic fallacy (on which see R. Jenkyns in *VE* 11, 979–980; A.S. Pease, "Notes on the Pathetic Fallacy in Latin Poetry," in *CJ* 22.9 (1927), 645–657; also Z. Pavolvskis, "Man in a Poetic Landscape: Humanization of Nature in Virgil's *Eclogues*," in *CPh* 66.3 (1971), 151–168), as the waves and the grove are in a state of admiration and wonder at the unprecedented sight. Cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.544–552. The opening of Book 9 will surpass the wonder and amazement at the sailing of the ships, as Aeneas' other vessels are magically transformed into sea creatures (9.77 ff.). On the theme of wonder note M. Fernandelli, "Mirantur undae, miratur nemus': Variazione di un antico tema nel libro VIII dell'*Eneide*," in P.-A. Deproost, ed., *Extravagances: Écartés et normes dans les textes grecs et latins ...*, Paris-Montréal: L'Harmattan, 2014, 277–307. Aeneas will be lost in wonder at the vision of the arms (618–619 below).

Henry notes with disdain the old view that the reference to nature's state of wonder was evocative of Pythagorean dogma: "Alas! alas! is there no fate for pearls but to be trampled under the feet of swine?"

et undae: On the (mannered, possibly neoteric/Hellenistic) postponement of the connective see Eden.

92 *miratur nemus insuetum fulgentia longe*

miratur: For the poet's emphasis on the visual aspect of the marvel (all of which serves to anticipate the ultimate drama of the climactic, almost cinematic unveiling of the shield), see Hahn 1930, 111 (also 96–97 on the double construction with *mirari*; 237n1107 on such doubled Virgilian expressions of appearance, especially in connection with weapons and arms). For the repetition of the verb note Mackail *ad* 7.75. Geymonat and Conte report that F and the Wolfenbüttel originally read the plural here, later corrected in both manuscripts; on examination of the original of F in the Bib. Apostolica Vaticana, Smith could find absolutely no trace of any such correction of F.

nemus: On Virgil's use of words for groves to describe places of religious significance in the Iliadic *Aeneid*, see G. Capdeville, "Il paesaggio religioso in Virgilio," in *SMSR* 80 (2014), 801–820.

insuetum: The adverbial accusative *insueta* is used below at 248 to describe the bellowing of Cacus; at 6.16 *insuetum per iter* describes the fateful journey of Daedalus. Pallas sees how the Arcadians are unaccustomed to infantry engagements at 10.364. Elsewhere cf. *E.* 1.49 (with *pabula*); 5.56 (with *limen*, of the apotheosis of Daphnis). The wood or forest is unaccustomed to the sight of armed forces on the river. For trees in a state of wonder cf. *G.* 2.81–82 *exiit ad caelum ramis felicibus arbos, | miratastque novas frondes et non sua poma* (of grafting). Hints of the voyage of the Argo, and also of the invasion of the pristine, undisturbed world of nature—rumors of constant warring between the Arcadians and Latins notwithstanding. For the grove’s reaction cf. 7.515–516 *contremuit nemus et silvae insonuere profundae; | audiit et Triviae lacus, audiit amnis*; vid. Reeker 1971, 43 ff.

fulgentia: Also with *arma* at 6.490, as the ghosts of the Danaans see Aeneas and his gleaming arms; 11.6, of the arms of Mezentius on the *tropaeum*; 12.162–163, of Latinus’ temples that shine with the radiance of his crown. A similar picture occurs at 7.526–527 ... *aeaque fulgent | sole lacessita* ... The enjambment neatly conveys the sense of how the gleaming from the arms shines from afar. Virgil here distantly presages the climactic revelation of the shield of Aeneas; what nature marvels at here will soon enough be surpassed by several orders of magnitude. Again, with strong emphasis on the visual—the gleam was seen well in advance of the landing (*longe*). For the imagery of shining phenomena in the early movements of this book, and the fulfillment of the precursors in the shield, see Boyle 1986, 145. We might also think of the *fulgentia arma* at the requiem for Pallas (11.188–189). For the closing of the ring that opens here note on 593, five hundred lines later. At 684, the verb is used in another marine context.

longe: Cf. 98 *procul*.

93 *scuta virum fluvio pictasque innare carinas.*

scuta virum: With shades of a hint of the loss of men and arms at sea; cf. 1.100–101 ... *ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis | scuta virum galesque et fortia corpora volvit*, during the storm narrative; 538–539 below, of Aeneas’ prediction that the shield of men and strong bodies of heroes will be lost in the Tiber’s waters; also 6.86–87 ... *bella, horrida bella, | et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno* (of the Sibyl’s warning to Aeneas). Here the gleaming arms are safely on board ship, with reference either to the actual arms worn by the warriors, or to shield that are hung on the aft part of the vessels (so Conington). “... as in Viking galleys”—Fordyce (following Page). *Scutum* is an old word (Ennius, Lucilius); predictably more common in Virgil in the battle books (note 3.237 *disponunt ensis et scuta latentia condunt*, before the attack of the Harpies; 7.722; 7.796; 8.562 and 662

below; 9.229; 320; 666; 10.506; 12.130; 563). Once again the hint is of the invasion of a hitherto peaceful realm (so Ross 2007, 39); for the question of Latin awareness of and familiarity with the arts of civilization, see Thomas 1999, 29. The shields on the ships distantly presage the glorious divine shield of the book's final sequence. For the tradition of Sabine origins see Saunders 1930, 169–170.

fluvio: See Gransden here for the “ambivalent possibilities of Latin word-order”; the locative ablative coordinates with both the shields that “burn” on the water, and the vessels that swim/sail along the course of the river.

pictas ... carinas: “A stock epithet” (Fordyce *ad* 7.431), here with continuing emphasis on the splendor of the miniature expedition to Pallanteum. Cf. 7.431, of Calybe's/Allecto's instructions to Turnus to burn the Trojan ships; the *pictas ... puppis* that are threatened with fire at 5.663; Horace, c. 1.14.14; Ovid, *Met.* 3.639; 6.511; Lucan, *BC* 3.510–511. The reference may be to encaustic paint, i.e., to colored wax that has been melted and then applied to the hull; the color (derived from minerals) would be for purely ornamental, aesthetic reasons, though the painting and caulking were aimed at the practical need for waterproofing the vessel. There may be a hint of the special honor and dignity of these ships that serve as ambassadorial vessels of the Trojan leader to potential allies. See further Casson 1971, 211–212. In this case the chromatic detail continues the striking visual imagery; the green woods set off the sight of the shining arms and the colored vessels that swim the great river. A suitably theatrical depiction of one of a proto-Roman naval exercise, we might think. Henry is certain that the ships were painted red.

innare: The verb occurs 7× in the epic (twice in the *G.*, 2.451; 3.142); at 6.134 and 369 it is used of the entry into the underworld's waters; at 8.651 of the depiction of Cloelia's famous swim on the shield; 8.691–692 ... *pelago credas revulsas / Cycladas* of the dramatic depiction of Actium as the centerpiece of the shield; 10.222 of the transformed Trojan ships as they engage in a playful romp; at 11.549 of Metabus as he prepares to cross the Amasenus with the infant Camilla, at a moment of fear and heightened anxiety. Only here, then, of ships; twice of the fording of the rivers of Avernus; 1× each of Cloelia and Camilla (who have affinities), and once of the climactic engagement between Antony, Cleopatra, and Caesar. Cf. Columella, *DRR* 10.1.1.388 *Tum pueros eadem fluviis innare docebit*.

“The first half of the eighth book is couched in a setting reminiscent of that surrounding the Hades-experience in book 6. The hero's dealings with Charon and Tiber express this especially well” (George 1974, 98).

94 olli remigio noctemque diemque fatigant.

The verse is reminiscent of the final line of Book 2 of Homer's *Odyssey*, of the journey of Telemachus to Pylos (*Od.* 2.434), where the ship cleaves its way

through the night and the following dawn. Aeneas will be cast in something of the role of a son with respect to Evander; the Odyssean hero of the first half of the epic is cast now in this Homeric role, now in that.

olli: For the (conscious) archaism see Fordyce *ad* 7.458; Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.10; Harrison *ad* 10.745. Here it may contribute to the otherworldly atmosphere and mysterious vignette.

remigio: Cf. 89 ... *remo ut luctamen abesset*, where the point was that the god's action had obviated the need for any effort in the sailing; now the poet pictures the sailors as wearying the night and day with their sailing—the effort, that is, is expended by nature and not the men. Very different is the depiction of the enthusiastic but exhausting sailing of the regatta.

noctemque diemque fatigant: Cf. 5.766 *complexi inter se noctemque diemque morantur* (before the departure from Sicily); *noctemque diemque* is frequent in astronomical verse (Germanicus, *Arat.* 434; 498); Manilius, *Astron.* 1.578; 3.23; 396; 463; 744a; note also Statius, *Theb.* 6.335; 7.398; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.89; Silius, *Pun.* 1.604; 4.81; 15.576. The verse has occasioned difficulty for its clear enough indication that the Trojan biremes sailed for at least part of a night and a day. “Sans doute la nuit est claire; cela n'est pas dit expressément, mais la description le suppose: les ondes, les bois, que Virgile anime, voient avec étonnement les boucliers étincelants des guerriers ... et les carènes peintes voguant sur la fleuve” (Cartault 1926, 597). The scene is one of the conquest of nature, of the triumph of the civilizing influences over wilder forces—but it is simultaneously one of disruption of the natural progress and cycle of the world's rhythms. “It is interesting that the phrase *noctemque diemque*, though there are several similar ones, occurs in Virgil only at 8.94 and 5.766, ten lines before the Palinurus episode” (Dyson 2001, 70n46).

On the mention of night and day here Mandra 1930, 142 notes: “... there is nothing sufficiently impressive in the activity of the night to warrant us in considering the time elapsed under the general title of ‘night’. The mere fact that the poet happens to mention “noctem” before “diem” ... for the sake of chronological accuracy is not a valid reason ... for the night travel there are only lines, 8.86–8.94.”

Fatigare is used elsewhere in Virgil of the wearying work of Juno (1.279–280 ... *quin aspera Iuno, | quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat*); of Thracian Harpalyce's equestrian exercises (1.316–317 ... *vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat | Harpalyce*); of Aeneas' warnings to his men before the departure from Carthage (4.572 *corripit e somno corpus sociosque fatigat*); of the depiction of Ganymede on the cloak of Cloanthus (5.253); of Phoebus' tiring out of Deiphobe (6.79–80); of Deiphobus' question to Aeneas (6.533 ... *an quae te fortuna fatigat?*); of Amata and her fellow *matres* (7.582 *undique collecti coeunt*

Martemque fatigant, where see Fordyce); of an animal's seething, growing rage concerning the desire to eat (9.63); of the harsh, hunting lifestyle of the Latins (9.605 *venatu invigilant pueri silvasque fatigant*, where the very forests are said to be exhausted by the chase); of Tarchon's ship (10.303–304 ... *doro dum pendet iniquo | anceps sustentata diu fluctusque fatigant*); of Latinus' comments about the Trojans (11.306–307 ... *quos nulla fatigant | proelia*); of the doomed Ligurian's attempted escape from Camilla (11.713–714). Here the verb coordinates closely with 90 *celerant*, as Aeneas and his men are depicted as wearying both night and day with their enthusiastic, hurried sailing. For the practicalities of the journey, including how the Trojans "would have found it necessary to stop during the hours of darkness, a tedious interruption which the poet did well to avoid," see L.A. Holland, "Forerunners and Rivals of the Primitive Roman Bridge," in *TAPA* 80 (1949), 281–319, 301. For how the present passage is emblematic of the "true Roman delight in the quieter moods of nature," see W.W. Hyde, "The Ancient Appreciation of Mountain Scenery," in *CJ* 11.2 (1915), 70–84, 83.

95 et longos superant flexus, variisque teguntur

superant: Cf. 9.314 *Egressi superant fossas ...* (of Nisus and Euryalus); for Virgilian uses of the verb in nautical contexts, *E.* 8.6; *A.* 1.244. The verb echoes 58 *superes*.

flexus: The noun occurs only here in the epic; cf. *G.* 1.244 *maximus hic flexu sinuoso elabitur Anguis*; 3.14–15 ... *tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat | Mincius et tenera praetexit harundine ripas*; also Pliny, *NH* 5.113.3–4 *ita sinuosus flexibus* (of the Maenander); Silius, *Pun.* 15.621 ... *sinuosis flexibus amnis*. With *longos ... flexus* cf. Manilius, *Astron.* 1.569–570 *in quo consummat Phoebus lucemque moramque | tardque per longos circumfert lumina flexus*. There is no contradiction with 8.57 ... *recto flumine ducam*; Tiberinus gave assurances about the manner of the forthcoming voyage, not the topography of the river (for which *longos ... flexus* is eminently suitable as a description). *Longos* emphasizes the length of the voyage, even for the swift sailors. Serpentine imagery for the river, which recalls the epiphany of the snake on the tomb of Anchises (cf. Danielis' commentary here).

teguntur: Perhaps with an emphasis on the protective canopy of trees that overhangs the Trojan vessels; there may also be a reminiscence of the association of dark woods with journeying into the underworld (cf. 6.271 *est iter in silvis*; cf. 6.282–284; also the forest scene of the preparations for Misenus' requiem at 6.176 ff.).

variis: With 96 *arboribus* in imitation of Lucretius, *DRN* 5.786 *arboribusque datumst variis exinde per auras*, where the "varied" nature of the trees refers to the splendid diversity of creation (see further Campbell ad loc.). See further

Fordyce on 7.32 (of avian diversity). “The whole passage is eminently characteristic of Virg., both in its general feeling and in its abstinent brevity. He is paying a tribute, we may remember, to the beauty of the river of Rome” (Conington). The trees effectively overhang two verses; for the lovely, evocative imagery cf. the reference to ... *fluvio Tiberinus amoeno* at 31. For the “formalised pattern” of adjective, verb, noun x2, with the final element delayed to the next verse, see Eden ad loc. and his Appendix.

96 *arboribus, viridisque secant placido aequare silvas.*

arboribus: The trees and the forest frame the line, in imitation of the dense foliage that envelops the scene of the Trojan river journey; on this stylistic device with words of similar or identical “semantic register” see Dainotti 2015, 224n688.

placido aequare: Cf. 88 ... *placidaeque paludis*; 10.103 *tum Zephyri posuere, premit placida aequora pontus*. The adjective occurs with *aequor* also at Propertius, c. 1.8a.19–20 *ut te felici post victa Ceraunia remo / accipiat placidis Oricos aequoribus*; Manilius, *Astron.* 4.285; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.23.3–4. The ablative has locative force, one might think; for a spirited defense of the ablative of means/instrument, see Henry: “To carry out the view of Servius and his followers, and convict Virgil of the clap-trap, the word *in* is wanting, a very little word, indeed, but here sufficient by its absence or presence to acquit or condemn a great poet, to discharge him out of court with green and flourishing laurels, or send him to keep company forever with felon Serviuses and Laureates.” For the synaloepha see Gransden’s note; also “Zur Elision anapästischer Wörter bei Vergil und Statius,” in *Glotta* 50.1/2 (1972), 97–120; P.J. Enk, “De Lydia et Diris Carminibus,” in *Mnem.* 47.4 (1919), 382–409, 404: “Synaloepha syllabae longae vocabuli anapaestici ante quintam arsin ... neque in Bucolicis neque in Georgicis ... in Aeneide ter modo legitur ... II, 658 ... IV, 420 ... VIII, 96.” The underworld echoes and the eerie calm of the sea that is reminiscent of the Palinurus episode may work together to create an uneasy sense of disquiet amid the peace.

viridisque ... silvas: The word order enacts the cutting of the green wood. Cf. Ps.-V., *Culex* 382; *Ciris* 196. The chromatic adjective offers an effective sound echo after 95 *variis*. For the color see above on 83.

secant: A noteworthy puzzle: do the Trojans merely cut through the trees that overhang their course, or do they cut the reflection of the bower that appears on the surface of the stilled (*placido*) waters? The latter image was offered by Servius (followed by Benoist; Mackail); Conington wonders if the idea would be “too modern” for the poet (followed by Page; Eden emphasizes the lack of explicit mention in the text that the trees are reflected), while Fordyce thinks

that Virgil probably has the “simpler” idea in mind; note Henry’s lengthy commentary against any possibility of cloven reflections. The former picture is the more vivid and artful, and it is reflective of the disturbance of nature in a manner that is more effective than the mere passage of the vessels through the thick, overhanging brood of trees. See further here the careful analysis of M.E. Campbell, “*Aeneid* 8.96,” in *The Classical Weekly* 18.17 (1925), 132–134. Of course the cutting through the “real” trees and the cleaving of the reflection are both happening at the same time, and *secant* in an important sense excludes neither possibility. Cf. also 63 above, of the Tiber’s cutting its way through fertile countryside. There is likely no hint at the Tiber’s old name Serra (cf. 63 above, and vid. O’Hara 2017, 202–203).

“Sic igitur haec esset sententia: Superant longos flexus riparum silvis tectarum, quarum imago in speculo aquae redditur.” (Forbiger). On the carefully crafted visual picture, see Williams 1968, 654 ff. “This passage shows that delicate and sympathetic appreciation of natural scenery is not exclusively modern” (Tetlow).

97 sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem

The periphrasis for the noon hour is Homeric; cf. *Il.* 8.67–68 (= 11.84 ff.), with Kirk’s note. Servius notes that a new day has commenced; Virgil has omitted all mention of the dawn of this “second day” (*alterius diei*). Ps.-Hyginus Gromaticus has *nam cum sol orbem medium conscendit ...* (*Const. Limit.* 150.12–13). Sunrise, sunset, noon and midnight could occasion flights of poetic fancy; cf. Seneca’s mockery of the “bombastic circumlocutions of times of year and day beloved by poetasters” (so P.T. Eden) at *Apoc.* 2.4 *iam medium curru Phoebus dividerat orbem, etc.*

sol: On the Virgilian sun see J.F. Miller in *VE* III, 1228–1229. The poet associates the sun with the absence of storms (1.143), and with the day of labor (1.431); the sun god’s celebrated chariot offers a noteworthy image for solar personification (1.568). Solar eclipses are noted among the subjects in the song of Iopas (1.742), as well as the haste of winter suns to dip in the ocean (1.745). The rainbow is mentioned in connection with the sun (4.701; 5.89). The sun is a common metonymy for day (3.203; cf. 3.568; the lovely dawn expression at 9.459–461). The realm of the shades has no sun (6.534), though Elysium has its own (6.641). The god Sol is sometimes clearly enough identified as such (cf. 4.607 *Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras*, in Dido’s invocation; Aeneas’ oath at 12.176); Latinus is a descendant of the solar god (12.162–164), and he presents the absent Aeneas with a gift of solar horses at 7.280–283, twin steeds of the stock that *daedala Circe* had raised from horses she had stolen from her father the sun—bastards (*nothos*) that were born of theft (*furata*). This last passage may reflect

something of the state of affairs in central Italy in the wake of the Trojan arrival in Latium; *daedala* of Circe echoes the importance of Daedalus to the doors of Apollo's temple in Cumae.

medium ... orbem: Cf. the similar description of *G.* 1.209–210 *Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas / et medium luci atque umbris iam dividit orbem*; *G.* 4.426; *A.* 3.512 *necdum orbem medium Nox Horis acta subibat*.

conscenderat: The verb occurs also at 1.180, where Aeneas mounts a crag in North Africa; 1.381, where Aeneas tells his disguised mother of how he had started his journey; 1.180; 4.646, of Dido mounting her pyre; 10.155, of Tarchon's men as they board ship; 12.736, of Turnus mounting his horse at a particularly fateful moment. For the use of the pluperfect to describe something that “is no longer of interest to the narrative,” see Mack 1978, 46 (also 50–51, on the rapid temporal progression of the narrative of the journey to and arrival at Pallanteum). The Trojans have their sea voyage, and the sun has his own journey across the heavens.

igneus: Cf. 4.352 *nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt*; 6.730 *igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo*; 11.746 *... volat igneus aequore Tarchon*; 3× in the *G.*, one of which is exactly parallel to the present use: 4.426 *ardebat caelo et medium sol igneus orbem*. We have moved from the still of the night to the blazing, fiery light of midday. The adjective is conventional; there is likely no hint of the threat of fire in war. For the “fiery sun” note also *Ps.-V.*, *Culex* 42 *igneus aetherias iam sol penetrabat in auras*; Manilius, *Astron.* 1.513–514 *... quotiensque recurrens / lustrarit mundum vario sol igneus orbe*.

The present verse was used by Proba in her centonic narrative of the crucifixion (*de Laud. Christi* 607); vid. Kallendorf 2015, 73–74; Ziolkowski and Putnam 2008, 479 ff.; for general commentary on the Virgilian appropriations, Schottemius Cullhed 2015; also McGill 2005.

98 cum muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum

muros ... arcem: So of the foundation of Carthage at 1.423–424 *instant ardentem Tyrrii: pars ducere muros / molirique arcem et manibus subvolvere saxa*; cf. Livy 4.34.2.5; 5.21.6.2–7.1; Silius, *Pun.* 5.123. A moment of subtle, understated splendor. We have advanced already in the opening movements of the book from the Latins to Alba Longa to Rome: 1.6–7 *... genus unde Latinum / Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae*. See Henry here on the essential components of a city, i.e., the walls and the houses (and cf. 101 *... urbique propinquant*).

arcemque: A citadel that represents resistance and challenge, we might think, to the citadel of the book's opening verse, as Turnus lifted high his battle banner. Walls and citadel work together to create an image of fortification and security in the midst of war. A most important citadel: cf. 313 below.

procul: Cf. 92 *longe*; also 112 below. The gleaming arms of the Trojans could be seen from afar, and now the Arcadian settlement can be glimpsed in the bright light of noon even at a distance. The diastole of *procul* (on which phenomenon see Fordyce *ad* 7.174, with particular reference to Homeric/Ennian precedent, and to Plautian prosody; cf. also Eden's long note) is perhaps without special dramatic effect, unless the point is to highlight the dramatic first appearance of Pallanteum. Cf. 363 below (*subiit*); other examples in the epic include 1.478; 651; 668; 2.369; 563; 3.91; 461; 504; 4.64; 222; 5.284; 521; 853; 6.126; 254; 768; 7.174; 398; 9.9; 610; 10.383; 433; 872; 11.69 (*languentis*—a good example of where diastole clearly serves to express the sense); 111; 323; 469; 12.13; 68; 363; 422; 550; 772; 883.

rara: The adjective is used at moments of high emotional intensity; cf. 1.118, of the men who bob about here and there as playthings of the Junonian storm; 3.314, of the choked words of Aeneas as he addresses Andromache at Buthrotum; even the *lumina rara* of 9.189, and *rara semita* of 9.383 that in a sense frame the fateful night raid; and note also 4.131 (of the *rara retia* at the hunt in Carthage); 10.122 (of a *rara corona* of men). Here the Arcadian dwellings are scattered here and there, as if in evocation of some peaceful village, though in close proximity to the walls and citadel; the *rejet* of the noun effectively enacts the image of the almost seemingly random placement of the cottages. Virgil describes here not the familiar urban *vicus* of later times, but possibly something more akin to an agricultural district with several adjacent farms and homesteads (see further here Lott 2004, 81 ff.). Ovid imitates the present scene at *Fast.* 5.93–94.

99 *tecta vident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo*

tecta: *Tecta domorum* is a Lucretian line-end (*DRN* 2.191, where see Fowler; 6.223); cf. *A.* 12.132–133 *invalidique senes turris ac tecta domorum / obsedere*; Statius, *Theb.* 1.653–654 *lene magis cordi quod desolata domorum / tecta vides*. These are the same dwellings that will soon enough hear the news of both the victory and the death of the young hero Pallas (11.139–141). “Virgil prefers the plural, which is metrically more flexible than the singular” (Austin *ad* 6.13).

vident: Again, with emphasis on the visual. The dwellings the Trojan visitors glimpse will one day be raised to the heavens (*tecta* and *caelo* dramatically framing the line).

quae: “Sane, pronomen relativum non pertinet ad eos muros eave tecta quae Aeneas eiusque comites viderunt ... Sed sic breviter scripsit poeta, cum cogitavit haec: “quae tecta et muri fuerunt de illo genere rerum, in quo sunt etiam haec quae nunc Romana potentia ...”; hoc est, scripsit *quae*, in mente quoque habuit *quod genus*.” (A. Poutsma, “Aberratur ab uno ad universa et contrarie,” in *Mnem.* 40 (1912), 258).

Romana potentia: A dramatic, perhaps unexpected revelation that turns the peaceful scene into a powerful evocation of the poet's contemporary world of Augustan glory. The present passage connects closely with 1.33 *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*; now, in the midst of war, Aeneas and his Trojans glimpse (for the first time) the actual site of the heart of future Roman power; we are reminded also of the colloquy of Jupiter and Venus and their mention of the future *Romani* (1.234; 277; 282). Jupiter's messenger Mercury reminded Aeneas about the Roman land that was owed to Ascanius (4.234; 275–276 ... *cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus | debetur*); during the regatta (with its symbolic emphasis on the journey home to Italy), the poet narrator noted that Cloanthus was the progenitor of the Roman *gens Cluentia* (5.123); cf. the mention of the citadels of Rome at 10.12 (Jupiter's evocation of the future war between Carthage and Rome). The image of the future Romans is a powerful feature of the eschatological visions of the sixth *Aeneid* (788–789; 810–811; 857–858; 870–871); cf. Anchises' haunting *tu regere imperio, Romane, memento* (6.851); the powerful authorial intervention at 9.446–499 (of Nisus and Euryalus); 12.166 ... *Romanae stirpis origo* (of Aeneas); 827–828 *sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago: | occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia* (Juno to Jupiter)—a passage that works a striking refinement (not to say change) on the early mention in the book of the Trojan hero's status as the origin of the Roman stock. Cf. also 313, 338, and 361 below (during the sojourn in Pallanteum); 714 (of the shield). For the problems posed by the equation of Rome and the heavens/Olympus, with reference to Lucretius' *nos exaequat victoria caelo* (*DRN* 1.79) and the different nuances of the “future Rome” scenes in the underworld at Pallanteum, see Hardie 1986, 196–197.

potentia: A relatively rare word in Virgil. Venus addresses her son Cupid at 1.664, as she makes arrangements for his trick with Ascanius and Dido; Juno notes indignantly at the divine council, *quis deus in fraudem, quae dura potentia nostra | egit?* (10.72–73); cf. the *potentia* of the sun at *G.* 1.92. With the line-end cf. Ovid, *Met.* 8.618–619. Seneca has *caelestis potentia* (*Ep.* 41.5.3).

For the possible etymological connection between *Romana potentia* and *Roma*/ῥώμη, see O'Hara 2017, xxix.

On the lovely setting and evocation of the primitive state of Italy, see Brisson 1966, 307 ff.

100 **aequavit, tum res inopes Evandrus habebat.**

aequavit: Verbs frame the line; we move from the perfect of the timeless future to the imperfect of the immediate scene at humble Pallanteum. With the present passage cf. 6.781–782 *en huius, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma | impe-*

rium terris, animos aequabit Olympo. For the hyperbole of epideictic literature, see Gransden; on the imagery of the future city and its glory, E.J. Kondratieff, "Future City in the Heroic Past: Rome, Romans and Roman Landscapes in *Aeneid* 6–8," in Kemezis 2015, 165–288, 196–197. For the verb with *caelo* cf. 4.89 ... *aequataque machina caelo* (of the unfinished works in Carthage); Statius, *Theb.* 4.359 *aequatos caelo*; Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.34.22 *Marci Ciceronis libro quo Catonem caelo aequavit ...*; and perhaps most especially *A.* 11.125 *vir Troiane, quibus caelo te laudibus aequem?* (Drances to Turnus).

tum: R and several Carolingians (also Tib.) read *tunc* here (in response to 99 *nunc*). On the "not yet ... then' motif," see A.S. Hollis, "Hellenistic Colouring in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *HSCPh* 94 (1992), 269–285, 279 ff. The spirit of this scene is identical to that of the opening of Propertius' c. 4.1 '*Hoc, quodcumque vides, hospes, qua maxima Roma est, | ante Phrygem Aenean collis et herba fuit; | atque ubi Navali stant sacra Palatia Phoebo, | Evandri profugae concubuerunt boves.*' (1–4, on which see Coutelle ad loc. for "l'opposition entre la Rome contemporaine et la Rome primitive et légendaire," with extensive commentary). The topos also appears at Ovid, *Fast.* 5.91–94 *exul ab Arcadia Latios Evander in agros | venerat, impositos attuleratque deos. | hic, ubi nunc maxima Roma est, orbis caput, arbor et herbae | et paucae pecudes et casa rara fuit* (where see Schilling).

res inopes: Cf. Plautus, *Rud.* 282 *sed haec pauperes res sunt inopesque, puellae*. The description is of particular interest in terms of Aeneas' mission to seek allies in the Latin war; Evander is depicted as having very little indeed. After the brief, striking mention of the future glory of Roman power, we return at once to the impoverished present. Williams notes the effective rhyming that draws emphasis to a key phrase. Cf. the *pauper senatus* of 105.

Evandrus: The Arcadian king is subtly reintroduced as the custodian of the modest settlement that will one day be the Rome of immense power. Aeneas is very much cast in the role of visitor here; he has regressed, even, in "heroic" age by the evocation of the journey of Telemachus in search of news of his father. Virgil always uses this form of the nominative, except at 10.515 *Evander*, which led to Bentley's conjecture of *Evandrus* there; see further Harrison ad loc. Evander will be something of a surrogate father to Aeneas, a new Anchises whose appearance links the opening movements of the first and last books of the epic's second third, as we move from the memorial games for Anchises to the reality of the embassy to Pallanteum in time of war. On the larger issue of the resemblance of the Evander scene to the welcome given to the Trojans in Dido's Carthage, see Powell 2008, 155.

"... tandem ad Italiam venit, ostium Tiberis intrans, ibique pro pace satis agens petiit et amicitiae Evandri iunctus est et auxilio Tuscorum additus est" (*Myth. Vat.* 2.100.7).

habebat: For the expression of “information in retrospect,” where the contrasting times of story and narration must be coordinated, see Adema 2008, 159.

101 *ocius advertunt proras urbique propinquant.*

With this verse cf. 12.555–556 *iret ut ad muros adverteret agmen | ocius et subita turbaret clade Latinos* (of Venus’ contrivance of the idea of having Aeneas attack the Latin capital). On the evocation of Odysseus’ landing at Phaeacia (*Od.* 5.450 ff.), see Putnam 1966, 121–122.

ocius: The adverb occurs a striking 4× in the present book (cf. 278; 444; 555); otherwise at 4.294; 5.828; 9.402; 10.786; 12.556 and 681. The sight of the settlement spurs the sailors on to even more vigorous effort. For the epiphonema as Virgil transitions to his next scene, see Gransden’s note; here the effect is especially pronounced, as Aeneas takes a most dramatic step forward in the advancement of the Trojan/Roman destiny—he draws near to the city that is the future capital of *Romana potentia*. For the popularity of such comparative adverbs in colloquial speech (as in comedy), see Eden. For the use of *ocius* in the sense of “pretty quick” see Harrison on 10.786–788.

advertunt proras: The same expression occurs at 7.35 *flectere iter socii ter-raeque advertere proras*; also 10.293 *advertit subito proras ...* (of Tarchon).

urbique: A key word in the context of the description of the nascent Rome; the walls and citadel and scattered houses are somewhat anachronistically referred to as a city. For a study of the different scenes in the epic in which Aeneas is depicted as approaching a settlement, see Adler 2003, 18 ff. (with particular reference to how Carthage is the exception to the rule that religious associations are soon given for each new locale). For the dative with *propinquare* see Antoine 1882, 120, and cf. 2.730; 6.410.

propinquant: For the verb in nautical contexts cf. 5.159 (of the *Pristis* and the Centaurus in the ship race); 5.185 (of Sergestus’ boat in the regatta, also as it nears the *meta*); 6.410 (of Charon’s vessel); note also its use twice in quick succession during the narrative of the departure from Troy (2.730; 733); twice in the account of the night raid of Nisus and Euryalus (9.355; 371); twice during the cavalry battle in Book 11 (597; 621); once in Aeneas’ prayer to Cybele (10.254); once of the *vis inimica* that is approaching Turnus, as Juno warns his sister Juturna of his doom (12.150). A strikingly balanced set of uses, then: twice in the parallel Books 5 and 11; twice each in the second and second to last books; twice in the night raid; once in a divine context involving Aeneas, and once in an immortal colloquy about Turnus; once of the Trojan approach to Pal-lanteum, and once of Charon’s underworld ferry. The use of the compound *adpropinquare* with *urbi* is standard military prose for approaching a city, cf.

Caesar, *BC* 2.7.3.2; Livy 3.8.8.2; 31.24.7.3; 33.1.5.1; 39.49.8.2. The detail about the near approach to the city has occasioned comment, since it is not strictly accurate given the presence of a grove; L. Delaruelle suggested *ripae* for *urbi* (“Virgile, *Aen.* VIII, 101,” in *Revue de Philologie* 36 (1912), 309–312). But Virgil cares deeply about the image of the city of Pallanteum, and he is not, in any case, concerned with precise topographical detail; see further on 104 below. See further here Ellis 1985, 16–17.

The conclusion of the rites at Anchises’ grave comes at 5.103, before the ninth day brings with it the promise of the memorial games for Aeneas’ father. Virgil now proceeds to detail a similar and yet different celebration, one that brings with it a new family for the Trojan hero to embrace, and the high noon of the first day of an inexorable advance toward new tragedy.

102–125 The Trojans arrive at Pallanteum on a festal day for the god Hercules. The Arcadians are frightened by the advent of the unexpected strangers, with the exception of Evander’s son Pallas, who questions who they are and why they have come. Aeneas announces his peaceful mission to seek allies in his struggle against the Latins. For the Apollonian model of the visit of the Argonauts to the Mariandyni (*Arg.* 2.752–898), see Nelis 2001, 359–364.

The *Roman d’Enéas* has a lovely description of the Trojan arrival, with no hint of the tension and anxiety of Virgil’s account: *Adont vindrent soz Palantee, / bois ot par toute la contree / sor le Toinvre par le rivage; / il aloient amont a nage, / soz les arbres le couvert tindrent, / jusque dessouz la cité vindrent* (4699–4704 Petit).

102 Forte die sollemnem illo rex Arcas honorem

Forte die ... illo: Servius notes the omen of good fortune for the Trojans, namely that they arrive on the day of a religious ceremony. The adverb makes the arrival date of the Trojans seem a matter of chance and luck, of providence and evident divine favor.

sollemnem ... honorem: Cf. Livy 2.61.9.2. For the possible etymological link with the idea of annual celebrations see O’Hara 2017, 203. The adjective occurs in the ominous context of 2.201–202 *Laocoön, ductus Neptuno sorte sacerdos, / sollemnis taurum ingentem mactabat ad aras*; also at 3.301 *sollemnis cum forte dapes et tristia dona* (at Buthrotum); 5.53 *annua vota tamen sollemnisque ordine pompas* (of the yearly rites for Anchises); 5.605 *dum variis tumulo referunt sollemnia ludis* (at the start of the episode of the burning of the ships); 6.380 *et statuent tumulum et tumulo sollemnia mittent* (of the promised honors for Palinurus); 8.185 (of the present liturgy); 9.626 *ipse tibi ad tua templa feram sollemnia dapes* (Ascanius’ promise to Jupiter before his archery shot); 12.192–

193 *sacra deosque dabo; socer arma Latinus habeto, | imperium sollemne sacer* (Aeneas' oath). 2× each, then, of the rituals of Books 5 and 8; 2× in connection with Laocoön and Palinurus; once of the arrival at the “toy Troy” of Helenus and Andromache, and once of the promise of Aeneas about what he is willing to cede to the Latins—an oath that will prove interesting in light of the revelation of the final divine settlement of affairs in Latium. See further Bailey 1935, 78–79.

The parallel rites of *Odyssey* 3 take place at dawn near the citadel of Nestor's Pylos; the offerings there are of bulls to Poseidon (cf. Laocoön's solemn rites in *A.* 2). Conington notes the precise details of Homer's sacrifice ritual, in contrast with the generalities of Virgil's description. On the Homeric intertext see further Klingner 1967, 529 ff.

The rites in honor of Hercules at the celebrated Ara Maxima in the Forum Boarium (cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 1.579–582 *immolat ex illis taurum tibi, Iuppiter, unum | victor et Evandrum ruriscolasque vocat. | constituitque sibi, quae Maxima dicitur, aram, | hic ubi pars Urbis de bove nomen habet*) that Virgil now begins to describe are also referenced at Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 1.40; the liturgical functions in honor of the god are the subject of Propertius, c. 4.9 (where see Hutchinson, and Coutelle; also Günther 2006, 387 ff.); cf. Livy 1.7.3, where Evander assures Hercules of the future glory of his altar (*aram hic dicatum iri quam opulentissima olim in terris gens maximam vocet tuoque ritu colat*, where see Ogilvie). On the location of the “monumental altar ... the oldest and most revered center of Hercules' cult in Rome,” see Haselberger et al. 2002, 136; cf. Platner and Ashby 1926, 253; Richardson 1992, 186–187; *LTUR* III, 15–17; *AAR* 423–424. Tacitus mentions the loss of the altar in the Great Fire of A.D. 64 (*Ann.* 15.41 ... *et magna ara fanumque, quae praesenti Herculi Arcas Evander sacraverat*; it was eventually restored); cf. Juvenal, s. 8.13 (with Courtney). Strabo mentions the rites referenced here (5.3.3), with citation of the view that the Greek ritual of the liturgy constituted proof that Rome was in origin a Greek city. Note also Lucius Cassius Hemina's account (F3 Cornell); Gaius Acilius (?), F7 Cornell; Gnaeus Gellius (F17 Cornell).

There would seem to have been a connection between the annual rites of the god c. 12–13 August, and the great triple triumph of 29 B.C.; it is easy to draw a connection between Herculean and Caesarian achievements. For the problems posed by the historical tradition surrounding the triumphs of 29, see especially Lange 2016, 125 ff.

On the early history of the worship of Hercules in Italy, see Small 1982, 27–28: “The Greek Herakles seems never to have been fully assimilated into the Roman culture. He demonstrates his Greekness by the form of his worship at the Ara Maxima ... and by his continuing status as a visitor, never a settler, in Rome.”

Hercules is a problematic god in Augustan ideology, given his association with Mark Antony (who claimed descent from Hercules' son Anton); at the end of the god's speech in Propertius' etiological elegy, he references his service to Omphale, and his cross-dressing: *idem ego Sidonia feci servilia palla | officia et Lydo pensa diurna colo, | mollis et hirsutum cepit mihi fascia pectus, | et manibus duris apta puella fui* (c. 4.9.47–50), a reminiscence of the humiliation of the god that may have been inspired by Antony's servitude to Cleopatra (vid. Lange 2009, 175; also T.S. Welch, "Masculinity and Monuments in Propertius 4.9," in *AJPh* 125.1 (2004), 61–90). One wonders if in some sense the point of Octavian's arrival in Rome on the very day after the Hercules festival of 12 August (cf. Virgil's *Forte die ... illo*; Binder 1971, 42 ff.; 145 ff.; Harrison 1995, 177–178) was not a deliberate attempt to illustrate his victory not over Antony, but its attendant, implicit usurpation of the glory of his defeated enemy's ancestor. On the associations of Hercules and Augustus see Nisbet and Rudd *ad* Horace, c. 3.14.1 *Herculis ritu*. For exploration of the idea that the *Aeneid* is a sort of *Heracleid*, see Newman and Newman 2005, 329 ff.

For the comparative rarity of Virgilian descriptions of contemporary religious rituals, see Bailey 1935, 98; and, for general commentary on the present passage, 55 ff.

P and R here read *sollemne* (cf. Nonius Marcellus 501L).

Arcas: The singular of the nominal adjective occurs also at 10.239 and 12.518; cf. 129 below.

103 *Amphitryonidae magno divisque ferebat*

The solemnity of the ritual and the striking splendor of its liturgical glory is expressed effectively by the (rare) four-word hexameter; cf. 158; 263; 490. They were employed more liberally by Ovid, who has 59 such verses in the *Met.*, vs. 22 in the *Aeneid*; on the question of whether or not they were considered elegant, and with special consideration of how Statius chose to open the *Achilleid* with one (1.1–2 *Magnanimum Aeaciden formidatamque Tonanti | progeniem*), see P.J. Davis, "Statius' *Achilleid*: The Paradoxical Epic," in Dominik et al. 2015, 157–172, 159. See further Dainotti 2015, 79–80n261 (with complete listing of the relevant Virgilian verses).

Amphitryonidae: A majestic patronymic, as Virgil commences his narrative of the grand Herculean rites of worship; vid. Klause 1993, 105–106. "Mot sonore" (Heuzé 2015, ad loc.). For the background mythology of Hercules' mortal father, see Christenson 2000, 45–47. Catullus uses this poetic periphrasis for Hercules at c. 68B.112 *audit falsiparens Amphitryoniades*; cf. Propertius, c. 4.9.1 *Amphitryoniades qua tempestate iuencos | egerat a stabulis, o Erythea, tuis*; Lucan, BC 9.644 *Amphitryoniades vidit, cum vinceret, hydram*; Ovid, *Met.* 9.140 ("Das

Patronymikon est seit der älteren Dichtung verbreitet"—Bömer); 15.49; Petronius, *Sat.* 123.1.206; Statius, *Theb.* 5.401; 6.312; 8.499; 10.647; 11.47; *Silv.* 4.6.33; *Ach.* 1.190; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.375; 635. Note also below on 214; for the possible connection of the appellation with the notion of growth, pasturing, fertility and vegetation, see Paschalis 1997, 279n18. The commentators compare the parallel scene at 3.19–20 *sacra Dionaeae matri divisque ferebam | auspibus coeptorum operum*. The opening of the verse compels the reader to linger over the name of the great god, who is introduced from the start in the context of a father-son relationship, though one that is at variance with his "true" parentage (cf. the situation of Aeneas, Evander, and Pallas that is soon to unfold).

On Hercules see especially G.K. Galinsky in *VE* 11, 603–604 and *EV* 11, 361–363, and his "Hercules in the *Aeneid*" in Harrison 1990, 277–294 (reprinted from Galinsky 1972). Apart from a passing reference at 3.351 *haec sinus Herculei (si vera est fama) Tarenti*, "Hercules" is first referenced in Book 5 in connection with the boxing match, where the Sicilian Entellus makes the rhetorical question at 5.410–411 *quid, si quis caestus ipsius et Herculis arma | vidisset tristemque hoc ipso in litore pugnam?* (the boxing match is partly prolegomenon to the duel of Hercules and Cacus). In Book 7, Hercules' son Aventinus is one of the warriors allied with Turnus (655–669). At 10.317, Aeneas' victims Cisseus and Gyas are not aided by the arms of Hercules, or by the fact that their father was Melampus, one of Hercules' companions. Mezentius slays Antores, an Argive comrade of Hercules (10.776 ff.); in the complicated narrative of Virgil's preeminent battle book, both Aeneas and his enemy Mezentius are associated with slaying Herculean figures. Under his grand patronymic *Alcides*, the hero is identified once during the narrative of the boxing match (5.414, of how Eryx once faced Alcides); cf. 6.123, of Aeneas' observation to the Sibyl that Alcides, like other heroes, was allowed to visit the underworld and live to tell of it; 6.392, as Charon speaks of previous visitors to the lower regions; 6.801, of how Augustus Caesar will surpass Alcides in the amount of territory he will survey; 10.461 ff., as Pallas calls on Alcides and the demigod has his poignant encounter with Jupiter. The poplar is said to be most pleasing to Alcides at *E.* 7.61 (vid. Gow *ad Theocritus*, *Id.* 2.121; Mynors *ad G.* 2.66).

In Book 5, then, Herculean imagery is associated with the aged Entellus, who is in possession of the *caestus* with which Eryx had fought with Hercules; Eryx was killed in the violent engagement (apparently 5.395–396, of the blood and brains that still stain his gloves, point to victims other than Hercules). Entellus has connections, then, to a defeated opponent of Hercules, and a name that evokes thoughts of earth-bound giants and gigantomachic revolt against the Olympian order—but he defeats the Trojan Dares all the same. In Book 10,

it will be Aeneas and Mezentius (and not Turnus) who are associated with the killing of Herculean figures. Hercules' son Aventinus—the eponym of the Aventine—will fight in alliance with Turnus; Augustus, for his part, will surpass Hercules in heroic (or at least geographic) accomplishments. A god of mixed associations, then, as befitting a quasi-divine figure who for all his greatness and storied connections to the west, was also associated uncomfortably closely with Antony. On the Herculean literary and mythographic tradition and its mixed commentary, see especially T. Papadopoulou, “Herakles and Hercules: The Hero's Ambivalence in Euripides and Seneca,” in *Mnem.* 57.3 (2004), 257–283, 258. For how Aeneas' education in the deeds of the hero commences here, see Cairns 1989, 84.

magno: Cf. Seneca, *Med.* 648 *Herculi magno*.

divisque: Seemingly at variance with the evidence of Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 285.90, where Varro is cited for the detail that at sacrifices to Heracles, no other god is mentioned, and that no canines are allowed in his enclosure. Plutarch notes that one possible reason for the former practice would be that Heracles was a demigod and not of pure divine status; still, he observes, Evander made offerings to him and rendered him sacrifice. The mention of the other gods may be conventional (it serves to ensure that no immortal could claim jealousy or neglect); less likely is that it serves in some way to detract from the signal honor shown to Hercules. See further Eden's note, with reference to Servius *ad* 6.830 on the Herculean cult-title *Monoecus* (whence the name of the Principauté de Monaco, whose philatelic and numismatic iconography abounds in Herculean imagery). Henry takes the reference to be a hendiadys with the cult title of Hercules.

ferbat: Porph. *ad* Horace, c. 1.10.5 reads the plural.

The line-end here is imitated by Silius, *Pun.* 6.402.

104 ante urbem in luco. Pallas huic filius una,

ante urbem in luco: Before all other considerations related to the possible Virgilian identification of places relevant to the location of the Ara Maxima, we may consider the echo of 3.302 *ante urbem in luco falsi Simoentis ad undam*, where Andromache at Buthrotum made offerings by another river (so to speak), as part of her reverencing of her dead husband Hector. But the seemingly casual detail about the outdoor ceremony before the city has exercised the ingenuity of commentators as diverse as de la Cerda and Eden; Drew 1927, 13 ff.: “Virgil tells us precisely the month and day when Aeneas arrives outside the walls of old Rome ... August 12th,” with reference to the point that Virgil is here evoking Caesar's decision to enter the city on the thirteenth (so that fittingly we read here about the rites *ante urbem*). Once again the emphasis is on

the city, which prefigures Rome; the Herculean liturgy of the Arcadians will be the first celebration in “Rome proper” that Virgil details.

Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.24) notes the location of the great altar of Hercules within the borders of the old Palatine settlement: *Igitur a foro boario, ubi aereum tauri simulacrum aspiciamus, quia id genus animalium aratro subditur, sulcus designandi oppidi coeptus, ut magnam Hercules aram amplecteretur; inde certis spatiis interiecti lapides per ima montis Palatini ad aram Consi, mox curias veteres*, etc. It is possible that Virgil was not aiming in the present scene at precise topographical rigor; the outdoor ceremony at Pallanteum complements the rites Aeneas celebrated before his departure, with makeshift altar and sacrifice of the sow and her brood. That liturgy had been conducted in honor of Juno; we may remember here that Hercules, like Aeneas, was a heroic subject of Juno’s unremitting anger and resentment.

The question of open air oaths to Hercules is raised by Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom.* 28), where solutions to the puzzle include the idea that Hercules was not a native god, even that Hercules would not enjoy being confined in a domestic setting; we might compare Varro’s observations at *DLL* 5.66 about the connection of Jupiter to the sky and heavens and resultant ritual practice. Demosthenes has a somewhat mysterious passage at *De Falsa Legatione* 86, where he refers to how the Athenians were led astray by Diophantus and Callisthenes, indeed even to the point of bringing in wives and children from the country, and ordering that in time of peace the festival of Heracles should be celebrated inside the city—a violation, the orator notes, of the timeless traditions of the god. We shall return to the grove at 125 below.

Pallas: A quiet introduction of this key figure at mid-line; see here S. Harrison in *VE* II, 960; also V.J. Rosivach, “Pallante,” in *EV* III, 941–944. Ascanius took a key role in the drama of Book 5; he is absent from 8, where Pallas replaces him in the filial role.

huic: With reference back to 102 *Arcas rex*; at 10.466 ff., another father will address his son with words of consolation in anticipation of Pallas’ death.

filius una: The language heightens the pathos; Pallas is at once identified as Evander’s son, and he stands together with him—with shades of the idea that this is the Arcadian king’s only son. With *huic filius* cf. Plautus, *Bacch.* 484 *mihi discipulus, tibi sodalis perit, huic filius*; Virgil’s *filius huic* at 7.50 (of how Latinus has no son); *filius huic iuxta Lausus* (7.649, of Mezentius’ son Lausus, with whom Pallas has several affinities); 466 below; 9.93 *filius huic contra* (of Jupiter to Cybele in their colloquy about the fate of the Trojan fleet); Ovid’s *filius huic Veneris* of Cupid before the wounding of Apollo (*Met.* 1.463). Throughout the Pallas/Evander episode we are reminded that Ascanius has been left behind in the Trojan camp. On the image of the one and only son, see Gillis 1983, 53 ff.,

with sensitive analysis. For the occurrences of the noun in Virgil, see Newman and Newman 2005, 35–36, with note of how Latinus is presented as having affinities with Augustus at 7.50–51, of the lost son of the Latin king (cf. 6.864, of the lost Marcellus).

105 **una omnes iuvenum primi pauperque senatus**

una: Effective anaphora, emphasizing the solidarity and oneness of the group as they perform the liturgical rites.

iuvenum primi: Cf. 7.468 *indicit primis iuvenum et iubet arma parari* (of Turnus after the visit from Allecto); we are reminded that these Arcadian youths will soon be plunged into the madness of the Latin war. Cf. Pallas' address to the Trojan *iuvenes* at 112 below. With the partitive genitive cf. *G.* 2.26 *silvarumque aliae*; *A.* 1.544 *Teucrorumque alios*. For the partitive genitive with an adjective see Antoine 1882, 73–74; cf. *G.* 2.26 *silvarumque aliae*; *A.* 1.511 *Teucrorumque alios*.

pauperque senatus: Cf. the *res inopes* of 100; below at 360. The senate is eminently anachronistic; the scene moves from Pallas to the leading *iuvenes* and then to the implicit *seniores* of the proto-Roman senatorial body. Sinon refers to himself as a *pauper* (2.87); cf. the reference to his doublet Achaemenides' economic state (3.615); the *pauper domus* of the angler Menoetes (12.519). The present scene is most reminiscent, however, of 6.809–812, where Numa's humble Sabine origins are highlighted (6.811 ... *Curibus parvis et paupere terra*). A state of poverty is contrasted with the fate of suicides at 6.436–437 ... *quam vellet aethere in alto | nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!* The nascent Carthage also had a senate (1.426 *iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum*), and a holy, sacred one at that. Certainly there is a reflection here of “primitive simplicity” (so Fordyce), and with positive associations in studied juxtaposition to the implicit notion of wealth and decadent luxury. For a rather different emphasis, cf. Statius, *Silv.* 5.2.15–21. Respectable poverty, then, and not squalid want and lack of needed sustenance; for the idea that the adjective refers not to the economic state of Evander's senate, but rather to the small number of senators, see Eden (with reference to Servius here). The contrast here is between the first among the youth (who will soon be sent off to war), and the implicitly older men of the senate, who are envisaged as a deliberating body that will make decisions of lasting significance for state and citizenry. For the possible etymological connection between the *senatus* and the *senes*, see O'Hara 2017, 203–204.

106 *tura dabant, tepidusque cruor fumabat ad aras.*

Cf. 11.481.

tura: The verse is neatly framed by words that are evocative of the religious context. Incense is used sparingly in the *Aeneid*; cf. 1.417, of Venus' temples and sacred precincts; 11.481, of the efforts of the Latin women to secure the favor of the goddess Pallas in anticipation of the Trojan attack on Latinus' capital.

tepidus: Recalling the "tepid milk" of 3.66–67 *inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte | sanguinis et sacri pateras*, in the rites at the grave of Polydorus; possibly the (disputed) reading of *tepidi* at 3.627, where the limbs of the Cyclops' victims are still quivering as he makes a grisly feast of them; the "tepid gore" of 6.248–249 *supponunt alii cultros tepidumque cruorem | succipiunt pateris* (of the liturgical preparations for the descent to Avernus); cf. the gory scene at 9.455–456, in the aftermath of the slaughter wrought by Nisus and Euryalus; the mournful scene in the wake of the Latin requiems at 11.212. Always, then, in darker contexts, with a resultant pall cast over the present Herculean rites; the gore that is offered in propitiatory sacrifice here will soon enough be manifested in the deaths and battle injuries of the Arcadian youth. On Virgilian details about the temperature of blood, see Heuzé 1985, 100–101.

cruor: As at 3.42–43 (the frightening words of the shade of Polydorus); cf. 3.663 (the gore of the Cyclops after Odysseus' ocular attack); the wine that turned into gore for Dido at 4.455; Aeneas' sword wet with Dido's blood at 4.664; the *sacer cruor* in which Nisus slips at 5.333; the thick gore of the Trojan Dares in the boxing match (5.469); the gore that results from the night raid (9.333), and the *cruor* of Euryalus at 9.434 that appears in balanced bloody echo; the thick gore of Dryops at 10.349; the blood of Mezentius' victim Acron at 10.728; the dramatic final verse of 10.908 *undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore*, of Aeneas' killing of the Etruscan monster; of the slaughter during the cavalry battle (11.646); of the dove in the simile of the accipiter's attack at 11.724; of the fatally wounded Camilla at 11.804; in further battle scenes at 12.308 and 340. The Veronese *scholia* note that *cruor* is the *vox propria* for blood that flows.

fumabat: The verb recalls the fall of Troy (3.3 *Ilium et omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troia*; cf. 2.698; 10.45–46); it is also associated with Etna (3.573; cf. 417 below); the torches of Allecto (7.457); the fields smoking with dust after the cavalry battle (11.908); the vivid image of Turnus' horses as they smoke with sweat (12.338); Aeneas' terrible plan to raze Latinus' city to the ground (12.569 *eruem et aequa solo fumantia culmina ponam*), an attack on his own future, as it were, which was devised by Venus (Laurentum would not, in the end, suffer the same fate as Troy). For smoke at an altar note also *E.* 1.43 *bis senos cui nostra*

dies altaria fumant. A richly evocative image, then, as the smoke and gore connect the reader both forwards and back to the ruin of cities and the gory deaths of the young.

107 ut celsas videre rates atque inter opacum

celsas ... rates: Virgil prefers to use the adjective with *puppis* (1.183; 3.527; 4.554; 8.680; 10.261); with *navibus* at 2.375. The adjective (on which see 65 above) describes particularly imposing heights (cf. 5.439, of a mountain citadel; 11.320, of a mountain height; also the *tecta* of Latinus at 7.343; the *Capitolia celsa* at 653 below (with which cf. the “lofty cities” of 8.65)). Here the point is to highlight the impression made on the Arcadians by the relatively modest Trojan “fleet”; certainly the tall ships were unexpected.

atque: On the force of the conjunction see G. Watson, “*Aeneid* viii.215–17,” in *CR* 4.2 (1954), 99–100: “it is clear that Virgil uses it when he is introducing a dramatic feature or situation ... Here ... is a single picture—the arrival of the ships—enhanced and heightened by the two phrases after *atque*, not two or three pictures with an appreciable interval between them.” The conjunction highlights the drama of a moment that passed quite quickly; first the ships were seen, and then it registered on the Arcadians both that the vessels were gliding toward them through the thick bower of overhanging trees, and that the silent crews were leaning on the oars.

opacum: Virgil returns to the dark wood the ships have traversed on their course. The present image recalls *E.* 1.51–52 ... *hic inter flumina nota / et fontis sacros frigos captabis opacum*. The departure from Troy is conducted *per opaca locorum* (2.725); cf. the *opaca viarum* in the underworld at 6.633, also the *ulmus opaca* at the entrance to the underworld (6.283); 6.136 and 208. The adjective can equally be applied to more pleasant eschatological fates; the souls in Elysium inhabit shady groves (6.673). The Gauls are aided by the *opaca nox* in the image on the shield at 658 below (and at 10.161–162, Pallas and Aeneas make their river journey under the cover of the same sort of night; cf. 4.123, of the sudden “night” of the storm that will witness the union of Aeneas and Dido, in clear connection to the relationship of Aeneas and the young Arcadian); cf. Cacus in his cave at 211. The first landing at the Tiber mouth is similarly described (7.35–36 *flectere iter sociis terraeque advertere proras / imperat et laetum fluvio succedit opaco*). The place where Arruns dies is similarly identified by an *ilex opaca* (11.851); the Etruscan dies in place of Aeneas, and so when the Trojan hero emerges unscathed from the would-be ambush of Turnus, we find *exsuperatque iugum silvaeque evadit opaca* (11.905). With clear underworld associations, then, and also of the connections of Aeneas both to Dido and Pallas, and of the at least temporary salvation of Aeneas, in

the context of the Latin war. The *opacum / nemus* effectively overhangs both the Trojan biremes and the verse.

On the impressive visual wordplay of this scene, see especially A.G. McKay's survey in Dudley 1969, 150 ff., with commentary on the work of the seventeenth century French Baroque painter Claude Lorrain, whose landscapes include a 1675 depiction of the landing of Aeneas at Pallanteum (he followed it in 1682 with a depiction of Ascanius shooting Silvia's deer), a possession of the National Trust, Anglesey Abbey (the painting is conveniently reproduced in Dudley). The painting was a commission of Gasparo Altieri, a companion piece for Lorrain's *Father of Psyche Sacrificing to Apollo*. "From Claude's description on the verso of the earliest dated preparatory drawing for the painting, it is clear that it was the patron himself who specified that the painting should represent Aeneas showing the olive branch to Pallas ... The recto ... bears the signature CLAUDIO IV FCIT ROMA 1672, and in the lower margin Claude wrote ... [li]bro 8 di virgilio. palante figlio del Re Evandro parla a Enea. Enea monstra [a few words missing ...]" (A. Zwollo, "An Additional Study for Claude's Picture: 'The Arrival of Aeneas at Pallantium,'" in *Master Drawings* 8.3 (1970), 272–275, 322–323; see further M. Kitson, "The 'Altieri Claudes' and Virgil," in *The Burlington Magazine* 102.688, "Nicolas Poussin and His Circle" [Jul., 1960], 312–318; cf. V.H. Minor, "Claude Lorrain," in *VE* 1, 270). The painting is sometimes mistaken to be a representation of Aeneas' initial landing in Latium.

108 *adlabi nemus et tacitos incumbere remis,*

adlabi: Cf. 3.131 *et tandem antiquis Curetum adlabimur oris* and 6.2 *et tandem Euboicis Cumarum adlabitur oris*; also 9.474–475 *nuntia Fama ruit matrisque adlabitur auris / Euryali*; the *adlapsa sagitta* of 9.578 and 12.319 (the latter passage of the mysterious wounding of Aeneas); 10.269 ... *totumque adlabi classibus aequor* (of Aeneas' return to his camp); 10.292 *sed mare inoffensum crescenti adlabitur aestu* (of Tarchon). With underworld connection once again, then, and remembrance of the fateful visit to Crete that will be marked by plague. The verb here expresses the gentle glide of the divinely aided vessels; if the Arcadians had known that the river was in a less than ideally navigable state, than the sudden appearance of the Trojan ships would add to their state of surprise.

tacitos: For the adjective see Nurtantio 2014, 157–158. Servius read the ablative *tacitis* here, a reading that is supported by several Carolingians and no capital witnesses, and with which Fordyce expresses some degree of sympathy (following Ribbeck and many others). With the accusative some subject must be supplied, e.g. *Aeneadas*; the emphasis is on how the Trojans are silent as they approach the settlement, and the word order enacts something of the unfold-

ing picture and surprise appearance of the vessels as they come into full view. Page (following Conington) prefers *tacitis* here, noting that the poet moves “insensibly” from the boats to the crews, and that the accusative is the result of a “prosaic attempt to emend the text”; Mackail and Williams defend *tacitos*, the latter noting that there is little point in having the oars be silent. Conington observes that the oars cannot have been silent, while Fordyce notes that this might be the very point: the magically still river yields silent oarage. Sabbadini opts for the ablative, while Geymonat prefers the accusative; cf. Heuze’s *et les rameurs en silence travailler à la nage* (for his Pléiade edition). One might be tempted to take *rates* as the subject of *adlabi*, and *tacitos* (of the Trojans) as subject of *incumbere*; the men are quiet as they lean forward on the oars (so Mackail) and approach the settlement, and the very silence is part of the reason for the frightened reaction of the Arcadians. Henry uncharacteristically silent here. The accusative may seem somewhat jarring, though it effectively enacts the scene: the surprise occasioned by the ships as they suddenly approached is neatly expressed by the sudden introduction of the new accusative subject at mid-verse.

Paratore prefers *tacitis*, partly on the evidence of 10.226–227 *pone sequens puppim tenet ipsaque dorso | eminet ac laeva tacitis subremigat undis* (of Cymodocea, in another sequence that involves the divine guidance of Trojan ships); cf. Tibullus, c. 1.7.13–14; partly because of the references at 89–90 to the absence of effort for the oars and the *rumore secundo* of the journey (following Heyne). García et al. 2011 agree, following the Servian evidence. Certainly the meaning is not much different with either reading; the accusative occurs nowhere else in Virgil, and the ablative can claim reasonable enough parallels—but in the end the manuscript reading, for all its own problems, deserves the tip of the balance in its favor, even if the decision is made with caution and lack of confidence.

“The ill-supported variant *tacitis* ... is not a case of a more difficult reading being preferable, but of a less preferable reading being impossible” (Eden).

incumbere remis: The line-end occurs in Virgil only here and at 5.15 *colligere arma iubet validisque incumbere remis*, of the Trojan response to the storm after the departure from Carthage; cf. Ovid, *Ars* 2.731; Juvenal, s. 15.128 *et brevibus pictae remis incumbere testae*; also Quintus Curtius Rufus 9.9.4.1–2. The parallel 5.15 may lend some slight weight to the argument in favor of *tacitis*. Sidgwick notes here that “*incumbere* describes the attitude of the rowers,” though he translates the passage “the ships were leaning on the silent oars” (with *tacitis*). Papillon and Haigh agree that the image of ships leaning on oars is not impossible for Virgil, though they read *tacitos* as giving both clearer sense and as having “MS. authority.”

109 terrentur visu subito cunctique relictis

terrentur visu: Cf. Lucan, *BC* 3.38 ... *vani terrumur imagine visus*. The noun *visus* occurs 11× in the epic, 8× in the ablative; cf. 2.212 (of the appearance of the serpents that will destroy Laocoön and his sons); 2.382 (of Androgeos' realization that he is trapped among Trojans); 2.605 (of the mortal vision that is too dull to see the divine machinations in the ruin of Troy); 3.36 (at Polydorus' grave); 3.308 (of Andromache's reaction to the presence of Aeneas); 4.277 (of the "mortal sight" from which Mercury takes his leave); 5.90 (of the portentous serpent on Anchises' memorial mound); 6.710 (of the vision of souls in Elysium); 10.447 (of Pallas' gaze at Turnus); 11.271 (as Diomedes recounts the avian metamorphosis of his companions). The poet continues his strong emphasis on the visual power of the scene.

subito: The adjective is also used in the ablative at the dramatic *augurium impetrativum* of 2.692 ff.; with reference to the doom of Dido at 4.697 *sed misera ante diem subitoque accensa furore*; at 6.710–711 *horrescit visu subito casusque requirit | Aeneas* (in Elysium); and at 11.699 *incidit huic subitoque aspectu terribus haesit* (of the reaction of the Ligurian son of Aunus after he stumbles on Camilla). We are reminded of the *subitum monstrum* of the sow (81 above). For the related adverb cf. below on 554 and 637.

cuncti: A somewhat stronger adjective than *omnis*; Virgil's point is to underscore how everyone fled the sight of the Trojan fleet in terror, with the sole exception of the audacious (not to say reckless) Pallas.

110 consurgunt mensis. audax quos rumpere Pallas

consurgunt: Cf. the rising winds of 5.20; the three rows of oars that rise on the *urbis opus* of a ship that is the Chimaera (5.120); the sailors who rise up in the wake of the running aground of Sergestus' vessel (5.207); the Teucrian and Trinacrian youth who rise up when Entellus falls in the boxing match (5.450); the storm imagery of 7.530; *consurgit senior* of Evander at 457 below; the new war between Romans and Sabines in the wake of the abduction of the women that is depicted on the shield at 637; Turnus' rising up against Pandarus at 9.749; Juno's rhetorical question at the divine council ... *quae causa fuit consurgere in arma | Europamque Asiamque* ... (10.90); Tarchon's shipmates at 10.299; Turnus once again rising up, this time against Aeneas and with rather different results (12.729); the Rutulians who rise up with a groan at a climactic moment in the single combat between Aeneas and their champion (12.928).

mensis: The present meal (in the context of a religious rite; cf. 174 ff., as the Trojans are invited to join the resumed feast) is parallel to the repast detailed at 7.107 ff., the so-called episode of the eating of the tables. Book 1 has two contrasting meals, namely the Trojan's first, relatively humble feast on African soil

(1.210 ff.), and then the lavish banquet in Dido's palace (695 ff.). The eating of the tables is connected with the Harpy-infested feasting of 3.210 ff.; Tarchon upbraids his men for being lovers of feasting and not resolute action in war (11.732 ff.). Aeneas will remember the meal he shared with Evander and Pallas (cf. 10.515 ff., of the hero's rage in the aftermath of Turnus' slaying of the young Arcadian). Hercules had been a dinner guest of the Arcadians; we might recall too how Silvia's stag was domesticized even to the point of coming to the table (7.490). For the associations of food with religious rituals see Gowers 1993, 506. On how the spectre of violence (e.g., the Hercules and Cacus epyllion) is interwoven with a scene of conviviality, see Riess and Fagan 2016, 384 ff.

audax: On this key adjective in the description of Pallas' character and personality see Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.67; except for there and at 4.615, it appears only in the second, martial half of the epic. The word is particularly applied to Turnus (and not only after he is visited by the Fury Allecto); Ascanius prays that Jupiter may look favorably on his "bold undertakings" as he seeks to slay Numanus Remulus (9.625 ... *audacibus adnue coeptis*). Arruns' slaying of Camilla is considered an audacious deed; Turnus' sister Juturna herself merits the appellation. Audacious deeds, however, are not necessarily problematic in and of themselves; the same language that is used to describe Ascanius' archery endeavors in Book 9 is used of the poet's own project at *G.* 1.40; cf. the poet's ascription of the same quality to himself at *G.* 4.565 *carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuventa* (of his composition of the *Bucolics*). Servius notes that Virgil uses *audax* when he wants to identify *virtus sine fortuna*; this is largely true, though note the case of Ascanius (who does, admittedly, need to be stopped by Apollo lest he go too far in his pursuit of "audacious undertakings"). For the connection of *audacia* with Turnus, see the detailed references of Schenk 1984, 404. We do well to remember that this scene constitutes the first appearance of Pallas in the epic; it is the start of his inexorable march toward doom. For a positive appraisal of Pallas' bold character, see Joakim 1891, 20 ff.; note also Henry 1989, 161 (with particular reference to the effect Pallas has on Evander); the eulogistic commentary of Prescott 1927, 471–472 (for whom Pallas is the "ideal youth of the poem," and Camilla, for all her positive qualities, ultimately still a woman). For *audax* of epic youths see Augoustakis on Statius, *Theb.* 8.583–585.

rumper: For the verb see F. Cavazza in *EV* IV, 599–602.

111 sacra vetat raptoque volat telo obuius ipse,

"The agitated rhythm of 111 expresses a feeling of alarm ..." (Jenkyns 1998, 538). The present scene recalls the intervention of Ascanius first (*primus*) before

all in the matter of the news of the attempted burning of the Trojan ships (5.667 ff.); it looks forward to 9.590 ff., of the first (*primum*) use of the bow by Ascanius in combat, in response to the taunts of Numanus Remulus, and to 11.598 ff., of the bravery of the Volscian heroine Camilla in response to the news of the Trojan battle plans. A trio of brave youths, only one of whom will survive the war.

For the influence of this sequence on the Statian depiction of the arrival of Polynices and Tydeus at Adrastus' palace (*Theb.* 1.438 ff.), see McNelis 2007, 27 ff.

sacra: For a famous example of the loathing of interruption of religious rituals, see Valerius Maximus 1.11 (and cf. Livy 4.46.1–6), of Gaius Fabius Dorsuo's crossing the Gallic pickets to continue the sacrificial rites of the *gens Fabia*.

vetat: Cf. the similar case of 1.541, where the Carthaginians are said to have prevented the Trojans from landing on shore; also Juno's rueful complaint at 1.39; 2.84 (of Palamedes); 3.380 (of Juno's prohibition on knowledge); 6.623 (of the forbidden marriage to Helen); 9.214 (in Nisus' promise to Euryalus); 9.547 (in the description of Helenor's ill-fated entry into war); 12.806 (of Jupiter's powerful *veto* against any further trouble from Juno). The scene may offer an indication that while Aeneas and his Trojans arrived on a fortuitous day, they may not have arrived at the most auspicious of hours. For Virgil's emphasis on the *pietas* of the Arcadian, see Mackie 1988, 151n1.

raptoque ... telo: Cf. the rapidly seized fire from the altars that the disguised Iris takes up at 5.641 ff.; Pallas immediately moves to defend the settlement from invasion and sacrilege.

volat: For the verb see O. Pasqualetti in *EV* v, 612–614.

obvius: Pallas moves quickly and daringly to confront those who would dare to interrupt the sacred rites. There is tragic irony in the fact that the same adjective is used at 6.879–880 ... *non illi se quisquam impune tulisset / obvius armato*, of would-be foes of the doomed Marcellus. The same adjective is applied thrice to Aeneas in battle contexts (10.770 and 877, both times while facing Mezentius; 12.481). On the “harsh reality” of the Arcadian Pallanteum that Virgil depicts here, see Clausen 2002, 159 ff.

ipse: In parallel to 110 *Pallas* at line-end, and with emphasis on the person of this sole resistance to the Trojan arrival.

112 et procul e tumulo: 'iuvenes, quae causa subegit

procul: Cf. 98 above. Pallas wastes no time in addressing the strangers.

tumulo: For the noun see Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.44. The location of Pallas' interrogative address to the Trojans may be neutral, but there are hints

of the grave; see further here Paschalis 1997, 279–280, with comparison of this sequence to the Laocoön episode. For the noun with *procul* cf. Ovid's *quem procul ut vidit tumulo speculator ab alto* (*Trist.* 3.9.11, of the arrival of the Argo on the site of the future Tomis).

iuvenes: Cf. the Arcadian youths of 105 above; the reference is to fighters and those who might pose a military threat to the settlement.

causa subegit: Cf. Homer, *Od.* 1.225b. For the line-end cf. Silius, *Pun.* 17.570; for the phrase cf. Ps.-V., *Ciris* 227 ... *cura subegit*, with Lyne's note. Note too the imitation of Lorenzo Gambara at 1.62–65 of his *De navigatione Christophori Columbi* (1581): *Sed dicam quae causa animum iustissima nostrum / Moverit hos tentare sinus, quos alluit ingens / Oceanus fluctuqu ferit pelagoque revincit, / Ne videar tantos frustra subiisse labores.*

Pallas' questions have been compared to the ferryman Charon's similar short interrogatives to Aeneas at 6.382 ff. (see here Gransden's note), where the situation is somewhat reversed; a baleful reminiscence, in any case. The Arcadian youth's first concern is the reason for the Trojan arrival; he will inquire as to the identity of the visitors in his third question only. Very different is the poignant rhetorical interrogation of Aeneas at the side of the dead Pallas at 11.42 ff. See further L. Fratantuono, "Questions," in *VE* III, 1060–1061. For short, abrupt questions that commence at mid-verse, see G. Highet, "Speech and Narrative in the *Aeneid*," in *HSCPh* 78 (1974), 189–320, 198 ff.; for general analysis, especially in light of Homeric antecedents, see Schmit-Neuerburg 1999, 284 ff. Jerome praises the brevity of Virgil's Pallantian questions in his commentary on Jonah: "Et notanda brevitatis, quam admirari in Vergilio solebamus: 'Iuvenes, quae subegit,'" etc. (*Comm. Ion.* 1.8).

113 **ignotas temptare vias? quo tenditis? inquit,**

ignotas ... vias: For the "unknown ways" cf. Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 578; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.371. Aeneas uses the adjective of himself in his colloquy with his disguised mother Venus at 1.359 *ipse ignotus egens Libyae deserta peragro*, where part of the point is that the Trojan hero is unaware of his mother's identity; cf. Sinon at 2.59; the parallel case of Achaemenides at 3.591; the "unknown homes" to which Dido refers in her appeal to Aeneas at 4.311–312; the Venusian detail to Neptune about the fate of the Trojans after the burning of the ships (5.794–795 ... *et classe subegit / amissa socios ignotae linquere terrae*); the powerful comment of Aeneas on the presumed fate of Palinurus at 5.871 (*nudus in ignota, Palinurus, iacebis harena*); the "unknown shores" that are recalled at 7.124; the rivers that Aeneas still does not know at 7.137; the unfamiliar dress of the Trojans at 7.167; the "unknown land" to which Euryalus' mother ruefully refers at 9.485; the "unknown waves" Venus mentions in the divine council at 10.48; the

ignota bella of which Diomedes speaks to the Latin emissaries at 11.254; the unfamiliar arms of Camilla's victim Ornytus at 11.678; the "unknown dust" in which Arruns is left at 11.866 (cf. Aeneas' thoughts regarding Palinurus); the fateful *capulum ignotum* (12.734) when Turnus tries to use the wrong sword. Here the adjective reinforces the theme of the exile of the Trojans and their search for a new home (even if the search can be construed in the end as a homecoming of sorts). For the possibility that Pallas' question hints at the image of the first ship, see Hardie 2012, 140n47; the same author's "Virgil's Catullan Plots," in du Quesnay and Woodman 2002, 212–238, 219 ff. (with reference to the Argonautic reminiscence).

temptare vias: Cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.197; also *attemptare vias* at Silius, *Pun.* 12.97; Tibullus' *et pedibus praetemptat iter suspensa timore* (c. 2.1.78).

quo tenditis: Exactly the question posed by Ascanius to the Trojan women at 5.670 ... *quo nunc, quo tenditis*; cf. Mnestheus at 9.781 ... *quo deinde fugam, quo tenditis*; Lucan, *BC* 1.190; Statius, *Theb.* 1.155; 8.601. "... Virgil uses this formula when a character sees great danger or foolishness in the plans of other people ..." (G. Yanick Maes, "Starting something Huge: Pharsalia I 83–193 and the Virgilian Intertext," in Walde 2005, 1–25, 15), with consideration of parallels. See further Augoustakis on Statius, *Theb.* 8.601–602.

Pallas' questions here were adapted for a dramatic version of the encounter between Herod and the Magi in a twelfth-century mystery play (vid. Davidson 1892, 55), as the wicked king asks the wise men to explain the reason for their Epiphany visit to Bethlehem.

114 'qui genus? unde domo? pacemne huc fertis an arma?'

Questions in the Homeric style; cf. *Od.* 1.170 *τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἢ δὲ τοκῆς*; (with Heubeck et al.'s note). Pallas plays the part of the Homeric Peisistratus, the son of Nestor.

qui genus: We may be reminded of Dido's rhetorical observation at 1.565 *quis genus Aeneadam, quis Troiae nesciat urbem*. Pallas proceeds to inquire as to the identity of the sudden visitors, before turning to the question of whether they bring peace or war. On the Homeric manner of the interrogation see Fordyce, with reference to *Od.* 1.170. For the accusative of respect see Eden. For the more usual *quod genus* cf. 1.539 *quod genus hoc hominum?* (Ilioneus at Dido's court). The same idiom occurs at 5.285 *Cressa genus*; for the expression see further Hofmann/Szantyr 11, 37; Ernout-Thomas, 29; also Antoine 1882, 60–61. Cf. Latinus' observations at 7.195 ff.

unde domo: Cf. Horace, *Ep.* 1.7.53–54 ... *abi, quaere et refer, unde domo, quis, / cuius fortunae, quo sit patre quove patrono*; with Mayer ad loc. for the idiomatic expression, and Wilkins with reference to the inscriptional evidence of its use

“to denote the town from which a man comes.” This is the hasty language of excitement and great curiosity. Seneca has *Iube istos omnes ad nomen citari et ‘unde domo’ quisque sit quaere* (*Dial.* 12.6.3.4).

pacem ... arma: Peace and arms are sometimes juxtaposed in Cicero (e.g., *Phil.* 5.3.1–2); cf. Juno’s instructions to Allecto at 7.339–340; the indignant observation of Juno at the divine council, *quid soceros legere et gremiis abducere pactas, / pacem orare manu, praefigere puppibus arma?* (10.79–80); Petronius, *Sat.* 108.14.1. Diomedes notes to the Latin envoys that they will need to seek either other arms, or peace from the Trojan king (11.229–230). The use of *arma* instead of, e.g., *bellum* reminds the audience of the first word of the epic (besides satisfying metrical demands); we have also already been told of the gleaming shields on the vessels (92–93).

fertis: The second person plural of the indicative of this verb is found only here in Virgil (cf. 4.93 *refertis*); once in Tibullus (c. 1.1.20); Horace (*Ep.* 1.10.9); Lucan (*BC* 1.191); more often in Ovid and Statius.

For the contrast between Pallas’ mode of inquiry and the more “deferential” inquiries of Homeric tradition (i.e., after a *repat*), see Clausen 1987, 67 ff.

115 **tum pater Aeneas puppi sic fatur ab alta**

pater Aeneas: First in the epic at 1.580, as the Trojan hero longs to break free of Venus’ mist and reveal himself in Carthage; also at 1.699, as the Trojans prepare to feast with Dido’s court; 2.2, as Aeneas begins his great recitation of the adventures of the Trojans; 3.343, in Andromache’s speech at Buthrotum; 3.716, as Aeneas concludes his recitation to Dido and her assembly; 5.129–5.130, where the *meta* for the ship race is established; 5.348, of the decisions taken after the foot race; 5.461, of the ending of the boxing match; 5.545, of the summons of Ascanius to commence the equestrian display of the *lusus Troiae*; 5.700, of Aeneas’ distress after the burning of the ships and Jupiter’s intervention; 5.827, of Aeneas before the departure from Sicily; 8.28–29 above; 8.606, before the presentation of the shield; 9.172, of the appointment of Mnestheus and Serestus to be *rectores iuvenum*; 11.84, of Aeneas’ direction of the requiems; 11.904, of the safe passage of Aeneas through the planned infantry ambush; 12.166, of Aeneas at the treaty “signing” with Latinus; 12.440, of Aeneas in his address to Ascanius; 12.697, of Aeneas as he proceeds to face Turnus. Aeneas is appropriately depicted here as leader and father of his men; the particular pathos of the passage comes from the image of Aeneas as surrogate father to Pallas. No intermediary here, as at Carthage and Latium; Aeneas will speak directly to Pallas, in forthright response to the Arcadian youth’s excited questions. On the depiction of Aeneas as father and leader, see further Pomathios 1987, 199–200; Binder 1971, 45.

puppi ... ab alta: So of Palinurus at 5.12, as a storm imperiled the Trojan fleet after the hasty departure from Carthage; 5.175, of Gyas' frenzied decision to toss his helmsman Menoetes overboard (in foreshadowing of the loss of Palinurus at the end of the book). Augustus at Actium, in contrast, will be *stans celsa in puppi* (8.680); we are reminded instead here that the Trojan fleet now has Aeneas as its helmsman (cf. 5.867–868 *cum pater amisso fluitantem errare magistro / multa gemens casuque animum concussus acerbo*, where Aeneas is also identified as *pater*). See Eden here for the detail of Aeneas on the stern (and not the prow, as in Claude Lorrain's painting), and for Virgil's lack of detail on the technicalities of the landing. The mention of the lofty ship maintains the image of impressive height from 107 *celsas ... rates*.

fatur: P and the Wolfenbüttel (before correction) read *fatus* here; for the same confusion cf. 10.621, where Harrison notes that *sic fatus* always concludes a speech in Virgil, and *sic fatur* always commences one.

116 *paciferaeque manu ramum praetendit olivae*:

paciferaeque manu: The adjective appears first here in extant Latin literature (cf. 7.711 *Ereti manus omnis oliviferaeque Mutuscae*); Ovid has it at *Met.* 14.291 *pacifer huic dederat florem Cyllenius album*; once each in Statius (*Theb.* 12.65) and Valerius Flaccus (*Arg.* 4.139, where see Murgatroyd). See Conington for the inscriptional evidence of its use in connection with the immortals. The “peace-bearing olive” embraces the line in protective order. If there is any Mercurian hint here of Aeneas in the god's traditional role of messenger and emissary, there may also be a reminder of his status as psychopomp (in this case, of Pallas). The Mercurian allusion would be particularly appropriate given the descent of Evander from the god. And for the trickery that Aeneas will employ in his appeals to Evander for aid—a hallmark of the god's repertoire—see Thomas 1999, 226 ff. For the ablative see Antoine 1882, 182–183: *ablativus instrumenti expletivus*. Cf. 294 below.

praetendit: Also at 128 below, in the same context, and at 11.332; very different is Aeneas' note to Dido at 4.338–339 ... *nec coniugis umquam / praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni*. Cf. also the taunts of Numanus Remulus at 9.599. Participial forms of the verb occur in Virgil at 3.692 and 6.60. Servius connects the showing of the branch with a sense of urgency; once again, the emphasis is on the power of vision. For how this offer of peace is mere “prelude” to the death of Pallas, see Newman and Newman 2005, 20.

olivae: The *oliva* is mentioned at 5.309 and 494 in connection with the wreaths of honor in the games; Aeneas has a similar olive crown as he departs from Sicily at 5.774. The olive is used in the *asperges* rite at the Misenus requiem (6.230; cf. 6.225); Numa has an olive branch in the *Heldenschau* (6.808; on this

connection see Binder and Binder's note here). The Trojan envoys to Latinus are crowned with it (7.153–154). Calybe/Allecto has a *ramum olivae* at 7.418; cf. Umbro's garland at 7.751. The Latin orators are wreathed with the *olea* when they visit Aeneas (11.101). Vid. here Abbe 1965, 156–158; also Sargeant 1920, 88–92. The wild olive (*oleaster*) figures significantly in the final encounter between Aeneas and Turnus (12.766). The olive was closely associated with Minerva, its alleged *inventrix* (G. 1.18–19, where see Erren on the tradition, its connection to Athens, and the place of Minerva in the Capitoline Triad; Mynors for how the “original” olive was still displayed in Athens in Virgil's day); the discovery of the battle goddess became the universal symbol of peace and the flag of truce. Here it has a special appropriateness, given the connection (final quantities notwithstanding) between Pallas the Arcadian and Pallas the goddess; the particular association between the plant and its inventor is highlighted at 7.154 ... *ramis velatos Palladis omnis*, as the hundred Trojan *oratores* visit Latinus. For the gesture of supplication see Naiden 2006, 56; the olive branch was often wrapped in wool (cf. Sophocles, *OT* 3). More generally on the connection of the olive with peace, see Wijmsmans *ad* Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.361; also Smole-naars *ad* Statius, *Theb.* 7.476 ff. For semantic associations of the olive of Pallas, see Paschalis 1997, 278–279. On the connection of the goddess Minerva/Pallas with both Jupiter and Juno, see Panoussi 2009, 109–112 (with consideration of how Juno may usurp the traditional prerogatives of Minerva). The goddess Pallas was associated with the works of both peace and war; Aeneas holds an olive branch of truce even as he speaks of his state of enmity with the Latins. On the possible evocation of the shrine or statue of Hercules Olivarius see Ellis 1985, 19–20.

117 “Troiuogenas ac tela vides inimica Latinis,

Troiugenas: Aeneas so addresses Helenus (3.359); it is found elsewhere in Virgil only at 12.625–626 ... *hac, Turne, sequamur / Troiuogenas, qua prima viam victoria pandit; / sunt alii qui tecta manu defendere possint*, of the disguised Juturna to her brother Turnus. The grand appellation is also found at Catullus, c. 64.355 *Troiugenum infesto prosterneret corpora ferro*; Lucretius, *DRN* 1.464–465 *denique Tyndaridem raptam belloque subactas / Troiuogenas gentis cum dicunt esse ...*; Tarrant *ad* 12.625–626 wonders if Juturna is evoking the memory of past Trojan defeats. The (poetic) adjective is found once in Livy (25.12.5.2); 3× in Juvenal (s. 1.100; 8.181; 11.95) and in Silius (*Pun.* 13.810; 14.117; 16.658). The *-genas* of the descriptive appellation echoes Pallas' *qui genus* (114); Aeneas proceeds at once to explain why his vessels are armed, and to provide an instant justification for why an alliance with the Arcadians would be reasonable; at once the Trojan arms are identified as being directed against the Latins. The verse is framed

by the two enemies. At 127 below Aeneas will continue the use of elevated geographical addresses. See further Manzoni 2002, 61 ff. “Ces grands noms frappent Pallas de stupeur” (Heuzé 1985, 588).

The first word Aeneas speaks is redolent with the spirit of the dead Troy; for the view that “Aeneas is cool to foreigners,” see Highet 1972, 38–39, with the observation that Aeneas speaks five times in the poem to Greeks (Evander, Pallas); nine times to Italians other than Turnus, only three of which occasions afford the opportunity for “kindness or pity.”

tela ... inimica: Arms that are personally hateful, we might think, to the Latins. *Tela inimica* are mentioned elsewhere in Virgil at 11.809, as Arruns fears revenge for his killing of Camilla (Silius imitates the phrase at *Pun.* 9.544). We are reminded of Juno’s *gens inimica mihi* (1.67; cf. the *inimicum imbrem* of the storm at 1.123); the adjective appears twice in connection with the disputed Helen episode and its immediate aftermath (2.600, of the “hateful sword” of which Venus speaks; 622–623, of the *inimica / numina* Venus reveals as destroying Priam’s city (and so of her reference to the “inimical fire” of the Greeks at 8.375 below)). Jupiter refers to Carthage as a *gens inimica* at 4.235; Dido to her brother in the same manner at 4.656. Nisus mentions his *inimica fortuna* at the foot race (5.356), in foreshadowing of the *lux inimica* he will note to his lover at 9.355. Ascanius remonstrates with the Trojan women that they are not facing the *inimica castra* of the Argives (5.671–672); cf. the same sort of camp that Nisus and Euryalus approach at 9.315, and that the Trojans taunt Turnus with at 9.739. The shade of Dido is *inimica* to Aeneas (6.472); the Etruscan Tarchon speaks of the *inimica terra* of Latium at 10.295. Aeneas has an *inimicum pectus* in battle at 10.556 (so too Camilla at 11.685, as she slays Ornytus, and the blood of her kill alluded to at 11.720); cf. his *inimicum hostile* at 10.795. The names of Pallas’ victims are *inimica* (11.84); there is an *inimica turba* in the terrible slaughter at the gates of Latinus capital at 11.880. Juno warns Juturna of the *vis inimica* that draws near to Turnus (12.150); cf. the *inimica proelia* of the taurine simile at 12.716 that describes the combat of Aeneas and the Rutulian. Juno refers to *inimica proelia* at 12.812; the fateful baldric of Pallas is *inimicum* at 12.944. On the question of just who is whose enemy in the epic, see Di Cesare 1974, 141–142.

vides: The poet again highlights the visual image; in effect Aeneas answers Pallas’ question about peace or war with the answer, both: peace is offered to the Arcadians, war to the Latins. For the “grave and measured tones” of Aeneas, in contrast to the anxious questions of the Arcadian youth, see Clausen 2002, 160.

118 quos illi bello profugos egere superbo.

quos: See the perceptive note of Conington here on the ambiguity of Aeneas' speech; the point is to muddy the waters as the Trojan explains briefly the situation in Latium.

bello ... superbo: The Carthaginians were described as being *bello superbum* (1.21); Anchises' shade advised the Roman to *debellare superbos* (6.853). Cf. Allecto with Juno at 7.544–545 *Iunonem victrix adfatur voce superba: / en perfecta tibi bello discordia tristi*—but also 683 below, where *belli insigne superbum* is used of the naval crown of Agrippa. *Superbus* is a favorite adjective of Virgil (vid. further A. Traina in *EV* IV, 1072–1076; cf. Gillis 1985, 138–139; R.B. Lloyd, “*Superbus* in the *Aeneid*,” in *AJPh* 93.1 (1972), 125–132); it is an attribute of Turnus (cf. the references of Schenk 1984, 406); also Mezentius (481 below). Eden takes the point as being that the Latins have disregarded the laws of hospitality, and have thus acted with *superbia* toward their guests; Fordyce notes that Aeneas is engaging in exaggeration and manipulation of the facts (so also Sidgwick). Aeneas essentially accuses the Latins here of exactly what the Greeks did—an interesting argument to make before a Greek audience. The Arcadians are now cast in a familiar role: will they shield and aid the Trojan exiles? (so of Dido's Carthaginians and Latinus; more successfully, Acestes' Sicilians, whose reception of Aeneas is paralleled in the Pallanteum sequence). Henry memorably notes here, “The wolf and the lamb! Is it not, reader?”

profugos: A label of deeply felt, emotional resonance in the epic; from 1.2 it is associated with Aeneas and his destiny in the wake of the destruction of Troy, and so Juno refers to the Trojans as *profugi* at 7.300 (cf. 10.158, where Aeneas' ship is adorned with eminently Trojan emblems that make it a most welcome refuge for the exiles). The only other use of the term in Virgil is at 10.720, where it describes Mezentius' Greek victim Acron of Corythus. The term is meant to arouse sympathy and kind emotion toward the Trojans, who—like the Arcadians—find themselves in a new land that is not, after all, so very new to their people.

egere: For the form see on 133 and 335 below. The implication is that the Latins have forced the Trojans to flee to Pallanteum. “Any objective judgment of the reality of the situation, which sees the matter in these terms, must surely find that the reverse obtains: it is the Trojans who appear to be usurpers of Latin territory. These realities belie the claim that Aeneas is not acting with craft ... that is precisely what he does here” (Thomas 1999, 226). Calculated rhetoric, then, of the sort that would appeal to both Evander and Pallas.

119 Evandrum petimus. ferte haec et dicite lectos

Evandrum petimus: Studied brevity and simplicity of expression (vid. Highet 1972, 33); the point may be to underscore the Greek nuances of meaning of the name. Aeneas succinctly states the *causa* (112) for his voyage.

ferte haec: The imperative will be echoed at 10.491–492 *Arcades, haec inquit memores mea dicta referte* / *Evandro: qualem meruit, Pallanta remitto* (of Turnus after his slaying of the hero); also 11.176 ff. *vadite et haec memores regi mandata referte*: / *quod vitam moror invisam Pallante perempto*, etc. (of Evander's message to Aeneas on receipt of the news of his son's death). Eden notes the "puzzling" plurals here, and speculates that some of Evander's men must have joined Pallas after the initial shock of the Trojan landing had worn off.

Ferte is used elsewhere in the epic at moments of high emotional intensity: 2.668 *arma, viri, ferte arma; vocat lux ultima victos* (Aeneas as Troy falls); 4.594 *ferte citi flammis, date tela, impellite remos!* (Dido as the Trojans flee Carthage); 9.37 *ferte citi ferrum, fate tela, ascendite muros!* (Caicus of the Rutulian attack on the Trojan camp); 10.678 *ferte ratem saevisque vadis immittite syrtis* (Turnus in shame after his pursuit of the phantom Aeneas); 12.572–573 *hoc caput, o vices, haec belli summa nefandi. | ferte faces foedusque repositae flammis* (Aeneas as he announces his divinely inspired plan to set fire to Latinus' city).

dicite: As at 1.137 ... *regique haec dicite vestro*, of Neptune's commands to the winds.

lectos: Echoing 79 *legit*, as Aeneas chose the biremes for the mission.

120 Dardaniae venisse duces socia arma rogantis.'

Dardaniae: Mentioned also at 2.281 (Aeneas' address to Hector's shade as *o lux Dardaniae*); 2.324–325 (Panthus' declaration of the *ineluctabile tempus* / *Dardaniae*); 6.64–65 *ingens/ gloria Dardaniae* (in Aeneas' remarks about how the great glory of Troy was an affront and offence to some gods); 3.51–52 (with reference to Priam's fears for Dardania and Polydorus' departure for Thrace); 3.156 *Dardania incensa* (the Penates' reminiscence of the fall of Troy). The allusive name for the lost city paves the way for the genealogical argument of 134 ff. below.

venisse: A key verb in the Virgilian unfolding of the Trojan destiny; cf. 1.2.

duces: An interesting reference to the composition of the crews of the two biremes. We learn at 9.171 ff. that Mnestheus and Serestus had been assigned to be *rectores iuvenum* in his absence; at 9.226 the *ductores Teucrum primi, delecta iuventus* hold a council to decide on a course of action in the absence of Aeneas. Aged Aletes is there (9.246); we learn incidentally at 9.501 that Ilioneus is also present in the camp. (he participates in the battle at the camp at 9.569–570). We learn later that *fidus* Achates is with Aeneas (on the question of whether this

shadowy figure—a possible allegory for Agrippa—appears on the Ara Pacis, see Weber 1988, 170–172): cf. 586 below, where he is followed by *alii Troiae proceres* and, fatefully, Pallas. “Chosen leaders,” in any case—a decision that may be noted in light of the events that unfold in the absence of such men in the drama of *Aeneid* 9. Several Carolingians read *viros* here, possibly out of concern for the question of just who the “chosen leaders” might be, or (so Conington) because the collocation *lectos / duces* seemed redundant. On the question of how the “Trojan chieftains ... so strikingly fail to become personalities in the poem,” see Griffin 1986, 92–93.

socia arma: The scansion neatly enacts the request for an alliance. The image will be recalled at 11.161–162 ... *Troum socia arma secutum / obruerent Rutuli telis!*, of Evander’s lament before his son’s bier. Cf. Livy 1.2.3.6 *haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis iunxit* (of Mezentius); Statius, *Theb.* 3.313; Silius, *Pun.* 7.564; 635; 8.402; 14.193. Danielis connects the request for allied arms with the Sibyl’s prediction at 6.92 *quas gentis Italum aut quas non oraveris urbes!*; the undertone throughout is on how the fortunes of war and destiny have brought the Trojans to the point where they hope for an alliance with Greeks against other Greeks (cf. Turnus’ Greek ancestry; the possibility of Diomedes’ return, of which Aeneas and the Trojans are most likely unaware).

rogantis: For the verb see on 376.

“Aeneas nennt keine Namen, seine eigene Person übergeht er ganz und versteckt sich gleichsam hinter der Gruppe der anonymen Anführer ...” (Schauer 2007, 175).

121 *obstipuit tanto percussus nomine Pallas*:

Cf. *G.* 2.476 and *A.* 1.513.

obstipuit: For the verb see Nurtantio 2014, 155. Cf. 1.513 *obstipuit simul ipse, simul percussus Achates* (of the reaction of Aeneas and his trusted aide to the scene in Dido’s temple); 1.613 *Obstipuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido* (as Dido first sees Aeneas); 2.120 *obstipuerunt animi* (of Sinon’s report of the Greek reaction to the oracle); 2.378 (of Androgeos’ reaction to the realization of just where he is); 2.560 (of Aeneas’ reaction to the death of Priam); 2.774 (Aeneas when confronted by the shade of Creüsa); 3.48 (Aeneas at Polydorus’ grave); 3.298 (his reaction to the news about Andromache and Helenus); 5.90 (in response to the Anchises-serpent portent); 5.404 *obstipuerunt animi* (the crowd as they see Entellus’ *caestus*); 530 below (general reaction to the portent before the bestowal of the shield); 9.123 *Obstipuerunt animis Rutuli* (in light of the ship transformations); 9.197 *obstipuit magno laudum percussus amore* (of Euryalus); 11.120 ... *illi obstipuerunt silentes* (the Latin reaction to Aeneas’ words regarding the burial truce); 12.665–666 *obstipuit varia confusus imagine rerum / Turnus* (the Rutu-

lian hero's reaction to the news of Aeneas' threat to the Latin capital, etc.). The use of the verb with *percussus* looks back, then, to Aeneas' faithful companion Achates—even as it also looks forward to the doomed, reckless youth Euryalus. Pallas is poised between the two figures, smitten to the very core with the glory inherent in the name Dardania. Verb and noun bookend the verse.

tanto ... nomine: The reference to so great a name effectively frames the participle that describes the youth's reaction. Pallas has now heard of a storied name of mythological lore from a visitor; what he may have been taught in recitations from his father is now confirmed by the sudden arrival of Dardanians.

percussus: A disputed reading; R, several Carolingians, and Tiberius read *percussus* here (Servius has *percussus*; Henry, Page, Williams, and Eden *silent* in a section of the narrative that has not occasioned much in the way of comment); at 1.513, the same verbal variation is found, except FPR have *percussus* and M *perculsus*. *Percellere* is found in Virgil elsewhere only at 5.374 (of the reminiscence of Hector's pugilistic victory), and at 11.310 *cetera qua rerum iaceant percussa ruina* (Diomedes to Venulus' embassy); *percutere* is found in a non-participial form once elsewhere also, at 12.155, as Juturna beats her breast. The same problem of confusion between the two similar verbs is also encountered at G. 2.475–476 *Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae, | quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus amore*. For a defence of *percussus* at 1.513, see Conington; the criticism has been raised that *percussus* refers to an emotional state that is too strong in the context of either the Book 1 or the Book 8 passage (*vs.*, e.g., the scene with Diomedes in Apulia); on this see Conway, and Austin, *ad* 1.513. The Euryalus passage in Book 9, it should be noted, has no manuscript difficulty. Participial forms of *percutere* elsewhere in Virgil are applied to Dido (4.589); Silvia (7.503); also Picus (smitten by Circe's wand at 7.189–190); the minds of the Dardanians in response to the prayer of Euryalus concerning his mother (9.292–293); the Latin *matres* in the wake of the death of Camilla (11.877–878). Sabbadini and Geymonat read *percussus*; so also Mynors and Conte. In the end, the verbal connection between the three figures Achates, Pallas, and Euryalus helps to secure the likely reading. For how the audacious Pallas is still capable of being stunned with awe and surprise, see Lee 1979, 72–73.

On the influence of Apollonius' depiction (*Arg.* 2.752 ff.) of the Mariandynian Dascylus (the son of Lycus) in the crafting of the Virgilian Pallas, see especially Clausen 2002, 168 ff.; cf. Nelis 2001, 359–362.

122 'egredere o quicumque es' ait 'coramque parentem

egredere: The verb occurs also at 1.171–172 ... *ac magno telluris amore / egressi optata potiuntur Troes harena* (of the Trojan arrival in North Africa); 3.79 ... *egressi veneramur Apollinis urbem* (of the arrival at Delos); 9.314 *Egressi superant fossas* (of Nisus and Euryalus as they commence the night raid); 10.283 *dum trepidi egressisque labant vestigia prima* (Turnus' comment on the Trojan landing). Always in connection to the Trojans, then; once of the doomed young Trojan lovers. The imperative is found in comedy (Plautus, *Curc.* 158; *Most.* 3; 419; *Poen.* 709; *Stich.* 737); tragedy (Accius, *Phoen.* fr. 595 Warmington); Seneca, *Med.* 269; 3× in the first Catilinarian. The imperative coordinates closely with 123 *adloquere*; cf. also 125 *progressi*, as Aeneas and Pallas move off together toward the grove.

quicumque es: Aeneas makes a similar remark about the Tiber at 5.83; exactly parallel, however, is 10.737–738 *ille autem exspirans: non me, quicumque es, inulto, / victor*, of the dying Orodes' words to Mezentius (where see Harrison: "in both cases a formula addressing strangers"). On the expression vid. Klause 1993, 121–122. Aeneas has provided information, but not enough to secure his own identification. The interjection conveys a reverential, respectful tone (as at 1.327–328 *o quam te memorem / ... o dea certe*, of Aeneas to his disguised mother, on which see Austin's note). For the echo of Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.140 (where Dymas urges Echion to flee a dangerous land), see Murgatroyd ad loc. The phrase may also conceal a certain bit of learned comment on the forthcoming genealogical remarks offered by Aeneas; on this see S. Nakata, "Egredere o quicumque es: Genealogical Opportunism and Trojan Identity in the *Aeneid*," in *Phoenix* 63.3–4 (2012), 335–363.

coram: Cf. 1.520, as Ilioneus prepares to address Dido's court; 595, of Aeneas' declaration of his presence; 2.538, of Priam's comments to Pyrrhus about the slaughter of his son in his presence; 3.173, of the dream visitation of the Penates (where see Horsfall for the more common use in Virgil vs. Lucretius); 6.716, of Anchises' introduction of the future Roman worthies in the parade of heroes; 11.248 (= 1.520, of Venulus with Diomedes). We are reminded, perhaps, of the topos of death *ante ora parentum*.

parentem: Some Carolingians "correct" the accusative to the ablative here, understanding the noun as object of a preposition and not as direct object of 123 *adloquere*. The use of the noun maintains the emphasis of the scene on the familial relationships.

123 adloquere ac nostris succedere penatibus hospes.'

adloquere: The verb is used twice in the epic in connection with Jupiter's sending of Mercury to Aeneas (4.222; 226); in the third person, thrice of Venus (1.229;

5.780; 8.372); twice of Aeneas (1.594; 6.341); once of Dido (4.8); once of Cymodocea (10.228); once of Mezentius (10.860); once of Camilla (11.821); once of Jupiter to Juno (12.792); and in the first person, once only (of Aeneas to the shade of Dido at 6.466; cf. *E.* 8.20). Another imperative at the start of the line. Aeneas is invited to tell his story and to make his requests at greater length in the presence of Evander, who to this point has been shielded by his son from any threat of harm from the strange visitors. Danielis notes here: “mire sine patris auctoritate nihil confirmat, et tamen hospitium appellat.” But Pallas is not Roman, after all.

ac: The Medicean originally read *et* here, a reading known also to Nonius Marcellus (648L); with *ac* there is a greater highlight on the key detail about hospitality—“and, what is more,” etc.

succede: The imperative recalls Dido’s *quare agite o tectis, iuvenes, succedite nostris* (1.627); these are the only two command forms of the verb in Virgil; cf. 4.10 *quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes* (Dido to Anna). For the verb in connection with hospitality cf. Statius, *Theb.* 12.784; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 7.67–68. For how the “magical” mention of Troy has elicited the invitation to come to Pallanteum as a guest, see Wiltshire 1989, 97.

penatibus: The detail about the Arcadian household gods offers a note of comfort and welcome to Aeneas, whose custody of the Trojan Penates is a key element of his practice of *pietas*. For the possible connection of these Penates with those mentioned on the shield as being carried into battle by Caesar as he faces Antony (8.679), see Papaioannou 2005, 180. For *noster* with *Penates* cf. Livy 5.53.5.4; 7.13.8.4; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.37; Martial, *Ep.* 9.18.7 (with Henrikssen’s note); Silius, *Pun.* 16.208. A reference merely to one’s house in Martial, we might agree—but in Virgil always with connection to the signal work of Aeneas in rescuing the gods of Troy.

hospes: Cf. 188, 364, and 532 below, of the Trojan relationship with the Arcadians, and of Hercules’ previous visit to the site of Pallanteum. Elsewhere Dido addresses Aeneas as her guest at 1.753, just after she notes the role of Jupiter as legislator of the rubrics of hospitality (1.731); she cites the label in her address to Aeneas at 4.323 (i.e., with the implication that the Trojan has violated the laws of hospitality). Acestes is *hospes* of the Trojans at 5.63; the Latin envoys to Aeneas invoke the terms of the shattered relationship of hospitality (11.105). The concept of *hospitium* is emphasized in the narrative of Turnus’ killing of Pallas; the young Arcadian invokes Hercules as a recipient of hospitality (10.460), while Turnus notes that *hospitia* with Aeneas has come at great cost to the Arcadians. See further R. Degli’Innocenti Pierini in *EV* 11, 858–862; J. Burbridge, “Hospitality,” in *VE* 11, 623–624; R.K. Gibson, “Aeneas as *hospes* in Virgil, *Aeneid* 1 and 4,” in *CQ* 49.1 (1999), 184–202. The noun stands in deliberate juxtaposition;

the predicative nominative (or, conceivably, vocative) frames the line with the imperative. On how Aeneas fails miserably in regard to the demands of *hospitium* with respect both to Dido and Evander, see Powell 2008, 171–172; the word is placed here powerfully, as Pallas' last comment to his heroic visitor. Four verses to state Aeneas' words; two of his presumptive youthful understudy. *Hospes* is in juxtaposition with *penatibus*.

For an insightful study of the intertextual relationship between Virgil's account of Evander's hospitality and the Callimachean stories of both Heracles and Molorcus (*Aetia* fr. 54–60j Harder) and Theseus and Hecale (*Hecale*), see D. O'Rourke, "Hospitality Narratives in Virgil and Callimachus: The Ideology of Reception," in *CCJ* 63 (2017), 1–25.

124 *excepitque manu dextramque amplexus inhaesit;*

excepit ... inhaesit: The verbs frame the line. With *inhaesit* cf. 10.845 *ad caelum tendit palmas et corpore inhaeret* (Mezentius with the dead Lausus); also 260 below (as Hercules literally squeezes the life out of Cacus): the different uses of the verb in Virgil point to the cost of discipleship with Aeneas, to the rigor of battle against a would-be rebellious giant, and the death of a son before a father. Conington argues that *excepit* is used more of welcoming than of actually taking Aeneas by the hand. The present scene will be echoed at both 164 and 558 below.

For the Virgilian imitation of Homeric formulae (e.g., *Od.* 3.35), see Eden's note; on the three gestures of the verse and how they are not tautological, see Heuzé 1985, 588–589. "En le serrant fort et longtemps, Pallas incarne l'image du héros et lui donne un corps dense et noble." *Excepit manu* is imitated by Tacitus at *Ann.* 14.4.7 *venientem dehinc obvius in litora (nam Antio adventabat) excepit manu et complexu ducitque Baulos* (of Nero with Agrippina, a marvelous reappropriation of the Virgilian image). Servius comments: "ostendit virum et virtutis et hospitalitatis amatorem." "There are many realized handshakes in the *Aeneid* but none quite like this one" (Putnam 1995, 33, with discussion of the use of the "chiasmus on chiasmus" to express the great emotion with which Pallas extends his hands); cf. below on 169, as the agreement between Trojans and Arcadians is sealed by the hand. See further J. Connolly, "Fighting the Founder: Vergil and the Challenge of Autocracy," in Farrell and Putnam 2010, 404–417, 411–412.

The handshake of Aeneas and Pallas is recalled at 10.515–517 ... *Pallas, Evander, in ipsis | omnia sunt oculis, mensae quas advena primas | tunc adiit, dextraeque datae*, in a different and far darker context.

dextram ... amplexus: Cf. 6.697–698 ... *da iungere dextram, | da, genitor, teque amplexu ne subtrahe nostro*; Statius, *Theb.* 10.39; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.638;

4.635; Silius, *Pun.* 16.154–155; also Quintus Curtius Rufus 3.16.17.3. The joining of right hands is also referenced by Virgil at 1.408 (Aeneas' frustration with his mother); 3.83 (with King Anius on Delos); in Dido's angry note ... *en dextra fidesque* (4.598); below at 164, 169, and 467 (all in connection with Evander and Pallas); 11.164–165 (also of Arcadian *hospitium*). The Romanus has the ablative *dextraque*, probably under influence of *manu*.

amplexus: For the participle see Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.86; it appears in moments of less than positive import: cf. 2.214 (of the serpentine attack on Laocoön and his sons); 2.491 (of the embraces of the Trojan women as the city falls); 2.517 (of Hecuba and her daughters); 4.686 (Anna after Dido's fatal wounding); note also 3.607 (of Achaemenides' embrace of the Trojans); 5.531 (Aeneas with Acestes after the archery portent, which may portend the death of Pallas). Other forms of *amplecti* is used at 3.351 (Aeneas embracing the edifice of the make-believe Troy at Buthrotum); 5.312 (in the description of the Amazon quiver Helymus will win in the foot race); 10.523 (of Mago's vain pleading for his life with Aeneas in the wake of Pallas' death). The scansion of *dextramque amplexus* enacts the embrace; see below on 568 for a sad echo of Pallas' gesture here. “Ce geste de contact de façon significative, comme il arrive dans l'*Énéide* (V, 765; IX, 250). L'admiration du jeune homme pour le héros est immédiatement profonde. La riche relation qui se novera entre Énée et Pallas est annoncée dans l'instant par ce geste digne d'être remarqué” (Heuzé 2015, ad loc.).

inhaesit: With the line-end cf. Ovid, *Met.* 8.16; 9.54. Paschalis 1997, 280n21 connects the verb with wounding by missile weapons, and compares 10.160–161 (with *adfixus*), of Pallas at the side of Aeneas.

The present verse is used of the union of Adam and Eve (as the first man awakens, and with reference to the traditions of Roman nuptial rites) in Proba's Christian *cento* (135), on which see Schottenius Cullhed 2015, 143.

125 *progressi subeunt luco fluviumque relinquunt.*

progressi: The verb occurs only six times in Virgil: 3.300 *progređior portu classis et litora linquens* (Aeneas at Buthrotum); 4.136 *tandem progreditur magna stipante caterva* (Dido's entrance at the hunt); 337 below (of Evander with Aeneas); 11.608–609 *iamque intra iactum teli progressus uterque | substiterat* (during the cavalry engagement); 12.219 *adiuvat incessu tacito progressus ...* (of Turnus). Nominative participle and verb frame the verse; the participle responds to the imperative 122 *egredere*. The two men proceed from the landing point to the grove whence Pallas had come to mount the *tumulus*, etc.—but Virgil's only topographical concerns for the moment are the grove and the river.

subeunt luco: With eerie echo of 6.13 *iam subeunt Triviae lucos atque aurea tecta*; cf. Propertius, c. 4.6.61 *candida nunc molli subeant convivia luco*; also Horace, c. 3.4.6–8 ... *audire et videar pios / errare per lucos, amoenae / quos et aquae subeunt et aerae*. For the dative (of direction, or interest) see Eden's note. The mention of the grove returns us to the scene of 104, of the sacred rites in honor of Hercules.

fluviumque relinquunt: A quiet, subtle close to the scene, as Aeneas leaves the magical world of the Tiber voyage and proceeds to a different sort of wonderland. On the structure of the verse see Fordyce *ad* 7.7; Eden notes that there is no *hysteron proteron*. The departure from the river offers an evocative summary of the first movement of the book; it is the close of the first act. There is no detail about the actions of the crews of the two biremes; the only two figures who matter for the moment are Aeneas and Pallas, and we are left with a picture of the warm embrace of the Trojan and Arcadian (on how the latter will at once recede into the background, see Quinn 1968, 191; Gillis 1983, 56–57, with particular consideration of the lasting effect of the bond established here between youth and older hero). For the verb form at line-end see Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.472; with the expression, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 11.54 *iam mare invectae flumen populare relinquunt*. On the orthography see Eden; MP read *relincunt* and R *relinquunt*.

126–151 Aeneas addresses Evander, noting from the start that he is not fearful of the Arcadian's Greek ancestry, indeed an Arcadian with links to the twin sons of Atreus; he notes that the Trojans have a shared ancestry and kindred genealogical descent. He concludes with a reference to their common enemy, and to the readiness of the Trojans to join the Arcadians in an alliance. With the invocation of shared lineage cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 2.1160 ff. (Jason to Argus); see further Nelis 2001, 337 ff.

126 *Tum regem Aeneas dictis adfatur amicis*:

The transitional verse gives the essential information; Evander is a king, and Aeneas' words are those of a friend. The narrative is especially rapid here; one might imagine that Evander and his entourage have moved forward to meet Pallas and Aeneas along the way.

regem Aeneas: The word order juxtaposes Evander and Aeneas, just as at 127 ... *cui me*.

dictis ... amicis: So of Priam with Sinon at 2.147; of Aeneas as he entrusts certain of his companions to Acestes at 5.770; of Jupiter as he poignantly speaks to Hercules as Pallas proceeds to his doom (10.466 *Tum genitor natum dictis adfatur amicis*); cf. Statius, *Theb.* 3.294; *Ach.* 1.79; Silius, *Pun.* 8.210.

adfatur: The form occurs 13× in the epic: at 1.663 as Venus addresses Cupid; at 2.700, of Anchises addressing the gods; 7.91 *conloquio atque imis Acheronta Avernis* (of Latinus); 7.544 of Allecto to Juno; 9.198 of Nisus to Euryalus; 9.640 of Apollo to Iulus; 9.652 of Apollo/Butes to Iulus; 10.332 of Aeneas to Achates; 10.466 of Jupiter to Hercules; 10.591 of Aeneas to Lucagus; 12.10 *Tum sic adfatur regem* (of Turnus to Latinus); 12.71 of Turnus to Amata. Once each in Lucan and Silius; five times in Statius.

127 'optime Graiugenum, cui me Fortuna precari

optime: The superlative is used elsewhere with reference to Aeneas (1.555); Anchises (7.710); Orpheus (6.669); Latinus (11.294; 353; 12.48). Aeneas here commences his address to the leader of the *via prima salutis* (6.96) of which the Sibyl had spoken.

Graiugenum: In balanced response to 117 *Troiïugenas*; the two archaic, eminently epic appellations set up in distinct relief the two opposing sides in the Trojan War, now recast in a warm alliance that is rooted in a shared ancestry and the peril of a common hazard. Very different is this use of the title from 3.550 *Graiugenumque domos suspectaque linquimus arva*, its only other appearance in Virgil; it is probably borrowed from Lucretius, *DRN* 1.476–477 *nec clam durateus Troiïanis Pergama partu / perspicere ut possis res gestas funditus omnis*; cf. Pacuvius, fr. 14 Warmington *Graiugena*; *de hoc istoc aperit ipsa oratio* (preserved by Cicero, *DND* 2.36.91). The emphasis on descent and lineage continues. On the (archaizing) termination vid. Priscian, *Inst.* 6.1.3; Skutsch *ad* Ennius, *Ann.* fr. s.i. 445; Poortvliet *ad* Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.557; cf. *Arg.* 6.389. Servius has an interesting note here on the question of whether or not the Greeks could ever be considered *boni* or *miliores* from the Trojan point of view.

cui: For the dative see Eden (“anomalous”); Servius considers it an archaism in place of the usual construction with the accusative. See further Torzi 2000, 235–236.

Fortuna: Probably deserving of the capitalization. The problem of F(f)ortune and F(f)ate will be central to Evander’s presentation to Aeneas (cf. below on 334–336); for the question of personification see P. Hardie’s remarks in *VE* 11, 497–498 (with reference to 5.604 and 11.427 as passages where the Greek Tyche is likely envisaged). In a rare moment of instruction from Aeneas to his son, the Trojan hero will advise Ascanius to learn of fortune from others (12.436 *fortunam ex aliis*), possibly with reference to the times when Fortune has seemed to desert or mislead him (as in the case of Pallas)—but also with apparent unawareness of or disregard for the numerous occasions when one could argue that the admittedly capricious goddess has seemed to favor him. Aeneas and

Pallas were said to have left the river, and Aeneas seems to have forgotten for the moment that Tiberinus was the source of the instruction to approach Evander (Danielis considers it quite fitting, however, that Aeneas credits Fortune with the idea; see further below on 131)—at the very least, he suppresses all mention of the Tiber's dream epiphany. On the trust in destiny that Aeneas displays here, see Henry 1989, 85–86. The mention of Fortune here may echo the Sibyl's prophecy at 6.95–96 ... *sed contra audientior ito | qua tua te Fortuna sinet*.

precari: The infinitive occurs also at 3.144.

128 et vitta comptos voluit praetendere ramos,

With reference back to 116; the image is not uncommon in Greek or Latin literature, and it is found in a variety of contexts (cf., e.g., Orestes at Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 1035, with Garvie; *Eum.* 43–45, with Sommerstein; the chorus at *Supp.* 22, with Friis Johansen-Whittle; Horace, c. 14.8, with Nisbet and Rudd; Ovid, *Ep.* 1.1.31, with Gaertner; Petronius, *Sat.* 108 *Data ergo acceptaque ex more patrio fide praetendit ramum oleae a tutela navigii raptum*, with Habermehl). The emphasis is on supplication; Aeneas has come to beseech Evander, and he has displayed the universal token of truce and appeal. Supplication sometimes involves invoking that which is dearest to the person supplicated (vid. Finglass *ad* Sophocles, *Ajax* 587–588); in this case, Aeneas will invoke genealogical pride and glory in one's ancestry. Proper form and diplomatic courtesy; there is no *piaculum* because of the absence of sacrifice before the reception of foreign ambassadors (cf. Briscoe *ad* Livy 44.19.6–14), but the interrupted sacrifice may have triggered Roman obsessions about ritual exactitude. On the larger problem of supplication in Virgil's characterization of Aeneas, see V. Panoussi, "Aeneas' Sacral Authority," in Farrell and Putnam 2010, 52–65, 62 ff., with discussion of Aeneas' ultimate abuse of his position as priest-leader of his people, and his reversion to the role of "venegful warrior."

vitta: Of a woolen fillet.

comptos: The verb is also used with reference to the Sibyl's hair (6.48); to Umbro with his olive crown (7.751); to Lausus' hair, stained with blood (10.832 ... *sanguine turpantem comptos de more capillos*).

praetendere ramos: Cf. 11.332 *ire placet pacisque manu praetendere ramos* (of the Latin envoys to Aeneas).

129 non equidem extimui Danaum quod ductor et Arcas

non equidem: Plautine (*Amphit.* 328; *Bacch.* 1061, 1063; *Capt.* 578; *Men.* 798; *Most.* 909, 994); Catullan (c. 108.3); elsewhere in Virgil at *E.* 1.11; *A.* 4.330 *non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer* (Dido to Aeneas); 10.793 *non equidem nec*

te, iuvenis memorande, silebo (the poet-narrator of Lausus). Once looking back to the abandoned Dido, then, and once in anticipation of the memory of the doomed young hero Lausus.

extimui: *Extimescere* occurs only here in Virgil; the reference is to the extreme of terror and dread (the prefix is intensive). The classic Virgilian passage for the question of Trojan fear of the Greeks is 2.49 ... *timeo Danaos et dona ferentis*; here the situation is somewhat reversed, with Aeneas in the role of suppliant (cf. the horse as alleged propitiatory offering). The perfect tense indicates a lasting, persistent state of emotion. For the verb see Augoustakis on Statius, *Theb.* 8.441–444.

Danaum ... ductor: Borrowed from Lucretius (*DRN* 1.86 *ductores Danaum delecti, prima virorum*), where the context is no less ominous than in Virgil's use at 2.14 *ductores Danaum tot iam labentibus annis*, of the broken (*fracti bello*) Greeks who settle on the device of the wooden horse. The language is thus striking; Evander is associated clearly with the same men who were responsible for the fall of Troy. Effectively alliterative; half the verse is taken up by the reference to the destroyers of Priam's city, before an entire line is given over to the memory of the two leaders of the expedition. Agamemnon is the *Mycenaeus ductor* at 11.266, in Diomedes' reminiscence of the ill-fated *nostoi* of his fellow Greeks.

The first use of *ductor* in the epic is of the stags Aeneas shoots to provide food for his men (1.189); Venus refers to the future Romans anachronistically as *ductores ... Teucrici* at 1.235. Dido's North African neighbors are *ductores* (4.37); so also the Trojan captains in the regatta (5.133; cf. 249), and the turn leaders for the *lusus Troiae* (5.561). The shade of Orontes is referred to as *ductorem classis* (6.334); cf. Messapus and Ufens at 6 above, and Evander's references to Aeneas at 470, 496 and 513 below. The Trojan leaders in camp during Aeneas' absence are *ductores* (9.226; cf. 778–779; the reference to the same men at 12.561–562); Turnus is *ductor* at 9.691; Cunerus at 10.185. Aeneas is the *ductor Dardanius* at 10.602–603 and 814; he is the *ductor Rhoeteius* at 12.456. There is a rare scene of mixed leadership *en masse* at 12.126.

quod: Introducing an object clause of alleged reason with the subjunctive (130 *fores*). On the use of the subjunctive in such clauses see especially Pinkster 2015, 647 ff., with detailed analysis.

Arcas: Echoing 102 above. The Arcadians are not exempted from association with the Greek attack on Troy. Aeneas has used three references to Evander's Greek origins in as many verses.

130 **quodque a stirpe fores geminis coniunctus Atridis;**

a stirpe: The connection between Evander and the Atridae may lie simply in a common descent from Jupiter/Zeus, though the language points to a more intimate link. Aeneas begins with a reference to lineage and genealogy; he will dismiss the blood connections between the Arcadian and the Atridae, only to return to the theme of family trees when it suits his purpose (134 ff.)—with, as we shall see, an implicit indication that he, too, has shared lineage with Agamemnon and Menelaus (a connection that will pave the way for his actions with respect to Latinus' city in Books 11–12; for the image of Aeneas as “progressive extirpator” of rivals both foreign and Trojan, see E. Gowers, “Trees and Family Trees in the *Aeneid*,” in *ClassAnt* 30.1 (2011), 87–118). The exact nature of the shared lineage of Evander and the Atridae is the subject of a lengthy note by Danielis, with citation of Accius' *Atreus* for a possible Atlantid pedigree (on which passage see Dangel's detailed Budé notes). The Servius *auctus* tradition may reflect a confusion of sources (vid. here Wigodsky 1972, 84–85); Accius is cited, but also Hesiod (and it is unclear what Accius may have said in his tragedy, e.g. in his prologue, about lineages). Evander may have been considered the son of Echemus and Timandra; Timandra was the sister of Helen and Clytemnestra, etc. (cf. Hesiod, fr. 23a and 176 Merkelbach-West [fr. 19 and 247 Most]). For the ablative of source or origin see Antoine 1882, 170–172, and cf. 6.757 and 864.

fores: This form of the second singular of the imperfect subjunctive occurs only here in Virgil. “A part of the old Latin verb *fuo*, which survives also in *fuam*, in *fui*, in *fore*, and *futurus*” (W.D. Lowrance, “The Use of *Forem* and *Essem*,” in *TAPA* 62 (1931), 169–191, 170).

geminis ... Atridis: Agamemnon and Menelaus, with the word order effectively inserting Evander within the reference to the two Greek leaders. The reference follows on the mention of Diomedes at 9 above, as Venulus was sent off on his mission; the Argive hero will refuse to come to Latium, but the reality is that on the very site of the future Rome there is already a king who is linked with the leaders of the Greek expedition to Troy. The *geminis Atridae* are referenced at 2.415 and 499–500 ... *vidi ipse furem / caede Neoptolemum geminosque in limine Atridas*; cf. Statius, *Ach.* 1.467–468; Silius, *Pun.* 13.802.

coniunctus: Echoed at 133 *coniunxere* of the perceived connection between Aeneas and Evander; 164 of Evander's memory of how he longed to shake hand of Anchises (as Pallas had done with Aeneas). At 1.513–515, Aeneas and Achates are eager to break free of Venus' mist and greet their companions; Nautes advises Aeneas to join himself to Aceses (5.712 *hunc cape consiliis socium et coniunge volentem*). At 10.105 Jupiter refers to the question of the union of Ausonis

and Trojans; at 10.653 the participle *coniuncta* is used of the ship that Turnus boards in pursuit of the phantom Aeneas. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2.368 *qui tibi materno quamvis a sanguine iunctus*, with Moore-Blunt's note.

131 *sed mea me virtus et sancta oracula divum*

From renunciation of fear, Aeneas proceeds to more positive reasons for his having been joined (133 *coniunxere*) to Evander's Arcadians. Four rationales are offered in two verses; the first pair concerns Aeneas' personal quality of courage and manliness, and the voice of the gods. For the emphatic adversative conjunction see Gransden.

mea ... virtus: Cf. Catullus, c. 64.218–219 *quandoquidem fortuna mea ac tua fervida virtus / eripit invito mihi te* (Aegeus to Theseus); Lucretius, *DRN* 1.140 *sed tua me virtus tamen et sperata voluntas* (of the poet's aspirations with respect to Memmius). The collocation *mea me* puts strong emphasis on the person of the speaker; it is balanced by *tua / tibi* at 132–133 (both passages echo 6.95 *qua tua te Fortuna sinet*). For the alliterative effect see Cordier, *Allit.* 20–21; on *virtus*, R. Laurenti in *EV* IV, 564–568. *Virtus* is here contrasted with the craven reaction one might expect from a Trojan in the presence of a relative of the Atridae. The expression and its sentiments are Homeric; there is a hint of association between the heroic stature of the son of a god, and the voice of the immortals that has led him to this place. With reference to the Lucretian echo, however, Aeneas has converted the second person praise of a patron into the first person of the client; see Danielis on any hint of arrogance in Aeneas' words, and the "soothing" message to Evander of 132 *tua ... fama*. For the possible connection of Aeneas' qualities here with Augustus, see Binder 1971, 51 ff.; cf. Mackie 1988, 150–152;

sancta oracula divum: A striking phrase that is difficult to parallel. Aeneas recalls the oracular message of Tiberinus that urged him to seek help from the Arcadians (49 ff. above; no other prophecy specifically highlighted the visit to Arcadia, though the Sibyl did speak of the unexpected help that would come from a Greek city at 6.95–97). *Oracula* appear also in Virgil at 2.114–115 *suspensi Eurypyllum scitatum oracula Phoebi / mittimus*; 3.456–457 *quin adeas vatem precibusque oracula poscas / ipsa canat*; 7.81 ... *oracula Fauni*; cf. *G.* 2.16 and 4.449. Four oracular references in the epic, then: two with direct reference to Phoebus Apollo, and two of local Italian deities (though the present reference is not specifically Tiberine). On the alliance of peoples and the place of the gods in the treaty negotiation, see Adler 2003, 30 ff. "Aeneas' reference to oracles at the opening of his speech to Evander ... is characteristic of the way that oracles could be invoked in contemporary diplomacy" (*VE* II, 938).

For *sanctus* cf. above on 72, where it refers to the Tiber. The solemn adjective is used once of the “holy senate” in Dido’s nascent city (1.426); twice in connection with the Iulus portent (2.686; 700); once with reference to the cult practices that Helenus enjoins on Aeneas (3.406); once of the *numina sancta* of the goddess Pallas (3.543); also of the *sancte deorum* Aeneas addresses at 4.576 (after Mercury’s visit); of Anchises, addressed as *sancte pater* (5.80; cf. 5.603); of Deiphobe (6.65 *sanctissima vates*); of the *sancta fides* Amata rhetorically references at 7.365; of Venus’ appeal to the *sanctum numen* of her husband Vulcan (382 below); of Evander’s reference to his *sanctissima coniunx* (11.158); in Arruns’ appeal to Apollo as guardian of holy Soracte (11.785); of Turnus’ powerful reference to his *sancta anima* at 12.648.

For a consideration of this passage in terms of the problem of Aeneas’ submission to fate and the dictates of destiny, see G. Williams 1983, 12.

132 *cognatique patres, tua terris didita fama,*

cognati ... patres: The introduction of Aeneas’ great theme of the common ancestry of the Trojans and the Arcadians. The adjective is used at 3.502 *cognatas urbes*, as Aeneas makes his promise to Helenus about the future association of his settlement with Buthrotum; at 12.29 *cognato sanguine*, it is used by Latinus with reference to his support for Turnus. On the Virgilian uses of the passive participles see Hahn 1930, 215–217. *Cognati* here accords neatly with 133 *coniunxere*.

terris: Eden (and Gransden) remark on the solemn effect of the disyllabic spondaic word in this position; Aeneas has seen much of the world as a wandering exile, and here he celebrates the diffuse fame of the Arcadian hero.

didita fama: In a chiasmic relationship of sorts with 131 *mea ... virtus*; Aeneas has his quality of great courage, and Evander his renown and glory. These are the result of personal achievement, in contrast to the oracles and “cognate fathers” that result from fortune and the favor of the gods. The (Lucretian; cf. *DRN* 4.240 and 5.20) verb appears elsewhere in Virgil only at 7.144–145 *diditur hic subito Troiana per agmine rumor / advenisse diem quo debita moenia condant*; it may have had an archaic ring that would accord well with the notion of long and well diffused fame. The phrase is imitated by Silius, *Pun.* 1.186 *hinc fama in populos iurati didita belli*; cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 11.1.9–10 *didita per provincias fama parare iter ad Germanicos exercitus* (with Malloch’s note). Evander’s reputation is his letter of recommendation to Aeneas, and the assurance that the support of his Arcadians will be decisive in the present state of war. The reading *dedita* (R; several Carolingians) may have been occasioned by confusion over the relatively uncommon verb.

Aeneas employs the Homeric language of individual fame (especially martial glory), and of the lineage he shares with his host. There is little here of concern for the establishment of a new city.

The English ecclesiastical historian John Jortin proposed transposing the second halves of this verse and the next, for the sake of removing the asyndeton; “They who disapprove of the conjecture must acknowledge, that it is proposed with diffidence enough, and not obtruded upon Virgil or the Readers” (Jortin 1732, 329). Both Conington and Eden note that there is no manuscript support for such a change, which would also ruin the artful balance of the paired clauses.

133 *coniunxere tibi et fatis egere volentem.*

coniunxere: Echoing 130 *coniunctus*; also 132 *cognati*. The first part of the verse is simple enough; Aeneas has been joined to Evander by his own *virtus*, the oracles of the gods, shared parentage, and the Arcadian’s *fama*.

fatis: Klouček conjectured *votis*.

egere: As at 118 and 335, in related contexts.

volentem: A subtle and good example of the poet’s psychological portrait of his Trojan hero; the sentiment expressed here may seem at variance with 6.460 *invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi* (of Aeneas to the shade of Dido); cf. also 4.361 *Italiam non sponte sequor* (Aeneas to Dido). Virgil here introduces a twist of sorts that may be considered perplexing (see here Conington’s note). Goold translates, “... and led me here as Fate’s willing follower”; cf. also Ahl’s “Fate drove me, but I followed gladly”; Holzberg’s “... zu dir geführt durch die Fata und willig”; also Perret’s “... m’ont conduit vers toi, poussé par les destins mais de bon cœur”; Heuzé’s “... et, grâce aux destins, m’ont conduit vers toi.” The reference to the *fatis* echoes the *sancta oracula* (131), and ultimately 1.2 *Italiam fato profugus*; in accord with the “Fates” or “fate,” Aeneas has been driven on willingly (at least to Evander’s Pallanteum). The ablative may be of attendant circumstance. Henry compares 5.656 ... *fatisque vocantia regna*. Eden notes that Virgil may not have worried as much as his critics about the apparent contradictions with the aforementioned Aeneas-Dido passages. The detail about Aeneas’ willing response to the decrees of fate has been interpreted as a reflection of Aeneas’ status as a Stoic hero, on which see the classic treatment of C.M. Bowra, “Aeneas and the Stoic Ideal,” in *G&R* 3 (1933–1934), 8–21 (reprinted in Harrison 1990, 363–377); also M.W. Edwards, “The Expression of Stoic Ideas in the *Aeneid*,” in *Phoenix* 14.3 (1960), 151–165; P. McGushin, “Virgil and the Spirit of Endurance,” in *AJPh* 85.3 (1964), 225–253; J.P. Poe, “Success and Failure in the Mission of Aeneas,” in *TAPA* 96 (1965), 321–336; F.A. Sullivan, “Virgil and the Mystery of Suffering,” in *AJPh* 90.2 (1969), 161–177; T. Fuhrer, “Aeneas: A Study

in Character Development,” in *G&R* 36.1 (1989), 63–72; S. Goins, “Two Aspects of Virgil’s Use of *Labor* in the *Aeneid*,” in *CJ* 88.4 (1993), 375–384. Servius has the succinct observation, “quod voluntatis fuerat egit necessitas fati.” Seneca’s *ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt* (*Ep.* 107.11, where see Summers; the verse comes at the end of a Latin version of a tetrastich of Cleanthes to Zeus) has been cited here as a relevant *comparandum*, but the points in Virgil about Aeneas’ willingness (*volentem*) and the decrees of fate (*fatis*) may be more restrictive in their import than their Cleanthian and related Stoic equivalents.

The same participle at line-end is used of Aeneas when he wishes to speak to the shade of his wife Creüsa (2.790); possibly at 4.390, of Aeneas with Dido (where *parantem* is the likelier reading); at 5.712 *hunc cape consilii socium et coniunge volentem*, where Nautes advises Aeneas about the prospective Trojan settlement with Acestes in Sicily; and at 12.203 of Latinus (in the ill-fated treaty settlement). Here the echo is mostly of 5.712 (where *coniunge* connects to *coniunxere* here, together with a similar context); the force of *et fatis egere volentem* may be fairly restrictive in its import (i.e., with particular reference to Aeneas’ mission to Evander, and the resultant alliance). For the moment, at least, Aeneas’ mind may be focused more on the allies he needs in the present war than in the larger mission of the settlement of the Trojans in Latium; it may be problematic to posit that the present, brief detail constitutes evidence of perceived progression in the “education of Aeneas” or his advancement from his state at Carthage to the present encounter at Pallanteum.

134 Dardanus, Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor,

Aeneas commences his genealogical association of the Trojans and Arcadians on a note of city-building and urban foundation. For the Apollonian model (where Aeetes’ grandson Argus notes that Jason and Phrixus are both descendants of Aeolus), see Clausen 2002, 217 ff. (“Appendix 5: The Kinship of Aeneas and Evander”); also Nelis 2001, 338. On Aeneas’ intentions here note Schauer 2007, 98–99. For the significance of the genealogy in terms of the structure of Books 7–8, with comparison in particular of Latinus’ reference to Saturn at 7.49, see Jenkyns 1998, 545–546. For the question of Evander’s genealogical association with the Atridae, see Horsfall 2016, 77.

Dardanus: The story of this Trojan *pater* is referenced in Latinus’ speech at 7.192 ff. The present verse echoes 6.650 *Ilus Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor*, where the Trojan founder is a ghost in the underworld; also *G.* 3.36 ... *Trosque parens et Troiae Cynthius auctor*. In Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* 1.50.3) he is first mentioned as a son of Zeus (cf. Homer, *Il.* 20.215) and the Atlantid Electra; later (1.61.1 ff.) he is husband of Chryse, the daughter of Pallas, and father of Idaeus and Deimas, all successors to Atlas in Arcadia. After a deluge the group

splits, with Deimas remaining in Arcadia and the others landing in Samothrace. Another separation occurs (in Lycophron, *Alex.* 69–85, the flood occurs here), and a new landing under Dardanus in Asia; Idaeus settled in the mountains whence Ida, and Dardanus built an eponymous city in the Troad, on land given to him by the king Teucer. Dardanus married Batieia (the daughter or sister of Teucer) after Chryse's death (cf. Hellan., fr. 24 Fowler); Erichthonius was their son, who in turn was the father of Tros (by Callirhoe), who in turn sired Assaracus (by Acallaris). Assaracus was the father of Capys (by Clytadora, the daughter of Laomedon); Capys was the father of Anchises. For the connection of Dardanus to the Palladia (via his marriage to Pallas' daughter Chryse) see Dionysius 63.3 ff. 66.5.

The genealogy of Dardanus' descendants is confused (see here especially Fowler 2013, 524–525). Aeneas provides a family tree to Achilles at *Iliad* 20.215–240 (vid. further Edwards ad loc.; Ps.-Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.12 seq.), where Zeus is the father of Dardanus, who is in turn the father of Erichthonius; then comes Tros and his three sons, Ilus, Assaracus, and Ganymede. Ilus is the father of Laomedon, and Laomedon of Tithonus and Priam (*inter al.*). Assaracus is the sire of Capys, etc. But Hesiod (fr. 177 Merkelbach-West [121 Most]) has Ilus and Erichthonius as sons of Dardanus. See Hornblower *ad Lycophron, Alex.* 69–85 for other Dardanian lore, including his possible fratricide (cf. Romulus) and “salvation from drowning ... a big promise of the Samothracian mysteries” (the latter of particular interest in light of the traditions of Aeneas' demise).

Iliacae: The (poetic) geographical adjective occurs in Catullus (c. 68B.86 *si miles muros isset ad Iliacos*) and Propertius (c. 2.13.48 *saucius Iliacis miles in aggeribus*; c. 4.4.69 *nam Venus, Iliacae felix tutela favillae*); in Virgil it is used several times in association with the ruin of Troy, or least of the war (1.97 ... *mene Iliacis occumbere campis*; 1.456, of the pictures in Dido's temple; 1.483 *ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros*; 1.647 *munera praeterea Iliacis erepta ruinis*; 2.431 *Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum*; 4.78 *Iliacosque iterum demens audire labores*; 10.61–62 *casus / Iliacos*; 11.255 *quicumque Iliacos ferro violavimus agros*; 11.393–394 ... *Iliacos tumidum qui crescere Thybrim / sanguine*; also simply of the Trojans, with no reference to the defeat. The adjective looks back to the distant past, to the city that was destroyed by the Greeks and that will not in fact rise again as an Ilian foundation in *sermo* or *mores*.

primus pater: Cf. the similar imagery of preeminence and paternity at G. 1.121–122; A. 6.819–820 (in very different contexts). On the pleonastic use of *primus* ... *auctor* see Eden (with reference to Austin *ad* 4.284 *prima exordia*); on the phenomenon see Löfstedt II, 173 ff.

auctor: Cf. G. 1.432; 2.315; 3.36; A. 3.503 *Epiro Hesperiam quibus idem Dardanus auctor* (of another situation of shared ancestry); 4.365 *nec tibi diva parens*

generis nec Dardanus auctor (Dido to Aeneas); 5.17 ... *si mihi Iuppiter auctor* (Palinurus to Aeneas); 5.418 ... *probat auctor Acestes*; 6.650 *Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor*; 7.49 *te, Saturne, refert, tu sanguinis ultimus auctor*; 269 below (of Potitius); 336 ... *deus auctor Apollo*; 9.420–421 (of the *auctorem teli*; cf. 9.748); 10.67 *Italiam petiit fatis auctoribus esto*; 10.510–511 *Nec iam fama mali tanti, sed certior auctor / advolat Aeneae*; 11.339 ... *consiliis habitus non futilis auctor*; 12.159 *auctor ego audendi* (Juno to Juturna); 12.405 ... *nihil auctor Apollo* (of the god's inability or unwillingness to cure Aeneas' wound). *Dardanus ... auctor* neatly frames the verse, with *primus pater* placed powerfully at mid-line.

The commencement of eight lines marked by storied names, with Atlas referenced a striking four times: 134 *Dardanus / Iliacae*; 135 *Electra / Grai / Atlantide*; 136 *Teucros / Electram / Atlas*; 138 *Mercurius / Maia*; 139 *Cyllenae*; 140 *Maiam / Atlas*; 141 *Atlas*.

135 *Electra, ut Grai perhibent, Atlantide cretus,*

A line with two stereotypically Trojan names is followed by one with three Greek, the intent being to appeal to the Arcadian Evander. With this verse cf. Ovid's imitation at *Fast.* 4.31 *Dardanon Electra ... Atlantide natum* (with Fantham). "An impossible Virgilian hexameter, which involves an absurdity in any case, since Electra and Atlantis are, of course, one and the same person" (Toynbee 1902, 281). But "Atlantis" means simply a "daughter of Atlas." Cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.916.

Electra ... Atlantide: This daughter of Atlas/Atlantid is mentioned by Virgil only in this genealogy; note the mention of the Pleiades at *G.* 1.221 *ante tibi Eoae Atlantides abscondantur*. At Hellan. fr. 23 Fowler (where see his notes ad loc. in Fowler 2013, 522 ff.) "Elektryone" is a resident of Samothrace known as Strategis; Dardanus is one of her three children. In Hesiod, "Electra" is a daughter of Ocean and wife of Thaumás (*Theog.* 266 and 349, where see West); the "dark-eyed" Atlantid (apparently) Electra is also referenced (fr. 169 Merkelbach-West = 188 Most), including her parentage of Dardanus (fr. 177 Merkelbach-West = 121 Most). On the genealogy see Gantz 1993, 557–558, with consideration of the question of whether or not "Dardanides" as a patronymic reflects an earlier stratum of tradition in which the family line is less well developed. The first of a striking four references to the god in close succession (Mackie 1988, 153).

As a daughter of Atlas, Electra is celebrated as one of the seven Pleiades (see here Gantz 1993, 212–219; cf. Preller/Robert I, 464–469; Roscher I.1, 1234–1239); her sisters (*teste Hesiodo*) were Taygete, Alcyone, Asterope, Celaeno, Maia, and Merope (fr. 169 Merkelbach-West = Most 118, where the citation from a scholium on Pindar's *Nemeans* is the source of the Atlantid detail). Simonides (fr. 555

Page, a passage cited by Athenaeus that references the seven “violet-haired daughters”) is the first extant source that specifically connects these Atlantids with the Pleiades (on this “unique little cluster of stars in the constellation Taurus,” see West *ad* Hesiod, *Op.* 383–384, especially on the question of whether Atlas should be considered a figure in a genealogy, or simply a geographical marker, “a cosmic figure associated with their first appearance in the sky”). Cf. too Ps.-Eratosthenes, *Cat.* 23 (with Massana’s Budé notes).

Electra is one of the women in Dante’s Limbo (together with Camilla, Penthesilea, and Lavinia): *Inf.* 4.121–123 *l’vidi Eletra com molti compagni, / tra’ quai conobbi Ettòr ed Enea, / Cesare armato con li occhi grifagni* (where the mention of Caesar with his “falcon eyes” just before the appearance of Camilla at 124 reminds one of the accipiter/hawk simile that describes Camilla at 11.721–724).

ut Grai perhibent: Cf. *G.* 3.90 ... *quorum Grai meminere poetae*; *A.* 1.530 *est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt* (= 3.163); the disputed 6.242 *unde locum Grai dixerunt nomine Aornum*. Pacuvian (fr. 110–111 Warmington) *Id quod nostri caelum memorant, Grai perhibent aethera*; cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 2.600 *Hanc veteres Graium docti cecinere poetae*; 629–630 ... *Curetas nomine Grai / quos memorant* (of the Magna Mater and her devotees); 3.100 *harmoniam Grai quam dicunt*; 5.405 *scilicet ut veteres Graium cecinere poetae*; 6.424 *presteras Graii quos ab re nominarunt*; 754 ... *Graium ut cecinere poetae*; 908 *quem Magneta vocant patrio de nomine Grai*. The expression occurs also in Virgil at 4.178–180 *illam Terra parens ira inritata deorum / extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem / progenuit* (of Fama); note also below on 324–325. Cf. Cicero, *Arat. Phaen.* fr. 14.1 *Quem claro perhibent Ophiuchum nomine Grai*; 34.446–447 Ewbanks, Soubiran *Hanc illi tribuunt poenam Nereides almae, / cum quibus, ut perhibent, ausa est contendere forma*; Ps.-V., *Ciris* 77; Silius, *Pun.* 1.85; 13.471. For the adjective see Fordyce’s note; of venerable literary antiquity (Ennian; Naevian; Pacuvian; Accian). A “naïve” reference, Fordyce observes, for a Trojan to make to a Greek; Virgil may have been most interested in the Alexandrian, Hellenistic color.

cretus: The form also at 2.74 ... *hortamur fari quo sanguine cretus*; 3.608 ... *qui sit fari, quo sanguine cretus*; Manilius, *Astron.* 5.304–305 *quin etiam ille pater tali de sidere cretus / esse potest*; Ovid, *Met.* 8.307 ... *et cretus Amyntore Phoenix*; 13.31–32 ... *quid sanguine cretus / Sisyphio*; 13.750 *Acis erat Fauno nymphaque Symaethide cretus*; 15.760 *he foret hic igitur mortali semine cretus*; Statius, *Theb.* 3.452; *Silv.* 5.2.17–18; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.444–445; Silius, *Pun.* 3.249; 17.444–445.

136 advehitur Teucros; Electram maximus Atlas

advehitur: The verb is not common in Virgil; at 3.108 *Teucus Rhoeteas primum est advectus in oras* it occurs in a similar context; cf. 1.558 *unde huc advecti*; 5.864 *iamque adeo scopulos Sirenum advecta subibat*; 10.655 *qua rex Clusinis advectus Osinius oris*.

Teucros: The Teucrians (here with reference both the people and the place, as Danielis observes); see further above on 10 *Teucros*. Aeneas' relatively rapid account of genealogical connection does not stop to give any narrative of the rationale for Dardanus' migration to the Troad.

maximus Atlas: The storied Titan and giant of mythology and lore, archetypal rebel, even, against Jovian order (vid. V. La Bua in *EV* 1, 390–391; S. Casali in *VE* 1, 145–146; also Roscher 1.1, 704–711, with consideration of the depiction of Atlas in art); Augoustakis on Statius, *Theb.* 8.315–316 for the Atlas topos; he was the son of Iapetus and Clymene (Hesiod, *Theog.* 507–511). Infamous for his condemnation and sentence to hold up the vault of the heavens, a story known to Homer (*Od.* 1.52–54) and Hesiod—though as Gantz notes (1993, 46), there is no indication in the earliest sources that the punishment was for participation in the Titanomachy (“possibly the punishment is older than the crime”). Atlas played a role in the story of Hercules' labor for the golden apples of the Hesperides (Gantz 1993, 410–413), with evidence from the visual arts dating as early as the mid-sixth century; in some sense Aeneas becomes Atlas (and/or Hercules) at the end of the present book (729–731), where he takes up the great shield on his shoulders (and cf. 2.708, of Aeneas with the burden of Anchises): two crucial moments where Aeneas is perhaps given problematic associations with a giant who symbolizes, indeed embodies rebellion against the Olympian order, first as he carries a precious Trojan remnant out of the doomed city, and once as he takes up the divine revelation of the Roman future of which he is explicitly said to be ignorant. On the ominous import of the genealogy see Newman and Newman 2005, 146.

“Greatest Atlas”: the appellation recalls 1.740–471 ... *cithara crinitus Iopas / personat aurata, docuit quem maximus Atlas*, of the mysterious songs at Dido's banquet (for Atlas as teacher, see Putnam 1974, 215–217; at 4.481–482 ... *ubi maximus Atlas / axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum*, Virgil offers an Atlantean detail in his account of Dido's preparations for her suicide; it is echoed at 6.795–797, in a description of the extent of Augustus' sway over the world). Atlas is prominent in the narrative of the flight of Mercury (at Jupiter's behest) to visit Aeneas with instructions to depart from Carthage with all haste (4.245–255, where the Titan's name is prominently highlighted at 247–248 *Atlantis / Atlantis*, with reference to Mount Atlas).

We can thus trace a careful progression in the Virgilian uses of Atlantean imagery. Iopas' song comes at Dido's banquet; it is a cosmogonic hymn that includes mention of the Pleiades' sororial companions, the Hyades (1.744; Atlas of course had irresistible geographical associations for an African setting that made his inclusion in the Carthage interlude an attractive narrative option for the poet). As the tragic drama of Aeneas' Carthaginian sojourn intensifies, references to the god quickly multiply: Mercury uses Mount Atlas as a veritable rest station on his way to the queen's nascent city, and Dido notes the Atlantean, Hesperidean connections of the Massylian priestess whose magic talents have been promised to her. The future rule of Augustus Caesar is described by Anchises' shade in language that directly echoes Dido's (6.797 = 4.482); the *aurea saecula* (6.792–793) Augustus will found (*condet*) will represent a rebirth of the Saturnian Golden Age in Latium—where Saturn once ruled, Augustus will now restore a golden peace. In Anchises' eschatological vision (a companion piece to the imagery of the shield), we may find a hint of a reminiscence of the rebellion against the Jovian order with which Atlas is associated; one may envision Augustus as a Jupiter-like figure, now taking his place as ruler where once Saturn held sway. Aeneas' Trojans—like Evander's Arcadians—have a common Atlantid descent; the Trojan leader will imitate Atlas' iconographic image of bearing immense burdens. The song of Iopas may have a rebellious quality to it, especially in terms of Epicurean philosophy (Fratantuono 2015, 300; cf. J.T. Dyson, "Dido the Epicurean," in *ClassAnt* 15.2 (1996), 203–221). Aeneas emphasizes the Atlantean connection more than any other (135 *Atlantide*; 136; 140; 141); cf. his two references each to the Atlantides Electra (135–136) and Maia (138, 140).

"One of the grounds for Aeneas' appeal to Evander is kinship ... But Titanic Atlas has already occurred. Ominously, he is lodged in Africa ... Iopas, pupil of great Atlas, was Dido's court bard ... The queen could not know that his bookish Aratean lore had in fact already been exciting reality for the Trojan voyagers as they were about to glimpse Italy (I. 744 = III. 516) ... Does all this talk of common ancestry portend well? Hercules had fought with Cacus. Aeneas will become Aegaeon (x. 565). Are Anchises and Dido, shadowy rivals behind and beyond the actors on stage, impatient for another conflict between men and monsters? Is old Evander their unwitting mouthpiece and medium?" (Newman and Newman 2005, 226). In the final analysis, we may discover that Aeneas has close ties to Atlas, and Pallas to Hercules: the young Arcadian will for a fateful moment shoulder a burden that should have been Aeneas'.

"The function of Atlas is not uniform throughout the *Aeneid*" (Paschalis 1997, 158). At Ovid, *Met.* 6.174–175, Niobe notes her own Atlantean descent: *maximus Atlas est avus, aetherium qui fert cervicibus axem*; see Feldherr 2010, 299–300

for how Niobe is the daughter of Dione, the mother of Venus, and thus a cousin of Aeneas. In all of this genealogical lecturing, Aeneas studiously omits mention of Jupiter; for how this may be a deliberate rhetorical ploy to downplay the image of how Jupiter was associated with the overthrow of Saturn, see R.F. Thomas, “Torn between Jupiter and Saturn: Ideology, Rhetoric, and Culture Wars in the *Aeneid*,” in *CJ* 100.2 (2004–2005), 121–147, 134–135. By invoking Atlas so prominently, Aeneas highlights a rebel against the Olympians at the expense of underscoring a connection to the same Jupiter who overthrew the Saturnian king whose importance to Latinus and the Latin heritage is highlighted in Book 7 (at, e.g., 203). We might recall, too, Virgil’s note that Mercury (the grandson of Atlas) and Saturn are the planets to watch as warnings of Jovian tempests (*G.* 1.337). For how Jupiter’s first act in the *G.* is to suppress the Saturnian *aurea saecula*, see J.D. Hejduk in *VE* 11, 697.

Aeneas will be associated with Atlas at the very end of the book; cf. on 731 below.

137 edidit, aetherios umero qui sustinet orbis.

edidit: “A word of epic style, which Horace uses in his highflown opening address, *Od.* 1.1” (Fordyce). Once again the word order highlights the key adjective (*aetherios*); cf. the pattern of 276 and 517 below, in all of which the linking word (here *qui*) is postponed (on this stylistic device see Conrad 1965, 213–214).

aetherios ... orbis: Cf. Manilius, *Astron.* 1.281–282 *sidereus circa medium quem volvitur orbis / aetheriosque rotat cursus*. The adjective will be associated with the bestowal of the shield: 608–609 *At Venus aetherios inter dea candida nimbos / dona ferens aderat*. For *orbis* of the “starry heaven” see Gee 2000, 38–39. Virgil continues to pave the way for the revelation of the shield; “For the Augustan reader the massive circular structure of the Shield could have been suggestive of the *orbis terrarum*” (Gee). For the orthography see below on 448. The Medicean originally read *urbes* here (later corrected).

sustinet: For the verb see on 70 above; cf. the echo at 141 below. The line-end is borrowed from *G.* 3.361 *undaque iam tergo ferratos sustinet orbis*; cf. Juvenal, s. 11.122. An image of punishment, we might think—but also of stability and established order; see further here Pöschl 1977, 176 ff.: “Atlas ist ein Symbol für die Grausamkeit der Götter und die Härte des Schicksals.” Aeneas has clear enough typological associations with Hercules and Augustus—but the emphasis here is on the Trojan/Arcadian shared Atlantean ancestry. On the question of Aeneas-Atlas links, see Hardie 1986, 372–375; cf. Cruttwell 1947, 69–82.

138 *vobis Mercurius pater est, quem candida Maia*

Aeneas proceeds to Dardanus' cousin Mercury, the son of Electra's sister Maia.

vobis: The reference is probably to the Arcadians in general, though Evander and Pallas would be most particularly in mind; Virgil's Aeneas speaks here in a general sense about Mercury's paternity (Dionysius 1.31.1 and Pausanias 8.43.2, in contrast, simply assert that Evander was the son of the god). *Pater* here continues the emphasis on fatherhood from 132 *cognati patres* and 134 *primus pater*.

Mercurius: For the god see further D. Nardo in *EV* III, 488–490; P. Knox in *VE* II, 814–815; Bailey 1935, 117–118; E. Harrison, "Virgil's Mercury," in McKay 1982, 1–47; Smith 2005, 40–44; L. Fratantuono, "*Lethaeum ad fluvium*: Mercury in the *Aeneid*," in *Pallas* 99 (2015), 295–310; cf. Preller/Robert I, 385–422; Roscher II.2, 2802ff. Elsewhere in the epic, Mercury is Jupiter's emissary in the matter of ensuring that the Carthaginians will receive the Trojans in a kindly manner (1.297–304); the first appearance of the god in Virgil's epic is also the occasion for the introduction of Dido (on this see Austin *ad* 1.299). This initial mission of the god is virtually reversed at 4.222–278, where he is sent to bring Jupiter's edict to Aeneas that he must take his leave of Carthage and Dido; the messenger god is sent, appropriately enough, to the "Dardanian leader" (4.224 *Dardaniumque ducem*). Mercury's actual epiphanies in the epic are thus exclusively connected with the Carthaginian drama of Dido; the god had psychopompic functions that relate to the doom of Dido. The bridge passage between the interventions of the messenger god in Book 4 and Aeneas' reference to Maia and her son in Book 8 may come at 6.748–749 *has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos, / Lethaeum ad fluvium deus evocat agmina magno*, of the mysterious god who calls souls to the waters of oblivion in the eschatological revelations offered by Anchises' shade. Any hints of Mercury's chthonic responsibilities look forward now to the loss of Pallas.

candida: For the color image see above on 82 (where it is used of the prodigious sow). A reference to the "bright and beautiful" sister of Electra and fellow Pleiade; the color is used in Virgil in reference to the glories of the future and to the tragedies of Dido and Euryalus. Servius connects the adjective to the gleam of Maia as a star ("splendidior enim est Maia ..."); this interpretation is not incompatible with the image of her loveliness. On the particular appropriateness of the chromatic detail to the starry goddess, see Edgeworth 1992, 115–116.

Maia: Vid. V. La Bua in *EV* III, 522–523; D.M. Possanza in *VE* II, 782. In the *G.* the goddess is mentioned once (1.225) by synecdoche for the Pleiades. The birth of Hermes is mentioned in Hesiod (*Theog.* 938–939) and in the *Homeric Hymns to Hermes*; the god she bears to Zeus is already a herald in Hesiod. If Atlas is a symbol of isolation and lonely vigil, so too is Maia, who in the hymnic tradition

is visited by Zeus in a cave in the still of the night. She is unknown to the *Iliad*; in the *Odyssey* she is mentioned only briefly at 14.435. She is an Atlantid only in the shorter *HymHom.* 18; in the longer hymn she is a nymph (specifically an oread; 244). It would seem that her sole function in mythology is to provide Hermes with a complete family tree; there are no stories told of her other than Zeus' visit and the resultant pregnancy and birth. The Titaness' name will be repeated in close succession at 140.

Cicero (*DND* 3.56) discusses multiple Mercurys; the first was born of *Caelum* and *Dies* (cf. *candida* Maia); he is associated with sexual arousal from the sight of Proserpina (cf. Propertius, c. 2.2.11 for the mysterious reference to Mercury and Brimo; the reference may reflect something of the god's chthonic associations). The third Mercury was the son of Jupiter and Maia, and the father of Pan by Penelope. The fourth and fifth were associated with Egypt; the latter was worshipped by the Arcadians of Pheneus, but fled to Egypt after he killed Argus.

139 *Cyllenae gelido conceptum vertice fudit;*

Cyllenae: Mount Cyllene was the birthplace of Mercury (*Barrington* 58 A1; cf. Strabo 8.3.4; Pomponius Mela 2.43; Preller-Robert I, 489); in Virgil it is a convenient identifier of the god and that with which he is associated (*G.* 1.337 ... *igneus* ... *Cyllenius*, of the planet Mercury; 4.252 and 276 *Cyllenius* of the god; 4.258 *Cyllenia proles*). The mountain haunt of Hermes' nativity is cited regularly from *HymHom.* 4; for the *temenos* of the god there and the annual procession see Richardson *ad* 4.2; the mountain was not far from the Arcadian town of Pheneus, where the god had a particular cult. For a connection between the name of the mountain and *caelum* (cf. 141 *caeli*), as well as the notion of hollowness, see Paschalis 1997, 157, with reference to the opening of the (cavernous) underworld by the god in his function as psychopomp. Verses 138–139 recall the opening of the fourth *Homeric Hymn*; Virgil will soon enough return to reminiscence and evocation of that text.

gelido ... vertice: This phrase is paralleled in the verses preserved at Ps.-Hyginus, *Fab.* 177 (= fr. anon. 8 Courtney), from a Greek original possibly called *Cretica* by Epimenides. With the "chilly summit" cf. the cold fountains of 159 below. Conington found the adjective "incongruous"; in a Mercurian context it may play on the scorching, fiery heat of *igneus Cyllenius*, i.e., the hot planet. Conventional enough: cf. Tibullus, c. 2.4.8 *Quem mallet in gelidis montibus esse lapis*; Livy 21.58.8.1; 38.19.4.4; Ovid, *Met.* 1.689 ... *Arcadiae gelidis sub montibus*; 6.88 *nunc gelidos montes*; Statius, *Theb.* 9.447; Juvenal, s. 5.77–78; Silius, *Pun.* 3.111–112; 4.362; also *G.* 1.43. The phrase artfully envelops the newborn god (*conceptum*). "Because of its altitude it is cold even in summer, when snow still

sometimes stays on the peak” (Eden, who compares *Priapea* c. 75.¹⁰ *Cyllene ... nivosa*). The lofty height reminds us also of the association of Atlas with mountains.

conceptum: Cf. 5.38–39 *Troia Criniso conceptum flumine mater | quem genuit* (of Acestes). For the participle in coordination with *fundere* cf. Quintus Curtius Rufus 5.7.5.5–6 ... *quae celeriter igne concepto late fudit incendium*.

fudit: The perfect, as Eden notes, has greater manuscript support than the present *fundit*. For the verb in the sense of giving birth, see Santorelli *ad Juvenal*, s. 5.142 *fundat semel*: “*fun*do ricorre spesso nel senso più ampio de <<generare>> ... Più raro l’uso nel senso specifico di <<partorire>> ... la cui singolarità era evidente già al ‘Servius auctus’, che così glossava ...” On the relative rarity of the use, see Fordyce’s note (with reference to Cicero, *Pis.* fr. 14 *te tua mater pecudem ex alvo, non hominem effuderit*).

140 at Maiam, auditis si quicquam credimus, Atlas

at Maiam: Adversative conjunction and repeated name (138); Aeneas returns to the question of Atlantid descent. Maia was a sister of Electra, and so Dardanus and Mercury were cousins. See Fordyce here for the vigorous, emphatic use of the conjunction to make a special point.

auditis: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 12.58 ... *et auditis aliquid novus adicit auctor*; also *A.* 3.107 *si rite audita recordor*, and 6.266 *audita loqui*, with Horsfall’s notes. P reads *credit* here, also the Wolfenbüttel *ante corr.*; note also for *quicquam* R’s *cuiquam*.

quicquam: “More emphatic than *quis* and *aliquis*, and for that reason it is the most common indefinite pronoun in negative and conditional clauses” (Pinkster 2015, 1167).

credimus: The first person plural of this verb occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at *E.* 8.108. The sentiment echoes 135 *ut Grai perhibent*. With the rhetorical question about trust and credence cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2.328 ... *si modo credimus*, with Bömer’s note *ad* 3.106; Austin *ad* 2.173 *si credere dignum est*. The names of the two divine beings frame the questioning of faith. Another possible “Alexandrian footnote,” with reference to the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (see Ziogas 2013, 39–40). On how “the past is not something certainly known but filtered down to us through other men’s words” see Jenkyns 1998, 546. A note of caution, in any case, regarding the genealogy (vid. Heinze 1902/1908/1914, 243). Aeneas’ seemingly offhanded remark may point to the problems posed by the Virgilian reception of the Homeric genealogy of *Il.* 20.215 ff., where Aeneas addresses Achilles (on this see Thomas 1999, 226–228); the main issue is the omission of the Jovian element of the lineage.

Atlas: For the onomastic epanalepsis of 140 ff., see Dainotti 2015, 104–105.

141 idem Atlas generat caeli qui sidera tollit.

idem Atlas: The epanalepsis and use of the demonstrative adjective strongly emphasize the name of the Titan. The recitation of cognate genealogies has progressed from mention of Dardanus to Electra to Atlas to Mercury to Maia and back to Atlas. For the repetition of the god's name here and in Book 4, see Wills 1996, 156; also (with special reference to Virgil's practice of paired repetition), the same author's "Homeric and Virgilian Doublets: The Case of *Aeneid* 6.901," in *MD* 38 (1997), 185–202, 195.

generat: Elsewhere in Virgil only at 5.61 *generatus* (of Acestes); 6.322 *generate* (of Aeneas as son of Anchises); 7.734 (of the birth of Oebalus); also *G.* 3.65 and 4.205. Once each, then, in Books 5–8, the second third of the epic. On the present tense of the verb see Fordyce.

qui sidera tollit: Echoing 137 ... *qui sustinet orbis*; here the reference to the lifting up of the stars may accord with the mention of Maia's birth in light of her status as one of the Pleiades.

142 sic genus amborum scindit se sanguine ab uno.

genus amborum: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 6.153. The reference is to the descent from Electra and that from Maia.

scindit se: See Eden (and Conington) for the metaphor of a river dividing itself into streams; such an image is particularly appropriate after the Tiber scene from the first part of the book. The verb at mid-verse neatly divides the line into halves that emphasize first 1) duality (*amborum*), and then 2) unity (*uno*). Effectively alliterative with *sanguine* (also after *sic*). Aeneas presents an image of the effortless, easy flow of the two streams from their common source. *Scindere* occurs 13× in the *A.*; 5× in the *G.*; only here in connection with rivers (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15.739 (with Hardie's note), of the formation of the Tiber island). Question of the appropriateness of the union of Trojan and Arcadian on Atlantean genealogical grounds prefigures the problem of the Trojan-Ausonian union in the future Rome.

sanguine ab uno: One blood—i.e., Atlantean—joins the Trojans and the Arcadians; the race of Atlas has two offshoots (Electra's and Maia's)—but the ancestry is one and the same. Cf. 12.838 *hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget*, of the "mixed race" that will arise from the mingling of Trojan and Ausonian blood—i.e., the future Rome. Conington notes the emphatic point about the "one blood," in this case of the rebellious Titan. For *sanguis* after a verb cf. 1.19–20 *progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci | audierat*; also 1.235 *hinc forte ductores revocato a sanguine Teucris*; 1.550 ... *Troianoque a sanguine clarus Acestes*; 4.230–231 ... *genus alto a sanguine Teucris | proderet*; 5.45 *Dardanidae magni, genus alto a sanguine divom*; 5.299 *alter ab Arcadio Tegeaeae*

sanguine gentis; 6.500 *Deiphobe armipotens, genus alto a sanguine Teucris*; Wetmore 1904, 43. For the detail about the “one blood” as “prefiguration” of future sentiments about the union of the forces of good against evil, see J.N. Hirtzu, “The Ideality of Aeneas,” in *The Classical Weekly* 38.4 (1944), 27–29—optimistic remarks on the Virgilian narrative of war, written in the shadow of major conflict (and cf. the same author’s “A New and Broader Interpretation of the Ideality of Aeneas,” in 39.13 (1946), 98–103). For the significance of the blood imagery in the Roman imagination, note G. Guastella, “La rete del sanguine: simbologia delle relazioni e modelli dell’identità nella cultura romana,” in *MD* 15 (1985), 49–123. There is perhaps no hint of the image of rivers flowing with blood that presages the war in Latium. “The strands of descent and evolution are impressive” (Putnam 1966, 130). Both Aeneas’ Trojans and Evander’s Arcadians have found their way to the site of the future Rome; it remains to be seen what place Turnus’ Rutulians will take in the nascent empire.

143 *his fretus non legatos neque prima per artem*

his: That is, the genealogical connections from Atlas, though the precise referent for the demonstrative may be difficult to identify.

fretus: Elsewhere in Virgil only at 4.245 (of Mercury’s wand—an appropriate echo in the present scene); 5.430 (of Dares’ reliance on youth in the boxing match); 5.791 (of Juno’s use of storms to harass the Trojans); 6.120 (of Orpheus’ reliance on his Thracian lyre); 9.676 (of Pandarus and Bitias’ reliance on arms); 11.787 (of the trust of the firewalking Hirpini in their *pietas*). Cicero has *hisce ... fretus* (*Pro Roscio Am.* 110.9–10); Livian; once in Seneca’s *Dial.* (2.6.3.5).

legatos: In pointed contrast to Turnus’ use of Venulus’ embassy at 9 ff. above. Diomedes, of course, resided at a greater distance away than Evander. See Gransden for the comparison with the use of Ilioneus (et al.) as emissary to Latinus (7.152 ff.); the circumstances of Trojan introduction to Dido were in part orchestrated by Venus to ensure that Aeneas would be protected from any possible harm at Carthaginian hands.

prima: For the “virtual adverb” see Eden ad loc.; the alternative is to take the adjective with 144 *temptamenta* in the sense of Aeneas’ “first testing” or “sounding” of Evander.

artem: Aeneas disavows any use of stratagem, skill, or artifice in his appeal to Evander. See here Thomas 1999, 226–228 for the possible irony in light of Aeneas’ calculated genealogical recitation.

144 *temptamenta tui pepigi; me, me ipse meumque*

temptamenta: Not yet found in extant Latin before Virgil, and possibly a neologism; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 7.728; 15.629; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.102; Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.38.7

(with Ash's note). Alliterative effect with the personal pronoun in the objective genitive, followed by a similar effect as Aeneas turns to himself. A cautious coinage, perhaps—if so, in response to any perceived problem with having a Trojan approach a Greek for help.

pepigi: The verb is rare in Virgil; cf. 10.902 *non tecum meus haec pepigit mihi foedera Lausus* (Mezentius to Aeneas just before his death, a parallel that is highlighted by P. Damsté, “Annotationes ad *Aeneidem*,” in *Mnem.* 38.1 (1910), 51–63, 58); 11.133 *bis senos pepigere dies* (of the burial truce, where see Horsfall for the “long-dead agricultural metaphor,” as well as the possible thought of a derivation of *pango* from *pax*); 12.12 ... *nec quae pepigere recusent* (Turnus speaking of how there is no need for the Aeneadae to renege on agreements). The verb here means to “make, arrange, or conclude” (*OLD* s.v. 3); it carries “A ring of legal formality” (Eden, following Conington’s “mere formality”). The first in a powerful trio of first person perfects. The perfect of *pango* with *pacem* is good Livian style. “Difficile pepigi. Facilius petii” (Gossrau).

me ... me ... meum: A stunning triple repetition of emphasis on Aeneas as speaker and negotiator, made even stronger with the intensive *ipse* for added effect; the rhetorical trick is even more powerful than at 131. There is a halting quality to these lines, a sense of calculated appeal and implicit flattery of the recipient of such an egregiously personal request by the Trojan leader. Once again Aeneas and Evander are cast in close relief (*tui ... me*); cf. 131–132. For the “*geminatio* of personal pronouns” see Dainotti 2015, 113–114, with reference to this passage and to 9.427 *me, me adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum* (of Nisus to Euryalus’ killers). The emphasis is on the bravery and virtue of Aeneas (cf. 145), who has risked his personal safety to visit Pallanteum. For the elision of *me* cf. 386 below, and see further Eden’s note here. Effective pathos and suppliant use of the personal pronoun and possessive adjective.

The grammar of verses 143–144 has occasioned question and comment. Eden notes the “interwoven word-order,” with *per* governing both *legatos* and *artem* (cf. Heyne; Benoist); he compares 5.512 *illa Notos atque alta volans in nubila fugit*, also 6.692 *quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora vectum* (the latter passage also cited by Mackail, who notes the “artifice of style”). Conington prefers to avoid what he considers a “harsh expedient” by following the Servian tradition and Tiberius in positing a zeugma (Page, Fordyce, Williams and Paratore *seq.*; Gransden *silet*). Henry prefers to punctuate after *legatos*; cf. Garrod’s suggestion of a parenthetical note (in “A Suggestion on Virgil, *Aen.* ix. 353–355,” in *CR* 24.4 (1910), 119–120). O’Hara comments, “*Legatos* is governed loosely by the general sense of *pepigi*.” Word order may point to the zeugma the ancient readers read here; it is interesting that a passage of somewhat difficult syntax comes just as Aeneas speaks of his lack of reliance on *ars* in approaching Evander. “The

zeugma is extraordinary, and is only possible by the arrangement which puts *pepigi* last" (Sidgwick).

"Praeclari versus. Hunc amo amplectorque Aenean!" (Heyne).

145 *obieci caput et supplex ad limina veni.*

A straightforward declarative verse after the more complicated expression and sentiments of the previous two lines.

obieci caput: Cf. Cicero, *De Domo Sua* 145.2 *illo paene fato rei publicae obieci meum caput pro vestris caerimoniis*; Statius, *Theb.* 1.652 *obiecisse caput fati praestabat*; Silius, *Pun.* 16.651 *obieci caelo caput*; Virgil's *A.* 2.751 ... *et rursus caput obiectare periclis*. The verse is framed by the first person singular verbs. The enjambment of 144 ... *meumque* / 145 *obieci* effectively expresses the image. The verb is used elsewhere in Virgil in connection with the portent of the death of Laocoön (2.200; cf. the Acestes arrow portent of 5.522); of holding forth weapons (2.444); of jutting crags (3.534); of Anna's alleged exposure of Dido to harm (4.549 ... *atque obicis hosti*); of the casting forth of a tasty morsel before Cerberus (6.420–422); of Allecto's furious instigation of Ascanius' hunting hounds (7.479–480); of the Trojan use of the gates of their camp in defense against Turnus' Rutulians (9.45); of a cavalry screen (9.379); of the Trojans being exposed to Greek peril (10.89–90); of Phegeus (and his shield) in battle (12.372; 377). For the pleonastic expression see Conington, who quotes Sophocles, *OC* 750; Dennis Trout compares Damasus' *elogium* of the martyr-pope Sixtus II (Trout 2015, 116, following Reutter 2009, 86; cf. Hoogma 1959, 305).

supplex ... veni: For the expression and sentiment cf. 382 below; the passage echoes the Sibyl's prediction at 6.91–92 ... *cum tu supplex in rebus egenis / quas gentis Italum aut quas non oraveris urbis*. Good prose use (*Bell. Alex.*; Cicero); cf. Propertius' c. 1.9.3 *ecce iaces supplexque venis ad iura puellae*; *Ilias Latina* 88; Ovid, *Met.* 5.493; 514; 14.702. *Supplex* is emphatically placed at mid-verse. For the image cf. 61 above, where Aeneas is urged to make supplication to Juno (also at 3.439). Juno highlights the question of supplication at 1.49 *praeterea aut supplex aris imponet honorem*; she is a suppliant before Aeolus (1.64). All mention of Aeneas' supplication reminds the reader of the problem of Juno; there are reminiscences, too, of Dido with Aeneas, and ultimately foreshadowing of the final act of supplication in the epic (12.930), a gesture of suppliant appeal that is not ultimately accepted. On such suppliant expressions see further Riesenweber 2007, 77–78.

limina: Vid. D. Scagliarini Corlatta in *EV* III, 225–226. "L'espressione quasi formulare delle ambascerie ... si riferisce alle residenze regali"; cf. the episcopal visitations to the Roman pontiff. Monica Matthews compares Aeneas' humility with Caesar's arrogance *ad* Lucan, *BC* 5.519–520.

146 gens eadem, quae te, crudeli Daunia bello

gens ... Daunia: Aeneas turns to the question of the present war. The “Daunian race” refers to the Rutulians, with its name taken from Daunus, the father of Turnus. The adjectival form of the name recurs at 12.723–724 *non aliter Tros Aeneas et Daunius heros / concurreunt clipeis*; also 12.785 *procurrit fratrique ensem dea Daunia reddit* (of Juturna; for the sword note 12.90–91 *ensem quem Dauno ignipotens deus ipse parenti / fecerat et Stygia candentem tinxerat unda*). Juno speaks of the poignant question of Turnus’ return to his father at 10.610 *et Dauno possem incolumem servare parenti*; cf. 10.688 *et patris antiquam Dauni defertur ad urbem*, and the powerful appeal of Turnus at 12.934 ... *Dauni miserere senectae*. Balanced references, then: 3× of the (impossible) return of Turnus to his father; 2× of the sword that Vulcan had made for Daunus; 2× in connection with war and battle. The demonstrative *eadem* and the personal pronoun *te* serve to highlight the rhetorical point.

Daunus was associated with Ardea (cf. *A.* 7.406 ff., with Horsfall); in Virgil Ardea was a foundation of Danaë, the mother of Perseus, and thus an Argive settlement (so also at Pliny, *NH* 3.56, where see Zehnacker’s Budé note; Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.72.5) cites Xenagoras for the tradition that it was in fact founded by Ardeias, a son of Odysseus and Circe). Ardea was the subject of a rich and varied assortment of etymological games (O’Hara 2017, 190); it was noted for a temple to Juno (Pliny, *NH* 35.115, where its painter is celebrated); See further A. Russi in *EV* 1, 1002–1005; L. Fratantuono in *VE* 1, 339. Daunus was also connected to the northern regions of Apulia (cf. Horace, *c.* 1.22.14, with Nisbet and Hubbard); *c.* 4.14.25–46 (with Thomas). “He is a shadowy character who never appears in person in the *Aeneid*” (Harrison *ad* 10.615–616; Mapheus Vegius “remedied” the omission by making him a prominent figure in his fifteenth century Book 13, 185 ff.); only in Virgil among extant sources does he appear as Turnus’ father (let alone a Latin); the Apulian Daunus is the figure of “tradition”: “Apulia appellatur a Dauno, Illyrica gentis claro viro, qui eam, propter domesticam seditionem excedens patria, occupavit” (Festus p. 60 Lindsay, 15–17; cf. Timaeus, *FGrH* p. 566, F53–56; Hornblower *ad* Lycophron, *Alex.* 615–632). The scholia to Lycophron (592) tell a story of disputes over the division of spoils and ultimately Daunus’ killing of Diomedes (vid. Gantz 1993, 699–700); there would seem to be no hint in Virgil of a particular link between Turnus’ father and Diomedes (e.g., by marriage), though the reader would perhaps draw his own associations. Any connection between Daunus and Diomedes would at least remind the reader of the Venuian embassy, with a hint of the threat from a Diomedean intervention. Aristotle (*De Mirab. Auscul.* 836a) relates that Diomedes was killed by Aeneas, in his account of the killer birds that are descended from the Argive’s shipwrecked

companions. Two Daunuses, then, with a difficult question of how much the identity of the one shades into that of the other; see further Myers *ad Ovid, Met.* 14.457 ff.

crudeli ... bello: Cf. Cicero, *In Pis.* 84.12–13 *nefarium bellum et crudelem intulistis*; *Phil.* 3.3.2 *Quo enim usque tantum bellum, tam crudele, tam nefarium privatis consiliis propulsabitur?*; also *In Cat.* 3.25.10 *crudelissimo ... bello*. Virgil's Diana speaks of the *bellum crudele* to which Camilla is advancing (11.535; the image is reversed by Opis at 11.841–842 *heu nimium, virgo nimium crudele luisti / supplicium Teucros conata lacessere bello!*). Livy has ... *crudeli superboque nobis bello institere* (3.9.12.5, in a passage of marked Ciceronian style (vid. Ogilvie ad loc.)). Rhetorical flourish: “In these lines Aeneas’ diplomacy rests its case on total misrepresentation ...” (Fordyce); “Like his opponents ... Aeneas seems to think it is part of diplomatic policy to exaggerate facts and attribute motives” (Conington). Adler 2003, 172 ff. offers a different view, with consideration of the “empire-building” activities of Turnus (also Oebalus); for the idea that “Italy will provide Rome’s training ground for world dominion,” see Alvis 1995, 240. For the waging of war with the Daunians cf. 55, where the Latins are identified as the antagonist, with Conington here on the apparent conflation of the two nations, and Mackail on how Latinus has essentially abdicated in favor of Turnus’ *de facto* leadership. The present detail follows on 118. *In fine*, the point may be that there is a difference between the disagements and wars between Italians, and the arrival of Trojan foreigners—though the question of who exactly qualifies as an Italian is fraught with its own difficulties.

147 *insequitur, nos si pellant, nihil afore credunt*

insequitur: Always in the third singular in Virgil, except at 3.32 of Aeneas at Polydorus’ grave. At 1.87 and 105 it is used in the storm narrative; cf. Venus’ complaint at 1.241; Dido’s observation at 1.616. So also of Pyrrhus in pursuit of Polites (2.530); the storm at Dido’s hunt (4.161); Salius at the foot race (5.321); Venus’ complaint about Juno (5.788); the vivid image of the *nimbus peditum* at 7.793; Ascanius of how his age is close to Nisus’ (9.276); Aeneas in pursuit of Turnus (12.466; 748). For the *rejet* of the key verb see Dainotti 2015, 94–96. The verb is carried over to the next verse, in verbal enactment of the vigor of the Daunian pursuit.

pellant ... credunt: Tiberius read the singulars here (and at 148 *mittat*). Aeneas casts the Trojans as the only force that prevents the *gens Daunia* from sweeping across all of Hesperia; this is highflown rhetoric—and there is no mention in any of this of the question of Lavinia and her nuptials. The personal pronoun *nos* follows closely on 146 *te*, as Aeneas continues to emphasize the links between Troy and Arcadia.

afore: Perhaps predictably, the manuscripts display a wide variety of readings for the future infinitive; R has *fore*, while it is possible that Servius read *offore* (his note reads “sibi offuturum nihil arbitrantur”); the Medicean originally had *atfore*, while *adfore* is the reading of (*inter al.*) the first corrector of P, of the Wolfenbüttel before correction. See Williams for the echo of the “common prose formula *multum abest quin* ... appropriate here in diplomatic language.”

“Still the wolf and the lamb, much-injured invader!” (Henry).

148 **quin omnem Hesperiam penitus sua sub iuga mittant**

omnem Hesperiam: On Hesperia cf. above on 77 *Hesperidum*. Aeneas and Turnus each mention the fabled land of Hesperia once in the epic; at 12.359–361, Turnus tells the doomed Trojan Eumedes that he should measure Hesperia by the length of his corpse. The poet singles out Etruria and Hesperia as the geographical markers of the war in Italy at 7.41–44 ... *dicam horrida bella, | dicam acies actosque animos in funera reges, | Tyrrhenamque manum totamque sub arma coactam | Hesperiam*; the custom of opening the doors of the temple of Janus in time of war is also associated with Hesperia (7.601 *mos erat Hesperio in Latio*). For the connection of Hesperia with Hesperus, and the identification of Hesperus as one side of the star of Venus (with Lucifer the other), see Paschalis 1997, 94–95; for the imagery and its connection to Pallas see below on 587–589. Aeneas presents himself here as the anti-imperialist; no dream of *imperium sine fine* for him, but rather a shared governance in which there will be no domination of the Arcadians (or, presumably, anyone else) by the Trojans. On this theme see further Robin 1991, 71–72. The first part of the epic had as a driving theme the quest for Hesperia; now on arrival in the land of dreams and promise, Aeneas has found war and the thorny problem of just who should be in power in these western realms.

penitus: 22× in the epic; cf. below on 242–243. The adverb coordinates closely with *omnem* with respect to the sense of totality the two words share, with continued exaggeration of Latin/Rutulian plans; by its placement it may deliberately shade into both *omnem Hesperiam* and *sub iuga mittant*.

sub iuga mittant: The closest Virgilian parallel to the phrase comes at 4.231 ... *ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem* (of Jupiter’s instructions to Mercury). For the yoke imagery cf. Propertius, c. 3.11.9; Tibullus, c. 1.4.16 (with Murgatroyd); 1.10.46. Here there is no amatory sense, but rather the image of abject slavery; Turnus’ Daunian *gens* is portrayed as zealous to see all Hesperia go under the yoke. The mention of subjugation perhaps recalls the disaster at the Caudine Forks and the great shame incurred by those Roman soldiers who went *sub iuga* (Oakley 2005, 21; 74 ff. for his commentary *ad Livy* 9.4.1–6, 2).

149 et mare quod supra teneant quodque adluit infra.

A self-echo of *G.* 2.158 *an mare quod supra memorem, quodque adluit infra?*, from the celebrated *laudes Italiae*; the referenced seas are the Adriatic and the Tyrrhenian (on such verses see especially W.W. Briggs, Jr., “Lines Repeated from the *Georgics* in the *Aeneid*,” in *CJ* 77.2 (1981–1982), 130–147, 137, with consideration of the deliberate use by Aeneas of a beautiful feature of the Italian landscape as a spur to Evander to be concerned for the safety and defense of his lovely homeland). We are reminded also of Venus’ words to Jupiter about the promised dominion of the Romans/future Trojans over the sea and the lands: 1.236 *qui mare, qui terras omnis dicione tenerent*. On the hyperbaton by which “*teneant* has ‘overstepped’ into the relative clause” see Eden. On “rhetorical slipperiness on the part of Aeneas” see Thomas 2004–2005, 136n34, who notes that the echoed *Georgics* verse is from a passage “where the denial of fictive song is in close proximity to evident poetic falsehoods.” Looking forward in Roman history, the sentiments anticipate the Roman control over the seas that was a political and military reality in Virgil’s Augustan Age; whether Turnus or Aeneas yearn for such naval domination, it would be a sentiment with which the poet’s patron could not find much fault.

supra teneant: In reverse order in the original readings of P and the Wolfenbüttel.

adluit: The verb occurs only here and in the quasi-repeated line of the *G.* R reads *abluit*.

Henry comments on the criticism leveled against the line by those who find it superfluous after 148 *omnem Hesperiam* (Ribbeck principally, who bracketed it as a potentially spurious “*glossa geographica*,” following Peerlkamp): “It is the variation of the theme *OMNEM HESPERIAM*, sufficient, indeed, for the prose sense, but leaving the passage scalled and bare, and wholly without the poetry ... If the verse is superfluous ... then *OMNEM* itself is superfluous ... Precisely in the same way in which the mind of the reader is pleased with *OMNEM*, and would not readily part with it, it is pleased with *ET MARE* [etc.], and would part with it even less readily.” Notice about desired rule over the sea would be especially on the mind of a man who has just completed so long a naval voyage.

150 accipe daque fidem: sunt nobis fortia bello

The verse echoes Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 1.32 Skutsch (preserved by Macrobius, *Sat.* 6.1.13) *accipe daque fidem foedusque feri bene firmum*, which Skutsch takes of a scene between Aeneas and the king of Alba Longa, with the king as speaker. Vid. further Wigodsky 1972, 62–63; Goldschmidt 2013, 79, 92, 210, 217; cf. Norden 1915, 161–163. For the alteration of the second half of Ennius’ line, see Eden; in place of the direct request for a treaty, we find a comment on the advantages one would enjoy from an alliance with Aeneas’ Trojans.

accipe daque: The imperatives of reciprocity.

fidem: The sentiment recalls Ilioneus' embassy to Latinus at 7.234–235 *fata per Aeneae iuro dextramque potentem, | sive fide seu quis bello est expertus et armis*. With *fides* we may recall too the dramatic personification of 1.292 *cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus*. Sinon duplicitly speaks of *intemerata fides* (2.143; cf. 1.160–161); Aeneas speaks ruefully of the *manifesta fides* of the Greeks at 2.309; cf. Priam's remarks to Pyrrhus at 2.541–542. In Book 3 *fides* is used of trust in the sea (69), and twice in connection with Helenus' speech to Aeneas (375, 434). Dido speaks of how it is no *vana fides* to believe that Aeneas is of the race of the gods (4.12); her sentiment is soon enough turned to different uses at 4.373 *nusquam tuta fides*; 552 *non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo*; 597 ... *en dextra fidesque*; cf. 6.459 (of Aeneas' encounter with Dido's shade). Fortune is said to make new her *fides* at 5.604 *Hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit* (where see Fratantuono and Smith). Aeneas complains *en haec promissa fides est?* in the presence of Palinurus' shade (6.346); very different is the solemn scene of Anchises' reflection on the future loss of Marcellus: *heu pietas, heu prisca fides invictaque bello | dextera!* (6.878–879). The disguised Allecto asks Turnus *quid tua sancta fides?* at 7.365; the poet-narrator speaks of the *prisca fides* in regard to the transformation of the Trojan ships. *Fides* is mentioned twice in connection to the night raid of Nisus and Euryalus (9.260, 280); Aeneas laments *haec mea magna fides?* before the body of Pallas (11.55); cf. the poet's comment at 10.792–793 *si qua fidem tanto est operi latura vetustas, | non equidem nec te, iuvenis memorande, silebo* (of Lausus). Juno speaks sarcastically of "Tyrrhenian *fides*" at 10.71. "Assurance" (11.51 *fidem*) is brought to Turnus about Aeneas' battle plans. Several times, then, about lack of faith and trust (especially with respect to the Greeks at Troy, and of Aeneas' relationship with Dido); only here of an alliance.

sunt: The repetition of the same form in 151 highlights Aeneas' strong emphasis on his strength and resources for the fight.

fortia: With *pectora* also at Horace, s. 2.2.136; *Ilias Latina* 134–135; Ovid, *Met.* 11.462; 13.694. Elsewhere Virgil has the adjective with *bello* only at 10.185–186 *Non ego te, Ligurum ductor fortissime bello, | transierim, Cunare ...*; cf. Evander's salutation at 154 *fortissime Teucrum*.

bello: See Fordyce for the local ablative or dative of purpose; the dative is perhaps preferable, though the difference is not so great. Aeneas looks both back to the tests the Trojans have endured thus far, and forward to the resolution of the war in Italy.

"It would not be fitting for Aeneas, either as a prince or as a suppliant, to detail his requests. Therefore his *propositio* is made with regal brevity" (Highet 1972, 79).

151 **pectora, sunt animi et rebus spectata iuventus.**

pectora: Cf. 29 above; Negri 1984, 202 ff. For *pectus* in close association with *animus*, vid. Negri 1984, 251 ff. The start of a dramatic tricolon with which to end the appeal: the Trojans have stouthearted battle spirit; they have courage and vigor for the fight; they have youth that has already been tested in the affairs of war and the gauntlet of the long struggle to travel from Troy to Italy. On Virgil's use of neuter plural dactylic nouns at the start of the verse, see Eden. Pallas will be fatally wounded in the chest (10.484–485 *vibranti cuspis medium transverberat ictu / loricaeque moras et pectus perforat ingens*; 11.40–41 *ut vidit levique patens in pectore vulnus / cuspidis Ausoniae*); cf. 9.414 *volvitur ille vomens calidum de pectore flumen* (of Euryalus). Here *pectora* may refer in particular to physical prowess; *animi* to the spirit and courage needed to exercise such prowess; *iuventas* to the young men who embody both qualities in abundance.

rebus: For consideration of the (ancient) view that there is a distinction here between the (active) deeds of war and those of words, see Conington; it probably should be taken in a general sense.

spectata iuventus: The powerful closing reference to Trojan youth and vigor is especially haunting in light of the fate of the Arcadian Pallas. For the phrase cf. Silius, *Pun.* 17.492–493 ... *claris spectata per orbem / stragibus occumbit late inter tela iuventus*. The speech closes on a word that looks forward not only to the loss of Pallas, but also to the deaths of the youths Nisus-Euryalus, Lausus, and Camilla in particular. For the verb see on 68 above; for the idea of one's being tested (whether in battle or some other challenge), see Fredrick 2002, 231n32. The last words of this verse appear in the title of a devotional work that was requested by the French Jesuit martyr of the Iroquois, Saint Isaac Jogues (Roustang 2006, 241).

Spectare is used at 9.235–236 ... *neve haec nostris spectentur ab annis / quae ferimus*, of Nisus' appeal to the Trojan leaders; Cymodocea speaks of how the morrow will witness huge heaps of Rutulian slaughter (10.245); Venus and Juno gaze down on the ferocious battle scene (10.760); the Latins gaze at their burning funeral pyres (11.200); Opis gazes down on the scene of the cavalry battle (11.837); Turnus makes a powerful promise to Latinus, and calls the Latins to sit and watch his settlement of the war (12.15 ... *sedeant spectentque Latini*). Always of the war in Latium, then, except at 5.655 *ambiguae spectare rates*, of the Trojan women at the scene of the burning of the ships. Pallanteum is an image of the future Rome, while the Trojan camps are symbols of the city in development, of the slow progress toward the ultimate urban manifestation of the divine plan. The youth are now here and ready (at least Pallas, *contra Ascanius*); cf. the arrival of the youths at the scene of the ship burning, and see further Rossi 2004, 189.

152–174 Evander responds warmly to Aeneas' words, recalling that in his youth he had met Anchises when the latter was traveling with Priam from Troy to Salamis and on to Arcadia. Evander pledges the support of his auxiliary forces and resources; he invites the Trojans to share a feast and to celebrate the Herculean feast with their new Arcadian friends. For the vivid connection of the present scene with memory see Seider 2013, 52–55. On how Aeneas' relationship with Pallas will be modeled in part on Evander's old encounter with Anchises, see Reed 2007, 26–27.

For the influence of Virgil's depiction of the reception of Aeneas by Evander on Fracastoro's presentation of Columbus' welcome by the natives of Hispaniola in *Syphilis* 7, see Hardie 2014, 161 ff.

"Evander's reply is full of anecdote as he welcomes Aeneas ... Vergil here refers to Nestor's reminiscences concerning his father at *Odyssey* 3.103–200, but he also has in mind Apollonius' imitation of this Homeric passage at *Argonautica* 2.774–810 ... where Lycus tells Jason about a visit of Heracles to the land of the Mariandyni." (Nelis 2001, 360). For Virgil's debt to Homer, *Od.* 3 here see especially Knauer 1964, 249 ff. The hospitable reception accorded to Aeneas and his men by Evander is also based in part on the simple reception of Odysseus by the swineherd Eumaeus in *Od.* 14.

152 **Dixerat Aeneas. ille os oculosque loquentis**

Dixerat Aeneas: Also at 11.120 *Dixerat Aeneas. illi obstipuere silentes* (of the Trojan reply to the request for a burial truce). For the pluperfect see Eden; for the tense used in a "complex collocation of pluperfect, imperfect, and present tense forms," see Adema 2008, 121–123. The verse is framed by words that describe speech; while Aeneas has been making his address, Evander has been focused on the visual.

os oculosque loquentis / 153 ... *lustrabat*: For "les regards," see Heuzé 1985, 540–544. Aeneas has been speaking; Evander is struck by his appearance and the resemblance of the son to the father Anchises. Especially after the mention of strength in battle and stouthearted courage, we might recall Dido's words to Anna at 4.11 *quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore in armis*; on the parallels between this scene and the Didonian experience of Aeneas' appearance, see Newman 1986, 180 ff. *Os oculos* may recall Catullus, c. 9.9 *iucundum os oculosque saviabor* (where see Ellis' note). Visage; eyes; the whole body (153 *totum ... corpus*): a threefold progression of gazing on the body of the celebrated hero, with a mindful eye to the past. The metrical pattern of *ille os* emphasizes how Evander has been gazing intently on the visage of his interlocutor.

153 iamdudum et totum lustrabat lumine corpus.

iamdudum: Also at 1.580 (Aeneas and Achates yearning to break free from Venusian mist); 2.103 ... *iamdudum sumite poenas* (Sinon to the Trojans); 4.1 *At regina iamdudum saucia cura*; 362 *Talia dicentem iamdudum aversa tuetur*; 5.27 (Aeneas acknowledging Palinurus' long struggle against the storm); 513 *tum rapidus, iamdudum arcu contenta parato*, etc. (of Eurytion at the archery contest); 9.186 (Nisus to Euryalus about his long held urge to do some great deed in battle); 11.836 (of Opis as she watches the equestrian battle); 12.216–217 *At vero Rutulis impar ea pugna videri | iamdudum*. The adverb coordinates closely with *totum*; Evander was thorough in his gaze, and he looked at Aeneas for a long time.

totum ... corpus: Possibly Ennian (cf. *Ann. fr.* 15.396 *Totum sudor habet corpus*); also in Lucilius; Plautus; Cicero; Lucretius (*DRN* 2.266; 271; 3.143; 397; 4.666; 5.141; 842). Elsewhere in Virgil at *G.* 4.416 *quo totum nati corpus perduxit*.

lustrabat: The verb occurs 29× in the epic (3× in the *E.* and once in the *G.*); cf. Fordyce *ad* 7.391; A. Palma in *VE* III, 287–290. The imperfect is durative; Evander fixed his gaze as he took in the sight of Aeneas and recognized Anchises. The strong emphasis of the book on the visual metaphor continues (Smith 2005, 147–148). Nonius Marcellus cites the present passage (529 Lindsay) for the verb in the sense of “agnoscere, perspicere” (*OLD* s.v. 5). The *Sauprodigium* was a striking visual omen of the future Alba Longa; for the similar visual omen of Aeneas' appearance in Pallanteum, see Putnam 166, 222m8. Only one-seventh of Evander's response to Aeneas will actually be concerned with the Trojan's address; Evander has been listening, but his attention is focused on the past more than the present or future. Likely no hint here of purification; see further on 229 below.

lumine: Vid. M. De Vivo in *VE* III, 290–293. “L'uso di *lumen* è, inoltre, legato a contesti in cui agli occhi, allo sguardo è affidata l'espressione di sentimenti che qualificano psicologicamente determinate situazioni.” Effective alliteration with verb and noun; for the possible effect of the “sound-echo” on the decision to employ “an exceptionally bold use of the collective singular,” see Eden *ad loc.* Henry comments here on the distinction between sight and organ of sight.

154 tum sic pauca refert: 'ut te, fortissime Teucrum,

pauca refert: Also at 4.333 (Aeneas to Dido); 10.17 (Venus at the divine council); cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 3.828. Aeneas' speech was 25 lines long; Evander's is 20.5.

ut: In close coordination with 155 *ut*; first Evander *E.* addresses the son, and then he remembers the father.

fortissime: Recalling Aeneas' observation about *fortia* / *pectora* at 150–151. The vocative echoes Aeneas' apostrophe of Diomedes at 1.96–97 ... *o Danaum fortissime gentis / Tydide!*, in his recollection of the fortune of those who died at Troy. At 5.389 *Entelle, heroum quondam fortissime frustra*, Acestes begins his appeal to the Sicilian to participate in the boxing match. Cf. also 513 below, where Aeneas is addressed not only as the strongest leader of the Teucrians, but also of the Italians (a significant progression in the course of this book); 10.185 (of Cunarus); 10.865–866 (Mezentius' moving address to his steed Rhaebus); 12.538 (of Turnus' victim Cretheus, on whom see Fratantuono and Faxon 2013). Evander's speech opens with a continuation from the theme of the end of Aeneas'. For the use of a genitive after a superlative cf. 11.513 *summe deum Apollo*.

155 *accipio agnoscoque libens! ut verba parentis*

accipio agnoscoque: Also at 12.260, as the augur Tolumnius reacts to the portent sent by Juturna. The first person of *accipere* occurs elsewhere at 6.692–693 *quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora vectum / accipio!* (the shade of Anchises to Aeneas in Elysium); 9.277 (Ascanius to Euryalus before the night raid); 10.675 (Turnus in confusion after his pursuit of the phantom Aeneas). For *accipio* of the receipt of omens see Tarrant *ad* 12.260; no omen here (at least not technically), but the language speaks to the extraordinary quality of the visit (cf. the sense of wonder in the world of nature that was highlighted in the description of the Trojan arrival at 92–93 above). A “formulaic phrase”—but none the less sincere and warm for that. Cf. here Euripides, *Heracles* 524–525.

agnosco: The first person singular occurs also at 3.351 (of Aeneas at the “toy Troy” of Buthrotum); 4.23 ... *agnosco veteris vestigia flammae* (of Dido's feelings for Aeneas); 12.260. Aeneas is recognized because he looks like his father. More alliteration, as Evander excitedly and happily welcomes the son of his former guest. A rich variety of associations for the memorable uses of the verbs: we are reminded of the visit of Aeneas with his father in the underworld; of the doomed youth Euryalus; and also, yet again, of Dido.

libens: Cf. 3.438 *Iunoni cane vota libens* (Helenus' advice to Aeneas); 12.145 *praetulerim caelique libens in parte locarim* (Juno to Juturna)—both passages that reference the problem of Junonian wrath toward the Trojans. The subjunctive *libeat* occurs at 12.570. The verb would seem to occur only here in Virgil in the sense of unadulterated happiness and pleasure.

The first half of the verse is used of the marriage of Alcestis and Admetus in the cento *Alcesta* (McGill 2005, 144).

verba parentis: From acceptance and recognition, Evander proceeds to recall the words and voice of Anchises; the focus is not so much on the contents

of the speech of Aeneas, but on the familiar sound of the voice; he will return at once to face and appearance.

156 et vocem Anchisae magni vultumque recorder!

vocem ... vultum: More alliteration, as Evander recalls both the sound and the appearance of Anchises as preserved in his son. For the collocation cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 7.155; also Cicero, *Pro Sest.* 106.10. Nonius Marcellus (805 Lindsay) cites this passage as an example of the accusative where a genitive (with a verb of remembrance) would be expected; *recordari*, however, is regularly used with the accusative (once only in classical Latin, perhaps, with the genitive; cf. Cicero, *In Pison.* 12.3 *Ipse certe agnoscet et cum aliquo dolore flagitiorum suorum recordabitur*, where see Nisbet, who construes the genitive with *dolore* and cites Minucius Felix 33.2 *priorum ... recordaris*, in acknowledgment that the genitive object is attestable, at least late—and note his question mark about the matter in his *index verb.*); it is never used with a personal object. Conington notes the possible reminiscence of *Od.* 4.140 ff., where Telemachus is recognized by Helen for his resemblance to his father (see further S. West ad loc.).

Anchisae magni: Also at 5.98–99 *vinaque fundebat animamque vocabat / Anchisae magni manisque Acheronte remissos*, of the rites at Anchises' burial mound. For Aeneas' father see R.F. Thomas in *VE* 1, 74–76; also F. Canciani in *EV* 1, 158–162; Roscher 1.1, 337–339; Wiik 2008.

recordor: The persistence of memory. The verb occurs in Virgil elsewhere only at 3.107 ... *si rite audita recordor*, of Anchises as he recalls the connection of Teucrus to Crete (in a passage where the Trojan hero will be incorrect in his conclusions). Mackie 1988, 153 does well to note that Aeneas had not actually introduced himself to Evander, so that the identification of the hero is entirely dependent on the recognition of similar appearance and voice.

157 nam memini Hesionae visentem regna sororis

memini: Continuing the strong emphasis on memory and recollection. The first person singular of the verb is found elsewhere in the epic at 1.619 (Dido's recollection of the exile of Teucer, Hesion's son; see further Austin's note ad loc.); 7.205 (Latinus' memory of Dardanus' origins); also 11.280 (where Diomedes relates to the Venulan embassy that he takes no pleasure in the memory of the old travails associated with the Troy cycle); balanced remembrances, then, from Dido and Evander, and Latinus and Diomedes. "This passage is a perfect heroic vignette, full of Homeric figures and diction ... including Priam's patronymic in its Greek form ... twice in five lines" (Petrini 1997, 53). Newman and Newman 2005, 265 speculate on the question of whether Anchises'

son Echepolus (*Il.* 23.296 ff.) “was ... the fruit of his father’s visit to Greece in Priam’s entourage ... But Echepolus ... must be eliminated from Virgil’s story.”

Hesiona: The brief mention of Priam’s sister recalls a significant treasure of mythological lore in which Heracles plays a key part; the allusion may be particularly appropriate in the context of the Herculean festival. “The alert reader will recall the story of Hesione’s liberation by Heracles following her exposure by Laomedon” (Nelis 2001, 361n141). Hesione was the daughter of Laomedon, and apparently rescued by Heracles from a sea monster (cf. Andromeda and Perseus); the story of her redemption is connected to the destruction of Laomedon’s walls by the angry hero after the Trojan king cheated him of his agreed upon price (for commentary on the early mythographic citations, see Fowler 2013, 311–315; cf. Gantz 1993, 400–402). There is some uncertainty as to whether Hercules made two trips or one to Troy (Gantz 1993, 442–444). In the end the rescued maiden became the wife of Telamon (he may have been the first to breach the walls of Troy as part of Heracles’ avenging army; vid. Gantz 1993, 443 for the different versions of the sack), and the mother of Teucer and the Greater Ajax; for the Sophoclean depiction of how sometimes Hesione is represented by her son Teucer as a prisoner of war, and at other times as a Trojan princess, see Finglass *ad Ajax* 424–427. Sophocles wrote a *Teucer* play that almost certainly dealt with the problem of the hero’s return to Salamis after the war (see Pearson’s introductory notes in *Fr.* 11, 214–217); Pacuvius also tackled the subject; Naevius wrote a *Hesiona*, on the paltry remains of which see Spaltenstein 2014, 394–399 (with consideration of the idea that the play was meant to rival Livius Andronicus’ *Andromeda*).

A darker episode in Heracleian lore, at least insofar as the Trojans might be concerned; echoes of the memory of the destruction of their city in juxtaposition with the image of the rescue of a nubile young woman from a monster. The significance of Hesione to the recollection is highlighted by the prominent placement of her name. There are short entries on her in *EV* 11 (R. Rocca, 388) and *VE* 11 (V. Koven-Matasy, 613).

visentem: The verb elsewhere in Virgil only at 2.63 (of the Trojan youth in their zeal to see the wooden horse); and at *G.* 4.309 ... *et visenda modis animalia miris* (of the Bugonia). The participle coordinates closely with 159 *invisere*; both forms continue the focus on vision; it is also arranged chiasmatically with 158 *petentem*, with asyndeton.

158 Laomedontiaden Priamum, Salamina petentem,

For the sonorous four-word hexameter, see above on 103. “Rare enough to be arresting” (Eden). For the poetic emphasis on the “foreign quality of Greek

names,” see Hutchinson 2013, 150; Dainotti 2015, 97–98 on the “evocative character of names.”

Laomedontiaden: Repeated at 162 below; the patronymic recalls 18 *Laomedontius heros* above (of Aeneas). “... the *rejet* of the polysyllabic patronym *Laomedontiaden*, which, stretching all the way to the caesura at penthemimeral ... evokes a sense of monumental greatness” (Dainotti 2015, 56). For the semantic undertone of “leader of the people,” see Paschalis 1997, 128–129.

Priamum: Vid. F. Caviglia in *VE* IV, 264–268; T. Joseph in *VE* III, 1036–1037. Mention of Priam in the larger context of the encounter with Evander and Pallas presages the death of another king’s son (this time not *ante ora parentum*, and now with the tortured survival of the father). Outside of the recollections of Aeneas in Book 2, Priam is mentioned at 1.458, 461 and 487 (where he is prominent among the images on the walls of Dido’s Junonian temple); 1.654 (as father of Ilione, in the description of Dido’s necklace); Dido asks much about him (1.750); at 3.1 (Aeneas’ summary of the ruin of Troy); 3.50 *infelix Priamus* (as he hands over Polydorus); 4.343 (Aeneas’ wish to Dido that Troy were still standing); 5.297 (as royal ancestor of Dioces); 5.645 (Pyrgo was nurse to his many children); 7.246 (of the gifts Ilioneus hands over to Latinus—a significant moment in the progression from Trojan to Italian *mores*); 379 and 399 below; 9.284 (of Euryalus’ mother’s family, with more shades of the loss of Priam’s children); 9.742 *hic etiam inventum Priamo narrabis Achillem* (Turnus to Pandarus); 11.259 *vel Priamo miseranda manus* (Venulus’ recounting of his embassy to Diomedes and the tales of the *nostoi*); 12.545 ... *nec Priami regnorum eversor Achilles* (of the death of Aeolus).

Salamina: Salamis is named only here in Virgil. Probably no particular hint here of the storied naval victory of the Athenians over the Persians in 480, though any such recollection would be appropriate in the context of a quasi-treaty/alliance between parties concerned about a would-be imperialist sweeping over both land and sea.

159 *protinus Arcadiae gelidos invisere finis.*

protinus: 18× in the epic; the point is that after Salamis, Priam made his way directly to Arcadia (the adverb may have temporal or directional force). There is effective alliteration as we move from 158 *Priamum* to *protinus* to 160 *prima*.

gelidos ... finis: The chill confines of Arcadia make Evander’s homeland sound as if it were some fabled end of the world. Salamis is about ten miles to the west of Athens; the point of the journey to the continent and distant Arcadia is not made entirely clear. With the adjective cf. 139 *gelido ... vertice*.

“Evander’s reminiscences of legendary events and distant places ... include details that suggest that his ideals are fantasies, youthful illusions relived in and sustained by old age; these illusions studiously avoid but inexorably draw our attention to the “reality” of Troy and its persistent associations” (Petrini 1997, 53).

invisere: “Pointless repetition” (Eden); “the collocation [with *visentem*] is awkward” (Fordyce); note however Hahn 1930, 101n397. Virgil continues to underscore the visual elements of his scenarios.

160 tum mihi prima genas vestibat flore iuventas,

mihi: For the *dativus dynamicus vel energicus* see Antoine 1882, 105–108.

prima ... flore iuventas: Cf. 7.162–163 *ante urbem pueri et primaevae flore iuventus / exercentur equis domitantque in pulvere currus* (of the youth before Latinus’ city as they engage in mock battles and exercises in prefiguration of the cavalry engagement); Ps.-V., *Eleg. in Maec.* 1.7 *illa rapit iuvenes prima florente iuventa*. Virgil echoes here Lucretius, *DRN* 5.888–889 *tum demum puerili aevo florenta iuventas / officit et molli vestit lanugine malas*; cf. Cicero’s *e quibus ereptum primo iam a flore iuventae / te patria in media virtutum mole locavit* (from *De Div.* 1.22.3). The image may be inspired, too, by Homer’s description of the death of Otus and Ephialtes before the down of their first beard (*Od.* 11.439 ff.). Lucretius’ Danaids are said to be *aevo florente puellas* (*DRN* 3.1008, where see Kenney; also G.S. West, “Are Lucretius’ Danaids Beautiful?,” in *CPh* 77.2 (1982), 144–148); cf. the rather different image of *A.* 7.804 ... *florentis aere catervas* (of Camilla’s Volscians, where see Horsfall’s note on the metaphor and just how strongly it might have been felt).

(Cut) flower imagery will recur in the narrative of Pallas’ requiem (11.68–71, where see Fratantuono); also the death of Euryalus (9.435–439, with Hardie). “Flowers are not always associated with death in Virgil” (H. Parker in *VE* 11, 492–493), but the image of cut flowers is twice associated with the premature death of brave youths. Once again, the atmosphere is charged with the forthcoming drama of Evander’s young and impetuous son. On the eroticized appeal of the beardless young man and the liminal state of the first appearance of down see C. Williams 1999, 72 ff.: “Another evidently prevalent assumption was that as long as young men enjoyed the flower of youth they were most vulnerable, even susceptible, to men’s sexual advances” (74); cf. Thomas’s introductory note to Horace, c. 4.10.

genas: The closest parallel in Virgil to this use of the noun is at 12.221 *pubentesque genae et iuvenali in corpore pallor*, of Turnus (where see Tarrant); cf. also 4.643–644 ... *maculisque tremantis / interfusa genas et pallida morte futura* (of Dido); 5.173, as Gyas cries during the ship race; 6.686, as the shade of Anchises

cries on sight of Aeneas; 12.65 *flagrantis perfusa genas* (of Lavinia); 606 *et roseas laniata genas* (again of Lavinia).

vestibat: The verb occurs elsewhere in the epic only at 6.640–641 *largior hic campus aether et lumine vestit | purpureo*, of the heavenly air of Elysium and its purple glow. The archaic form is useful for the hexameter, and it also reflects the passage of time since Evander's youth (vid. Skutsch *ad* Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 1.42 *stabilibat*; Goldberg on Terence, *Hecyra* 172). For the ablative of instrument “cum verbis instruendi,” etc., see Antoine 1882, 476.

flore iuventas: The line-end became a popular tag in later poetry (Roberts 2009, 47–48, with eleven examples from the *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*; cf. Hoogma 1959, 305). *Iuventas* is soon echoed at 163 *iuvenali*, of Evander's *amor* for Anchises. On the association of youth and loveliness see Heuzé 1985, 287. Cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 2.779.

161 mirabarque duces Teucros, mirabar et ipsum

mirabar ... mirabar: Cf. above on 91–92 *mirantur | miratur*; also the *mirabile monstrum* that is the sow and her brood (81). The repetition enacts the mesmerized state of amazement of the young Evander; the imperfects are frequentative and durative, as Evander recalls his fixed gaze. On the anaphora and the *rejet* of the patronymic see Dainotti 2015, 55–56. Evander commences a *triplex* praise of Trojan grandeur: first there is the memory of the Trojan leaders, then Priam, and finally Aeneas' father Anchises. *Mirabar* occurs once in Plautus and three times in Terence; often in Cicero; once elsewhere in Virgil (*E.* 1.36 *Mirabar quid maesta deos, Amarylli, vocares*).

duces Teucros: Cf. 470 *maxime Teucrorum ductor* below. The first corrector of the Wolfenbüttel reads the genitive plural *Teucrum* here; cf. 11.834–835 *incurrunt densi simul omnis copia Teucrum | Tyrrhenique duces Evandrique Arcades alae*.

ipsum: The intensive and the repeated patronymic serve to make the point abundantly clear: the son of Laomedon is solemnly remembered. On the force of *et* see Mackail.

162 Laomedontiaden; sed cunctis altior ibat

Laomedontiaden: See on 158; the repetition highlights the role of Laomedon in the Troy story, perhaps with a deliberate reminder of his notorious deceit and trickery.

cunctis altior ibat: Cf. the description of Dido's first appearance, where she is compared to Diana's entry with her oreads: 1.500–501 ... *illa pharetram | fert umero gradiensque deas supereminet omnis*; Ovid's echo at *Met.* 3.181–182 ... *tamen altior illis | ipsa dea est colloque tenus supereminet omnis* (of Diana

shielded by her retinue from Actaeon's gaze, where see Bömer). At 1.544–545, Ilioneus speaks of Aeneas to Dido's court in similar language: ... *quo iustior alter / nec pietate fuit nec bello maior et armis*.

Cunctis here might be rendered as “quite all the rest”: purposeful flattery of Anchises, as Evander seeks to offer the warmest of receptions to his guest. The commentators compare *Il.* 3.210 ff., of the comparative height and breadth of shoulders of Menelaus and Odysseus (see here Kirk's note, correcting Leaf's). There is something not far from a godlike quality to the heroes of a seemingly bygone (or at least fast fading) age, men outstanding in stature and eminence over their fellows. Yet again the focus is on appearance and the visual. Not to be missed is Henry here: “The respect commanded everywhere and in all ages by mere superiority of stature has not escaped—how could it, or why should it?—the wide-sweeping satire of our Irish Menippus, *Gulliver's Voyage to Lilliput*: “The empress and young princes of the blood-royal sat on chairs near the emperor, who was taller than anyone present by half the breadth of my nail.” On height in the *Aeneid* see Cairns 1989, 40–41 (with particular focus on Dido's loveliness and exceptional height).

“In dieser Hinsicht übertraf der junge Anchises die anderen *duces* der Teukrer und ausdrücklich sogar Priamus ... woraus man sicherlich entsprechende Rückschlüsse auf die Ausstrahlung des Anchisessohnes ziehen darf” (Schauer 2007, 185). For the suppression of any hint that Anchises was *invalidus*, see Newman and Newman 2005, 266, 269.

163 Anchises: *mihi mens iuvenali ardebat amore*

Anchises: Eden notes the emphatic placement of the name in the first position.

mihi: For the *dativus energicus* see Antoine 1882, 106.

iuvenali ... amore: The adjective is used at 2.518 *ipsum autem sumptis Priamum iuvenalibus armis*, of Priam as he vainly arms himself to face the onslaught of Achilles' son; at 5.475 *et mihi quae fuerint iuvenali in corpore vires*, of Entellus' comments to the Teucrians on his strength; and at 12.221, of Turnus' youthful body. The passages from Books 2 and 5 connect to the present scene; the reminiscence of Priam's arming is ominous, while the remark of Entellus offers another comment from a previous generation.

ardebat: Another frequentative imperfect, as Evander recalls what J.D. Reed calls his “crush” on Anchises. With the line-end here we may compare 11.782 *femineo praedae et spoliolorum ardebat amore*, of Camilla's reaction to the arms of Chloereus; also Silius, *Pun.* 7.524. Evander presents himself, one might think, as if he were the would-be *eromenos* to Anchises' *erastes*. But Virgil's main focus may be on the reminiscence of two previous encounters in the epic, namely Aeneas with the ghost of Hector, and Aeneas with Helenus at Buthrotum (see

below on 164 *compellare virum*). For the “hero-worship” see Wiltshire 1989, 116; also Lee 1979, 73; on the “younger man making the first move,” Reed 2007, 185 (“This is not what we expect from the conventions of a Greek-style pederastic relationship”). On the larger problem of the depiction of the relationship of Evander and Anchises, and especially of Pallas and Aeneas, see T.K. Hubbard, “Pederasty,” in *VE* 11, 983–985; Turnus is never depicted in any such association in the epic (indeed, if he has any erotic association other than with respect to Lavinia, it would be with Camilla, whose death engenders an overly emotional reaction in the young man at 11.896 ff.; in general, however, Virgil suppresses any eroticized depiction of either Turnus with Camilla or Aeneas with Pallas, though certainly the erotic element—and we might remember the invocation to Erato that marks the start of the Iliadic *Aeneid*—is at the heart of Aeneas’ reaction to the death of Pallas, and Turnus’ essentially parallel response to the loss of Camilla).

amore: “It matters little whether we make the infinitives in the next line dependent on it or on ‘ardebat’” (Conington).

“The accents are in the language of love—respectful, admiring, appropriate to the very young ...” (Gillis 1985, 57). On the model of Evander-Anchises for Pallas-Aeneas, see Putnam 1995, 32–33.

164 *compellare virum et dextrae coniungere dextram*;

compellare virum: Echoing 2.280 *compellare virum et maestas expromere voces*, of the reaction of Aeneas to the dream visit of Hector on Troy’s last night; also 3.299 *compellare virum et casus cognoscere tantos* (of Aeneas’ reaction to the news of Helenus at Buthrotum). Elsewhere in the epic the verb is used at 1.581 ... *prior Aenean compellat Achates*; 2.372 ... *atque ultro verbis compellat amicis* (of Androgeos); 3.474 *quem Phoebi interpres multo compellat honore* (Helenus with Anchises); 4.304 *tandem his Aenean compellat vocibus ultro*; 5.161 *rectorem navis compellat voce Menoeten* (Gyas with his helmsman); 6.499 ... *et notis compellat vocibus ultro* (Aeneas with the shade of Deiphobus); 10.606 *Iunonem interea compellat Iuppiter ultro*; 11.534 *compellabat et has tristis Latonia voces*. *Compellare* is Ennian (*Ann.* fr. 1.43–44 Skutsch *Exim compellare pater me voce videtur / His verbis*); the basic meaning is to address or speak to; it can also carry a special note of appeal or challenge (*OLD* s.v. 1 and 1b).

dextrae coniungere dextram: Cf. the emotionally charged handshake of 124 above, of the initial meeting of Pallas and Aeneas. For the verb note above on 130 and 133; 169 below for the granting of an alliance. The present is inspired by 1.408–409 ... *cur dextrae iungere dextram / non datur ac veras audire et reddere voces*, of Aeneas with his disguised mother; the emphasis is on reciprocity. Note also Ovid, *Met.* 8.421; Petronius, *Sat.* 12.1.100; also Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.1330; 4.99; 1663.

165 *accessi et cupidus Phenei sub moenia duxi.*

The verse is framed by the two first person singular verbs. The impression one receives from Evander's account is that he stepped forward to volunteer to be the one to receive the Trojan leaders in welcome, with Anchises as his particular object of partiality and affection.

accessi: 11× in the epic; cf. 1.201 (of the approach to Scylla); 1.307; 1.509 (of the gathering of the Trojan refugees at Dido's court); 3.24 *accessi* (of Aeneas at the grave of Polydorus); 293 (of the Trojan entrance into Buthrotum); 441 (of the predicted arrival at Cumae); 5.813 *tutus, quos optas, portus accedet Averni* (Neptune's promise to Venus); 10.712 *nec cuiquam irasci propiusque accedere virtus* (in the simile of the boar and the hunters); 12.786–787 *quod Venus audaci nymphae indignata licere | accessit telumque alta ab radice revellit.*

cupidus: The only occurrence of the adjective in Virgil. It describes strong desire, alacrity and even anxious eagerness (*OLD* s.v. 1); there need be no hint of any wanton passion.

Phenei: On this northeastern Arcadian town see G. Garbugino in *EV* 11, 491; R.F. Thomas in *VE* 111, 998; it is mentioned only here in Virgil, and once also in Homer (*Il.* 2.605, during the catalogue of ships). Strabo notes at 8.8.2 that Pheneus was one of those Arcadian locales that either no longer existed, or whose traces were scarcely visible (Eden skeptical); cf. the drainage holes nearby that he cites at 8.8.4 (*teste Eratosthene*; cf. the Catullan, Ovidian, and Statian references below); the waters of the Styx were said to be in the vicinity. No mention in Pomponius Mela; Pliny references it at *NH* 4.20.4; 4.21.5; 25.26.4; 31.26.1; 31.54.3. Elsewhere note Catullus, c. 68B.109–110 *quale ferunt Grai Pheneum prope Cyllenaeum | siccare emulsa pingue palude solum*; Livy 28.7.17.1; Ovid, *Met.* 7.399 (with Bömer); 15.332–333 *est locus Arcadiae, Pheneon dixere priores, | ambiguis suspectus aquis, quas nocte timeto* (with Hardie); Statius, *Theb.* 4.291. The aforementioned drainage holes were said by some to be the work of Hercules (Pausanias 8.14.1; see further Quinn, and Thomson *ad* Catullus, c. 68B.108); any underworld associations of the place would add to the ominous mood. Pheneus was in any case one of the locales connected with the origins of Dardanus: “Graeci et Varro, Humanarum Rerum, Dardanum non ex Italia, sed de Arcadia, urbe Pheneo, oriundum dicunt; alii Cretensem; alii circa Troiam et Idam natum.” (Servius *ad A.* 3.167). The spelling of the name has occasioned predictable mayhem in the manuscript tradition.

sub moenia: Cf. 6.541 *dextra quae Ditis magni sub moenia tendit* (with Horsfall); also 12.579–580 *ipse inter primos dextram sub moenia tendit | Aeneas*. The parallels are ominous; the first juxtaposes one afterlife fate with Elysium, while the other comes as part of Aeneas' resolve to destroy Latinus' city.

166 ille mihi insignem pharetram Lyciasque sagittas

The beginning of a reminiscence of the gifts that Evander received from Anchises. Lersch 1843, 244 compares Suetonius, *Tib.* of the gifts that the *puer* Tiberius received from Pompeia, the sister of Sextus Pompey, in Sicily: *chlamys et fibula, item bullae aureae durant ostendunturque adhuc Baiis*. On the bestowal of presents see L. Fratantuono in *VE* 11, 557–558; Wiltshire 1989, 54–55. The poverty of Evander's Arcadians is reflected in the fact that they have no specific presents to offer to the Trojans—though of course Evander sends both his only son, and whatever resources he has (171). “Quomodo ornavit ipsa munera, ne levia viderentur!” (*Tib.*).

mihi: Reinforced by 168 *meus*, with significant shift of reference: the gifts from Anchises were all meant for Evander, and now the Arcadian king has passed them down to his son Pallas, so that the young hero has presents from Aeneas' father. Demonstrative and personal pronoun in deliberate juxtaposition, to highlight the connection.

insignem pharetram: Cf. Horace, c. 1.21.10–12 *natalemque, mares, Delon Apollinis / insignemque pharetra / fraternaue umerum lyra*. For quivers as gifts of hospitality, cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.661–662, with Galli's note. The provenance of the quiver is not specified; it might well be Lycian, like the arrows it contains. The adjective is one of Virgil's favorites (vid. E. Tais in *EV* 11, 990–991); quivers are also associated in Virgil with the disguised Venus and her comments about the fashion choices of Tyrian girls (1.323; 336); Diana (1.500); the Sicilian archery contest (5.501); the *lusus Troiae* (5.558; the equestrian display prefigures the cavalry battle in 11); Opis (11.590; 859); Camilla is extraordinarily referred to as *pharetrata* (11.649); Diana laments that it was no help to the heroine that she bore the quiver of the goddess (11.844). Regularly, then, of Diana and Diana-like women (fake or otherwise); once in the archery contest that may presage the death of Pallas (cf. Fratantuono 2010); once of the Troy game that is a prophetic mimicry of the horse engagement of the *Camilliad*.

Lycias: Cf. the mention of the vessel of Aeneas' imperiled companions at 1.113 *unam, quae Lycios fidumque vehebat Oronten*; 4.346 *Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes* (Aeneas' speech to Dido); 4.377 (Dido's retort about the *Lyciae sortes*); 6.334 *Leucaspim et Lyciae ductorem classis Oronten* (of the shades of Aeneas' shipwrecked companions); 7.816 ... *Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram* (of Camilla's Lycian quiver); 10.751 ... *Lycius ... Agis* (of a Trojan ally); 11.773 *spicula torquebat Lycio Gortynia cornu* (of Chloereus' bow, which rather supplements/completes an image together with Camilla's quiver); cf. also Apollo's Lycian winter haunt at 4.143; the Lycian fields of 7.721; the Lycian brothers of 10.126; the (same?) brothers who are killed by Turnus at 12.516 (and cf. 12.343–344, of additional Lycian victims). The Lycians

sided with Octavian and Antony against Brutus and Cassius in 42 (vid. further D.A. Secci, "Lycia and Lycians," in *VE* 11, 768).

In context, the description of the first part of Anchises' gift recalls the Lycian quiver of Camilla from the end of Book 7. Lycia was associated with both archery and the preeminent archer Apollo (vid. Horsfall *ad* 7.816); the Trojan Anchises (not to mention the Cybelean devotee Chloreus) needs no excuse for possession of Lycian weaponry (Eden's "feasible gift" for a visitor from the Troad); we may well wonder how the Volscian Camilla acquired her *pharetra*, and whether there is any significance beyond mere "ornamental" (Eden) detail (or the Servian view that authenticity is lent by the individual descriptions). Camilla's quiver is also prefigured in the Amazonian quiver that is offered as second prize (and won by the Sicilian Helymus) in the foot race at 5.310–311 *alter Amazoniam pharetram plenamque sagittis / Threiciis* (cf. Camilla's exceeding swiftness; Thrace was associated with Amazons). Pallas is here closely associated with Camilla; both youthful, doomed heroes have Lycian archery equipment. If Camilla has the Lycian quiver, Pallas the arrows, and Chloreus the *cornu*, we may see a complete array of Lycian archery gear (though presumably the first two have quiver and arrows—minus the bow—in a set); Pallas will die before Camilla, but the Volscian archer girl will not be able to win the spoils of Chloreus. Lycia was associated with Apollo and his winter retreat; Apollo plays a significant role in the death of Camilla (as in that of Homer's Patroclus)—the archer god was connected to the hazard of sudden death.

"Like his contemporary and friend Horace, Vergil frequently used proper names to secure increased vividness and concreteness and also to make full use of any euphony or melodiousness in their sound" (Gould and Whiteley).

167 *discedens chlamydemque auro dedit intertextam*,

discedens: The same form is used at 9.40 with reference to Aeneas' departure from the Trojan camp; at 10.246 of Cymodocea; at 11.46 of a rueful Aeneas as he remarks on his departure from Pallanteum—a striking set of occurrences, more or less in connection with the present scene. Cf. also 2.109 and 644; 6.545; 9.20; 12.696. Anchises did not take Evander to war (Seider 2013, 153); the presents have now gone to Pallas, whose death will spell the end of Evander's line.

chlamydem ... intertextam: A garment of baleful associations in the epic. Andromache presents a Phrygian *chlamys* to Ascanius in Buthrotum (3.484); Dido is wearing a Sidonian one as he advances with her golden quiver at the fateful hunt in Carthage (4.137). The winner of the regatta (Cloanthus) receives a golden *chlamys* with purple meander, a cloak that is illustrated with an episode from the story of the abducted Trojan prince-*eromenos* Ganymede (5.250ff., where see Fratantuono and Smith; Putnam 1998, 55ff.). Pallas will

go off adorned with the present article of clothing (587–588 below); a Sicilian victim of Mezentius (the *Arcentis filius*) is also so dressed (9.581 ff.). Lastly, Chloereus' saffron *chlamys* figures in Camilla's fatal temptations (11.775, where see Horsfall on the question of whether the *chlamys* conveys any sense of moral failing). The noun is not particularly common, and is mostly poetic (first in Plautus; cf. *TLL* 3.0.1011.73); it describes a cloak or cape, originally associated with equestrian use in particular (and thus appropriate in the *Camilliad*); two such cloaks in the epic are closely linked to Troy (Cloanthus' prize, and Chloereus'); gold is mentioned in connection with the Cloanthus cloak and Anchises' gift; Chloereus' is held in place with a golden fastener of some sort. A *chlamys* for Cloanthus, Pallas, the unnamed son of Arcens, and Chloereus; none for Camilla—and not a garment to covet for one's closet: only Cloanthus (apparently) survives the war. On Virgilian *chlamydes* note also T.E.V. Pearce, "Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.588," in *Mnemosyne* 40.1/2 (1987), 154–157; Reed 2007, 120.

auro: Cf. 168 *aurea*.

intertextam: Only here in Virgil; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 6.128 (in the Arachne story; vid. further Bömer's note); Statius, *Theb.* 6.64. If there was any particular illustration on the cloak, it is not described. On metapoetic and other implications of the word, cf. Everson and Zancani 2000, 145; one wonders if its use here—with the spondaic ending drawing attention to the word—hints at the rich associations of the complete collection of Virgilian *chlamydes* (and cf. Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 8.5.28 *Porro, ut adferunt lumen clavus et purpurae loco insertae, ita certe neminem deceat intertexta pluribus nota vestis*). On the "spondeiazon" and its possible import see Eden (with reference to Norden). The variant *intertexto* (R; also the first corrector of P; known to Servius) does not change the meaning.

168 *frenaque bina meus quae nunc habet aurea Pallas.*

frena ... bina: Horse bridles figure in the Latin spoils that are part of Pallas' requiem (11.195); they are also referenced in the horse portent that Anchises interprets as a harbinger of both peace and war (3.542); cf. Dido's horse with its gold and purple at the hunt (4.135); the horses at the *lusus Troiae* (5.554); Neptune's calming of the waters before the loss of Palinurus (5.818); the metaphorical use in connection with the Sibyl (6.100, where see Horsfall); Cybele's leonine chariot (10.253); Camilla's grabbing the reins of Aunides' steed (11.719); the terrible scene of slaughter at the barred gates of Latinus' capital (11.889); the battle scene with Turnus' victim Phegeus (12.372); also the metaphorical uses of *frenare* at 1.54 and 1.523. For the use of the distributive see Eden's note, with reference to Servius' detail about Cicero's correction of his son's grammar. On Roman bits and bridles see Hyland 1990, 136 ff. On the equine present see Gossrau; he argues that Anchises was a special patron of horses, and that he was

honored as such in Arcadia (cf. Conington here; also Paratore: “esisteva una leggenda secondo cui Anchise era onorato in Arcadia come patrono dei cavalli”).

meus: On the casual intimacy of the reference to his son, see Clausen 2002, 169–170.

aurea: For the adjective see Edgeworth 1992, 88–95, with reference to the emphasis placed on the color/metal by the long separation of descriptor from noun, and consideration of the possibility (“unlikely” though he admits it to be) that *habet* means that Pallas considered the *frena* to be as valuable as gold (Fordyce interprets the separation as the poet’s wish to avoid having two adjectives with *frena*; cf. Benoist here, also Conington). The emphasis on gold continues (167 *auro*); the point of connection is in part to highlight associations of Pallas with Dido/Camilla, and especially with the detail about Dido’s twin robes from Pallas’ funeral scene (11.72–75), where gold is also mentioned (see here Fratantuono ad loc. and 2004). Less likely is that the word order reflects the force of the emphasized *intertextam* of 167; see here Williams’ note.

Pallas: Cf. *Anchises* at the start of 163; the name of Evander’s son is given prominence here both by its appearance at the end of the verse, and its distance from the poignant possessive *meus*. The name of the reckless young hero is juxtaposed with the gold of the bridles. “The long separation of the adjectives ... gives the line a pointedly disjointed quality. It reads more smoothly, and shockingly, if we allow ourselves to hear the secondary resonance that arises from the juxtaposition of *aurea* and *Pallas*. The collocation reinforces later hints of the androgynous charm of Pallas ...” (Putnam 1995, 6, with analysis of the Arcadian’s feminization and association with the goddess Pallas). We may also recall the gleaming shields on the ships at 92–93 above.

169 *ergo et quam petitis iuncta est mihi foedere dextra,*

ergo et: The exact import of Evander’s comment, and especially its introductory phrasing, may be open to debate. *Ergo* seems to refer to the hospitality shared by Evander and Anchises, and especially by the demonstration of hospitality in the bestowal of gifts. The scene (including the reminiscence of Anchises) offers the image of three fathers (Anchises; Evander; Aeneas) and three sons, surrogate or otherwise (Evander; Aeneas; Pallas). Cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 2.752–761.

iuncta ... dextra: A handshake to seal the alliance. “Evander acts as he speaks” (Fordyce, following Page). Conington notes the perfect tense of the verb, with emphasis on how the *de facto* treaty has already been signed between the cognate peoples. With the joined right hand cf. Ovid, *Her.* 12.90 ... *et dextrae dextera*

iuncta meae; Statius, *Theb.* 3.698–699 ... *o ubi prima / hospitia et iunctae testato numine dextrae?*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.17–18 ... *quid hospitii iunctas concurrere dextras / Iuppiter?*; 6.12; Silius, *Pun.* 17.67. Cf. 164 above.

mihi: For the “ethical dative” (*contra agent*) see Henry’s note (in response to Peerlkamp’s wish to alter the text to *tibi*). Cf. the long discussion of “the so-called sympathetic dative” by Pinkster 2015, 919–923.

foedere: The right hand is joined, and with it an alliance is fashioned; the ablative is of attendant circumstance, in this case a particularly weighty one. The present occasion is recalled at 11.164–165 *nec vos arguerim, Teucrici, nec foedera nec quas / iunximus hospitio dextras*; cf. Livy 30.13.8.4 *tum recordatio hospitii dextraeque datae et foederis publice ac privatim iuncti*; Statius, *Theb.* 6.290–291 *iungunt discordes inimica in foedera dextras / Belidae fratres*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.493–494 *teque alium quam quem Pelias speratque cupitque / promisi et meliora tuae mihi foedera dextrae*; 6.12–13 *quos malus hospitio iunctaque ad foedera dextra / userit Aetes*; Silius, *Pun.* 11.148–149 ... *superum cum munere detur / huic sociare viro dextras et foedere iungi*; 17.67–68 *immemor hic dextraeque datae iunctique per aras / foederis*. The alliance is primarily military (cf. 171); it will be recalled after the death of Pallas at 10.515–517 (see here Smith 2005, 173).

170 et lux cum primum terris se crastina reddet,

lux ... reddet: Cf. 12.669 *ut primum discussae umbrae et lux reddita menti* (of Turnus); Silius, *Pun.* 6.33–34.

crastina: Cf. 4.118–119 ... *ubi primos crastinus ortus / extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem* (Juno to Venus, as they discuss the hunt in Carthage); 10.244–245 *crastina lux, mea si non inrita dicta putaris, / ingentis Rutulae spectabit caedis acervos* (Cymodocea to Aeneas); 12.76–77 ... *cum primum crastina caelo / puniceis invecta rotis Aurora rubebit*; also *G.* 1.425–426 ... *numquam te crastina fallet / hora*. The adjective is not especially common, though it is a favorite of Livy (cf. Propertius, c. 2.15.54 *forsitan includet crastina fata dies*; Ps.-V., *Copa* 37 ... *pereat qui crastina curat*; *Ilias Latina* 117–118 *haec illi mandata refer: cum crastina primum / extulerit Titan dies noctemque fugarit*; Horace, c. 4.7.17–18 *quis scit an adiciant hodiernae crastina summae / tempora di superi?*; Lucan, *BC* 3.594–595; Ovid, *Her.* 3.57; Statius, *Theb.* 10.21; Valerius, *Arg.* 2.566; 8.180; Silius, *Pun.* 10.267–268, 12.634–635; 14.669). It is used effectively and repeatedly in the liturgy of the vigil of Christmas in the *Breviarium Romanum*.

“Tomorrow’s light”: on dawn imagery in the epic (in particular on references to the goddess Aurora), see L. Fratantuono, “*Iamque Rubescebat*: Aurora in the *Aeneid*,” in *Eos* 100.2 (2013), 297–315 (310n49 on Virgilian uses of *crastinus*), and in *VE* I, 158; also R.F. Thomas, “Oriens,” in *VE* II, 942–943. The present refer-

ence to the dawn presages 585 ff. below, where Pallas is compared to Lucifer, the Morning Star (cf. *E.* 8.17; *G.* 3.324; and especially *A.* 2.801–802; V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* 11, 762); the planet Venus rose over Mount Ida as light shone on the first day of the new Trojan beginning in the wake of the ruin of the city.

171 auxilio laetos dimittam opibusque iuvabo.

A strong reminiscence of the Dido episode: cf. 1.571 *auxilio tutos dimittam opibusque iuvabo*, where the queen promises aid and support to the Trojan refugees (see further Conway ad loc.). There the focus was on safety and security (*tutos*); here Evander highlights how the Trojans will rejoice and be happy in the aid he will bestow (*laetos*). The Arcadian's comments turn at last to the problem of the present military strife in Italy. Gransden offers comment here on Evander as "anti-Dido"; in the end the help the Pallantean king provides will be of assistance to Aeneas, at the price of Pallas' life. "Eerie but intentional resemblances to Dido's welcome at Carthage" (Gillis 1985, 58). Newman and Newman 2005, 164 ask if the Trojans were really *tuti* in Book 1, or *laeti* in 8. A neatly balanced verse, with careful use of the future indicatives to announce solemn promises.

laetos: On the particular use of the adjective in battle scenes, see (D.C. Anderson) Wiltshire 2012, 89 ff. Conway ad 1.571 speaks of the "hopeful prospect" occasioned by the promise of auxiliary force and resources; Eden of the boost to morale. P read *lectos* here originally (later corrected; cf. 119); Servius ad 8.464 *tutos* from a reminiscence of the Book 1 passage.

opibusque iuvabo: Cf. Caesar, *BC Petraeus, summae nobilitatis adulescens, suis ac suorum opibus Caesarem enixe iuvabat*. Ovid has *cuius opes auxere meae, cui dives egenti | munera dedi multa datura fui* (Ovid, *Her.* 2.109–110; on the parallel see L. Fulkerson, "Writing Yourself to Death: Strategies of (Mis)reading in *Heroides* 2," in *MD* 48 (2002), 145–165, 154n27). Henry sees more theme and variation; Danielis notes that the ancients called soldiers "*opes*." There is remarkably little in Evander's speech about the actual problem of the Latin war; the focus of his reply to Aeneas is on the history of Anchises' visit, and, as his address draws to a close, on the interrupted rites of Hercules.

"The history of repeating oneself is long and venerable" (Eden). The first promise concerns military aid, the second financial and other aid.

172 interea sacra haec, quando huc venistis amici,

Evander transitions to the question of the liturgical rites that had, in fact, been interrupted by the Trojan landfall.

interea: For the temporal marker see Fratantuono and Smith ad 5.1; Harrison ad 10.1.

sacra haec: The Herculean rites that Pallas was quick to prevent anyone from interrupting at 110–111. Cf. 5.59 ... *atque haec ... sacra quotannis*; 12.316–317 ... *ego foedera faxo | firma manu; Turnum debent harc iam mihi sacra*; also Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 1.34. Somewhat different is Homer, *Od.* 3.40 ff., where Peisistratus speaks to the disguised Pallas/Mentor about the feast of Poseidon that by chance Telemachus and his companion have happened upon. For the rites that will now be resumed see Bailey 1935, 55–56.

huc venistis: Cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.648. The verb form occurs twice else in Virgil in the same *sedes* (1.369; 2.117). The second person perfect recalls the emotionally charged 6.687 *venisti tandem* (Anchises to Aeneas in the underworld).

amici: With an anachronistic echo, perhaps, of the Roman bond of *amicitia* (vid. M. Bellincioni in *EV* 1, 135–136, with particular reference to the use of the bond of friendship with respect to one's allies in war). The noun coordinates closely with 174 *sociis* (Wiltshire 1989, 97). “Strangers were not welcome to the Romans at religious functions; they were unfamiliar and dangerous ... But the Trojans were not strangers ... and Hercules was in any case a very hospitable god” (Eden).

173 *annua, quae differre nefas, celebrate faventes*

annua: Cf. 102–103; 185; O’Hara 2017, 205 for the etymological connections. The adjective anticipates the later festival etiology; cf. 288 ff.

celebrate: 12× in the epic; cf. on 76 above, 268, 303.

differre: Also at 643 below, in a very different, gruesome sense; cf. 6.569; 9.155; 11.470; *G.* 3.197 and 4.144. The Herculean rites constitute an annual liturgical celebration (cf. the yearly anniversary of Anchises’ death), and it would be sacrilege to put off the festival. We may be reminded that in fact the observance was interrupted, though the primary reference of *differre* is to the annual celebration. Pallas’ instincts were correct, however, in seeking to prevent any disturbance (110–111).

nefas: See Fratantuono and Smith on 5.197; cf. Statius, *Theb.* 7.613.

faventes: The verb occurs elsewhere in Virgil at 1.735 *et vos, o coetum, Tyrii, celebrate faventes*—another reminiscence of Dido’s reception of the Trojans in Carthage; 5.71 *ore favete omnes et cingite tempora ramis* (Aeneas before the memorial rites in honor of Anchises); 5.148 (of cheering at the regatta); cf. *E.* 4.10 *casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo*; *G.* 1.18 *adsis, o Tegeaeae, favens*; 2.228 (4.230 is textually vexed). The verb had technical applications in religious rituals (vid. Nisbet and Rudd on Horace, c. 3.2 *favete linguis*; the echo was already recognized by Danielis). For the reminiscence of Dido see Gillis 1985, 58; certainly any remembrance of the earlier banquet in Carthage would be fraught

with ominous undertones. Dido's banquet singer Iopas had been taught by Atlas, and Aeneas has just invoked a common Atlantean descent as part of his (successful) argument for union between the Trojans and the Arcadians; as the religious rites in honor of Hercules now continue, the poet will explore some of the implications of that Titanic lore. See further Newman and Newman 2005, 226–227. On the “solemnizing gesture” of the poet's use of the verb, see Kershner 2008, 36. The present invitation corresponds also to the annual observance detailed in the first section of Book 5; there is a curious mixing of the generations: Anchises is dead and the memorial honoree of the Sicilian rites; Evander was younger than Anchises, though presumably closer in age to Aeneas' father than to Aeneas; now Pallas is to be in the same relationship with Aeneas that Evander craved for with Anchises in his youth. Of the four players in the drama, one father and one son will survive.

174 nobiscum, et iam nunc sociorum adsuescite mensis.'

sociorum: The religious feast is observed amid the horrors of war; *sociorum* recalls the military alliance that has just been sealed. On the admission of the Trojans to an otherwise exclusive event, see Krauter 2004, 125–126.

iam nunc: “Already from this moment” (Page), with a hint of hurry to return to the interrupted rites. The collocation is also used in a religious context at *G.* 3.22–23 ... *iam nunc sollemnis ducere pompas | ad delubra iuvat caesosque videre iuvenco*s; Virgil also has it at *A.* 6.798–799 *huius in adventum iam nunc et Caspia regna | responsis horrent divum et Maeotia tellus*; 9.271 ... *iam nunc tua praemia, Nise*; for the rarity of the expression and its force here, see Gransden.

sociorum: In fulfillment of Tiberinus' injunction at 56 *hos castris adhibe socios et foedera iunge*.

adsuescite: The form recalls 6.832 *ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella*, of Anchises' address to the future Caesar and Pompey; cf. on 516–517 below (of Evander's hopes for Pallas' training under Aeneas). The verb is used in close association with *iam nunc* at *G.* 1.42 *ingredere et votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari* (Fordyce's “curious echo,” on which see Erren ad loc.), which may point to a typological association of Aeneas and Augustus—no surprise from the mouth of Evander (and the problem of the Augustan succession is echoed in the premature loss of Pallas and the need to safeguard Ascanius).

Jupiter was invoked by Dido at her banquet in his capacity as patron of hospitality (1.731); the queen also invoked Bacchus as the *laetitiae dator*, and *bona Iuno* (1.734).

175–183 The banqueting that had been interrupted by the surprise arrival of the Trojans is now resumed; Aeneas is given the seat of honor on a lion-pelt

cushion. Chosen youths and the priest of the altar bring forth the roasted flesh of bulls, and baskets of bread with wine. Aeneas and his Trojan companions partake of the sacrificial feast. On the preferential honor shown to Aeneas, see Clausen 2002, 161 (with reference to Agamemnon's treatment of Ajax at *Il.* 7.321–322). The present sequence owes much to Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 2.759 ff. (the feast in Lycus' palace).

175 **Haec ubi dicta, dapes iubet et sublata reponi**

Haec ubi dicta: The transitional phrase also at 1.81; 2.790; 5.32; 5.315; 6.628; 7.323; 7.471; 8.541; 10.533; 12.81 and 12.441; see further Augoustakis on Statius, *Theb.* 8.338–340. Once in Horace (*Serm.* 2.6.97) and 3× in Livy; possibly borrowed from Lucilius (s. fr. 1.18). On the formulaic close of a speech see Schmeling *ad* Petronius, *Sat.* 61.5 (where it is used to mark a commencement). “Formulae of rapid transition” (Eden); the sacrificial rites must recommence, and there is also the shadow of the war. On the piety of the Arcadians in wanting the rites to continue see Mackie 1988, 151n1.

dapes: Also at 1.211 ... *dapibusque futuris*, of the first meal after the landing in Africa; 1.706, of the feast Dido hosts; 3.224 and 234, of the meal the Harpies interrupt; 3.618 and 330, of the Cyclops' terrible repast; 3.355, of the meal at Buthrotum; 5.92, of the sacrificial offerings on the tomb of Anchises; 6.225, of the offerings burned at Misenus' funeral; 7.109 and 125 (of the meal in Latium that is marked by the fulfillment of Celaeno's omen of the tables); also 186 below; 11.738 *expectate dapes* (Tarchon's upbraiding of his men). For the specific use of the word in Virgil (in contrast to *epulae*) see Bailey 1935, 51 ff. “Although Evander rules a “scant domain,” he cordially welcomes Aeneas to a bucolic banquet” (Rosenberg 1981, 51).

reponi: The verb might be taken most naturally to mean that the cups (176 *pocula*) were put back after hasty removal in the wake of the Trojan landing; the verb can be used with particular reference to food or drink that has been removed (*OLD* s.v. 2); Fordyce compares 7.134, where he takes the verb to refer to proper, due placement (as at a sacred function). Elsewhere in Virgil the verb is used in the first person singular by Entellus (5.484, with reference to his retirement from boxing), and by Diana (11.594, of her promised burial of Camilla in her *patria*; cf. 4.392, of Dido being returned to her bed chamber; 6.220, at the requiem for Misenus; 9.502, of the taking away of Euryalus' mother); for its use in another context of banqueting, note 3.231 *instruimus mensas arisque reponimus ignem* (after the intrusion of the Harpies). Tib. notes that the cups may have been removed either because of fear of the sudden arrival of the Trojans, or because they had had more than one: “aut sublata satietate interveniente.”

176 *pocula gramineoque viros locat ipse sedili,*

Macrobius (*Sat.* 3.6.16) cites 175–176 (especially *sedili*) as evidence for the practice of taking the meal for Hercules while seated (as opposed to reclining). On Virgilian locations for cult practices, note Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 307n258. Servius compares 7.176 *perpetuis soliti patres considerare mensis*.

gramineus: For the adjective see Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.287; on grassy locales in Latin epic note Wijsman *ad* Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.216. The scene is lovely and pastoral (cf. Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 6.70–71 ... *dabit ecce sedilia tophus, / ponere seu subitum, melior viret tapetis*). The present scene echoes the setting of the boxing match, where Acestes chided Entellus and urged him to fight against the Trojan Daëtes: 5.388–389 *Hic gravis Entellum dictis castigat Acestes, / proximus ut viridante toro consederat herbae*: the forthcoming afternoon recitation of the story of Hercules and Cacus offers a parallel to the pugilistics of the games in Sicily. With the grassy scene for the seating cf. Livy 1.7.4 *loco herbido*, of the place where Hercules rests after fording the Tiber with the cattle of Geryon. An eminently pastoral setting: on the absence of precious gifts in this hospitality sequence, see D.A. Secci in *VE* 11, 767–768.

ipse: Evander shows his guests honor by arranging the seating himself and not through an intermediary.

sedili: Cf. 1.167–168 *intus aquae dulces vivoque sedlia saxo, / Nympharumque domus*; 5.837 *sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautae*; also *G.* 4.350.

177 *praecipuumque toro et villosi pelle leonis*

praecipuum: Cf. *G.* 3.74 *praecipuum iam inde a teneris impende laborem*; *A.* 5.259 *ipsis praecipuos ductoribus addit honores*; 11.214 *praecipuus fragor et longi pars maxima luctus*. The adjective that describes Aeneas' preeminent position frames the line together with the reference to the (Herculean) lion pelt. On the Hercules/lion motif and Aeneas note Cairns 1989, 84.

toro ... pelle: Perhaps a hendiadys (see Eden *contra*); the *torus* is a cushion of some sort. “Editors, under a sort of grammatical obsession, follow one another in calling *toro et pelle leonis* a ‘hendiadys’. But *torus* is the cushion of the maplewood chair; and over it a lion-skin is spread” (Mackail).

villosi: For the adjective of a lion cf. Silius, *Pun.* 16.450–451 ... *villosa leonis / terga feri*. Below at 266–267 it recurs, of the dead Cacus.

leonis: For Virgilian lions see R. Katz in *VE* 11, 750–751; cf. Kitchell 2014, 108–111. We may think here of the lion pelt that Aeneas places on his shoulders as a cushion for his father Anchises (2.722 *veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis*); the pelt of a Gaetulian lion is a consolation prize for Salius at the foot race (5.351–352 *sic fatus tergum Gaetuli immane leonis / dat Salio villis onerosum atque unguibus aureis*); also the lion pelt that Mnestheus presents to Nisus at 9.306. Cf. 552–553 below; also 378 (of a bear pelt).

Leonine imagery is used to diverse effects in the epic. Nisus is compared to a raging lion at 9.339–341; Turnus in the Trojan camp is like a lion that retreats before a crowd of hunters at 9.792–796; at 10.454–456 he is like a lion that faces a bull as he faces the doomed Pallas. Mezentius is like a lion that faces a roe or a stag (10.723–729). Turnus is like a lion in Phoenician fields at 12.4–9. Nisus, Turnus (x3), Mezentius: all those compared to lions are doomed (on these animal similes see L. Fratantuono, “A Poetic Menagerie: The Animal Similes of Virgil’s *Aeneid*,” in *Eranos* 107.2 (2012–2013), 67–102). Not surprisingly, Hercules’ son Aventinus—one of Turnus’ allies—has a lion pelt in honor of his father (7.666–669; the passage quietly heralds the importance of Hercules to Book 8, where the labor of the Nemean lion is recalled at 295). The horse Evander presents to Aeneas at 552–553 below is also draped in a lion skin; Mnestheus gives a lion pelt to the doomed Nisus (9.339–341). Lions are traditionally associated with the iconography of Cybele’s chariot (10.253); Phrygian lions decorate Aeneas’ ship at 10.157–158. An animal closely associated with Troy, then (Cybele; Aeneas; Nisus); with Hercules; also with Turnus and Mezentius. At Dido’s hunt, Ascanius wishes that he could face a wild boar or a lion and not a deer (4.156–159); the leonine reference points to how Ascanius must be safeguarded from any possible harm (the hunt is the first appearance of a mature Ascanius in the epic).

178 *accipit Aenean solioque invitat acerno.*

accipit Aenean: Echoing Aeneas’ prayer at 8.73 *accipite Aenean*; in point of fact it is Evander, not Tiberinus, who verbally enacts the fulfillment of the prayer—and Turnus, not Aeneas, who will be accepted by the Tiber: 9.817–818 *accipit venientem ac molibus extulit undis | et laetum sociis abluta caede remisit.*

solio: On the case of the noun see especially Fordyce; probably ablative (see Page for a defense of the dative, = *in solium*, and cf. Antoine 1882, 149 on the dative after verbs indicating motion), as we move from *toro* to *pelle* to *solio* to the descriptor *acerno*. The noun occurs 10× in the epic; cf. 541 below. At 1.506 it is used of Dido’s throne; at 6.396 of the seat of the underworld god; at 10.116 of Jupiter’s throne; at 10.852 of Mezentius’ exile; at 11.301 of Latinus’ seat; and at 12.849 of the Jovian throne to which the Dirae report.

invitat: At 5.292 *invitat pretiis animos, et praemia ponit* it is used of the invitation to participate in the foot race; at 5.486 *invitat qui forte velint et praemia dicit* of the archery competition. Pandarus and Bitias invite Turnus to enter the Trojan camp: *freti armis, ultroque invitant moenibus hostem* (9.676).

acerno: Also at 2.112 *praecipue cum iam hic trabibus contextis acernis* (of the wooden horse); 9.87 *nigranti picea trabibusque obscurus acernis*, of the grove in the Troad whence Cybele provided lumber for the Trojan fleet (where see Din-

gel's note). The allusion to the wooden horse is problematic in part because of the inconsistency of 2.16 ... *sectaque intexunt abiete costas*; see further Austin ad loc. (who thinks that the maple reference is a "brilliant Virgilian touch" given the mendacious Sinon; cf. Horsfall ad loc.). Does the maple wood of the chair signal some deceptive quality in the present scene? On the maple (*Acer campestre*) see Sargeant 1920, 10–11. The lion pelt is a cushion on the maple chair of honor.

Newman and Newman 2005, 255n27 draw attention to the sympotic quality of Evander's invitation to Aeneas, with reference to Ovid's description of the "antisymphotic Centaurs" at *Met.* 12.536.

179 tum lecti iuvenes certatim araeque sacerdos

lecti iuvenes: Cf. Catullus, c. 64.4 *cum lecti iuvenes, Argivae robora pubis*; *A.* 10.837 *stant lecti circum iuvenes* (of youths standing around Mezentius); Livy has *delecti/electi iuvenes*. Servius has a note here about how Appius Claudius paid dearly for allowing freedmen to oversee the rites of Hercules (see further Paratore ad loc.). For the aristocratic and other criteria for qualification, see Eden.

certatim: The adverb occurs 11× in the epic and twice in the *G.*; at 436 below it recurs of the Cyclopean work on Pallas' aegis. "Studiose" (Servius).

araeque sacerdos: The line-end also at Silius, *Pun.* 2.150 *Alcidae templi custos araeque sacerdos*. The first *sacerdos* in the epic is Rhea Silvia (referenced at 1.273; cf. 7.659); Laocoön is a priest of Neptune (2.201); Panthus of Phoebus (2.319); also King Anius (3.80); cf. Helenus (3.373). Dido speaks of a Massylian priestess (4.473; cf. 4.498 and 509); a priest is assigned to the Anchises cult at 5.760. Deiphobe is a priestess of Apollo (6.35; 41; 244; 321; 628). Orpheus is a priest in Elysium (6.645), which is the home of *sacerdotes casti* (6.661). A priest is referenced at the oracle of Faunus (7.86); cf. Allecto's disguise as Calybe, the priestess of Juno (7.419). Haemonides is a priest of Apollo and Trivia (10.537); Chloereus was *olim sacerdos* of Cybele (11.768). Lastly, a priest is mentioned at 12.169 (during the treaty negotiations). Mostly in connection to priests/priestesses of Phoebus Apollo; sometimes unnamed.

180 viscera tosta ferunt taurorum, onerantque canistris

viscera tosta: Also at Ovid, *Fast.* 3.731–732 *cinnama tu primus captivaque tura dedisti | deque triumphato viscera tosta bove*. "Virgil uses the untainted roast meat of Homeric heroes, instead of modern stews" (Gowers 1993, 29). With the *viscera taurorum* cf. 6.253 *et solida imponit taurorum viscera flammis*; Ovid, *Fast.* 1.347; 3.803; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.206. With this abbreviated scene cf. the lengthy description of a sacrificial feast described at Homer, *Il.* 1.448 ff. (with

Kirk's notes on the "typical" scene of animal sacrifice; Pulleyn on the communal nature of feasting in Homer); A. 1.210 ff. (with Austin). The *viscera* = anything under the skin (so Servius). For a debate on whether the Aeneadae roasted or boiled their meat, see Henry *ad* 1.215–217. A similar scene occurs at 5.103 *subiiciunt veribus prunas et viscera torrent*.

taurorum: "In A. cattle appear mostly in the context of sacrifice and feasting" (R.F. Thomas, "Animals, Domestic," in *VE* 1, 81). Aeneas and his men slaughter and then enjoy a feast of the cattle of the Strophades, which provokes the Harpies' attack (3.219–257). Pallas will be compared to a bull as he faces Turnus (10.454–546); Camilla's slayer Arruns will be associated with a wolf that has just slaughtered a shepherd or a steer (11.809–813). Powerfully, both Aeneas and Turnus are compared to warring taurines (12.715–722).

onerant: Cf. 284 below. The verb is used of the wine that Acestes had heaped up for the Trojans (1.195); of the gold that Dido's exiles had stored up on their ships in flight (1.363); of the loading of the tables at the feasting of Dido with Aeneas and his Trojans (1.706); of Andromache's gifts at Buthrotum (3.485); of the sacrificial rites at Anchises' *tumulus* (5.101); of Turnus' weighing down the ether with prayers and votive offerings (9.24); of Aeneas' insulting remarks about how a victim's mother will not heap up her son's limbs in a homeland grave (10.558); of Juno's recollection of Turnus' offerings (10.620); of Mezentius' arming (10.868); of Drances' heaping up of abuse against Turnus (11.342); of the offerings made at the ill-fated attempt at a treaty between Trojans and Latins (12.215).

canistris: The relatively rare word occurs elsewhere in the epic only at 1.701, in another reminiscence of Dido's Carthaginian banquet; cf. *G.* 4.280. The noun is mostly poetic (Propertius, c. 3.13.28; 4.8.12; Tibullus, c. 1.10.27; Horace, s. 2.6.105; Ovid, *Met.* 2.713; 8.675; *Fast.* 2.650; Statius, *Theb.* 1.523; 4.378; *Ach.* 1.571; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.254; Juvenal, s. 5.74; Silius, *Pun.* 7.179). On the typical Virgilian "inversion" whereby the gifts of Ceres are loaded "to the baskets," see Görler 1982, 55–56

The improvised, makeshift Trojan meals post-landfall of Books 1 (210 ff.) and 7 (109 ff.) are followed by more relaxed, civilized feasts in foreign realms, however different they may be in atmosphere and lavish appointment (Carthage; the Arcadian settlement here). On epic feasting scenes/*Gastmalszenen* see especially Bettenworth 2004.

181 *dona laboratae Cereris, Bacchumque ministrant.*

"It is almost impossible to translate this accurately into English without being grotesque" (Eden). "A curiously elaborate line" (Clausen 1987, 153n22); the point may in part be to highlight the two immortals who dominate the middle of the verse.

laboratae: Cf. 1.639 *arte laboratae vestes ostroque superbo*, of the rich array in preparation for Dido's banquet. The exact meaning of *laboratae Cereris* is difficult to construe; there may be a hint of the great labor of the goddess in quest for the abducted Proserpina (cf. the deserted Evander *post Pallantis mortem*); the loss of her daughter is referenced at *G.* 1.36–39 (where see Thomas ad loc.; cf. Boyle 1986, 168–169); note *A.* 2.713–716, and 741–742 (with Paschalis 1997, 97–98). Bacchus, in contrast, lost his mother Semele prenatally. The *laboratae vestes* may look forward to the Pallantian burial shroud of 11.72. Both Virgilian uses of *laboratae* are especially striking given the rare transitive use (on which see Fordyce).

Laboratae in a bread-making context may refer to the hard work of kneading and grinding, rather than to the actual growing process (so Eden, *contra* Servius); the evocation of the loss of Proserpina and the divine mother's labors to find her daughter is a more powerful comment on the present situation than any technicalities of *panificium*.

Cereris ... Bacchum: For Ceres see L. Fratantuono, "Tumululum Antiquae Cereris: Virgil's Ceres and the Harvest of Troy," in *BStudLat* 45.2 (2015), 456–472; I. Chirassi Colombo in *EV* 1, 746–748; D.O. Ross in *VE* 1, 254; Bailey 1935, 106–109; Preller/Robert 1, 747–798; Roscher 1.1, 859–866. On the frequent coupling of Ceres and Bacchus see Coleman *ad E.* 5.79–80 (*ut Baccho Cererique*, etc.); also Cucchiarelli ("Assieme le principali divinità agricole, collegate anche nel cuito (in particolare nei misteri eleusini)"; cf. *G.* 1.7 *Liber et alma Ceres* (with Smith 2011, 77); 1.338–350; 2.228–229; *A.* 4.56–59 (of Dido's liturgical and supplicatory rites, on which note Di Cesare 1974, 21). Ceres is referenced twice in *A.* 1, in the context of the very different meals of 1.177–179 (where see Weber 1988, 43–47; also Conway's notes ad loc.) and 701–702. Ceres is associated with the dead Trojan priest Polyboetes (6.484; was he associated with the temple referenced in Book 2? See further Horsfall, and Fletcher ad loc.). The goddess is also allusively mentioned in the context of the fateful "eating of the tables" episode at 7.107–119. Ceres is one of only three Olympians in the epic "not mentioned as protecting or favouring" the future Romans (Henry 1989, 122–123); on the "competition of views" between the major gods in the epic, see Feeney 1991, 155. See Eden for how the word *panis* occurs nowhere in genuine Virgiliana (only at *Moretum* 117). "We hear surprisingly little in the *Aeneid* of deities that have any peculiarly Trojan quality" (Saunders 1930, 124); the reason for this is the ultimate revelation of the suppression of Trojan *mores* in the future Rome.

On the Virgilian depiction of Bacchus note F. Mac Góráin, "Virgil's Bacchus and the Roman Republic," in Farrell and Nelis 2013, 124–145; A. Henrichs in *VE* 1, 163–164; G. Aurelio Privitera in *EV* 1, 449–452; also Bailey 1935, 147–152; cf.

Preller/Robert I, 659–718. On the metonymical references to the deities/bread and wine, Henry has a note referencing the communion service of Christian Eucharistic liturgy (“I take notice of these words only for the sake of explaining through their means the words of Christ ...”), and the call of water carriers in Cairo and elsewhere about the “gift of the god.” Cf. Eden’s remarks on Lucretius, *DRN* 2.655 ff.; also Highet 1972, 254–255. The mention of Bacchus in the context of a Herculean festival may recall 6.801–805, where the two are closely associated.

Lucretius may be key to the understanding of much of what follows. Powerfully, at the start of his fifth book the poet of the atoms noted that Ceres and Bacchus were not necessary for life (5.16–17 *cum tamen his posset sine rebus vita manere, / ut fama est aliquas etiam nunc vivere gentis*)—and that if you think that Hercules’ deeds rival those of Epicurus, you stray far from true reason, given that Geryon and the other monsters said to have been conquered by the great hero could pose no source of peril for us today. A disparagement of the storied labors and mythic achievements of the hero, at the commencement of his book of anthropology and the tracing of human history.

On “god for thing” metonymy note Harrison on 10.407–408.

ministrant: Also in Virgil at 1.150 ... *furor arma ministrat*; 1.213 *litore aëna locant alii flammasque ministrant*; 5.640 ... *deus ipse faces animumque ministrat*; 6.302–303 (of Charon’s work with his craft); 9.764 ... *Iuno viris animumque ministrat*; 10.218 (of Aeneas directing his ship); 11.71 *non iam mater alit tellus virisque ministrat* (in the simile of the cut flower that describes the dead Pallas). A verb used 2× in a meal setting; otherwise in mostly dark contexts.

182 *vescitur Aeneas simul et Troiana iuventus*

vescitur: The verb is used in a very different sense of Aeneas in Ilioneus’ remarks at Dido’s court (1.546–547 ... *si vescitur aura / aetheria neque adhuc crudelibus occubat umbris*); Andromache employs it in a similar context at 3.339 *quid puer Ascanius? superatne et vescitur aura?*. At 3.622 it appears of the grisly repast of the Cyclops Polyphemus: *visceribus miserorum et sanguine vescitur atro*. Only here, then, in the context of a “normal” meal; twice with reference to the survival of Aeneas and his son. For the use of the verb with the ablative see Pinkster 2015, 115–116: “isolated accusatives are found from Accius onwards.”

et: Some Carolingians read *ac* here.

Troiana iuventus: See above on 5; cf. 1.467 *hac fugerent Grai, premeret Troiana iuventus*; 2.63 *undique visendi studio Troiana iuventus*; 5.555 *Trinacriae mirata fremit Troiaequae iuventus*; 8.545 *Evandrus pariter, pariter Troiana iuventus*; *Ilias* Lat. 770 ... *instat Troiana iuventas*.

Another all too brief moment of relaxed atmosphere and calm enjoyment of the blessings of nature and heroic fare, before the Trojan youth proceed to war with their new Arcadian allies.

183 perpetui tergo bovis et lustralibus extis.

perpetui tergo bovis: For the adaptation of the Homeric “unbroken slices of beef (i.e., slices cut the entire length from the back),” which is standard hero’s fare (e.g., *Il.* 7.321), see C.M. McDonough, “The Pricing of Sacrificial Meat: *Eidolothuton*, the Ara Maxima, and Useful Misinformation from Servius,” in Konrad 2004, 73–74. On the “prime cut, the chine complete with ribs,” see Kirk *ad Il.* 7.321, where Agamemnon makes such an offering to Ajax; cf. Bowie *ad Homer, Od.* 14.437: “the chine was regularly given as a mark of favour, because it was the choicest cut.” Servius notes that *tergo* could be a use of *pars pro toto*; Danielis observes that it was considered a *nefas* to save anything from the bull, and that in consequence even the *corium* was consumed. On the Servian note that the reference here may be “the custom of selling the sacrificial meats to buy other, cheaper ones,” see Wigodsky 1972, 140.

Perpetuus occurs 3× in the epic (cf. 4.32 *solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa*; 7.1765–176 *hae sacris epulis; hic ariete caeso | perpetuis soliti patres considerare mensis*); also *E.* 4.14.

With *tergo bovis* cf. Livy 34.62.12.1; Ovid, *Met.* 14.225. In the present scene we may also be reminded of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (120 ff.), where the young Hermes cuts up the fatty meat of stolen cattle and roasts the flesh; he divides it into twelve portions (i.e., for the Olympians).

lustralibus: The adjective occurs only here in Virgil, and is otherwise rare; cf. Grattius, *Cyn.* 491; Livy 1.28.2.1; 40.10.3.1; Ovid, *Ep.* 3.2.73; Lucan, *BC* 6.786; Persius, s. 2.33; Seneca, *Troad.* 634; *Ag.* 163; Statius, *Theb.* 1.507; 10.793; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.414; Apuleius, *Ap.* 47.21; *Met.* 3.2.14; Tacitus, *Ann.* 16.4.1. Fordyce takes the adjective as referring to sacrificial practices in general, rather than to any specific purificatory rite or *lustratio*; the comparative rarity of the adjective, however, may point to an aversion of evil and quasi-sanctification of those who partake of the sacrificial repast. Another (old) possibility (defended by Eden) is that the adjective refers to a five-year old animal, i.e., an animal whose age corresponds with the period of a *lustrum* (cf. Homer, *Il.* 2.402 ff.; Servius’ note); such a reading would provide a neat contrast between the *perpetui ... bovis* and the *lustralibus extis*. The five years would permit the victims to be “pingues” (Servius) and thus better suited for offerings.

extis: Cf. *G.* 1.484; *A.* 6.253–254 *et solida imponit taurorum viscera flammis, / pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis*. With the eating of the innards cf. Livy 1.7.13 *extis adesis*, of the timely arrival of the Potitii and the arrival of the

Pinarii for the rest of the feast: *Inde institutum mansit, donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne extis eorum sollemnium vescerentur*. Cf. also the haruspicy of 4.63–64 ... *pecudumque reclusis / pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta*; the offerings promised by Cloanthus during the regatta (5.237–238 ... *extaque salsos / proiciam in fluctus et vina liquentia fundam*); the parallel offerings that Aeneas makes on departure from Sicily (5.775–776 ... *extaque salsos / proicit in fluctus ac vina liquentia fundit*). “*Extā sollemnium et exta lustralia* ont le même sens avec cette différence que la dernière de ces locutions indique que le sacrifice a un caractère expiatoire” (Benoist). On the Roman custom of not eating the *exta* of sacrificial victims, see Farrell and Nelis 2013, 95 ff.

184–212 Evander commences a long explanation and rationale for the Herculean rites that are being observed at Pallanteum. He introduces the story of the semi-human monster Cacus, the offspring of Vulcan, a local horror who was responsible for the attempted theft of some of the cattle that Hercules had brought back from the labor with Geryon.

What happened according to legend in 1235 B.C.? The story of Cacus and Hercules has been the occasion of a rich bibliography and much scholarly debate (the entries of E. Montanari in *EV* 1, 593–595, and P. Hardie in *VE* 1, 217 offer brief introductions); note especially here Roscher I.2, 2270–2290; also Bréal 1863; H. Schnepf, “Das Herculesabenteuer in Virgils Aeneis VIII, 184f.,” in *Gymnasium* 66 (1959), 250–268; H. Bellen, “*Adventus Dei*: Der Gegenwartsbezug in Vergils Darstellung der Geschichte von Cacus und Hercules (*Aen* VIII.184–275),” in *RhM* 106 (1963), 23–30; G.K. Galinsky, “The Hercules-Cacus Episode in *Aeneid* VIII,” in *AJPh* 87.1 (1966), 18–51; C. Cuénot, “Une comparaison littéraire. L’épisode d’Hercule et de Cacus chez Virgile,” in *IL* 19 (1967), 230–234; Galinsky 1972, 141 ff.; F. Sullivan, “Volcanoes and Volcanic Characters in Virgil,” in *CPh* 67.3 (1972), 186–191; D. Sutton, “The Greek Origins of the Cacus Myth,” in *CQ* 27.2 (1977), 391–393; Small 1982; Hardie 1986, 110–118; H. Jacobson, “Cacus and the Cyclops,” in *Mnemosyne* 42.1/2 (1989), 101–102; Lenssen, J., “*Hercules exempli gratia*: de Hercules-Cacus-episode in Vergilius *Aeneis* 8.185–305,” in *Lampas* 23 (1990), 50–73; D. Sansone, “Cacus and the Cyclops: An Addendum,” in *Mnemosyne* 44.1/2 (1991), 171; Schubert, W., “Zur Sage von Hercules und Cacus bei Vergil (*Aen.* 8, 184–279) und Ovid (*Fast.* 1, 543–586),” in *JAC* 6 (1991), 37–60; P.J. Johnston, “Under the Volcano: Volcanic Myth and Metaphor in Vergil’s *Aeneid*,” in *Verg.* 42 (1996), Morgan, L., “Assimilation and Civil War: Hercules and Cacus: *Aeneid* 8,” in Stahl 1998, 175–198; 55–65; A. Ferenczi, “The Double-faced Hercules in the Cacus-Episode of the *Aeneid*,” in *ACD* 34–35 (1998–1999), 327–334; A. Scarth, “The Volcanic Inspiration of Some Images in the *Aeneid*,” in *CW* 93.6 (2000), 591–605; B. Effe, “*Hercules Fervidus Ira*: Ein

Motiv der *Aeneis* und seine Rezeption bei Properz und Ovid,” in *Hermes* 130.2 (2002), 164–175; N. Holzberg, “Der ‘Böse’ und die Augusteer. Cacus bei Livius, Vergil, Properz und Ovid,” in *Gymnasium* 119 (2012), 449–462; D.A. Secci, “Hercules, Cacus, and Evander’s Myth-Making in *Aeneid* 8,” in *HSCP* 107 (2013), 195–227; Crofton-Sleigh 2014, 23–41; M.P. Loar, *Hercules at the Crossroads of Augustan Literature and Art*, Dissertation Stanford, 2015 (with consideration of how the Hercules who destroys Cacus = Augustus, while the Hercules who is subservient to Omphale = Antony). The lore of Cacus and his encounter with Hercules is mentioned in Propertius’ etiological c. 4.9 (where see Hutchinson, and Coutelle); cf. also Ovid, *Fast.* 1.545 ff.; 5.645 ff.; 6.77 ff. Dionysius of Halicarnassus has lengthy accounts at 1.39–42; cf. L. Cassius Hemina, F3 Cornell (F5 Chassignet); Gn. Gellius, F17 Cornell (F6 Chassignet). For a comparative analysis of the versions in Virgil, Propertius, and Ovid, see Otis 1970, 25 ff.

Livy offers an account of Hercules and Cacus lore at 1.7.3–15 (where see Ogilvie), with the detail that this was the only foreign cult that was adopted for his new settlement by Romulus: *Haec tum sacra Romulus una ex omnibus peregrina susceperat, iam tum immortalitatis virtute partae, ad quam eum sua fata ducebant, fautor*. Plutarch (*Mor.* 315C) has a detail cited from Dercyllus’ Italian history that when Hercules was bringing the Geryonic cattle through Hercules, he was entertained by Hermes’ son Faunus, who had a custom of sacrificing his guests to his divine father. Hercules killed Faunus, thus ending the gruesome rites.

Diodorus Siculus (4.21.1–4) tells the story of how Hercules came to the Tiber and made camp; soon after he met the leading citizens of the nearby Palatine settlement, including *Cacius* and Pinarius; Diodorus notes the location of the celebrated *Scalae Caci* on the Palatine (cf. *AAR* 217 ff.). “... Diodorus follows an entirely different version according to which ‘Cacius’ is a benevolent pillar of the local community who welcomed Hercules to the future site of Rome” (Grant 1971, 56–57; he speculates that Timaeus may have been a source here). There is indeed a struggle in the Phlegraean Fields with giants (4.21.5), but no battle between Hercules and Cacius. Romulus was said to have dwelt near the *Scalae* on the Palatine—at least if we so read the corrupt text of Plutarch, *Rom.* 20.4. We do not learn until 230–232 below that Cacus’ lair is on the Aventine in the Virgilian conception; on this problem see further Eden *ad* 190 ff.

The First Vatican Mythographer briefly outlines the story (1.66). Cacus was the son of Vulcan; he devastated the area near his lair, and was finally slain by Hercules. “Secundum veritatem fuit Evandri servus pessimus et fur et ideo cacus dicitur, quod graece malum sonat; ignem ore vomere dicitur, quia agros ipse vastabat.”

Servius' note *ad* 190 observes that "secundum fabulam" Cacus was the son of Vulcan; this is likely derivation from 8.198; the commentator also mentions a sister, Caca, who merited a *sacellum* because she betrayed her brother; her shrine was said to have been the locus for sacrifices of the Vestals. There is no definitive answer to the problem of this fiery brother and sister; Eden concludes *ad* 198 that "It is at best a possibility that Cacus and Caca were the male and female fire-spirits of the early Palatine settlement." On this sibling question note L. Holland, "Family Nomenclature and Same-Name Divinities," in *CW* 104.2 (2011), 211–226, 225n50, with reference *inter al.* to Lactantius, *Div. inst.* 1.20.36.

For the depiction of Cacus/Cacu in art as a figure not unlike Apollo, long-haired and with a lyre, see Vergados 2013, 284, with consideration of the many parallels between Hermes, Cacus, and the assimilation of the cattle-rustling son of Maia with Apollo in at least certain aspects of his character and accoutrements, including music and the prophetic arts. "The two characters are ambivalent: Cacus can be a beautiful youth or a death spirit; similarly, Hermes is capable of both helping and deceiving."

The famous mirror from Bolsena in the British Museum (BM Cat. Bronzes 633)—with depiction of a youthful Cacu—is considered *inter al.* by Newman and Newman 2005, 256; illustrations and discussions may be found in Small 1982.

On the association of Cacus with Polyphemus, see especially Hardie 1986, 266–267 (with reference to the parallels with Etna, and between Mezentius and the Cyclops); also H. Jacobson, "Cacus and the Cyclops," in *Mnemosyne* 42.1/2 (1989), 101–102. Putnam 1966, 131 ff. highlights connections between the Italian monster and *Furor impius* (1.294). For the reminiscence of Aegle's account of Heracles' obtaining the Hesperidean apples at *Arg.* 4.1432–1449, see Nelis 2001, 360, 363.

Statius modeled certain aspects of *Thebaid* 8 on Virgil's account of the battle between Hercules and Cacus; on this see Augoustakis 2016, xxxviii–xxxix. For the influence of the story on Statius' account of Coroebus, the Python, and Apollo at *Thebaid* 1.557–668, see Ganiban 2007, 9 ff.

For the cattle raid as an ancient subject for heroic song, see Davies and Fin-glass 2014, 231n4.

The fight between Hercules and Cacus has been interpreted as a precursor of the final clash between Aeneas and Turnus, e.g. "The Herakles-Cacus episode, then, serves as a parable of Aeneas' struggle against Turnus" (Galinsky in Harrison 1990, 20); "... in particular, Cacus is a type of Turnus in his fiery fury" (Hardie in *VE* 1, 217). We shall see that as with the Virgilian identification of Aeneas with Augustus, there is no simple equation; the poet is, as ever, eminently ambivalent in his associations. There is much of Hercules in Aeneas, and of Cacus in

Turnus—but the typological tale does not reveal the whole story, and neither association is definitively praiseworthy or condemnatory. “The persistence of the Cacus story in later Roman times was partly due to its philosophical implications. All combat myths ... stood for the conflict of good against evil ...” (Grant 1971, 63).

For the depiction of Hercules and Cacus in art see R.F. Thomas in *VE* II, 604–606; Reid 1993, 532–533. The story is alluded to twice in Jean de Meun’s massive continuation of Guillaume de Lorris’ *Roman de la Rose* (15526 Lecoy ff.; 21589 Lecoy ff.).

Stravit Antaeum Libycis harenis, / Cacus Evandri satiavit iras (Boethius, *Phil. Con.* 4.25–26).

184 *Postquam exempta fames et amor compressus edendi,*

Cf. Homer, *Il.* 1.469.

exempta fames: As at 1.216 *postquam exempta fames epulis mensaeque remotae*, after the first meal in Carthage. In Virgil the verb occurs only in these two passages in participial form; cf. 6.746 and 9.447 for other uses of *eximere*.

Hunger in Virgil is particularly associated with the Harpies (3.218; 367) and the portent of the eating of the tables that is announced by Celaeno (7.124; 128). It is also associated metaphorically with hunger for wealth and rapine, for slaughter and plunder (3.57; 9.340; 10.724). *Malesuada Fames* is one of the monsters on the threshold of Virgil’s hell (6.276); hunger is also associated with Cerberus (6.421). Dark echoes, then, with reminiscences of monstrous beings and portents; also of the possible profanation of the eating of the crusts due to Ceres at 7.109–119 (for this reading of the “tables” episode see especially M.C.J. Putnam, “*Aeneid* VII and the *Aeneid*,” in *AJPh* 91.4 (1970), 408–430, especially 422–423: “On reaching Italy they are indeed compelled to eat the crusts due to Ceres. Virgil’s words make clear that such auction is profane. Yet it fulfills Celaeno’s prophecy, as Iulus announces ...”). Iulus is soon thereafter part of the Allecto-inspired machinery for instigating the war in Italy. Food figures prominently in the Homeric account of the encounter with the Cyclops in *Odyssey* 9; cf. the parallel between Polyphemus and Cacus.

amor ... edendi: Lucretian (*DRN* 4.868–869 *et recreet vires inter datus, atque patentem / per membra ac venas ut amorem opturet edendi*). “A Homeric cliché” (Fordyce): cf. *Il.* 1.469 (with Kirk). The gerund is also used at 7.113 (with reference to the eating of the tables); 9.63 (of the ravenous hunger of the Turnus-wolf outside the Trojan camp-sheepfold); for the form and its use see Pinkster 2015, 58–59; 286–288. Cf. the metaphorical eating imagery of 4.63 (of Dido) and 12.801 (of Juno); also the *est vapor* of the burning of the Trojan vessels at 5.683. Gould and Whiteley note that Virgil makes no reference to Trojan

and Arcadian thirst, but a double comment on hunger. The satisfaction of hunger comes as a suitable prelude to the macabre depiction of the cannibalistic Cacus.

For the omission of *est* see Pinkster 2015, 198 (“... popular in poetry, especially in Virgil, and very frequent in Tacitus”).

“Moraliter positum postquam exempta fames; nullus enim in convivio libenter fabulas conserit aut audit alienas, nisi venter fuerit plenus” (Tib.).

185 rex Evandrus ait: ‘non haec sollemnia nobis,

rex: With particular reference to the ceremonial role of a king in religious rites and sacrificial rituals. For the title with *Evandrus* cf. 313.

non haec: The start of a polyptoton; for repeated demonstratives (here the first of three) see Hahn 1930, 38n158, with comment on the common phenomenon of repetition of forms of *hic* in different genders. “The curious negative form of this strikes an apologetic note, directed against the Lucretian classification of *all* religious practices as *superstitio*” (Hardie 1986, 216).

sollemnia: Cf. 102 ... *sollemnem* ... *honorem*. Evander opens his address to Aeneas and the Trojans with a tricolon that commences with the solemn, yearly rites to the god in commemoration of his victory over Cacus; three demonstratives mark the progression. The adjective emphasizes that which is regular in occurrence, a solemn observance of the religious calendar. We move from the general to the specific, from the solemnity to the sacral banquet to the altar that is a lasting monument of the rite. With the personal pronoun cf. Propertius, c. 2.33A.1 *tristia iam redeunt iterum sollemnia nobis* (in association with Cynthia’s participation in the worship of Isis); for the noun note also Leary *ad* Symphosius, *Aenigmata* 4 *sollemnia ludo* (London-New York: Bloomsbury, 2014).

nobis: For the dative after *imponere* (188) see Antoine 182, 127.

186 has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram

has ... *dapes*: The meal is a liturgical rite in itself; it takes its form and custom from the traditions that have been handed down. For *dapes* see on 175. *Ex more* means in accord with the custom or tradition that has been practiced without interruption—the liturgical rubrics that govern the Herculean rites (see further Grandsen here and *ad* 88). The demonstrative and noun frame the key phrases that detail both the regularity of the ritual observance, and the ineffable power of the great hero/demigod. For the use of passages such as these to quite different effect in Prudentius’ attacks on vices in his *Psychomachia*, see Smith 2015, 283 ff. “Dum vult originem praesentium referre sacrorum, simul et epularum genus excusat. sciebat enim quibus apparatibus tantus hospes excipi

debuisset, si non obsisteret lex instituta sacrorum” (Tib). The sacred, liturgical banquet stands in deliberate contrast to the conception of Cacus as cannibal that will soon be developed.

tanti numinis: I.e., of Hercules. For *numen* vid. A.M. Battagazzore in *EV* III, 7729–782; Bailey 1935, 60–69.

aram: The Ara Maxima would be most in the mind of the Augustan audience. Demonstrative and noun envelop the *tantum numen*, just as the finite confines of the altar represent in some sense the totality of the god’s immense power.

187 *vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum*

vana superstitio: Cf. Silius, *Pun.* 5.125–126 ... *deforme sub armis / vana superstitio est* ... A sentiment that has occasioned grand declarations of Virgilian theology: “Amid all the changes of the world, Virgil seems to cling to the traditions of the religious and spiritual life,—as Lucretius holds to the belief in the laws of Nature,—as the surest ground of human trust. He has no thought of superseding old beliefs or practices ... but rather strives to reconcile the old faith with the more enlightened convictions and humaner sentiments of men” (Sellar 1877, 370).

Virgil uses *superstitio* twice only in his works. At 12.816–817 *adiuro Styigii caput implacabile fontis, / una superstitio superis quae rediita divis*, the noun is used by Juno in her colloquy with Jupiter as she swears to desist from interference in the current events in Latium (Tarrant’s “object of religious dread”). Gransden sees an allusion to Lucretius, *DRN* 5.1–54, where Ceres, Bacchus, and especially Hercules are listed as *comparanda* with Epicurus; already Servius cites the Lucretian attack on *religio* from *DRN* 1 (66, etc.). Here part of the point may be that for some, all *superstitiones* are *vanae*; in Evander’s use of the term, the contrast is pointedly between younger, novel rites and the established order.

“The values for which Hercules stands are wholly un-Lucretian; his victory reinforces traditional religion rather than removing it, as Evander’s first words make clear” (Hardie 1986, 216). We do well to remember that Hercules was a particular patron of Antony (Huzar 1978, 194, 214). On this point see further B. Farrington, “Polemical Allusions to the *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius in the Works of Virgil,” in Varci and Willetts 1963, 87–94. One might reasonably conclude that Lucretius would not be pleased with any of the Herculean drama of the eighth *Aeneid*; the celebration of the hero’s exploits is exclusive to the Arcadians and their Trojan guests (we are not told that the Latins have any part in the liturgical worship). In the end, the salient point may be that the demigod cannot protect Evander’s son Pallas.

veterum ... deorum: Cf. Mnestheus' chiding of the Trojans in the face of Turnus' assault at 9.786–787 *non infelicis patriae veterumque deorum / et magni Aeneae, segnes, miseretque pudetque?*; Ovid's *religione sacer prisca, quo mula sacerdos / lignea contulerat veterum simulacra deorum* (*Met.* 10.694). The reference is to the Olympian order, with respect to the question of whether or not Hercules deserves a place among those already acknowledged as part of the pantheon; cf. Hermes' admission to the same number. Less likely is that the reference to the cult of the "old gods" is to be taken of the "earliest state cult of Hercules attested in the *lectisternium* of 399" (Ogilvie *ad Livy* 1.7.3–15). Evander is Arcadian; the original cattle-rustling lore of Hermes was set in Arcadia, the god's birthplace.

ignara: The adjective occurs also at *E.* 6.40 *rara per ignaros errent animalia montis*; *G.* 1.31 *ignarosque viae mecum miseratus agrestis*; *A.* 1.198 *O socii neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum*; 1.332–332 ... *ignari hominumque locorumque / erramus vento huc vastis et fluctibus acti*; 1.630 *nec ignara mali miseris succurrere disco*; 2.106 *ignari scelerum tantotum artisque Pelasgae*; 2.384–385 *ignarosque loci passim et formidine captos / sternimus*; 3.338 *aut quisnam ignarum nostris deus appulit oris*; 3.382 *vicinosque, ignare, paras invadere portus*; 3.569 *ignarique viae Cyclopum adlabimur oris*; 4.65 *heu, vatum ignare mentes!*; 4.508 *effigiemque toro locat ignara futuri*; 5.284 ... *haud ignara Minervae*; 5.618 ... *haud ignara nocendi*; 627 and 730 below (the Arcadians and Vulcan are not *ignari*—but Aeneas is); 9.287 *hanc ego nunc ignaram huius quodcumque pericli*; 9.344–345 *Fadumque Herbesumque subit Rhoetumque Abarimque / ignaros*; 9.766 *ignaros deinde in muris Martem cientis / 10.25 and 85 Aeneas ignarus abest*; 10.228–229 *tum sic ignarum adloquitur: vigilasne, deum gens, / Aenea?*; 10.247 *respicit ignarus rerum ingratusque salutis* (of Turnus); 10.666 ... *ignarum Laurens habet ora Mimanta*; 11.19 *ne qua mora ignaros*; 11.154 *haud ignarus eram quantum nova gloria in armis*.

188 **imposuit: saevis, hospes Troiane, periclis**

imposuit: With the implication of a solemn, grave duty; what Hercules accomplished for the denizens of the locale has imposed a burden of religious observance from generation to generation in gratitude and thanks.

saevis ... periclis: Cf. Manilius, *Astron.* 3.127; Ovid, *Her.* 20.175. The "savage perils" envelop the Trojan guest. The rhetoric is designed to appeal to a Trojan refugee; the Arcadians, like Aeneas, have been rescued from grave dangers. See Gransden *ad* 188–189 (with bibliography) for the question of the Augustan image as *servator mundi*. "Evander's own city may be a reflection of his Arcadian homeland, but even here, into what must nearly approach the pastoral ideal, there crept evil and violence ..." (Putnam 1966, 130).

hospes: See above on 123. The word is particularly appropriate in the larger context not only of Evander's hospitality toward the Trojans, but also of Cacus as the anti-type of the welcoming host.

Troiane: For the adjective cf. 36 above. A key reminder on the cusp of the Cacus story that the principal audience member for Evander's story is a Trojan. On certain aspects of the education of Aeneas via the example of Hercules, see Cairns 1989, 84 (with reference to the problem of the destruction of wickedness and the threat of *furor*).

189 *servati facimus meritosque novamus honores.*

servati: Cf. the sailors of 12.768.

facimus: See Fordyce here for how the verb can be taken either absolutely, or with *honores*; the two possibilities are not mutually exclusive.

meritos ... honores: As at 3.118 *sic fatus aris mactavit Cretaeis sistet in oris*, of the religious rites before the ill-fated departure for Crete; 5.651–652 ... *tali quod sola careret | munere nec meritos Anchisae inferret honores*, of Pyrgo's revelation that the disguised Iris is not really Beroe; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 13.594; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.702; Silius, *Pun.* 4.736; also Cicero, *Phil.* 7.10.2–3. *Meritos* reinforces the notion of salvation from harm; Hercules deserves these rites because he saved the locals from Cacus.

novamus: The verb is used 2× in Book 5 in connection with the burning of the ships; at 5.604 *Hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit* it describes the change of fortune that led to the Junonian attempt to destroy the Trojan fleet, while at 6.752 it simply describes the refashioning and repair of vessels. At 7.630 *tela novant* it is used of the forging and securing of new weapons in the wake of the outbreak of the war in Latium. Participial forms at 4.260 and 4.290 describe the very different activities of Aeneas' supervision of the building of Carthage, and the Trojan preparations for the departure from North Africa. The exact sense of the verb here has been questioned; Henry defends Wagner's interpretation "Facimus nova haec et insolita sacra," with comparison of 5.604. Certainly part of Evander's argument is a defense of the seemingly novel rites of Hercules—but the emphasis throughout has also been on the yearly anniversary of the god's victory over Cacus, just as in Book 5 the revolving year's anniversary of Anchises' death is emphasized in the narrative of the games. Eden notes the repeated point that this is an annual observance; it may be among the more recent religious rites, but it has a developed tradition all the same.

190 iam primum saxis suspensam hanc aspice rupem,

Evander commences the story of Cacus and Hercules on a topographical note. On “setting as character” and the importance of the physical surroundings to the story, see Apostol 2009, 17 ff. Virgil’s description was considered by Mountford John Byrde Baddeley to be “an exact description” of Dungeon Ghyll in Cumbria, northwestern England.

iam primum: Only here in Virgil. For the “more colloquial” start to the ephra-sis see Eden ad loc.; cf. Fordyce’s “a lively conversational opening.” “He begins his story by calling attention to the spot which attests it” (Conington).

saxis: For the “modal or material” ablative see Conington.

suspensam ... rupem: A cliff or crag that is overhanging. The verb occurs 17× in the epic; for the technical use with reference to vaulting see Fordyce, and cf. den Boeft et al. 2011, 191.

aspice: Deictic, and with visual power. The very backdrop landscape of the liturgy offers the visual memorial of Hercules’ victory. See further Smith 2005, 148. The imperative is repeated at 385 below, as Venus makes her appeal to Vulcan with a note on how many are rising up against Aeneas and his Trojans. For the “paratactic usage” of the imperative with *ut* (191) note also *E.* 4.52; 5.6–7; *A.* 6.855–856. On this and similar poetic expressions see Fordyce. Cf. 1.393 (Venus’ announcement of the portent of the swans); 526 (Ilioneus’ appeal to Dido); 2.604 (Venus’ revelation to Aeneas of the divine machinations in the destruction of Troy); 2.690 (Anchises’ appeal to Jupiter); 6.771, 778, 825, 855 (Anchises to Aeneas during the *Heldenschau*); 10.481 (Turnus to Pallas); 11.374 (Drances to Turnus). “Primum coepit a teste, ut ex eo quod oculis superiacebat fides accedere posset auditis” (Tib.).

191 disiectae procul ut moles desertaque montis

disiectae ... moles: The locus of Cacus’ defeat is described in language that strongly evokes the fall of Troy; cf. 2.608–609 *hic, ubi disiectas moles avulsaque saxis / saxa vides, mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum* (of Venus’ revelation to Aeneas of the work of the immortals in destroying Priam’s city). On the “desolate and uneasy memories” for Aeneas, and the analogy between Cacus’ lair and Troy see Gransden. Cf. 290 and 355 below. Effectively balanced alliteration, as we move from *disiectae* to *moles* to *deserta* to *montis*.

Dissicere is used at 1.43 and 1.70 of the destruction of the Lesser Ajax and the goddess Juno’s orders to Aeolus about similar treatment of the Trojans; cf. 1.128. At 7.339 it is employed in a similar context of Juno’s orders to the Fury Allecto to destroy the peace between Trojans and Latins. At 11.870 it is used of the breakdown of order and command structure on the battlefield in the wake of Camilla’s death; cf. the battlefield scenes of 12.308; 482; 689.

ut: For the exact meaning here see especially Conington (with reference to 5.329, of the locus of Nisus' untimely fall); we should probably translate "how" and not "where." For the "modal, not local" force see Gransden. The emphasis is on the aftermath of Hercules' combat with Cacus—the transformation of the landscape in the wake of the epic bout.

deserta: Other notably bleak locales in the epic include the temple of Ceres at 2.714 that is the gathering point for the Trojan exiles; the *desertas terras* that Aeneas says he and his Trojans were compelled to seek at 3.4 (i.e., in contrast to his bustling and beloved Troy); here the mountain home of the monster Cacus has been deserted precisely because of Hercules' slaying of the beast.

montis: Mountain imagery is associated closely with the revolt of the giants and Titans (including Atlas) against the Olympian order.

192 stat domus et scopuli ingentem traxere ruinam.

stat domus: Cf. *G.* 4.208–209 *at genus immortale manet, multosque per annos / stat fortuna domus, et avi numerantur annorum*; also Propertius, *c.* 3.19.20; Ovid, *Fast.* 4.953–954; Lucan, *BC* 7.403–404. A paradox; the mountain home stands forth, as it were—but the crags have toppled down in a scene of immense ruin. The site described here will be the locus of the battle between Hercules and Cacus at 233 *stabat acuta silex*, etc. below.

ingentem ... ruinam: Cf. Ovid, *Ep.* 1.9.13; Lucan, *BC* 7.505; Petronius, *Sat.* 121.1.119; Statius, *Theb.* 3.640; 6.879. "Virgil's favourite adjective" (Eden, who notes that five of fourteen uses in Book 8 come during the Cacus narrative). Henry's note *ad* 5.118 on "our author's maid of all work—cook, slut, and butler at once" is justly memorialized in the commentary tradition. Henry perceptively connects the present description of Cacus' ruined cave with the Lucanian picture of the state of Italy in the wake of civil war at *BC* 1.24–27. "And one should not forget the undertone of strangeness in *ingens* and monstrosity in *immanis*" (Eden).

On the scansion note Keil-Hagen, *GL* VIII, 235: "Ellipsis est superiori contraria consonantium cum vocalibus aspere concurrentium quaedam difficilis ac dura conlisis" (from the *Anec. Helvet.*, citing this passage as an example); cf. Iulian. Tol. 18. Sabbadini conjectured *ingentem ut scopuli*.

193 hic spelunca fuit vasto summota recessu,

The description is closely imitated by Ovid, *Fast.* 1.555 *proque domo longis spelunca recessibus ingens*; note also Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.177–186, of the cavernous lair of the giant manslayer Amycus (on this see P. Murgatroyd, "Amycus' Cave in Valerius Flaccus," in *CQ* N.S. 58.1 (2008), 382–386). For the bucolic allusions of the toponym, see Apostol 2009, 15 ff.

fuit: See Henry here for the force of the verb: what was once a *spelunca* is no more in the wake of Hercules' action.

summota: The verb is rare in Virgil; at 6.316 *ast alios longe summotos arcet harena* it is used of souls that are kept away from Charon's vessel; cf. 7.226; also *E.* 6.38.

vasto ... recessu: Cf. *Aetna* 160; 336; Manilius, *Astron.* 4.613; 869; cf. 217 below. The noun may well be read only here in Virgil; 11.527 *planities ignota iacet tutique receptus* (or *recessus*) is textually vexed. The image is of protection and defense, of a cavernous home that will in the end prove insufficient for defense against the great Hercules. Fordyce notes that the adjective can imply a repellent, appalling place (with reference to 7.302, of Charybdis). We may be reminded, though, of the first shelter of the Trojans in North Africa: 1.162–163 *hinc atque hinc vastae rupes geminique minantur / in caelum scopuli*.

For the possible association of Cacus' cave with the wooden horse see Paschalis 1997, 280, with close textual analysis. If there is a connection between the stony lair and the wooden horse, then Hercules in effect opens the horse, with implicit memory of the ensuing ruin of Troy. On the Odyssean quality of the whole scene, note Cairns 1989, 178. We may recall too the manifold revelation of the ultimate destruction of Carthage in the powerful description of Dido's suicide (cf. the flames the Trojans see at the opening of Book 5); of the major cities and settlements of which we read in the epic, only Latinus' is ultimately spared the destiny of ruin.

On the Latin vocabulary for caves see especially Crofton-Sleigh 2014, 17 ff.

194 *semihominis Caci facies quam dira tegebat*

semihominis: The only appearance of the rare word in Virgil; Ovid has it of the Centaurs (*Met.* 12.536); also Apuleius (*Met.* 4.8.12); Silius of the Nasamonians (*Pun.* 11.180). Periphrasis in the Homeric style; cf. *Il.* 23.589 βίη Τεύκροιο ἄνακτος = Teucer. For the quadrisyllable see Fordyce, and Eden. Cacus is a symbol of blended, mixed creation; in this case the offspring is unquestionably monstrous, but the image points to such biform entities as the future Rome (Trojan/Italian): hybrid creatures are destroyed in the *Aeneid*, for there will be no equal union of Trojan and Italian *sermo* and *mores* in the future Rome (and there was no successful union of Trojan and Carthaginian). Dante perhaps misremembered or mistranslated Virgil here, and made Cacus a Centaur in *Inf.* 25 (or simply exercised poetic license); Dante's monster, further, does not breathe fire himself, but has a dragon on his shoulders that handles the incendiary mayhem for him. Dante's Cacus-Centaur is not in *canto* 12 with the other horse-men precisely because he stole from Hercules' herd of cattle. Ruaeus has a perceptive note on the question of the exact nature of Cacus' "half-man" status. The present verse opens a ring that will close at 267 *semiferi*.

facies ... dira: Directly echoing 2.622–623 *apparent dirae facies inimicaque Troiae | numina magna deum*; cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 1.553; Seneca, *Oed.* 180; Statius, *Theb.* 10.556; Silius, *Pun.* 17.603. Once again Virgil recalls the ruin of Troy and the divine machinery at work in the tearing down of Priam's city.

tegebat: One of the more vexing textual problems in the book (cf. on 205 below), which raises a question of whether an error of one letter entered the tradition at a very early stage of transmission. This is the reading of MPR and several Carolingians; also Tib.; it is accepted by de la Cerda, Cunningham, Sabbadini, Götte, Geymonat, Perret, Dolç and Paratore. The first corrector of the Medicean and the bulk of Ribbeck's cursives read *tenebat*, which is adopted by Ribbeck, Mynors, Goold's Loeb; Conte, García et al., Holzberg's Tusculum and Heuzé Pléiade. No comment in Henry; Page; Mackail; Fordyce; Gransden (the last three of whom print *tenebat*—and cf. 653 below); Eden defends *tenebat* in a good note, while Williams observes that it is difficult if not impossible to “extract a meaning” from *tegebat*. How can a cave, after all, be concealed by Cacus? Adding to the problem is the question of punctuation: should a stop come after *Caci* (so the old pointing; see further Conington's note). Certainly *tegebat* is the *difficilior lecto*, but neither this nor *pietas* toward Geymonat recommends the adoption. The vivid image is of the monstrous form of Cacus guarding or protecting his cave (see Henry for the use of *facies* not merely of “face”); as Paratore renders it, “che l'orribile aspetto del bestiale Caco occupava” (see further his note ad loc.).

A criticism can be made that it is the cave that ought to protect Cacus and not *vice versa*, and that the “covering” action of Cacus would not leave it inaccessible to the sun (195)—or at least that for the poet to say such a thing would be unlikely (see here Eden). Kraggerud notes *per litt.* that the predicative nature of 195 *inaccessam* is easier with *tenebat* than *tegebat*.

The point may be in part that the huge, monstrous creature often lies in wait in the entranceway of the cavern and thus does indeed keep light from entering its subterranean depths; he stands forth as a terrible sentinel, with the heads of his victims fixed to the entry of his dwelling (we learn later of the system of bars and defense at the door; cf. 225–227). The cave is huge, and so is the beast; his presence anywhere in its precinct serves to block out the sun (cf. Tib.: “haec etiam extrinsecus dira et horribilis, usque adeo ut sine tremore videri non posset, tanta autem immanitate fuit, ut hanc solis radii nec tangerent nec viderent”). The lair will be exposed at 241 *detecta*, echoing the present verb (as Sabbadini notes). We have printed *tegebat*, at any rate—though with reservations.

195 solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti

solis ... radiis: Cf. the divinely crafted *lorica* of Aeneas at 623 *solis inardescit radiis longeque refulget*; 12.162–164 (of Latinus' solar crown). For a dark place that is largely devoid of the sun's rays, note Ovid, *Her.* 12.67–68 *Est nemus et piceis frondibus ilicis atrum; | vix illuc radiis solis adire licet*.

inaccessam: Directly echoing 7.11–12 *dives inaccessos ubi Solis filia lucos | adsiduo resonat cantu*, of the haunts of Circe, the daughter of the Sun; these are the only uses of the (rare) adjective in Virgil; for the possible coinage see Eden's note. With the rays of the sun we may recall the imagery of 8.18 ff. above, of Aeneas' disturbed and anxious thoughts; there is also the larger implication that the beams of Apollonian light are not accessible to the cavern where this monster dwells (cf. Augustan imagery of the victory of Actian Apollo).

semper recenti: Dynamic, vivid, and all the more horrible for the cinematic quality of the gore: Cacus is ever adding new victims to his gruesome trophy array.

For the adjective with *caedes* (196) note 2.718–719 *me bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti | attricare nefas*, where Aeneas is unable to take up the household gods until he has been purified of the slaughter of Troy's last night; also 9.455–456 ... *tepidaque recentem | caede locum et pleno spumantis sanguine rivos* (of the aftermath of the slaughter of the night raid). The phrase is Livian (4.58.3.5; 23.36.4.2–3; 39.34.5.3; 40.39.9.4); cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4.96–97; Statius, *Theb.* 10.455; 467; also Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.19.2 *et recentia caede vestigia*. Henry notes that *recens* is used "less in the sense of *fresh* or *recent* than in that of *wet*, because recently spilled blood or other fluid is always wet."

196 caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis

tepebat: The verb occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at 10.555–556 ... *truncumque tepentem | provolvens super haec inimico pectore fatur* (of Aeneas' victim Tarquitus); cf. *G.* 2.330 (of breezes). The Tarquitus passage comes soon after the mention of Vulcan's son Caeculus (cf. Cacus). The vivid scene of dripping blood and hanging heads stands in contrast to the introductory note of the deserted, bleak landscape; when there was life in this cursed place, it was a ghoulish parody of vitality in death. The imperfect may be taken frequently; so also 197 *pendebant*.

foribus ... superbis: Also at *G.* 2.461–462 *si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis | mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam* (of the life of worry and anxiety that the farmers do not share). As often in Virgil, the phrase is of mixed associations; Fordyce notes that soon enough Hercules, too, will be *superbus* (8.202); he also compares 721 ff. below, of Augustus' display of gifts;

2.504, of Priam's luxurious palace (both passages with *postes* in place of *fores*). The phrase is imitated by Statius, *Theb.* 2.223; cf. the imagery of "proud door posts" in the very different context of the paraclausithyron and other elegiac scenarios (e.g., Lucretius, *DRN* 4.1178–119; Tibullus, c. 1.6.61–62). For the implications of the image here see especially Putnam 1998, 160–161. "Are we meant to find traces of the hauteur that typifies a decadent contemporary patrician, or of the presumption distinguishing the monster who lorded it over the site of early Rome, in the present conduct of Octavian during his great moment of acclaim?" (Putnam on the echo at 721 ff.).

adfixa: Cf. Pallas with Aeneas at 10.161, and Palinurus (who has affinities with Pallas) at his rudder (5.852); also the arrow at 9.579. We may think, too, of the savage act of Turnus in hanging the heads of his Trojan victims Amycus and Dioreas from his chariot (12.511–512 ... *curruque abscissa duorum / suspendit capita et rorantia sanguine portat*, on which see Tarrant's note with its citation of Willcock's memorable *dictum* "The man is a thug"). Eden observes that in Ovid the same practice is ascribed to Thracian Diomedes (*Her.* 9.89).

Tib. notes that the ghastly *tableau* unfolds carefully and in deliberate order: first the drops of blood are described on the wet ground, and then the audience is invited, as it were, to gaze up on the sight of the severed heads that hang on the lintel. Cf. Coppola's cinematic scene composition of Colonel Kurtz's lair in *Apocalypse Now*, with similar imagery.

197 ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo.

The alliteration effectively describes the graphic scene of dripping gore: two dentals enveloping two labials. "The pale, ghastly faces of the dead dangle gruesomely" (Smith 2005, 148).

ora: Effectively echoed at 199 *ore*, of the mouth of the monster as it breathes fire. *Ora virum* is Ennian (on the collocation see Wigodsky 1972, 14; also 118: "Similar combinations of ordinary words which actually occur in the extant fragments of Ennius could, of course, be used by Vergil in different contexts without any imitation being involved; thus it is fanciful of Wiemer to find echoes of Ennius' epigram on his own death, "volvito vivus per ora virum; in the uses of "ora virum" in *Aen.* VIII 197 and IX 471")." The phrase occurs also at 9.471–472 ... *simul ora virum praefixa movebant / nota nimis miseris atroque fluentia tabo*. For the possible evocation of the behavior of the Libyan giant Antaeus, see Asso *ad* Lucan, *BC* 4.590. On the greater pathos of faces *versus* mere heads, see Murgatroyd 2007, 143.

pallida: The adjective is not common in Virgil; at 244–245 below it refers to the kingdom of the underworld; at 1.354 it occurs of the *pallida ora* of the shade of Dido's husband Sychaeus; at 3.217–218 of the pale countenance of the starving

Harpies; at 3.644 ... *pallida morte futura* of Dido before her suicide; at 10.761 as an epithet of the Fury Tisiphone (cf. the same at *G.* 3.552; *pallidus Orcus* at *G.* 1.277; of Aurora at 1.446–447). The pale color of the decapitated heads contrasts effectively with the black smoke of the fire that Cacus belches forth (198–199). The Medicean originally read *squalida* here; an objection to *pallida* has been that faces cannot be pale with something that is, after all, rather dark. “Sophistical preciseness” (Eden). See further M. Tartari Chersoni in *EV* III, 945–946. Bentley read *squalida* here ad Lucan, *BC* 2.165.

tabo: Also at 3.28–29 (at the scene of Polydorus’ grave); 3.626–627 (of Polyphemus’ gruesome cannibalism); 487 below (of the Etruscan Mezentius’ grisly treatment of his prisoners); 9.471–472 (of the severed heads of Nisus and Euryalus); cf. the plague references at *G.* 3.481 and 557. “*tabum*, dans ce vers ne désigne pas autre chose que *sanguis*, mais une forme plus repoussante de la même matière. En corrigeant *sanguis* par *tabum*, Virgile se comporte comme un peintre qui, pour souligner un effet, repasserait sur une touche avec la même couleur, mais plus foncée” (Heuzé 1985, 97). “A viscous fluid consisting of putrid matter” (Murgatroyd 2007, 143). Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15.627; Lucan, *BC* 4.96 (with Asso). Tib. has *tabe* in his comment here; *tabo* in his lemma.

198 huic monstro Vulcanus erat pater: illius atros

huic monstro, etc.: “The only reference to his past” (George 1974, 60); “There is no word on why he is in Latium.” For the idea that Cacus is the “only true native of Latium,” see Fletcher 2014, 234n28. “... Cacus, as a figure native to Rome, may well be pre-Roman and pre-Etruscan and hence generically Italic ... to the Etruscans he was primarily a seer and a figure of good; to the Romans he became an increasingly nefarious character—perhaps even due to too much “Etruscophilia” on his part.” (Small 1982, 36). Two demonstratives in the verse powerfully link father and son; on *illius* Conington notes: “it was as Vulcan’s son that he carried his giant bulk proudly.”

Volcanus: On the god see F. Piccirillo in *EV* v, 638–640; L. Fratantuono and P. Hardie in *VE* III, 1369–1370; L. Fratantuono, “Aeterno Devinctus Amore: Vulcan in Virgil,” in *Paideia* 70 (2015), 225–242. The god is first mentioned in the epic in a metonymical use at 2.310–311 ... *iam Deiphobi dedit ampla ruinam / Volcano superante domus*, etc., of the fires that consume Troy on its last night; we may compare 5.662–663 ... *furit immisis Volcanus habenis / transtra per et remos et pictas abiete puppis* (of the burning of the Trojan fleet in Sicily)—another scene of the fiery ruin of something from the Troad. At 7.76–77 ... *tum fumida lumine fulvo / involvi ac totis Volcanum spargere tectis*, the god is again metonymically associated with a great event, this time with the portent of the fire that laps harmlessly at Lavinia’s locks in foreshadowing of not only

the princess' fame and reknown, but also the horror of the forthcoming war in Latium. Caeculus, the hero and founder of Praeneste, is like Cacus (cf. *C-s*) the son of the god (7.677–681 *nec Praenestinae fundator defuit urbis, / Volcano genitum pecora inter agestria regem / inventumque focus omnis quem credidit aetas, / Caeculus*); the introduction of the Vulcanian warrior focuses on his pastoral origins and associations with the fire of the domestic hearth. A son of Vulcan—and leader of men who are closely associated with the inveterate divine enemy of the Trojans, the goddess Juno (*quique altum Praeneste viri quique arva Gabinae / Iunonis* (7.682–683)). Two references in the Odyssean *Aeneid*, then, that are associated with the destruction of the dead city of Troy—and then, in the Iliadic *Aeneid*, strong declarations of the connection of Vulcan to the problems that the Trojans will face in Latium: the fiery Lavinia portent; the paternity of both Caeculus and Cacus. Not surprisingly, then, Vulcan will be hesitant below at 388 *cunctantem amplexu molli fovet* to grant his wife Venus' request that he fashion divine arms for Aeneas (the child, we might note, of one of his spouse's affairs).

Vulcan is once again associated with the ruin of Troy at 9.75–76 ... *piceum fert fumida lumen / taeda at commixtam Volcanus ad astra favillam*, where Turnus attempts to burn the Trojan fleet. At 10.542 ff., Caeculus rouses the battle lines to action before the onslaught of an enraged Aeneas; the poet does not reveal the fate of Vulcan's son. Finally, at 12.90–91 we learn that the powerful fire god had forged a sword for Turnus' father Daunus, a blade that Vulcan had tinged in Stygian water; this is the weapon that Turnus will forget in his overzealous haste to depart for battle. His divine sister Juturna will return it to him (12.785 ... *fratrique ensem dea Daunus reddit*), in imitation of the action of Homer's Achilles with Athena at *Il.* 22.276–277. The return of the sword provokes an enraged Venus to remove Aeneas' spear from the *oleaster* of Faunus where it had been irretrievably fastened (12.786 ff.); the spear will be the decisive weapon in Aeneas' victory over Turnus.

Virgil alludes to the celebrated affair of Vulcan's wife Venus with Mars at *G.* 4.345–347 *inter quas curam Clymene narrabat inanem / Volcani, Martisque dolos et dulcia furta, / aque Chao densos divum numerabat amores*. The Vulcanian destruction of Troy commences at the home of Deiphobus, the locus of Helen's adultery with her last Trojan spouse; fittingly enough, the fire of the god of the forge attacks first the house that has received the adulterous wife of Menelaus—the last adulterous house in Troy, we might think (and note here Dekel 2012, 78–80). Lavinia, for her part, is a Helen-like figure in terms of providing a proximate erotic cause for war—but the Latin princess is not remotely associated with adultery (see further Smith 2005, 121–127).

Ovid follows Virgil in ascribing Cacus' paternity to Vulcan (*Fast.* 1.554, where see Green). Some have considered the Vulcanian parentage a mere divine genealogical convenience to explain the monster's fire-breathing capacity; what is clear is that the god is unfailingly opposed to the Trojans, with the sole exception of the forging of Aeneas' shield (which, along with Turnus' Vulcanian/Daunian sword, will not figure much in the climactic final single combat of the epic). In Rabelais' genealogical judgment, Cacus was the son of Polyphemus, while Cacus fathered Etion, one of the ancestors of Pantagruel.

For the early history of the cult of Vulcan at Rome (and the sanctuary of the Volcanal), see Beard et al. 1998, 12; Eden on the Augustan interest in the worship of the god (especially in "very early times," with reference to the dedication of a pedestal to the god in 9 B.C. (*CIL* 6.457)).

atros: For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 74–86. This is the first of four occurrences of the adjective in the book; all are concerned with the Cacus episode; cf. 219–200 (of Hercules' bile); 258 (of Cacus' smoke as it fills his cave); 262 (of the black home of the beast). "This term is mobile throughout the line, though a preference for the final position is noticeable" (Edgeworth). On the expressive use of the adjective here (where "a vivid indication is hung at the line-end"), note also Dainotti 2015, 249–250 n779. The fires are indeed both black and baleful; of greatest import is the fact that Vulcan is key to the whole image.

Priam's Troy was consumed by Vulcanian flames; Vulcan's unfaithful wife Venus will inspire in her son the idea of destroying Latinus' city in a similar way. Aeneas will call for fire to burn the residence of his prospective wife Lavinia: 12.572–573 *hoc caput, o cives, haec belli summa nefandi. | ferte faces propere foedusque repositae flammis* (where the fricative alliteration effectively describes the desired flames). Aeneas will not succeed in his mad, Venusian plan to burn Laurentum; *in fine*, Rome will be Italian and not Trojan.

199 ore vomens ignis magna se mole ferebat.

vomens: Cacus is a fire-breathing monstrosity; we might compare the similar imagery of the Chimaera crest on Turnus' helmet at 7.786–786 *cui triplici crinita iuba galea alta Chimaeram | sustinet Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis*. The verb is also used at 620 *terribilem cristis galeam flammisque vomentem*, where Aeneas' Vulcanian helmet is rather like Turnus'; cf. the flames from Augustus' head at 681 (on the shield); cf. 10.270–271 *ardet apex capiti cristisque a vertice flamma | funditur et vastos umbo vomit aureus ignis* (of Aeneas). It recurs in the grisly death scenes of Rhoetus and Euryalus (9.349; 414); also of Dryops (10.349) and Camilla's victim Euneus (11.668). The Vulcanian shield of Aeneas turns the Trojan into a fire-breathing force. On this theme note Putnam 1998, 161 ff.; Putnam 2011, 156 n54; cf. Lyne 1987, 27 ff.

magna ... mole: Cf. Seneca, *Oed.* 829; Statius, *Theb.* 7.676; 9.226; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.282; Silius, *Pun.* 8.132; 10.212; 16.34; also Livy 5.8.7.3; 25.11.17.2; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.78.1; 14.65.7.

se ... ferebat: In a very different context of Dido at 1.503 *talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat*; cf. the description of Butes at 5.372–373 ... *qui se | Bebrycia veniens Amyci de gente ferebat*; of Silvia's stag at 7.286 *ipse domum sera quamvis se nocte ferebat*; of Numanus Remulus at 9.597 *ibat et ingentem sese clamore ferebat*. Cacus was a mobile horror; he carried himself about in igneous swagger to the detriment of all who crossed his path, it would seem.

mole ferebat: For the line-end cf. Silius, *Pun.* 5.337. We might recall here 191 above, of the *disiectae moles* that remain of Cacus' home.

200 *attulit et nobis aliquando optantibus aetas*

The transition from descriptive horror to welcome redemption is echoed at 9.6–7 *Turne, quod optanti divum promittere nemo | auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro*, as the rainbow goddess Iris visits Turnus; note also 5.201 *attulit ipse viris optatum casus honorem* (during the regatta); 10.279 *quod votis optastis adest, perfringere dextra*. Hercules' arrival is as if the answer to a prayer. On this passage note M.P. Loar, "Hercules, Mummius, and the Roman Triumph in *Aeneid*, 8," in *Classical Philology* 112.1 (2017), 45–62. With the present verse cf. Aegle's reminiscence of Heracles at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.1432 ff.

attulit ... aetas: Verb and subject frame the assonant verse. The *aetas* is something of a Golden Age; it refers to the season of deliverance in answer to prayers and acts of supplication.

nobis ... optantibus: Ciceronian (*Phil.* 3.3.8). For other Virgilian uses of *optare* cf. 1.172 *egressi optata potiuntur Troes harena*; 1.425 *pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco*; 1.570 *sive Erycis finis regemque optatis Acesten*; 2.635–636 *antiquas domos, genitor, quem tollere in altos | optabam primum*; 3.108–109 *Teucrus ... | optavitque locum regno*; 3.132 *ergo avidus muros optatae molior urbis*; 3.509 *sternimur optatae gremio telluris ad undam*; 3.530 *crebrescunt optatae auras portusque patescit*; 4.159 *optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte leonem*; 4.619 ... *regno aut optata luce fruatur*; 5.247 *muneraque in navis ternos optare iuencos*; 5.813 *tutus, quos optas, portus accedet Averni*; 6.203 *sedibus optatis gemina super arbore sidunt*; 6.501 *quis tam crudelis optavit sumere poenas?*; 7.260 ... *dabitur, Troiane, quod optas*; 7.303 ... *optato conduntur Thybridis alveo*; 8.405 *optatos dedit amplexus*; 8.503 *externos optate duces*; 10.405 *ac velut optato ventis aestate coortis*; 10.503–504 *Turnus tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum | intactum Pallanta*; 11.56–57 ... *nec sospite dirum | optabis nato funus pater*; 11.270 *coniugium optatum et pulchram Calydonam viderem?*; 11.582 *optavere nurum*; 12.892–893 ... *opta ardua pennis | astra sequi clausumque cava te condere*

terra. Conington et al. note that the *et* (adverb, not conjunction) highlights how others have also benefited from Hercules' assistance.

aliquando: Evander is deliberately vague as to temporal definition; Hercules came as savior finally and at last; he came at some point in the past; he came in the wake of the completion of one of his canonical labors. See further below on 602; these are the only two occurrences of the word in Virgil. For the idea that these lines hint at the coming of Augustus as a savior to Italy, see D. West, "In the Wake of Aeneas (*Aeneid* 3.274–288, 3.500–505, 8.200–3)," in *G&R* 41.1 (1994), 57–61.

201 *auxilium adventumque dei. nam maximus ultor*

auxilium adventumque dei: The powerful assonance continues, as Evander declares what a past age brought to Latium: the help and advent of the god. From Servius forward the phrase has been cited as a classic example of *hysteron proteron*; of course the "advent of the god" looks forward to Hercules' eventual apotheosis. For the possible deliberate evocation of the Aventine in *adventum*, see below *ad* 204. On the idea that Hercules was at best an incidental savior of the locals, see Lyne 1987, 33 ff.: "I do not therefore think he quite merits the way Evander presents and honours him. Misled by gratitude and relief, Evander sees only the deliverer ... where we ... can see a different figure: a mighty Hercules swayed by fierce emotion, who is a benefactor by accident" (with commentary on the implications for our reading of the end of the epic and Aeneas' motivation for killing Turnus).

ultorem: The noun is used by Sinon as part of his mendacious tale to the Trojans (2.96); powerfully, Dido employs it in her curse on Aeneas and his Trojans at 4.625–626 *exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor | qui face Dardanio ferroque sequare colonos* (generally accepted as an allusion to Hannibal). At 6.817–818 Anchises' shade describes the ... *animamque superbam | ultoris Bruti*; Mezentius addresses his horse Rhaebus at 10.863–864 ... *Lausique dolorum | ultor eris mecum*. Diomedes refers to *ultorque Caphereus* at 11.260. The related adjective *ultrix* occurs with reference to the Dirae (4.473; 610); Tisiphone (6.570–571); the arrow that Diana wishes Opis to use to avenge Camilla (11.590); note also the textually vexed 2.586–587 (at the end of the Helen episode): overall not a happy set of occurrences. "The great redresser of wrong" (Fordyce). There is no exploration of how exactly Hercules is an avenger here; presumably his defeat of Geryon was seen as vengeance for whatever wrongs the monster had inflicted on those in his vicinity, or the label is anticipatory of Hercules' vengeance for the theft of his cattle.

202 *tergemini nece Geryonae spoliisque superbus*

tergimini: The relatively rare (at least before the Silver Age), poetic adjective is found elsewhere in Virgil only at 4.511 *tergeminamque Hecaten*; Virgil borrows the image here from Lucretius, *DRN* 5.28 *quidve tripectora tergemini vis Geryonai*; cf. Propertius, c. 4.7.52 *tergeminusque canis* (of Cerberus); Ps.-Tib., c. 3.4.88 *Cui tres sunt linguae tergeminumque caput* (again of the hell hound); Horace, c. 1.1.8 ... *tergeminis tollere honoribus*; Ovid, *Ars* 3.322 *Tartareosque lacus tergeminumque canem*; *Trist.* 4.7.16 *tergeminumque virum tergeminumque canem*; Seneca, *HF* 563 *telum tergemina cuspidae praeferens*; *Thyest.* 1083 *tergemina moles cecidit*; *Apoc.* 7.2.6 ... *equidem regna tergemini petens longinqua regis*; Statius, *Theb.* 2.31; 6.289; 7.783; 9.750; 10.366; *Silv.* 1.1.91–92; 2.1.10; 3.3.27; 3.4.83; 4.8.21; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.781; Martial, *ep.* 3.46.8; Silius, *Pun.* 4.355; 14.261; 15.190.

nece: Not a common word in the epic; cf. 2.85 (in Sinon's story of Palamedes); 2.334 (during the invasion of Troy); 12.341 and 513 (of casualties of Turnus); note G. 3.480 and 4.90. The word for death effectively splits the name of the hero and the reference to his three bodies.

Geryonae: For the monster in Virgil note D. Nardo in *EV* II, 698–699 (with illustrations; the subject was quite popular in the archaic visual arts); in extant literature the story is first cited in Hesiod *Theog.* 287–294, 979–983, where see West; it was the subject of Stesichorus' lost *Geryoneis* (where see Davies and Finglass ad loc.; also Curtis 2011; the labor of the cattle is referenced at Aeschylus, *Heraclidae* fr. 74 Sommerstein; cf. Gantz 1993, 402–403 for general commentary on the lore; Robert II.2, 465–483 on the Herculean labor). Virgil alludes to Geryon at 6.289 ... *forma tricorporis umbrae*, in the miniature catalogue of the monsters of the underworld. See further Lowe 2015, 220–226 (with consideration of the problem of Hercules' becoming assimilated to his monstrous opponents); the description of Erulus at 563 ff. below. Geryon was the son of Chrysaor and grandson of Medusa; in Hesiod he had three heads, though other sources attest to the three-bodied horror (cf., e.g., Aeschylus, *Ag.* 870). For commentary on the early mythographic evidence see Fowler 2013, 299–305. Curtis 2011 is especially helpful on the comparative material (Greek, Sanskrit, as well as Iranian).

Geryon is also referenced by Virgil in the catalogue of Italian heroes in Book 7, as a seemingly incidental figure in the story of Hercules' son Aventinus: ... *postquam Laurentia victor | Geryonae extincto Tiryntius attigit arva, | Tyrrhenoque boves in flumine lavit Hiberas* (662–663). The spelling of the name has occasioned predictable orthographic confusion in the manuscripts; Servius thoughtfully helps with the declension *ad* 7.662.

spoliisque superbus: In close sequence after 196 *superbis*, of the posts at his threshold where Cacus had suspended the heads of his victims; the repetition

introduces a hint of moral equivalency, at least in the matter of *superbia*. For the adjective with *spolia* cf. 2.504–505 *barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi / procubuere* (of the ruin of Troy); different is the depiction of Marcellus in the *Heldenschau* at 6.855–856 *aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis / ingreditur victorque viros superminet omnis*—the first depiction of a future Roman hero in the immediate aftermath of Anchises’ injunction *debellare superbos* (6.853). Alliteration marks the shift from vanquished to victor. Geryon’s name comes powerfully at midline; the crucial description of Hercules as prideful and haughty with his taurine spoils come in the same verse as the mention of the three-bodied horror. “The line can be drawn fine between these varieties of *superbia*” (Reed 2007, 124, with analysis of this and related scenes).

A passage of Philostratus on the existence of giants (*Heroicus* 8.14) notes that Geryon was the largest creature ever slain by Heracles, and that the hero dedicated the bones at Olympia, so as to forestall any disbelief in his achievement.

203 Alcides aderat taurosque hac victor agebat

Alcides aderat: For the name see Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.414; Horsfall’s note on 6.801 *nec vero Alcides*: “A. on account of Alcaeus father of Amphitryon ... The patronymic slightly more exalted than a mere name, mildly learned and altogether more convenient metrically in dactylic verse.” More effective sound patterns, especially after 200–201. Verbs and subjects frame the verse in doubled, balanced pattern. Once again the emphasis is on the fortuitous advent of the god (cf. 201). For the connection between the name and the notion of the giving of aid, see Paschalis 1997, 289. Hercules fortuitously saved the locals from Cacus; Aeneas too arrived just in time to save Achaemenides from the Cacus-like Polyphemus; on this parallel see C.P. Jones, “*Graia Pandetur ab Urbe*,” in *HSCPh* 97 (1995), 233–241, 239.

taurosque ... agebat: Another *de facto* cattle rustler (justified or not), in the manner of Hermes; soon enough Cacus will be the latest in a queue of robbers. For the “convergence of hyperbaton and enjambement” see Dainotti 2015, 218. The key detail—the prize—is highlighted at the midpoint of the verse.

hac: Eden notes the subtle introduction of the *forum boarium*, with explanation for its name.

victor: On the question of allusion to the Roman worship of Hercules Victor see O’Hara 2017, 204 (with reference to Servius *ad* 363).

agebat: Of the hero’s driving of the herd to Latium; at 204 ... *tenebant*, the action shifts to the cattle in the river valley. The line-end here is borrowed by Silius at *Pun.* 6.688 and 13.288.

The Servian commentary preserves the citation that the Augustan/Tiberian grammarian Verrius Flaccus attributed the conquest of Cacus to the shepherd

Garanus, noting that Garanus possessed noteworthy strength, and that “apud veteres” all such men are known as “Hercules.” We may compare the account of Cassius Hemina (F3 Cornell/F5 Chassignet), in which the shepherd Recaranus is the slayer of Cacus (who in this version is a slave of Evander). Recaranus was also called a “Hercules” on account of his formidable strength. “The point is not that the same figure (Hercules) performs the same deed under different names, but that there were different figures who came to be absorbed and certainly eclipsed by one figure” (Small 1982, 27n81); cf. Cornell’s commentary ad loc. on the “euhmeristic” account. No need to connect any of this with Quirinus or Romulus.

204 ingentis, vallemque boves amnemque tenebant.

For the exact location of the scene note R. Parkes, “Where was Hercules? A Note on Vergil *Aeneid* 8.201–212,” in *Verg.* 53 (2007), 100–103. Parkes connects the conception of Aventinus with the loss of Hercules’ cattle; the hero was not paying attention to his recently won animals because he was engaged in sexual assignation with the priestess Rhea: “His frenzied anger at Cacus is preceded by his lustful pursuit of a local priestess ... in the neglect of his herd for amorous adventures, Hercules is not a suitable paradigm for the proto-Roman leader. In fact, he is a figure more akin to the Aeneas of Book 4.” Again, the Antony image: such a reading of Hercules points to a clear association between the demigod and the triumvir who boasted of his Herculean descent (cf. Livy 1.7.5, where the cattle are stolen while Hercules is lost in a drunken stupor; Antony’s alcohol consumption was as notorious as his affairs with women). Parkes also argues that the reference to the advent of the god (201 *adventum*) verbally recalls the memory of the Aventine/Aventinus (cf. O’Hara 2017, 204; V.E. Ellis, “The Poetic Map of Rome in Virgil *Aeneid* 8,” M. Litt. thesis, Newcastle upon Tyne [1985], 41). Hercules is in any case a curiously colorless figure in the introductory movement to Evander’s story; he has no contact with the locals save the conflict with Cacus, and there is every indication that Latium was simply a place to pause on the journey and, apparently, to indulge in local charms. For an overview of the *Mons Aventinus*, see Mignone 2016, 3 ff. For convenient and detailed consideration of the archaeological, historical, and topographical problems, cf. *AAR* 388 ff.

ingentis: For the prominent position of the adjective see Dainotti 2015, 109n354.

vallem: Cf. the valleys at 232 and 604 below.

amnem: A subtle reference to the Tiber. See Gransden for the hendiadys-like effect of the description of the pasturing in the river-valley.

tenebant: Eden takes this to mean that the cattle “were reaching” the river, with reference to 657 below. An all too brief pastoral interlude before the

mad decision of Cacus to steal the cattle, and the cataclysmic consequences of the theft.

205 at *furis Caci mens effera, ne quid inausum*

furis: One of the textual problems in the epic where editors continue to exhibit significant difference of opinion; cf. Holzberg's Tusculum reading *furis* with Heuzé's Pléiade *furiis*. "Thief" is what we find in the Medicean, the majority of the Carolingian witnesses, and the corrector of the Wolfenbüttel; it is the only reading known to Servius (and Danielis). P and R (and several of Ribbeck's cursives) read *furiis*, as do Tib. and the *Anec. Helvet.* (Keil-Hagen *GL VIII*, 351, 19). Mynors' (following Hirtzel's *OCT* and Conte's Teubner print *furis* (also Ribbeck; Götte; Fordyce; Gransden; Binder and Binder's Reclam; García et al.; note too the student edition of Gould and Whiteley); Geymonat and Perret's Budé prefer *furiis* (so also Eden; Paratore; Goold's Loeb). Page prints *furiis* without comment; Mackail defends "thief" and Williams justifies *furiis* with recourse to the old argument that *fur* is not an epic word. Henry defends *furis* in an uncharacteristically restrained note. Does the sole attestation of *furi* in Parisinus lat. 7928 point to confusion over the declension of the noun? Cf. the prominent place of similar language at *Hym.Hom.* 4.14, of the newborn Hermes.

The decisive evidence is likely Propertius, c. 4.9.13–14 *nec sine testo deo furtum: sonuere iuveni; | furis et implacidas diruit ira fores* (where see Hutchinson, and Coutelle); *furtum* is Heyworth's conjecture for the overwhelming manuscript support for *furem*. The present periphrasis is also an echo of 194 *semihominis Caci facies ... dira*; not only was Cacus' appearance horrific, but his mind was disordered with madness. *Furiis* certainly appears at 219 below, of Hercules in great anger and rage on account of the theft of his cattle. A reference from the start to the theft would highlight the key detail about the rapine; Hercules would have left Latium (with Cacus undisturbed) had it not been for the stealing of the twice-four cattle. It is easy to find madness in the epic, and there is rage aplenty in this scene (for both Cacus and Hercules), with or without an additional indicator thereof. *Furis* is likelier than *furiis* to have been the source of corruption; objections that Cacus is a vicious monster and not merely a common thief argue a point that is not mutually exclusive.

Fur occurs in Virgil without question at *G.* 3.406–408 ... *numquam custodibus illis | nocturnum stabulis furem incursusque luporum | aut impacatos a tergo horrebis Hiberos*, a passage that has connection to the present through the western locus of Hercules' winning of the cattle of Geryon: "the western fringes of the Roman world had a bad name for stealing the cattle of their more civilized neighbors" (Mynors ad loc.). On the audacity of thieves cf. *E.* 3.16 *Quid domini faciant, audent cum talia fures?* The only other occurrence of the word in the

poet is at *G.* 4.110–111 *et custos furum atque avium cum falce saligna / Hellespontiaci servet tutela Priapi*. A word from comedy, to be sure—but also admitted thrice in the other authentic Virgilian works. We do well to remember, too, that what had been a comic situation in the *Homeric Hymn* is in the present epyllion the occasion for a deadly serious battle, with landscape-defining consequences; Hercules and Cacus are no Apollo and Hermes.

The Cacus of the *Inferno* is a centaur (cf. Virgil's *semihominis* at 194 above; Dante does give the demonic Cacus a fire-breathing dragon for his shoulders, and snakes on his back), and also (fittingly enough) the guardian of damned thieves in hell (*Inferno* 25.17–33, where the monster appears in the seventh bolgia of the *eighth*—appropriately enough—circle). For Cervantes in the *Quixote*, Cacus is a prototypical thief.

mens: See Eden for the significance of the detail; in Evander's account, it is Cacus' mind that drives off the stolen cattle, not the monster himself. The point of the detail is to underscore the intent and responsibility for the crime and trick; it was deliberate, and there were no mitigating circumstances.

effera: A strong adjective, not common in Virgil; for its other occurrences see above on 6. Here Cacus is associated with Dido just before her suicide; with the Chimaera crest emblem on Turnus' helmet; with the youth of Latium at the outbreak of war; of the terrible deeds of the Etruscan monster Mezentius (cf. 10.897–898, of Aeneas' taunts against him). The descriptor is more than sufficient to convey the ferocity of the Vulcanian giant; he is vicious and implacable, and his theft of Hercules' cattle will arouse a level of madness in the traveling hero as well. Henry perceptively noted that there may be a deliberate play on words between *fur* and *efferus*.

"But was Cacus, with his *mens effera* (VIII.205) the only monster here? ... Hercules himself had two sides. Sophocles and Euripides had depicted a hero driven insane. Which side does Virgil depict? His hero, engaging in a frenzied struggle with a demonic adversary, is himself fired by the Furies and rages like a wild animal" (Newman and Newman 2005, 256). On the implications of the same commentary for Aeneas, with reference to Michael Reeves' 1968 filmic evocation of the descent into a *folie à deux* occasioned by struggle with the monstrous (*Witchfinder General*), see Fratantuono 2007, 396–397.

inausum: The rare word is used elsewhere in Virgil only at 7.308–310 *ast ego, magna Iovis coniunx, nil linquere inausum / quae potui infelix, quae memet in omnia verti, / vincor ab Aenea*. First in these passages in extant Latin; perhaps a Virgilian coinage, and if so with strong association of Juno and Cacus as opponents of (implicitly and explicitly) Aeneas and Hercules. Cacus has already decapitated and likely cannibalized his neighbors; he has not, admittedly, attempted to steal the cattle of a great hero.

206 aut intractatum scelerisve dolive fuisset,

intractatum: The only occurrence of the word in Virgil; it is exceedingly rare elsewhere (cf. Grattius, *Cyn.* 134; also Cicero, *Amic.* 68.8); it heralds and anticipate 210 *tractos*, of the cattle that are dragged off by the table. *Intemptatum* has some manuscript support; the unusual word may have occasioned confusion. Note here Martial, *ep.* 2.14.1 *Nil intemptatum Selius, nil linquit inausum* (with C. Williams ad loc.); the idea that Martial may have had a text of Virgil in which *intemptatum* was read in the present passage is raised by Exul, “Martial II.XIV.1.,” in *CR* 34.3/4 (1920), 66 (the brief note is dated Curepipe Camp, Curepipe, Mauritius, April 13, 1918): “The whole epigram seems full of verbal reminiscences of the Virgilian story of Cacus’ ‘maesta iuvenca’ ...”

scelerisve dolive: Imitated by Valerius Flaccus at *Arg.* 2.123–124 *talem diva sibi scelerisque dolique ministram / quaerit avens*. The allusion to trickery looks forward to Cacus’ imitation of Hermes’ action in the *Homeric Hymn*. On the meaning of *dolus* see Hahn 1930, 206 (with particular reference to its use as an abstract noun). For the double enclitic see Hofmann/Szantyr 11, 521.

fuisset: For the pluperfect see Eden here (substantially following the reasoning of Conington); the emphasis is on the idea of “leaving” nothing undared.

207 quattuor a stabulis praestanti corpore tauros

quattuor: For the number vid. Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.639–640 ... *en quattuor arae / Neptuno*. “Four” has associations with Roman triumphs; cf. the four horses of the omen of the horses on arrival in Italy (3.537–538). Four ships are lost to the fire in Sicily (5.699); cf. the number of vessels that participated in the regatta. It was the fourth of the month (*HymHom.* 4.19) when Hermes was born in the morning, learned to play the lyre at dawn, and stole Apollonian cattle in the evening. The precocious god/thief steals fifty of the herd (74); he slaughters two for his sacrifice (115 ff.). Ultimately Hermes reminds Apollo that the herd will graze peacefully, and that there will be the promise of renewal and offspring (498 ff.).

But the key passage for interpreting the present detail about the four bullocks and four heifers (208) is its nearly exact Virgilian model, *G.* 4.550–551 *quattuor eximios praestanti corpore tauros / ducit et intacta totidem cervice iuvencas* (cf. *G.* 4.538 *quattuor eximios praestanti corpore tauros*), of the instructions of Cyrene to Aristaeus for the Bugonia. Cacus’ theft of Hercules’ western cattle (cf. the association of the Geryon episode and the visit to the distant west with the pervasive theme of the vanquishing of death one finds in the last Herculean labors) echoes Cyrene’s instruction to her son that he should take a total of eight bovines for the ritual of the Bugonia.

We may ask what connection (if any) may be found between the shared image from the epyllia of the fourth georgic and the eighth *Aeneid* (see here

Eden, one of the few commentators to consider the issue). Certainly one may wonder if Cacus is particularly sacrilegious in stealing animals for what may have been purely aesthetic, economic reasons, in contrast to Aristaeus' selection of the most suitable animals for sacrifice. A complex web of allusions: Cacus is wicked and not interested in any solemn religious rite of abiogenetic efficacy—but the Herculean response to the theft also interrupts the evocation of the mysterious liturgy of the *Georgics*. Cacus will be destroyed, and if there is to be any rebirth, it will be of his madness and rage, a fury shared not only by Hercules, but also by Juno, Mezentius, Turnus, and, ultimately, Aeneas. There may also be a connection to how Hermes will be given the Bee-oracle by Apollo.

stabulis: The noun (though old: Pacuvian, Plautan) is mostly poetic and not particularly common in any period, apart from the agricultural writers and in Virgil's *Georgics*; note Catullus, c. 63.53; Lucretius, *DRN* 2.360; Propertius, c. 2.33a.12; 3.15.30; 3.22.9; 4.9.2; Tibullus, c. 2.5.88. Virgil has it at *E.* 3.80 *Triste lupus stabulis*; also 6.60; 6.85; *G.* 1.355; 483; 3.184; 224; 228; 295; 302; 352; 414; 557; 4.14; 191; 330; 333. At *A.* 2.498–499 it is used in the vivid imagery of *fertur in arva furens cumulo camposque per omnis / cum stabulis armenta trahit*; at 6.179 *itur in antiquam silvam, stabula alta ferarum* it occurs during the preparations for the Misenus requiem. The Centaurs are enstabled, as it were, before the entrance to the underworld (6.262 *Centauri in foribus stabulant Scyllaeque bifformes*). Cf. the action of the wounded stag of Silvia at 7.501–502 *saucius et quadripes nota intra tecta refugit / succesitque gemens stabulis*; of the Fury Allecto soon thereafter at 7.511–513 *At saeva e speculis tempus dea nacta nocendi / ardua tecta petit stabuli et de culmine summo / pastorale canit signum*. The noun recurs at a key juncture in the drama of the night raid: 9.387–389 *atque locos qui post Albae de nomine dicti / Albani tum rex stablua alta Latinus habebat, / ut stetit et frustra absentem respexit amicum*; cf. the uses in similes at 9.566 and 10.723.

praestanti corpore: Other than in the two aforementioned passages from the Bugonia, the phrase is used at *A.* 1.71 *sunt mihi bis septem praestanti corpore Nymphae*, of the fourteen nymphs of Juno, one whom is dangled as a bribe for Aeolus to harass the Trojan fleet; cf. 7.783–784 *Ipse inter primos praestanti corpore Turnus / vertitur arma tenens et toto vertice supra est*. Juno's sexualized chattel; Turnus among the Italian warriors; the cattle of the regenerative liturgy of the Bugonia and of Cacus' Herculean rapine.

tauros: Cf. the line-end 208 *iuuencas*: final symmetrical position of words for symmetrical male and female cattle.

208 avertit, totidem forma superante iuencas.

avertit: “The *vox propria* for both embezzlement and cattle-rustling” (Eden, with reference to *TLL* 2.1321ff.). For the possible connection between the Vir-

gilian depiction of Cacus' theft and the rise of violence in Rome, "especially its increase from the second half of the second century B.C.," see Small 1982, 103–104.

forma superante: Cacus noticed these four heifers because of their exceptional loveliness; cf. Livy 1.7.5 ... *captus pulchritudine boum cum avertere eam praedam vellet*. Hercules may well have been smitten by the charms of Aventinus' mother Rhea, while the monster Cacus is busy rustling the most attractive animals of the Herculean herd. For the rarity of the expression see especially Conington. Peerklamp thought the point was that the heifers were more attractive than the bullocks; Henry counters this notion laconically with, "I think not." Some editors have compared the adjectival use of *superans* at Lucretius, *DRN* 5.394 *Cum semel interea fuerit superantior ignis*.

With the powerful bovine imagery of the description and reminiscence of the fourth georgic, we may compare *A.* 12.103–106, where Turnus is compared to a bellowing bull—and especially 12.715–724, where both Aeneas and Turnus are described as if they were bulls fighting in Bruttian Sila or Campanian Taburnus (see further Tarrant ad loc.).

209 *atque hos, ne qua forent pedibus vestigia rectis,*

Cacus borrows a trick from Hermes (*HymHom.* 4.75 ff.); for the parallel note especially Vergados 2013, 284 ff. Diderot uses the present passage as an introduction to the topic of inversion in his *Lettre sur les sourds et muets*; on the allusion see Hamilton 2008, 65 ff.; on how Diderot brilliantly inverts the Virgilian text as an enactment of his own lesson, see Hayes 1999, 151.

hos: For the gender of the demonstrative cf. Servius: "quotiens masculinum et femininum iunguntur, haec disciplina est, ut etiam si posterius est femininum, masculino respondeamus." If *raptos* is the correct reading at 211, than we find here the first of three accusatives that reference the cattle: *hos*; 210 *tractos*; 211 *raptos*.

vestigia: Cf. 5.566–567, 592 (with Fratantuono and Smith); 11.290, 573–573, 763 and 788 (with Horsfall). Propertius has ... *ne certa forent manifestae signa rapinae* (c. 4.9.11). The noun can refer to the soles of the feet; here it has its literal sense of tracks/footprints.

rectis: Possibly with metaphorical as well as literal meaning; Cacus' trick is a deviation from that which would be right and proper, and so no tracks should remain for feet that are pointing forward, that is, in the right direction. *Pedibus rectis* was taken to be dative by Servius; later editors have preferred to see it as an ablative (of, e.g., attribute).

210 cauda in speluncam tractos versisque viarum

cauda ... tractos: Cf. Propertius, c. 4.9.12 *aversos cauda traxit in antra boves*. The participle echoes 206 *intractatum*. Ovid has *traxerat aversos Cacus in antra ferox* at *Fast.* 1.550 (where see Green, with particular reference to the question of whether the trick is circumstantial evidence of the role of Cacus as seer); cf. Livy's *aversos boves ... caudis in speluncam traxit*. Cacus' Hermes-like action of leading the cattle to the cave is a psychopompic gesture.

For the similar language in Virgil and Livy see Eden here; there is no way to settle the question of a common source absent new evidence.

speluncam: The cave now becomes the hiding place for the stolen cattle. Caves were associated with the underworld and its entrances; Hermes was born in a cave and, as psychopomp, he has associations with the lower regions (see further Vergados 2013, 284). Hercules led the cattle of Geryon from the west, the realm associated with death via the setting sun; Cacus tries to bring the loveliest and most handsome of the herd to his cave, which has chthonic associations. Hercules' destruction of Cacus will involve a sort of harrowing of hell.

The trick described here is also found in the *Orig. Gent. Rom.* (6.2) of Ps.-Aurelius Victor, where Cacus is a *servus* of Evander; he steals the cattle of the Greek *hospes* Tricaranus: ... *boves surripuit ac, ne quod esset indicium, caud(dis av)ersas in speluncam attraxit*. Presumably the giant Cacus had an easier time with eight cattle than the newborn Hermes with fifty, though one imagines the process was still fairly laborious and time-consuming—the implication is that Hercules was away for some time.

211 indiciis raptos saxo occultabat opaco:

Cf. Propertius, c. 4.9.9.

indiciis: The noun occurs elsewhere in the epic only at 2.83–85 ... *quem falsa sub proditione Pelasgi | insontem infando indicio, quia bella vetabat, | demisere neci ...* (of Sinon's tale of Palamedes). "A periphrasis for *vestigiiis*" (Conington).

raptos: Yet another significant textual problem, at least thanks to a conjecture that has been praised as ingenious, even if considered unnecessary by many. If the participle is correct, it stands in a sort of *hysteron proteron* with 210 *tractos*; first the cattle were snatched, and then they were dragged to the dark lair. One might also interpret it as standing for *rapiebat et occultabat*.

But Wakefield's late eighteenth century London edition conjectured *raptor* here, a reading accepted by Ribbeck; Mynors' OCT (not Hirtzel's); Goold's Loeb; Binder and Binder's Reclam; García et al.; also Fordyce. Geymonat and Conte read *raptos*; the latter noting that "est discolonus abundans et concinnum"; so also Perret's Budé; Paratore; Holzberg's Tusculum and Heuzé's Pléiade. Gransden is sympathetic to *raptor* in his note here; also Williams. Eden calls it "an

attractive suggestion,” and notes the paleographical process by which the error could have arisen; Conington calls it “plausible.” Here the most persuasive evidence in favor of Wakefield’s reading is again Propertian; cf. c. 4.9.9. *incola Cacus erat, metuendo raptor ab antro*. The noun is found elsewhere in Virgil only at 2.355–356 ... *inde, lupi ceu | raptores atra in nebula* (of Aeneas’ small group of warriors on Troy’s last night). Here Conte’s stylistic comment is perhaps the best defense of the received reading; the coordinating participles may strike anglophone readers in particular as “otiose,” but the style is impeccably Virgilian.

saxo ... opaco: Cf. Pliny, *HN* 27.104.3 *in saxis opacis nascitur*. The image is one of death and burial; the ablative is local.

occultabat: The verb is also used at 1.688 *occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno*; 2.45 *aut hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achivi*; 3.694–695 ... *Alpheum fama est huc Elidis amnem | occultas egisse vias subter mare*; 9.383 *rara per occultos lucebat semita callis*. The imperfect is especially vivid, as Evander’s story invites us to enter the drama and witness Cacus’ careful attempt at concealment of his plunder.

212 **quaerenti nulla ad speluncam signa ferebant.**

“The only self-contained line in the passage” (Fordyce), a fact that led Wakefield to expunge it as superfluous, a judgment that was shared by M.D. Reeve in his “Seven Notes” (*CR* 20.2 [1970], 134–136): “it sticks up like a jagged rock from the swell of Virgil’s narrative. It is interesting that certain lines in the text of Juvenal, whose control of periodic structure is superior to Virgil’s betray themselves as much in this way as any other ...” Conte observes: “versus tamen doli narrationem apte concludit.” Eden is willing to consider the verse a candidate for final touches and revision (certainly the whole passage shows signs of lacking the *ultima manus*); Fordyce considers the “parataxis ... thoroughly Virgilian.” Once again Conte captures the style; the verse sums up the story, with a third and final reference to the problem of the tracks.

quaerenti: The participle is one of the sources of the difficulties that some editors have identified with the line. The Romanus (as well as several Carolingians and the first corrector of the Wolfenbüttel) read *quaerentes*; there is also some attestation of *quaerentis* (also *quaerentem*). There is no indication in the story that Cacus knew just whose cattle these were; the monster came upon the herd and knew only that someone might well commence a search (Conte’s “si quis quaereret”; Tib.’s “si quaereret quisquam”; cf. Eden). Mackail considers the dative at best “a little unusual,” though ultimately “quite unexceptional.” For the *dativus personae rem considerantis* see Antoine 1882, 103–105; cf. 11.554.

signa: Echoing 209 *vestigia* and 211 *indiciis*.

ferebant: The verb is used absolutely; manuscript variation for the (probably ethical) dative *quaerenti* perhaps arose from the desire to read the verb transitively.

213–246 Hercules is preparing to leave the locale with his herd, when his animals begin to fill the air with the sound of their plaintive lament at the loss of their fellows. A single heifer responds, and the hero is at once consumed with furious rage and burning ire as he seeks to regain his lost plunder. Having tracked the sound to Cacus' lair, for some time he attempts to find a point of ingress into the cavern; at last he tears down a lofty pinnacle of rock and stone, and opens up the royal dwelling of Vulcan's monstrous son. It is as if some force had opened up the kingdom of the lower world, so that the very shades trembled in fear of the sudden infusion of light. For the influence of the Apollonian Hylas episode (cf. the lowing of Hercules' cattle and Hylas' cry that is heard by Polyphemus alone) at *Arg.* 1.1240–1255, see Nelis 2001, 363.

Vulcan's son Cacus will be defeated soon after the penetration of his lair; the fire god, however, may prove to enjoy something of the final word.

213 *interea, cum iam stabulis saturata moveret*

interea: "Cacus was trying to keep the cattle hidden in his cave (*occultabat* is both frequentative and imperfect) and did not in the end succeed. At some point during this period (*interea*) the cattle with Hercules began to bellow" (Kinsey 1979, 263). Evander's dramatic account of the cattle-rustling now reintroduces Hercules. Whatever the wandering hero was doing during the theft has now been completed; he is ready to move the flock from their grazing pasture. Henry has a splendid discursive note here on the structure of Virgil's long description of the hero's return and the discovery of the rapine.

stabulis: Cf. 207; once again, the meaning is probably "pastures" (see here Eden); certainly Hercules has not taken the time to build any quasi-permanent structure.

saturata: The verb is used only twice in the epic, once in the first and once in the last book of the poem's second half. At 5.608 it refers to Juno's not yet satiated rage; cf. the more mundane uses at *E.* 10.30 and *G.* 1.80. The alliteration of *stabulis saturata* is balanced by the rhythm of 214 *Amphitryoniades armenta ambitumque*. We may think of Livy's description of how Hercules was overcome with drink and food and thus not alert to Cacus; the cattle may be well fed, but they still take note of their lost companions. Heracles was notoriously gluttonous; cf. Aeschylus fr. 309 Sommerstein (with the editor's note ad loc.).

moveret: Cf. 214 ... *pararet*. See Conington for the possibility that the point is that Hercules was moving the animals to shelter for the night, and that Cacus had committed the theft by day; likelier is that Hercules spent the night with Rhea, and that the rapine was nocturnal. And with the dawn, discovery and retribution.

214 *Amphitryoniades armenta abitumque pararet,*

Triple assonance marks the verse.

Amphitryoniades: For the epic patronymic see on 103. Here it effectively introduces the narrative of Hercules' return and vengeance. The hero will be able to achieve a great victory over the monster Cacus; he will be less successful in his wish to save Pallas (10.460 ff.). The verse lingers over the heroic epithet, before hastening over the flocks and the departure—the hero was likely planning a hasty departure when his animals began their auditory revelations.

armenta: For a possible connection between the *armenta* referenced here and the *arma* concealed in the wooden horse, see Paschalis 1997, 289.

abitum: Elsewhere in Virgil only at 9.380 *hinc atque hinc omnemque abitum custode coronant*. For the emphasis on how Hercules was leaving Pallanteum at the time of the discovery, see Lyne 1987, 34; cf. 215 *discessu*. The hero had no intention, it would seem, of staying in the vicinity of Evander's Pallanteum; he remained longer only to recover his missing plunder and to destroy the thief.

pararet: The original Medicean reading was *parabat*; the Romanus has the imperfect subjunctive plural *pararent* (probably a slip after *armenta*).

215 *discessu mugire boves atque omne querelis*

The line is framed by two ablatives that describe first the cause of the herd's distress, and then the consequence: "Virgil's fondness for the simple ablative" (Eden). On the meaning of this passage note G. Watson, "Aeneid viii.215–17," in *CR* 4.2 (1954), 99–100; also A.Y. Campbell, "Virgil, Aeneid viii.215–18—And Its Echoes," in *CR* 5.2 (1955), 137–139.

discessu: Servius offers the practical interpretation that the cattle were quite happy with the excellent pasturage; the prevailing view has been that they are in fact heartbroken at the thought of leaving behind their fellows; on this note Tib.'s: "habent enim quendam inter se etiam muta animalia quasi familiaritatis adfectum et separationis iniuriam patienter ferre non possent." The commentators compare Lucretius, 2.356 ff., of the heifer in search of her lost calf.

mugire: Cf. the eerie sounds of the oracle at Delos (3.91–92 ... *totusque moveri / mons circum et mugire adytis cortina reclusis*); 4.490–491 ... *mugire videbis / sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos* (in Dido's account of the work of the Massylian priestess); 6.256–257 *sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga coepta*

moveri / *silvarum* (at the sacrificial rites before the descent into the underworld); 361 and 526 below. The related noun is used in conjunction with the terrible bellowing of Laocoön (2.223); also the bull to which Turnus is compared at 12.103; an altogether ominous set of echoes. In Dionysius (1.39.3) it is not only the sound, but also the smell of the missing animals that attracts attention.

querelis: This expression of grievance and complaint appears powerfully at line-end at 4.360 *desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis* (Aeneas to Dido); cf. 10.94–95 (Juno at the divine council). A classic term of elegiac lament; at *G.* 1.378 *et veterem in limo ranae cecinere querelam*, it appears in a different zoological context. Echoes of elegy are especially appropriate in a passage that owes much to Apollonius' account of the loss of the boy Hylas.

216 impleri nemus et colles clamore relinqui.

The second verse in a scene of marvelous, evocative aural splendor (“The description is eminently dramatic”—Page). The line is framed by the passive infinitives; it will be echoed at 305 *consonat omne nemus strepitu collesque resultant*.

impleri: For the construction of the verb with the ablative (as always in Virgil), see Antoine 1882, 95–96.

nemus: Cf. on 92 above.

colles clamore relinqui: An alliterative phrase that has occasioned editorial confusion and dispute. The easiest interpretation is that the animals departed with a shout; the *clamor* is then answered by one of the heifers (217); for this exegesis see especially Henry. Servius notes the idea that Virgil may be referring to the phenomenon of the echo; Watson 1954, 94 ff. modifies the Servian view in his specification that the point is that the sound of the crying cattle did indeed come back to the herd (i.e., via an echo that literally “left behind the hills”; cf. the Servian “... tantum recesserant a collibus boves, ut nec echo resultaret, scilicet ad colles iam clamore non perveniente”). Eden considers Watson's interpretation “impossible”; Campbell resurrected Peerklamp's radical emendation of *relinqui* to *propinqui*; Peerklamp and Maas read *clamare propinqui* (cf. A.Y. Campbell, “Virgil, Aeneid viii.215–18. And its ‘Echoes,’” in *CR* 5.2 (1955), 137–139; “More on Virgil, Aeneid viii.215–18,” in *CR* N.S. 8.1 (1958), 15–16). See further Skutsch *ad Ennius*, *Ann.* fr. 17.431; Clausen 2002, 163. “Early and archaizing Latin not uncommonly uses the unaccompanied ablative of the attendant circumstance without *cum*” (Skutsch).

Mackail offers the succinct and elegant description, “The cattle low as they leave the wooded ground by the river and move up the valley, gradually leaving the hills behind them as they shout.”

The passage is reminiscent of 5.150 ... *pulsati colles clamore resultant* (during the regatta), where an echo is more explicitly described.

217 reddidit una boum vocem vastoque sub antro

reddidit: Cf. Livy's *reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox Herculem convertit*. The first of three perfects to describe the heifer's action. For the connection between the heifer's sound here and the telltale noises from the wooden horse, see Paschalis 1997, 289. Perhaps interestingly, we never learn much about the fate of the heifer (are the other stolen animals already dead?), only that the captured animals are revealed once the lair is torn open (cf. 263–264 below); the narrative will proceed to the battle between Cacus and Hercules, and it transitions seamlessly to the account of how Hercules is honored to this day at Pallanteum.

una boum: One of the heifers made a response from deep in Cacus' cave. In Dionysius' account (1.39.3) the stolen animals all make response once Hercules comes back to inquire as to his lost herd. One might be tempted to compare the fate of Io as described by Ovid at *Met.* 1.622 ff., where the one *vacca* is guarded by the hundred-eyed Argus, only to be freed by Mercury's trickery and song.

vastoque sub antro: Echoing 193 ... *vasto summota recessu*. The alliterative force of *colles clamore* is now continued with *vocem vasto*.

218 mugit et Caci spem custodita fefellit.

The verse is framed by the two perfect verbs. Betrayal by sound; the lowing of a single heifer will give away the monster's game. In the larger scheme of the narrative, an aural clue will expose a visual trick (i.e., the covering of the tracks).

mugit: For the verb see on 215 *mugire*. The lowing of the heifer is cited by Edward Dodwell in his amusing account of how a single fowl gave away the secret that there was indeed meat for hungry travelers in Brauna: "... the villagers descreying our approach ... with our associated Turks, had time to shut up all their fowls, which are almost the only food in Grecian villages ... The venerable monk did not fail to give his solemn assurance, that not a single fowl could be found in a circuit of many miles! ... a treacherous cock, within the sacred walls, betrayed the ecclesiastic by crowing aloud, and was immediately answered by all the cocks in the village!" (Dodwell 1819, 529–530).

Caci spem: The expectation or anticipation that his theft would go unnoticed. Dramatic suspense; Hercules had driven off his herd almost far enough that there would have been no way to hear any sound from the monster's cave. There is no indication of how large the herd of Geryon was; Hercules at any rate did not notice the loss of eight outstanding specimens. What was not

expected by Cacus was a sudden outpouring of light; that is exactly what he will receive once Hercules bursts into the monster's rocky lair (247 *insperata luce*).

custodita: The verb appears in Virgil elsewhere only at 9.321–322 ... *tu, ne qua manus se attollere nobis / a tergo possit, custodi et consule longo* (Nisus to Euryalus before the night raid).

fefellit: For the Virgilian line-end, cf. *G.* 3.392; *A.* 2.744; 4.17; 6. 346; 6.691; 7.215; 12.246.

219 **hic vero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro**

Alcides: As at 203, when the god's arrival in Latium was first noted. The first three words after the reintroduction of the god strike notes of rage; the first two of the following verses continue the unfolding description of frenzied reaction to the plaintive lowing of the animal. On the hero's reaction here note Fitch 1987, 18–19, with reference to Stoic and Epicurean attitudes toward excessive anger, and the question of Hercules as “archaic” heroic model in need of surpassing more than emulation. “It would seem that in Virgil's world madness and disorder can only be treated homoeopathically, that is, they are not overcome by their opposites, but by like forces” (Tarrant 2012, 16). Tib. notes correctly that Hercules was moved more by the *iniuria* than by the *detrimētum*; as yet, though, he is unaware of the source of the problem. The one who would bring help is consumed with wrath. With the expression of Herculean wrath cf. Homer, *Il.* 1.103 ff. (Agamemnon to Calchas).

furiis: See above on 205 *furis*. Are we to imagine a hint of a personification here of the Furies? On the question see especially Eden's note; parallel passages in the epic include the reminiscence of Orestes at 3.331 and the self-description of Dido at 4.376 *heu furiis incensa feror*; cf. 7.392–393 ... *furiisque accensas pectore matres / idem omnis simul ardor agit nova quaerere tecta* (during the scene of Allecto's instigation of madness in Amata). At 494 below, all Etruria rises up in anger on account of Turnus' shielding of Mezentius; at 10.68 *Cassandrae impulsus furiis*, Juno refers disparagingly to Aeneas' pursuit of Italy. Turnus is similarly driven on at 12.101 *his agitur furiis*; cf. the powerful sentiment of 12.668 *et furiis agitatus amor et conscia virtus*; 12.946 of Aeneas just before he kills the Rutulian. For an argument that *furiae* represent just and understandable anger, while *furor* refers to that which is “beyond the pale,” see Cairns 1989, 84 (with defense of Hercules and Aeneas *contra* Turnus). We might wonder, though, what exactly Hercules had to be so angry about at this point? For the ablative see Antoine 1882, 189 ff.

exarserat: For the verb cf. 5.172 *tum vero exarsit iuveni dolor ossibus*, of Gyas' high emotion before he tosses the helmsman Menoetes overboard. The verb

also occurs of Aeneas in the controversial Helen episode (2.575 *exarsere ignes animo*); it is used of Allecto at 7.445 *Talibus Allecto dictis exarsit in iras*, and of Turnus at the war council in the face of Drances' speech (11.376 *Talibus exarsit dictis violentia Turni*). Once each, then, of the Fury and her prey; once each of Gyas and Hercules, and possibly once of Aeneas. Hercules' reaction is immediately fierce and powerful (the prefix is intensive); on the moment of discovery of the lost heifer (he does not even know that seven other animals are missing), he has no idea how the bovine was left behind. His first response is rage; he is presented as a tinderbox that even the most pitiful of sounds can ignite. On the "instantaneous" action and its expression in past narrative by the pluperfect see Fordyce (following Conington). For a connection between Hercules' reaction here and the descriptions of Dido at 4.376 *Furiis incensa* and of Aeneas with the defeated Turnus at 12.946 *Furiis incensus et ira*, see Newman and Newman 2005, 129–130 (and note 233 on the comparative depiction of the anger of Turnus at the war council). Cacus has already been amply depicted as a brutal monster; now Hercules is consumed by fury and the black bile of great rage. See further Scafoglio 2010, 66.

atro: For the color see above on 198–199, where the describes Cacus' ghastly fires; for the Homeric description force of the present use (cf. *Il.* 1.103 ff.), see Edgeworth 1992, 82, and Eden's note ad loc.

Eden comments on the dactylic rhythm of this passage, before the "slow spondaic wonderment" of 222 and the opening of 223.

220 **felle dolor: rapit arma manu nodisque gravatum**

felle dolor: Gall appears in the epic only here and at 12.856–857 *non secus ac nervi per nubem impulsa sagitta, | armatam saevi Parthus quam felle veneni* (of the description of the Dira that is sent by Jupiter to scare Juturna); cf. the appropriation of the imagery by Ovid at *Ars* 2.519–520 *litore quot conchae, tot sunt in amore dolores; | quae patimur, multo spicula felle madent*. For *dolor* vid. M. Ogawa in *EV* 11, 121–122: "Riguardo al modo in cui il dolore si manifesta, la percezione uditiva ha un notevole rilievo nel racconto epico ..." Servius notes here on the bile: "quo irascimur secundum physicos, ut splene ridemus" (with citation of Persius, s. 1.12).

The ablatives of 219–220 have occasioned critical note; see Gransden for the "abl. used in substitution for a compound epithet." The use of different ablatives with the same verb expresses the mindless rage of the hero as he reacts to the sound of the heifer; he assumes at once that there is need for his weapons. "Syntax and word-order become almost dithyrambic: the sentence is welded together by the dramatical ambiguity of all the nouns in it" (Eden *ad* 219f.).

rapit: Hercules immediately seizes his weapons, though there has been as yet no clear indication of the reason for the animal's having been left behind. The verb echoes the notion of the seizing of the cattle that caused the problem in the first place (cf. 211).

arma manu: Cf. 11.453 *arma manu trepidi poscunt, fremā arma iuventus* (of the Latin reaction to the news of Trojan battle actions). Servius identifies the *arma* as arrows; the word encompasses the *robur* (221) as well: for such expressions where the first item of a pair includes the second, see Hahn 1930, 231.

nodis: The knots in the wood are similar to those in the description of Metabus' weapon, the strong wood to which he attaches the infant Camilla (11.553 ... *solidum nodis et robore cocto*). Note also Pandarus' missile weapon at 9.793–794 ... *ille rudem nodis et cortice crudo | intorquet summis adnexus viribus hastam*; also the primitive weaponry of the start of the Latin war (7.506–507 *improvisi adsunt, hic torre armatus obusto, | stipitis hic gravidi nodis*). See further Billerbeck *ad Seneca*, HF 1120 ff.

gravatum: The verb occurs 6× in the epic; cf. 2.708 *ipse subibo umeris nec me labor iste gravabit* (of Aeneas taking up his father at the fall of Troy); 6.359 *ni gens crudelis madida cum veste gravatum* (of Palinurus); 6.520 *tum me confectum curis somnoque gravatum* (of the doomed Deiphobus); 9.437 *demisere caput pluvia cum forte gravantur* (in the cut flower imagery that describes the death of Euryalus); 10.628 *et Iuno adlacrimans: quid si, quae voce gravaris* (Juno to Jupiter). The verb that is used here to describe the heavy weight of the hero's iconic club is thus associated with very different images in the epic; there is the visual sign of Aeneas' *pietas* in his being laden down by the weight of his father, but also a strong connection to untimely death. Servius notes: “nam grave est per naturam ponderosum, gravatum quod oneratur extrinsecus.”

221 *robur, et aërii cursu petit ardua montis.*

robur: The key word is thrown into prominence by the effective *rejet*. Hercules immediately brandishes his club. “The solid part of a living oak (or other tree), the trunk or sim.” (*OLD* s.v. 2; see 2b for the specific application to a club, spear, or cross). For the club as part of the usual iconography and accoutrements of Hercules, see Harrison on 10.319–320.

aërii ... montis: Cf. Catullus, c. 64.239–240 *Thesea ceu pulsae ventorum flamine nubes | aërium nivei montis liquere cacumen*; also his c. 68B.57–58 *qualis in aërii perlucens vertice montis | rivus muscoso prosilit a lapide*. Virgil has the phrase elsewhere at *E.* 8.59–60 *praeceps aërii specula de montis in undas | deferar*; cf. *A.* 6.234 *monte sub aërio* (of the locus of Misenus' burial mound). Burman introduced the reading *aetherii* here; Conington notes that either adjective is an exaggeration in reference to the Aventine, which at its highest

point is about 46 meters above sea level (i.e., 150 feet). The adjective is often applied in Virgil to clouds, mountains, and birds; forms of *aetherius* tend to refer to the heavens and all their array (cf. 68 and 137 above; 319). During the scene of Juno's reconciliation, she has an "airy seat" (12.810 *aëria ... sede*); cf. her defiant presence in the *aether* at 7.288. The *aër* was associated with Hera by a false etymology.

cursu petit: The phrase also of Euryalus' mother in the wake of the rumors of his death (9.478–479 *scissa comam muros amens atque agmina cursu / prima petit*); cf. Celaeno at 3.253 *Italiam cursu petitis ventisque vocatis*. Tib. takes it as a sign of the hero's virtue that he swiftly proceeds to ascend the height: "... et tanti montis ardua cursu transmittere plena virtutis et constantiae demonstratio est."

petit: The verb is used with *ardua* elsewhere in Virgil only of the Fury Allecto: 7.512 *ardua tecta petit stabuli*; cf. the reverse image at 562 *Cocytus petit sedem supera ardua linquens*.

ardua montis: The line-end recurs at 11.513, as part of the description of Aeneas' strategy during the resumption of hostilities after the burial truce (... *ipse ardua montis / 514 per deserta iugo superans adventat ad urbem*); cf. Ovid, *Met.* 8.692. The mountain is the Aventine; whether it should be called *aërius* is open to question. Varro has *montium arduitatem* (*RR* 2.10.3.4). For the common phenomenon in Augustan poetry of the neuter plural of an adjective with a noun (an inheritance from Ennius), see especially Fordyce here ("a mannerism in Lucretius").

222 **tum primum nostri videre timentem**

For the possible influence of this scene on Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.276 ff. (of Amycus), see Murgatroyd ad loc. Gransden comments on the "slow, heavy spondees" that express the heightened tension of the scene.

tum primum: For the "less easily categorizable" temporal expression, see Pinkster 2015, 841–842. The collocation is not particularly common in Virgil; cf. 2.559 *At me tum primum saevus circumstetit horror* (of Aeneas after the death of Priam); 9.589–590 *Tum primum bello celerem intendisse sagittam / dicitur ante feras solitus terrere fugacis* (of Ascanius).

nostri: "Our men, our people": Evander introduces an audience for the impending Herculean drama. Some commentators have been troubled by the absolute use of the possessive adjective here, and prefer to read *oculi* in 223 with the "alii" cited by Servius. Cf. 2.410–411. The referent is deliberately vague; Evander nowhere definitively states that he saw the combat of Hercules and Cacus, and the chronology is deliberately cast in vague and unspecific terms.

videre: The spectacle imagery continues.

timentem: A new defining characteristic for Cacus, who clearly also sees the approach of Hercules up the Aventine. Effective alliteration of trepidation with 223 *turbatum*.

223 turbatumque oculis; fugit ilicet ocior Euro

oculis: Perhaps a textual crux that should never have been. This is the reading of M, P, R, the Carolingian witnesses and the first corrector of the Wolfenbüttel; also Servius and Tib. The original Wolf. reading was the accusative *oculos* (perhaps an attempt at “normalization” of the grammar); Servius cites “others” who read the nominative plural *oculi* (in agreement with 222 *nostris*). Among modern editors Gütthling 1894 accepts the accusative plural. Hirtzel and Sabbadini prefer *oculi* (also Burman; Wakefield; Peerklamp in his commentary; Gossrau; Ladewig; Williams; Paratore; Gransden); Henry in a note that stretches across six pages defends it as the correct choice (and note Heinze’s acceptance of the nominative plural at 1902/1908/1914, 485). For a cautious acceptance of *oculi* (“most palatable,” with reference to the attractiveness of having an audience for the spectacle, in prefigurement of the single combat of Aeneas and Turnus), see Smith 2011, 161: “In *M* the *-is* termination of *oculis* is barely legible, occurring as it does on one of the worst preserved folios of the manuscript ... My own autopsy of the Mediceus seems to substantiate *oculis* in that manuscript”. Holzberg’s *Tusculum* and Heuzé’s *Pléiade* both prefer *oculis* (also Perret’s *Budé*); Gould and Whiteley print *oculi*.

The point of the description is that Cacus was disturbed or confused with respect to his eyes; on the one hand we may imagine that the monster is not clearly able to see what Hercules is doing or where exactly he is heading; on the other hand, the giant is so nervous and terrified at the approach of the hero that his very eyes betray the confused state of his mind. Fordyce et al. are correct that word order points to taking the eyes closely with *turbatum*; Gransden objects that the Arcadians would not have been close enough to Cacus to see the expression in his eyes, and that taking *oculi* with *nostris* would add the vivid detail that Evander was an eyewitness to the fight. But was Evander really there? The question may be of particular significance in terms of his absence from the scene of his son’s death, let alone the epic’s final bout. See further George 1974, 18.

Adding to the problem is that *oculis* could be taken with *videre* and refer to the Arcadians in general, though there is merit to the objection that the word order would militate against such an interpretation. In the end the weight of the manuscripts is firmly on the side of the ablative plural; there may be room for criticism that the expression is not clearly (let alone felicitously) expressed. Supportive circumstantial evidence may include Livy’s use of a similar expres-

sion in his account of the duel of Valerius Corvinus: 7.26.5 *territum ... visu oculisque ... turbatum*, where *ocior* follows soon after (7.26.6); see further Oakley's notes ad loc.—another scene of single combat, and with multiple verbal echoes. Certainly either reading continues the emphasis on the visual; cf. Tib.'s note "turbatus, inquit, oculis fuit nec inmerito, cum videret tantam potentiam dei"; also his "oculorum perturbatio, qui quicquid animo gereret indicabant."

ilicet: Elsewhere in Virgil at 2.424 *ilicet obruimur numero*; 758 *ilicet ignis edax*; 7.583 *ilicet infandum cuncti contra omina bellum* (where Fordyce has a lengthy lexical note); 11.468 *Ilicet in muros tota discurritur urbe*. Again the emphasis is on the spontaneous reaction of the hero to a perceived threat or affront.

ocior Euro: So also of Turnus at 12.733–734 ... *fugit ocior Euro | ut capulum ignotum dextramque inspexit inermem* (after the Rutulian's sword breaks in combat). Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 6.251; Silius, *Pun.* 2.173; also Horace, c. 2.16.23–24 (of *Cura*). A strong verbal connection, then, between Turnus and Cacus (on this note George 1974, 114). The dactylic rhythm enacts the anxious flight of the monster.

For the east wind note also 1.85, 110, 131, 140 and 383 (of the great storm sequence); 2.418 (in a simile); cf. Preller/Robert I, 470 ff.; Roscher I.1, 1418–1419. Cacus and Turnus are thus closely associated with a wind that was mentioned 5× in connection with the destruction of Trojan vessels. "Those who love farce after tragedy" may appreciate Henry's reminiscence of "Dr. Sheridan's escape out of the dock," etc. here.

224 *speluncamque petit, pedibus timor addidit alas.*

speluncamque petit: The place of concealment for the stolen cattle is now envisioned as a haven of refuge for the thief. Cacus seeks to hide in exactly the place whence the telltale sound emitted; he assumes that the cavernous defense will protect him from conflict with Hercules.

pedibus: For the dative see Antoine 1882, 124, and cf. 11.673.

addidit ... alas: The line-end recurs at 12.847–848 *uno eodemque tulit partu, paribusque revinxit | serpentum spiris ventosaque addidit alas*, of the birth of the Dirae and Megaera from Night—a monstrous echo. Note also Propertius, c. 2.12.4–5 *idem non frustra ventosa addidit alas, | fecit et humano corde volare deum* (of the depiction of Amor). The detail about the feet is particularly apt in light of Cacus' trick with disguising the tracks of the stolen cattle. The image is imitated by Apuleius at *Met.* 6.26 *timor unguulas mihi alas fecerat* (of Lucius' fear of death); the saying became proverbial; for the possible influence on Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 7.543–547, see Spaltenstein ad loc.; also C.L. Howard, "Some Passages in Valerius Flaccus," in *CQ* 6.3/4 (1956), 161–168, 168. On the possibility that there is wry commentary here by the poet, see R.B. Lloyd, "Humor in the

Aeneid,” in *CJ* 72.3 (1977), 250–257, 256–257. Part of the point is to highlight how fear has made it possible for the huge, probably lumbering monster to become quite nimble in his nervous flight. For how the phrase provides “both an explanatory and descriptive value, adding a note on a character’s physical or psychological state,” note Dainotti 2015, 150.

alas: A brilliant allusion to the winged sandals of Hermes/Mercury; the fleeing monster is subtly associated with the preeminent divine cattle rustler.

225 *ut sese inclusit ruptisque immane catenis*

A new detail: Cacus has not only a cavernous lair, but also a sort of portcullis system that provides a mechanized defensive barrier. Whatever his monstrous nature, Cacus has some knowledge of basic engineering—a talent or skill not surprising in a son of Vulcan (see further on 226 *arte paterna*). For the Ovidian description of the fight, including the “hero’s moving of the door barricade,” see Green *ad Fasti* 1.563–578. “These are the only two versions to give any detail of the fight, which is summarily passed over by other authors.”

inclusit: The verb appears 20× in the epic; 2× in the *G.*; cf. 248 below (also of Cacus); 599 (in a very different context).

ruptis ... catenis: Cf. Horace, *s.* 2.7.70–71 ... *quae belua ruptis, / cum semel effugit, reddit se prava catenis?* *Abruptis ... catenis* occurs once each in Lucan and Seneca.

immane: For the adjective with *saxum* see also 10.195–197 ... *ille / instat aquae saxumque undis immane minatur / arduus* (of Cupavo’s *Centaurus*); 12.904 *tolentemve manu saxumque immane moventem* (of Turnus—another connection between the monster and the hero). See further A. Grillo in *EV* 11, 924: “In molti casi esso vale <<enorme>>, <<smisurato>>, e si riferisce per lo più a cose concreto a essere animati ... il macigno fatto cadere dal mostruoso Caco per sbarrare l’ingresso della propria caverna.” It will be echoed at 245–246 ... *immane barathrum / cernatur*, after Cacus’ lair is exposed to the light.

catenis: Chains are also referenced in the poem at 6.558 ... *tum stridor ferri tractaeque catenae* (of the sounds emanating from Tartarus); here the bursting of the chains is a necessary part of the lowering of the huge stone. We might think of *Furor impius* seething in bondage at 1.294–296; here the chains are somewhat paradoxically ruptured as a prerequisite of the self-imprisonment of the giant.

“This is the first indication that the cave is more than a merely natural defense. Vulcan provided it as a defense to his son, and thus it acts as an extension of the monster’s persona” (Apostol 2009, 18).

226 deiecit saxum, ferro quod et arte paterna

See Eden here for what he identifies as “a slight instance of zeugma,” with consideration of the English element of “intentional burlesque” in such passages, *contra* the apparent lack of humor in Latin examples of the phenomenon. “The suggestion here that Cacus is someone who can break off part of a mountain likens him to the monstrous Giants, who traditionally broke off mountains so that they could pile them up to make an assault on heaven” (Green *ad* Ovid, *Fast.* 1.563).

deiecit: Coordinating neatly with 227 *pendebat*; Cacus threw down the barrier stone that was hanging by iron chain and the technological skill he had learned or inherited from his father. Note also 428 *deicit*.

arte paterna: I.e., Vulcan’s skill. Cf. *Ilias Latina* 350–351 ... *doctus ab arte paterna* | *Paeoniis curat iuvenis Podalirius herbis*; Ovid, *Met.* 2.638; Silius, *Pun.* 1.240; 7.713. The adjective is at 3.121 of Idomeneus’ homeland of Crete; 5.81 of Anchises’ shade; 7.657 *insigne paternum* (of Aventinus’ Herculean insignia); 10.188 ... *formaeque insigne paternae* (of Cycnus’ son Cupavo’s swan heraldry); 10.705 ... *urbe paterna* (of Troy); 10.852 ... *sceptrisque paternis* (of Mezentius’ exile); 11.44 ... *neque ad sedes victor veherere paternas?* (of Aeneas’ lament for Pallas); 12.225–226 ... *ingens clarumque paternae* | *nomen erat virtutis* (of Camers). A subtle reminder of the god of the forge, as the poet continues his advance to the crafting of the shield.

On the two ablatives here Sidgwick comments: “The mixture of abstract and concrete is quite Vergilian.” On the expression see further Hahn 1930, 148, with comparison of 1.639 and 11.760–761.

227 pendebat, fultosque emuniit obice postis,

fultos: Cf. 4.247 *Atlantis duri caelum qui vertice fulcit* (a reminiscence of the Atlas connection); also 11.39 *ipse caput nivei fultum Pallantis et ora* (of Aeneas before the bier of the young Arcadian); otherwise only at *E.* 6.53 *ille latus niveum molli fultus hyacintho* (a passage that likely influenced the Pallas burial scene). The commentators compare Ovid, *Am.* 1.6.27 (where see McKeown); the reference is to the “firm-stayed entrance” (Page). Perhaps a case of *hysteron proteron*; the doorway was defended once it was fortified by the huge rock that now blocks the entrance.

emuniit: The only occurrence of the verb in Virgil; Livy has it at 21.7.7 and 24.21.12; cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 13.39 (with Furneaux).

obice: *Obex* occurs also at 10.377 *ecce maria magna claudit nos obice pontus* (Pallas urging on his Arcadians); 11.890 *arietat in portas et duros obice postis* (of the furious assault on Latinus’ capital in the wake of the death of Camilla in the cavalry battle); cf. *G.* 4.422 *intus se vasti Proteus tegit obice saxi*, a passage

that likely influenced the present description (we may recall that Cacus had associations in some traditions with prophetic powers). Technically the *obex* is the bar or bolt that fastens a gate or door; by extension it can refer to anything that blocks an entrance (*OLD* s.v. 1b). “Not clear what its history might have been before *G.* 4.422” (Horsfall *ad* 11.890). Prudentius has *obice extrorsum recluso porta reddidit mortuos* (*Cath.* 9.74), of the harrowing of hell. On the scansion as well as the gender of the noun (and also *silex* at 233) see Eden’s note *ad* 233 on “traditional epic license.” All of Virgil’s uses of both noun and verb have the first syllable long, as it correctly was, because of the combination *b* and semi-consonantal *I* in *iacere* (whether the latter was actually written or not). Later poets (less sensitive to etymology?) allow the first syllable to be short” (Eden). Guillemin prints *objice*.

228 ecce furens animis aderat Tiryntius omnemque

For the suspense that is engendered by the hypermetric verse, see Dainotti 2015, 181–182: “Here the dactylic rhythm of the first line reflects Hercules’ anger, while the lengthened pause at line-end strengthens the semantics of the adjective *omnis* and suggests, converging with the spondaic rhythm of the next line, his searching gaze.” Cf. Clausen 2002, 101: “Hypermetric lines are not ordinarily expressive.” Similar synapheia can be found at 1.332 and 448; 2.745; 4.558 and 629; 5.422 and 753; 6.602; 7.160 and 470; 9.650; 10.781 and 895; 11.609. Hypermetric license may have been founded on the idea that the scansion of hexameters is continuous (see here Papillon and Haigh 1892, lv); here, as usual in the Virgilian affectation (eighteen of twenty-two occurrences), the hypermetric syllable is *-que*. With the description of the mad Hercules here cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.1441–1446.

ecce: With deictic force (cf. above on 81, of the *Sauprodigium*); vid. Horsfall *ad* 6.255.

furens animis: Cf. *Ilias Latina* 602 *tandem animis teloque furens Telamonius Aiax*; for *animis* with respect to “furore” vid. Negri 1984, 129; almost exactly parallel to the present use is 5.202 *furens animi dum proram ad saxa suburget* (of Sergestus at the regatta); note also 2.355 *animis iuvenum furor additus*. Penthesilea is *furens* in the depiction of the Amazon intervention at Troy (1.491); cf. the flooding rush of water described at 2.498; the goddess Juno at the Scaean gates (2.613); Dido as wounded deer (4.69); the recollection of Dido’s capacity for madness at 5.6 (and cf. 1.659; 4.65; 4.283; 298; 4.465; 4.548); the Sibyl Deiphobe (6.100 and 262); the comparison of Aeneas to a rushing torrent or whirlwind (10.604); Turnus (9.691; 11.486); Camilla (11.709; 762); Turnus after the death of the Volscian heroine (11.901—a careful progression of images from Turnus to Camilla x2 back to Turnus; with Camilla cf. Penthesilea and espe-

cially Dido); also Cassandra (2.345); Neoptolemus (2.499); Andromache (3.313); Amata (7.350); Mezentius (8.489); Lucagus (10.578). Most often of Carthage's queen; three times of Turnus; twice of Camilla: once again the emphasis is on the frenzied, mad reaction of the hero. For *animis* note also 256 below; also 230 *fervidus ira*.

For the motif of Hercules' *furor*, with consideration of how Theodulf of Orléans' *Contra iudices* and its account of how the *furor Herculeus* led to the killing of Cacus finds its roots in the Augustinian (*De Civ. Dei* 19.12) reading of Hercules' actions as those of a violent, bloodthirsty monster, see Riley 2008, 69 ff. In Augustine's account, we are introduced to the *semihomo* Cacus, with etymology of his name from the Greek for "bad," no domestic comforts, no real presence of his father Vulcan in his life (indeed his only blessing the fact that he had no monstrous son of his own). All that Augustine's Cacus wants is peace with his body: *Cum corpore denique suo pacem habere cupiebat, et quantum habebat tantum bene illi erat*. For Augustine, Hercules' fame is increased to the degree that Cacus is made more awful: ... *nisi enim nimis accusaretur Cacus, parum Hercules laudaretur*. Note also *Contra academicos* 3.10.22.

aderat: Echoing the sentiments of 200–201. The "advent" of the hero presages the way for the mention of the Aventine at 231.

Tirynthius: The epithet (from a town in Argolis that was closely associated with the hero—cf. Servius' "in qua nutritus est civitate") occurs also at 7.662 (in the description of Aventinus); cf. Grattius, *Cyn.* 69 *ipse deus cultorque feri Tirynthius orbis*; Ovid, *Ars* 1.187; 2.221; *Met.* 6.112; 7.410; 9.66; 9.268; 12.564; 13.401; *Fast.* 1.547; 2.305; 2.349; 5.629; Petronius, *Sat.* 124.1.270; 139.2.2; frequently in Statius; Valerius Flaccus; Silius. For the "historical hostility" between Tiryns and Argos (Juno's sacred city), see Fowler 2013, 250; Eden for the association of Tiryns with the canonical labors and the question of the subjection of that locale to Argos.

omnem: Echoed and strengthened by 230 *totum*.

On 228–232 Ellis 1985, 43 notes: "This passage demonstrates the brilliance of Virgil in combining topography with etymology and aetiology and adding it to metre to convey in words and rhythm what was happening."

229 *accessum lustrans huc ora ferebat et illuc,*

accessum: The noun occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at 3.570 *Portus ab accessu ventorum immotus et ingens*.

lustrans: Cf. 231; also the use of the adjective *lustralis* at 183. Perhaps with a hint of its purificatory sense, as Hercules scans the landscape and stands on the verge of removing the hideous monster from its haunts.

huc ... illuc: For the other Virgilian uses see above on 20. The collocation is Ennian (*Iph.* fr. 201 Jocelyn); Catullan (c. 3.9; 15.7) and Lucretian (*DRN* 2.131).

ora ferebat: So of Andromache's comments on Ascanius (3.490), in a different sense; Hercules has identified the locus of the heifer's lowing, and must now seek a way inside the stony barrier. At this point, there could be no reasonable doubt that someone or something had entrapped his animal. On the Euripidean source of the image of the mad Hercules as he scans for an entrance, see Newman and Newman 2005, 228–229 (with reference to *HF* 867–870).

230 *dentibus infrendens. ter totum fervidus ira*

dentibus infrendens: Identical is the description of the Cyclops Polyphemus (3.664); also of the boar to which Mezentius is described at 10.718 (almost certainly of the animal and not the hero, though the two do almost shade into one): these are the only occurrences of the verb in Virgil (it may be a coinage). Herculean bruxism, not so much from anxiety as from impatient rage and seething fury. If there are associations between Cacus and the Cyclops, then here there is something of a transference of at least one aspect of the image to the furious Hercules.

Virgil references teeth also at 3.626–627 (of the Cyclops' eating of his ghastly feast); 5.470 (of Dares' gruesome oral injuries during the boxing match); 7.259 (of horses chomping at the bit); 7.667 (of the lion's head helmet of the warrior Aventinus); 11.681 (of Ornytus' wolf's head).

ter: Introducing a dramatic threefold progression (cf. 231–232). Three actions repeated three times each, for a total of nine investigative gestures. “Emphatic repetition” (Page). On Virgilian multiples see K. Shannon in *VE* 11, 855–856. For triple unsuccessful efforts in the poem and in epic generally see Harrison on 10.684–685; cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.654 (of Medea's efforts to leave her room).

fervidus ira: So also of Pandarus to Turnus at 9.736–737; *furens animis* (228) is now expanded and refined. For the problem of just how much anger is acceptable in response to a justified provocation or outrage, see Harris 2009, 218 ff. (with reference to the “constant emphasis on Hercules' passion” from 219 to 261); note also Henry 1989, 170–171 (with consideration *inter al.* of the point that Hercules is not depicted as *furens*, but as *furens animis*).

231 *lustrat Aventini montem, ter saxea temptat*

The verbs frame the verse.

lustrat: Cf. 229 *lustrans*. Here the verb focuses probably on the physical act of walking back and forth and all around to see if there is some way to access the cavern. Is there a hint of the idea that Hercules' careful reconaissance and investigation of the scene constitutes a purificatory rite?

Aventini: Echoing the idea of the timely arrival and advent of the hero. The name of the mountain recalls that of the Herculean Aventinus (7.655–669). For the mountain in Virgil see B. Fowlkes-Childs in *VE* I, 160–161; also F. Castagnoli in *EV* I, 429–430. For the *genitivus definitivus* see Horsfall *ad* 6.659. The locus of Cacus' cave is connected here to the son of Hercules who fights with Turnus (7.655–669). In Livy (1.3.9) and Dionysius (1.71.4) Aventinus is an Alban king who was buried on the hill that preserves his name—and his granddaughter is Rhea. Dionysius merely notes the thirty-seven year reign of the king; Livy notes that after Romulus was struck by lightning, the kingdom passed to Aventinus. Varro (*DLL* 5.43) mentions this monarch as part of his description of the various etymological arguments for the name of the hill, including the aforementioned idea that it was named from the noun *adventinus* (i.e., it should be *Adventinus*); *vid.* further O'Hara 2017, 204–205. Aventinus as son of Hercules is apparently a “palpable invention” (so Horsfall) of the poet; there is, at any rate, no extant external evidence of the identification. Are we to imagine that in the Virgilian conception the Aventine and the Palatine were under different, even opposed rulership? As Eden et al. have noted, in context it is likely that Virgil refers here to the hill of the hero Aventinus—a hero who in crude typology might be thought to be on the “wrong side” in the Latin war. “... l'importanza dell'Apollino Palatino nell'ideologia augustea; forse un tale motivo di rispetto verso il Palatino, la collina del *princeps*, avrà suggerito a Virgilio di trasferire la spelunca del mostro Caco dalle pendice occidentali del Palatino, dov'era tradizionalmente ubicata, all'Aventino” (Horsfall 1991, 44).

Aventinus was a son of Hercules and ally of Turnus; Caeculus—the *Praenestinae fundator*—was a son of Vulcan and another partisan of the Rutulian (7.677–681). Turnus' allies thus include two sons of the combatants in the present drama. Caeculus is later depicted as rousing battle lines against Aeneas (10.542 ff.); the ultimate fate of Caeculus (*cf.* the name of Cacus) is left unrecorded. Soon after Caeculus' action, Aeneas kills a son of Faunus (10.550–552); the passage is redolent with the spirit of the old Italy.

With the genitive instead of a noun in apposition *cf.* 1.247; 270; 7.714.

Dionysius (1.39) concludes his account of Hercules' battle with Cacus by noting that the hero purified himself in the river before erecting an altar to Zeus, an altar that is now in Rome near the Porta Trigemina (in the Servian wall between Tiber and Aventine; *vid.* Platner and Ashby 1926, 418; Richardson 1992, 310; *LTUR* III, 332–333).

saxea: The adjective recurs at 9.711 *saxea pila cadit*, of the description of the collapse of a pier at Baiae to which the fall of the giant Bitias is compared; *cf.* *G.* 3.145 *speluncaeque tegant et saxa procubet umbra*. Henry notes the particular

appropriateness of the description: the cavern is made of rock, and a stone now blocks the entrance.

232 limina nequiquam, ter fessus valle resedit.

fessus: Servius distinguishes between *fatigatus* and *fessus*, the former being associated with weariness in body, the latter with mental fatigue. Hercules is at a loss as to how to access the cave whence he heard the lowing of his lost heifer. For the adjective see further R. Rocca in *EV* 11, 504: "... ha invece valore di *adlictus*." For the moment, it might seem that Cacus has outfoxed Hercules. Danielis notes that some prefer a different punctuation here; note the pause after *limina* by the second corrector of P ("qui, fide Sabbadini, codicem etiam distinxit"—Conte).

valle: Cf. the valley where Hercules' herd was grazing at 204; the significant *vallis* of 604.

resedit: The verb occurs 12× in the epic (once in the *G.*); 3× in the present book (cf. 467 and 503 below). The form is also used at line-end at 5.180, of Menoetes on the rocky outcropping where he rests during the regatta; 5.290, of Aeneas as he prepares to watch the foot race. "The compound seems to express sitting down after doing anything" (Conington). Cf. here Euripides, *Heracles* 54b.

233 stabat acuta silex praecisis undique saxis

A geological description commences, as Virgil proceeds to the account of how Hercules managed to expose the robber-monster in his lair. Henry connects the setting here with the *scopuli* pointed out by Evander at 192. Strong sibilant alliteration marks this verse and the next. Mackail has a discursive note here on what Hercules does with respect to the topography in his attempts to rip open the cavern.

acuta silex: The noun refers to any hard rock, stone, or boulder; cf. 6.471 *quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes*; the underworld imagery at 6.602–602 *quos super atra silex iam iam lapsura cadentique | imminet adsimilis* (of the punishment of the Lapiths, Ixion, and Pirithous). Apuleius has *vides istas rupinas proximas et praeacutas in his prominentes silices* (*Met.* 6.26.22). The adjective occurs 10× in the epic (5× in the *G.* and once in the *E.*); for its use in other geological contexts cf. 1.45 ... *scopuloque infixit acuto*; 1.144–145 ... *Triton adnixus acuto | detrudunt navis scopulo ...*; 5.205 *concussae cautes et acuto in murice remi* (in the description of Sergestus' ill-fated vessel). The *acuta silex* here is balanced by *altissima visu* in the next verse.

praecisis: Cf. *TLL* 10.2.434.33. A Virgilian hapax; the verb occurs in Naevius and Accius (also Plautus and Terence), though it is found mostly in prose. Silius imitates the use at *Pun.* 13.338.

saxis: The stony emphasis continues; Henry describes the formation as a “*silex perpendicularis*” (cf. Conington’s note).

234 speluncae dorso insurgens, altissima visu,

dorso insurgens: Cf. 10.226–227 *pone sequens dextra puppim tenet ipsaque dorso / eminet*; 10.303–304 ... *dorso dum pendet iniquo / anceps sustentata diu fluctusque fatigat*. Henry carefully delineates the difference between the “back” and the “hump of the back,” with the observation that when the *silex* was destroyed by Hercules, Cacus still had no place to escape (as he would if it were blocking the back/rear of the cavern); see further Page’s note here. For the verb of “motionless things” see Goodyear *ad Tacitus, Ann.* 2.16.1.

altissima visu: The emphasis on the visual continues. The ablative is of respect (Pinkster 2015, 914–915; cf. 1074 ff.). The detail adds to the imagery of the scene as a new gigantomachy; these are huge fighters from a bygone era, and Hercules can easily demolish a geological feature even of these heights.

235 dirarum nidis domus opportuna volucrum.

dirarum ... volucrum: Baleful birds frame the line; the dark avian imagery encircles the happy image of the fit/favorable home. The ominous ornithological reference may recall 6.239 ff. and the question of whether birds can fly over Avernus with impunity (see here Horsfall’s note *ad* 6.242 on “sulphuretted hydrogen and other geological and chemical hazards”): Cacus’ lair has clear enough underworld associations, here with *dirae volucres* that can live in the grim environs.

The passage looks back principally to the Harpies of Book 3 (210 ff.), *dira Celaeno* chief among them (cf. 3.262 *sive deae seu sint dirae obscenaque volucres*); it presages, too, the mention of the twin Dirae at 12.843 ff. Lurking too may be a reminiscence of the Mnesticus-dove in the simile at 5.213 ff. (*qualis spelunca subito commota columba / cui domus et dulces latebroso in pumice nidi*, etc.); cf. the comparison of Juturna to a *nigra hirundo* at 12.473 ff. Cacus’ lair—at least its distinctive rocky outcropping that rises up in majestic height—is a welcome home for birds of ill omen. On these *dirae volucres* Tib. comments: “*diras avis possumus sentire eas quae cadaveribus alantur, ut sunt vultures et aliorum generum quae carne pascantur*” (and Williams connects the vultures with the prey that Cacus’ murderous deeds provide them); “vultures or eagles” (Sidgwick).

In the final movements of the epic it will be the Dirae that Jupiter uses to accomplish the task of warding off Juturna from the aid of her brother Turnus (on the significance of the Dirae in the epic, and with consideration in particular of why Jupiter uses only one of them in part as a sign of the ultimate

suppression of Troy, see L. Fratantuono, “*Dirarum ab sede dearum*: Virgil’s Fury Allecto, the Dirae, and Jupiter’s Parthian Defeat”, in *BStudLat* 61 (2011), 522–530). Cacus’ cavern is a type of the underworld; Hercules’ defeat of the monster is in part emblematic of the attempt to conquer death. The Dirae will appear on the shield of Aeneas at 701 below ... *tristesque ex aethere Dirae*, where they will take center stage with Mavors, Discordia, and Bellona in the dramatic depiction of Actium. In that battle, they will rage in the middle, between the opposing forces of Caesar and Antony/Cleopatra.

The “dire birds” may be a borrowing from Cicero’s *namque, ut videtis, vinculis constrictus Iovis / arcere nequeo diram volucrem a lectore* (fr. 33.21 Edwards); another source may be *G. 2.209–211 antiquasque domos avium cum stirpibus imis / eruit; illae altum nidis petiere relictis, / at rudis enituit impulso vomere campus* (where see Thomas on the “pathetic” description of how the old gives way to the new, and how Virgil uses the same imagery to describe the fall of Troy). Cf. Ovid, *Met* 2.589; Lucan, *BC* 1.558 (with Roche’s note). For the adjective vid. A. Traina in *EV* II, 94–95. For the possible “implicit aition” for the name of the Aventine, see George 1974, 5n1; cf. Tueller 2000, 377 on the explanation at 232–240 for why the “current” shape of the Aventine is different from the pre-Herculean topography. “Virgil remarks that the rock rising from above Cacus’ cave ... is ‘fit home for the nestlings of foul birds ... another instance where the sanctuary of home becomes an ominous hiding place where evil—and implicitly female—forces are removed from sight” (Rimell 2015, 52n73, with association of *dirus* and *caecus/Cacus*; cf. Paschalis 1997, 289–290). “Apparently a permanent breeding-place” (Wagenvoort 1956, 202–203). For the idea that the birds anticipate the “flight” of the *acuta silix* that Hercules dislodges, see Paschalis 1997, 280.

opportuna: Elsewhere in the epic the adjective is used of the *turris* at the Trojan camp; cf. *G. 4.129 nec pecori opportuna seges*. See Fordyce on the latent nautical metaphor. The image of the *domus opportuna* is particularly poignant in light of the Trojan search for a secure and lasting home in Hesperia. On *domus* and its range of meanings note Hahn 1930, 234n1086.

236 hanc, ut prona iugo laevum incumbibat ad amnem,

The beginning of a brief topographical description that has occasioned some controversy in the commentaries as to point of view: Evander’s or Hercules’? The majority of critics here argue that it must be Hercules’ (cf., e.g., Gransden’s note); Eden is open to the possibility that it is indeed Evander’s/Aeneas’ (cf. Henry’s long note here arguing for this position), and that the detail about the “left” refers to either the *silix* or the *iugum* by a sort of hypallage: “the *silix* rose from a ridge on the left (east) side of the Aventine, sloping towards the river: Hercules did heave against the direction of the slope [cf. 237], from the right

(west) side.” Eden rightly notes, however, that Virgil may not have had a “precise picture” in his mind here. See further Paratore *ad loc.*; Rehm 1932, 58–59.

prona: The adjective can be used to describe terrain that has a forward or downward incline, i.e., a sloping direction (*OLD* s.v. 4, citing this passage).

laevum: It is possible that Virgil meant for the directional adjectives here and at 237 *dexter* to be more indicative of luck and omen than of mere “left” and “right”; *laevus* could describe something that was baleful or pernicious—but in Roman augural practice, *laevus* could refer to the left side of a field of observation, and—by extension—to a favorable portent (see further on this Skutsch *ad* Ennius, *Ann.* 1.87). For the left as the side of good omen note Bailey 1935, 23 (with reference to 9.630–631, of Jupiter’s thunder on the left as a sign to Ascanius). An omen on the *sinister* was considered favorable by Roman augural practice, and unfavorable by Greek; from Evander’s point of view, *laevus* might be unlucky, while from the Roman vantage, it might well be fortunate. A possible hint here, then, of the ultimate disposition of affairs in Italy; Cacus is a monster and perhaps justly vanquished—but the invader Hercules is killing a native inhabitant of Latium.

237 *dexter in adversum nitens concussit et imis*

dexter: The adjective could be used of a favorable direction in augury, or more generally of that which is lucky or advantageous; the ambivalence of the passage may be expressed by having Hercules be lucky even as he leans against the direction that is favorable to augurs.

in adversum: The question of point of view led Bentley to conjecture *aversam* here; cf. *aversum* of codex Bernensis 165. Eden notes that if Hercules was indeed on the right side, then the text is straightfoward: the hero heaved from the right, against the leftward direction of the slope. For the slow spondaic rhythm that describes the hero’s exertions and effort, see Eden.

nitens: So of the man who steps on the snake in the simile at 2.380; Cyllenius/Mercury at 4.252; Corynaeus in battle at 12.303.

concussit: Cf. 8.3 above (*utque acris concussit equos utque impulit arma*); 12.594 *quae totam luctu concussit funditus urbem* (of the fortune of Amata’s suicide). For the influence of the present scene on Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.528–530, see Hershkowitz 1998, 77.

imis: For the adjective with 238 *radicibus* cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 1.352–353 *quod cibus in totas usque ab radicibus imis | per truncos ac per ramos diffunditur omnis*; 6.140–141 *hic, ubi lenior est, in terra cum tamen alta | arbusta evolvens radicibus haurit ab imis*; Virgil’s *G.* 1.319–320 *quae gravidam late segetem ab radicibus imis | sublimem expulsam eruerent*; *Ps.-V., Aetna* 450–451 *nam circa latera atque imis radicibus Aetnae | candentes efflant lapides disiectaque saxa*; Ovid,

Met. 15.548–549 ... *montisque iacens radicibus imis / liquitur in lacrimas*; Caesar's *ab infimis radicibus montis* (*BC* 1.41.3.2).

238 *avulsam solvit radicibus, inde repente*

avulsam: Cf. 2.165 *fatale adgressi sacrato avellere templo* (of the theft of the Palladium); 2.558 *avulsumque umeris caput* (of Priam's decapitation); 2.608–609 *hic, ubi disiectas moles avulsaque saxis / saxa vides* (of the destruction of Troy); 2.631 *congemuit traxitque iugis avulsa ruinam* (also in a context describing the ruin of Priam's city); 3.575–576 *interdum scopulos avulsaque viscera montis / erigit eructans* (of Etna); 4.616 ... *complexu avulsus Iuli* (of Dido's wish for Aeneas); 6.143 ... *primo avulso non deficit alter* (of the Golden Bough); 9.490 ... *avulsaque membra* (of Euryalus' mother's lament for her son); 10.659–660 (of Juno's cutting the rope of the boat where Turnus has gone in search of the phantom Aeneas); 11.201 ... *neque avelli possunt* (of the mourners at the requiems); 12.684–685 *ac veluti montis saxum de vertice praeceps / cum ruit avulsum vento* (of Turnus' rush through the battlefield). The verb is thus associated with the fall of Troy (and we might remember that Hercules had his own experience of destroying Priam's city).

solvit ... radicibus: For the expression cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 6.694–695 *praeterea magna ex parti mare montis ad eius / radices frangit fluctus aestumque resolvit*.

radicibus: The scene of Hercules' destruction of the *acuta silex* echoes the fall of Entellus in the boxing match, which is compared to the fall of a mighty, uprooted pine tree at 5.447–449 *ipse gravis graviterque ad terram pondere vasto / concidit, ut quondam cava concidit aut Erymantho / aut Ida in magna radicibus eruta pinus*. The Sicilian Entellus (whose name reflects his connection to the *tellus* and roots therein) falls in combat against the Trojan Dares, but the fall is described in terms of the collapse of a tree either in Arcadia or in the Troad—a clear enough indication of the ultimate suppression of Troy, and of significance in light of Evander's/Pallas' Arcadian origins. Here, Hercules uproots not a tree but an even more stable natural feature, we might think—the *acuta silex*.

repente: The adverb is used twice in the description of the encounter with Cacus (cf. 247 below), and twice in connection to the arms of Aeneas (388 and 525, first of the seduction of Vulcan, and then of the portentous presentation of the work of the god). Otherwise it appears 2× in Books 1, 2, and 7 (cf. 2.465, of the sudden collapse of a Trojan tower); 1× each in Books 3; 5; 9; and 10.

239 *impulit; impulsu quo maximus intonat aether,*

impulit impulsu: Effective word play. For the “*rejet of impulit*” see Dainotti 2015, 82–84: “the etymological figure ... finally links the two clauses, marking a rela-

tion of direct cause and effect.” Henry has a long note here on whether or not we are to imagine that the *silex* actually tumbled into the river (most emphatically not). The verb means to push, so as to knock down (*OLD* s.v. 5). Once again a reminiscence of 3 above. On the connection between the present dramatic scene and the opening of the book, see Putnam 1966, 132 ff. (with reference to other uses of *impellere* in the epic).

maximus ... aether: Lucretian (*DRN* 5.473); we might compare 8.136–137 ... *Electram maximus Atlas / edidit, aetherios umero qui sustinet orbis* (also Ovid, *Met.* 6.174–175). Hercules’ action shakes the very ether that Atlas sustains; cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 1.567–568 (with Green).

intonat: So of the Fury in the underworld at 6.607 *exsurgitque facem attollens atque intonat ore*; cf. 9.709 *dat tellus gemitum et clipeum super intonat ingens* (at the fall of Bitias); possibly the god Mavors at 12.332 (where the capital manuscript are divided between *intonat* and *increpat*); also the three related passages 2.694–695 ... *subitoque fragore / intonuit laevum* (of the confirming portent at Troy); 7.141–142 (of the similar scene after the “eating of the tables”); 9.630–631 (of Jupiter’s similar action with Ascanius); 1.90 *intonuere poli* (of the storm). The verb is effectively placed between the adjective and its noun, as the thunder literally bursts forth from the ether. The Romanus reads *insonat*, which eliminates the evocation of Jovian thunder. The textual variant probably arose from the judgment that the introduction of thunder was inappropriate to the sound effect and context. Cf. also 7.515.

See Williams here for the striking sound effect of the assonance and alliteration, and the displacement of *quo*; also Mackail’s note on the “strong pause after the third foot; and the effect, like rolling thunder, or the ending ...”

240 **dissultant ripae refluitque exterritus amnis.**

The principal question occasioned by these verses is whether or not the *acuta silex* was hurled into the water, so that the description here of the banks and the river reflects the results of the impact of the huge stone on the surface of the water. The main power of the toppling of the rocky pinnacle may be auditory, and the waters may have been fearful in anticipation of the threat of the mighty crash of the stone; the very ether thundered when Hercules shook the rock, and now the banks leap apart and the river is in full retreat, thoroughly in terror. The picture is highly vivid regardless of whether one agrees with Conington, Fordyce, et al. that the rock actually entered the river. For the possibility that the rock in question is the *insula Tiberina*, see Kemezis 2015, 197. Pathetic fallacy, perhaps; it may be significant that the great river of the future Rome is depicted here as being terrified of Hercules’ dismantling of the geological feature.

dissultant: Cf. 12.921–923 ... *murali concita numquam / tormento sic saxa fremunt nec fulmine tanti / dissultant crepitus*, of the *fatale telum* that Aeneas hurls at Turnus. The verb is Lucretian (*DRN* 3.395; 3.569); cf. Statius, *Theb.* 5.565; Silius, *Pun.* 7.144; 9.608.

refluit: For the verb see on 87 above, in the description of the reaction of the river to the conveyance of Aeneas and his men to Pallanteum. The Tiber reacts in exactly the same way to Hercules' action as it had in the face of Aeneas' comparatively peaceful sailing. The rhythm of the verse accelerates as the frightened river takes flight. See further George 1974, 52.

exterritus: So, e.g., of Aeneas at 4.571 and 6.559; Nisus at 9.424; Arruns at 11.806. See further below on 370.

Racine imitated this verse at *Phédre*, acte v; scène 6: *Le flot qui l'apporta recule épouvante*.

241 at specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens

The opening of Cacus' lair is studied at length by Lyne 1989, 128–131, with consideration of the thesis that Hercules is an invader (with implications for one's reading of Aeneas), and that the *regia* of Cacus' lair has been transferred from the context of the simile of 243–246; on this transference note also J.J. O'Hara, "Vergilian Similes, 'Trespass,' and the Order of *Aeneid* 10.707–18," in *CJ* 87.1 (1991), 1–8, 4–5. For how the Herculean victory will be achieved on the "vertical axis," *contra* the Ovidian combat on the horizontal, see Staples 2013, 19 ff.

specus: Again at 258 and 418 below; otherwise at 7.568 *hic specus horrendum et saevi spiracula Ditis* (of the vale of Ampsanctus, in another underworld-charged passage); 9.700 (metaphorically, of the fatal wound of Sarpedon's bastard son Antiphates).

detecta: The verb occurs twice in Virgil; cf. 10.133 *Dardanius caput, ecce, puer detectus honestum* (of Ascanius). Here it echoes 194 *tegebat*.

apparuit ingens: Cf. the very different 10.579 *infuit adversaque ingens apparuit hasta* (of Aeneas in his encounter with Liger); the same line-end at Statius, *Theb.* 11.326 and Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.177. *Ingens* continues to highlight the theme of a gigantomachy.

The scene is one of a spectacle *tableau*, with a strong visual component (vid. here Smith 2005, 150); Hercules uncovers the grim underworld of the monster. For the stylistic effect of *ingens* at line-end before 242 *regia*, see Dainotti 2015, 34–35 (with examination of the classic instance of "theme and variation," "dicolon abundans," etc.). On the adjective note above *ad* 192. The "inrush of light" of light will destroy Cacus, in contrast to how the darkness brought death to Palinurus (so Paschalis 1997, 290). "The result is not madness escaped but rather only revealed" (Putnam 1966, 133).

242 regia, et umbrosae penitus patuere cavernae,

regia: A key term, in prominent position. Servius perceptively thought that the point was that Cacus was deluded enough to think of himself as a king (“*regia, sicut Cacus putabat*”), with comparison of Aeolus from 1.140. “Undertones of despotism” (Eden). Was any local able or inclined to defeat Cacus? The substantive is delayed to contribute to a suspenseful revelation.

For Paschalis and Putnam, the main point of reference is the royal city of Priam and the comparison between Hercules’ actions here and the Greek invasion of Troy (which accomplished something of what Hercules himself had previously done to the perfidious city); on this theme and related assaults on enclosures cf. Rimell 2015, 55. If the point of connection is to Avernus, then the adjective reminds us of Pluto’s role as king of the realm of the dead. “A heroic description of Cacus’ gruesome cave” (Fordyce; cf. Sigdwick’s “the whole description is in the stately heroic style”); Hercules is achieving something of the classic heroic prize of conquering the underworld, even as one is reminded of the ruin of Troy and how history is, in a sense, repeating itself in reverse via the presence of Aeneas in Latium—but the surprise ending of said history will be the announcement of another sort of ruin of Troy and Trojan *mores*. Cf. 244 *regna*, and especially 363 and 654.

umbrosae: See above on 34, the only other use of the adjective in the epic; there it refers to Tiberinus’ *harundo*. Here the main evocation is of the *umbræ* we would associate with the underworld; it anticipates 246 *Manes* (vid. Lyne 1989, 129 on how the image of the souls in the afterlife has “trespassed” into the narrative of Hercules’ defeat of the monster). If Cacus is a god of the underworld, the “shady caverns” are emblematic of his kingdom of shades (i.e., his slaughtered victims).

penitus: Echoed immediately *ad* 243, in the same *sedes*, with strong emphatic force. For the question (or problem) of “iteration” see Eden, with reference to Housman’s remarks in the preface to his Lucan (33): “Horace was as sensitive to iteration as any modern ... Virgil was less sensitive, Ovid much less; Lucan was almost insensible.”

patuere: Another verbal echo of the lower regions: cf. 6.81 *ostia iamque domus patuere ingentia centum*.

cavernae: For the idea that the present description introduces the image of a volcanic crater, see Daubeny 1826, 129.

243 non secus ac si qua penitus vi terra dehiscens

For the simile note Hornsby 1970, 115, with consideration of the typological idea that Cacus’ *regia tecta* represents the “antithesis” of the civilizing influence of the future Rome that is prefigured in Evander’s Pallanteum. The image is bor-

rowed from Homer, *Il.* 20.61 ff., of Hades' fear that Poseidon's earthquakes might open up and reveal his infernal kingdom (see further Edwards ad loc.); Macrobius used the imitation as an example of how Virgil sometimes changes the arrangement of his Homeric model and makes it in some way appear different (*Sat.* 5.16.12–14). The present passage was an influence on Ovid, *Met.* 5.356 ff. (where see Bömer), of the underworld god's inspection of the stability of his reign, and Cupid's exploitation of the rare opportunity of striking Pluto with his arrow. Cacus had chthonic associations, and in some traditions was apparently an underworld deity; here we may compare the intriguing evidence of Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.16.16–18, where we learn that it was *nefas* to take up arms at a time when the *mundus* was open, i.e., when access to the underworld was possible (see here Kaster ad loc.; the dates were 24 July; 5 October; 8 November). Such times were sacred to Dis and Proserpina, and, Macrobius notes, it was thought better not to be in battle when the doors of the underworld were open (no doubt due to easier access for the dead). Macrobius cites Varro for a similar prohibition on setting sail or marriage. The dates come from Festus (145L), where the July date is identified as the day after the Vulcanalia. Is there an allusion here to Hercules' engaging in combat on a day when it was forbidden to do battle except out of strict necessity?

More generally on the katabastic actions of Hercules in the present sequence, see Nelis 2001, 237. If Cacus and Mercury have affinities (at least as fellow cattle rustlers), we might note their underworld connection (i.e., the Arcadian god's psychopompic role). If Hercules were some sort of underworld hero who visits the realm of the dead, he will bring no souls back with him, as it were (cf. Orpheus' failure with Eurydice and the lone heifer whose voice cries from the cavern). The original purpose of his return—the response to the cry of the lost animal—is almost forgotten in the violent drama of the single combat (cf. below on 263–264).

non secus ac: Cf. *G.* 3.346; *A.* 8.391 below; 10.272; 12.856; also Horace, *AP* 149; Ovid, *Met.* 8.162; 15.180; Persius, s. 1.66; Statius, *Theb.* 2.236; 3.255; 6.186; 10.619; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 7.459.

si qua: Possibly of the “mysterious nature of the agency” (Conington); Virgil's simile does not recall a specific occasion on which the underworld was so threatened (no such imagery in the Hesiodic gigantomachy). The placement of *penitus* emphasizes the deeply felt power of the enigmatic force.

terra: The gaping earth is what is responsible for exposing the souls of the underworld to the light of the upper air; we might think of *Entellus*, the victor in the boxing match. The fall of *Entellus* was compared to the collapse of a tree in Arcadia or Troy; the present combat is illustrated with the picture of the very rupture and opening of the realm of Dis.

dehiscens: For the verb see Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.142; also with *terrae* at *G.* 1.479; 3.432; *A.* 10.675–676; Apuleius, *Met.* 9.34.3–4; cf. Lucan, *BC* 1.645; Seneca, *Oed.* 582 (with Boyle’s note on the “gaping of the earth” as a means of chthonic travel); Apuleius, *Met.* 1.15.15; 9.34.3–4; Silius, *Pun.* 17.607. Livy has *indehiscentem intervallis hostium aciem equites emisisset* (29.2.7.2).

244 *infernās reseret sedes et regna recludat*

A powerfully alliterative line (*infernās ... reseret ... regna recludat*), on which see Dainotti 2015, 107–108. The kingdom of the lower world is revealed (at least in simile): the combat of Hercules and Cacus takes on even grander associations.

infernās ... sedes: The phrase (in the singular) is Accian (*Alcmeo* fr. 24–25 Warmington/62–63 Ribbeck *Quod di in sedem infernam penitus | Depressum altis clausere specis*); Cf. Propertius, *c.* 4.11.3; Ovid, *Met.* 3.504; 4.433; Seneca, *Phoen.* 207–208; Statius, *Theb.* 11.60; rare in prose. For the epigraphic *comparanda* see Hoogma 1959, 305.

reseret: The verb occurs also at 7.612–613 *ipse Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino | insignis reserat stridentia limina consul*; 12.584 *urbem alii reserare iubent et pandere portas* (of the diverse opinions of what to do in the face of Aeneas’ assault on Latinus’ capital). The language is reminiscent of that which is associated in Christian poetry with the harrowing of hell; cf. the Holy Saturday Matins responsory *Hodie portas mortis et seras pariter Salvator noster dirupit; destruxit quidem claustra inferni, et subvertit potentias diaboli*.

P, R, Apronianus’ correction of M, and other witnesses attest to the indicative *reserat* here. The retained indicative would add greater vividness here, but the subjunctive is necessary with *recludat* (where there is no textual confusion).

sedes: A word associated with security at mid-line, to anchor the verse— but Cacus’ “seat” has now been exposed.

regna: For the noun with *pallida* cf. Lucan, *BC* 1.455–456 *non tacitas Erebi sedes Ditisque profundi | pallida regna petunt*; Silius, *Pun.* 11.472. The underworld *regna* recall the *regia* of 242.

recludat: The verb occurs 10× in the epic (3× in the *G.*); it is associated elsewhere with the end of both Dido (4.646) and Turnus (12.924); cf. 1.358–359 *auxiliumque viae veteres tellure recludit | thesauros* (of Dido before the departure for Africa); the related uses of *reclusis* at 3.92 and 4.63 (in oracular and haruspical contexts); 7.617 ... *tristisque recludere portas* (of the *Belli Portae*); 9.423–424 ... *simul ense recluso | ibat in Euryalum* (of Volcens); 9.675–676 (of the mad decision of Pandarus and Bitias to open the Trojan camp to Turnus’ assault); 10.601 (of Aeneas’ killing of Lucagus). With *reseret* there is a strong reminiscence of the description of the opening of the Janus gates that heralds war.

245 *pallida, dis invisā, superque immane barathrum*

pallida: See above on 197. For the force of the adjective here see Fordyce; it is poetic and not particularly common (2× in Plautus and Catullus; 4× in Propertius). The connection here is principally to the *ora* of Cacus' victims, casualties who are now among the *Manes* in the lower regions. For the prominent placement of the adjective see Dainotti 2015, 107–108. The semantic connection of the name Pallas is also perhaps in the poet's mind here, as he advances toward his theme of the premature death of the young Arcadian hero.

dis invisā: The kingdom of Dis is unseen by the immortals above, and indeed hateful to them; here and at 246 *cernatur* the power of visual image and spectacle continues.

super: Eden distinguishes between the literal meaning of "above" (i.e., from the point of view of the inhabitants of the underworld), and the sense of *desuper*, "from above" (with reference to those on earth or in the heavens); Lyne 1989, 128 *seq.* For a different view see Henry; cf. Smith 2005, 150 (on the "vertical eye movement" of the viewer). On the possible foreshadowing of Apollo at Actium, see Putnam 1966, 223n22. Note also below on 249 *desuper*.

immane: Here with a play on 246 *Manes*; the underworld is vast, and it is full of souls. The adjective also continues the emphasis on Cacus' immense size.

barathrum: The noun appears also at 3.421–422 ... *atque imo barathri tergurgite vastos / sorbet in abruptum fluctus* (of Charybdis); 3× in Plautus; 2× in Catullus (c. 68B1.108 and 117) and Horace (*Serm.* 2.3.166; *Ep.* 1.15.31); also 3× in Lucretius (*DRN* 6.606; 3.966); note there especially the mysterious vocative *baratre* of 3.955 (with Kenney ad loc. and Sedley 2003, 60–61). Not particularly common in Argentine epic (though used of the infernal regions by Valerius Flaccus at *Arg.* 2.86 and 192). "An old borrowing from Greek" (Fordyce). The noun can be associated with gluttony, greed and excess; also the locus of the punishment of criminals (as at Athens).

For the idea that the kingdom of Dis must be brought into line with that of Jupiter, see Cairns 1989, 27–28 (with comment also on how Proserpina can be referred to as the infernal Juno at 6.138, so that the inveterate divine enemy of the Trojans is associated with the underworld).

246 *cernatur, trepident immisso lumine Manes.*

cernatur: On this favorite verb of Virgil see R. Lamacchia in *EV* 1, 748–749; cf. below on 676 *cernere erat* (of the images on the shield); also 516. Cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.464 *et Styga transmisso tacitam deprendere visu* (with Galli's note).

trepident: Cf. 2.685 *nos pavidi trepidare metu* (in the wake of the Iulus fire portent); 4.121 *dum trepidant alae saltusque indagine cingunt* (at Dido's hunt);

6.491 *ingenti trepidare manu* (of the Greek souls in the underworld); 9.114 *ne trepidate meas, Teucrici, defendite navis* (of Cybele); 9.147 ... *et mecum invadit trepidantia castra* (Turnus to his men); 9.538 *turbati trepidare intus* (of the Trojans in their camp); 10.788 ... *et trepidanti fervidus instat* (Aeneas with Mezentius); 12.403 *nequiquam trepidat* (of Iapyx with the wounded Aeneas); 12.737 (of Turnus). The asyndeton some have perceived here led Wagner to follow *-que* of the Romanus (Conington *seq.*; also Forbiger); the very nervousness of the souls on account of the sudden infusion of light might be expressed more vividly by the absence of any connective. The Romanus actually reads *trepidantque* here (cf. above on a similar problem with 244 *reseret*); Wagner read the subjunctive but added the enclitic from R. Sabbadini notes that Virgil was a great lover of asyndeton, and that the *librarii* took away his beloved construction; cf. Götte: “nach Sa beseitigen die librarii durch Einführung bald von *que* bald von *et* von Vergil bevorzugten asyndeta.” “Rather more impressive” without the connective (so Sidgwick).

For consideration of the idea that the verb stands in an apodosis to what precedes, see Eden (*contra* Conington’s “not to be thought of”). Note also 4–5 above, of the “nervous tumult” in Latium as the call to arms is raised.

immisso lumine: The phrase is imitated by Seneca at *Med.* 232; here the ghosts are envisioned as being nervous and anxious once light is admitted into their dark abode. On this image Servius compares Lucan, *BC* 6.743–744 ... *inmittam ruptis Titana cavernis, | et subito feriere die*; note also Propertius, c. 4.9.41 *atque uni Stygias homini luxisse tenebras* (on which see J. Warden, “Epic into Elegy: Propertius 4, 9, 70 f.,” in *Hermes* 110.2 (1982), 228–242, 237); Seneca, *HF* 292 ff. (with Fitch 1987); Statius, *Theb.* 7.817 (with Smolenaars’ note); Prudentius, *Lib. Cath.* 9.77 *dum stupentibus tenebris candidum praestat diem* (of the harrowing of hell); for the possible influence of the present scene on *Beowulf* 1563–1572a (of the supernatural appearance of light after the decapitation of the *mere-wif*), see Haydock and Ridsen 2013, 46.

Manes: On these souls of the dead see Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.99; E. Montanari in *EV* III, 339–340; R.F. Thomas in *EV* II, 783–784; Negri 1984, 85 ff., etc. The souls in the dead are not supposed to be trembling because of a sudden infusion of light; the action of Hercules has shades of a violation of the natural order. On how Virgil transfers the Homeric fears of the underworld god to the infernal king’s subjects, see D.C. Innes, “Gigantomachy and Natural Philosophy,” in *CQ* 29.1 (1979), 165–171, 169n2 (on “corrections” of Homer).

247–267 Hercules fights Cacus from his lofty vantage point; the son of Vulcan uses his native weapons of fire and smoke to assail his foe. Hercules soon enough descends into the cavern to grapple with Cacus directly; he strangles

the monster and chokes the life out of him. The stolen animals are exposed to the light of heaven; the massive corpse of the defeated giant offers an impressively grand and grim spectacle of its own.

“Cacus is prehistoric evil, Hercules a prehistoric knight-errant” (Di Cesare 1974, 146). Soon enough Aeneas and his Trojan companions will be a perhaps uncomfortable audience to the reminder that Hercules also destroyed Troy (cf. on 290–291 below).

247 *ergo insperata deprensus luce repente*

ergo: A matter of fact connective, as Evander returns to the narrative of what happened between Hercules and the Vulcanian giant.

insperata ... luce: Cf. Cacus’ hope of concealment of his theft (which was betrayed by the sound of a single heifer) at 218 *spem custodita fefellit*. The unexpected light neatly frames the monster as he is suddenly caught. *Luce* is the original reading of M, P, the Wolfenbüttel, g and n; the Romanus, Tib., the bulk of the cursives and the corrected Medicean, etc. have *in luce*. Cacus was caught by the sudden light, and also *in* the light; the difference is admittedly not very great. If Cacus were thought to be blind (at least metaphorically), then here Hercules infuses his darkness with unexpected (and unwelcome) light. The imagery is nightmarish; Hercules brings welcome light to the dark, hitherto perpetually nocturnal abode of Cacus. For the folkloric associations of Hercules as subduer of nightmares and other bogies, see Hordern on Sophron, fr. 67–68, 72 (with commentary on Hercules’ place in the traditional lore of Magna Graecia).

deprensus: Echoing Aeneas’ comment at 5.52 *Argolicove mari deprensus et urbe Mycenae* about his faithfulness to the memorial rites for his father; cf. 5.273 *qualis saepe viae deprensus in aggere serpens* (of the serpent in the simile that describes Sergestus’ damaged vessel); 10.97–98 ... *ceu flamina prima / cum deprensa fremunt silvis* (of the simile that illustrates the reaction to the diverse opinions at the divine council); also G. 421 *deprensus olin statio tutissima nautis*.

repente: Echoing 238.

248 *inclusumque cavo saxo atque insueta rudentem*

inclusum ... rudentem: The accusative participles frame the verse. There is something of an effective paradox in the description of Cacus as being trapped in a cavern that is, after all, hollow (*cavo*). *Inclusum* is also used at 12.749 of Turnus as Aeneas pursues him. The defensive fortification of the stony lair is now a death trap for the enclosed giant.

cavo saxo: So also of the Sibyl’s cave with her fluttering prophetic leaves (3.450 *numquam deinde cavo volitantia prendere saxo*); we may be reminded of

the lore that connected Cacus with fortune telling and prognostication. With the ablative cf. 2.45; 3.352; 4.364, etc. For the construction with a simple ablative and no preposition see Antoine 1882, 226 ff.

insueta rudentem: For the participle cf. the “groaning prow” (so Horsfall) at 3.561–562 ... *primusque rudentem* / *contorsit laevas proram Palinurus ad undas*; the very different 7.16 *vincla recusantum et sera sub nocte rudentum* (of Circe’s transformed lions); *G.* 3.374 (of a dying stag). For the adverbial accusative see Antoine 1882, 50–51. *Rudere* is almost a technical term for the braying of asses, as Thomas and Fordyce note in their respective notes ad loc. (following Servius’ “nam rudere proprie asinorum est”); here it adds to the depiction of Cacus as a *semihomo* beast. For how Cacus here becomes like the cattle he has stolen, see Davies 1988, 287; we may compare Laocoön at 223–224 *qualis mugitus*, etc. The referent for the unaccustomed sound is not expressed; one might have the impression that Cacus had never been so threatened before, so that the auditory reaction is unprecedented. “Insueta ideo, quia numquam ad tantam necessitatem venerat” (Tib.).

For *insuetus* cf. above on 92, of the grove that was not accustomed to sights such as that of Aeneas’ two ships.

249 *desuper Alcides telis premit, omniaque arma*

desuper: Cf. 245 *super*; also the different sense of *super* at 251. Attacks from above associate Hercules with the sky god Jupiter.

Alcides: For the name (and its semantic connection with the bringing of help) see on 203; 219.

telis premit: So also of the crowd that hunts a lion in the simile that describes the Trojan attack on Turnus in their camp (9.792–793 ... *ceu saevum turba leonem* / *cum telis premit infensis*)—another link between Cacus and Turnus. Gransden sees a connection between Hercules and the Aeneas of Troy (2.467–468, where stones and weapons fly without ceasing); he considers Hercules to be an intermediary figure between *Aeneas Troianus* and *Aeneas Italicus*; it can be asked whether Virgil ever presents Aeneas with the latter ethnic designation. Fordyce distinguishes between Hercules’ usual *sagittae* and the more improvised weapons described at 250; Conington asserts that *telis* can refer either to the hero’s arrows, or to weapons more generally. See Henry here for the development of theme and then first and second variation.

omniaque arma: Cf. 220–221 ... *rapit arma manu nodique gravatum* / *robur*. The metrical rhythm nicely expresses the confused mass of weapons that Hercules summons to battle the giant.

250 **advocat et ramis vastisque molaribus instat.**

advocat: The verb occurs only here and at 5.44 *advocat Aeneas tumulique ex aggere fatur*, where the Trojan hero addresses his men from a lofty eminence (cf. Hercules' position here). We may wonder to whom Hercules is making his appeal; there has been no mention of any companion or assistant, and no indication that the local population is anywhere near Cacus' lair; is Hercules to be imagined as calling in the heat of battle to anyone who will listen? And if so, could anyone have been expected to provide him with boulders as large as millstones? In any case, Hercules more than manages to provide himself with his own weapons from the landscape.

ramis: Cf. Euripides, *Heracles* 470–471 (with König 1970, 402).

vastis: A key word at mid-verse; the emphasis throughout is on the larger than life nature of the combat, and the adjective is taken with both the branches and the boulders.

molaribus: The rare, poetic word (only here in Virgil) describes a rock or boulder of the size of a millstone (cf. Homer, *Il.* 7.270; also 12.160ff., with Hainsworth); cf. Ovid, *Met.* 3.59–60 ... *dixit dextraque molarem / sustulit et magnum magno conamine misit* (with Bömer's note); Tacitus' *dispositos ad id ipsum molares* (*Hist.* 2.22.2). See Eden for the depiction of a hero from a former age who is endowed with superhuman strength.

instat: Cf. Pyrrhus at 2.491 *instat vi patria Pyrrhus*; 9.171 ... *instat Mnestheus acerque Serestus*; 9.350 ... *hic furto fervidus instat* (of Euryalus in the night raid); 9.441–442 ... *instat non setius ac rotat ensem / fulmineum* (of Nisus); 10.195–196 ... *ille / instat* (in the description of the Centaurus with its siege works); 10.433 ... *hinc Pallas instat et urget*; 10.645 *instat cui Turnus*; 10.657 ... *nec Turnus segnior instat*; 10.788 ... *et trepidanti fervidus instat* (of Aeneas); 12.751 *venator cursu canis et latratibus instat* (in a simile describing Aeneas' pursuit of Turnus); 12.762 ... *et saucius instat* (of Aeneas); 12.783 ... *dum nititur acer et instat* (of Aeneas as he struggles to remove the spear from Faunus' tree); 12.887 *Aeneas instat contra*.

251 **ille autem, neque enim fuga iam super ulla pericli,**

The cavern is now a fatal prison; Cacus has no means of escape. *Ille autem* returns the narrative to the giant, as he now faces the full onslaught of Hercules' attack from above.

enim: On this "causal coordinating conjunction" see Pinkster 2015, 12.

super: As at 7.559–760 ... *ego, si qua super fortuna laborum est, / ipsa regam* (of Juno with Allecto, where we might think of a sort of tmesis of *superest*). For *super* as an adverb see Pinkster 2015, 1228–1229; here it seems better to think of it as a syncopated form of the verb.

pericli: The line-end is reminiscent of 5.716 ... *pericli est*, and the Palatinus and several Carolingians attest to the same conclusion here. See Eden for the unexceptional omission of the copulative verb; there is no need to assume that its absence reflects something of the heightened state of anxiety as the giant seeks some means of flight, though that sentiment may lurk. Cacus' situation stands in contrast to that described by Evander at 188–189 *periclis / servati*.

252 *faucibus ingentem fumum (mirabile dictu)*

faucibus: The volcanic eruption must be choked off, as it were. Aeneas' voice is stuck in his throat at 2.774, as he is confronted by the shade of Creüsa; cf. 3.48 (at Polydorus' grave); 4.280 (Aeneas in light of Mercury's admonition); 12.868 (Turnus' reaction to the descent of the Dira). Parallel to the present scene is 6.240–241 ... *talis sese halitus atris / faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat* (of Avernus and its noxious fumes); cf. 6.372 *vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci* (of the location of the monsters on the threshold of hell); and especially the fire-breathing Chimaera emblem that Turnus bears at 7.786 *sustinet Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis*. The present fires and camouflage smoke will be quenched by 267 below (... *extinctos faucibus ignis*).

ingentem fumum: The smoke is huge because the monster is so massive; fire and smoke are associated with the ruin of Troy and the fiery threats to the Trojan fleet from both the women in Sicily, and Turnus at the threshold of the Trojan camp in Book 9. Effective fricative alliteration, as the fiery smoke is belched forth as the monster's last hope.

mirabile dictu: A note of particularly magical, supernatural force: Cacus was able to breathe fire and smoke in defense against Hercules' improvised attack. The famous phrase is also used at *G.* 2.30–31 *quin et caudicibus sectis mirabile dictu / truditur e sicco radice oleagina ligno*; *G.* 3.274–275 *exceptantque levis auras, et saepe sine ullis / coniugiis vento gravidae mirabile dictu*, etc.; *G.* 4.554–555 *hic vero subitum ac dictu mirabile monstrum / aspiciunt* (of the Bugonia); *A.* 1.439–440 *infert se saeptus nebula mirabile dictu / per medios* (Aeneas in the Venusian mist at the site of Carthage); 2.174–175 ... *terque ipsa solo mirabile dictu / emicuit* (of the Palladium); 2.680 *cum subitum dictuque oritur mirabile monstrum* (of the Iulus portent); 3.26 *horrendum et dictu video mirabile monstrum* (at Polydorus' grave); 4.182 *tot vigiles oculi subter mirabile dictu* (of Fama); 7.64–65 *huius apes summum densae mirabile dictu / stridore ingenti liquidum trans aethera vectae* (of the bee portent). Of mixed associations, then; twice in apian connections; twice of horrendous monsters (Fama and Cacus); once each of magic events in connection with Aeneas and his son. Cf. also *Ps.-V.*, *Ciris* 120; *Livy* 7.26.5.1; 9.29.10.1; *Ovid, Met.* 14.406; *Lucan, BC* 5.672.

See Henry for this new example of theme, first variation, second variation.

253 *evomit involvitque domum caligine caeca*

evomit: The only appearance of the verb in Virgil; cf. Ps.-V., *Aetna* 411 *vix umquam reddit vires atque evomit ignem*; Manilius, *Astron.* 5.672; Ovid, *Met.* 15.513. The verb is echoed at 259 *vana vomentem*.

involvit: The verb is also used of the power of darkness at 3.198–199 *involvere diem nimbi et nox umida caelum | abstulit*; cf. 2.250–251 ... *nox | involvens umbra magna terramque polumque*; the metaphorical 6.100 *obscuris vera involvens* (of the Sibyl); 6.336 *obruit Auster, aqua involvens namque virosque*; the battle scene at 12.292. Exactly parallel, though, is 7.76–77 ... *tum fumida lumine fulvo | involvit ac totis Vulcanum spargere tectis*, of Lavinia's fire portent that is interpreted as presaging both fame and the horror of war. A domestic touch in the verb's object; this is Cacus' abode, which he has certainly made into a house of horrors.

caligine caeca: With semantic and etymological force in light of the monster's name. The collocation is Catullan (c. 64.207–208 *ipse autem caeca mentem caligine Theseus | consitus oblito dimisit pectore cuncta*); cf. Cicero's *ut adiment lucem caeca caligine nubes* and *at vero serpentis Hydrae caligine caeca | cervicem oculorum ardentia lumina vestit* (*Arat. Phaen.* 345 and 34.478); his *Arat. Prog.* 1.1–2 *Ut cum luna means Hyperionis officit orbi | stinguuntur radii caeca caligine tecti*; Lucretius, *DRN* 4.456; *Ilias Latina* 308; Ovid, *Met.* 1.70. Virgil uses it of a storm scene at A. 3.203–204 *tris adeo incertos caeca caligine soles | erramus pelago*. Cacus employs a smoke screen, perhaps to aid in his escape, certainly to increase the odds in his favor.

Caligo appears also in Virgil at 6.267 *pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas* (of the mysteries and enigmas of the underworld); at the brilliant word play of 9.35–36 *primus ab adversa conclamat mole Caicus | quis globus, o cives, caligine volvitur atra?*; of the Trojan and Etruscan pyres at 11.186–187 ... *subiectisque ignibus atris | conditur in tenebras altum caligine caelum*; of the dust from the desperate cavalry engagement at 11.876–877 *volvitur ad muros caligine turbidus atra | pulvis*; the powerful 12.466–467 ... *solum densa in caligine Turnum | vestigat lustrans, solum in certamina poscit* (where Aeneas is like Hercules in pursuit of Cacus). The related verb is used at 2.604–606, in Venus' description of how Aeneas has been blinded as to the divine machinations at work in the devastation of Troy.

254 *prospectum eripiens oculis, glomeratque sub antro*

prospectum: The visual emphasis; the “blind” Cacus takes away the power of sight, while Hercules had brought in the light and will soon enough expose the body of the monster for safe viewing (264 ff.). The noun is used elsewhere in Virgil only at 1.180–181 *Aeneas scopulum interea conscendit et omnem | prospectum late pelago petit*.

glomeratque: The verb occurs a dozen times in the epic (4× in the G.); in a sense Cacus attempts a reversal of Hercules' action in opening the cavern—the giant wants to gather fire and smoke thickly, as if in a ball, so as to blind the hero and to create as thick a smoky, fiery shield as possible. Cf. 1.500 *hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades*; 2.315–316 *sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem | cum sociis ardent animi*; 2.727 ... *glomerati examine Grai*; 3.577 *cum gemitu glomerat fundoque exaestuat imo* (of Etna); 4.155 *pulverulenta fua glomerant montisque relinquunt*; 6.311 *quam multae glomerantur aves*; 9.33–34 *hic subitam nigro glomerari pulvere nubem | prospiciunt Teucrici*; 9.440 *quem circum glomerati hostes hinc comminus atque hinc*; 9.538–540 *turbati trepidare intus frustra que malorum | velle fugam dum se glomerant retroque residunt | in partem quae peste caret* (of the scene of the collapse of the tower in the Trojan camp, a passage that has affinities with the present sequence); 9.689 *et iam collecti Troes glomerantur eodem*; 9.791–792 *acrius hoc Teucrici clamore incumbere magno | et glomerare manum* (where Turnus is trapped in the Trojan camp, another scene with affinities to Cacus' entrapment).

Fordyce sees a possible evocation of Ennius, *Hectoris Lytra* fr. 167 Jocelyn *ecce autem caligo oborta est; omnem prospectum abstulit*: "This fragment seems to describe an encounter between two warriors; while one is temporarily blinded, the other takes to his heels."

Is there a play here on *Cacus/caecus*?

255 **fumiferam noctem commixtis igne tenebris.**

fumiferam: A possible Virgilian coinage, very much in the Lucretian and old epic style; cf. 9.521–522 *parte alia horrendus visu quassabat Etruscam | pinum et fumiferos infert Mezentius ignis*; also *Ilias Latina* 599 *fumiferae nubes*; Lucan, *BC* 7.193; Statius, *Theb.* 8.466; Silius, *Pun.* 13.570. The night and the darkness essentially (and effectively) frame the line; for the collocation cf. 658.

commixtis: At 3.632–633 *immensus saniem eructans et frustra cruento | per somnum commixta mero* it describes the gruesome activities of the Cyclops; at 4.120 *his ego nigrantem commixta grandine nimbium* it is used of Juno's description of what she will do at Dido's hunt; cf. 4.161 ... *insequitur commixta grandine nimbus*, of the storm that she engenders that will witness the fateful union of Trojan and Carthaginian. At 6.761–762 ... *primus ad auras | aetherias Italo commixtus sanguine surget* it is employed of Silvius, the son of Aeneas and Lavinia. Similar to the present use is 9.75–76 ... *piceum fert fumida lumen | taeda et commixtam Volcanus ad astra favillam*, in the description of Turnus' plan to burn the Trojan fleet. At 12.618 a *commixtum clamorem* reaches Turnus' ears in the wake of Aeneas' plan to destroy Latinus' city. But most significantly, at 12.835–836 ... *commixti corpore tantum | subsident Teucrici* it describes Jupiter's

announcement of the suppression of Trojan *sermo* and *mores* in the future Italian settlement. Twice, then, of the union of Troy and Italy (1× in 6 and 1× in 12 in balanced order, first of the mixed Trojan/Italian son of Aeneas and Lavinia, and then a detail about that bodily/sanguinary union); twice in Vulcanian contexts (of Cacus and then of Turnus); 2× of the storm that will provide cover for the doomed relationship/union of Aeneas and Dido. The eighth *Aeneid* is the second book of the second half of the epic; it recalls the second book of the first half in its allusions to the problem of the rise and fall of cities.

igne: Cacus was fire-breathing; he did not merely employ smoke, but also the fire that naturally produces the smoke. The scene is one of a dark, fiery hell; the fire would normally provide light, but the enclosed space makes it easy to produce thick, black smoke.

tenebris: Echoed in the darkness of 259.

256 non tulit Alcides animis seque ipse per ignem

non tulit: An expression of impatience and contempt for the monster's latest trick; on language introducing expressions of vengeance, see Heyworth and Morwood on 3.623–629. Alcides' reaction presages the eventual fiery end of the mortal life of the hero. Cf. Tib.: "his Alcides magnanimus terreri non potuit." We may ask here and throughout the episode the question of how well Hercules fits the model of what we might call the "ideal king"; on this topos in Virgil (with particular reference to the depiction of Hercules and Cacus) see J.A.S. Evans, "The *Aeneid* and the Concept of the Ideal King: The Modification of an Archetype," in Wilhelm and Jones 1992, 146–156, 147–148.

animis: Cf. 228 *ecce furens animis aderat Tiryntius*. "En sa colère Alcide ne le supporta pas" (Heuzé's *Pléiade*); cf. Ahl's "rage."

seque ipse per ignem: A strong emphasis on how the enraged hero throws his very self through the fire in order to meet Cacus on level ground. We might think of Sophocles, *Trach.* 1013–1014, where the suffering Heracles begs to be killed by fire or sword (see Easterling's note, with reference to Euripides, *HF* 1151–1152 and Sophocles, *Phil.* 800, where the title hero prays for a volcanic death (on which see Schein ad loc.); Philoctetes was closely associated with the tradition of Heracles' end), and his instructions to Hyllus about the preparation of a pyre for his self-immolation. One wonders if there is a purificatory element to the implied self-purging. "Contempsit incendia" (Tib.).

For the traditions of the death of Heracles see Gantz 1993, 457 ff.; the last stages of the adventures of the hero were associated closely with the sack of Oechalia (on which see below *ad* 291, where it is named alongside Troy in an interesting juxtaposition that takes us through different stages of the Heraclian *résumé*). Beyond the complete account in Sophocles' *Trach.*, our sources

include Seneca's *Hercules Oetaeus*; also Ovid, *Met.* 9.101–272. Homer seems to think of Heracles as an underworld denizen: so the implications of *Il.* 18.117–119; *Od.* 11.601–604 offers an *eidolon* of Heracles in the underworld.

With Hercules' jump through the flames we may compare also the fire-walking Apollonian *cultor* Arruns at 11.787–788 ... *et medium freti pietate per ignem | cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna.*

257 praecipiti iecit saltu, qua plurimus undam

praecipiti ... saltu: Cf. Lucan, *BC* 3.750; also Quintus Curtius Rufus 9.5.2.2 *Namque in urbem hostium praecipiti saltu semet ipse immisit* (of Alexander; a likely imitation of the present scene).

iecit: So M and R; P reads *iniecit* along with most of Ribbeck's cursives. On the possible origins of the confusion see Conington.

plurimus: The superlative emphasizes how Hercules leaps into the most dangerous (and thus least expected) place: the very thick of the smoke and fiery haze.

undam: Vid. Servius *ad* 2.609 ... *mixto undante pulvere fumum*, "undantem aut abundantem, aut quia in modum undarum attolitur ...", a passage that comes in the midst of the destruction of the fall of Troy; cf. also *G.* 1.472 *vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam*; *A.* 12.471 *ipsa subit manibusque undantis flectit habenas*; 672–673 *Ecce autem flammis inter tabulata volutus | ad caelum undabat vertex turrimque tenebat*. The metaphor from waves and the motion of water introduces a strong element of contrast into the fiery scene. A brilliant touch of a reminder by the poet that there is no cooling water to quench the fire.

258 fumus agit nebulaque ingens specus aestuat atra.

nebula ... atra: As at 2.356–357 ... *inde, lupi ceu | raptores atra in nebula* (in the simile that describes Trojan fighters in the last hours of their city). The black cloud literally envelops the huge cave; the metrical rhythm of *nebulaque ingens* helps to enact the effect.

ingens: Further accumulation of emphatic details about immense size.

specus: For the noun/adjective combination cf. on 241 above. *Ingens specus* is Pacuvian (*Pylades* fr. 87 Warmington *Est ibi eo saxo penitus strata harena ingens specus*); cf. *G.* 4.418; also the description of the underworld entrance at *A.* 7.568–570. The phrase is also imitated by Grattius (*Cyn.* 430–431 *est in Trinacria specus ingens rupe cavique | introrsum reditus*); Petronius, *Sat.* 89.1vs.7 *aperitur ingens antrum et obducti specus*; Seneca, *HF* 94; Statius, *Theb.* 7.818.

aestuat: Cf. 6.296–297 *turbidus hic caeno vastaque voragine gurges | aestuat atque omnem Cocyto eructat harenam* (with Horsfall's notes on the "formidable

accumulation of detail”); the metaphorical use at 10.870–871 ... *aestuat ingens / uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu* (of Mezentius); the identical expression to describe Turnus at 12.665–666.

atra: On the color see above on 198–199, of the black flames that Cacus breathes forth.

With the vivid description of the twin hazards of smoke and fire, cf. Silius, *Pun.* 12.135–137 ... *tellus, atro exundante vapore / suspirans ustisque diu calefacta medullis, / aestuat et Stygios exhalat in aëra flatus*.

259 hic Cacus in tenebris incendia vana vomentem

tenebris: As at 255. Virgil once again plays on the semantic register of blindness: now Cacus is depicted as being in a darkness of his own making, and there will be no escape.

incendia: Catullan (c. 64.226; also c. 23.9); Lucretian (*DRN* 1.903 ... *creant incendia silvis*); 4.872 ... *quae stomacho praebent incendia nostro*; 5.609; cf. *G.* 2.311; the metaphorical *A.* 1.566 *virtutesque virosque aut tanti incendia belli* (of Dido's comments on the Trojans); 2.329; 2.569; 2.706 (of the ruin of Troy); 5.680 (of the attempted burning of the Trojan fleet); 9.71; 9.77 (of the same episode with Turnus); 10.406 (in a simile).

vana: “quantum ad Herculem pertinet” (Servius). We might think of Messapus, who was immune to fire and the sword (7.691–692). There is no indication in Virgil of how Hercules managed to escape all harm from the Vulcanian force; there may be a hint of the tradition of the god's victorious *per ignem ad astra* apotheosis.

vomentem: Cf. 253 *evomit*.

260 corripit in nodum complexus, et angit inhaerens

corripit in nodum: We might think of the knots on the heavy Herculean club (220–221 ... *nodisque gravatum / robur*); here the fearless hero seizes the monster and immediately embraces him in a knot-like hold or vise. There may be an allusion to the Herculean victory over the Libyan giant Antaeus; at Pindar, *Isth.* 4.52 ff., the poet describes how Antaeus would use the skulls of his victims to line the roof of Poseidon's temple (Pindar seems to conflate Antaeus with Busiris); the classic extant account is Lucan, *BC* 4.589–660. Antaeus is another type of the gigantomachy. For the evocation of the infant Heracles' slaying of serpents (vid. 289 below) see Apostol 2009, 30 ff., with study of Theocritus, *Id.* 24 (for the story cf. also Pindar, *Nem.* 1.37 ff.). In Theocritus there is also an emphasis on the spreading of light (*Id.* 24.22), which is shed on the scene by Zeus' careful watching; there is a mention of how the gods hate the venom of the serpents (29; cf. 245 *dis invisā* above). “The miracu-

lous element is confined to the illumination" (Gow ad loc.). The connection to the world of the wrestling arena was recognized already by Tib. ("haec species in imitationem venit in agone certantibus"). Cf. Euripides, *Heracles* 154.

complexus: So of Pallas with Evander at 582 below; also of the disguised Cupid/Ascanius with Aeneas (1.715); of Dido's wish that Aeneas might be torn from the embrace of Iulus (4.616); of Aeneas' lament that his father's shade has fled from his embrace (5.742).

angit: So of Cybele's stress over the fate of her sacred trees at 9.89 ... *nunc sollicitam timor anxius angit*; cf. *G.* 3.496–497 ... *et quatit aegros / tussis anhela sues ac faucibus angit obesis*. See Eden for the use of the verb of mental anguish and emotional distress.

inhaerens: Cf. 124 above. Elsewhere in Virgil the verb is used of Mezentius' embrace of the dead Lausus (10.845 ... *et corpore inhaeret*). The participles coordinate to describe the tightness of the fatal embrace.

See Eden for detailed metrical analysis of this line, in particular on the "premature ending" achieved by the trochaic caesura in the fourth and fifth feet, with coincidence of ictus and accent for *et angit*—an effect that here may reproduce something of the force of the hero's choking of the giant.

261 *elisos oculos et siccum sanguine guttur.*

elisos: So at 289, of the subduing of the snakes; cf. 3.567 *ter spumam elisam et rorantia astra videmus* (of the approach to the land of the Cyclopes). Cf. *Ps.-V., Aetna* 560–561 ... *his viribus additur ingens / spiritus adstrictis elisos faucibus*; Ovid, *Her.* 9.85–86 *scilicet immanes elisis faucibus hydros / infantem caudis involuisse manum*; *Met.* 14.738 *atque onus infelix elisa fauce pependit*; *Velleius* 2.4.5.5 ... *ita ut quaedam elisarum faucium in cervice reperirentur notae*; *Lucan, BC* 2.154 *hic laqueo fauces elisaque guttura fregit*; *Seneca, Dial.* 1.6.9.6–7 ... *sive fauces nodus elisit*; *Ep.* 70.20.6 ... *et interclusis faucibus spiritum elisit*; *Nat. Quaest.* 6.28.1.9 ... *et non aliter quam per vim elisae fauces tument*. Servius records that "multi" read *elidens* here, perhaps in reaction to the zeugma of having 260 *angit* govern both the eyes and the throat (it is only properly used with the latter); see Eden for the "stylistic impossibility" of a second participle after *inhaerens*. On the force of the participle Henry comments: "... the throttling, the garrotting, in the same way as the juice is squeezed out of the grape by the pressure of the feet, or by the winepress ..."

oculos: For the squeezing out of the eyes note Plautus, *Rud.* 659 *iube oculos elidere* (of a threatened throttling in the manner of how cooks handle cuttlefish). For the comic influence on the present description, see J.T. Welsh in *VE* 1, 287.

siccum sanguine guttur: Reminiscent of the dry throats of the wolf pups at 2.357–358 *exegit saecos rabies catulique relictī | faucibus exspectant siccis*; cf. Lucan, *BC* 6.552–553 ... *morsusque luporum | exspectat siccis raptura e faucibus artus*; Seneca, *HF* 752–753 *in amne medio faucibus siccis | sectatur undas*; Juvenal, s. 13.212; Silius, *Pun.* 2.683–684. The strangulation has a particular point here; Hercules seeks to eliminate the threat from the monster's fire-breathing trick. It is also appropriate in light of the monster's wish to suffocate Hercules with the smoke. The monster's blood is here perhaps equated with his life force and spirit (though see Conington's note on the stoppage of blood); cf. Servius' "per hoc iam examine cadaver ostendit." Henry takes the point to be that Hercules has deprived Cacus of the blood of potential victims (including perhaps of the stolen animals?); with this interpretation cf. below on 9.64. "Blood was the ordinary repast of Cacus." There may be implications of cannibalism in Virgil's account, but there is no direct evidence of his feasting on human flesh; as for animal, the fate of the rustled cattle is left somewhat ambiguous, though at 263–264 there is certainly no scene of the aftermath of a bloody slaughter and feast.

At 9.64 *ex longo rabies et siccae sanguine fauces*, Turnus outside the Trojan camp is compared to a wolf that longs to devour the lambs that are safe with their mothers; the description of the lupine Turnus offers something of a reversal of the present image (unless we are to agree with Henry that the point here is Cacus' being deprived of his sanguinary diet).

In Propertius (c. 4.9.15–16) Cacus is fatally smitten on each of his three heads by Hercules' club; in Ovid (*Fast.* 1.575–576), Hercules smashes Cacus' face not three but four times (for good measure). Dionysius (1.39.4) has a similar scene of clubbing. Dante's Virgil relates: *onde cessar le sue opere biece | sotto la mazza d'Ercule, che forse | gliene diè cento, e non senti le diece* (*Inferno* 25.31–33).

262 *panditur extemplo foribus domus atra revulsis*

panditur: The present detail is echoed at 10.1 *Panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi*, of the opening of the divine council (where see Harrison, and Henry). Cacus' house is an antitype of the Olympian residence of the Jovian gods. For the verb vid. H. Beikircher in *VE* 111, 952–953: "Le prime occorrenze per noi sono Lucr. 1, 55; 5, 54; Catull. 64, 325"; also Rimell 2015, 55n80 (with consideration of the imagery of opening and closure in the epic, especially in connection to the wooden horse/the doomed city of Troy and the Gates of War). A dramatic *tableau* is thus revealed, with cinematic splendor; are we to imagine that the noise of the epic struggle had attracted an audience, however hesitant and cautious? Cf. 241ff. above.

exemplo: See above on 4. The first corrector of the Wolfenbüttel reads *interea* here (possibly a reminiscence of 10.1); P and R have *exemplo* (also Bernensis 165), more inexplicably.

foribus ... revulsis: The torn open doors frame the dark house of the monster. Hercules moves at once to destroying the portal of the cavern from the inside.

For participial uses of *revellere* cf. 691 below (of the hyperbolic description of the Cyclades in the depiction of Actium); 4.515 (of the *hippomanes* love charm); 5.270 (of Sergestus' extrication of his ship from the crag); 5.858 and 6.349 (of the rudder that is torn off when Sleep throws Palinurus overboard); 12.98 (of Turnus' wishes for Aeneas). The finite verb is used at 4.427 (Dido's disavowal of the desecration of Anchises' ashes); 4.545 (of Dido's recollection of those she barely managed to save from Sidon); 9.562 (in the narrative of Turnus' attack on Lycus); 12.787 (of Venus' snatching of Aeneas' spear from Faunus' tree).

domus atra: For the color see on 198–199. The chromatic detail contrasts with the infusion of light from Hercules' shattering of the stone. On the “opposition between light and darkness” in this scene see Tsagalis 2008, 178. The original reading of P was *alta* here (possibly in memory of *G.* 2.461)—but the color imagery is more powerful than the notion of height.

revulsis: Our examination of P seems to indicate that this is the original reading. Geymonat read *revolsis*, with *revulsis* as a later correction.

263 *abstractaeque boves abiurataeque rapinae.*

For the four-word hexameter see on 103; cf. Dainotti 2015, 79–80n261. On the homoeoteleuton and adjective-noun pairs see Gransden. Eden compares 11.870 *disiectique duces desolatique manipuli* (of the reaction to the death of Camilla in the cavalry battle). Virgil is not explicit about the fate of the cattle, but the powerful line (with three words that appear only here in the poet) effectively highlights the reason for the fiery fight.

abstractae: The only occurrence of the verb in Virgil. The cattle were certainly abducted; Tib. thinks that they might well have been killed (“vel occisas”)—in which case the lowing heifer was the last survivor. Cf. Cicero, fr. 40–41 Edwards *haec e Tartarea tenebrica abstractum plaga | tricripitem eduxit Hydra generatum canem?*; Propertius, c. 4.9.41–42 *atque uni Stygias homini luxisse tenebras | et gemere abstractum Dite vetante canem?*; Statius, *Ach.* 1.152–154 ... *ipsi mihi saepe querentur | Centauri raptasque domos abstractaque coram | armenta* ... We may recall here that the cattle “actually belong to neither” (Small 1982, 3)—they were the possession of Geryon.

abiurataeque: Cf. *TLL* 1.0.102.15. Another Virgilian hapax. The meaning has occasioned comment; Servius noted the incongruity of having the cattle described as property that had been entrusted to Cacus for his watchful safe

keeping; Danielis argued that some critics considered the point to be that Cacus had appropriated the cattle and made them part of his own property (i.e., illicitly), and others that the participle referred to the trickery and deceit by which the monster had absconded with his prize. Fordyce considers it a mark of Alexandrian poetic technique that Virgil would refer to an element of the story that he did not, in fact, mention; cf. Dionysius 1.39.3, where Cacus is asked about the missing animals and denies that he has seen them. Would it even have been possible to ask Cacus such a question in the Virgilian account of his self-imprisonment and the unexpected discovery? See further Eden for the Virgilian interest in etymology and the likely correctness of Danielis' interpretation. Cf. Sallust, *Cat.* 25.4.

rapinae: Once again, uniquely here in Virgil. The term may be deliberately provocative in coordination with *abiuratae*; Cacus was a thief and cattle rustler, and whatever "right" or "law" he seemed to be invoking was in fact inappropriately cited and invoked.

264 *caelo ostenduntur, pedibusque informe cadaver*

caelo ostenduntur: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.328–329 *nubila disiecit nimbisque aquilone remotis / et caelo terras ostendit et aethera terris*; Pliny, *NH* 11.150.4 ... *ut neque ab homine supremum eos spectari fas sit et caelo non ostendi nefas* (of Roman burial practices), possibly with reference to the present passage. Here there may be a hint of the hero's calling the heavens to witness that Cacus is guilty of the crime for which he has been slain.

pedibus: Appropriately enough, the body of the monster will be dragged by the very part that was key to the trick of the disguised footprints.

informe: So of the Cyclops Polyphemus at 3.658 *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum*; also of Scylla (3.431–432 *quam semel informem vasto vidisse sub antro / Scyllam*); cf. 6.415–416 *tandem trans fluvium incolumis vatemque virumque / informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulva*; 12.602–603 *purpureos moritura manu discindit amictus / et nodum informis leti trabe nectit ab alta* (of Amata's suicide). The adjective can mean ugly or unsightly (*OLD* s.v. 2; cf. *E.* 2.25 *nec sum adeo informis*); we may compare Turnus, who is explicitly associated with handsome physical appearance (*A.* 7.55–56 ... *ante alios pulcherrimus omnis / Turnus*; 7.649–650 *filius huic iuxta Lausus, quo pulchrior alter / non fuit excepto Laurentis corpore Turni*). There may also be a hint that the monster's appearance constituted something outside the natural order of things; there was no *forma* that was recognizable to human sight.

cadaver: Cf. *TLL* 3.0.12.36. Yet another hapax in the epic; cf. *G.* 3.556–557 *iamque catervatim dat stragem atque aggerat ipsis / in stabulis turpi dilapsus cadavera tabo* (of the the victims of the cattle plague at Noricum; here it is the

cattle thief who provides the corpse). Danielis notes that a *cadaver* is properly used of a body that lacks burial. The noun is Lucretian (*DRN* 2.415; 3.719; 4.680; 6.1155; 6.1274); it occurs 2× in Horace (*Serm.* 1.8.8 and 2.5.85); a noteworthy 36× in Lucan (not surprisingly, given his subject matter and manner); not common in Ovid. Lucan refers to the dead and dying of Curio as a *cadaver* composition at *BC* 4.787: “Curio’s perfidious and polluted force has been killed, just as if it were the monster Antaeus, or, in the catalogue of Hercules’ other victories over the forces of disorder, the monster Cacus” (Fratantuono 2012, 171). For the Virgilian vocabulary of the body see Heuzé 1985, 51–54.

With this description we may compare Juvenal, s. 5.125 *duceris planta velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus* (with Braund’s note).

265 *protrahitur. nequeunt expleri corda tuendo*

More emphasis on the visual, this time as a grand crowning detail: the massive corpse of Cacus was an object of wonder and amazement. Dido gazed in a similar way at the gifts of Aeneas (1.713–714 *expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo* / *Phoenissa et pariter puero donisque movetur*). In the present instance, by now an audience must have formed, and perhaps relatively quickly, though no doubt with a certain nervous hesitation to approach lair and corpse. The commentators note the possible influence of Homer, *Il.* 22.370 ff., of the viewing of the body of Hector; De Jong ad loc. compares Herodotus 9.25.1, of the Greek wonderment at the Persian general Masistius (where see Flower and Marincola on the question of the desecration of enemy corpses after viewing). On the topos of taking pleasure in the recollection of past sorrows (cf. *A.* 1.198–207), see Seider 2013, 197n4.

protrahitur: Hercules drags the huge cadaver outside of the cave. The verb appears also at 2.123 *protrahit in medios* (of Odysseus with Calchas in Sinon’s story).

nequeunt: The verb occurs 7× in the epic (once in the *G.*); at 618 below it is used again with *expleri* to describe Aeneas’ excited visual reaction to the divine shield.

expleri: 9× in the *A.*; twice in the *G.* For the passive with middle force see Fordyce; Eden on the possibility that *expleri* is “truly passive,” with *corda* as accusative of respect. It is most unlikely that *corda* is a poetic plural, with reference only to Hercules.

corda: For the *cor* as “la sede del desiderio e della volontà,” see Negri 1985, 196. For the “medio-passive” construction with a part of the body see Conte 2016, 32.

tuendo: For the verb and related terms vid. M. Grazia Mosci Sassi in *EV* IV, 308–310: “La nozione di <<guardare>> in *t.*, usato assolutamente ... o con l’oggetto espresso om, comunque, facilmente ricavabile dal contesto ... viene sempre sot-

tolineata e caratterizzata nel senso di una precisa volontà di guardare ...” On the *ablatus instrumenti expletivus* see Antoine 1882, 182 ff.; cf. 11.460 *contra ego vivendo vici mea fata*.

266 *terribilis oculos, vultum villosaque saetis*

Two verses are devoted to the incredible death *tableau*. Gransden compares Spenser, *FQ* 1.12.9–12, of the gazing on a dead dragon. Note here Smith 2005, 151–152, with illustrated example of artistic representations from the Roman world of the scene of defeated monsters, and commentary on Hercules as “*voyant*” and “*visible*.” The end of the epic offers no such scene in the wake of Aeneas’ killing of Turnus.

terribilis oculos: An effective emphasis: the crowd cannot be satiated by the sight, and the sight includes the awe-inspiring, fearsome eyes. We may also think of the connection between Cacus and the Cyclopes; any such connection will also relate to the Vulcanian reliance on the Cyclopes in his work at the forge (see below on 418; 424–425). Cf. the *elisos oculos* of 261; on the striking imagery and expression see Heuzé 1985, 543–544. For *terribilis* see on 620 below.

villosaque: For the adjective see on 177, of the shaggy pelt of the lion that Evander spreads for his guest Aeneas; that covering had associations with Hercules. Cf. Silius, *Pun.* 5.440–441 ... *squalore hinc hispida diro | et villosa feris horrebant pectora saetis*. Effective alliteration with *vultum*.

saetis: Bristles appear also at 6.245 *et summas carpens media inter cornua saetas* (in the sacrifices before the descent to Avernus); 7.667–668 *terribili impexum saeta cum dentibus albis | indutus capiti* (in the description of Hercules’ son Aventinus); 7.789–790 *at levem clipeum sublatis cornibus Io | auro insinibatm iam saetis obsita, iam bos* (of the adornment of Turnus’ shield).

267 *pectora semiferi atque extinctos faucibus ignis.*

pectora: “Not *the breast* (for what had there been of extraordinary in a male breast covered with long hair?), but as *pectus* is so often elsewhere *the body, the carcass*” (Henry).

semiferi: Closing a ring with 194 *semihominis*. The sequence opened with a description of the “half-man” Cacus; it now draws to a close with a detail about the corpse of the “half-beast.”

extinctos faucibus ignis: Cf. 252–253. *Exstinguere* occurs 11× in the epic; cf. Propertius, c. 4.4.45 *Pallados extinctos si quis mirabitur ignes*. The epyllion closes, appropriately enough, with a detail about fire. “It would perhaps be unjust to an expression like ‘*extinctos faucibus ignis*’ to say that it was for ‘*fauces extinctis ignibus*’ or ‘*fauces ubi ignes extincti erant*’; for Virg.’s words give the

idea of the fires that had been there more vividly than the common expression" (Conington); cf. Conte 2007, 115; and vid. further Hofmann/Szantyr II, 159–160.

"Virgil needed one-sixth of Book Eight of the *Aeneid* to dispose of Cacus so that Apollo could reign supreme and unchallenged in his new home on the Palatine and throughout all Rome" (Small 1982, 103–104). The god of fire, however, will enjoy his own vengeance for the death of his son, and Apollo's ultimate victory will not necessarily be complete in the matter of Priam's Troy.

268–279 Evander describes how ever since the time of the victory of Hercules, there has been an annual liturgical feast at the Ara Maxima.

268 *ex illo celebratus honos laetique minores*

celebratus: Participial forms of this verb occur only in the first and last book's of the epic's second third; cf. the *celebrata certamina* of 5.603, at the close of the memorial games in honor of Anchises.

honos: For the archaic noun and its implications see Fratantuono and Smith ad 5.50 and 763.

laeti: Cf. 279. On this adjective "in the context of propitiation and thanksgiving" see Wiltshire 2012, 132 ff.: "The two instances of *laetus* here seem rather perfunctory in this propitiation-function, in describing the human response of gratitude for the saving act of a divine figure ... Hercules, here, as representative of the Olympians, who preserve the future of Rome." As often in the epic, the joy will be brief; certain of the youths who happily participate in the memorial ritual of redemption will not live to see the next year's celebration. For the joy that is sometimes occasioned by "acts of ruthlessness," see Henry 1989, 176, with reference to the divine paradigms for the behavior of Hercules, Aeneas, and (implicitly) Augustus.

minores: With this substantive cf. 6.822 ... *utcumque ferent ea facta minores*; also 1.532–533 ... *nunc fama minores / Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem* (and the near replica at 3.165–166); 1.732–733 *hunc laetum Tyriisque diem Troiaque profectis / esse velis nostrosque huius meminisse minores*. The reference to posterity has caused unease since Servius; attempts to resolve the apparent difficulty center mostly on noting that Evander, like Homer's Nestor, is so advanced in age that he could readily enough refer to younger generations (*minores*) as maintaining a tradition that commenced in his own day.

269 *servavere diem, primusque Potitius auctor*

servavere diem: Gransden et al. compare 5.597 ff., of the keeping of the *patrium honorem* that is celebrated at the *lusus Troiae*.

primus ... auctor: So at 134 *Dardanus, Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor*, in Aeneas' address to Evander about the shared genealogy of Trojans and Arcadians. Some have considered the detail odd, given that the rite is usually thought to have been established either by Hercules himself or Evander; an allegory of Valerius Potitus, suffect consul in 29 B.C., has been posited (cf. Dio Cassius 51.21.1); Potitus made a thanksgiving sacrifice for Octavian's successful return to Rome (see further Woodman and Feeney 2002, 83–84; also Camps 1969, 98–104). Macrobius, *Sat.* 3.6.17 cites either Hercules as the *auctor*, or Herculean companions who were left behind in Italy. With *primus* cf. 281 below.

Potitius: For the name and family see P. Hardie, "Potitii and Pinarii," in *VE* III, 1032–1033; also G. Radke in *EV* IV, 238–239. In Livy (1.7.12 ff.) an outstanding animal from the herd (*bove eximia capta de grege*) is taken for sacrifice to Hercules, and the *ministerium* and banquet (*dapem*) are entrusted to the Potitii and the Pinarii (*quae tum familiae maxime inclitae ea loca incolebant*). The Potitii were on time for the observances, and so they were served the *exta*; Evander subsequently instructed the family in the rites of the god, liturgical rubrical observances that were eventually entrusted to *servi publici*; the family eventually died out. "Potitii are not met elsewhere" (Ogilvie ad loc., with commentary on the efforts of some to associate the family with Tibur or the Valerii). "The enigmatic Potitii and their role in the cult of Hercules await convincing explanation ... no Roman called Potitius is known from the Republic" (Oakley ad Livy 9.29.9–11). State supervision of the cult commenced in 312 B.C.

Livy 9.29.9–11 offers an account that the censor Appius Claudius was the source (*Eodem Appio auctore*; cf. Virgil's *auctor*) of the Potitian handing over of their familial liturgical responsibility to public slaves; within a year, Livy notes, the family was extinct and Appius was himself a few years later struck blind. Festus (270L) offers the following entry to similar effect, though with significant differences (at least of emphasis): *Potitium et Pinarium Hercules, cum ad aram, quae hodieque maxima appellatur, decimam bovum, quos a Geryone abductos abigebat Argos in patriam, profanasset, genus sacrifici edocuit. Quae familia et posterius eius non defuerunt decumantibus usque ad Appium Claudium Censorem, qui quinquaginta millia aeris gravis his dedit, ut servos publicos edocerent ritum sacrificandi: quo facto Potiti, cum essent ex familia numero duodecim, omnes interierunt intra diem XXX ...* ("a version which may go back through Verrius Flaccus to Varro"—Oakley ad Livy 9.29.9–11). Valerius Maximus (1.1.17) offers the story of the Potitii under the heading *de neglecta religione*, with reference to the same (Livian source?—so Oakley) story of the urging of Appius and the handing over of the Herculean cult to public slaves, etc. Oakley considers the problem of whether Livy "toned down" an original anti-Appian narrative, or Festus embellished on a story received from the historian. Note

also the account of Ps.-Aurelius Victor, *Origo* 8.1 (with Richard's Budé notes). For more on the historical events surrounding the Appian intervention, see R.E.A. Palmer, "The Censors of 312 B.C. and the State Religion," in *Hist.* 14.3 (1965), 293–324.

Servius focuses here on the *ius hospitii* and how Hercules needed to prove his worth to Evander and the Arcadians (both by slaying Cacus, and by asserting that he was the son of Jupiter); Pinarius and Potitius are identified as *senes* who were "found" (*inventi sunt*) to be in charge of sacrificial rites to the new god/guest-friend. The rites were to be conducted in the morning and the evening; the Pinarii were late and so the angry Hercules decided that they should forever be in a subordinate role. Virgil's *primus* is thus interpreted as a comment on the tradition of Potitius' showing up for the liturgy in a timely fashion. With Servius we may compare the similar version in *Myth. Vat.* 1.68.

For the etymology of the name *Potitius* from *potiri*, see Paschalis 1997, 291; also Eden's note ad loc. On the idea that the name comes from the Potitii having been given over to the god after their capture (*potiri*), see Oakley 2005, 382n1.

Parallel to this scene is the emphasis given in the description of the regatta to the origins of the names of Roman *gentes* (5.117–123). No explanation in Evander's account of who the *gentes* are or whence they came; *minores* (268) may make one think of contemporary Rome, though in the strict narrative progression of the story, the Potitii and Pinarii must be imagined (as in Livy) to be local families (perhaps of implicit prominence); no indication of provenance or national origin. On all of these questions Ruaeus succinctly notes in conclusion: "Sed nugari mihi videntur."

270 et domus Herculei custos Pinaria sacri

With this passage cf. *Pan. Lat.* 10.1.3 *Neque enim fabula est de licentia poetarum nec opinio de fama veterum saeculorum, sed manifesta res et probata, sicut hodieque testatur Hercules ara maxima et Herculei sacri custos familia Pinaria, principem illum tui generis ac nominis Pallantea moenia adisse victorem et, parva tunc licet regia, summa tamen religione susceptum futurae maiestatis dedisse primordia, ut esse posset domus Caesarum quae Herculis fuisset hospitium* (on which see Rees 2002, 39–42: "The orator could hardly uphold his claim to be free from poetic license and rumour while including such a colourful and fabulous incident in his speech").

On the assonant effects of these two verses see R.G. Austin, "Virgilian Assonance," in *CQ* 23.1 (1929), 46–55, 52.

Herculei: The nominal adjective occurs also at 7.669 (of Aventinus' vesture); cf. 288 and 542 below; *G.* 2.66.

custos: Probably with no allusion to the temple of Hercules Magnus Custos in the Circus Flaminius (cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 6.209–212). The noun coordinates closely with *domus*. Danielis notes a story that there was once a fire that endangered the Ara Maxima; it was Pinarius who saved the sacred site from ruin. Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.12.28) refers to Potitius and Pinarius as *custodes sacrorum*.

Pinaria: Vid. here G. Radke in *EV* IV, 107; for the etymological associations with poverty and want, see Paschalis 1997, 281. For the name note the lacunose Festus 264–265L; cf. Schulze 1904, 366. “Their role in the cult is quite uncertain, although before the time of Appius they presumably had a subsidiary role in the sacrifice, perhaps as overseers” (Oakley *ad* Livy 9.29.9–11). Unlike the Potitii, we do have republican attestations of Pinarii; cf. the Lucius Pinarius of Livy 7.3.3–9 (with Oakley); the Lucius Pinarius Natta of Cicero, *Att.* 82.3 Shackleton Bailey (“... scion of an immemorally ancient but politically withdrawn patrician house”); the Pinarius of *Att.* 115.23 (“There is not enough evidence to sort out the contemporary Pinarii who crop up in various places ... The gens was of immemorial antiquity”); *Att.* 165.1; *Ad Fam.* 430; the Titus Pinarius of *Qfr* 21.22. The lore about the family is referenced by Cicero at *De Domo* 134 (where see Nisbet; the passage is referenced in Danielis here). Palmer 1965, 307 gives a brief account of the fate and fortunes of the *gens*: it “infrequently gave its sons to high office in the fifth century ... after 432 we hear of the Pinarii only twice until 213 and 181 B.C. ... The *fasti* of major magistrates bear record of no Pinarius between 348 and 181 B.C. ... no priestly function is attributed to them after 363 until the odd pontificate of L. Pinarius Natta ca. 58–56 B.C. ... In a word, the family of Pinarii ... leave evidence of no kind for the generations before and after the critical year 312.”

The interlocking word order neatly describes the custodial role of the family.

sacri: “Nowhere else in Virg. in the sing.” (Conington). Many editors (*inter al.* Peerlkamp; Forbiger; Gossrau; Ribbeck; Ladewig; Götte); Williams’ text (but vid. his note) have preferred to put a full stop after this noun, so that Potitius and the Pinarian house are subjects with *laeti minores*, and 271 *statuit* has an unexpressed subject (either Hercules or Evander, by implication). “Doubtless Hercules” (Conington; cf. the similar note in Papillon and Haigh). “v. may have wanted to hedge here” (Gransden) as to the establishment of the cult; it may be significant that the whole affair is cast in the speech of Evander. Conte’s Teubner, Perret’s Budé, Heuzé’s Pléiade, Holzberg’s Tusculum, and Mynors’ Oxford text all omit the full stop (also de la Cerda; Heinsius; Burman); Sabbadini and Paratore print the period; so also Hirtzel’s Oxford and García et al. Geymonat’s 1973 text prefers no stop; his 2008 edition has second thoughts; Henry does not seem to have been particularly interested in the question. “To stop after *sacri* removes the difficulty of *statuit* but makes that of *primus auctor* the more obvi-

ous" (Fordyce). Would the poet's original audience have been expected to read a full stop? Cf. the different reality of recitation. May the adjective *Herculei* be expected to serve as sufficient transition to subject, especially before *Pinaria*?

271 hanc aram luco statuit, quae maxima semper

Heyne condemned 271–271 on account of the striking (indeed, unparalleled in Virgil) *iteratio*; Conte compares Propertius, c. 4.9.67–68 *Maxima quae gregibus devotast Ara repertis, / ara per has inquit maxima facta manus* (less dramatic but essentially parallel), on which see Hutchinson (who associates *maxima* with the future glory of Rome). "Natural enough in the mouth of Evander" (Conington). "It may be granted that the passage would run more smoothly without them" (Mackail). For single word repetitions in Virgil see Fordyce. Does the repetition reflect something of sacral, liturgical language?

luco: As at 104 *ante urbem in luco*, as Aeneas and his men landed in Palanteum.

statuit: Mackail and other critics have found the present passage incomplete and certainly lacking the poet's *ultima manus*; the question of the subject here is cited as evidence. Pomponius Sabinus made the suggestion that *statui* should be read (so that Evander would be the one who established the cult); Eden notes that this emendation rests on no textual support, while Mackail is sympathetic ("The conjecture is attractive"). There may be a deliberate, subtle allusion throughout to the tradition that the Potitii came first to the celebration; *primus auctor Potitius* is then the subject of the main verb, and the *domus custos Pindaria* is something of a parenthetical aside. We may compare the account of Dionysius (1.39–40), where Evander is eager to be the first of all men to make offerings to Hercules; the Arcadian had learned from Themis in oracular revelation that Hercules was destined to be immortal. Gould and Whiteley take Hercules as the subject.

maxima: A clear indication of the celebrated Ara Maxima, with reinforcement by repetition; vid. Platner and Ashby 1929, 253–254; Richardson 1992, 186–187; *LTUR* III, 15–17. "No remains of this altar have yet been found; but it may be located with reasonable precision between the round temple of Hercules ... and the *carceres* of the Circus" (Oakley *ad* Livy 9.29.9). Cf. 201 *maximus ultor*.

272 dicetur nobis et erit quae maxima semper.

nobis: Of Evander's Arcadians, but with a clear enough, anachronistic hint of the poet's contemporary Romans, especially with the strong emphasis on future time. The emphasis in Virgil is on the role of Potitius as *primus auctor*, and then on the establishment of the Ara Maxima; if Drew 1927, 16 ff. et al. are

correct in allegorizing the scene to recall the sacrifice of Valerius Potitus on 13 August, 29 B.C., then the point would indeed in part be the highlighting of how the ancient family—long thought extinct—was in a sense renewed, its name “a little changed in the course of the centuries (like Sergestus and Cloanthus)” (Drew 1927, 17). For the dative with the passive verb see Antoine 1882, 147–148, and cf. *E.* 6.72; *G.* 1.207; 3.170; *A.* 1.440; 3.398.

quae maxima semper: “Repetitio verbi ad honorem et potestatem pertinet” (Danielis). “The rather weak line” (Williams); “Clumsy emphasis” (Eden); “emphasizing (perhaps too much)” (Tueller 2000, 363); cf. Sidgwick’s “Observe the stately effect of the repetition.” “The reader will observe that his own altar is not the first or only altar which has been deemed *a parte ante* to be everlasting *a parte post*” (Henry). A kind of repetition unique in Virgil but found elsewhere; cf. Wills 1996, 420–421.

273 *quare agite, o iuvenes, tantarum in munere laudum*

quare agite: Catullan (c. 64.372 *quare agite optatos animi coniungite amores*); cf. *G.* 2.35 *Quare agite o proprios generatim discite cultus*; *A.* 1.627 *quare agite, o tectis, iuvenes, succedite nostris*; 7.130; also Lucan, *BC* 8.289; Statius, *Theb.* 10.213. Here there is a hurried sense of impatience; the rites that had been interrupted by Aeneas’ arrival must continue. The verb offers the first of five imperatives in quick succession.

iuvenes: The Arcadian youths led by Pallas, and also Aeneas’ Trojan *iuvenes*; the word is tinged with the poignant reality of the present war and the premature doom of so many.

tantarum ... laudum: The “praises” are the deeds that demand admiration and glorification; cf. 287 below. The same use occurs at 9.197 *laudum ... amore* and 9.253 *quae digna ... pro laudibus istis* (with reference to Nisus and Euryalus before the night raid; see further Hardie ad loc). For the adjective with a form of *laus* cf. 12.321 *quis tantam Rutulis laudem, casusne deusne* (of the mysterious wounding of Aeneas); also 4.232–233 *si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum / nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem* and 4.272–273 *si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum / [nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem]* (of the question of Aeneas’ departure from Carthage); 10.825–826 *quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis, / quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?* (of the death of Lausus); *Ps.-V., Cat.* 9.55 *non nostrum est tantas, non, inquam, attingere laudes*.

munere: On this word of rich, diverse meaning vid. M. Citroni in *EV* III, 1019–1021: “... indica propriamente un compito, una prestazione dovuta, in un quadro di mutua reciprocità, soprattutto nell’ambito di rapporti di carattere sociale o religioso.” Here it may have predicative force and mean “as a gift” (cf. *OLD*

s.v. 5d). The reward for Hercules' action in slaying Cacus is the faithful observance of the annual religious rite. For the implications of the noun see also below on 275 *communem*.

The sentiment of this verse would later be appropriated in Christian descriptions of martyr cults; vid. Hoogma 1959, 306.

274 *cingite fronde comas et pocula porgite dextris,*

A line of balanced alliteration (verb/object pairs), as Evander continues his three-verse liturgical call to worship. Danielis notes that the first imperative is directed to the guests and participants, and the second to the *ministri*; it is uncertain if Virgil had such a distinction in mind.

cingite ... comas: The plural imperative occurs also at 5.71 *ore favete omnes et cingite tempora ramis*, at the memorial rites for Anchises; cf. Propertius, c. 3.17.30 *cinget Bassaricas Lydia mitra comas*; Columella, *DRR* 10.1.1.164–165 *Pignora, tempus adest: viridi redimite parentem | Progenie, tu cinge comas, tu dissere crines*; Martial, *ep.* 4.54.2 *Et meritas prima cingere fronde comas*; *ep.* 7.89.1–2 *I, felix rosa, mollibusque sertis | Nostri cinge comas Apollinaris*; Silius, *Pun.* 13.331 *cingit acuta comas et opacat tempora pinus*. With the *comas* cf. 277; verb and object neatly frame the frond that girds the hair. The verb recurs in a different sense at 282.

fronde: Cf. 276–277, where the *fronde* is replaced with *foliis*. Horace has ... *pueri patresque severi | fronde comas victi cenant et carmina dictant* (*Ep.* 2.1.109–110); note also Statius, *Theb.* 7.170–171 *nectere fronde comas et ad inspirata rotari | buxa*; *Ach.* 1.9–10 *da fontes mihi, Phoebe, novos ac fronde secunda | necte comas*; Martial, *ep.* 4.54.2 *Et meritas prima cingere fronde comas*.

porgite: Also at 6.596–597, of the stretched out body of the giant Tityos in the underworld; 9.589, of the son of Arcens (Mezentius' victim); cf. *G.* 3.351. The phrase is essentially repeated in the next verse; for the archaic syncopation see Fordyce, and Eden (“... it may have had an old-fashioned ring about it”). Servius *ad* 1.26 asserts that it has an Ennian origin; on such assumption of appropriation of technical, ritual language see Wigodsky 1972, 119–120.

dextris: As a sign of good omen; the noun is echoed at 278.

275 *communemque vocate deum et date vina volentes.*

communemque: On the meaning of this adverb note L. Morgan, “A Yoke Connecting Baskets: “Odes” 3.14, Hercules, and Italian Unity,” in *CQ* 55.1 (2005), 190–203, 199–201; cf. Adler 2003, 30 ff. For the metrical pattern that serves to emphasize the opening of the verse and the crucial phrase, see especially Gransden's note *ad loc.*: “weak caesuras in the second and third feet while in the fourth the elision in *deum et date* carries the line through virtually without further

pause." Elsewhere in the epic the adjective appears in the Helen episode, of the *Troiae et patriae communis Erinys* (2.573); of the *unum et commune periculum* that Aeneas and his immediate family face (2.709); of Creüsa's reference to the *nati ... communis amorem* (2.789, of Ascanius); of Juno's reference to the *communem populum* of Trojan and Carthaginian (4.102); of the *communis statio* that Nisus and Euryalus maintain (9.103); of the *bona communia* to which Turnus makes reference at the Latin war council (11.435); of the *commune crimen* the Rutulian alludes to at 12.16; and, finally, to the *di communes* for whom the Trojans and Rutulians erect altars during the treaty negotiations at 12.116.

Hercules is envisioned as a common deity for both the Trojans and the Arcadians because of the common descent that was established at 134–142; the hero saved the Arcadians from Cacus, and by extension he is a patron of the Trojans who have now arrived in Pallanteum. This is Servius' interpretation (the first of many in the tradition, Danielan and otherwise); he adds that Hercules bridges the divide between the divine and the mortal and is thus fittingly identified as *communis*. Servius also cites Apuleius, *De Plat.* 1.11, on the three *species* of the immortals: 1) the *summus ille, ultramundanus, incorporeus, quem patrem et architectum huius divini orbis superius ostendimus*; 2) the *caelicolae*; 3) the gods whom the *Romani veteres* are said to have called the *medioximi*, i.e., those who are less powerful than the gods, but greater by nature than mortals. Servius further notes that some considered Hercules and Mars to be the same god: "Alii communem deo dictum volunt, quia secundum pontificalem ritum idem est Hercules, qui et Mars ..." (see below on 285; Macrobius, *Sat.* 3.12.4); Danielis adds that *communis* may refer to Hercules' philanthropic qualities and beneficent nature; also that according to Varro, there are those gods who were elevated to divine status, among whom some are venerated and recognized only in one locale, others who are communally worshipped.

The glaring problem here is that Hercules was a destroyer of Troy, a detail of the hero's *résumé* that is shortly to be highlighted in the Salian hymn (290–291). In Book 12, the "common gods" to whom the Trojans and Latins make offerings will not be able or willing to prevent the resumption of full-scale hostilities. The concept of commonalty is linked intimately to the final disposition of the diverse peoples and *mores* in the future Rome; in both passages in the epic that speak of "common gods" (i.e., in the last books of the epic's second and third movements), there is something significantly amiss with the characterization: here, Evander has been speaking in praise throughout his liturgical rendition of a god who was a celebrated enemy of Troy; in Book 12, the problem of Trojan-Latin integration will be paramount in the poet's mind. Taking on Hercules as a *communis deus* may entail something of a second destruction of Troy. We have moved from the question of the assertion of a shared lineage from the giant

Atlas to the commonalty of religious worship and corporate veneration of Hercules; implicitly linked to the development is the problem of the Trojan future in an Italian, ultimately Roman context.

For the question of Hercules' being invited to take part in the rite, see Morgan 2005, 199–200n39; Henry ad loc. (“He does not come, of course, and his share of the wine is poured out on the dish or table”), who also compares the present rite to the Christian service of Holy Communion. The commentators also cf. Propertius, c. 1.11.16, of the “common gods” of lovers.

date vina: So at Tibullus, c. 1.1.24 *Clamet io messes et bona vina date*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.336 ... *date vina precesque*.

vina volentes: See here Eden's perceptive note on the problem of reluctance and open display of will in Roman religious ceremonies. Evander charges his audience to be active participants in the rites, with open and evident displays of will and interest. See further Conington on “alacrity in religious observance.” On “volition as a prerequisite for the deity who chose to answer a prayer” see Henry 1989, 193n39 (with comparison of Juno's *me victusque volens remitto* at 12.833).

Verses 275–277 are omitted in the Medicean; Apronianus added them at the very bottom of the page, only to erase them; they were then added by a similar hand (see here Conte's apparatus).

276 *dixerat, Herculea bicolor cum populus umbra*

On Virgilian descriptions of reactions to signals and commands see Dainotti 2015, 137–139. On the “balanced pairs of nouns and adjectives” see Eden; here the word order highlights first the key descriptions of Hercules and the binary color scheme, before the crucial noun *populus* and the wispy detail of shade and shadow.

dixerat: See Eden for the immediacy of the action after the close of the injunction. For the pluperfect see Mack 1978, 47–48 (“In Vergil's formulation, the pluperfect makes the main statement, so that Evander's having finished speaking receives the main emphasis. The perfects ... make up the secondary idea”).

Herculea: For the adjective see on 270 above.

bicolor: The adjective occurs once in Book 5 and once in 8 (vid. Edgeworth 1992, 106–107); during the *lusus Troiae* Priam the Younger has a “piebald” (so Edgeworth), Thracian *equus bicolor*. For the “color cluster” at the conclusion of the epyllion note Edgeworth 1992, 44–45. The term follows closely on *communis*, and emphasizes once again the problem of a conjoined national entity, of the union of different peoples and traditions. Servius notes here and *ad E.* 7.61 that the poplar was *bicolor* because in the course of his underworld labors

Hercules stained the lower side of the leaves with perspiration, while the upper side was darkened by contact with the infernal regions: the two colors thus hint at eschatological affairs and the problem of the conquest of death.

cum: For the *inversum* construction see especially Williams ad loc., who compares 5.84; the “most unusual diction” may draw particular attention to the question of the poplar *versus* the (perhaps) expected laurel.

populus: The Virgilian treatment of the chromatic implications of the poplar is considered in detail by Edgeworth 1992, 148–149; the rowers in the regatta are crowned with its leaves (5.134); cf. above on 32 (of the epiphany of Tiberinus amid poplar, with particular reference to the association of the poplar with Hercules); 286 below (during the Salian rite); 10.190 (Phaëthon was mourned amid poplars).

See especially Conington here for the dramatic use of the poplar and the *scyphus* (278) as the subjects: “Virg., for the sake of liveliness, has expressed himself as if the result in the case of the garland and the cup had been brought about without Evander’s agency”—perhaps a quasi-magical touch for the solemn rite.

Danielis notes an argument here that is the subject of extended discussion at Macrobius, *Sat.* 3.12.1 ff., namely the apparent inconsistency/“mistake” between the use of the poplar and the contemporary Roman employment of the laurel. In Macrobius, Vettius notes that Virgil was correct in describing the Herculean poplar, citing the evidence of Varro to the effect that the laurel was used only after a stand of laurels began to grow on the Aventine, thus providing a ready supply for liturgical use: *unde recte Maro noster ad ea tempora respexit, quibus Evander ante urbem conditam apud aram maximam celebrabat et utebatur populo utique “Alcidae gratissima”*. In part the point of the poet’s description is to highlight the fragmentary state of the anachronistic details, the misty kaleidoscope through which the Roman future is imperfectly glimpsed. The laurel is strongly associated with Apollo and the Augustan future (and cf. also on 1 *Laurenti* above); for the Arcadians and their Trojan guests, the focus is on the poplar of the god who smashed the walls of Troy, not the laurel of Diana’s brother. Cf. the opening of Horace, c. 3.14, where Augustus is said to have returned from Spain, where he sought a laurel at the cost of his own life (*2 morte venalem petiisse laurum*), a reference both to his military exploits in Hispania and to his brush with death from illness. “... on this occasion orators must have suggested an analogy between Augustus’ return from the Cantabrian wars and Hercules’ visit to the site of Rome after his defeat of the Spanish giant Geryon” (Nisbet and Rudd ad loc.). Scansion aside, are we to think of the notion of the union of peoples here via a play on words? On this see further Paschalis 1997, 292.

umbra: Perhaps with a hint of the same underworld lore that may be implicit in the *bicolor* description of the poplar. “Characteristic of the style of Statius

rather than Virgil" (Williams). On a practical level the detail is especially appropriate for the outdoor scene. The noun is studied by L. Quartarone, "Shifting Shadows on the Landscape: Reading *umbrae* in Vergil and Other Poets," in *Acta Antiqua* 53 (2013), 245–259.

277 velavitque comas foliisque innexa pependit,

Two verbs frame the verse. On the "epic mannerism" of the double *-que*, see Fordyce *ad* 7.186.

velavitque: For the verb cf. 33 above; it is used with reference to the familiar veiling of (Roman) religious practice at 3.405 *purpureo velare comas adoportus amictu*; 3.545 *et capita ante aras Phrygio velamur amictu*; cf. 2.249; 5.72; 12.120; also the suppliants of 7.154 and 11.101; the athletic victors of 5.134 and 5.366; the *regius honos* of Camilla's purple at 7.814–815. "In Roman sacrifice the priest or magistrate in charge covered his head from a curious ostrich-like belief that if he could not see any bad omens there could not be any" (Eden). *Anachronismus*; if one is to think of the religious practices of Virgil's own day, the replacement of the laurel with the poplar may be of particular concern.

comas: Echoing 274.

innexa: Ps.-Probus *ad* G. 2.66 read *inmissa* here. The feminine participle is also used at 5.511 (with reference to the bound dove of the archery contest); 6.281 (of the snaky, bloody hair of Discordia in the underworld). Cf. also 6.609 ... *fraus innexa clienti*; 7.669 *horridus Herculeoque umeros innexus amictu* (in the description of Aventinus); finite forms of the verb at 4.51; 5.425; 7.353; 7.418; 8.661 below. The weaving of the poplar into the hair of the participants in the rite offers a tangible connection between the people and the god who has been identified by Evander as their common patron.

pendit: "The leaves seem to have hung down in a kind of festoon" (Conington); see further Henry's lengthy description of the hanging garland.

278 et sacer implevit dextram scyphus. ocius omnes

dextram: Cf. 274, here with continued emphasis on the fulfillment of Evander's imperatives. Tib. comments on how the size of the cup is indicated by its filling (*implevit*) of the right hand; no depiction here, though, of a massive vessel that would have required both hands to handle.

scyphus: A rare word, found once in Plautus (*Asin.* 444) and Tibullus (c. 1.10.8); twice in Horace (c. 1.27.1 and *ep.* 9.33); cf. Seneca, *Phaed.* 208; *Thyest.* 452; 916; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.272; also Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.48.15; vid. Siebert 1999, 235; Nonius lists it in his catalogue *de genere vasorum vel poculorum* (874L, with citation of this passage). On its appearance here in Virgil note especially J. Wills, "Scyphus—A Homeric Hapax in Virgil," in *AJPh* 108.3 (1987), 455–457,

with reference to Eumaeus' entertainment of Odysseus at *Od.* 14.112 (on which see Bowie ad loc.) and the prize cup of Theocritus, *Id.* 1.142–145. We have moved from the Latin *pocula* of 274 to a Greek drinking vessel. Macrobius comments on this passage at *Sat.* 5.21.16, where the *scyphus* is identified as peculiar to Hercules, as the *cantharus* is to Liber; reference is made both to the hero's notoriously excessive indulgence in drink, and to the legend that he crossed the seas in a massive goblet.

Servius records that Hercules brought a massive cup to Italy (“legitur in libris antiquis”), a wooden vessel that was stained with pitch to preserve it for use in religious rituals (Gransden compares the tradition of the cult of the relics of saints); the adjective *sacer* points to this tradition. Plutarch alludes to a Heraclian *scyphus* at *Vit. Alex.* 75, where he criticizes the detail of Cleitarchus that Alexander contracted his fatal fever after he had drained such a massive vessel; see here Hamilton ad loc. (with reference to Diodorus 17.117.1–2 and the tradition that Alexander drank prodigiously in commemoration of Heracles' death; Seneca, *Ep.* 83.23). Certainly the goblet of the demigod was a symbol of the hazards of excessive imbibing; by extension one may think of the results of such drunkenness (whether Herculean or Alexandrian; cf. the murder of Cleitus), and the resultant cautionary note in the *exempla*.

Sacred drinking cups are also mentioned at Sallust, *Hist.* fr. 2.73 Ramsey (*pocula et alias res aureas, dis sacrata instrumenta, convivio mercantur*), a passage found only in Danielis' note here; the assignment of the fragment to Book 2 of the *Histories* is due to Schoell's emendation of the corrupt Servian text: “Possibly a reference to plunder taken by pirates from Greek and Roman temples and sacred shrines” (Ramsey ad loc.).

ocius omnes: Cf. 101 above; 555; also 4.294–295 ... *ocius omnes / imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt*, of the Trojan response to the order to prepare to leave Carthage (also close after a form of *dexter*): “In both these passages the immediacy of the execution of the command or invitation is highlighted by collocation of the sequence *ocius omnes* at the bucolic diaeresis” (Dainotti 2015, 139). Note further on 444 below, of the Cyclopean response to the Vulcanian orders about the forging of the shield; in all instances the emphasis is on speed and alacrity.

279 in mensam laeti libant divosque precantur.

in mensam: See Eden here on the question of why the libation was poured on the *mensa* and not the *ara*, with consideration of the question of the god's supposed presence at the table, and the fact that the worshippers at the Ara Maxima did not recline, and so the god did not have a *lectus* but rather a *mensa*. The detail continues the emphasis on the shared, convivial rite. For

the altars that figure in the rite see on 284. There is probably no allusion to the Ennian detail about the establishment of sacrificial tables by Numa (*Ann.* fr. 2.114 Skutsch).

laeti: Cf. 269. Here the adjective introduces an alliterative effect that follows nicely on *ocius omnes*; the atmosphere is one of mirth and excited merriment.

libant: The verb occurs 13× in the epic (4× in the *G.* and once in the *E.*); the present scene echoes directly 1.736 *dixit et in mensam laticum libavit honorem*, of Dido at the scene of her banquet for Aeneas and his Trojans—a baleful association to give the scene a dark closing. Here the libation is poured out in honor of the god who was invited to his sacred banquet.

divosque precantur: The line-end occurs also at Silius, *Pun.* 15.8. No specific identification of the immortals who are here invoked.

280–305 The account of the combat between Hercules and Cacus having drawn to a close, the celebration continues as evening draws on with a Salian hymn that celebrates the many deeds and accomplishments of the hero, including both his famous labors and the destruction of both Troy and Oechalia. On this hymnic interlude note especially J.F. Miller, “Virgil’s Salian Hymn to Hercules,” in *CJ* 109.4 (2014), 439–463 (with particular consideration of the influence of Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 2.698–713, of the Orphic hymn to Apollo on Thynias); also B. Heiden, “*Laudes Herculeae*: Suppressed Savagery in the Hymn to Hercules, Verg. *A.* 8.285–305,” in *AJPh* 108.4 (1987), 661–671.

280 *Devexo interea propior fit Vesper Olympo.*

“Pendant ce temps, la lumière du ciel a décliné, Vesper s’est rapproché” (Heuzé’s *Pléiade*). “As the ‘westering wheel’ of the celestial sphere descends, the evening star draws nearer the terrestrial horizon and also becomes more brilliant and apparently nearer” (Mackail).

Devexo ... Olympo: Adjective and noun frame the line. Cf. 1.374; also *E.* 6.86 and *G.* 1.450. *Devexus* may be used of a downward slope or incline (cf. Manilius, *Astron.* 1.675–676 *sic per tris gyros inflexus ducitur orbis | rectaque devexo fallit vestigia clivo*; also Horace, *c.* 1.28.21 ... *devexi ... Orionis*, of the November setting of the stormy constellation, where see Nisbet and Hubbard); it could be used of mountains that sloped downwards (vid. McKeown *ad Ovid, Am.* 2.1.13–14). Perhaps dative of direction and not ablative (but see Sidgwick; also Fordyce). “The notion is that of two hemispheres, one light and one dark, which succeed each other in revolution” (Fordyce). Interpretive question here usually focuses on the image of the revolution of the sky *versus* a description of the downward sloping heaven toward which the sun draws near as evening falls. Papillon and Haigh take the image to refer to the revolution of the sky (“according to the

ancient notion”); cf. Conington’s “... either ... of the revolution of the sky ... or of the downward slope of heaven which the sun approaches at evening”; cf. Gould and Whiteley on the force of the derivative from *devehi*.

Relevant here may be the Ciceronian text preserved at Macrobius, *Sat.* 6.4.8 ... *et Cicero in quinto de legibus: visne igitur—quoniam sol paululum a meridie iam devexus videtur, neque dum satis ab his novellis arboribus omnis hic locus opacatur ...*

interea: Temporal progression: “not perspicuous” (Horsfall *ad* 2.250 *vertitur interea caelum*). Here it coordinates closely with 281 *iamque*. Tib. notes the poet’s careful recollection of the time: “poeta memor est sui; hora enim sexta hoc est mediatis cursibus solis supra dixit Aenean pervenisse, nunc diem dicit peractis prope spatiis omnibus claudi.” The first of three temporal markers in quick succession; cf. 281 *iamque* and 285 *tum*.

propior: P and several Carolingians read *proprior* here. For the spatial (and not temporal) meaning, see Henry; the key comparative stands in the middle of the verse.

Vesper: See here Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.19; cf. *A.* 1.374 *ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo*; *E.* 6.86 ... *et invito processit Vesper Olympo*; *G.* 1.251 *illuc sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper*; 1.461 ... *quid Vesper serus vehat*; 3.336–337 ... *cum frigidus aëra Vesper / temperat*. The Evening Star (i.e., the planet Venus) is particularly associated with Virgilian pastoral closures of day; here the Arcadians evoke something of that world. For Hesperus in Virgil cf. *E.* 8.30 and 10.77. “Inclinato in noctem caelo” (Servius). Eden notes that the fact that the planet Venus was not fixed is irrelevant. See further too Fordyce *ad* Catullus, c. 62.1 (the first extant citation).

Olympo: Vid. Roscher III.1, 847 ff.; G. Panessa in *EV* III, 834–836 (with citation of Plato, *Epinomis* 977B); also P.L. Jones in *VE* II, 931: “Virgil employs the term frequently in a general sense, referring to Olympus in contexts that make the name synonymous with the sky, as when he uses it to signify the coming of night.” For the conflation of Olympus and the sky see Finglass *ad* Sophocles, *Ajax* 1389–1391; cf. Catullus, c. 62.1–2. See further on 533.

The parallel of 1.374 recalls the words of Aeneas to his disguised mother about Trojan history, including his assertion of both identity and *pietas*; the bucolic allusion is to the end of the song of Silenus.

281 iamque sacerdotes primusque Potitius ibant

iamque: Also at 24; 42; 585 (the last two occurrences also at the opening of the verse).

sacerdotes: There is no particular identification for the priests; Tib. takes them to be equivalent to the Potitii. On Virgilian priests see above on 179.

primus: As at 269; the strong emphasis on the priority of the Potitii continues. For the exact force of the adjective see Horsfall *ad* 11.786 *primi* (“in order? in eminence? in devotion?”).

Potitius: Here the eponym of the favored family is mentioned without the subordinate Pinarii. Balanced alliteration of labials and then fricatives (282).

ibant: For the verb see R. Lesueur, “*ITER et IRE dans l’Énéide: Quelques réflexions sur la représentation du mouvement*,” in *Pallas* 28 (1981), 15–29. Imperfects describe the action at line-end here and in the subsequent verse, as the action of the nocturnal ritual is vividly described. Note also 307 *ibat*, of Evander after the conclusion of the liturgy.

282 *pellibus in morem cincti, flammisque ferebant.*

These details will be eerily echoed in the rites at the requiem for Pallas; cf. 11.188–189 *ter circum accensos cincti fulgentibus armis | decurrere rogos ...*: a possible foreshadowing of the future for the preeminent Arcadian youth.

pellibus: Evander welcomes Aeneas with a lion pelt at 177; the god-hero Hercules is worshipped by priests who don the vesture of the great vanquisher of the Nemean lion. Virgil’s contemporaries might have thought here of the Lupercalia (vid. below on 343), and the detail may presage the later, explicit allusion to the locus of that February feast. Four mentions of animal pelts in Book 8 (177; 368; 552–553); cf. also Acestes’ bear skin pelt at 5.37; the incubatory pelts of 7.88 (of unidentified taxonomy); 7.396 in the Bacchic description of Amata and her crazed retinue; 7.688 of the wolf-skin caps of Caeculus’ men; 9.306 (of the lion pelt that Mnestheus presents to Nisus before the night raid); the bull skin covering of Pallas’ shield that Turnus pierces at 10.488; the *pellis iuvenici* of Camilla’s victim Ornytus at 11.679; Chloereus’ *pellis* at 11.770. “The skin cloak is the mark of a very ancient ritual” (Bailey 1935, 57; cf. 58: “... Virgil’s description of the worship of Hercules at the Ara Maxima proves that the special features of an extraneous cult were still known and practised.”).

in morem: As at 88; cf. 344. The *mos* is the liturgical body of customary rubrics for the Herculean rite.

cincti: The mostly poetic verb is usually more common with a prefix; note here Propertius, c. 2.2.8b *mille Venus teneris cincta Cupidinibus*; c. 3.6.30 *cinctaque funesto lanea vitta toro*; Virgil’s Atlas at 4.248–249 ... *cinctum adsidue cui nubibus atris | piniferum caput et vento pulsatur et imbri*; the diverse descriptions of 7.612 and 658; Juno’s comment at 12.810–812 *nec tu me aëria solam nunc sede videres | digna indigna pati, sed flammis cincta sub ipsa | starem acie traheremque inimica in proelia Teucros*. With the participle here cf. *evincti* at 286.

flammasque ferebant: The men now bear torches to illumine this sacred night. The Romanus reads the singular *flammamque* here; Virgil's picture, however, is one a group of priests (led by Potitius) who all bear flaming torches. For *flamma* of a torch vid. *OLD* s.v. 4; in Virgil it is thus employed in the context of the destruction of Troy (2.256), as well as for funeral use (11.144). The torches also look forward to the burning of the offerings on the altar (285). For the possible etymological connection to *flamen* see O'Hara 2017, 205.

283 *instaurant epulas et mensae grata secundae*

instaurant: The verb occurs 10× in the epic; cf. 2.451 *instaurati animis* (during the fall of Troy); 2.669–670 *instaurata* / *proelia* (of the same); 3.62 (of the rites for Polydorus); 4.63 (of Dido's religious worship); 4.145 *instauratque chorus* (of Apollo); 5.94 (at the *tumulus* of Anchises); 6.529–530 (of Deiphobus' prayer for vengeance on the Greeks); 7.146 *instaurant epulas* (after the portent of the eating of the tables); 10.543 (of Caeculus and Umbro as they renew the battle). The subject of the verb is the assembly of priests led by Potitius. On the opening of a tricolon see Gransden. Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.50.3 *instaurat epulas iubet*, with Woodman's note; Statius, *Theb.* 1.514–515.

mensae ... secundae: The only parallel phrase in Virgil occurs at *G.* 2.101–102 *non ego te, dis et mensis accepta secundis, / transierim, Rhodia, et tumidis, bumaste, racemis*. Note also Horace, *Serm.* 2.2.121–122; Ovid, *Met.* 8.673; 9.92. “Una carnis fuerat, altera pomorum” (Servius). Again, *Anachronismus*, though not a difficult example to insert in context.

For how originally the dessert course was exceptional at Roman dinners, see Gowers 1993, 16–17. It is not certain that the present detail refers to what would be a course of fruits and nuts, though alternatives are difficult to suggest. At 175–176, Evander ordered that *dapes* and *pocula* be put back after the interruption of Aeneas' arrival; we know from Servius *ad* 269 that the rites at the Ara Maxima included sacrificial rites in the morning as well as the evening (so that the “interruption” might actually seem at first glance to reflect an etiology for the doubled feasting, when in fact the morning sacrifice was disturbed). See Eden for how the second meal could be considered a *secunda mensa* or “second course” in terms of the usual conventions of Roman dining practice. The only parallel in the poem for *instaurare epulas* is at 7.146, where Iulus' announcement of the apparent fulfillment of Celaeno's prophecy could be said to interrupt the meal; here the question is the degree to which the Trojan arrival at Pallanteum constituted a bad omen. The feasting of 175–183 represents a resumption of an interrupted sacrificial meal; that feast is followed by the long recitation of the epyllion of Hercules and Cacus. Once the story is concluded, wine is offered in libation to the god, before the coming of evening; then, as

the darkness descends, the priests go forth with torches, and the second course commences; this “renewed feast” will have its own story, a hymnic accompaniment in praise of the god.

grata: For the adjective with *dona* cf. Ovid, *Her.* 1.27 *grata ferunt nymphae pro salvis dona maritis*.

284 **dona ferunt cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras.**

dona ferunt: The verse opening is Catullan (c. 64.34 *dona ferunt prae se, declarant gaudia vultu*); in Virgil it occurs also at 5.101 *dona ferunt, onerant aras mactantque iuencos*, a passage that has influenced the present description; cf. also 180–181 above; also Silius, *Pun.* 16.306–307.

cumulantque: For the verb see Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.532, of the heaping of rewards on Acestes after his miraculous arrow shot at the memorial games; 11.50, of Aeneas’ comment about Evander’s vain offerings for the safe return of Pallas. The present scene is echoed directly, however, at 12.215 ... *cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras*, of the treaty ratification between Trojans and Latins. The only other use of the verb in Virgil is at 4.436 *quam mihi cum dederit cumulatam morte remittam*, of Dido’s mysterious promise. The verb is thus used in several less than optimistic scenes; it has connection to the deaths of Dido and Pallas, as well as the failed hope for a peaceful settlement between Aeneas and Latinus in the early movements of Book 12. The heaping of offerings on the loaded trays is somewhat enacted by the metrical pattern.

oneratis: For the verb see on 180. Together with *cumulant* the emphasis is on the abundance and plenty of the sacrificial repast and offerings.

lancibus: Of metal dishes or trays for the food offerings. The noun occurs here and at 12.215 in this sense (and cf. *G.* 2.194); at 12.725 *Iuppiter ipse duas aequato examine lances* it is used of the dishes in which the respective fates of Aeneas and Turnus are weighed in the balance, where significantly Virgil does not reveal which lot sank down.

aras: Poetic plural, as with the *altaria* of 285.

285 **tum Salii ad cantus incensa altaria circum**

tum: The Romanus has *tunc* here.

Salii: See here N. Goldschmidt in *VE* III, 1114–1115; also L. Polverini in *EV* IV, 653–654. Vulcan includes these dancing, leaping priests on the shield of Aeneas (663–665 below); they are mentioned by Ovid at *Fast.* 3.387–388 *iam dederat Saliis a saltu nomina ducta | armaque et ad certos verba canenda modos* (where see Frazer); cf. 3.259–260; also Festus 438–439L; Varro, *DLL* 5.85; Dionysius 2.70–71 (who associates the Salii with the Curetes). For Virgil’s use of the “official register” of Herculean propaganda here, see Newman and Newman 2005, 232.

On the Roman Salii as an “apotropaic spiritual arsenal,” see Putnam 1998, 134. For the *sacrarium Martis* or *curia Saliorum* on the Palatine, vid. *AAR* 219.

Livy credits Numa Pompilius with selecting twelve Salii for Mars Gradivus, with their distinctive vesture and *ancilia*: *Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo legit tunicaeque pictae insigne dedit et super tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen caelestiaque arma, quae ancilia appellantur, ferre ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripodis sollemnique saltatu iussit* (1.20.4); note also 1.27.7 *Tullus in re trepida duodecim vovit Salios fanaque Pallori ac Pavori*; 5.52.7; 6.41.9 (with Oakley): two colleges of priests, then, one founded in peace and one in war. “Their origin is a matter of conjecture” (Ogilvie *ad* 1.20.4). The *ancilia* or “figure-of-eight” shield were mentioned by Ennius in his account of Numan institutions (*Ann.* fr. 2.114 Skutsch). Plutarch mentions the establishment of the priesthood at *Vit. Num.* 13, where detailed attention is given to the fall from heaven of the sacred shield in time of pestilence, etc.

The subject of Virgil’s ascription of the Salii to Hercules is considered by Macrobius, *Sat.* 3.12.5–9. Reference is made there to the testimony of a Varroian Menippean satire that Hercules and Mars were simply one and the same (... *eundem esse ac Martem probavit*), and to the Chaldaean labeling of the planet Mars as Hercules, alongside citation of Octavius Hirsennius and Antonius Gniphos as sources for the claim that Salii were given to Hercules as well as to Mars. Danielis records the business about the Chaldaeans, whom he says Varro follows; he also notes that the Tiburtines won a victory over the Volscians: “saltabant autem ritu veteri armati post victoriam Tiburtinorum de Volscis.” The two Livian colleges are noted: one Collinal and one Quirinal. On the connection of Hercules and Tibur, see Bourne 1916, 57 ff.

Other Danielian details/theories include the Tusculan possession of the Salian rites before Rome; an Arcadian Salius who was joined to the Trojans; we may compare the Arcadian Salius of 5.298 ff., a contestant at the foot race—a clear enough foreshadowing of the present scene. Salius is awarded a lion pelt for his achievement in the race (5.351–352); for Salius’ ultimate fate as killer and killed vid. 10.753–754. Danielis also asserts that some claimed a Dardanian founding for the priesthood; cf. also his “quidam etiam dicunt salios a Morrio, rege Veientanorum, institutos, ut Halesus, Neptuni filius, eorum carmine laudaretur, qui eiusdem regis familiae auctor ultimus fuit.”

In the epic narrative, then, the Salii are the religious, cultic fulfillment of what was foreshadowed in the foot race with Salius and his leonine award; once again the first and last book’s of the epic’s second third are closely linked. The Trojan Nisus trips the Arcadian Salius so that his *eromenos* Euryalus may win (5.334–336). We might also recall the youthful rites of the *lusus Troiae*, especially in conjunction with the detail below that there was a Salian chorus of

iuniores as well as one of *seniores* (287–288; the detail is exclusive to Virgil). The Arcadian *Salii* of Hercules—associated with the Arcadian in Sicily who wins the lion pelt (one wonders where exactly he joined the Sicilian or Trojan communities)—are a prefiguration of the Numan/Tullan colleges of Roman *Salii* for Mars. The Arcadian competitor in the foot race is tripped by the Trojan, who is himself ultimately doomed; *Salius*, like *Pallas*, is himself fated to die.

On the semantic connections between the *Salii* and not only leaping but also the exultation of the people at the Herculean rites, see Paschalis 1997, 291–292.

ad cantus: Cf. the *matutini cantus* of birds at 8.456; the bird songs of 1.398 and 7.34; the war songs of Misenus at 6.164–165 (cf. 172); the song in Circe's dwelling at 7.12; the poet-narrator's *cantusque movete* at 7.641 (at the commencement of the gathering of the clans; cf. 10.163); the spells of the priest Umbro at 7.754; the call to war at 2 above. What is not clear is if the *Salii* are moving now to the accompaniment of song, or whether the *cantus* refers to the imminent song; cf. Dionysius 2.70.5, of the *Salii* keeping time to a flute. In light of 287 *carmine*, it is perhaps likelier that the present reference is to the hymn's musical score, as it were. With the present hymn cf. the song in honor of Polydeuces at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 2.159–163 (with Nelis 2001, 362).

incensa: The burnt offerings stand in contrast to the terrible power of the fire-breathing, incendiary *Cacus*.

altaria: On Virgilian altars see E. Montanari in *EV* 1, 120; B. Gladhill in *VE* 1, 57–58; Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.54 and 93; Cucchiarelli *ad E.* 1.43; *altaria* is particularly associated with that which was placed on the *ara* to permit the burning of offerings (on this see Eden's note). The specific point is underscored here by the participle *incensa*, as well as the contrast with 284 *aras*.

Apostoli 2009, 36 ff. sees a connection between the present songs in honor of Hercules and the start of *E.* 1.

286 *populeis adsunt evincti tempora ramis,*

populeis ... ramis: The distinctive Herculean attribute frames the verse. Aeneas would remember the epiphany of Tiberinus amid poplars (31–33 above) as he witnessed this Arcadian liturgy.

adsunt: For the form at the same *sedes* note 7.506 *improvisi adsunt*, at the start of the war in Latium; otherwise at line-end (2.330, of the Greeks invading Troy); 3.225, of the Harpies; 12.288, after the collapse of the Trojan-Latin treaty—only here in a positive setting. No need to emend the verb to *saltant* (so Schrader *apud* Forbiger here; cf. Miller 2014, 455).

evincti: The verb occurs a striking 4× in Book 5 (269; 364; 494; 774), twice of prize winners (269 and 494); once of boxers (364); and once, as here, in a religious context (774). Note also *E.* 7.31–32 *si proprium hoc fuerit, levi de mar-*

more tota / puniceo stabis suras evincta coturno; Tibullus, c. 1.7.5–6 *evenere: novos pubes Romana triumphos / vidit et evinctos brachia capta duces*; Ovid, *Am.* 3.6.55–56 ... *quid sola vagaris, / vitta nec evinctas inpedit alba comas?*; *Met.* 15.676 *evinctus vitta crines albente sacerdos*; *Trist.* 4.4.73 *protinus evincti tristem ducuntur ad aram*; Statius, *Theb.* 1.554–555 *laude ciet comitum famulumque evincta pudica / fronde manus*. Tibullus has *devinctus tempora lauro* (c. 2.5.5); cf. Virgil's 12.120 *velati limo et verbena tempora vinciti*. Tibullus has c. 2.5.5 ... *devinctus tempora lauro*, on which see Maltby 2002, 64 on the possibility of an Ennian or Sibylline source for some of both Virgil's and Tibullus' language.

tempora ramis: The line-end occurs also at 5.71 *ore favete omnes et cingite tempora ramis*; Statius, *Theb.* 6.554 *nuper Olympiacis umbratus tempora ramis*.

287 *hic iuvenum chorus, ille senum, qui carmine laudes*

hic ... chorus ... ille: There is a chorus of young men, and one of old; we might think of the different Salian colleges (the original one for Mars, the later for Quirinus), or of how the youthful equestrian demonstration of the Troy game has now been replaced with an Arcadian song that mingles the generations.

iuvenum ... senum: For the gathering of mixed ages cf. 9.309 *primorum manus ad portas, iuvenumque senumque* (before the night raid); Horace, c. 1.29.19–20 *mixta senum ac iuvenum densentur funera, nullum / saeva caput Proserpina fugit*; Ovid, *Ars* 1.194; *Met.* 7.612 *natorumque patrumque animae iuvenemque senumque*; *Fast.* 6.88 *Iunius est iuvenum; qui fuit ante, senum*; Lucan, *BC* 7.774 *ille senum voltus, iuvenum videt ille figuras*; Statius, *Theb.* 5.149. Cf. also the implicit detail about the young and the old at 105. Danielis *ad* 288 notes that the old are appropriately mentioned as eyewitnesses to the deeds of Hercules before his apotheosis.

carmine laudes: For *carmen* note E. Montanari in *EV* 1, 665–666. The line-end also at Ovid, *Ep. Pont.* 4.10.71. The *carmen* may remind one of the celebrated, enigmatic *carmen Saliare*, on which see especially Sarullo 2015 (with consideration of the idea that the hymn was antiphonal; cf. the two choruses in Virgil); two of the three surviving fragments of this mysterious text are preserved by Varro, *DLL* 7.26 ff.; the other in Scaurus' *De Orth.* (*GL* 7.28 Keil); there are scattered words in Festus. The *carmen* was a byword for unintelligible archaism (Quintilian 1.6.40–41 ... *et Saliorum carmina vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta*; cf. F. Hickson Hahn, "Performing the Sacred: Prayers and Hymns," in Rüpke 2011, 236 on the need for exact recitation of words whose precise meaning had long been forgotten; Horace, *Ep.* 2.1.86–89, with Brink). *Carmen* is echoed at 303 *carminibus*; both uses distantly presage the introduction of Evander's prophetic mother at 335–336.

If the Salian rituals were connected with the opening of the season of war, then the immediate context is eminently fitting; one wonders if there is any connection between the possible scapegoat rituals of Mamurius Veturius and the god Vulcan who will soon enough forge the new shield of Aeneas (cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 3.379–392, where Mamurius is the smith who copies the ancient *ancile*). For the expulsion of Mamurius the key evidence is the sixth century A.D. Byzantine work of Lydus, *De Mens.* 4.36; cf. the possible connection of Servius *ad* 7.188, and Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 24.3 (especially for the references to the beating of someone dressed in animal skins (cf. the *pelles* donned here in Pallanteum)); see further Versnel 1993, 297 ff. on “the expulsion of the old Roman Mars, named Mamurius Veturius, who bears a strong resemblance to the personified Februarius. This ‘Old Year’ was represented as an old man clothed with skins who was ritually driven out of the city” (cf. the choruses of old and young here; in contrast to the mock battle between youths of the Trojan *lusus*, the Salian ritual concerns a battle between the different generations). In Ovid’s account, the reward for Mamurius’ labor is the inclusion of his name in the *carmen* (*Fast.* 3.390); cf. Propertius, c. 4.2.61–62 (with Hutchinson, and Coutelle). On Mamurius and the idea that the tale of expulsion was an Augustan Age innovation, see Habinek 2005, 11 ff. For the idea that *Mamers* was an Oscan name for Mars, vid. Festus 117L. Did anyone think of Caesar’s March elimination in light of this lore? More prefigurement, in any case, of the future Rome and its religious traditions—but not a Salian hymn for Mars or Quirinus. Eden finds it unlikely that old men would have been thought appropriate for a Herculean hymn; the mixing of the ages makes sense in a ritual designed to say farewell to the old year. In a perversion of the natural order, Pallas will die before Evander, a casualty of the new campaigning season.

Augustus had his name inserted in the Salian hymn, perhaps in 29 (vid. *Res Gest.* 10, with Cooley’s note: “... the addition of Augustus’ name ... may have produced one of few words readily recognizable to its listeners”).

laudes: Cf. 273 ... *tantarum in munere laudum*. The praises are in thanksgiving for the blessings that Hercules has brought to the region and world.

288 *Herculeas et facta ferunt: ut prima novercae*

Herculeas: For the adjective cf. 270; 542. For the possible etymological connection between the framing *Herculeas* and *novercae*, see O’Hara 2017, 205–206

facta: Possibly after Lucretius, *DRN* 5.22; cf. Propertius, c. 4.9.33; Ovid, *Fast.* 5.696.

ferunt: Apronianus’ correction of the Medicean reads *ferant* here in a relative clause of purpose; the difference in meaning is not so great. Servius notes here that the old men were responsible for singing of the deeds, while the young

men acted them out by gesture. For the hendiadys with *facta* after *laudes* see Gransden. The alliterative pattern of *facta ferunt* is picked up at once by *monstra manu* (289).

ut: The opening of a triple song; at 290 and 291 it continues with the ruin of cities and the performance of the canonical (and other) labors.

prima: Usually taken as an adverbial accusative, rather than as standing in agreement with 289 *monstra*; the snakes sent by Juno were the occasion of Hercules' first exercise of heroic valor. *Prima* suggests the first of many monsters to be slain by Hercules in his labors, resulting from Juno's hostility.

novercae: Hercules' stepmother, i.e., the goddess Juno. The only other occurrence of the noun in the epic is at 7.765, of Hippolytus' stepmother Phaedra; cf. the *iniusta noverca* of *E.* 3.33; the *saevae novercae* of *G.* 2.128; the *malae novercae* of *G.* 3.282. On ancient stepmothers and the negative appraisal and press they received, see Watson 1995; cf. McAuley 2016, 230–231. Any implicit condemnation of Juno would resonate with the Trojan Aeneas, who has been warned already to supplicate and venerate the Argive goddess with particular care. There seems to have been a tradition that Hera actually provided milk to the infant Heracles (vid. Gantz 1993, 378; cf. Lycophron, *Alex.* 38–39 and 1327–1328, with Hornblower). The story of the snakes is first extant at Pindar, *Nem.* 1.33–72, a passage that concludes with Teiresias making a prophecy about the future greatness of the hero; note also Theocritus, *Id.* 24 (“In general τ. follows the narrative of Pindar ... but he is at pains to reduce it from the heroic to the domestic level”—Gow). The sending of the snakes to strangle the infant Heracles recalls the punishment of Laocoön and his sons at 2.199 ff. Tib. notes here all the impressive elements inherent to a story of infantile strangulation of herpetological horrors.

289 *monstra manu geminosque premens eliserit anguis,*

monstra ... anguis: The snaky monsters envelop the verse. For how Hercules' infancy exploit prefigures his later achievements, see Newman and Newman 2005, 248. With *monstra* cf. also 6.285, of the horrors on the threshold of the underworld.

manu: Cf. 294.

eliserit: For the verb see on 261; Hercules strangled Cacus, and he began his heroic career with the similar vanquishing of the Junonian serpents. The first of three perfect subjunctives; cf. 290 *disiecerit* and the crowning 293 *pertulerit*.

geminos ... anguis: Cf. Ovid, *Her.* 9.21–22 *tene ferunt geminos pressisse tenaciter angues*, | *cum tener in cunis iam Iove dignus eras?*; Martial, *ep.* 14.177.1 *Elidit geminos infans nec respicit anguis*. The two snakes appear exactly as at 7.450 ... *et geminos erexit crinibus anguis*, of the Fury Allecto's behavior with Turnus;

the phrase is repeated again below at 697 *necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit anguis*, of the eerie foreshadowing of the suicide of Cleopatra. The serpents that slay Laocoön and his sons are also *gemini angues* (2.203–204; the image is imitated by Petronius, *Sat.* 89.1vs35). Note also the *Schlangenwagen* of Ceres at Ovid, *Met.* 5.642–643 (with Bömer); *Fast.* 6.736 (of Anguitenens/Ophiuchus); Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.52.

290 **ut bello egregias idem disiecerit urbes,**

egregias ... urbes: The phrase—especially after the mention of the deadly serpents—is borrowed from the *laudes Italiae*, *G.* 2.153–155 *nec rapit immensos orbis per humum neque tanto / squameus in spiram tractu se colligit anguis. / adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem*. In the *Georgics*, the image is of how Italy is blessed with glorious cities, and with an absence of dreadful serpentine menace; in the Herculean *carmen* of the Salii, the snakes are indeed vanquished, but magnificent cities are also destroyed.

The cities of Troy and Oechalia are perhaps distinguished for their glory in war (*bello*); in the context of the visit of Aeneas, one may think at once of the Danaan destruction of Priam's city. The allusion is most especially to Dido's Carthage: 1.444–445 ... *sic iam fore bello / egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem*—perhaps, that is, since the ablative of respect could be taken with *disiecerit*, as part of a miniature description of Hercules' martial exploits; the word order, however, allows *bello* at least to shade the key word *egregias*; Carthage may have been outstanding, indeed preeminent in war—but it was destroyed, and so too Oechalia and (especially) Troy. Conington notes that any impropriety in celebrating the destruction of Troy may have been ameliorated by praising the city as being glorious in war.

disiecerit: For the verb see on 191. The echo is of 2.608, where Venus reveals the divine cause of the *disiectas moles* of Troy; we shall return to this imagery of destroyed edifices at 355.

“... how the Trojan guests reacted to the mention of Hercules' sack of Troy, we are not told, but the hymn was of course composed before they arrived” (Eden). “Somewhat tactless in the presence of a Trojan guest” (Fordyce). “A curious exploit for Trojan visitors to concelebrate” (Newman and Newman 2005, 177). But the point to which Virgil continues to return is the ultimate suppression of Aeneas' former city. Servius notes that it would have been a *sacrilegium* to remove anything from the hymn; he provides valuable evidence that already in late antiquity there was unease over the mention of the ruin of Aeneas' city (cf. Tib.'s similar note here).

291 Troiamque Oechaliamque, ut duros mille labores

Rapid narrative, both metrically and with respect to subject matter.

Troiamque: Aeneas' city is offset in prominent relief; the Salian *carmen* celebrates the destruction of Troy, just as the *lusus Troiae* commemorated the battle for the storied realm of Priam. On the Herculean dealings with Troy see Gantz 1993, 400–402.

Oechaliamque: On this locale of uncertain exact provenance see V. Koven-Matasy and J. Ziolkowski in *VE* 11, 928; also G. Garbugino, “Ecalia,” in *EV* 11, 160. In Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, the Herculean Oechalia is in Euboea (see Easterling *ad* 74). Oechalia's king had promised to marry his daughter Iole to the one who could defeat him in an archery contest; there is a clear enough parallel, one might think, to Aeneas' interaction with Latinus/Lavinia. For the emphasis on the breaking of pacts, with reference to Cacus in particular, see Paschalis 1997, 292–293. For how men will pay a price for deceit, while gods (Jupiter in particular) suffer no such consequence, see Lyne 1987, 84.

ut: The Romanus has *et* here (also Macrobius, *Sat.* 6.6.14).

duros ... labores: Cf. 6.436–437 ... *quam vellent aethere in alto | nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!* (of souls in the underworld). Ciceronian: *ferte, viri, et duros animo tolerate labores* (fr. 23.1); note also Tibullus, c. 1.4.47 *Nec te paeniteat duros subiisse labores*; Ps.-V., *Ciris* 291–292 *tam grande servitium, tam duros passa labores, | effugere, o bis iam exitium crudele meorum?* (with Lyne), coincidentally at the same verse. On the connection between Hercules' *labores* and Aeneas, see Newman and Newman 2005, 334–335. For the typological reading of Hercules as prefigurement of Aeneas with Turnus, see (e.g.) Cairns 1989, 84, 102.

mille: On the “striking hyperbole” see Hardie 1986, 258–259. “No flattery is ever hyperbolic either to the flattered (whether god or man) or to the flatterer” (Henry). Turnus was said to have seized a thousand people for his cause (7.723–725); cf. 10.166–167, etc.

292 rege sub Eurystheo fatis Iunonis iniquae

Eurystheo: A classic example of synzesis, in this case with the ready candidate of a metrically challenging Greek name; for other examples in this book cf. 372 and 553. Eurystheus was the son of Sthenelus, one of the children of Perseus and Andromeda (Homer, *Il.* 19.116–124; cf. Hesiod, fr. 135 Merkelbach-West/241 Most). For the king see V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* 1, 464; also R. Rocca in *EV* 11, 434–435.

fatis: “It is useless here, or elsewhere in Virgil, to try and set up a logical connexion between ‘fate’ and the will of particular deities” (Page). “A rather extended use of the causal ablative” (Williams). Servius interprets the *fata* of Juno here as her *voluntas*.

Iunonis iniquae: The line-end is imitated by Ovid at *Her.* 9.45–46 *arbiter Eurystheus astu Iunonis iniquae / sentitur nobis iraque longa deae*; *Met.* 7.523–524 *dira lues ira populis Iunonis iniquae / incidit exosae dictas a paelice terras*; Lucan, *BC* 1.576–577 ... *aut qualem iussu Iunonis iniquae / horruit Alcides viso iam Dite Megaeram*; Statius, *Theb.* 3.182–184. The phrase recalls 1.668 ... *odiis Iunonis acerbae*, where Venus complains to Cupid about the treatment of Aeneas; cf. 2.257 ... *fatisque deum defensus iniquis* (of Sinon); 3.17 ... *fatis ingressus iniquis* (Aeneas at the grave of Polydorus); 4.618–619 ... *nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquae / tradiderit* (Dido of Aeneas); 5.203 *interior spatioque subit Sergestus iniquo* (at the regatta); 6.332 *multa putans sortemque animo miseratus iniquam* (Aeneas at the Styx); 6.475 *nec minus Aeneas casu percussus iniquo* (Aeneas with the shade of Dido); 7.227 ... *plaga solis iniqui*; 10.7 ... *tantumque animis certatis iniquis?* (Jupiter at the council of the gods); 10.303 ... *dorso dum pendet iniquo* (of Tarchon's ship); 10.380 *Obvius huic primum fatis adductus iniquis* (of Liger); 10.889 ... *et urgetur pugna congressus iniqua* (of Mezentius); 11.531 ... *et silvis insedit iniquis* (of the locus of the ambush); 12.243 *infectum et Turni sortem miserantur iniquam*. For the genitive of source or origin see Antoine 1882, 82–83.

Half the verse is devoted to the goddess' agent, and half to the divine power herself.

293 *pertulerit. 'tu nubigenas, invicte, bimembris,*

pertulerit: The prefix emphasizes the thoroughness of the completion; Hercules left none of his tasks at all undone.

tu: Henry compares the apostrophic hymn to the Ambrosian *Te deum laudamus* of the *Breviarium*. The personal pronoun—repeated at 294—is echoed in the powerful anaphora of *te ... te* at 296; cf. 298 and 299 *te*, and finally 302 *tua*, where the references to Hercules are joined with the *nos* of the worshippers.

nubigenas: The adjective may have been coined by Virgil; it occurs at 7.674–675 *ceu duo nubigenae cum vertice montis ab alto / descendunt Centauri*, of the comparison of the Tiburtine Catillus and Coras to Centaurs (where see Horsfall). Germanicus has it in his description of Chiron (*Arat.* 421–422 *hic erit ille pius Chiron, iustissimus omnis / inter nubigenas et magni doctor Achillis*); 2× in Ovid (*Met.* 12.211 and 541); 3× in Statius (*Theb.* 1.365; 5.263; *Silv.* 5.2.131, this last passage where the manuscript *nubigeras* was corrected by Politian; see further Gibson ad loc.; the reference is the Salian *ancilia* that fell from the clouds). The Centaurs were said to be the children of Ixion and a cloud that had been fashioned by Zeus in the form of Hera (at least by Pindar in *Pyth.* 2); the equine monsters thus have a clear enough connection to the inveterate divine foe of both Heracles and Aeneas. On the Centaurs in the Roman imagination see Lowe

2015, 166 ff. “Of the origin of these creatures there is surprisingly no consistent early account” (Gantz 1993, 145). Centaurs and *Scyllae bifformes* are among the terrors at the door of hell in the Virgilian underworld (6.286). On Hercules as subduer of Centaurs see Harrison 2017, 147.

invicte: The shade of Palinurus so addresses Aeneas at 6.365; the descriptor is used of Theseus and Pirithous at 6.394, and in the powerful comment on the future Marcellus at 6.878–879 *heu pietas, heu prisca fides invictaque bello | dextera!* At 10.242–243 it is applied to the shield of Aeneas; at 11.306 of Latinus’ comment to his council on how they are fighting against *invicti viri*; at 12.191 *invictae gentes* of Aeneas’ comment on both the Trojans and the Latins during the treaty ratification. The main reference here is to Hercules Invictus, whose temple was near the Porta Trigemina (Platner and Ashby 1929, 254; Richardson 1992, 310; *LTUR* III, 15); the allusion need not demand capitalization (so Haupt; Ribbeck). The swift advance of the narrative now moves seamlessly into the actual words of the *carmen*; the Herculean destruction of the Centaurs is part of the topos of the defense of the Olympian order against wild, irrational forces; the evocation of the Tiburtines from the catalogue of Italian heroes associates the present work of Aeneas with that of his storied mythological model. For the claiming of the appellation by Julius Caesar, see Newman and Newman 2005, 291.

bimembris: If we can believe the evidence of Macrobius (*Sat.* 6.5.13), Virgil took this adjective from Quintus Cornificius, who in his epyllion on Glaucus wrote *centauros foedare bimembres* (vid. Courtney 1993/2003, 225–227). Ovid uses it several times (*Her.* 2.71; 9.99; *Met.* 12.240; 12.494; 15.283); Statius twice (*Theb.* 1.457; 12.554); cf. Juvenal, s. 13.64; Silius, *Pun.* 3.41. Cacus could also be said to be biform (*semifer*; *semihomo*); for how the Herculean *facta* of the Salian hymn relate back step by step to the defeat of that monster, see Hardie 1986, 111n68. Dante’s presentation of a centauric Cacus likely owes much to Virgil’s mention of Hercules’ defeat of the monsters here.

“Three compound adjectives in a row is unparalleled in Virgil” (Eden).

The Salian hymn to Hercules echoes the similar account of Hercules’ deeds in the *Heldenschau*, where Anchises makes comparison of the future deeds of Augustus Caesar and the heroic achievements of the demigod: *nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit, | fixerit aripedem cervam licet, aut Erymanthi | pacarit nemora et Lernam tremefecerit arcu* (6.801–803). The Cerynthian hind and the Erymanthian boar are canonical labors not mentioned in the Virgilian *Carmen Saliare*; both miniature catalogues, however, close with the Lernaean Hydra.

294 *Hylaeumque Pholumque manu, tu Cresia mactas*

From the general reference to the Centaurs, we move to two specific equine victims.

Hylaeumque Pholumque: Hylaeus and Pholus are also mentioned together at *G.* 2.455–457 *Bacchus et ad culpam causas dedit; ille furentis | Centauros leto domuit, Rhoecumque Pholumque | et magno Hylaeum Lapithis cratera minantem*, of the battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs at the wedding of Pirithous and Hippodamia; Mynors notes there the possibility that Virgil has chosen Centaur names “to please himself.” On the semantic connection of Pholus with cave dwelling, see Paschalis 1997, 292.

For Hylaeus see V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* II, 633 (“Hylaeus appears again out of his normal mythological milieu”); for Pholus, H. Westervelt in *VE* III, 1005. Virgil’s treatment of this centauric lore repays close study. In the *G.* passage, Hylaeus and Pholus appear with Rhoecus, who is elsewhere associated with the insulting of Atalanta and death at the hands of that young woman (Callimachus, *Hymn.Art.* 215 ff., where Hylaeus is his partner in crime; cf. Propertius, c. 1.13–14). Pholus appears as a Centaur at Ovid, *Met.* 12.306 (where see Bömer); there is a *Hyleus* in the Calydonian hunt at 8.312 (where see Bömer, and Hollis ad loc.). Servius notes that Theseus killed Hylaeus.

At Ps.-Apollodorus, *Bib.* 2.5.4 (where see Scarpì’s notes) Pholus is the son of Silenus and a Melian nymph; he entertains Heracles at Pholoe while the hero is on the quest for the Erymanthian boar (the story is also told by Diodorus Siculus, 4.12.3–8, with some differences of plot detail); cf. Preller/Robert I, 729–735; also Roscher III.1, 2416–2423. The centaur consumes raw meat while Heracles feasts on roasted flesh; Pholus expresses concern about serving Heracles the wine that was the common property of all the Centaurs. The inevitable conflict between the hero and the horse-men ensues; Pholus dies after he tries to investigate how an arrow from Heracles could bring down so great a creature as a Centaur; the poisoned shaft kills him at once, and Heracles finds the body and accords it an honorable burial. On this tradition of a Pholoean stopover see Gantz 1993, 390–392; there are scattered allusion to a Herculean centaurography before the mythographers (and Theocritus, *Id.* 7.149–150 refers to Chiron’s serving of wine to Heracles in the cave of Pholus).

What happened on the Centaurs’ mountain seems to have become a part of the narrative of the labor of the Erymanthian boar (vid. Fowler 2013, 278–279 on Hecataeus fr. 6, the one extant reference to the labor in archaic literature); it is uncertain whether or not it was originally conceived of as a separate adventure.

manu: Cf. 289.

Cresia: The seventh of the canonical labors is referenced, the conquest of the bull of Crete (see here Gantz 1993, 394–395). The identity of the bull was dis-

puted in antiquity; it was associated sometimes with the animal that brought Europa to Crete, and also with the taurine *amour* of Pasiphaë. In Ps. Apollodorus and Diodorus, the bull is brought back alive to Eurystheus, and is later released to have a new (if short-lived) career as the Marathonian bull that is sacrificed by Theseus. A “rather straightforward labor” (Gantz); Fordyce feels that the description “awkwardly emphasizes” a not so impressive exploit (cf. 295 *prodigia*). For the geographical adjective cf. 4.70, of the *Cresia nemora* where the shepherd (Aeneas) is said to have wounded the deer (Dido). Lucretius has a brief mention of the lore at *DRN* 5.26 *denique quid Cretae taurus*. The first of four of the canonical labors that the hymn mentions; the others are the Nemean lion, the capture of Cerberus, and the slaying of the Lernaean Hydra.

mactas: Perhaps a surprise given the mythographic lore at least (and note the confusion here as to meaning in the Servian tradition); Virgil’s Hercules is evidently celebrated for having slain the bull. For the verb see on 85; “no religious overtones” (Eden; for the opposite case, vid. Miller 2014, 443). Conington perceptively observes that the present tense expresses how Hercules’ deeds are forever made vivid and alive by the power of the *carmen*. The verb effectively shatters the *Cresia ... prodigia*. See Miller 2014, 443 for how the killing of the bull may serve to highlight how Hercules is especially violent. *Mactare* is also used in a taurine connection of Laocoön (2.202); of Aeneas at the grave of Polydorus (3.21); of the offering of a bull to Neptune at 3.118. The common appearance of the bull in sacrificial rituals may have prompted the choice of verb. See further Heuzé 1985, 156 ff.

For the present tense in such contexts see Harrison on 10.81.

295 *prodigia et vastum Nemeae sub rupe leonem*.

prodigia: So of Aeneas’ description of the Harpy Celaeno’s song as a *prodigium* (3.366); cf. the remark of Iris/Beroë at 5.639 *nec tantis mora prodigiis*; 6.379 *prodigiis acti caelestibus* (of the Sibyl’s prediction about the establishment of a *tumulus* for Palinurus).

vastum: “Tremendous” (*OLD* s.v. 3). Cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 5.24–25 *quid Nemeaeus enim nobis nunc magnus hiatus | ille leonis obesset*. Fordyce has an extended note on the adjective *ad* 7.302; note also P. Pinotti in *VE* V, 454–456: “per conferire elevatezza stilistica e *pathos* al poema.” The “vast lion” surrounds its traditional locus. Mackail notes that Virgil applies the adjective only to inanimate objects, with the exception of the Nemean lion and the Cyclopes (3.647). The word is here deliberately juxtaposed with *prodigia*, of the huge taurine and leonine monstrosities.

Nemeae ... leonem: Traditionally the first of the labors, and the source of the ubiquitous Herculean accoutrement of the lion pelt (vid. Gantz 1993, 383–384;

Robert II.2, 440–443). “The *athlon* most often referred to by the poets” (Henriksen *ad* Martial, *ep.* 9.101.6). The story is as old as Hesiod (*Theog.* 326–332, where see West). For Nemea vid. L. Fratantuono in *VE* 11, 889; *Barrington* 58 D2; 57 A4; cf. *G.* 3.19–20 (with Thomas). We move from one of the less significant labors to the canonical commencement. For the Nemean lion as a bane sent by Hera to ruin Argos, cf. Callimachus, *Aet.* fr. 55 Harder, with reference to Homer, *Il.* 4.51 ff. on the implacable hatred of Hera for the Trojans and her willingness even to see her own favorite cities destroyed. Aeneas is in some sense most typologically Herculean because of the shared Junonian hatred; the association is complicated by Hercules’ connection to the destruction of Troy, and ultimately by Virgil’s depiction of Juno as happy in the final settlement of affairs in Italy (with Troy as decidedly junior partner—at best—in the new order).

The orthography of the name is a subject of confusion in the capital manuscripts; the Medicean has *Nemaea*, and the Romanus *Nemea*. *Nemea* is read (*inter al.*) by Heinsius; Heyne; Peerklamp; Forbiger; Conington. Burman followed P in reading *Nemaeae*, which most editors have settled on as the correct choice. Servius notes the anapaestic rhythm of the short syllables *Ne* and *me*.

sub rupe: Cf. 343 below.

296 te Stygii tremuere lacus, te ianitor Orci

The hymn continues with a reminiscence of the quest to seize the underworld canine Cerberus. The story is Homeric (*Il.* 8.367–368; *Od.* 11.623–626); Stesichorus wrote a poem on Cerberus that was presumably about this labor (vid. Davies and Finglass 2014, 459 ff. for commentary on the scanty surviving evidence). On this twelfth canonical labor see Gantz 1993, 413–416, with diachronic analysis of the lore (“... the little evidence we have suggests a pattern of greater force and violence in the early form of the story and more tact and negotiation as time goes on.”); cf. Robert II.2, 483–488. On the Cerberus and Hydra of the Virgilian underworld Bailey notes, “... neither of these can be said to have any religious significance; they are only the bogies of folk-lore” (255); cf. Preller/Robert I, 807 ff. One quotation survives that is attributed to a Sophoclean *Cerberus* (Lloyd-Jones fr. 327a), if indeed the ascription is correct (Jebb takes it as a verse from the *Heracles*; vid. his lucid introductory commentary *ad loc.*); the Euripidean satyr play *Eurystheus* concerned itself with the labor of the hell hound (Collard and Cropp fr. 371–379a).

Stygii ... lacus: So at 6.133–135 *quod si tantus amor menti, si tanta cupido est / bis Stygios innare lacus, bis nigra videre / Tartara*; cf. Lucan, *BC* 6.662–663 *si vero Stygiosque lacus ripamque sonantem / ignibus ostendam*; Seneca, *Ag.* 750; *HO*

1711; Statius, *Theb.* 4.568; Martial, *ep.* 1.78.4; 5.25.6; Silius, *Pun.* 3.601; 15.35. Cretan, Nemean, Stygian: three geographical descriptors in three successive verses, the last with reference to the dread lower world that is now cast as being in dread fear of the god.

tremuere: The verb contributes strongly to the hymnic glorification of the hero; there is no sense of negotiation with the underworld gods or of labor and effort in the acquisition of the dog; the Stygian lakes are in fright (cf. 240 above, of the Tiber during the fight with Cacus). The verb is echoed (in the reverse sense) at 298 *terruit*; see further on 335.

ianitor Orci: The doorkeeper of Orcus is Cerberus; Seneca quoted Virgil here (*Ep.* 82.16) on those authors who have tried to make the underworld a place to be feared by their powerful descriptions of the infernal regions. Virgil has *ianitor* of the hound of hell also at 6.400–401 ... *licet ingens ianitor antro | aeternum latrans exsanguis terreat umbras*; cf. Horace, c. 3.11.15–16 *cessit immanis tibi blandienti | ianitor aulae*; Statius, *Theb.* 6.498–499 ... *non illud ianitor atrae | impavidus Lethes*; *Silv.* 3.2.112 *cur servet Pharias Lethaeus ianitor aras*; 5.3.279 ... *nullo sonet asper ianitor ore*; Silius, *Pun.* 3.35–36 *at Stygius saevis terrens latratibus umbras | ianitor*. Is there any connection to the use of *ianitor* here with Janus, who was mentioned in the *Carmen Saliare*? To the degree that that label for the canine porter is a reminiscence of the god, there is an effective juxtaposition of images of new beginnings and of death.

For Orcus vid. G. Casertano in *EV* III, 878–879; L. Fratantuono in *VE* III, 941; Bailey 1935, 251–252; Panayotakis on Decimus Laberius, fr. 59; cf. Preller/Robert I, 842–846; Roscher III.1, 940–945. At *G.* 4.502 Charon is the *portitor Orci* (cf. Horace's *satelles Orci* at c. 2.18.34). In Virgil "Orcus" is often used simply with reference to the underworld: so at *A.* 2.398 ... *demittimus Orco* (of sending souls to their untimely deaths; cf. 9.527; 9.785); 4.242 (in the description of the action of the psychopomp Mercury); 4.699 (in the scene of Dido's death agonies and release therefrom); 6.273 ... *primisque in faucibus Orci* (where the maw of hell may recall the jaws of the guardian dog). At 11.197 (where see Fratantuono), it is possible that *m/Mors* is equivalent to Orcus. For Isidore the etymology of the name came from the reception of souls: *Pluton Graece, Latine Diespiter vel Ditis pater; quem alii Orcum vocant, quasi receptorem mortium. Unde et orca nuncupatur vas quod recipit aquas* (*Etym. Lib.* 8.42; cf. Ennius, *Euh.* 78). Orcus has a long history in Latin literature; cf. Ennius, *Ann.* fr. s.i. 564 Skutsch ("Orcus as the region of the dead seems to be a late development"). Note also Petronius, *Sat.* 62.2 (with Schmeling). If there is an association with oaths (so Paschalis 1997, 176–177; cf. West *ad* Hesiod, *Theog.* 231), the point here is to continue the emphasis on how Hercules was cheated both by the Oechalians and Trojans, as well as in the Cacus episode.

We may be reminded of how Aeneas tried to draw his sword to fight the bogeys in the underworld (6.285); Aeneas tried to do battle with spectral *monstra* that are reminiscent of targets of Herculean victory (see further on this parallel Galinsky 1972, 134–135).

297 ossa super recubans antro semesa cruento;

ossa: Conington notes that the bones must be of those who tried in foolish daring to penetrate the underworld. Eden sees the “germ of the idea” already at Hesiod, *Theog.* 311; Henry is characteristically indignant at the apparent inconsistency: “Who catered for him and brought him his provender across the Styx?” The verse is framed by the chromatic contrast of the bones and the bloody gore. See further O’Hara 2017, 206–207, with etymological consideration of the hound’s name, and on the question of where exactly the hellish canine found bones and the like in the underworld.

recubans: See above on 45 (and cf. 3.392), of the portentous sow; that image of relaxed achievement of the destined place of Hesperian glory has been replaced with the savage, grisly scene of Cerberus feasting on the half-eaten bones of victims in his bloody cavern. Aeneas and the Sibyl had an easier time than Hercules in dealing with Cerberus (6.417–423).

antro: We may think of Cacus’ lair; the hymn is also at pains to make the quest for the dog a matter of heroic glory and not mere negotiation with chthonic deities; cf. 6.423.

semesa: Elsewhere in Virgil only at 3.244 *semesam praedam*, of the half-eaten food left by the Harpies. The adjective is rare; twice in Ovid’s *Met.* (2.771 and 6.664); once each in Statius (*Theb.* 2.508) and Juvenal (s. 5.167); thrice in Silius (*Pun.* 2.687; 6.159; 6.238); cf. the textually vexed Cicero, *TD* 1.106.11. It occurs at the graphic close of the extant text of Petronius (*Sat.* 141.11 *inventae sunt matres quae liberorum suorum tenerent semesa in sinu corpora*). Servius has a rationalizing explanation that Cerberus is the earth that is the *consumptrix* of all living things.

Geymonat (also Ribbeck; Sabbadini; Paratore) prints *semessa* here, following the first corrector of P; the Romanus has *semensa*, with the *n* erased. Mynors and Conte prefer *semesa*.

298 nec te ullae facies, non terruit ipse Typhoeus

ullae facies: Perhaps of the spectral visages of monsters in the underworld. The phrase is usually left unconstrued by those who prefer to imagine a reference in 298–299 to the actual events of the gigantomachy, as opposed to underworld side adventures—though the one may well shade into the other. For *facies* “of a fearful form” see Fitch *ad* Seneca, *HF* 600; cf. *A.* 7.447–448 *tot Erinys sibilat hydri / tantaque se facie aperit*.

Typhoeus: On this prototypical rebellious giant see K. Shannon in *VE* III, 1312; West *ad* Hesiod, *Theog.* 820–880; Faulkner *ad* *Hymn.Hom.Apoll.* 305–355; cf. Preller/Robert I, 63 ff.; Roscher V, 1426–1454. Typhoeus is also referenced in Virgil in connection with the death and collapse of Bitias (9.716, where see Hardie); also when Venus notes to Cupid that he alone scorns the Typhoean thunderbolts of Jupiter (1.665); cf. *G.* 1.277 ff. (on why one should avoid the fifth day, which saw the birth of both Orcus and the giant brothers Typhoeus, Coeus, and Iapetus). There is scant extant evidence for a Herculean encounter with Typhoeus; the principal attestation is Euripides, *Her.* 1271 ff. (where see Bond); note also Plutarch, *Mor.* 341E. (Elmsley wanted to conjecture “Geryon” in the Euripides passage). At Pindar, *Nem.* 1.67 ff., Heracles’ aid to the Olympians in the gigantomachy is cited (more generally see Gantz 1993, 445–454; cf. Robert II.2, 507–508). As father of Cerberus and possibly grandfather to the lion of Nemea, he has a place in the hymn; Virgil’s *Salii* apparently consider him to be a ghostly presence in the underworld that did not terrify Hercules during the execution of the Cerberus labor.

Gigantomachic allusion is the point of the Typhoeaen introduction; *ullae facies* may point in particular to the other vanquished giants. But Hercules has ambivalent associations even in gigantomachic lore; on this see Chaudhuri 2014, 116 ff. (with reference to Homer, *Il.* 5.392–404 (Dione on Heracles’ theomachy against Hades and Hera; the tradition that Heracles was the son of Briareus)).

Servius sees poetic license here; if Typhoeus is imagined as being an underworld terror, then the hymn is able to reference yet another bit of Herculean lore as part of the Cerberus story. Gransden compares here Milton, *On the Morning of Christ’s Nativity* (224–228).

299 *arduus arma tenens; non te rationis egentem*

arduus ... tenens: We might think of the Wooden Horse at 2.328–329 *arduus armatos mediis in moenibus astans | fundit equus*; also the Latin reaction to the commencement of the war at 7.624–625 ... *pars arduus altis | pulverulentus equis furit; omnes arma requirunt*. On *arduus* see F. Del Chicca in *EV* I, 303–304; cf. Henry’s note. For the “double adjective in asyndeton,” see Gransden *ad loc.* Perhaps a reversal of the scene in the underworld where Aeneas sought to do battle with mere *simulacra*; Typhoeus is pictured as poised for combat. Dramatic alliteration as the towering god wields his armament. The passage is taken by some to be evidence for how Typhoeus cannot be a mere spectre in the underworld; note Papillon and Haigh here: “... but Virgil may have used words expressing the defiant attitude of an enemy without thinking of exactness in detail.” “Ces trois mots ne doivent pas être séparés par une ponctuation” (Benoist).

Arma tenens occurs also of Turnus (7.783–784 *Ipse inter primos praestanti corpore Turnus / vertitur arma tenens et toto vertice supra est*).

non te ...: The final labor is quietly introduced: the slaying of the Lernaean Hydra. The hymnic tribute to the god is thus bookended by two serpentine conquests.

rationis egentem: The line-end is Lucretian (*DRN* 4.502); cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.303. Rather different is the self-depiction of Aeneas at the fall of Troy: 2.314 *arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis*. A new note is struck as the hymn draws to a close; Hercules used not so much brute force as reason and logic in his defeat of the Hydra. The verse is neatly balanced between the lofty giant and his weapons, and the power of the *ratio* of the hero. For the Stoic echo, with reference to Cicero, *TD* 4.50 *neque enim est ulla fortitudo, quae rationis est expers*, see Newman and Newman 2005, 258. The detail about *ratio* is reminiscent of Cacus' trick in trying to conceal the footprints of the stolen cattle.

Danielis provides here a lengthy *précis* of the canonical labors.

300 **Lernaeus turba capitum circumstetit anguis.**

Adjective and noun frame the verse. The iconic word order might suggest the surrounding snake; on such serpentine verses see Dainotti 2015, 243–244.

Lernaeus ... anguis: For the second canonical labor, see Gantz 1993, 384–386; Robert 11.2, 440–447; on the Salian reference to the exploit note G.K. Galinsky, “Hercules and the Hydra (Vergil *Aen* 8. 299–300),” in *CPh* 67.3 (1972), 197, with reference to the Platonic [*Euthydem.* 297C] tradition that the Hydra was a sophist, so that its destroyer would need to exercise even greater *ratio* in fighting it—and no Iolaus in Virgil, we might note. The mention of the Hydra here rings back to the infant exploit of Hercules with Juno's serpents; according to Hesiod, the Hydra was the offspring of Typhon by Echidna (*Theog.* 313–318), and so it follows naturally enough from the matter of 298–299. Already in Hesiod the serpentine horror was another instrument of Hera's wrath against Heracles; the involvement of the goddess in harassing the hero is paramount in the ring composition of the hymn. The business about the poisonous blood of the monster, and Heracles' contriving of his own doom by dipping his arrows in it, can be found in Sophocles (*Trach.* 573–574). The Hydra is found among the monsters at the door of the Virgilian underworld: 6.287–288 ... *ac belua Lernae / horrendum stridens* (Aeneas is unable to slay the Hydra, let alone Geryon, since they are mere *simulacra*; cf. 290–294); the Herculean contest of the Hydra is noted among the exploits of the demigod that Augustus Caesar has surpassed: 6.803 ... *et Lernam tremefecerit arcu*. For Lerna cf. also 12.517–520 (with Tarrant's notes), where Turnus slays Menoetes, an Arcadian who presumably is one of Evander's Arcadians; the ill-fated youth had fished the waters of Lerna in

the Argolid (i.e., an area neighboring Arcadia—the Hydra would have specific meaning to the nearby Greeks). The Lernaean Hydra is also referenced at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.1404, where the emphasis is on how Heracles' arrows are now tinged with the venomous blood of his serpentine conquest.

The slaying of the Hydra not only closes the Herculean *résumés* of Books 6 and 8 (though see below on 303–304); it also appears as the insignia on the shield of his son Aventinus: *pulcher Aventinus, clipeoque insigne paternum / centum anguis cinctamque gerit serpentibus Hydram* (7.657–658). The Sibyl notes that the (or, perhaps better, a) Hydra dwells in Tartarus, fearsome with fifty heads: *quingenta atris immanis hiatus Hydra / saevior intus habet sedem* (6.576–577). A relative of the Lernaean Hydra, Austin notes ad loc. (Horsfall approves); whatever its provenance, Hydra-imagery is employed for the entrances both to the underworld proper and to its darkest realm, and the son of Hercules—an ally of Turnus—bears its image as his crest (cf. Turnus with his Chimaera emblem). What is clear is that the Herculean victory over the serpentine monstrosity is undercut by Anchises' comparison of such deeds to the accomplishments of Augustus; the fact that a Hydra—complete with Simonidean fifty heads—lurks savagely in Tartarus adds to the undercutting of the hero's achievement. On chthonic imagery in the depiction of the Latin warriors, see Nelis 2001, 301–302. For the water imagery inherent to the Hydra, see Paschalis 1997, 220.

The Augustan surpassing of Hercules is also hinted at in the reference to the Herculean labors at *G.* 3.4–5 *omnia iam vulgata: quis aut Eurysthea durum / aut inlaudati nescit Busiridis aras?* (where “the Virgilian novelty is that it is *Callimachean* themes that have become commonplace”—Thomas ad loc.). The *Carmen Saliare* is an implicit example of such vulgarization, and in this light one can interpret the sense of 6.803, etc.

turba capitem: An unparalleled phrase to describe the monstrous heads of the beast, which appear as if a crowd of hostile warriors. Many heads in Virgil, certainly—but no hint of the tradition that they were capable of regeneration; on this see Henriksen ad Martial, *ep.* 9.101.9 *fecundam vetuit reparari mortibus Hydram*; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 9.70 ff. (with Bömer). The underworld Hydra of 6.576 has fifty heads; the Hydra referenced in the description of Aventinus at 7.658 has a hundred; in the present scene, there is no numerical specification.

circumstetit: The verb occurs also at 2.559 *At me tum primum saevus circumstetit horror*; 6.486 *circumstant animae dextra laevaue frequentes*; 7.585 *certatim regis circumstant tecta Latini*; 10.904–905 ... *scio acerba meorum / circumstare odia*; 11.387–388 ... *nec longe scilicet hostes / quaerendi nobis; circumstant undique muros*; 12.85 *circumstant properi aurigae*. Valerius Flaccus has 1.399–400 ... *parvum / ter quater ardenti tergo circumvenit anguis* (where see Galli).

301 *salve, vera Iovis proles, decus addite divis,*

salve: An echo of 5.80–81 *salve, sancte parens, iterum; salvete, recepti | nequam cineres animaeque umbraeque paternae* (where see Fratantuono and Smith); also of Aeneas at the scene of the eating of the tables: *continuo salve fatis mihi debita tellus | vosque ait o fidi Troiae salvete penates*; cf. the very different 11.97–98 ... *salve aeternum mihi, maxime Palla, | aeternumque vale*. For the verb as “standard Roman means of invoking a deity” see Green *ad Ovid, Fast.* 1.509. With the address to Hercules here compare *G.* 2.173 *salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus*, at the climax of the *laudes Italiae* (a passage with strong affinities to Golden Age lore, in which the Saturnian *aurea saecula* are recalled; cf. Hardie 1986, 258).

Two framing uses, then, with reference to the deaths of two generations; once of the landfall in Hesperia and the apparent end of journeying; once of the demigod who has added glory to the immortals by his deeds. We may compare here Milton, *PL* 3.412 ff. *Hail Son of God, Saviour of men, thy name | Shall be the copious matter of my song*, etc.

vera Iovis proles: A true son of Jove by the testimony of his achievements; one imagines that Juno would be irritated by the high praise of Jupiter’s bastard. For *proles* see Newman and Newman 2005, 36–37; S. Fasce in *EV* IV, 308. *Iovis proles* occurs also at *Ilias Latina* 10; 248; 250; Ovid, *Met.* 9.229; 6× in Valerius Flaccus (including 4.327 *salve, vera Iovis, vera o Iovis, undique proles*). A different relationship and emphasis is cited at 12.830 *es germana Iovis Saturnique altera proles* (of Jupiter to Juno at the latter’s reconciliation—a key passage for the Jovian/Saturnian motifs in the epic). For Jupiter see on 560.

decus: Vid. R. Laurenti in *EV* II, 10–12: “La stessa sfumatura religiosa si coglie nelle invocazioni in cui il vocabolo torna come attributo fisso della divinità.” The implicit allusion is to the apotheosis of the hero. “Hercules has two sides, saviour and madman, and so has Aeneas” (Newman and Newman 2005, 37, with comparison of 6.322 *Anchisa generate, deum certissima proles*). Hercules has added glory and luster to the gods by his heroic feats of prowess and exercise of *ratio*. Tib. observes that the point is that Hercules added glory to the gods, rather than that the mortal hero was the one who profited most from his ascent to Olympus. Virgil’s *decus addite* inspired Statius, *Theb.* 1.22 *tuque, o Latiae decus addite famae* (of Domitian). It is not entirely clear why Bentley felt the need to emend *decus* to *deus*; the Statian intertext confirms the correct reading. We may compare the Herculean allusions at *E.* 4.15–17 (with Clausen 1994, 121–123). Bentley conjectured *deus* here.

This passage is imitated in the epilogue to the *Punica*, where Scipio is acclaimed as the offspring of the Thunderer: 17.651–654 *salve, invicte parens, non concessure Quirino | laudibus ac meritis, non concessure Camillo. | nec vero, cum*

te memorat de stirpe deorum, | prolem Tarpei, mentitur Roma, Tonantis. Henry compares the similar reference to Augustus at *Ast.* 4.934–935 *iam facit ipse deos mittitque ad sidera numen, | maius et Augusto crescet sub principe caelum.*

302 et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo.'

et nos et tua: Deliberately balanced symmetry of pronouns that unite worshippers and god.

dexter: Cf. 237 *dexter in adversum nitens*, of Hercules' efforts to break his way into Cacus' lair.

adi: Hercules is invited to come forth and be present at his solemn rites.

pede ... secundo: Of propitious and good favor (reinforcing *dexter*). Echoed at 10.254–255 *tu mihi nunc pugnae princeps, tu rite propinques | augurium Phrygibusque adsis pede, diva, secundo* (of Cybele). Here the *pes secundus* may be especially apt in the context of the Salian rites. An alliterative, rhythmic end to the hymn. The commentators compare Horace, *Ep.* 2.2.37 *pede fausto* (where see Brink); there may be a hint of the sense of stepping forth with the correct foot over a threshold or entrance.

“The language of augury” (Eden).

303 talia carminibus celebrant; super omnia Caci

The hymnic praise of the god draws to a close. Cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 2.714.

talia ... omnia: I.e., the labors and other deeds of valor that Hercules performed before his arrival in Latium. The Salian hymn in honor of Hercules was quoted in direct speech, and the text of the *carmen* was framed by serpentine victories. Now, the poet-narrator adds the note that the priests also added the victory over Cacus: they have supplemented the received, universal tradition of the demigod with their own local commemoration.

carminibus: Echoing 287 *carmine*, here in an alliterative pattern with the main verb and then the name of the ultimate subject of Herculean song.

celebrant: For the verb cf. 76, 173, and 268. Here it harks back most particularly to the *celebratus honos* of 268. We may compare here Lucretius, *DRN* 5.1380–1381 *ante fuit multo quam levia carmina cantu | concelebrare homines possent aurisque iuvare* (of the development of song in imitation of birds); Horace, c. 1.7.6 *carmine perpetuo celebrare* (of those who would praise Athens); Ps.-Tib., c. 3.4.57 *carminibus celebrata tuis formosa Naeaera*; Ovid, *Am.* 1.10.59 *est quoque carminibus meritas celebrare puellas*; *Met.* 2.252 *et, quae Maeonias celebrabant carmine ripas*; Silius, *Pun.* 15.275–276 *... cedat tibi gloria lausque | magnorum heroum celebrataque carmine virtus*; Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.2.14 *carminibus Homeri celebratam gentem.*

super: With the implication that the local, Latin achievement surpassed all past glories.

Caci: The whole episode is rounded off with a return to the original subject—the hero's destruction of the local horror. The victory over Cacus has its implicit parallel in Augustus' achievements; the *princeps* was added to the *Carmen Saliare*, just as in the Arcadian celebration the defeat of Cacus provides a new feast for the liturgical calendar, as it were. The troparion closes on a note of local pride: Hercules was the subduer of beasts across the known world, and he came at last even to central Italy.

304 *speluncam adiciunt spirantemque ignibus ipsum.*

speluncam: With a strong emphasis on geography and locale; the cave—or what remains of it—is the geological memorial of the Herculean victory.

adiciunt: The verb occurs four times in the epic; cf. 10.182 *ter centum adiciunt* (of allied forces); 11.354 *adicias* (of Drances' demands at the Latin war council); 12.836–837 ... *morem ritusque sacrorum / adiciam faciamque uno ore Latinos* (of Jupiter's climactic promise to Juno).

spirantemque: We may think of the description of the horses of Circe that Latinus presented to Aeneas (7.281 *semine ab aethereo spirantibus naribus ignem*); also of Umbro (7.753–754 *vipereo generi et graviter spirantibus hydrys / spargere qui somnos cantuque manuque solebat*). Hardie 1986, 215n147 compares the state of Italy described by Virgil at *G.* 2.140–141 *haec loca non tauri spirantes naribus ignem / invertere*. See Gransden for the alliteration of the first word of the verse and the first after the caesura.

ignibus: Pallas will be associated with fire, too, in the dramatic simile that compares his actions in battle to that of a shepherd setting forest fires (10.405 ff.); cf. Aeneas in his attempted execution of his mother's incendiary idea at 12.554 ff.

ipsum: The alliterative close comes with the intensive that references the vanquished beast; the monster is remembered most for his Vulcanian trick. The last image of Cacus is of the monster breathing his fire, not of the extinguishing of the flames described at 267.

305 *consonat omne nemus strepitu collesque resultant.*

A direct echo of the regatta of the memorial games for Anchises: 5.149–150 *consonat omne nemus, vocemque inclusa volutant / litora, pulsati colles clamore resultant*. The two verbs frame the line; the chiasmus is especially elegant (Dainotti 2015, 16; 74). In a sense, the narrative will now move from horrors associated with the underworld to an Elysian-like vision of the future Rome (with Evander as Anchises). Aeneas had already harrowed hell and come near to Tar-

tarus; he has now heard of Hercules' adventures in the infernal regions. "... his labors represent, in part, a conquering of the world of the dead, which underscores heavily his role as a symbol of the conquest of immortality" (Fratantuono 2007, 240).

For the Claudian imitation of this sound imagery at *Pan. Probino et Olybrio* 175–176 *extemplo strepuere chori collesque canoris | plausibus impulsus septena voce resultant*, see Vout 2012, 108–109.

consonat: Only in Virgil here and at 5.149; it occurs 4× in Manilius and three in Ovid; twice each in Statius and Silius and once in Valerius Flaccus.

omne nemus: The whole grove resounds with the Salian song; the detail harks back to 92 *miratur nemus*, as the Trojan vessels approached Pallanteum (cf. 107–108). Nature joins in the commemorative solemnity. "... here the literal reference to human voices also contains a hint at a sympathetic reaction on the part of nature herself, whose cohesion had been threatened by the struggle between Hercules and Cacus ..." (Hardie 1986, 147–148n67). The mention of the *nemus* paves the way for Evander's detail about the fauns and nymphs at 314 *haec nemora*, etc.

strepitu: At 1.422 the noun is used of the din in the streets of the nascent Carthage; at 1.725 of the related sound at Dido's banquet. At 6.559 it occurs of the clamor and noise from Tartarus; at 6.865 of the sound of the *strepitus comitum* around the shade of the future Marcellus. Lastly, at 9.394 it is used ominously of the sound that draws near to Nisus and Euryalus during the night raid.

colles: A subtle nod to the hills of Rome; on this significant vista see Vout 2012, 211ff.; cf. Putnam 2000, 56 ff.

resultant: For the verb see Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.150; it occurs in Virgil only in these two parallel passages, and at 10.330. Cf. also *E.* 6.84 *ille canit, pulsae referunt ad sidera valles*.

306–336 The liturgical celebration in honor of Hercules is concluded, and Evander escorts Aeneas to his Pallantean home. Along the way, the aged Arcadian offers a brief history of the locale. For the influence of the present passage on Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Post.* 6.143 ff. (with Troy as local focal point), see Gärtner 2005, 101 ff.

306 Exim se cuncti divinis rebus ad urbem

Exim: As at 6.890 *exim bella viro memorat quae deinde gerenda*, of the enigmatic, brief reference to the future war in Latium that the shade of Anchises reveals to Aeneas on the verge of departing the underworld. "Lofty, archaic transition" (Horsfall *ad loc.*). It occurs also of the arrival of the Fury Allecto

in Latium (7.341 *Exim Gorgoneis Allecto infecta venenis*); also at 12.92–93 *exim quae mediis ingenti adnixa columnae / aedibus astabat* (of Turnus' fateful, hurried choice of weapon). The orthography is regularly confused (cf. R *exin*). “Both *exim* and *exin* occur only before consonants, and *exim* therefore is not a formation like *olim* or *interim* but a variant of *exin(de)* which has developed the final *m* under the influence of those adverbs” (Skutsch *ad Ennius, Ann. fr.* 1.43). Possibly an echo of Ennius, *Ann.* 7.219 Skutsch ... *exim referunt*.

cuncti: “All, quite all”: Arcadians and Trojans as one.

divinis rebus: Caesarian (*BG* 6.13.4.2; 6.21.1.2); Livian (1.8.1.1; 5.23.7.2; 6.1.12.4; 10.8.4.3; 22.11.1.1, etc.). “Common prose expression” (Conington). Another nod to the divinity of Hercules, and by extension to the future apotheoses of both Aeneas and Augustus.

urbem: With particular, anachronistic reference to the future Rome. From the heroic *carmina*, we move to the key city.

See Gransden for the “solemn effect of this spondaic line,” another moment where Virgil wanted his audience to pause and ponder. For the temporal progression of the scene that now unfolds, see Mack 1978, 51 ff. On the relatively rare happiness of Aeneas at the tour he now enjoys, see Wiltshire 1989, 60. Commentary on the received tradition of the founding of Rome and the possibility of Virgilian innovation in the matter of how much honor is accorded to Evander can be found at Goldschmidt 2013, 90 ff.

307 *perfectis referunt. ibat rex obsitus aevo,*

perfectis: Perhaps with a hint of the technical term for the completion of a religious rite (vid. both Norden and Horsfall *ad* 6.637).

referunt: Back, that is, to Pallanteum; they have been outside the walls, as it were, for the rites at the primitive Ara Maxima. Cf. *G.* 4.180 *at fessae multa referunt se nocte minores*; *A.* 7.700–701 *cum sese e pastu referunt et longa canoros / dant per colla modos*; Caesar, *BC* 1.72.5.2 ... *in castra sese referunt*. Very different will be 10.506 *impositum scuto referunt Pallanta frequentes*.

ibat: “The culture of Roman walking is as old as Rome itself—at least according to Virgil, whose *Aeneid* includes the “primeval” story of a Roman *ambulatio*” (O’Sullivan 2011, 150).

obsitus aevo: The participle appears elsewhere in Virgil only at 7.789–790 *at levem clipeum sublatis cornibus Io / auro insignibat, iam saetis obsita, iam bos* (of Turnus' shield decoration). After *perfectis* of the conclusion of the Herculean rites, the description contributes to a strong image of that which has been worn out or exhausted. Evander is literally overgrown with old age; for the agricultural metaphor see Fordyce, and Eden. “The phrase suggests the idea of an old, gnarled, moss-covered tree-trunk” (Page). “A less urbane poet might have told

us more bluntly that the old king was slow on his feet and generous of utterance; Virgil is blandly courteous" (Jenkyns 1998, 521). On this topos note J. Burbridge, "Old Age," in *VE* 11, 929; Heuzé 1985, 288–289 (on the unattractive qualities of old age and the deformity it brings to appearance); cf. below on 508–509, and 560. Evander's advanced age offers a convenient enough excuse here for the slow and leisurely tour of the future Rome; later it will be a poignant element of the Pallas narrative.

308 *et comitem Aenean iuxta natumque tenebat*

Aeneas and Pallas are juxtaposed in sharp relief; *natum* is the first reference to Pallas since 168. Every mention of Pallas' filial status reminds us of Ascanius, who is for the moment quite suppressed from the scene and narrative.

comitem: Vid. A. Barchiesi in *EV* 1, 853. Cf. Silius, *Pun.* 8.86–88 *Infelix oculis magno clamore vocabat | Aenean comitemque tuae se imponere solam | orabat paterere rati.*

iuxta: "22× in v., but apparently very rare in earlier poetry ... for no significant reason" (Horsfall *ad* 2.513). At 2.666 *Ascanium patremque meum iuxtaque Creusam* Aeneas imagines the death of his family; two of the three relatives he names are ultimately doomed, one in the fall of the city. *Iuxta* is twice associated with trees that are significant sites in the doom of Troy: 513, of the laurel in Priam's palace; 714, of the ancient cypress near the temple of Ceres. Cf. also locations near Polydorus' *tumulus* (3.22); Acroceraunia (3.506); Etna (3.571; and note 416 below); the relative placements of souls of the dead (6.430); Aeneas near the ghost of Dido (6.452); the *Furiarum maxima* near Tantalus (6.605); Lausus near Mezentius (7.649); Euryalus with Nisus (9.179); victims of the night raid (9.329); Ascanius with Aeneas (12.168).

natum: A subtle reminder of the key detail: Pallas is the son of Evander, and he is the surrogate son of Aeneas.

tenebat: An imperfect of great pathos and emotion; Evander was holding on both to Aeneas and to his son for support. We may compare the similar triad that fled from the ruin of Troy; also the gathering of the generations for the memorial rites in honor of Anchises. The scene offers a new family unit for Aeneas; the first triad fled the ruined city of Troy, and now this assembly of three men of different generations will venture toward the settlement that is destined to be the future Rome. From the first triad, the oldest would not survive; from this new gathering, the youngest is doomed. The verb "expresses the care of the old man, and also his slow motion, retarding his companions" (Conington). The imperfect is balanced by 309 ... *levabat* (parallel verbs at line-end, as also at 359–360); it presages 314 below, of Evander's introductory comment on the fauns and nymphs.

309 ingrediens varioque viam sermone levabat.

ingrediens: Cf. 513 *ingredere*, o *Teucreum atque Italum fortissime ductor*. The verb is used of Aeneas as he arrives in Thrace (3.17); of Venus as she begins her address to Juno (4.107); of Fama at 4.177; in the description of the order of the contestant results at the archery contest (5.543); of Aeneas leaving the cave of the Sibyl (6.157); of the shade of Marcellus (6.856); of Anchises describing said soul to Aeneas (6.867); of the Teucrians who have arrived at Latinus' palace (7.194); of Aeneas' arrival at the Etruscan *castra* (10.148); of Mezentius (10.763, 767); of the son of Aunus with Camilla (11.704); of Aeneas as he escapes the ambush (11.904). Ennian (*Med. fr.* 217 Jocelyn *quod iter incipiam ingredi*); Pacuvian; Lucretian (*DRN* 5.55). For the verb of "slow, deliberate motion" see Fordyce. Tib. has an extended description of the powerful, emotionally charged scene of the three men.

vario ... sermone: Ciceronian; elsewhere in Virgil we may recall the discussion at the banquet in Carthage (1.748–749 *nec non et vario noctem sermone trahebat | infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem*). Note also Ovid, *Met.* 4.39; 9.419; Petronius, *Sat.* 55.2.1; Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.25.3. The multifaceted conversation literally frames the path of the three men.

levabat: Metaphorical, but with deliberate contrast to the heavy, difficult movement of the old man as he leans on his younger companions.

310 miratur facilisque oculos fert omnia circum

miratur: Cf. 91–92 and 161; here the emphasis returns again to the power of the visual. Evander was entertaining his traveling companions with stories; Aeneas is focused on the splendid visual riches for contemplation and marvelous wonder (for the implicit connection to the vision of the *Heldenschau*, see Smith 2005, 94). On Aeneas' ignorance and passivity here, see Reed 2007, 173. For Aeneas' delight in Lucretian *miracula* (*DRN* 4.594), see Hardie 1986, 219n157. Cf. also 618; 730.

facilisque oculos: Almost certainly to be taken together, rather than with the adjective as nominative in agreement with 311 *Aeneas*. Imitated by Manilius at *Astron.* 1.648–649 *alterius si vis cognoscere gyri, | circumfer facilis oculos vultumque per orbem*. Aeneas' eyes are extraordinarily described as being eager and ready to take in the surroundings. Servius has an interesting note: "physici dicunt ex vino mobiliores oculos fieri: Plautus faciles oculos habet, id est mobiles vino"; in context the point would be that Aeneas and Evander have had a significant amount of wine at the Herculean rites (and note the storied hero Hercules' proverbial penchant for overindulgence). Danielis offers a similar comment on the "easy/ready eyes," with reference to a symposiastic work of Maecenas, where Messalla gave a speech *de vino* (vid. Commager 1962, 127).

Williams takes the point to be obedience: wherever Evander tells him to look, there Aeneas at once fixes his gaze. We may think, too, of 6.126 *facilis descensus Averno*, of the easy descent to the underworld; the vision in Elysium and the tour of Evander have several parallels.

omnia circum: The line-end is Lucretian (*DRN* 6.232; 686); Virgil has it elsewhere at 1.32 *errabant acti fatis maria omnia circum*; 1.667–668 *frater ut Aeneas pelago tuus omnia circum / litora iactetur*; 11.824 ... *et tenebris nigrescunt omnia circum* (at the death of Camilla). For the possible significance of the detail about casting one's gaze "around," with reference to the connection between *urbs* and *orbis* and the "semicircular itinerary of Aeneas' visit to the future site of Rome," see Paschalis 1997, 281.

"... rustic simplicity, the peacefulness of dusk, the satisfactions of a hard but devout life compose the feelings achieved by the time we reach line 310" (George 1974, 69).

311 Aeneas, capiturque locis et singula laetus

capiturque: For the language of amatory elegy see Eden's note; cf. Propertius, c. 1.1.1; Ovid, *Ars* 1.83 (with Hollis). For the verb (and its compounds) vid. A. Bartalucci in *EV* I, 653–655. Evander was lightening the journey by means of stories; the power of the word is at once associated closely with the splendor of vision. "... Aeneas seems less a Homeric hero than a contemporary Roman sightseeing in Pallanteum" (Clausen 2002, 9). The pattern of the verbs is deliberate: first Aeneas is charmed by the sites, then he asks about each one (*exquirat*), and then he listens to the explanation of his elderly docent (*audit*).

locis: With continuing focus on the notion and importance of place.

singula laetus: Echoed below of Aeneas' reaction to the divine shield (617–618 *ille deae donis et tanto laetus honore / miraturque interque manus et brachia versat*). Tib. takes the mention of Aeneas' happiness to be associated with the promise of auxiliary aid in the war. Wiltshire 2012, 146–147 compares 1.503 *talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat* (of the queen as she is pleased with the development of Carthage), with consideration of the image of Aeneas as virtual "co-founder" with Evander. *Singula* / 312 ... *monimenta*: Aeneas wants to linger over each monument, and the slow, aged Evander is all too happy to oblige. For *singula* see on 618.

312 exquiratque auditque virum monimenta priorum.

exquiratque: First in the epic at 3.96 ... *antiquam exquirite matrem*, of the Apollonian oracle that is misinterpreted by Anchises as a reference to Crete; its use here is thus especially appropriate, given that Aeneas and his Trojans have at last arrived in the land of their ancestral, ancient *mater*. At 4.56–57 *principio*

delubra adeunt pacemque per aras / exquirunt it is used in the very different context of the consultation of the immortals by Dido and Anna. The metrical pattern highlights the vigorous stages of the conversations, as Aeneas now asks after something, and then listens to his host's explanatory story.

virum ... priorum: The mention of the men of bygone ages neatly frames the memorial monuments that stand as records of their achievement. *Priorum* fixes us for the moment not only in the past of Aeneas and Evander, but in an even earlier age (such as that of Hercules, and before); for how Virgil will manipulate time and bring us to the Augustan present of the poet and his audience, see especially P. Holt, "Who Understands Vergil's Prophecies?," in *CJ* 77.4 (1982), 303–314, 308–309. With *virum* here compare 315 below.

monimenta: For the noun see Fratantuono and Smith *ad* 5.538. Implicit in the noun is the notion of remembrance; on the power of memory in the present sequence note especially Seider 2013, 52 ff. On the sense of a memorial of the dead see Eden; the cognate *monere* hints at how Aeneas is supposed to learn something from the *exempla* with which he is presented.

"Evander is ... garrulous, pedantic, a keen amateur antiquary ... Guided tours have not changed much since Virgil's time" (Gransden). Cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.1747–1748 (Jason's reflection on the prophecies of Apollo). Petrarch would rework Evander's tour of Rome in his account of Hasdrubal's experience of the wonders of Rome in *Africa* 8.860 ff. (a book of his epic much indebted to Virgil's eighth *Aeneid*).

313 **tum rex Evandrus Romanae conditor arcis:**

"Another solemn, spondaic line" (Gransden). The verb of speech is ellipsed (cf. Eden on 8.18).

rex: In context we may think of the tradition of the Roman monarchy. For "King Evander" cf. 185 above. P reads *Evander*, as do several Carolingians, and the corrected Wolfenbüttel. Here Evander is king because he is identified as the founder of the citadel, and thus implicitly its ruler; perhaps by misremembering, Servius reads *tunc pater* in his note on 6.773, and *tunc rex*, for that matter, *ad* 7.678; cf. Isidore, *Etym. Lib.* 1.1 and 1.55.

Romanae conditor arcis: Something of a surprise, not to say a shock, in the immediate context. "A glance into the future" (Fordyce), and strikingly introduced just after the mention of the *virum monimenta priorum*; first the reader is invited to meditate on the memory of a past age, and then suddenly the mind is elevated to the Augustan future/present. This is the only occurrence of the noun *conditor* in Virgil; one may at once be reminded of 1.5 ... *dum conderet urbem*. While Aeneas has been occupied with the mesmerizing vision of the future Rome, his ears filled with the stories of the old Arcadian, the

poet dramatically announces that King Evander (and, implicitly, not Aeneas) is the founder of the Roman citadel. If one wondered how Aeneas could have founded the *Romana arx* when he lived so long before Romulus and Remus, the answer has been given: old Evander was the *conditor*, the “good man” *par excellence*, the Arcadian who was once to Anchises what Pallas is now to Aeneas. The *arx* recalls the powerful image of 1–2 above, where Turnus raised the standard of war above the *arx Laurenti*.

“... that the Palatine and the not the Capitoline should be described as *arx Romana* is a clear indication of how serious a rival the Arcadian foundation of Rome was to the traditional story of Romulus” (Eden). For the problem of who exactly can rightly be called the founder of Rome, note Cairns 1989, 61n6: “Augustan poets appear to exploit the ambivalence of Aeneas’ and Romulus’ positions, regarding now one, now the other as founder, as they find it convenient (Evander too becomes, momentarily, *Romani* [sic] *conditor arcis* ...).” Evander is identified as founder of the Roman citadel just as the tour of the future site commences; even as the Augustan present is increasingly clearly envisioned, it is seen through the prism of the past—with Aeneas caught, as it were, between tomorrow and yesterday. Servius comments here: “*conditor Pallantei, ubi nunc Palatium est: quod non est re vera arx, sed tenet rerum omnium principatum*” (cf. Sidgwick’s note, with focus on the location of Augustus’ palace; no remark in Tib. on the matter). Aeneas had in effect been made to set out on a mission to found a city that already exists; he has been sent home to his ancient mother, only to discover that she has had other children who are already there, nestled more or less securely in the maternal bosom. On the traditions of the early kingdom, of Romulus, Remus, and the would-be establishment of Remoria, cf. *AAR* 219.

With the Roman citadel we may compare 4.233–234 *nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem, / Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?* (of Jupiter’s complaint to Mercury about Aeneas in Carthage), and especially 98–100 above, where Evander’s poverty was noted, but not his role as *conditor*; note also *G. 2.171–172 qui nunc extremis Asiae iam victor in oris / imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum*. Virgil has transformed what could have been a simple, transitional line of introduction into a stunning comment on at least one aspect of *tanta molis* of the foundation of Rome. We shall return to these and related problems at 357 below, where the poet further refines and clarifies the argument that commences here. For a convenient summary of the problems of the *Aeneid* as “ktistic epic,” see A.D. Nikolopoulos, “*Patriam Mutare: Colonization in Ovid’s Metamorphoses*,” in *QUCC* 83.2 (2006), 71–81, 71–72. On the foundation by Evander of the “earliest walled settlement” on the Palatine, see Mackail’s note.

Horace may speak of Palatine citadels at *CS* 65 *si Palatinas videt aequus arces*, where Shackleton Bailey reads “citadels” and Thomas *aras* (See further Shackleton Bailey’s Teubner apparatus for the manuscript evidence).

314 ‘haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant

On Evander’s speech note Thomas 1982, 94–97, with comparison of the present, ethnographic description of the primitive Palatine to the taunts of Numanus Remulus at 9.598–620, and analysis of the melding of “scientific” and “mythic” strands of cultural history (with reference to Sallust’s account of the Libyans at *BI* 18.1–19.2). Note here also M.E. Taylor, “Primitivism in Virgil,” in *AJPh* 76.3 (1955), 261–278; E.A. Hahn, “Notes on Primitivism in Vergil,” in *AJPh* 77.3 (1956), 288–290. “The description of early Rome was to become a favorite *topos* in the Augustan poets, but makes its first appearance in Tibullus and Vergil ...” (Bright 1978, 4, with references).

“... Evander’s account is pessimistic: he views the reign of Saturn as only an intermission from continuous fighting and invasions.” (J. Zetzel, “Rome and Its Traditions,” in Martindale 1997, 188–203, 191).

indigenae: This key adjective is used elsewhere in Virgil only at 12.823 *ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos*, of Juno’s (successful) plea to Jupiter that he not force the indigenous Latins to change their name, or to order them to be called Trojan, etc. See Mackail here for how the descriptor encompasses both the fauns/nymphs and the men born from oak of 315.

Fauni: This is the only appearance of “fauns” (plural) in the epic; they figure in the setting for the song of the captured Silenus (*E.* 6.27–28 *tum vero in numerum Faunosque ferasque videres | ludere*), and in the proem to the first georgic: 1.10–12 *et vos, agrestum praesentia numina, Fauni | ferte simul Fauniquae pedem Dryadesque puellae: | munera vestra cano*. Faunus figures prominently in Latin genealogy as the father of Latinus (7.47–48); Picus (“woodpecker”) was Faunus’ father, and Saturn Picus’ (for Dionysius 1.31, he is the son of Mars; the woodpecker was sacred to the god). Latinus consults the *oracula Fauni* (7.81) in the matter of the Lavinia portent; the resultant incubation ritual speaks of the need to marry Lavinia to someone not Latin (7.96 *ne pete conubiis natam sociare Latinis*). Faunus’ son Tarquitus (of the wood nymph Dryope; cf. *G.* 1.11) is a victim of Aeneas in the wake of the death of Pallas (10.550–560); Faunus’ *oleaster* (12.766 ff.) is significant in the drama of the single combat between Aeneas and Turnus. On the god see especially P. Baccini Leotardi in *EV* II, 480–481; J.D. Hejduk in *VE* II, 476; Bailey 1935, 144–147 (35 ff. for the collective fauns); Dorsey 1992, 33 ff. (“... he remains an obscure and enigmatic deity whom the ancients themselves may have misunderstood”). Eden notes that here the fauns appear before Saturn, whereas in

Book 7 Saturn is the grandfather of Faunus: "... unlike most mythographers Virgil makes no attempt to impose a spurious precision on details of this kind." It may be significant, however, that the genealogy of 7 is cast in the voice of the poet-narrator; now, in contrast, we are lost in the report of the aged Evander.

Virgil may have been inspired by Lucretius' celebrated insertion of fauns and nymphs in his description of the workings of echoes (*DRN* 4.572 ff., on which see Fratantuono 2015, 257–261; cf. Hardie 1986, 218–219), especially 4.580–581 *haec loca capripedes satyros nymphasque tenere / finitimi fingunt et faunos esse loquuntur*. For the Epicurean poet, the reason men invented stories of fauns, nymphs, and the like is to avoid the unbearable thought that we might be alone, after all: 4.591–592 *ne loca deserta ab divis forte putentur / sola tenere*. And, too, there is the fact that men are always ready to be seduced by some powerful, miraculous tale (4.593–594; cf. the present scene of Aeneas with Evander; on this note Hardie 1986, 219n157).

The mention of the fauns here returns the audience to the genealogical survey at Latinus' court; the woods and groves where now Evander and Aeneas walk were once held by fauns and nymphs—that is, by creatures related to the very king with whom Aeneas is now in a state of war. The fauns were indigenous; the crucial adjective will recur, deliberately, just as Juno and Jupiter grapple with the problem of the identity of the future Rome (which will be neither Arcadian nor Trojan in *sermo* and *mores*). On the interplay between the "pre-Evandrian perspective," the Arcadian immigration to Italy, and the Roman future, see Stahl 2016, 271–273.

For how Aeneas was captivated by place, and how the very world of nature is alive with woodland spirits and rustic deities, see Apostol 2009, 101.

Servius notes here that Faunus was associated with speech (he notes the alternate god names "Fatuus" or "Fatuclus"); this may connect to his oracular role. It is not certain that the mention of the fauns here in conjunction with the nymphs has any echo of the notoriously sexually inappropriate Faunus (cf. Horace, c. 3.18.1 *Faune, Nympharum fugientum amator*; for the story of Faunus' attempted violence against a Herculean paramour, see Robinson *ad* Ovid, *Fast.* 2.303 ff.).

Nymphaeque: For Virgilian nymphs see on 71 above, where Virgil invokes the Laurentian nymphs.

315 **gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata,**

Subject and participle frame the verse: line-enclosing word order. There were fauns and there were nymphs; there were also human beings, a race born from trees and the hardy oak.

gens ... nata: For the birth of men from trees/oaks see Courtney (also Watson and Watson) *ad* Juvenal, s. 6.12; Parkes on Statius, *Theb.* 4.340 *saxis nimirum et robore nati* (“... the oak, which was perceived to be one of the earliest plants, was frequently mythologized as a tree which once bore children”); also Zonas’ *Anth. Pal.* 9.312.5–6 (“An exhortation to refrain from feeling the oak, parent of the human race”—Gow and Page *ad loc.*); Plato, *Rep.* 544D (with Adam). Penelope notes to Odysseus that he was not born from oak or rock (*Od.* 19.163, where see Rutherford; cf. West on Hesiod, *Theog.* 35). Virgil elsewhere alludes to this lore at *G.* 1.62–64 ... *quo tempore primum / Deucalion vacuum lapides iactavit in orbem, / unde homines nati, durum genus*; also *G.* 2.340–342 *cum primae lucem pecudes hausere, virumque / terrea progenies duris caput extulit arvis, / immissaeque ferae silvis et sidera caelo* (where see Thomas). Cf. also Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.1641. Is there any connection between the mention of arboreal genesis after the detail about fauns, and the later significance of Faunus’ wild olive? For the idea that the Arcadians themselves were born from oak trees, note Lycophron, *Alex.* 480 (with Hornblower); Robinson on Ovid, *Fast.* 2.289 *ante Iovem genitum*. Cf. Livy 1.8.5, of Romulus’ plan for increasing the size of his city, with ancillary mendacity about autochthonous dwellers.

virum: Cf. 312 above.

truncis: The noun is memorably used of Priam’s headless body (2.557); the Cyclops Polyphemus uses a tree trunk to steady his steps (3.659). Cf. 6.207 *et croceo fetu teretis circumdare truncos* (in the description of the Golden Bough); 6.497 ... *truncas inhonesto vulnere naris* (of Deiphobus); 9.332–333 ... *truncumque reliquit / sanguine singultantem* (during the night raid); 10.555 (of Aeneas’ victim Tarquitus); 10.835 (the trunk where Mezentius leans before combat with Aeneas, in foreshadowing of his eventual reduction to a mere *truncus* in death); 11.9 (in the Mezentius trophy scene); 11.83 (the *truncos* at Pallas’ requiem); 11.173 (the imagined *truncus* of Turnus); 12.105 *arboris obnixus trunco* (in the description of the bull to which Turnus is compared); 12.382 (of Turnus’ victim Phegeus).

duro robore: Cf. 11.893–894 *tela manu trepidae ac robore duro / stipitibus ferum sudibusque imitantur obustis* (in the wake of the example of Camilla). *Durus* may owe something to the Lucretian description of the hardy life of primitive man (*DRN* 5.925–926 *Et genus humanum multo fuit illud in arvis / durius, ut decuit, tellus quod dura creasset*, on which see Campbell). See further Paschalis 1997, 281 on the semantic connection between *vir* and *robur*.

In Sallust (*BC* 6.1–2), the city of Rome is founding by the Trojans and the Aborigines; on the latter, the historian comments: *genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum*. “Unlike other ancient authors such

as Strabo, Virgil perceives no contradiction between working the land and performing well in war” (B. Isaac, “Racism,” in *VE* III, 1066).

316 *quis neque mos neque cultus erat, nec iungere tauros*

The first of a three-line description of the state of early man. There are several verbal echoes in 316–317 of Anchises’ address *tu ... Romane*, etc. at 6.851–853, especially of 852 ... *pacique imponere morem* (cf. 8.316 *mos*; 317 ... *componere*); 6.853 *parcere subiectis* (cf. 8.317 ... *parcere parto*). The shade of Anchises was describing the future state of Rome; here Evander describes the early life of the region that would one day become the very heart of the *imperium Romanum*. On this theme see further Fletcher 2014, 35.

quis: For this dative/ablative form see Horsfall *ad* 7.742: “Archaic, but present both in poetry and in colloquial language.” Cf. 1.95; 5.511 (with Williams); 7.444; 10.168; 10.366; 10.435.

mos ... cultus: At 12.834, Jupiter assures Juno that the Ausonians will retain their proper *mores*; in the primitive state of the Palatine and its environs, there was no “code of behaviour” (so Eden), and there was no *cultus* or “acquisition of the arts of life” (Fordyce). “Id est nullam sui curam habebant” (Servius). On Virgil’s description of what some at first glance might call a sort of Golden Age (though that will come only at 324–325 with the arrival of Saturn), note here Evans 2007, 166 ff.; also Ferguson 1975, 16 ff.; Schiebe 1997, 14 ff. Life is primitive, but it is not militaristic (see here Johnston 1980, 11 ff.); Virgil effectively mixes elements of the traditional descriptions of both Golden and Iron Ages (Papillon and Haigh *ad* 314: “of course inconsistent”). The horrors of war loom in the still distant future (cf. 327 *belli rabies*). For the more common use of *mores* in the plural, with comparison of 6.316, see Williams; cf. the Saturnian *mos* to which Latinus refers at 7.204. Sallust’s Aborigines have their own *mos*, and the Trojans another (*BC* 6.2); it is remarkably easy how the two coalesce into one polity: *incredibili memoratu est quam facile colauerint* (very different is the story in Virgil).

iungere tauros: Of the works of agriculture and the cultivation of the fields; the line-end occurs also at Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.437; Martial, *Lib. Spect.* 28.7 (also in a Colchian context). Tib. interprets this phrase as a specific example of the absence of *cultus*. On the significance of bulls in Virgil, with special consideration of both the Bugonia and the Cacus episode, see Morgan 1999, 133 ff.

317 *aut componere opes norant aut parcere parto*

“They had no forethought like rational beings” (Sidgwick). Gransden comments on the “double meanings” of the three infinitives *iungere*, *componere*, and *parcere*: agricultural and political. There were no working farms, and there

was no functioning polity. There is no explicit indication that the carefree primitives were suffering from their lack of advance planning. On some of the general themes of this picture of an Italy without the perils of greed and resultant war, see R.F. Moorton, "The Innocence of Italy in Vergil's *Aeneid*," in *AJPh* 110.1 (1989), 105–130.

componere: Cf. 322 *composuit*, once Saturn has arrived in Latium (where the verb has a somewhat different meaning); also 12.822–823, where the verb is used in the context of the establishment of peace between Trojans and Latins/Italians.

norant: For the form cf. 4.33 *nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris?* (Anna to Dido).

parcere parto: The alliterative detail is reminiscent of *G.* 1.299–300 ... *hiems ignava colono: | frigorebus parto agricolae plerumque fruuntur*. The Medicean originally had *rpto* here, with a violent note about the life of these early men; Apronianus corrected it.

318 *sed rami atque asper victu venatus alebat.*

rami: Fordyce notes that the food consisted of the berries and acorns from the branches; Evander's description makes the Palatine primitives sound wilder than even the Cyclops (3.649). Servius notes the appropriateness of tree branches as the diet of those who had an arboreal genesis.

asper: The adjective describes both the difficulty of the endeavor of hunting (Tib.: "laboriosa venatio"), and the crude fare that the effort procured.

victu: Sustenance of the body; cf. 1.214 *tum victu revocant vires* (of the Trojans after the landfall in Carthage); 1.445 *egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem* (of Carthage); 3.142 *arebant herbae et victum seges aegra negabat* (of the plague in Crete); 3.649 *victum infelicem, bacas lapidosaque corna* (of the diet of the Cyclops, with which we may compare that of Evander's primitive Palatine dwellers); cf. the description of the rise of agriculture at *G.* 1.148–149 ... *cum iam glandes atque arbuta sacrae | deficerent silvae et victum Dodona negaret*; also *G.* 2.460 *fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus*; 3.320–321 ... *victumque feres et virgea laetus | pabula, nec tota claudes faenilia bruma*; 4.158–159 *namque aliae victu invigilant et foedere pacto | exercentur agris*. Eden considers this an ablative of respect or limitation. "The huntsman's hard and scanty fare" (Conington). For the (Odyssean) connection between the Cyclopes and the Golden Age, see Fowler 2013, 54–56.

venatus: The noun occurs also at 7.746–747 *horrida praecipue cui gens adsuetaque multo | venatu nemorum* (of the followers of Ufens); 9.244–245 *vidimus obscuris primam sub vallibus urbem | venatu adsiduo et totum cognovimus amnem* (Nisus in the Trojan camp before the night raid); 9.407 ... *si qua ipse*

meis venatibus auxi (Nisus' prayer to Luna). Hunting is the first sign of what we might call cultural development and advance; cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 5.966 ff., where the chase comes before fire, clothing, society, law and marriage.

alebat: Cf. 3.50 *alendum* (of Priam's handing over of Polydorus); 4.2 *vulnus alit venis* (of Dido); 4.37–38 ... *quos Africa terra triumphis / dives alit*; 5.231 *hos successus alit*; 6.726 *spiritus intus alit*; 11.71 *non iam mater alit tellus virisque ministrat* (in the cut flower simile that describes Pallas' death).

319 *primus ab aetherio venit Saturnus Olympo*,

On the golden line see Gransden, with comparison of the similar pattern and theme of 684 below, and 1.291. "A neoteric preciousness which Virgil tends to avoid in the *Aeneid*" (Clausen 2002, 110). On the Saturnian Golden Age, note the perceptive remarks of Schweizer 1967, 17–18.

primus ... venit: Saturn was the first non-indigenous inhabitant of the region; before him there were fauns, nymphs, and the men born from oak. Once again the narrative plays on the idea of who arrived in Latium before Aeneas and his Trojans; cf. 1.1–2 *primus / venit*. The adjective can also be taken adverbially for *primum* (see here Henry's note). For the use of the preposition with a verb describing arrival or departure see Antoine 1882, 164 ff., and cf. 423.

Saturnus: Vid. E. Montanari in *EV* 111, 685–688; T. Joseph in *VE* 111, 1120; Bailey 1935, 104–106; Roscher IV, 427 ff.; M.W. Schiebe, "The Saturn of the *Aeneid*—Tradition or Innovation?," in *Verg.* 32 (1986), 43–60; R.F. Thomas, "Torn Between Jupiter and Saturn: Ideology, Rhetoric, and Culture Wars in the *Aeneid*," in *CJ* 100.2 (2004–2005), 121–147; Cairns 1989, 63–64 (with consideration of the diverse traditions of peaceful transition from Saturn to Jupiter, *versus* conflict and intergenerational violence; for Evander's purposes, the latter explanation better serves the narrative of Aeneas' own place in local history). The god's name contains that of the hero Turnus who opposes Aeneas. Saturn is said to have come from ethereal Olympus because he had been overthrown by his son Jupiter (320); in context, the audience recalls the genealogy of Latinus: 7.49 *te, Saturne, refert, tu sanguinis ultimus auctor* (cf. *primus* here), on which see Balk 1968, 8 ff. The association of Saturn with Cronus is already attested at Livius Andronicus, *Od.* fr. 2 Warmington *Pater noster, Saturni filie* (a translation of Homer, *Od.* 1.45), and fr. 16 *sancta puer Saturni ... regina*.

The Saturnian Golden Age that is described in this passage (vid. 324–325) was first mentioned in the epic in the *Heldenschau*, as a key element in Anchises' heralding of the future Augustus: 6.792–794 *Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet / saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva / Saturno quondam*; cf. *G.* 2.538 *aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat* (with Thomas on the "conflation of the golden and Saturnian ages (culturally identical anyway)");

also *E.* 4.6 ... *redeunt Saturnia regna* (for the political ramifications of which note Powell 2008, 207–209). Significantly, the god is also referenced at 12.830 *es germana Iovis Saturnique altera proles*, of Jupiter to his sister Juno at the great reconciliation. For the possible origin of the Golden Age lore in the Kronia festival, “when masters and slaves feasted together in the pleasant idle period after harvest,” see West *ad Op.* 111. On the concealment of Saturnus in Latium (cf. 322–323; *Latium/latere*), note Bartelink 1965, 49–50; O’Hara 2017, 207–208; Paschalis 1997, 281–282. For the implications of the label “Saturnian,” note Henry 1989, 119–120. More generally on the Saturnian Latin lore and its implications, note C. Perkill, “The Golden Age and Its Contradictions in the Poetry of Vergil,” in *Verg.* 46 (2002), 3–39. No hint in Virgil that Cronus/Saturn was a byword for that which was outdated and hopelessly old-fashioned (on this vid. Biles and Olson on Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 1480–1481). For the implicit connection to Saturnian Juno, note Newman and Newman 2005, 197–198. For how the vision of the *Heldenschau* is understood more clearly after Evander’s companion account of the Saturnian Golden Age, see G. Williams 1983, 146–147. The shield of Aeneas will also mirror Anchises’ underworld revelation.

The Saturnian story is eminently appropriate for Evander to tell, given the imagined great antiquity of the Arcadians (the supposed oldest of the Greeks), and the idea that they lived at a time before Jupiter; on this and related points see Robinson *ad Ovid, Fast.* 2.289–302 (on the explanation for the nudity of the Luperci, allegedly in imitation of the early Arcadians).

aetherio ... Olympo: Cf. 6.579 *quantus ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympum*; 10.621 *cui rex aetherii breviter sic fatur Olympi*; 11.867 *Opis ad aetherium pennis aufertur Olympum*. The name of the fallen god is juxtaposed with that of the mountain where his son now rules supreme.

320 *arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exul ademptis.*

arma Iovis: Also at Propertius, c. 3.9.47 *te duce Iovis arma canam*; Ovid, *Trist.* 1.1.81 *me quoque, quae sensi, fateor Iovis arma timere*. At once the reason for Saturn’s Latin sojourn is announced.

exul: Aeneas so refers to himself at 3.11 ... *feror exul in altum*; cf. the Trojan hero’s imagined exile at 5.51–52; also the crazed Amata’s *exulibusne datur ducenda Lavinia Teucris?* (7.359). Once again, a clear parallel is drawn between Saturn’s lot and that of Aeneas and his Trojan exiles. For the associations with Mezentius and Metabus, see Reed 2007, 4. “The role of Saturn in the book is as a forebear of Aeneas; like the Trojan hero he is exiled from his lost kingdom, following which he brought together an unruly race, gave them laws and began a golden age of peace” (Mackie 1988, 154).

ademptis: Cf. the description of the Cyclops at 3.658 *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum*; also the description of Mercury's psychopompic action at 4.244 *dat somnos adimitque et lumina morte resignat*; Turnus' remarks on the transformation of the Trojan fleet into sea creatures (9.131 *nec spes ulla fugae: rerum pars altera adempta est*); Juturna's lament at 12.879–880 ... *cur mortis adempta est | condicio?*.

Ovid has *caelitibus regnis a Iove pulsus erat* (*Fast.* 1.236); for how the reasons for why Saturn was exiled/expelled are not specified, see Green ad loc.

321 is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis

is: For forms of the demonstrative cf. 33 *eum*.

genus: The reference is likely to those born of trees and oaks (315), not to the fauns and nymphs of 314; on this question see Paratore's note.

indocile: The only use of the adjective in Virgil. Servius takes the meaning to be equal to "indoctum," since, he observes, *indocilis* would be used of those who cannot be taught, not of those who merely had not yet been instructed. But note here Adler 2003, 159 ff.

ac: With emphasis on the task that confronted Saturn: the *genus* was not only *indocile*, it was also dispersed in the lofty mountains ("and, what is more").

dispersum: We may compare the storm-tossed Trojans at 3.197 ... *dispersi iactantur gurgite vasto*; also 10.406 *dispersa immitit silvis incendia pastor* (in the simile of fire raging in a wood that describes Pallas' actions in battle). Finite forms of the verb occur at 10.416 (Pallas' killing of Thoas); 11.617 (the death of Aconteus); 11.795 (the scattering to the breezes of part of Arruns' Apollonian prayer, in language reminiscent of Aconteus' death scene; cf. L. Fratantuono and M. McOsker, "Camilla and Cydippe: A Note on *Aeneid* 11, 581–582," in *QUCC* 96.3 (2010), 111–116). Dispersed, because there is no political organization. Tib. notes that the primitive Palatinians were like wild beasts in mountain haunts.

montibus altis: The line-end is Lucretian (*DRN* 4.1020; 5.313; 5.492; 5.663; 6.735; 6.963); cf. *E.* 7.66; *G.* 4.112; *A.* 3.675 (in connection with the *genus Cyclopum*; cf. 3.644); 7.563 *est locus Italiae medio sub montibus altis* (of the vale of Ampsanctus); 10.707; 12.523. The adjective is perhaps more a conventional epithet than a reflection of the topography.

322 composuit legesque dedit Latiumque vocari

composuit: The first in a tricolon of actions; Saturn gathered together the scattered mountain dwellers into a single polity; then he gave them a charter of law and order, and finally, a name. The verb recalls 317 *componere*. For how Saturn's actions imply *labor*, see Galinsky 1998, 96 ff. Papillon and Haigh note that the

verb refers both to the action of uniting the disparate, mountain peoples, and of bringing them order and culture.

legesque dedit: Saturn's role here as legislator has occasioned critical comment, given the remarks of Latinus to Ilioneus at 7.202–204: *ne fugite hospitium, neve ignorete Latinos | Saturni gentem haud vinclo nec legibus aequam, | sponte sua veterisque dei se more tenentem*. Part of the problem here is that the different views are those of first the Latin king and then the Arcadian leader (Eden prefers to take the point here to be that Saturn is a lawgiver along the lines of Aeneas and the future Augustus, etc.). See further on this question Balk 1968, 12 ff.; Putnam 1998, 232. The phrase is Livian; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 5.343 *prima dedit leges* (of Ceres' gift of agriculture); 10.330; Ps.-S., *Oct.* 678 (with Ferri's note). For the implication that there was illicit activity before Saturn turned legislator, see Evans 2007, 165. Do we think of Lucretius' *iuraque constituere, ut vellent legibus uti* (*DRN* 5.1144)?

Latium: We may recall the prominent repetition of the place name in the opening of the book (5; 10; 14; 18). Cf. on 329 below.

vocari: For the passive infinitive as “etymological signpost” see O'Hara 2017, 207; note also O'Hara 1990, 21n26 (with listing of similar passages in the epic).

323 *maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.*

maluit: Not a particularly common verb in Virgil; cf. 10.43 ... *vincant quos vincere mavis* (Venus at the divine council); 12.396–397 *scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi | maluit et mutas agitare inglorius artes* (of Iapyx); 12.935–936 *et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mavis, | redde meis* (Turnus' request of Aeneas); note also *E.* 10.53; *G.* 3.69 and 159. Some of the commentators have assumed that *malle* must imply a name that was rejected in favor of Latium, e.g. Saturnia (cf. 329); Conington notes that “potissimum valuit” is the likely meaning. The verb may also have been selected for its anagrammatic function; on this see Ahl 1985, 47–48; O'Hara 2017, 62–63; 207–208; cf. J.T. Katz, “Word-play,” in *VE* III, 1396.

latuisset: See above on 319 for the etymological connection with Latium. “The feeling of mystic power in names, especially as omens, was deep-seated among the Romans”—Eden. Servius records the Varronian explanation that the “hiding” was of Latium between the great mountain ranges of the Alps and the Apennines—a rationalizing etymology devoid of mythological lore; on this and other etymological games of concealment and hidden meaning, see Rimell 2015, 34–35. For the recollection of Homer's Calypso see Jenkyns 1998, 468. The subjunctive is causal, of the alleged reason for the name.

tutus: The god was safe in his Latin hiding place, and by implication, safe also were the primitive inhabitants he had organized into a Latin society. Lactantius

(*Inst.* 1.13) cites this passage in criticism of those who would be so foolish as to make Saturn a god, given that he is depicted as in flight and now in hiding. After Allecto's visit, Turnus orders the safeguarding of Italy: 7.468–469 *indicit primis iuvenum et iubet arma parari, | tutari Italiam.*

oris: Perhaps with an echo of the end of 1.1.

324 aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere

aurea: The Saturnian Golden Age is now explicitly announced; cf. the exactly parallel 6.792–793, of the future Augustan rebirth of the Saturnian Age. For the chromatic adjective see Edgeworth 1992, 88–95; for other occurrences in this book note 168; 348; 372; 553; 659; 672. 7×: the most of any book in the epic (36× total). The concept of a Golden Age is at least as old as Hesiod (*Op.* 106–201, where see West; for how the Greek writers tend to speak of a golden race, and the Latin of an age, note Clausen 1994, 119; note *E.* 4.9 of the *gens aurea*); see further L. Fratantuono in *VE* 11, 565. Virgil is the first extant source that describes the Saturnian reign and the god himself as golden. On the question of chronology and “which ‘golden age’ it is announced that ... will be renewed under Augustus’ reign,” see J.J.L. Smolenaars, “Labour in the Golden Age as a Unifying Theme in Vergil’s Poems,” in *Mnem.* 30.3/4 (1987), 391–405, with reference both to this passage and to *G.* 2.536–540, where Saturn’s golden reign is placed *before* the reign of his son Jupiter (a passage that comes after a description of the founding of Rome and her seven citadels).

We may note here that in the Augustan Golden Age passage of 6.792 ff., the key verb *condet* is ambiguous; it may mean that Augustus will establish/found *aurea saecula* (cf. 1.5 ... *dum conderet urbem*); it may also mean that he will close them (the same darker sense can be seen in 12.952 ... *sub pectore condit* at the end of the epic, of Aeneas’ slaying of Turnus). Horsfall comments on this “rich, complex, evocative ... verb”: “traditionally [of] the closing of an old *saeculum* ... but here in v. clearly ... the *opening* of a new one ... Thomas, predictably, sees a menacing counter-note in v.” (cf. Thomas 2001, 1–7, with particular reference to Lucretius’ powerful *DRN* 3.1090 *proinde licet quot vis vivendo condere saecula*). Likely is that both senses are present, in line with the inherent ambiguity of the verb and the poet’s deliberate framing device of a play on different meanings of *condere*. “The Golden Age of Saturn symbolized the purity and simplicity of early Italian life, the ways that had made Rome great” (Austin on 6.792 ff.). On the cyclical analysis of history, see Jenkyns 1998, 498. For the advance from the metaphorical Golden Age of Evander’s Saturnian recollection to the real gold of Augustan Rome at 348 via the advent of war and greed (with attendant questions of moral decadence and decline), see Feeney 2007, 134. For how the label golden is granted in retrospect, from the point of view of those who live in a baser age, see Van Noorden 2014, 231 ff.

quae: The postponement of the relative (as of *qui* at 6.793) serves to highlight the golden image.

perhibent: For the verb see on 135 above, of the Greek stories about the Atlantid genealogy. No source is given here for the information; we might think of Hesiod, and perhaps Virgil had still others in mind.

rege: A careful, subtle detail: Saturn had been exiled from his *regna* (320), and now he has established his monarchical rule in Latium. The title is followed at once by 325 *regebat*. On localized Virgilian divine monarchs see Cairns 1989, 27–28.

Aurea quae is the reading of M and R; also also a corrector of P; the Wolfenbüttel; the bulk of Ribbeck's cursives. The Palatinus originally read *aureaque*; some Carolingians have *aureaque ut*. "The misreading of *aurea quae* as *aureaque*, easy in undivided capital script, disrupted the metre, which in the later MS tradition was healed by inserting *ut*" (Eden). Further textual variety is found for the third plural perfect *fuere*, where P and several cursives have *fuertunt*.

On the possible influence of Evander's account of a golden age and an idyllic Italy on F. Scott Fitzgerald's evocation of Manhattan island on discovery by Dutch sailors, see W. Briggs, "Petronius and Virgil in "The Great Gatsby,"" in *IJC* 6.2 (1999), 226–235, 231–232.

325 saecula: sic placida populos in pace regebat,

placida ... pace: Lucretian; cf. *DRN* 1.40 *funde petens placidam Romanis, incluta, pacem*; 6.73–74 *sed quia tute tibi placida cum pace quietos | constitues magnos irarum volvere fluctus*. Virgil has it of Antenor (1.248–249 *Teucrorum et genti nomen dedit armaque fixit | Troia, nunc placida compostus pace quievit*); Saturn's descendant Latinus (7.45–46 ... *Rex arva Latinus et urbes | iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat*); note the imitation of Statius, *Silv.* 1.1.15–16. Powerful alliteration of the labial: *placidas; populos; pace*. The question of the relative peace of Latinus' reign has been raised in light of Tiberinus' comment about the Arcadians at 8.55 *hi bellum assidue ducunt cum gente Latina*; whatever polity Saturn established, in the present verse we find a plural designation in *populos*; Saturn—and, later, his descent Latinus—rules a confederation of Latins. The "placid peace" of both Saturn and Latinus, we might think, is transformed by Allecto's intervention: 7.467 *ergo iter ad regem polluta pace Latinum*.

See Thomas 2001, 5–6 (with reference to Getty 1950 and Ryberg 1958) for the question of how great a compliment it is to Augustus to say that he restored the Saturnian Age; on the overall architecture of the epic's treatment of the Golden Age motif, with "Rome ... in a very real sense ... the ultimate goal," see Nelis 2001, 336–337.

326 **deterior donec paulatim ac decolor aetas**

deterior: Also in Virgil at *G.* 3.82 and 4.89. The peaceful picture of the Saturnian *aurea saecula* is now marred by the decline of the ages. On this topos note J. Henkel in *VE* 1, 36–37. The first mention of the “metallic races” in extant Greek literature is at Hesiod, *Op.* 106–201; cf. the story of Roman decline recounted by Sallust at *BC* 6–13. If we take the Caesar of Jupiter’s prophecy to Venus at *A.* 1.286–291 to be Augustus, then the *princeps* is credited with the softening of the harsh ages of war: *aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis*. We may see an argentine age in *deterior*, and a brazen in *decolor*—but it is not certain that Virgil intended precise delineation for Evander’s tale of metallic decline. *Deterior aetas* occurs in extant Latin elsewhere only at Ovid, *Ep. Pont.* 1.4.1, where see Gaertner.

paulatim: Lucretian; 7× in the epic (2× each in the *E.* and *G.*); cf. 1.720; 2.630; 6.358; 7.529; 9.789; 11.829.

decolor: For the description of the “tarnished” age see Edgeworth 1992, 123; this is the only use of the adjective in Virgil. The (Ciceronian) adjective is mostly poetic; cf. Propertius, *c.* 4.3.10 *tunsus et Eoa decolor Indus aqua*; Ovid, *Her.* 9.4; *Ars* 3.130 *quos legit in viridi decolor Indus aqua*; *Met.* 4.20–21 ... *adusque | decolor extremo qua tingitur India Gange*; *Trist.* 4.2.42 *decolor ipse suo sanguine Rhenus erat*; 5.3.24 *et quascumque bibit decolor Indus aquas*; *Ep. Pont.* 3.2.54 *decolor adfuso sanguine tincta rubet*; Seneca, *Phaed.* 344–345 *tunc virgatas India tigres | decolor horret*; Statius, *Theb.* 12.410; Juvenal, *s.* 6.600; 7.226; Silius, *Pun.* 7.150; 11.422. On the implicit visual emphasis of the description of the declining age, see Smith 2005, 92. The image of 6.204 *discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit* (of the Golden Bough, where the focus is on variegated color and contrast) may lurk here, too.

Pronounced dental alliteration, as the ages decline.

327 **et belli rabies et amor successit habendi.**

belli rabies: *Rabies* is used at 1.200 of the horror of the monstrous Scylla; at 2.357 to describe the fierce hunger of wolves (cf. 9.64.); at 5.802 in Neptune’s description of how he has calmed the ferocity of the seas; of the possession of the Sibyl at 6.49; at 7.479 of the near hydrophobic frenzy with which Allecto infects Ascanius’ hunting hounds. We may think of 7.461 *saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli*, in the aftermath of the Fury Allecto’s visit to Turnus. On the Virgilian connection of the rabidity of war with dogs and wolves see Paschalis 1997, 282: “By contrast, when the bucolic Golden Age returns in *Ecl.* 5.60–61, wolves become harmless.” The lupine imagery has particular connection to Roman foundation lore. Lactantius read *tum belli* for *et belli* here (*Div. Inst.* 5.5.12).

amor habendi: The phrase is borrowed from *G.* 4.176–178 *non aliter, si parva licet componere magnis, | Cecropias innatus apes amor urget habendi | munere quamque suo*; Ovid imitated it at *Met.* 1.131 of the *amor sceleratus habendi* of the Bronze Age (where see Bömer). Note also Horace, *Ep.* 1.7.85; Ovid, *Ars* 3.541. “The words have a distinct cultural connotation ... they undoubtedly set the bees’ society in the age of Jupiter, and present it as subject to the ethics of that age” (Thomas *ad G.* 177). For “*amor habendi*” in connection to greed and the hazards of coveting wealth, see Green on Ovid, *Fast.* 1.195. We may think of Venus and Mars in the (ultimately Empedoclean) collocation of love and war; the Lucretian appeal to Venus to soothe her lover for the sake of Rome, etc.—the present, succinct description of the decline of the ages brings with it the reminder that war looms beyond the quiet environs of the twilight walk of Aeneas and Evander, a war that will take the life of the young Arcadian Pallas.

successit: Of the replacement of a Saturnian Golden Age with epochs of baser metals.

On the problem of the decline of Evander’s Saturnian Golden Age, especially in light of the poet’s contemporary Augustan political realities, see Ware 2012, 178 ff. “Desire for wealth is their undoing.” Diomedes will look back to this imagery in the address he is quoted as making to the Venulan assembly at 11.252–254: *o fortunatae gentes, Saturnia regna, | antiqui Ausonii, quae vos fortuna quietos | sollicitat suadetque ignota lacessere bello?*, where the retired Argive hero addresses the Latin emissaries as if they were coming from the Saturnian Golden Age, before the advent of the *belli rabies* in which Latium is now immersed. On this see further Wiltshire 1989, 104–105.

328 **tum manus Ausonia et gentes venere Sicanae,**

manus Ausonia: Also at Silius, *Pun.* 12.436. Ausonia was thought by some to have taken its name from Auson, the son of Odysseus and Circe (see Danielis here; others preferred Calypso as the mother); Virgil first has the name at *G.* 2.385 *nec non Ausonii, Troia gens missa, coloni*, where the Trojan settlers are called Ausonian, a passage where the commentators note the onomastic label is extraordinarily transferred (not to say misplaced). See further M. Cancellieri in *EV* I, 421–422; D.M. Cassella in *VE* I, 158–159; Hunter on Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.552–554: “an Oscan-speaking people long known to the Greeks”; Hornblower on Lycophron, *Alex.* 44: “a virtual synonym for ‘Italian’ in Greek and Latin poetry.” Paschalis 1997, 258–259 sees a connection with sound and auditory phenomena. The Romanus reads *Ausoniae* here (also Servius and the bulk of the Carolingians); the difference is not so great.

venere: Cf. 319 *primus ... venit*. The verb is deliberately vague; there is no detail other than that Ausonians and Sicanians arrived in central Italy. Tib. connects

the arrival of these newcomers with the advent of the *amor habendi* and the scourge of war; as conflict and greed spread, migrations both forced and opportunistic resulted.

Sicanae: Cf. 1.557; 3.692; 5.24; 5.293 7.795; 416 below; 11.317; vid. M. Malavolta in *EV* III, 831–832; Hornblower on Thucydides 6.2–5 (the “Sikelika”). Evander notes first the Campanian Ausonians, and then the Sicilians; men come to Latium from ever more distant locales. The exact distinction (if there is any to be made) between Sicanian and Sicelian is elusive; *Sicanus* “could so easily be a synonym for those *Siculi* who, from Antiochus (*FGH* 555F6) on, are listed among the early inhabitants of central Italy” (Horsfall *ad* 7.795). For Dionysius (1.9.1) the Sicels were the original, native population of the future Rome. Dionysius’ Aborigines are not unlike Evander’s mountain dwellers; they lived here and there, scattered and without fortification or walled town. Eventually they expelled the Sicels, assisted by the Pelasgians and other Greeks. Enmity between Aborigines and Sicels continued even after the victory of the former (1.16.4–5). The Sicels eventually fled down the peninsula (1.22.1–2) and crossed over to the island Sicily; there they found the Sicanians, an Iberian people who were themselves in flight (from the Ligurians). The Sicelians first settled in the west of the mostly uninhabited island; from there they spread out, and in time what had been named Sicania from Trinacria was now called Sicily after the Sicels.

But (predictable) confusion abounds. Dionysius cites Hellanicus as his source for the departure of the Sicels from Italy; he notes that his historian predecessor identifies two Italian expeditions to Sicily, the second of which consisted of Ausonians who were in flight from the Iapygians—and the Ausonian king was Sicelus. Dionysius also notes that Philistus of Syracuse said the Ligurians were the ones who went to Sicily, under King Sicelus, the son of Italus. “Every stage of the story predictably exhibits variation in different authorities: the identity of the aggressors ... the native inhabitants encountered on Sicily (the Sikanoi: autochthonous or Iberian refugees) ... the fellow-travellers of the Sikeloi ... the date of the migration” (Fowler 2013, 508–509). “The names *Siculus* and *Sicanus* are obviously doublets ... Archaeologically the Sikans are not in the historical period distinguishable from the Sikels” (Dunbabin 1948, 40).

329 *saepius et nomen posuit Saturnia tellus;*

nomen posuit: Conveniently vague and imprecise; the land had been called Latium, and over time, as new peoples arrived, it changed its name—but Evander does not list the names, or the order of the nominal transitions. Ilioneus is more specific with Dido at 1.530 ff.

Saturnia tellus: Also at *G.* 2.173 *salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus* (at the close of the *laudes Italiae*); cf. Petronius, *Sat.* 122.1.156. The commentators have made much of the possible allusion to Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 1.21 Skutsch *Saturnia terra*, a fragment derived from Varro, *DLL* 5.42: *hunc (Capitolinum) antea montem Saturnium appellatum prodiderunt et ab eo late Saturniam terram, ut etiam Ennius appellat*. Skutsch notes that Virgil greatly prefers *tellus* to *terra*, while the former term appears nowhere in the extant Ennian *Annales*—but the extent to which Virgil owes a debt to Ennius in the present detail is quite uncertain (note here Goldschmidt 2013, 210; Wigodsky 1972, 67–68).

330 **tum reges asperque immani corpore Thybris,**

tum: Of loose temporal progression: the Ausonians came, and the Sicani; eventually there were kings, among them the giant Thybris. For the kings as “vague prefigurations” of the Alban list, see Gransden: “The important point is that the survey ends with a reference to the river Tiber ...”

asper: So of the food of the primitive inhabitants of Latium (318). Something of the harshness of the River Thybris will be felt at 537–540 below, of Aeneas’ prediction about the slaughter of the war in Latium. See O’Hara 2017, 208 on the Servian gloss of *hybris* (“fanciful”—Papillon and Haigh). Cf. 365 below.

immani corpore: Lucretian: *DRN* 5.33–34 *asper, acerba tuens, immani corpore serpens / arboris amplexus stirpis*. Virgil has taken the Lucretian description of the Hesperidean dragon that Hercules defeated, and adapted it for Evander’s note about this Hesperian monarch. At *A.* 3.427, the same phrase is used of the monstrous Scylla; at 5.372, of the great Butes whom Hector defeated in boxing. Cf. the serpent of Ps.-V., *Culex* 164.

Thybris: Vid. V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* III, 1267; cf. above on 64 *caeruleus Thybris*. Evander’s summary history has advanced to the Etruscan period (?), and to the mysterious king who gave his name to the Tiber (at least as an alternative). Once again Evander avoids specificity; his Thybris is one of a line of kings, apparently, but no particular provenance is assigned to the monarch. Servius confidently notes here “hic Tuscorum rex fuit” (cf. Varro, *DLL* 5.30, where he is Thebris of Veii); for Livy (1.3.8), it would seem that he was one of the Alban kings. Servius’ note on 72 above notes the confusion even in his day: “alii a rege Aboriginum dictum volunt ... alii ab eo rege, quem Glaucus, Minois filius, in Italia interemit; alii, inter quos et Livius ... ab Albano rege.” Thybris was a giant (are we to think of the *hybristic* Cacus)? The name is invested with the solemnity of the god who was identified by this name at 64 (see Fordyce here for the poet’s apparent lack of concern about any imagined inconsistency). The name is repeated at line-end at 331, with deliberate emphasis on the king/god whose

mention returns us to the sacral vision Aeneas enjoyed at the start of the book; cf. Wills 1996, 422.

On the confusion of name and the question of priority of provenance, note Reed 2007, 6: “One message here is that these peoples belong together: the near-homonymies [of Thybris, the Italian Thymber of 10.391–394, the Trojan Thymbraeus of 12.458, etc.] allegorize an identification that lies in the future—and attest one that lies in the past, when we remember that the poems makes Dardanus originate in Etruria.”

331 a quo post Itali fluvium cognomine Thybrim

Itali: The start of a subtle surprise that will be sprung when Evander uses the first person plural *diximus* in the next verse: “We Italians” call the river the *Thybris* after the giant king. Cf. Danielis: “etiam Evander se Italum dicit.” Evander is Greek, and *Thybris* is a Greek name; did the Italians really ever call the Tiber the Thybris? For the history of the Greek use of the name “Italy/Italian,” see Sommerstein and Talbot on Sophocles, *Triptolemus* fr. E (600).

cognomine: See above on 48; for the etymological detail, vid. O’Hara 2017, 208–209. “Virgil forgets that the speaker is an immigrant” (Fordyce); the detail is deliberate, as Evander identifies himself with the *Itali* as part of an assertion of his innate right to be here in Latium; the assertion brings with it the question of who is more Italian, of who has the best case for a declaration of right of residence and homecoming. On etymological speculations about the name of the river note also Mack *ad* Ovid, *Met.* 14.614–616. Papillon and Haigh distinguish between translating “from which/whose name” and “by name.”

332 diximus: amisit verum vetus Albula nomen.

Latium changed its name on several occasions with the arrival of new peoples, and the sacred river of central Italy also lost its old name.

verum ... nomen: In a different sense at Horace, *Ep.* 1.7.93; cf. Manilius, *Astron.* 1.316a/317 (Housman’s conjecture).

vetus ... nomen: Cf. Catullus, c. 41.205–207 ... *non decet | tam vetus sine liberis | nomen esse*; Ovid, *Trist.* 3.9.5. The phrase returns in the key revelation of *A.* 12.822–823 ... *cum iam leges et foedera iungent, | ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos*, of Juno’s successful appeal to Jupiter (the last books of the second and third movements of the epic are closely linked with respect to the question of the nature of the future Roman settlement).

Albula: The name occurs only here in Virgil; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 14.327–328 (with Mack’s note); *Fast.* 2.389–390 (with Robinson); 5.646; Varro, *DLL* 5.30; Dionysius 1.71.2. For the original sense of the name, with reference to the later tradition that connected it with the color *albus*, see O’Hara 2017, 208; 218–219 (after

Ogilvie *ad* Livy 1.3.3 on the “pre-Indo-European word meaning ‘mountain’”); note also the same author’s “Vergil’s Best Reader? Ovidian Commentary and Etymological Wordplay,” in *CJ* 91.3 (1996), 255–276. Note also the story of King Tiberinus drowning in the river (Ovid, *Met.* 14.614–616): “Virgil has a different story—more accurately, Virgil’s *Evander* ... where the river derives its name from an Etruscan named Thybris. Ovid may well nod to that tradition (hence 615 *Tusci* ... *fluminis*), but he uses not the name Evander would prefer, but the name that appears in Roman cult, *Tiberinus*” (Fratantuono 2011, 418). Servius prefers to see a connection with the color of the river’s waters; see Eden for the question of the deposit of sulfur and calcium in the Tiber basin (with comparison of 7.517, of the sulfurous, white water of the Nar, which flows into the Tiber).

Dyson 2001, 67 notes the striking amount of emphasis that Evander places on the origin of the name of the river, with note of the tradition of drowned kings—a detail that points to the fate of Aeneas; the story of Tiberinus/Thybris is “... a legend that reminds us of another king who is to drown and be made a god” (and see Dyson 2001, 67n38 for the same sort of “inconsistency” in Ovid). Hight 1972, 108 was not impressed with the lore: “Evander’s history of central Italy devotes a disproportionate amount of attention to such trifles as the origin of the name of the Tiber.” Hight connects Evander’s account here with both the story of Cacus and Diana’s tale of the adolescent Camilla at 11.535–594 (“three Italian myths”), arguing that in all three cases the accounts “bear traces of their prosaic origin,” on the last that “it is scarcely convincing that a deity who has never appeared in the poem should suddenly intervene to relate a long saga about a doomed girl.”

“It is unusual to find a considerable river named in the feminine in Rome, where the feminine is generally reserved for brooks and springs” (Richardson 1992, 5).

333 me pulsum patria pelagique extrema sequentem

The verse could have been composed with reference to Aeneas; it is especially noteworthy after the self-identification of Evander as one of the *Itali* (332). Striking alliteration, as the Arcadian describes how he was driven from his home. For George 1974, 30–31, the point in the details about both Evander and Saturn is that “personal emotion gives place to the great chain of events in which the participants are involved, and the goal and future implications of the journey overshadow the journey itself.”

pulsum patria: Ciceronian (*TD* 3.39.3; *De Div.* 1.59.12); cf. the similar Ovid, *Met.* 11.269; Silius, *Pun.* 3.591. Evander gave a reason for the exile of Saturn from Olympus (that story, in any case, was exceedingly familiar); there is no explana-

tion provided here or elsewhere in the epic for Evander's own need to leave his home. Mezentius comes to mind, also Metabus; in both those cases the story of the expulsion is more or less made clear (cf. 11.539–540 *pulsus ob invidiam regno virisque superbas / Priverno antiqua Metabus cum excederet urbe*). See further on 51–52. In Ovid the blame is put on the anger of some god (see Green on *Fast.* 1.481–482 *nec te tua culpa fugavit, / sed deus: offenso pulsus es urbe deo*).

pelagique extrema: With a bit of rhetorical exaggeration, but of the sort that would appeal to Aeneas given his own history; in part the point is to highlight the uncertainty of destination at the time of exile (though we learn soon enough that Evander had the help of his prophetic mother, not to mention Apollo—we may compare the divine assistance along the way enjoyed by Aeneas and his Trojans). “Seeking a harbour of refuge on some remote shore” (Page). “Navigation in the heroic age tended to be timorous and unadventurous” (Eden). *Pelagi* could conceivably be locative and refer to the fear of death at sea (see here Eden, with reference to Servius). Such darker readings may owe something to the echo (more or less faint?) of 6.457 ... *ferroque extrema secutam*, when Aeneas makes his address to the shade of Dido. See Gransden for the association of the sea's extreme limits with Hesperia. “Evander speaks as a primitive Greek, for whom a voyage from Greece to Latium would seem to constitute ‘exploring the ends of the sea’” (Sidgwick).

334 *Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum*

A dramatic assertion of the responsibility for the arrival of Evander and his Arcadians in Latium: omnipotent Fortune and inescapable Fate (should we capitalize *fatum*?) are what placed him where Aeneas has found him. If there is a contrast between fortune and fate, it may perhaps be found in the problem of just how much of one's destiny one is familiar with absent the gift of prophecy and oracular revelation: one's *fatum* may be what is predestined and unavoidable, and one's *fortuna* what happens from day to day in the life of someone who is (for better or worse) not always aware of the ultimate *fatum*. The commentators compare the advice of Nautes to Aeneas at 5.709–710 *nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur; / quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est*, where the *fortuna* is the seemingly capricious force that confronts us *de die in diem*, always advancing inexorably toward the *fatum* that is glimpsed now dimly, now more clearly. Servius notes here: “... secundum Stoicos locutus est, qui nasci et mori fatis dant, media omnia fortunae: nam vitae humanae incerta sunt omnia.” But it is not clear that Virgil has any particular school of philosophy in mind here. The two key concepts frame the verse; Virgil's Evander will soon enough introduce something of a clarification, not to say complication.

Fortuna: The detail likely inspired the words of Ovid's Carmentis to her son at *Fast.* 1.479–480 *cui genetrix flenti 'fortuna viriliter' inquit | ('siste, precor; lacrimas) ista ferenda tibi est'*. On this see especially Gee 2000, 35–36. Related words enclose the verse.

omnipotens: Ennian (both epic and tragic); cf. Catullus, c. 64.171 *Iuppiter omnipotens*; Lucretius, *DRN* 5.399 *at pater omnipotens ita tum percitus acri*. Virgil has it of Jupiter at *G.* 2.325; *A.* 1.60; 2.689; 3.251; 4.25; 4.206; 4.220; 5.687; 6.592; 7.770; 8.398; 9.625; 10.100; 10.615; 10.668; 12.178 of Juno at 4.693 (in the death agonies of Dido); 7.428; of Olympus at 10.1 and 12.791; of Apollo at 11.790 (in Arruns' prayer to the god of Soracte). *Fortuna* is elsewhere accorded only one epithet in Virgil, *dura* (12.677).

ineluctabile: The adjective occurs twice in the *Aeneid*; cf. 2.324–325 *venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus | Dardaniae*, of Panthus' announcement of the last crisis for Troy (where see Horsfall on the coinage). Statius has it three times (*Theb.* 5.45; 9.390; 502); Seneca twice in the *NQ*. "A sonorous word" (Williams).

335 his posuere locis, matrisque egere tremenda

his ... locis: Cf. 311, of Aeneas' captivity with the place.

posuere: An echo of the words of the Tiber at 53 *delegere locum et posuere in montibus urbem*; note also Aeneas' words to Dido's shade at 6.461 ff.; the battle scene of 11.629.

matrisque: The first mention of Evander's mother in the book. Cf. Livy 1.7.8 *Carmentae matris*. On Virgilian mothers note Newman and Newman 2005, 47 ff., with complete catalogue.

egere: Recalling Aeneas' self-description of the Trojans at 118 *quos illi bello profugos egere superbo*; also 135 *coniunxere tibi et fatis egere volentem*.

tremenda: Vid. A. Traina in *VE* V, 261–263. The gerundive of this verb is used elsewhere in the epic only at 2.199, of the portentous death of Laocoön and his sons; cf. the description of Pluto as the *regem tremendum* at *G.* 4.469; also the finite forms at 8.296, 350 and 669. The details are carefully arranged: first Evander mentions his mother, and then a key detail about her admonitions—they inspired a reverential sense of wonder and awe. For the gerundive in Virgil note A.P. Bagnolini in *EV* 11, 716–718; Asso on Lucan, *BC* 4.337.

336 Carmentis nymphae monita et deus auctor Apollo.'

Carmentis nymphae: For Carmentis/Carmenta see B.W. Breed in *VE* I, 233–234; S. Fasce in *EV* I, 666–668; Bailey 1935, 36–37; also Roscher I.1, 851–854. On the etymology of her name from *carmen*, note Paschalis 1997, 282–283; O'Hara 2017, 209; also Bartelink 1965, 215–216. Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 56 notes that

some derived the name from *carens mente* (i.e., with reference to the divinely inspired frenzy of the prophetess; cf. *Vit. Rom.* 21). In Virgil she is mentioned only in the present passage; Ovid describes the Carmentalia of 11 and 15 January at *Fast.* 1.461ff., the *Arcadiae sacrum pontificale deae* (where see Green, and Frazer; cf. the prosaic detail of Varro, *DLL* 6.12 *Carmentalia nominantur quod sacra tum et feriae Carmentis*; the passing reference at Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 18.7.2). The orthography of the name is debatable; Livy has both Carmentis (5.47.2) and Carmenta (1.7.8, where the historian notes of Evander that he was *venerabilior divinitate credita Carmentae matris, quam fatiloquam ante Sibyllae in Italiam adventum miratae eae gentes fuerant*).

Dionysius (1.31.1) notes that Evander was the son of Hermes and an Arcadian nymph; the Greeks call her Themis and attribute prophetic powers to her, while the Romans call her Carmenta (with explanation of how she provided *carmina* that revealed the future destinies of men); cf. Pausanias 8.43.2 (with Frazer). At 1.32.2, Dionysius further notes that the Romans perform public sacrifices to Evander and Carmenta, and that he saw an altar to Carmenta under the Capitoline near the Porta Carmentalis, and one to Evander on the Aventine, not far from the Porta Trigemina (see on 337–338 below). Note also the lore preserved at Hyginus, *Fab.* 277. Danielis on 8.336 asserts that she was originally named Nicostrate (cf. Ps.-Aurelius Victor, *Orig.* 5.2; Strabo 5.3.3; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 56).

Plutarch's life of Romulus (21) notes that some considered Carmenta to be a *moira* with responsibility for childbirth; others a prophetic versifier (he notes the proper name Nicostrate).

Carmentis' identification as a nymph (cf. 339) returns us to the woodland haunts and playful, rustic world of 314 (Servius takes it simply to refer to a young bride). And as there were many *carmina*, so eventually, it seems, there would be many *Carmentes* (cf. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* 4.11). Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.* 16.16.1–4) preserves the Varronian (*Ant. Div.* fr. 103) lore about the connection of the goddess to breech births or *agrippae* (i.e., *aegritudo* + *pedes*; was the whole business of interest to Octavian on account of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa? Cf. here Powell 2015, 1ff.). There were two Carmentes, one *Postverta* in charge of normal deliveries, and one *Prorsa* for abnormal (Danielis has *Porrima* and *Postverta* as *comites Carmentis*; these names are from Ovid, *Fast.* 1.633). Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.7.20) knows this tradition: for him the *divinitatis comites* are Antevorta and Postvorta. A goddess, then, of childbirth and the protection of women in labor. This connection of Carmenta with childbirth can be seen also at Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 56 in his etymology of her name from *carpenta*; according to the story, matrons were denied the use of such vehicles, and so they imitated Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* in a matter rather less serious than that

of the Peloponnesian War; after their husbands yielded, they bore children of such number that they founded the temple of Carmenta.

Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 60 notes that some associated the female devotees of Carmenta with the Pinarii: they came late to the worship of Hercules, and so women were forever banned from the rites. Cicero (*Brutus* 14.56) provides evidence that Carmentis had a *flamen*, though the exact nature of his duties is unknown. “It would seem that as a goddess who aided women in travail she was eclipsed by the rivals who discharged the same important function with equal efficiency, Mater Matuta, Diana, and Juno Lucina” (Frazer).

What is elusive is a solution to the problem of how we are to reconcile Arcadian tradition with native Italian folklore (if, admittedly, such a reconciliation is necessary). Ovid associates Carmentis with Juturna at *Fast.* 1.463–464; this has led some scholars to conclude that Carmentis was in origin a water goddess (see Frazer here; cf. Platner and Ashby 1929, 101: “originally a fountain nymph”; Richardson 1992, 72; *LTUR* I, 240–241)—an idea that has gained support for some by the connection of sacred springs with divinization, and the similar role of the water nymph Egeria in childbirth.

monita: As at 504 below; cf. 4.331; 10.110; 10.689. For how Carmentis’ *monita* will soon be replaced by Janus’ *monimenta* (356), see Smith 2005, 94–95.

deus auctor Apollo: The passage ends on a powerful note of Apollonian glory and prophetic mystery. For Apollo as *auctor* cf. 12.405–406 *nulla viam Fortuna regit, nihil auctor Apollo / subvenit*, of the difficulty of treating Aeneas’ mysterious arrow wound; also Tibullus, c. 2.4.15 *nec prosunt elegi nec carminis auctor Apollo* (with Murgatroyd, and Maltby); *Ilias Latina* 165–166; Statius, *Theb.* 1.399; 10.889. The verse is framed by the two deities of prophecy and revelation. The present description of Apollo is reminiscent of *G.* 3.36, where Apollo is identified as *Troiae Cynthius auctor*: the god is once again an *auctor*, though now not of Troy, but of the Arcadian Pallanteum that rests on the site of the future Rome. The transition from Trojan *patronus* to overseer of the Augustan victory at Actium is well underway, and Evander’s mother Carmentis does her part to guide the journey. The linking of Carmentis and Apollo is deeply invested in the language of epic poetry (cf. 340–341 below). Here the title seems to be associated particularly with Apollo’s patronage over the Arcadian Evander’s settlement at Pallanteum; the prophetic god either inspired the *monita* of Carmentis, or offered independent confirmation thereof. “Apollo does not figure in the Homeric genealogy [of the future *gens Iulia*] ... but is relevant as one of the builders of the walls of Troy, and more important, as the patron of Octavian and tutelary deity of Actium” (Thomas on *G.* 3.36). For the significance of the advance from Cacus lore to Apollo, see Newman and Newman 2005, 255–256.

Auctor appears at 134 above of Dardanus, and at 269 of Potitius.

337–358 Evander, Pallas, and Aeneas continue their tour of the site of the future Rome. “The route ... remains surprisingly difficult to visualize. Evander’s back-to-the-future lecture tour of the future site of Rome configures space as a synchronous sequence of tagged landmarks: a hypertext.” (Spencer 2010, 50).

337 *Vix ea dicta, dehinc progressus monstrat et aram*

Vix ea dicta: Only here in extant verse; the point is the timeliness of the mention of the prophetic nymph, since now the tourists have arrived at the altar dedicated to Evander’s mother.

dehinc: 8× in the epic (once in the *G.*). “In *Hor.Epd.* and *Liv.1*; apparently, though, absent from high poetry before *Aen.*” (Horsfall *ad* 6.678; cf. *G.* 3.167). Disyllabic here and at 3.464; 5.722; 12.87; otherwise an example of synizesis (vid. Fordyce’s note). The first stage of the tour; the second will come at 342 *hinc*, and the third at 347.

progressus: See above on 125, after Aeneas had landed in Pallanteum.

monstrat: Cf. 343; 345.

aram: For this altar to the goddess nymph see Platner and Ashby 1929, 101, with references to Solinus 1.13; Dionysius 1.32; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 16.6.4 (of the aforementioned two altars—*arae*—of the two Carmentes); 18.7.2; Servius’ note here; Richardson 1992, 72; *LTUR* 1, 241. The Medicean (originally) and the Romanus have an interesting error here of *arma*. The Servian tradition notes that the altar was either made in honor of Carmentis by Evander, or else marked the spot where she was buried.

“The parataxis ... gives a dramatic speed to the narrative” (Gransden).

338 *et Carmentalem Romani nomine portam*

Carmentalem ... portam: “Anachronismus,” as the commentators note; the gate was in the Servian walls. Ovid mentions this portal at *Fast.* 2.201 ff. (where see Robinson: it “was situated at the southwest corner of the Capitol, close to the Temple of Janus in the Forum Holitorium, leading into the city and the Forum Boarium, and took its name from the nearby shrine and altar of Carmentis”). In Ovid it is connected with the ill-omened departure of the Fabii from the city, a tradition that earned it the name *Porta Scelerata* (cf. Livy 2.49.8, with Ogilvie; Smith 2005, 204; Robinson on *Fast.* 2.193–244: “... the only non-imperial family to be celebrated in the work”). “Hence ... some people had a superstitious objection to going out by this gate” (Frazer; cf. Schmeling on the eerie injunction of Petronius, *Sat.* 72.7 *nemo umquam convivarum per eandem ianuam emissus est; alia intrant, alia exeunt*). Servius notes this tradition; it is uncertain whether there is any connection between the evocation of the Fabian lore and the present war (in particular, the doomed Pallas). The trio of tourists is not

leaving the city by the ill-omened gate, merely entering thereby—but the *porta* was considered *scelerata* for a good reason. According to Livy 27.37.11–14, this gate led to the Vicus Iugarius, a road that took one from the Tiber port to the Forum Romanum (see D.P. Harmon in *VE* III, 1100 for the nearby location of the church of Saint Homobonus; cf. Evander’s name). For dismissal of the old idea that the Porta Carmentalis could/should be identified with the *porta triumphalis*, see Beard 2007, 97 ff. (with consideration of the problem of the Fabii and the question of what exactly they did wrong); also I. Östenberg, “*Circum Metas Fertur*: An Alternative Reading of the Triumphal Route,” in *Hist.* 59.3 (2010), 303–320.

Romani: Cf. *Itali* at 331, and especially 313 of Evander as the king of the *arx Romana*. This is the reading of M; P; several Carolingian witnesses; Tib.; the Romanus, the bulk of Ribbeck’s cursives, and the corrected Wolfenbüttel have *Romano* (perhaps under the influence of *nomine*). *Romani* here introduces the tour of the site of the future city.

nomine: For the etymological attribution of the name see O’Hara 2017, 209.

339 *quam memorant, nymphae priscum Carmentis honorem,*

memorant: For the verb cf. on 79 above; Seider 2013, 52–53 on the power of memory and recollection in Evander’s tour. Again the emphasis is on the persistence of memory; a gate is a scene of traffic and travel, and in this case the *porta* brings with it the daily recollection of the prophetic nymph. For the passage “teeming with words for speech” see Paschalis 1997, 282–283.

nymphae: As at 336.

priscum ... honorem: The adjective occurs elsewhere in the epic at 5.598 of the Prisci Latini in connection with the *lusus Troiae* (where see Fratantuono and Smith); also 6.878–879 *heu pietas, heu prisca fides invictaque bello | dextera!* (of the future Marcellus); 7.706 *Ecce Sabinorum prisco de sanguine ...* (of Clausus); 7.710 *... priscique Quirites*; 9.79 *... prisca fides facto* (of the tradition of the transformation of the Trojan ships into mercreatures). The adjective is redolent with the spirit of the old Italy and the old Italian religion; it stands in sharp relief and juxtaposition with the anachronistic mention of the (contemporary) Romans who remember the prophetic nymph from Arcadia. The *honor* is both the altar dedicated to Carmentis, and the nearby gate that bears her name; both attest to the veneration in which her name is held.

340 *vatis fatidicae, cecinit quae prima futuros*

For the etymological import of the verse see O’Hara 2017, 209.

vatis: Vid. M. Massenzio in *EV* V, 456–458, with careful delineation of those who are accorded this title in the epic: Calchas; Cassandra; the Harpy Celaeno;

Helenus; the Sibyl Deiphobe; Musaeus in Elysium; Allecto in the guise of Calybe. The vatic god *par excellence* is Apollo (cf. 6.12); the mention of *auctor Apollo* at 336 heralds the status of Carmentis as a *vatis*. The term is applied also to the *pui vates* of Elysium (6.662) and to the poet himself (7.41); cf. *heu vatium ignarae mentes!* at 4.65, in connection with Dido; the mysterious *vates* of 5.524 (of the archery portent); the *vates* of 7.64–70 (in the interpretation of the portent of the bees and the laurel).

fatidicae: Also of Faunus (7.82 *fatidici genitoris*), whose name is associated with speech; cf. 10.199 *fatidicae Mantus et Tusci filius amnis*, of Ocnus' descent from the Tiber and the prophetess Manto, the daughter of Teiresias (see here Harrison's note). The (mostly poetic) adjective occurs in Cicero and Varro; otherwise note *Ilias Latina* 31; Ovid, *Met.* 1.321; 3.348; *Fast.* 2.262; 5.626; Lucan, *BC* 3.175; 5.70; 5.147; Seneca, *Troad.* 1100; *Oed.* 269; 302; 1042; *HO* 1474; Statius, *Theb.* 4.187; 8.208; 10.605; 616; *Silv.* 3.5.97; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.2; 303; 4.435; 6.70; Silius, *Pun.* 1.414; 2.67; 3.11; 680; 13.412; 15.672; 17.2.

cecinit: Echoed at 534, of Venus' promises to Aeneas; prophetic singing also at 49 and 499.

quae prima: "It is somewhat surprising that Virgil makes no dramatic use of a prophecy so closely related to his theme and mentions it only incidentally ... without dwelling on its occasion or its import." The detail is Evander's, admittedly; in the context of an address to Aeneas, it might well remind the Trojan of his father Anchises' mention of the Romans in the eschatological vision of Book 6: *illa incluta Roma* (6.781); *Romanosque tuos* (6.789); *regis Romani* (6.810); *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento* (6.851); *Romana propago* (6.870). Servius takes the particular comparative referent of *prima* to be the Sibyl.

futuros: The "future" sons of Aeneas (341) are the Romans; the adjective heralds the following description of eminently Roman sites in the Roman landscape.

341 *Aeneadas magnos et nobile Pallanteum.*

A carefully balanced, sonorous verse that neatly arranges names that remind us most of Aeneas and Pallas, the two companions of the docent Evander. Quite a vast range for the Carmentian prophecy, envisioning as it does both the future glory of the sons of Aeneas, and the more immediately relevant Arcadian matter of the settlement of Pallanteum. The spondee in the fifth foot invites the reader to linger over the name; cf. the same effect at 54 and 345.

Aeneadas: Cf. 648 below. A name deeply invested in the Lucretian program; 18× in Virgil's epic. Dido asks if there is anyone who does not know of the *genus Aeneadum* (1.565; cf. the Sicilian zeal to see the sons of Aeneas at 5.108); the

name Aeneadae is the first that Aeneas gives to a settlement after his departure from Troy (3.18). The descriptor is used by both the poet narrator and multiple characters throughout the epic.

nobile: Not a common adjective in Virgil; at 7.564 it is applied to the vale of Ampsanctus whence Allecto makes her departure from the upper air; these are the only occurrences. At 11.341—coincidentally the same line as here—Virgil uses it in his comment on Drances' background—not a particularly positive set of associations. The Servian tradition notes that the point is to associate the Pallanteum with the future glory of the Palatine. The reading can be trusted, though note *nomine* in the Romanus and the Wolfenbüttel (perhaps one too many references to onomastic concerns).

More names and places, and in an important sense of doomed parties (cf. the suppression of Trojan *mores* and death of Pallas); note here Reed 2007, 4: “Any identity that can be claimed among the different settlements will, as a metaphor based only on the sameness of their place, disintegrate readily into metonymy.” Evander is focused on the two men on either side of him: the Trojan past that will yield to Italy, and the doomed only son who will be slain by the Rutulian Turnus.

342 *hinc lucum ingentem (quem Romulus acer asylum*

On the difficulties of this passage (especially 343 *rettulit*), note N. Adkin, “A Virgilian Crux: *Aeneid* 8.342–43,” in *AJPh* 122.4 (2001), 527–531.

hinc: Following on 337 *dehinc*; cf. 347. The twilight tour continues, as a topographical companion to the underworld Parade of Heroes unfolds.

lucum ingentem: As at 7.29–30 *atque hic Aeneas ingentem ex aequore lucum / prospicit*: “long recognised as a primary element in V’s vision of the old Italian landscape” (Horsfall ad loc., with note of the hunting grounds of Castel Porziano, complete with porcupines and president). Fordyce notes that Evander had no reason to point out the grove, except for the detail about its future that the Arcadian did not know (unless, of course, Carmenta had a very long and detailed prophecy for her son); on this see further Goldschmidt 2013, 95–96. Note also the *ingens lucus* of 597, at Caere.

“The huge grove which Romulus was to call the Asylum was in the dip between the two peaks of the Capitoline hill. This would have been to the left of Evander and Aeneas as they walked through the Velabrum towards the Forum Romanum” (Ellis 1985, 80).

Romulus acer: “A common epithet” (Fordyce); vid. B. Zucchelli in *EV* I, 15–17. The first of two references to Rome’s eponym in the book (see below on 654; note also the *Romulidae* of 638). Jupiter mentions him to Venus at 1.276 (as part of an etymology note on the Romans), as does Anchises in the *Heldenschau*

(6.777–778). Quirinus is also mentioned in balanced measure (1.292; 6.859). See further E. Dench in *VE* III, 1104; G. Maddoli in *EV* IV, 570–574.

asylum: Cf. 2.761, of a sacred precinct of Juno: “Virgil first has the word in poetry” (Austin ad loc.). Livy describes Romulus’ *asylum* at 1.8.4–7 (where the sanctuary is *inter duos lucos*). “It would seem that there was a very ancient asylum in the dip between the two peaks of the Capitoline” (Ogilvie). Virgil carefully balances his two uses of the (rare) noun in the second books of the respective two halves of the epic; on the night Troy fell, Phoenix and Odysseus were guarding the spoils of Troy in the *Iunonis asylo*. Sanctuary comes as a particularly apt topographical reference for the weary Trojan exiles.

Servius has a note on 2.761, where he observes that the Heraclidae established an asylum at Athens (with reference to Statius, *Theb.* 12.497–498); he notes that Romulus did much the same thing, whence 343 *rettulit* and not *stautit* (cf. L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi fr. 6 Cornell, with commentary); the same information is found in the Servian commentary on the present verses.

343 *rettulit*), et gelida monstrat sub rupe Lupercal

rettulit: A source of dispute and question since late antiquity. Danielis argues that the verb means either “restituit” or “nominavit”; later commentators have more or less accepted one or the other of his interpretations. Scholars have noted the similarity to the description of the Troy game at 5.597–598 *Ascanius, Longam muris cum cingere Albam, | rettulit et priscos docuit celebrare Latinos*; in both instances an original undertaking is repeated and renewed. Adkin 2001 takes the meaning here to be “rendered,” arguing for the rhetorical figure of *metalepsis/transumptio* (Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 8.6.37); in part the argument cites the passages elsewhere (Livy 1.8.5; Strabo 5.3.2; Dionysius 2.15.4) where Romulus is said to have founded the asylum, not to have restored or renewed it.

Here the the Herculean allusion, however, is especially apt in the wake of the liturgy of the god that has just concluded. For general commentary on the myth of the flight of the children of Heracles, see Wilkins 1993, xi ff.; the reference to the Romulean asylum recalls the salvation at Athens of the orphaned children of the hero, and the ultimate defeat of Eursytheus (cf. 292). The Athenian defense of the Heraclidae led to war with Argos (cf. the Trojan struggle to win over Argive Juno); suppliant tragedies—so popular a theme in Greek drama (vid. Allan 2001, 39 ff.), provide a perhaps irresistible source of commentary on the situation of Aeneas and his Trojans in Italy.

gelida sub rupe: Cf. 295, of the locus of the defeat of the Nemean lion. “Rupes dicuntur saxa inconposita et praeupta et erecta naturaliter in altitudinem immensam” (Tib.).

monstrat: Following on 337; cf. 345.

Lupercal: “A cave at the foot of the northwest slope of the Palatine” (V.M. Warrior in *VE* II, 766; cf. F. Castagnoli in *EV* III, 282–284; Platner and Ashby 1929, 321; Richardson 1992, 238–239; *LTUR* III, 198–199), the traditional site of the suckling of Romulus and Remus by the she-wolf (see further below on 630). From the January Carmentalia we move to the February Lupercalia, the ancient and mysterious festival that became associated with fertility and purification (cf. the later Christian festivals of both the Purification of the Virgin and the martyrdom of Valentine), a feast that is described at length by Ovid in his *Fasti* (2.267–452, where see Robinson). From the grove associated with Romulus we move naturally to the cave of his lupine nurturing, a sacred site perennially associated with the merriment and raucous celebration of the Lupercalia (cf. Livy 1.5.1 *Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadico, Pallantium, dein Palatium montem appellatum*, etc., with Ogilvie). Verses 343 and 344 end with words with reference wolves, first in Latin, then in Greek.

The classic surviving account of the Lupercal is Dionysius 1.32.3–5, where the Arcadians are said to have been ordered by Themis to construct a temple to Lycaean Pan; Dionysius notes that the Romans call it the Lupercal, while Greeks would say Lycaeum. Dionysius gives valuable topographical details of the site: there was a cave, under a hill with a dense wood; beneath the rocks there were springs. At 1.79.8, a statue of the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus is noted as part of the sacred precinct in front of the cave.

For the fateful Lupercalia of 44 B.C., see Weinstock 1971, 331 ff.

344 *Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycaeii*.

Parrhasio: This Homeric (*Il.* 2.608 ff.) alternative for *Arcadio* is found elsewhere in Virgil only at 11.31, where it is applied to Evander; see further Robinson on Ovid, *Fast.* 2.276 (“... a region in the south of Arcadia ... [it] included Mount Lycaeus ...”; cf. Kirk on *Il.* 2.605–608: “Parrhasie was the district of western Arcadia ... a few Mycenaean relics have been found in this part”; *Barrington* 58 C3). Cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 2.520–521. A favorite adjective of Ovid and Martial; once in Horace and Propertius. The Romanus reads *Parnasio* here, inexplicably. On the use of the adjective elsewhere as a substitute for the metrically intractable *Palatinus*, see Henriksén on Martial, *ep.* 9.11.8; cf. *ep.* 7.99.3.

dictum: On the continuing etymological game here see O’Hara 2017, 209–210; how we move from the Greek to the Roman name is not made explicit. Servius notes that *Lupercal* may derive from Pan’s role as a defender of flocks against lupine predation (*lupus* + *arcere*); he also notes that some associated the cave with the propitiatory sacrifice of a goat (*caper* + *luere*)—one might

think that the goat story (cf. the goat-skin strips of the *Luperci*) might have come first, and then the verbal similarity to “wolf” made an association with the she-wolf all too easy (Danielis offers still more theories). Confusion over the exact meaning/point of *dictum* may explain Schrader’s reading *monte* for *more*, a choice with quite weak manuscript support that is sometimes defended by comparison with Ovid, *Fast.* 2.423–424 *Quid vetat Arcadio dictos a monte Lupercos? / Faunus in Arcadia templa Lycaeus habet*, verses that are not found in the Oxoniensis (see here Robinson, who suspects that the couplet was interpolated by someone quite familiar with *Aeneid* 8). *Lupercal* as a name moves us from Greek to Latin, we might think; Evander (?) has instituted a “Roman” version of the worship of the woodland god of his native land.

Panos: The only appearance of the wild woodland god in the epic (vid. D. Cosi in *EV* III, 948–951; E. Fantham in *VE* II, 962–963; Bailey 1935, 144–147; cf. Preller/Robert I, 738–747); he is prominently featured in the proem to the first georgic, together with what we might call his Italian equivalent Faunus: 1.16–18 *ipse nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lycaeii / Pan, ovium custos, tua si tibi Maenala curae, / adsis, o Tegeae, favens ...* Pan, Silvanus and the nymphs are grouped together at *G.* 2.493–494 *fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestis / Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores*; only once is he associated with a specific myth, namely his assignation with the moon: *G.* 3.391–393 *munere sic niveo lanae, si credere dignum est, / Pan deus Arcadiae captam te, Luna, fefellit / in nemora alta vocans; nec tu aspernata vocantem* (where see Thomas on the “very obscure” story). Famously, Pan is one of the deities who comes to comfort Gallus: *E.* 10.26–30 *Pan deus Arcadiae venit, quem vidimis ipsi / sanguineis ebuli bacis minioque rubentem*, etc. On how Pan is dismissed by Lucretius (*DRN* 4.586 ff.), but mentioned by Virgil in connection with the site of Rome, see Hardie 1986, 218–219.

de more: Cf. 282 *in morem*. Henry offers a corrective against those who would see a *mos nominis*. Evander’s explanation is cast in language that studiously avoids anachronism, even as it strongly emphasizes the later story of the twins and the wolf.

Lycaeii: Of Mount Lycaeus in Arcadia; the adjective appears only here in the epic; cf. *E.* 10.15 *Maenalus et gelidi fleverunt saxa Lycaeii*; *G.* 1.16 ... *saltusque Lycaeii*; *G.* 3.2 ... *silvae amnesque Lycaeii*; 314 *pascuntur vero silvas et summa Lycaeii*; 4.539 *qui tibi nunc viridis depascunt summa Lycaeii*. A wolfish close to a verse deeply imbued with the spirit of Greek Arcadia, and in balance to the *Lupercal* of the end of the preceding line: vertical etymological okay between words at line-end. Cf. 345–346.

345 nec non et sacri monstrat nemus Argileti

nec non et: For this connective phrase see Gransden: not found before Virgil; cf. 461.

monstrat: The simple, paratactic tour continues (cf. 337; 343).

sacri ... Argileti: For this district of Rome (“sloping up the skirt of the Quirinal”—Mackail), note here V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* I, 121–122; F. Castagnoli in *EV* I, 307–308; Platner and Ashby 1929, 53–54 (“... one of the great arteries of communication in Rome, and a centre of trade ... it also bore a somewhat unsavoury reputation”); Richardson 1992, 39; *LTUR* I, 125–126. This is the only mention in Virgil of a place that may owe its name to the Latin *argilla*, “clay/clay pits,” because it was located near a watercourse that was a potter’s dream. *Argiletum* was a road in Rome from the Forum Romanum through the Suburan valley; for the purposes of Evander’s tour, it is a locale made famous by the death (*letum*) of Argus (Danielis notes that Hercules may have assisted in the killing—he offers several other possible folk etymologies). The story that a guest of Evander violated the laws of hospitality and was slain in consequence can be found in Varro (*DLL* 5.157; he also knows the clay explanation); it may also recall the lore of the many-eyed guardian of Io, the watchman killed by Mercury and remembered in the Junonian transfer of his eyes to the tail of her sacred peacock. The story is part of the decoration of Turnus’ *clipeum* (7.791 ... *et custos virginis Argus*). See further L. Fratantuono in *VE* I, 122; M. Grazia Iodice di Martino in *EV* I, 310. Harmon in *VE* III, 1100 sees the point of *sacer* as a reference to the sanctity of the grove (*nemus*).

The adjective *sacer* has been explained as a gesture of reverential respect for a corpse; Evander’s Arcadians buried Argus and thus underscored their innocence in his death. Servius notes that the term could also refer to that which is accursed or otherwise condemned; see further the extended discussion of Tib. In *Argus* we may be meant to recall certain aspects of Cacus lore. Paschalis 1997, 283 focuses on how Argus may have been an exile in the mold of Saturn, Evander, and Aeneas; he sees the story as a reversal of the Polydorus/Polymestor episode of Book 3.

346 testaturque locum et letum docet hospitis Argi.

testaturque locum: For the verb we may compare 4.519–520 *testatur moritura deos et conscia fati | sidera* (of Dido); 6.619 (of the underworld warning offered by Phlegyas); 11.220–221 *ingravat haec saevus Drances solumque vocari | testatur*; 12.580–581 *Aeneas magnaue incusat voce Latinum | testaturque deos iterum se ad proelia cogi*. Sinon uses the verb as part of his sacrilegious testimony (2.155); cf. Aeneas at the fall of Troy (2.432); Sinon’s doublet Achaemenides (3.599); Aeneas with Dido (4.357); Dido with Anna (4.492); Neptune with

Venus (5.803); Nisus (9.429); Metabus at the Amasenus (11.559); Latinus (12.201). Here the point may be that Evander is calling the place of Argus' death/burial to witness to his innocence in the killing of a *hospes*. Editorial discomfort with the meaning and interpretation here have led to "violent" (so Eden) emendations, of which perhaps the least invasive is G uthling's *ostenditque locum*. Gransden offers the possibility that the point is for the place to bear witness to its own etymology. For the implicit personification Fordyce compares Catullus, c. 64.357 *testis erit magnis virtutibus unda Scamandri*. The very place is holy, one might conclude, even if stained with the memory of a crime; the name of Argus with which the description closes might well have reminded Aeneas yet again of the wrath of Juno.

Henry takes the point to be that Evander calls the place to witness that the story he has just referenced to Aeneas is true, complete with references both to Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame* and Euripides' *Iphigenia Aulidensis*.

letum ... Argi: Evander literally spells out the meaning of the name to Aeneas. *hospitis*: Cf. 463 (of Evander's guest Aeneas), in a very different context.

347 hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit

hinc: Cf. 337 and 342.

Tarpeiam sedem: Cf. 652 below; R. Katz in *VE* III, 1245; F. Castagnoli in *EV* V, 42–43 (with photograph). Evander, Aeneas, and Pallas now either ascend the Capitoline (cf. Della Corte 1972, 201) or walk beneath it (Harmon in *VE* non-committal); the former interpretation is preferable given the reference to the infamous mount of the traitor, the citadel that Tarpeia betrayed to the Sabines: drama and ambulatory theater call for an ascent. Tarpeia's treachery is referenced in Virgil only in Book 8, though at 11.656 *Tullaque et aeratam quatiens Tarpeia securim* one of Camilla's companions in the equestrian battle bears the same name as the notorious girl of Romulean times, where she appears with Larina and Tulla ("Whatever the aura surrounding the names, all are indeed "daughters of Italy," for better or worse"—Fratantuono ad loc.; cf. Horsfall's "Her fame and daring outweigh any stain"). The name may well recall the Tarpeia whose story is told at Livy 1.11.6 ff.; Bailey 1935, 250 identifies Tarpeia as an underworld goddess, one of the *Di Inferi* (see here Alessio 1993, 129; she sees the Camillan sorority as a sinister band of negative, indeed chthonic forces that contrast sharply with the "beautiful, god-like Camilla").

For the background of the story see Hutchinson on Propertius, c. 4.4 (the Tarpeia elegy); for the elegist, as for Varro (*DLL* 5.41), Tarpeia was a Vestal Virgin. Propertius ruefully notes on the name: *a duce turpe Iovis mons est cognomen adeptus: / o vigil, iniuste praemia mortis habes* (c. 4.4.91–92). The story likely was an invention to explain an early (if not original) name of the Capitoline.

From the death of Argus we move to the spot associated with the execution of criminals; Evander and his guests ascend the rock whence those convicted of capital offenses were hurled—not necessarily, we might think, the most positive of associations to introduce the Capitoline. An anachronistic detail, but the narrator is responsible for the naming of the site, not Evander. Paschalis 1997, 283 sees a reversal here of the image of Latium and the Romulean asylum as places of hiding; the Capitol was breached because of Tarpeia's betrayal. "Betrayal and Punishment link it with the story of Argus."

"Strictly speaking, *Tarpeia* was the name of the precipitous southern or rather s.w. face" (Sidgwick). The precise spot has been a source of dispute; cf. the evidence of Livy 5.47.1–4; 6.20.12.

Capitolia: Cf. 653 below, where again it follows on a reference to the traitor; also 6.836–837 *ille triumphata Capitolia ad alta Corintho | victor aget currum caesis insignis Achivis* (of Mummius); 9.448–449 *dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum | accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit* (of the proviso placed on Virgil's authorial intervention regarding the memory of Nisus and Euryalus). Varro (*DLL* 5.41) records the tradition that the name was derived from the human *caput* that was discovered on the site during excavation for the temple of Capitoline Jupiter (cf. Livy 1.55.5; Goldschmidt 2013, 98 on the evidence of Fabius Pictor). See further J.J. Clauss in *VE* I, 230–231; F. Castagnoli in *EV* I, 642–644.

Plutarch, *Vit. Rom.* 18 notes that Tarpeia was buried on and gave her name to the fateful height; Tarquinius Superbus eventually dedicated the locale to Jupiter. Tarpeia's remains were removed and her memory preserved only onomastically (cf. Propertius, c. 4.4.1 ... *Tarpeiae turpe sepulcrum*). Augustus restored the Capitolium or temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (*Res Gest.* 20, where see Cooley), perhaps in 26 B.C.; see further Platner and Ashby 1929, 297–302; Richardson 1992, 221–224; *LTUR* III, 144–148. This was the great temple of the Capitoline Triad of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; the shrine speaks to a harmonious union between the three patrons of Rome.

Commentators note that 347–348 comes at the exact midpoint of the tour (and not far from the midpoint of the book). Evander showed Aeneas (and Pallas) the Carmental altar and gate that were associated with his mother; the *lucus* of the Romulean asylum could be assumed to have been a sacred space even in Evander's time. The Lupercal is the site of a shrine to Pan that was erected by the Arcadians. As for the Tarpeian Rock and the Capitol, this area is defined certainly as a numinous place, even in these "prehistoric" days. "Toponyms from future, Ennian times" (Goldschmidt 2013, 98–99, with an argument that the "Capitol" passages of the *Heldenschau* and the Evander tour constitute "a kind of *précis* of Ennius' *Annales*").

348 aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis.

aurea: In context, we may think of the gold with which Tarpeia was bribed by the Sabines to betray the Capitoline citadel (cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 1.261–262). Tarpeia's treachery may also remind one of the *amor successit habendi* (327) that contributed to the decline of the Saturnian Golden Age. For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 88–95; cf. 168; 324; 372; 553; 659; 672. The detail carries with it a warning about the dangers and seduction of wealth; it is significant that this single chromatic/metallic description is the sole reference to the future state of the Capitol. *Aurea* harks back to what is itself a bygone age; once upon a time there were forest thickets and numinous groves, and now there is a golden temple—but there was once also a Saturnian Golden Age, a peaceful epoch that gave way to ages of bronze and iron because of the *belli rabies* and the *amor habendi* that spoiled human life. Note also here Ware 2012, 179 ff., on the “cynical conclusion” of Ovid at *Fast.* 1.194, where Janus looks back to a time when treasure was of less consequence. Note also *Aetna* 9 *aurea securi quis nescit saecula regis?*

Henry takes the point of *aurea* to be entirely metaphorical.

nunc: A common adverb with great import in context; the poet references Augustan Rome and its building program, deferred maintenance and all. Effective juxtaposition with *olim*; we may compare 4.626–627 *qui face Dardanos ferroque sequare colonos, | nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires* (Dido's curse); 12.210–211 *olim arbos, nunc artificis manus aere decoro | inclusit patribusque dedit gestare Latinis* (of Latinus' scepter). On the topos of the “now/then” contrast, see Coleman 2006, 15–18, on contexts that highlight “the march of civilization.” For James Zetzel's perceptive point that *olim* can also look to the future, with resultant envisioning of a day when the Capitol will once again be wild and overgrown with brambles, see Martindale 1997, 5; Edmunds 2001, xiv–xv; cf. Jenkyns 1998, 551. Cf. Horsfall 1995, 164: “There is in Virgil ... a cyclic view of history, but that neither means that the poet believes in a post-Augustan regression towards a second smoking den on the Palatine ... nor does it negate or exclude a simpler linear view ... Roman history begins with *Saturnia regna* and reaches its present climax in new *Saturnia regna*.”

silvestribus: Elsewhere in the epic the adjective occurs only at 9.673 *quos Iovis eduxit luco silvestris Iaera* (of the parentage of the giants Pandarus and Bitias), and 11.554–555 *huic natam libro et silvestri subere clausam | implicat* (of Metabus' device for saving the infant Camilla). 6× in the *G.*; three in the *E.* Cf. here 7.172 *horrendum silvis et religione patrum* (of Latinus' *tectum*).

horrida: So of the imprisoned Furor (1.296); of the *myrtus* near Polydorus' grave (3.23); of Atlas' beard (4.251); of Jupiter's *horrida iussa* (4.378); of Acestes in his bear pelt (5.37); of the *horrida bella* predicted by the Sibyl (6.86; cf. 7.41);

of Aventinus with his lion's head (7.669); of Ufens' *horrida gens* (7.746); of the *silva* in the night raid (9.382); of *Iuppiter horridus Austris* (9.670); of *horrida Volcania* (10.408); of the *horrida bella fati* of which Aeneas speaks at Pallas' bier (11.96–97). Here the adjective heralds the description of rustic fear and awe (349–350): the grove was a bristly place, and it also inspired trembling and a sense of fright.

dumis: As at 657 *Galli per dumos aderant*; cf. 4.526–527 *quaeque lacus late liquidos quaeque aspera dumis / rura tenent*; 9.381–382 *silva fuit late dumis atque ilice nigra / horrida* (of the fateful place where Euryalus becomes lost and separated from Nisus; cf. 393); 11.570 *hic natam in dumis interque horrentia lustra* (of the young Camilla's wooded haunts); 843–844 *nec tibi desertae in dumis coluisse Dianam / profuit* (Opis' lament for Camilla). Cf. also the imitation of Lucan, *BC* 1. 28–29, with Roche's note.

349 iam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestis

iam tum: Repeated at 350 to underscore the point: this was already a sacred place, even in the days before the Capitoline's peaks were gilded. The phrase recalls 7.643–644 ... *quibus Itala iam tum / floruerit terra alma viris, quibus arserit armis* (at the beginning of the catalogue of heroes).

religio: Cf. 598 below. Not just *religio* here, but “sinister” or “dire” superstition (350 *dira*). At 2.151 *quae religio* it is used in one of Priam's questions to Sinon about the wooden horse; cf. 2.188. The cypress near the temple of Ceres at 2.714–716 was consecrated to *religio*; cf. 7.172. Aeneas refers to the “religion” that has guided his course (3.363); Helenus speaks of future religious practices of the Aeneadae (3.409). The *geminae Belli portae are religione sacrae* (7.607–608); cf. Latinus' prayer at 12.182. But all of these Virgilian uses yield to the reminiscence of Lucretius, *DRN* 1.62 ff., of the bondage of the human race to superstition and vain religious observance (see here Hardie 1986, 217 ff., with comment on the unease that the allusion creates, and the problematic associations of a religion that is based on fear. Are these fearful rustics pre-Saturnian?). On the “irrational lengthening” of the first syllable see Eden.

pavidos: The adjective is not common in Virgil; cf. 592 below. It is used three times in connection with the fall of Troy (2.489; 2.685; 766); the youths at the *lusus Troiae* are described as *pavidos* before their equestrian display (5.575). The horses of Hippolytus were *pavidi* (7.780); so also the Trojan camp in the wake of the night raid (9.473). Turnus applies it to himself in his retort to Drances (11.406); cf. 12.717, of the *pavidi magistri* of the bulls to which Aeneas and Turnus are compared. The frightened rustics frame the verb of terror.

The central depiction of the “golden Capitoline” references the great Jovian temple that Augustus restored; in the context of Evander's tour, the focus is

on the primeval sanctity of the mysterious grove, a place that seemed to be the haunt of a divine power from time immemorial. Now it is golden, but once it was sylvan and wild; the gilding is referenced at Pliny, *NH* 33.57 *Laquearia, quae nunc in privatis domibus auro teguntur, post Carthaginem eversam primo in Capitolio inaurata sunt censura L. Mummi* (where see Zehnacker's Budé's notes). There was also a shrine of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitol, which was also restored by Augustus (*Res Gest.* 19), apparently at the urging of Atticus (Nepos, *Vit. Att.* 20.3 *Ex quo accidit, cum aedis Iovis Feretrii in Capitolio, ab Romulo constituta, vetustate atque incuria detecta prolaberetur, ut Attici admonitu Caesar eam reficiendam curaret*). See further Platner and Ashby 1929, 293–294; Richardson 1992, 219; *LTUR* III, 135–136. At 353–354 below, there may be an allusion to yet a third Jovian temple, that of Jupiter Tonans: the Saturnian Golden Age has indeed yielded to a Jovian. Lurking here—as we shall soon enough see—is a reference to the *original* Capitoline temple (cf. Varro, *DLL* 5.42; below on 357), that of Saturn (for Lucan's adoption of this lore in *BC* 3, where Caesar is like Jupiter as he steals the prerogatives of Saturn by plundering the treasury of the god's temple (3.165–167), see Fantham 2011, 527 ff.; Fratantuono 2012, 101–102).

We may think here, too, of Lucretius, *DRN* 2.27–28, of the ultimate pointlessness of golden ceilings and furnishings.

For the influence of this passage on Tacitus' note (*Hist.* 1.40.2) that the view of the Capitol and the *religio* of the many temples of the environs should have deterred Galba's killers, see Joseph 2012, 93 ff.

350 *dira loci, iam tum silvam saxumque tremebant.*

Words that reference the primitive fright frame the verse. The repetition of *iam tum* hammers home the point.

dira: A striking shift from the *aurea* of two lines before. The mention of *dira religio* leads directly to the dark storm imagery of 353–354. Cf. the *dira facies* of Cacus at 194; also 8.235 *dirarum nidis domus opportuna volucrum*, at the lair of the monster: not a set of positive associations to preface the advent of the great god of the Capitol. Budick 2000, 64 ff. sees a connection between the *dira religio* of this locale and the *Dira* involved in the doom of Turnus; in this interpretation the Rutulian is like the locals who tremble at forest and stone. In the immediate context, a darkness descends over the scene, a gloomy vista of storm and tempest that reminds one of Cacus' combat with Hercules.

loci: The grim atmosphere of sinister superstition is associated powerfully with a sense of place; this grove was always thought to be the home of a god.

silvam saxumque: They feared the very source of life: cf. 315 *gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata*. The Romanus reads *silvas* here. *Silvam* echoes 348

silvestribus; with the *saxum* that is the source of rustic fear Hardie 1986, 218n154 compares the “allegorical rock of religious fear” from Lucretius, *DRN* 3.980 ff.

tremebant: The Wolfenbüttel originally had the singular here, probably from the influence of 349 *terrebat*. Less explicable is the Medicean *tenebant*; P’s *remebant*. With the verb cf. the *monita tremenda* of Carmentis (335–336).

Theme and variation (Henry). For how our sense of nature and the outdoors is what the Romans found abhorrent, see Ross 1987, 22–23 (with reference to this passage).

351 ‘hoc nemus, hunc’ inquit ‘frondoso vertice collem

hoc ... hunc: Deictic, as Evander points out a most important grove and hill (and note 355 *haec*; 357 *hanc ... hanc*; 358 *huic / illi*; 362 *haec ... limina*; 363 *haec ... regia*); the demonstratives are part of the declaration of the numinous presence of the mysterious god (cf. Farrell and Nelis 2013, 114 ff.). It is not certain that the trio of walkers has ascended the Capitoline, or, if so, how far they have climbed (and we might remember that Evander is slow and aged); we may imagine Evander pointing from a lower vantage point at the impressive heights. Still, a climb (however modest) in contrast to the descent to the shade of Anchises is an attractive image. Tib. takes the deictic demonstratives to be evidence of a lack of an ascent: “manifestius fit non illum circumisse loca singula ...”

nemus: Cf. 314 *haec nemora*; 345 ... *nemus Argileti*. Servius comments that *nemus* is a good word to use here, since in Evander’s day there were, as yet, no buildings.

inquit: Almost jarring, as we return from a dazed, mesmerizing look at the Augustan future. Also in this book at 113; 362; 439.

frondoso vertice: The adjective appears in the epic elsewhere only at 5.252, of “leafy Ida” on the cloak of Cloanthus; and 7.387, of the leafy mountains where Amata hides her daughter Lavinia; cf. *E.* 2.70; *G.* 1.282; 3.296; 4.543.

collem: The reference is to the Capitoline, possibly specifically to its more southerly peak. Henry again comments on the theme and variation: the grove and the hill are one and the same.

Gransden sees a reversion in 351–353 to the “language of pastoral”; if there is a glimpse of an idyllic world, it will soon be spoiled by the Jovian storm of 353–354.

352 (quis deus incertum est) habitat deus: Arcades ipsum

This passage was quoted by Seneca (*Ep.* 41.2) in his discussion of how there is a god in every *vir bonus*, a god who helps one to triumph over the vicissitudes of capricious fortune. Seneca proceeds to note that if you ever enter a grove (*lucus*) that is full of lofty forest trees, or if some cavern (*specus*) holds

up a mountain on its arch, you will be touched by a certain sense of *religio*. “The evocation ... of the awe-inspiring presence that may be Jupiter upon the shaggy Capitol, frees the time-scale of this visit from ordinary narrative limitations. This passage has been called the heart of the *Aeneid*, and it has this unique place in the poem precisely because all the different time-levels meet here, and only here, in Aeneas’ story.” (Henry 1989, 44).

quis deus: A studied ambiguity. Evander here somewhat oddly seems to distance himself from the *Arcades*; they are clearly credited with believing that Jupiter himself was seen in these environs, at least when there was particularly nasty weather in the vicinity—but Evander hedges his bets as to the identity of the *deus*. We may think of *E.* 1.7 *namque erit ille mihi semper deus*; 18 *sed tamen iste deus qui sit, da, Tityre, nobis*, etc.; the question of whether a god was responsible for the archery feat at 12.321 (or mere chance, *casusne deusne*). On Evander’s unwillingness to assent to the Jovian presence see Jenkyns 1998, 550–551. If the god were not Jupiter, one might wonder as to other divine candidates: Saturn? Zeus was the weather god *par excellence*, but one imagines that the son of the primeval Sky knew something about meteorology. It is possible that Evander’s uncertainty serves in part, at any rate, to highlight the deposition of Saturn by his son.

incertum: Also of the source of Aeneas’ serious arrow wound (12.320); cf. the Trojan *vulgus* at 2.39 (when confronted by the wooden horse); Aeneas’ comment on the fate of Creüsa (2.740).

habitat: 12× in the epic (2× each in *E.* and *G.*).

ipsum: “The very god”; the intensive follows on the demonstratives of 351 and continues to convey the idea of immediacy: the Arcadians believe that they actually saw Jupiter, not merely that they deduced from a severe thunderstorm that he was in the vicinity.

353 *credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem*

credunt: An expression of trust and faith; cf. 140 ... *si quicquam credimus*.

vidisse: Again with an emphasis on the visual; this is the only time in the epic where mortals are said to gaze directly on Jupiter. On the difference between seeing the god and feeling his divine presence, see Rimell 2015, 133 ff. The Arcadians believed that they saw Jupiter in the specific act of his wielding his tempestuous aegis; there is no indication of who (if anyone in particular) was the target of the god’s apparent wrath.

saepe: Frightening in its implications; storms, after all, are not particularly unusual occurrences.

nigrantem: For the chromatic participle see Edgeworth 1992, 141; elsewhere it is used of the black storm cloud that Juno has planned for Aeneas and Dido at

the fateful hunt (4.120); Aeneas sacrifices two black bulls to Anchises' shade (5.97), while the Sibyl directs the sacrifice of four such animals before the descent to the underworld (6.243). Lastly, Cybele indicates to Jupiter that the Trojan fleet was once a grove of dark spruce trees (9.87). Twice, then, in connection with storms (the one at Carthage of immense consequence); twice in association with sacrifices for the dead and matters infernal.

Some have seen here an allusion to the temple of Jupiter Tonans, a shrine that was vowed by Augustus in 26 after he narrowly escaped death by lightning strike while in Spain; it was dedicated on 1 September, 22 (see Suetonius, *Vit. Aug.* 29, with Wardle's note). The possible reference to the *templum* has been seen as evidence of a *terminus post quem* for composition of the passage, if not the entire book (see here Eden). See further Platner and Ashby 1929, 305–306: "... the temple must have stood quite close to the entrance of the area Capitolina, and therefore on the south-east edge of the hill overlooking the forum ..."; Richardson 1992, 226–227; *LTUR* III, 159–160. For the association of the Tonans temple with that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, note especially McKay 1970, 129.

Dainotti 2015, 42 explains the effect of 353–354: the uncertainty of Evander as to the identity of the god is enacted by the participle at line-end that introduces a literal note of darkening, before the specificity of the aegis is announced at the start of the next verse: "... that is the real significance of *nigrans*, preferred to the more definite *niger* ..." Cacus was associated with dark imagery (8.198–199), as was Hercules (8.219).

354 *aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret.*

aegida: The aegis is mentioned by name in Virgil only here and at 435 ff. *aegidaque horriferam, turbatae Palladis arma*, etc. (vid. M.B. Sullivan in *VE* I, 13–14); any connection to goat skin would follow from the allusion to the Lupercalia at 343–344. Pallas has the aegis when she is glimpsed as a divine participant in the ruin of Troy: 2.615–616 *iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas / insedit nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva*; cf. *nimbos* here. Virgil references another ambiguity here, this time one borrowed from Homer (cf. *Il.* 5.738–739; 18.204); it is not entirely clear if the Jovian aegis is the same as that associated with Pallas Athena/Minerva. The explicitly Palladian aegis is decorated with the familiar Gorgon head of Medusa; the present, brief description is devoid of elaboration. In *Il.* 5 Athena lets loose her robe and assumes the chiton and armor of Zeus the aegis-bearer; the aegis she dons also has the Gorgon head. The noun first appears in Virgil in extant poetry; note also Horace, c. 1.15.11–12 ... *iam galeam Pallas et aegida / currusque et rabiem parat*; c. 3.4.57 *contra sonantem Palladis aegida*.

The problem is in part the distinction between that which is wielded and that which is worn (see Fordyce here, who illustrates the range of meanings by citing Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 593 and Euripides, *Cyc.* 320, and who compares the present scene to *Il.* 4.167 ff., again of something taken up and used as a weapon); the former could be a force of storm or hurricane force winds, the latter—originally a goat skin—the more familiar Gorgon breastplate (by a process of transformation). The “two aegises” of Homer et al. may thus both appear in Book 8. Eden *ad* 435 traces the movement from storm cloud to “item of personal equipment” (speculating that the visual arts may have inspired the advance), and from armor to actual cause of the thunder/lightning; he also considers the appropriateness of the sky/storm god allowing his daughter the use of the weapon, with comparative consideration of Wotan/Brünhilde. Apollo could also wield the aegis (*Il.* 15.229; 15.307 ff.; also 24.20 ff., where see Macleod); whatever rules (if any) there were for its use are not known, save that no one ever is said to have it used explicitly against the will of Jove. “The horrifying face of the Gorgon stares from the center of Agamemnon’s shield (*Iliad* 11.36–37), but it is nowhere to be found on the shield of Achilles, which offers just one glimpse of deities (Ares and Athene coming from the besieged city) amid its multitudes of mortals” (Heffernan 1993, 23). Euripides had his own opinion on the presence of a Medusa emblem on Achilles’ shield (cf. *Electra* 455–469).

concuteret: So at Ovid, *Met.* 2.754–755 *ut pariter pectus positamque in pectore forti | aegida concuteret* (with Bömer).

dextra: A conventional enough gesture, though possibly with reference to depictions from the world of the visual arts or of coinage. Servius notes that the Jovian right hand was used to wield *fulmina*, whereas the left was reserved for the pelt of the *capra* Amalthea (the origin of the goat-aegis; cf. Hyginus, *De Ast.* 2.13.4); the point for Servius (Heyne *seq.*) is to punctuate before *dextra*: a shield would not easily be wielded in one hand, and a shield is what Servius et al. have imagined here. See further Conington’s note.

nimbosque: “... it can be either bright ... or gloomy and menacing” (Horsfall *ad* 2.616).

cieret: For the verb see Fratantuono and Smith on 5.585; cf. Silius, *Pun.* 12.610–611 *et ventos simul et nubes et grandinis iras | fulminaque et tonitrus et nimbos conciet atros*. Jupiter is depicted in conventional Homeric terms as if cloud-gathering Zeus. For the possible Senecan imitation of Virgil’s use of *cieret* with the aegis see Fitch on *HF* 901.

Storm imagery of a different sort will be important at 391–392.

355 haec duo praeterea disiectis oppida muris,

Something of a surprise ending to the tour. See further here Apostol 2009, 167 ff.

haec: Continuing the deictic demonstratives of 351; cf. 357.

duo praeterea: Cf. *E.* 2.40–41 *praeterea duo nec tuta mihi valle reperti / capreoli*; *A.* 11.285 *si duo praeterea talis Idaea tulisset / terra viros* (Diomedes' appraisal of Aeneas to the Venulan embassy).

disiectis ... muris: Cf. 2.608–609 *hic, ubi disiectas moles avulsaque saxis / saxa vides*, of the vision of the immortal destruction of Troy. *Moenia disiecta* in Nepos and Livy.

oppida: Other than the Carmental altar and gate of 337–340, these ruined *oppida* constitute the only actual structures that are shown to Aeneas on the twilight walk. Virgil's Evander does not make the matter at all clear, but it is reasonable to assume that these towns with their destroyed walls are casualties of the *belli rabies* of 327; first there was the Saturnian Golden Age, and then the advent of greed and war. Were these *oppida* Golden Age settlements that eventually developed defensive walls that were not sufficient to ward off catastrophe? Or were the walls struck by Jovian lightning? The latter possibility is certainly much on the mind in the wake of the description of Jupiter's wielding of the hurricane aegis. Cf. here S. Scully, "Cities in Italy's Golden Age," in *Numen* 35.1 (1988), 69–78. The shattered walls literally surround the towns. For the ruined cities as a "token of the fate of all cities" see Reed 2007, 147; 172 (on the power of poetry to preserve the memory of past edifices).

356 reliquias veterumque vides monimenta virorum.

reliquias: A significant term in the development of the Virgilian account of the ruin of Troy. Almost from the start of the epic, the theme is developed, first in the context of Juno's incessant persecution of what is left of Troy: 1.30 ... *reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli* (cf. 1.598; 3.87; 5.787; 7.244). Aeneas makes clear to Dido that if he had his wish, he would still be tending to the city of Troy, etc.: 4.342–343 *urbem Troianam primum dulcisque meorum / reliquias colerem*. The word is used in funereal and memorial contexts: 5.47; 6.227. Of both physical structures, then (as here), and of both the living and the dead "leavings" of a destroyed city. Here a parallel is drawn between what is left of these two towns, and of the lost Troy of Priam. The first two words of the verse set the tone: relics of old, as it were.

vides: The first and only second person address in the tour.

monumenta virorum: A ring draws to a close; Aeneas had asked Evander about just such monuments at 312 *exquirique auditque virum monumenta virum*. Both these passages echo 3.102 *tum genitor veterum volvens monumenta*

virorum, just before the ill-fated decision to try to settle in Jupiter's Crete (104 *Creta Iovis*). Servius' only comment here is that Virgil hereby shows that Saturn was a *vir* (and, implicitly, not a god). In Evander's narrative of the course of local history—all of which comes in response to Aeneas' question about the *monumenta*—the first organized society came as a result of Saturn's action at 322 *composuit*; the god took those who had been dispersed in the mountains and gave them a society. When exactly they decided to build walls (either for demarcation or protection) is not specified. Are we to think of Lucretius' *conderere coeperunt urbis arcemque locare / praesidium reges ipsi sibi perfugiumque* (*DRN* 5.1108–1109)? Again, no indication in Evander's speech that Saturn was responsible for the building of walled towns—this likely comes after the onset of *amor habendi*.

On the subjective and objective uses of the genitive here, see Hahn 1930, 154–157.

357 hanc Ianus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem:

hanc ... hanc: Echoing the demonstratives of 351 and 355.

Ianus: Vid. G. Freyburger in *VE* 11, 723–724; L. Fratantuono in *VE* 11, 687–688. The “January” god was traditionally conceived of as having two faces (Ovid, *Met.* 14.334; *Fast.* 1.245); in Virgil this is how he first appears, when he is described among the cedar statues in Latinus' palace (7.180–181 *Saturnusque senex Ianique bifrontis imago / vestibulo aderant*). The present verse looks both forward to a new year and back to an old; cf. above on 287. For the implicit gate imagery and the parallel of the close of the vision of Book 6, see Smith 2005, 94 (with comparison also of the Carmental gate).

arcem: This is the reading of M, P, the Wolfenbüttel, the bulk of the Carlingians, and Tib.; the Romanus and several cursives have *urbem* (which was preferred by Naugerius and de la Cerda), a reading followed by no recent editors. With hesitation and lack of strong resolve, we have followed the bulk of the evidence in reading *arcem*; editors cite both *E.* 2.61–62 ... *Pallas quas condidit arces / ipsa colat* and *A.* 1.5 ... *dum conderet urbem* as *comparanda* for the two readings. From that first introduction of the god—where, as here, he is balanced with Saturn—we move to the role of Ianus as *custos* of the *Belli portae* (7.610), the celebrated arched passage with gates in the Argiletum (cf. Varro, *DLL* 5.165). At 12.198, *Ianus bifrons* is one of the gods invoked by Latinus at the ratification of a treaty with the Trojans. He is named among the deities of the *Carmen Saliare* (cf. Varro, *DLL* 7.26). Augustine (*De Civ. Dei* 7.4, from Varro) has Janus as a blameless individual, a man noted for his hospitality to the fugitive Saturn (for the same story note Servius on 8.319), a pagan figure about whom the Christian bishop can find nothing negative to say. In Ovid (*Fast.* 1.103–104)

he is one and the same as Chaos: *me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant, | aspice, quam longi temporis acta canam.*

The Janiculum on the right bank of the Tiber was almost certainly the scene of an early *cultus* of Janus; what is uncertain is whether Evander is pointing toward that (non-canonical) hill of Rome here—the alternative is that the *arx* (or *urbs*) referenced here is located on the north side of the Capitol, and this seems likelier. Janus' citadel was to the north, and Saturn's to the south in peaceful coexistence; both were destroyed (perhaps by Jovian lightning, with implicit note on the hazards of offering hospitality to a fugitive from Jupiter). Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.7.19) attests to this tradition of amity and shared rule; Janus originally ruled with Cameses, another *indigena*, only later to share power with the fugitive Saturn (Janus is also there compared to Antevorta and Postvorta). The present passage is cited as evidence of the happy union; a note is made too about the tradition of the adjoining months of December and January. The shielding of Saturn on the Capitoline is noted at Festus 430L, where *Saturnius* as a name for the mountain is cited (cf. 358); cf. *AAR* 148: "On his arrival in Rome, Saturn had been granted Capitoline Hill by Janus ... Indeed, the hill was called *Mons Saturnius* ..."

358 Ianiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.'

Ianiculum: An interesting contrast with the form *Saturnia*. The latter must agree with either the *arx* or the *urbs* of the end of 357; with the former we may compare Ovid, *Fast.* 1.245–246 *arx mea collis erat, quem volgo nomine nostro | nuncupat haec aetas Ianiculumque vocat* (and see Festus 93L for the folk etymology that it was considered the *ianua* or gate to Etruria, the root by which one went (*ire*) to Etruscan lands). *Ianiculum* might be taken to agree with an understood *oppidum*. See further Richardson 1992, 205: "the name now given to the whole ridge on the right bank of the Tiber from just south of the Vatican City on the north to the Stazione di Trastevere on the south ... In antiquity the *Ianiculum* proper was probably much more restricted ..."

huic: Properly the proximate demonstrative, referring to that which is closer; to imagine that it refers to the historical Janiculum on the other side of the Tiber is therefore difficult (or at least "awkward"—Fordyce). Eden notes another problem, namely that to an Augustan Roman, the Transtiberine Janiculum ridge was still, after all, the Janiculum—but this may be exactly the point; nobody in Virgil's day still called the north side of the Capitol the *Ianiculum*, and the south side had long ceased to be called the *Saturnia arx* (let alone *urbs*). Conington finds the use of the demonstratives here "rather careless"; he agrees with Forbiger that *huic* refers to that which is closer in thought (if not in topography). Tib. indicates that the point of the whole matter is that the

oppida no longer have the names of Janus and Saturn. For a different solution to the problem, see Stahl 2016, 301–302.

fuera: “A puzzling pluperfect” (Page); “The tense is strange” (Williams). See Eden for the force of the pluperfect indicative to describe that which is truly over and done with it: “The usage seems to originate in a vigorous idiom of ordinary speech.” Evander is not speaking only as an anachronistic Roman; he is highlighting how even in his own, Pallantean days, the settlements of Janus and Saturn were already in ruins.

Saturnia: The last named structure of the evening walk is the ruined citadel/edifice of the overthrown god of the Italian Golden Age. O’Hara 2017, 211 argues that the passage draws attention to the fact that it is really *Saturn* who no longer has a place, since Janus, after all, survives in the Janiculum. Papillon and Haigh note that the main point of the Janus/Saturn references is to highlight the sacral character of the whole region.

nomen: The tour draws to a close, appropriately enough, on an onomastic note.

359–369 Evander and his party arrive at his humble dwelling on the Palatine; the Arcadian king recalls that Hercules once entered this dwelling, and he urges his Trojan guest not to spurn modest circumstances, indeed to scorn wealth and riches and to fashion himself as one worthy of the god. He leads Aeneas into the house, and spreads out a bed with a bear pelt coverlet as night falls.

359 talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant

talibus ... dictis: Cf. 337 *Vix ea dicta*. Fordyce takes the ablative to be of attendant circumstances (following Conington); the phrase implies a conversation and discussion., the back and forth of Aeneas’ questions and Evander’s answers. From the time of Danielis there has been confusion as to whether *dictis* is participial or substantive; the former, on the whole, seems preferable—but the difference is not significant. Cf. 2.336; 4.92; 4.219; 5.719; 6.98; 6.124; 6.467; 7.249; 7.284; 7.445; 8.611; 10.448; 11.376; 12.212; 12.238; 12.625.

ad tecta subibant: Similar language described the Trojan approach to Latinus’ citadel at 7.160–161 *iamque iter emensi turris ac tecta Latinorum | ardua cernebant iuvenes muroque subibant*. The *tecta* (cf. 366) introduce a new element in the landscape: as night falls, Aeneas and his Arcadian hosts arrive home at the settlement of Pallanteum. For the verb note below on 363; where Aeneas now ventures, so too, once upon a time, did Hercules. The verb may indicate that the trip proceeds up the slope of the Palatine; its later use will work an interesting change on the meaning. Conington notes that the force of the preposition is to indicate arrival at the house, not entrance inside.

On the verb note especially Putnam 1966, 135.

360 pauperis Evandri, passimque armenta videbant

pauperis: Cf. the *pauper senatus* of 105; indeed the *res inopes* of Evander at 100. At once we are taken back to the spirit of primitive Italy, to a time before the lust of gold had infected the hearts of men; from the ruined citadels of Janus and Saturn we emerge to the humble abode of the Arcadian refugee. The epithet is transferred from the dwelling to the owner: Evander had no palace, rather a most modest residence. The Latin *pauper* implies that one has what one needs for life and contentment (rather in the Epicurean mode, we might think); there is no indication that Evander and his Arcadians are in the straitened conditions of poverty. “Again v. contrasts Rome’s pastoral beginnings with her Augustan grandeur” (Gransden). On the association of *pauper* with hospitality narratives, see Monica Matthews on Lucan, *BC* 5.539; Nisbet and Rudd on Horace, c. 3.2.1.

passim: See Horsfall on 11.385: “17× in v.; a discreet supplement ... to the lexicon of epic hyperbole.” “Dispersedly” (Conington).

armenta: The detail about livestock may remind us of the Herculean cattle of Geryon/the Cacus story, especially just before the mention of Alcides at 363. From stories of labors and cattle rustling we have come to a place that is a rich pasture for a large herd. Servius notes that there was no longer any reason to fear for grazing animals, given that Hercules had defeated the thieving monster. The implicitly healthy number of cattle contrasts with the detail about *pauper* Evander. Clausen 2002, 166 notes that the modern reader of this passage is more emotionally touched than the contemporary Virgilian audience, given that the Forum did again become a pasture, the Campo Vaccino.

videbant: Yet another reminder of the visual force of the scene: ruined monuments are now replaced by the peaceful pasture of grazing herds.

361 Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.

The verse is framed by references to the future Rome and one of its most fashionable residential districts. Something of another surprise: the bucolic scene is replaced at once not just by an anachronistic reference to the *Forum Romanum*, but to an especially trendy neighborhood of the future city (cf. *AAR* 143 ff.). The line proceeds from Rome to *lautae* Carinae: something of a decline in mortals may be reflected, as we move from a reference to respectable poverty to an allusion to a posh district of the contemporary city. On this passage note S. Timpanaro, “Note a interpreti virgiliani antichi,” in *RFIC* 95 (1967), 428–445, with special reference to the Danielan commentary here. One may recall Tennyson’s “Now thy Forum roars no longer, / fallen every purple Caesar’s dome ...”

foro: There are only two *fora* in the epic, and they come in the first and last books of the second third; cf. 5.758 *indicitque forum et patribus dat iura vocatis*,

of the settlement that Aeneas establishes and entrusts to Acestes in Sicily. For the ablative *vid.* Hofmann/Szantyr II, 146.

lautis: The only occurrence of the adjective in Virgil—indeed, as Eden notes, in all poetry of any genre of the high style. The term is one of satire and comedy; it comes here with an implicit note of criticism for how Rome has experienced a moral decline (more or less precipitous) from the days when cattle roamed freely in the wealthier districts. The surprising word may account for the Medicean's original reading *latis*, which has none of the force and color of *lautis*. For a playful reading of the entire scene, see Jenkyns 1998, 545 ff.; cf. the "self-effacing irony" observed by Goldberg 2005, 198.

mugire: For the verb see on 215 above; cf. 526. The lowing of the animals is now not of telltale theft, but rather of peaceful, pastoral life. The verb is effectively framed by the key adjective and noun; *lautis mugire* offers an effective contrast. On the possible etymological reference to the Forum Boarium, *vid.* Feeney 2007, 164; O'Hara 2017, xxix (on "Moo-Gate").

Carinis: *Vid.* here J.J. Clauss in *VE* I, 233; also F. Castagnoli in *EV* I, 664. For the neighborhood on the western slope of the Esquiline see Shackleton Bailey *ad* Cicero, *Ep. Quint. fr.* 2.3.7.9. Pompey had a house in Carinae (Florus 2.18 records the witticism of Sextus Pompey about how he had his own *carinae* for a residence; Antony had appropriated the Pompeian house (Plutarch, *Vit. Ant.* 10.3; 21.2–3; 32.4; Velleius Paterculus 2.77.1), and there may be a pointed bit of criticism here aimed at the disgraced triumvir, to whom *lautus* could easily and fairly have been applied as an adjective). The Romanus has *cavernis* here, perhaps in ignorance of the proper name. There may be a particular association here, too, with the *horti Pompeiani* located in the same district.

362 ut ventum ad sedes, 'haec' inquit 'limina victor

ut ventum: The impersonal passive also occurs at 4.151 *postquam altos ventum in montis atque invia lustra*; 6.45; 10.710; 12.739; the dramatic 12.803 *ventum ad supremum est*.

haec: With a gesture to the modest surroundings. The plural *limina* is poetic.

sedes: The exact location of Evander's residence is left unspecified; it has often been associated with the *Domus Augusta*, on which see especially Wardle's note on Suetonius, *Vit. Aug.* 72. The home in question (on the slopes of the Palatine) had been owned by Quintus Hortensius Hortalus; it was probably an easy purchase in the wake of the proscriptions. We cannot know for certain when Augustus may have decided to exploit the connection of the locale with Romulus and Evander. Gransden takes the noun to refer to the entire Palatine settlement, not simply the residence of Evander. The present home of Evander recalls the reference to the king as *conditor* of the *arx Romana* at 313. On

the problems of the identification and location of Evander's *regia*, see R. Rees, "Revisiting Evander at *Aeneid* 8.363," in *CQ* 46.2 (1996), 583–586.

On the contrast of the Arcadian reception with the reality of the war, note Di Cesare 1974, 148–149.

inquit: Cf. 113; 351; 439.

victor: As at 203. The scant attestation of *nobis* offers an interesting and inexplicable variant. For the line-end cf. Statius, *Theb.* 6.615. For the possible allusion to the worship of Hercules Victor (an idea already found in the Servian tradition), see O'Hara 2017, 211, and cf. 203 above.

The present description is echoed at 11.43–44 *invidit Fortuna mihi, ne regna videres / nostra neque victor paternas?*, of Aeneas' lament for the dead Pallas—a dark transformation of the Trojan's reception here.

363 Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit.

Alcides: For the name see on 203; Hercules makes a return appearance, as it were, for the climactic arrival at Evander's home. When exactly did Hercules visit Evander's dwelling (and was Evander resident there at the time, or did the Herculean arrival come in the more distant heroic past?). Presumably after the defeat of Cacus (hence 362 *victor*). Hercules was apparently planning to leave Latium when he realized that his flock was not intact; if he had visited this Palatine residence before the theft of the cattle, why was he not apprised of the local danger? Virgil likely did not intend for any such questions to be investigated too rigorously. For how the notice of the god's visit leads ultimately to the bestowal of divine weapons on the "new" Hercules, see Liddel and Low 2013, 311 ff.

subiit: In deliberate echo of 359 *subibant*, as the trio advance in the steps of Hercules. For the long final syllable see Eden; also Henriksén 2012, 101; for the verb with the accusative, Antoine 1882, 45–46. Some have seen a reference here to stooping to enter (see especially Conington, with reference to Peerlkamp); the image is of the mighty hero entering the small dwelling. Aeneas, like Hercules, will be described as huge (367 *ingentem*).

haec: Yet another deictic demonstrative. Here there is deliberate and pointed contrast between the *regia* (with its modest proportions) and the mighty hero and victor over Cacus (*illum* of Hercules).

regia: Evander is a *rex*, after all (307); we may compare 242, of Cacus' regal lair, and 654, of the dwelling of Romulus on the shield. Latinus has a similar *regia* (7.171; cf. 210; Pandarus' taunt to Turnus at 9.737; 11.369). But the present passage is transformed into a grim scene of mourning at 11.38 ... *maestoque immugit regia luctu*, where Aeneas' camp is the locus for terrible, indeed bovine mourning in the wake of the death of Pallas. *Immugit* there echoes *mugire* at 361; the *regia* of Aeneas' makeshift camp harks back to Evander's *regia* on the

Palatine. *Regia* in both contexts offers an interesting contrast with the idea of humble surroundings; is there a bit of sarcasm in Evander's appellation for his dwelling?

cepit: The small house held Hercules, and will hold Aeneas; very different is 9.644 *nec te Troia capit* (Apollo to Ascanius)—a parallel that already was noted in Servius. It is significant that we learn precious little about the architecture of this very special house.

364 *aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum*

Evander's admonition to Aeneas is reminiscent of Anchises' address at 6.851–853 *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento*, etc.; that passage was concerned particularly with the martial future of Rome, and it was spoken to an unspecified "Roman"—the present scene focuses first on the spurning of riches (there may be a hint of the theme of Troy as notoriously luxurious and corrupted by wealth). Theoxeny: the topos of the reception of a great man at a humble threshold was a commonplace by the Augustan Age; it can be traced back to the *Odyssey*, and appears in Virgil as the result of a process of distillation that includes Callimachus' *Hecale* and Eratosthenes' *Erigone*; on the "Callimachean script" see Manuwald and Voigt 2013, 104. The classic account may be Ovid's narrative of Baucis and Philemon at *Met.* 8.611–724 (where see Bömer, and Hollis, the latter with especially extensive background on the motif). It is almost as if Aeneas were entering the *sacellum* or sacred place of a god.

Regarding the possible influence of Callimachus' *Hecale* on Virgil, Hollis notes: "The entertainment of Aeneas by old Evander in *Aen.* 8 belongs with examples of the hospitality them ... no verbal similarities to the *Hecale* fragments are apparent" (Hollis 1990, 32).

aude: This imperative occurs also at 11.370 *aude atque adversum fidens ferpectus in hostem*, of Drances' demand of Turnus at the Latin war council. Imperatives at the opening of the verse, 364–365; three in all that culminate in *veni*, the invitation of host to guest. Aeneas is asked to perform deeds of moral greatness and not physical strength; the commentators compare Ps.-Aeschylus, *Prom.* 999.

hospes: A reminder of the great theme of hospitality and the guest-friend relationship that imbues the whole Pallanteum interlude.

contemnere: The verb occurs elsewhere in the epic only at 3.77 *immotamque coli dedit et contemnere ventos*, of the special favor shown by Apollo to his birthplace of Delos. Cf. *G.* 2.360 and 4.104. An interesting advance in logic from the reference to the victorius Alcides to the present scene: Hercules was enraged because of the loss of cattle; Cacus had stolen animals that Hercules himself had taken from the monster Geryon. There is no indication in the Hercules-

Cacus epyllion that Jupiter's son had any special association with spurning riches (arguably quite the opposite); the only way in which the great hero could be associated with *contemnere opes* was in visiting what may well have been the best dwelling in the vicinity, humble though it was.

te quoque: Emotionally charged words in Virgil, with the pronoun either in nominative or accusative; cf. 1.407–408 *quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis | ludis imaginibus?*; 6.30–31 ... *tu quoque magnam | partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes*; 6.71 *te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris* (Aeneas to the Sibyl); 7.1–2 *Tu quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneia nutrix, | aeternam moriens famam, Caieta, dedisti*; 10.324–325 *tu quoque, flaventem prima lanquine malas | dum sequeris Clytium infelix, nova gaudia, Cydon*; 10.739–741 *ille autem exspirans: non me, quicumque es, inulto, | victor, nec longum laetabere; te quoque fata | prospectant paria atque eadem mox arva tenebis* (Orodes to Mezentius). For the *tu/te quoque* formula in the epic, see especially Liddel and Low 2013, 310 ff.

365 *finge deo rebusque veni non asper egenis.*'

finge: For the verb see on 42 (here it in part looks forward to the crafting of the shield); the imperative occurs in two other passages: 4.337–338 ... *neque ego hanc abscondere furto | speravi (ne finge) fugam* (Aeneas to Dido), and 7.438 *ne finge metus* (Turnus to the disguised Allecto). Here significant controversy has attended the exact meaning of Evander's admonition to Aeneas to fashion or make himself as one worthy of the god. The passage was popular already in antiquity; Seneca quotes it at *Ep.* 18.12 in advice to Lucilius about establishing kinship with the/a *deus* by scorning wealth; at 31.11 he uses it again, this time in a discussion of the emptiness of human titles and the ability to rise far above one's station in life by virtue and excellence. For Seneca, the Virgilian scene is a quarry for Stoic commonplaces (cf. Lyne 1987, 36 ff., with the argument that Evander is shown to be gullible in light of the subsequent depiction of the opulent, seductive world of Aeneas' mother); the particular identity of the *deus* is not of great interest. In Juvenal (s. 11.60–62 *nam cum sis conviva mihi promissus, habebis | Evandrum, venies Tiryntius aut minor illo | hospes, et ipse tamen contingens sanguine caelum*), the present scene is reinvisioned in a manner not entirely complimentary to Aeneas: he is a lesser god than Hercules, one who does touch the heavens by blood (i.e., by Venus and Jupiter)—but *minor* all the same (cf. “mildly ironical”—Courtney ad loc.). Dryden was much taken with verses 364–365.

One might well be tempted to identify the *deus* here as Hercules, and that would certainly be the easiest reading; as Fordyce notes, however, the *quoque* may argue against this interpretation. Jupiter has been suggested (notably by

Henry), the point being that Aeneas, like Hercules, is descended from the great god; this would accord best with Stoic theology. It is conceivable that the mysterious *deus* is Saturn (the god other than Alcides most recently named), who did not disdain, after all, coming to Latium; he found fauns, nymphs, and a people born from trunk and oak—a people who were fed by the rough fare gained by hunting (cf. on *asper* below). He came to this rough people and brought order and peace, much as Evander would consider the missions of Hercules and Aeneas to have done. As often in Virgil, any ambiguity is deliberate (so Williams). Mackail follows Servius' paraphrase of "componere te in similitudinem numinis" (so also Henry, and Fowler); Danielis preserves the ancient view that Evander simply means, "fashion yourself as worthy of immortality." Cf. Mackie 1988, 155: "... in a short space of time, we see a close connection between Saturn, Hercules, Aeneas and Evander—all outsiders who come into Latium, live a life of *frugalitas*, and impose peace and order by their efforts." Herculean frugality may be questioned, even if he did enter the Evandrian *tecta*; what matters is that both Hercules and Aeneas will enjoy apotheosis. We may also recall that Augustus was associated with the restoration of the Saturnian Golden Age (6.791 ff.).

The Palatinus originally read *deos* here; Deuticke conjectured *decus* and Cauer *dignum finge domum*: "what anyone but Virgil would have written" (Eden). It is a testament to how much this passage has bothered some that there would be any attempt to emend a text guaranteed by not one but two Senecan citations.

deo: For the ablative after *dignus* see Antoine 1882, 194–195.

asper: This label was applied to Thybris at 330; it also described the hunting fare of the primitive inhabitants of Latium (318). Aeneas is invited to come as one not *asper* with respect to humble things. This use of the adjective is classified by *OLD* (s.v. 11) as "behaving or speaking in a harsh manner, stern, severe, bitter, hostile," i.e., as someone critical of the modest surroundings. "Non aspernator, id est fastidiosus" (Servius). It recalls, however, the very circumstances of primitive life that the indigenous inhabitants of the region endured (or enjoyed). Ironically, Aeneas will soon be welcomed to rest for the night on a bear pelt (368; cf. 5.37 *horridus*). Cf. also *horrebat* at 654 below, in the description of the Romulus hut on the shield. Wagner interprets the point to be that Aeneas should not reject the home of an exile.

egenis: The adjective is also used of the shipwrecked Trojans (1.599); of the desperate straits predicted by the Sibyl (6.99); and of the dire circumstances of the Arcadians in flight (10.367). "An appropriately archaic ring" (Gransden). Significantly, it is nowhere else used in remotely positive circumstances; it is an invitation to Aeneas to brave whatever difficulties await.

“Plotin dira plus tard qu’il faut sculpter son âme, reprenant une image proche de celle de Virgile, qui évoque le modelage” (Heuzé’s Pléiade note).

366 dixit, et angusti subter fastigia tecti

angusti: Cf. 2.332–333; 3.411; 419; 687; 4.405; 11.309; and especially 11.525 *angustaeque ferunt fauces aditusque maligni*, of the locus of the Caudine Forks-like place of ambush where Turnus fatefully lies in wait for Aeneas. Aeneas will enter the present narrow confines to which he is led by Evander; he will successfully negotiate the defile where Turnus plans his destruction, with credit to the savage will of Jupiter that demands that Turnus give up the ambush scheme in the wake of the death of Camilla (cf. 896 ff., with Fratantuono). Gransden sees word-play with *Augusti*—exactly the sort of trick that Virgil would enjoy, especially at the exact midpoint of the book ($365.5 + 365.5 = 731$). For the possible connection with the *casa Romuli* see especially Goldschmidt 2013, 96n94; there are verbal parallels in the present description and that of 8.654 *Romuloque recens horrebat regia culmo*. There were in actuality *two* Romulean huts, not one; Aeneas is invited to enter Evander’s; see further Edwards 1996, 32 ff. The Palatinian Romulean hut is referenced at Dionysius 1.79.11 (cf. Varro, *DLL* 5.54); it would fall victim to the portents after the death of Agrippa in 12 B.C. There was also one on the Capitoline (Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.15.10, where see Kaster), which was apparently a duplicate (hence 8.653 ... *Capitolia celsa tenebat*). For convenient survey of the topographical and archaeological problems, cf. *AAR* 219–220.

subter: Also with accusative object at 418; cf. 3.695 and 12.532.

fastigia: Also at 491; elsewhere 8×, always in the accusative plural. The present passage is reminiscent of 2.302–303 *excitior somno et summi fastigia tecti / ascensu supero* (of Aeneas on Troy’s last night); also 2.458 *evado ad summi fastigia culminis* (also of Aeneas, this time before the death scene of Priam); 478 and 758 (also in scenes connected to the end of Troy). The present passage has no *summi*, but rather *subter*; Evander’s humble abode stands in marked contrast to the opulent city of Troy that has been destroyed. Aeneas had successfully fled from that city in an almost sacral triad with father and son; now he enters something of the opposite of Troy, this time with a father and doomed son. The noun is Lucretian (cf. *DRN* 4.429 *paulatim trahit angusti fastigia coni*); it is a particular favorite of Manilius.

tecti: Cf. 359.

367 ingentem Aenean duxit stratisque locavit

ingentem: A pointed adjective; Aeneas, like Hercules before him, is of heroic stature and proportions, especially in contrast to the small house on the Palatine that once again holds a future god (cf. Augustus). Fordyce notes that the

placement of the adjective offers a deliberate contrast with 366 *angusti*. The large size of the hero also accords well with the bear pelt of 368: a mighty pelt for a worthy visitor. *Ingentem Aenean* also occurs, however, at 6.412–413 *deturbat laxatque foros; simul accipit alveo / ingentem Aenean* (of Charon at the Styx). The present scene offers sleep and not death; it comes, however, in the wake of the glimpse of ruined *oppida* and Jovian storms. The adjective prepares too for the mention of the bear pelt in the following verse: a bear pelt for a hero of formidable size.

duxit: Of actual entry into the dwelling. For the question of whether or not Evander/Pallas are in the same house with Aeneas, see below on 461; cf. Fowler 1917, 78.

stratistique: Cf. the incubation ritual of 7.94–95. Virgil here closes a ring with 175–178, where Evander welcomed Aeneas to the *dapes* in honor of Hercules. Evening has come, and with the descent of night (369), the time for rest and slumber has arrived (at least for mortals).

locavit: For the verb see on 176, in a parallel passage.

368 *effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae*

The Sicilian monarch Acestes greeted Aeneas and his Trojans in a costume of bear pelt; now the Arcadian Evander puts Aeneas to bed on the same ursine covering (cf. 5.37 *horridus in iaculis et pelle Libystidis ursae*, with Fratantuono and Smith)—another connection between the first and final books of the epic's second act.

effultum: Also of Latinus at the incubation ritual (7.94–95 *atque harum effultum tergo stratistique iacebat / velleribus*). Cf. Propertius, c. 3.7.50; Statius, *Theb.* 1.145; 526; 8.731; *Silv.* 3.1.5; Silius, *Pun.* 7.293.

foliis: With this bed of foliage cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 5.971–972 *nuda dabant terrae nocturno tempore capti, / circum se foliis lascivia laeta movebat* (with Campbell); also Ovid, *Her.* 5.13–14 *saepe greges inter requievimus arbore tecti, / mixtaque cum foliis praebuit herba torum*.

pelle ... ursae: The bear was central to the zoological iconography of the Arcadians, and bear pelts were (not surprisingly) common in Arcadia (Pausanias 4.11.3; 7.18.12 ff.). The swineherd Eumaeus provides Odysseus with the humbler skin of a shaggy billy goat at *Od.* 14.48 ff.

On Virgilian bears see R. Katz in *VE* 1, 173–174; S. Rocca in *EV* v, 404; Toynbee 1973, 93–100; the Acestes and Evander passages are the only appearances of she-bears in the poet. At *G.* 3.247–248 *tam multa informes ursi stragemque dedere / per silvas*, bears in heat are said to deal death and destruction; bears are part of the menagerie of horrors in Circe's haunts (*A.* 7.17–18). Note also 83 ... *conspicitur sus* above, where an ursine misreading has occasionally inserted

a bear into the scene. The Camillan victim Orsilochus of 11.636 (where see Horsfall, and Fratantuono) may have associations with the title of Artemis as bear huntress (i.e., Orsilochē; cf. Ammianus 22.83.34, where the skulls of victims of worshippers of the goddess are affixed in a matter not unlike Cacus' savage trophy collecting).

Not just a she-bear, but a Libyan one (the geographical adjective only here and at 5.37; cf. L. Kronenberg in *VE* II, 745–746). As much a reminder of Dido's Carthage, then, as of Heracles (Homer, *Od.* 11.611; the hero's heraldry was classically leonine and not ursine). Pliny (*NH* 8.131, 228) famously notes that bears were not native to Africa; the animal in question is the (almost certainly extinct) Atlas bear, *Ursus arctos crowtheri* (cf. Braund on Juvenal, s. 4.99; also Martial, *ep.* 1.104.5, with Howell). For the possible Callimachean source of the descriptor see Galinsky 1968, 167n28; cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.1753 (with Hunter). Eden argues that the point of the detail is to underscore the exotic, remote nature of the bed covering. Tib. focuses here on how even the *pauper* Evander was able to show something suitably great to the Trojan guest. Any astronomical associations of the bear lead naturally enough to the description of night that follows. There is some degree of irony in how the spectacle entertainments and *venationes* of the Roman Empire were a major factor in the depopulation of the Atlas bear.

For the possible etymological connection of *ursa* with Arcadia, see O'Hara 2017, 212 (following H.L. Tracy, "Seven Homecomings," in *Vergilius* 9 (1963), 28–31).

369 *Nox ruit et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis.*

Nox: On Virgilian depictions of the night goddess see Fratantuono and Smith on 5.721; A. Bagnolini in *EV* III, 770–772 (with illustration); L. Fratantuono and R.F. Thomas in *VE* II, 904–905; Fratantuono 2016-*Acta Antiqua*; Bailey 1935, 185–187. Here, capitalization seems warranted, even for what might be classified as one of Virgil's "faint personifications of natural phenomena" (Bailey), particularly in light of the echo of the Fury Allecto (for the Furies as daughters of Night see Lowe 2015, 146 ff.; cf. Dyson 2001, 128; Tarrant on 12.845). The night was sacred to the tradition of *incubatio* rituals, of which Aeneas' bear pelt slumber is reminiscent. "Night regularly occupies a high place in Greek cosmogonies" (West *ad* Hesiod, *Theog.* 123). Night is associated with the death of Marcellus (6.866 *nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra*, where again we may wish to capitalize). The first night of the book saw the dream apparition of Tiberinus; this most significant night will witness the interlude of Venus with Vulcan.

Nox ruit: Cf. 2.250 *Vertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox* (at a dramatic moment in the narrative of the fate of Troy); 6.539 *nox ruit, Aenea, nos flendo*

ducimus horas (in the underworld); the Virgilian expression may owe something to Lucretius' *nox obruit* (*DRN* 5.650; 6.864). Tib. notes the careful delineation of time: it was not the beginning of night, but now the full, dead quiet of her hours: "non iam noctis initium, sed nox ipsa plena et tenebris densior."

fuscis ... alis: Only twice in the epic; at 7.408 *protinus hinc fuscis tristia dea tollitur alis* it is used of Allecto as she proceeds to Turnus' Ardea—a baleful echo. *Fuscis alis* elsewhere is used of the winds: Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.494; Silius, *Pun.* 3.524; 12.617. Virgil has the adjective elsewhere of swarthy complexion (*E.* 10.38). The dusky wings of the nocturnal goddess literally envelop the world; for the effective hyperbaton see Dainotti 2015, 16 (and 154–155 on how the enactment of Night's action is strengthened by the coordinate synaloepha). A disturbing and uneasy set of allusions as darkness embraces the Trojan hero; the disquiet presages the immediate revelation that despite the seeming calm, Aeneas' mother is thoroughly distressed.

amplectitur: The form elsewhere at 5.312 (of a *balteus*); cf. 3.351 *amplector* (of Aeneas embracing the "familiar" sites of the Troy at Buthrotum); also Mago's supplicatory gesture at 10.523 *amplectens*.

"The Arcadian tone begins to fade ..." (Di Cesare 1974, 149; he connects the embrace of the night here with the *amplexus* of the goddess Venus at 388 and 405–406; cf. Lyne 1987, 38).

Otis 1964, 338 and 343 argues that this is the night of the fateful episode of Nisus and Euryalus (cf. Mandra 1934, 168); there are inconsistencies in this chronology. Hardie *ad* 9.1 takes the dawn of the opening of the next book to be the morning Aeneas departs for Caere. Crump 1920 considers the visit of Aeneas to Evander (94–453) as the fourth day of a twenty-one day war; she places the first attack on the Trojan camp and the night raid in the same period. On her fifth day, Aeneas proceeds to Caere, and the Trojan camp is attacked again.

On monostichs that describe chronological progression, see Conte 2016, 46.

370–393 The scene changes to the realm of the immortals, where Venus is deeply troubled by events in Latium; she proceeds to seek immortal arms for her son from the forge of her husband Vulcan. For general commentary note here Kühn 1971, 117–124; Freund and Vielberg 2008, 233–235; and on the Virgilian depiction of the goddess, Wlosok 1967; McCallum 2012, 124 ff.; B.W. Boyd in *VE* III, 1331–1332; R. Schilling in *EV* V, 478–484. On the timing of Virgilian divine epiphanies note Fratantuono 2007, 243. Foundational to the Virgilian depiction of Venus here is the celebrated *Dios apate* of Homer, *Il.* 14.153–353 (where Aphrodite assists Hera in the seduction of Zeus), on which see the helpful introductory notes of Janko ("The Deception of Zeus is a bold, bril-

liant, graceful, sensuous and above all amusing virtuoso performance, wherein Homer parades his mastery of the other types of epic composition in his repertoire"); cf. Nonnus, *Dion.* 32. For the influence on the present scene of the depiction of the machinations of Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite at the start of Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3, see Nelis 2001, 339ff.; cf. also 4.1068ff. (Alcinous and Arete). On how the passage may imitate certain aspects of the Callimachean depiction of Artemis, see S. McCarter, "Venus, the Shield of Aeneas, and Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*," in *TAPA* 142.2 (2012), 355–381. On the elegiac influences and parallels, cf. Hübner 1968, 104–115. On the relationship between Venus as erotic goddess (cf. the seduction of Vulcan) and maternal figure, see E. Gutting, "Venus' Maternity and Divinity in the *Aeneid*," in *MD* 61 (2009), 41–55; cf. H.H. Bacon, "Mortal Father, Divine Mother: *Aeneid* VI and VIII," in Spence 2001, 76–85. The Venusian appeal for and securing of the arms of Aeneas became a popular theme in the visual arts; on the rich tradition of depictions of various scenes from the sequence, see the detailed, exemplary treatment of C. Stark in *VE* 1, 128–131, with bibliography; note also Hardie 2014, 197–198 (who also considers the similarity of this sequence to the Juno-Aeolus episode of Book 1).

The poet of the *Roman d'Énéas* expands on the Virgilian scene of the Venusian begging of the arms from Vulcan (4297 ff. Petit). Vulcan is said not to have lain with his wife for seven years, on account of the anger occasioned by the god's entrapment of her *in flagrante delicto* with Mars. Venus is said to have hated Vulcan fiercely, and never to have shown him favor until the day she needed his help in protecting Aeneas.

370 At Venus haud animo nequiquam exterrita mater

It is likely no coincidence that Homer's Thetis visits Hephaestus to beg arms for Achilles at almost the exact same verse in *Iliad* 18; cf. 369 ff.

At Venus: Cf. 608. The present passage offers a parallel to 5.778 *At Venus interea Neptunum exercita curis*, etc., where after the settlement of Trojan refugees at Buthrotum a divine interlude revealed that Venus was racked with anxiety about the remainder of her son's voyage to Italy. The approach of the goddess to her uncle Neptune resulted in the promise of safe passage for the Trojan fleet, though at the cost of the helmsman Palinurus; the sequence that now unfolds will be connected to the doom of the Arcadian Pallas. On the emotional import of the adversative conjunction see Pease on 4.1. *At* here marks an especially strong contrast with what has proceeded; Venus and Vulcan live a life very different from that of Evander's Arcadians.

This is the first reference to the goddess since the sarcastic note of the triumphant Juno at 7.555–556 *talia coniugia et talis celebrent hymenaeos | egre-*

gium Veneris genus et rex ipse Latinus; it is her first intervention in the action since the Neptune scene in Book 5. The goddess' appearance here offers a strong contrast to the sending forth of the embassy of Venulus to Diomedes at 9ff. above; the present scene is marked by a strong reminiscence of the opening of the book and the threat of war. For the reminiscence of how Hercules came with help and aid, see Paschalis 1997, 284. The goddess of sexuality will use wiles similar to those of Hera with Zeus at *Il.* 14.159 ff., though comparison of Venus' emotional state here with Homer's Hera is instructive.

haud ... nequiquam: The poet makes clear that the goddess' fears were not unfounded.

animo: See here Negri 1984, 141 for the *animus* as the locus "del timore, dell'orrore," with parallels. "Tum et nomina *animus, pars, cor, pectus* locali ablativo sine praep. a Vergilio construuntur" (Antoine 1882, 212).

exterrita mater: Andromache at Buthrotum is also quite frightened (3.307); so too Dido (4.450); Aeneas (4.571; 6.559); her sister Anna (4.672); the birds of 5.215 and 5.505; the Tiber at 8.240; the Etruscan *acies* at 504 below; Nisus (9.424); Arruns (11.806); the queen Amata (12.660). The prefix is intensive; none of the calm and repose of the preceding sequence has meant anything to the goddess. Conington notes the forceful position of *mater*. For Virgilian references to Venus as mother see Newman and Newman 2005, 47. Servius takes the anxiety to be the natural worry of a mother for her son. Goddess and maternal title frame the line.

371 **Laurentumque minis et duro mota tumultu**

Laurentumque minis: An echo of the opening of the book ("almost a brief summary"—Putnam 1966, 136). For Virgilian "threats" see on 60 above, of the *minae* of Juno. The goddess is most frightened of Trojan peril at the hands of the natives of the laurel, as it were. Tib. has a long and perceptive interpretive note here.

duro: Cf. the *durum laborem* of Aeneas to which Venus refers at 380.

mota: Venus was stirred to action by the stubborn, fierce tumult or uprising of the Laurentines; the participle may carry a hint of the sense of political upheaval and turmoil that is associated with the noun *motus* (vid. Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace, c. 2.1.1). The participle is framed by the *durus tumultus*.

tumultu: Another reminiscence (cf. 4 above); "tumult" also in Sinon's tale (2.122); at Priam's abode (2.486); in the wake of the admonition for the Trojans to seek their *antiqua mater* (3.99); at the Styx (6.317); 6.857–858 *hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu / sistet eques*; during the night raid (9.397); just before the return of the Venulus embassy (11.225); at the news of the

resumption of Trojan military actions in the wake of the Latin war council (11.447); of Penthesilea and the Amazons (11.662); at the breaking of the Trojan-Latin truce (12.269); of the pathetic fallacy in the wake of the wounding of Aeneas (12.757).

372 *Volcanum adloquitur, thalamoque haec coniugis aureo*

Volcanum: For the god see on 198 above; from the depiction of the fire deity as father of the monstrous, igneous horror Cacus, we move to a scene of the nocturnal bedchamber, where Venus will exercise her seductive charms on the master craftsman of Olympus. No hint in Virgil of the hate Homer ascribes to Hera regarding Zeus (*Il.* 14.158).

adloquitur: See above on 123. Here as at 5.780 (Venus to Neptune; see Fratanuono and Smith ad loc.); also of Venus to Jupiter (1.229); Aeneas to Dido (1.594); Dido to Anna (4.8); Jupiter to Mercury (4.222); Aeneas to Palinurus' shade (6.341); Aeneas to Dido's (6.466); Cymodocea to Aeneas (10.228); Mezentius to Rhaebus (10.860); Camilla to Acca (11.821); Jupiter to Juno (12.792).

thalamo ... coniugis: The emphasis is on the marital relationship between Vulcan and Venus; on this theme see especially J. Smolenaars, "A Disturbing Scene from the Marriage of Venus and Vulcan: *Aeneid* 8.370–415," in *Verg.* 50 (2004), 96–107. Venus will seek divine arms for her illegitimate son; Vulcan has already been associated with the ruin of Troy, and one might well infer that there would be negative emotions toward the offspring of the Anchises affair. Gransden notes that Vulcan had built the bridal chamber. With *coniugis* cf. 377 *carissime coniunx*; also 384, 393, and 406. For the "Latinised for the Greek" *thalamo*, see Nelis 2001, 339. All mentions of this bedroom inevitably lead back to Homer, *Od.* 8.266–366, the Demodocan song of the ensnaring of Aphrodite and Ares by Hephaestus; Virgil's Venus seeks to entrap Vulcan in the same room where the god had caught her *in flagrante delicto*. Homer's Hera conducts her pre-seduction beautification rituals in a chamber constructed by her son Hephaestus (*Il.* 14.166–167); cf. also 14.338–340, as Hera notes where her husband and she might indulge in the marital act.

aureo: Cf. Edgeworth 1992, 88–95; this is the fourth of the seven uses of the color adjective in the book. We are reminded of the *aurea Capitolia* of 348–349; also, perhaps, of the golden imagery associated with Dido at 1.697–698; 726; 4.139; cf. *Venus aurea* at 10.16. The chromatic detail frames the line with the name of the god who was an expert in working with gold; it reminds us of the loveliness of the goddess, even as it looks forward to the craftsman's work. On the use of the word in erotic contexts, see Newman and Newman 2005, 72; for the synzesis cf. 10.116 ... *aureo* (with Harrison); 7.190; also 292 and 553 in this book, and see Leumann I, 120.

For how the whole depiction of the bed chamber of Venus and Vulcan would have shocked Virgil's Evander, see Lyne 1987, 38. Cf. also V. Schmidt, "Dans la chambre d'or de Vulcain (à propos de Virg. *En*, 8, 370sq.)," in *Mnem.* 26.4 (1973), 350–375.

373 *incipit et dictis divinum aspirat amorem:*

A verse of carefully balanced alliteration and assonance, as the goddess commences her request. "A beautifully onomatopoeic line, combining assonance, alliteration, and elision" (Gransden).

incipit: For the verb with *haec* Fordyce compares 11.705 (Camilla with the Ligurian).

divinum ... amorem: For the adjective cf. 306 above. "Divine allurements" (Eden). Venus is more business-like with Amor at 1.663ff. (and no particular erotic blandishments with either Jupiter in Book 1 or Neptune in 5); we might compare the god's rosy radiance and telltale divine odor at 1.402–404. *Amor* here reminds us of the goddess' other son.

aspirat: Perhaps most famously in Virgil at 2.385 ... *aspirat primo Fortuna labori* (Aeneas of the Trojan counterattack on Troy's last night); also of Juno's speeding of Iris on her way to seek the burning of the Trojan fleet at 5.607; of the night breezes that guide the vessels as they approach Circe's haunts at 7.8; at 9.525 *Vos, o Calliope, precor, aspirate canenti* (the poet's invocation before the account of Turnus' slaughter); 12.352 ... *nec equis aspirat Achilli* (in a reminiscence of the doomed Dolon). The "divine love" frames the verb. Here *aspirare* has an especially appropriate force; the words are breathed out, perhaps in the throaty whisper of a nocturnal conversation—and as the goddess speaks, she infuses her *dicta* with *divinus amor*. De la Cerda notes the wisdom of the hour the goddess has chosen for her beguiling appeal, also the imitation of Lucretius, *DRN* 1.29ff., where Venus is asked by the poet to make appeal to her lover Mars for peace for her beloved Romans, where the reader is reminded that while Venus was the mother of Aeneas, Mars was the father of Romulus (cf. here Putnam 1966, 137–138, with comment on the "more specialized needs of the moment"—weapons for the son of the goddess; also Jenkyns 1998, 221–229).

Tib. appreciated the problem of a mother asking a husband for help for a stepson, with comment on the traditional *odium* between *privigni* and *vitrici*; note also his reading of *inspirat*.

374 'dum bello Argolici vastabant Pergama reges

Argolici: The same geographical descriptor at 2.55; 78; 118–119; 177 *nec posse Argolicis excindi Pergama telis*; 3.282–283; 637; 5.52; 314; 9.202; 10.56. Here the

reference points to Juno (cf. 1.23–24 *id metuens veterisque memor Saturnia belli, / prima quod ad Troiam pro caris gesserat Argis*); it is also powerfully imbued with the Argive associations of Turnus (7.789–792; cf. 7.409–411). See further D.O. Ross in *VE* 1, 122; M. Malavolta in *EV* 1, 308–309.

vastabant: For the verb see on 8 *vastant*; we may be reminded yet again of the opening of the book. Venus commences her appeal with a reminiscence of the destruction of the city that her husband helped to secure; the goddess diplomatically avoids any mention of how gods were involved in the devastation. We may compare Neptune's remarks at 5.810–811. Conington sees a "vague reference" to the entire process of the siege; the verb emphasizes the total ruin of the city that was achieved by the Argives.

Pergama: See on 37 above. In the Iliadic *A.* the first mention of Pergamum comes at 7.322 *funestaeque iterum recidiva in Pergama taedae* (Juno at the summoning of Allecto); cf. Venus' note at the divine council *dum Latium Teucrici recidivaque Pergama quaerunt* (10.58); Diomodes' observation to the Venulan embassy *nec mihi cum Teucris ullum post eruta bellum / Pergama nec veterum memini laetorve malorum* (11.279–280). For the possible semantic connection with illicit marriage see Paschalis 1997, 49–50 (there may be a connection here with Venus' infidelity). The name was properly applied to the citadel of Troy; cf. 375 ... *arces*.

On the suasorial elements of the speech see Eden; for the "supple charm" throughout Venus' appeal, Highet 1972, 125. Cf. too Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 56–75; 4.1073–1095.

375 *debita casurasque inimicis ignibus arces,*

debita: Pergamum was "owed" in the sense that the dictates of fate and destiny demanded its destruction. Very different are the *debita moenia* of 7.145; cf. 7.120 ... *salve fatis mihi debita tellus*; Propertius, c. 1.19.2 *nec moror extremo debita fata rogo*. The absolute use of the participle (see here Eden) serves to underscore the dramatic finality of the Trojan destiny.

casuras: The future participle continues the emphasis on that which was written in the stars, as it were; the first two words of the verse are redolent with the spirit of inevitability. The present passage is imitated at Ovid, *Met.* 12.587–589, where Neptune addresses Apollo about the imminent fall of Troy (where see Bömer for the poetic plural and parallels). The metrical rhythm has enacted the falling into the flames.

inimicis ignibus: The fires are depicted as if they were personally hateful of that which they consumed; the detail is pointedly sharp in an address to the fire god. The flames burst forth among the citadels that are doomed to fall. The Argives employed fire as a key element in the final attack on Troy; there may

also be a hint that Pergamum was owed to the flames that hated it, and that the Greeks were destroying citadels destined to fall to the inimical fire.

376 non ullum auxilium miseris, non arma rogavi

non, etc.: A powerful accumulation of three self-effacing negatives, as Venus implicitly notes that she had just cause to make earlier demands on her husband. Tib. notes: “ecce ostendit se marito obsequentem ac se hoc genere commendat, quod in petendis beneficiis nec adsidua fuit nec perinde odiosa; neque hoc inpetrandi diffidentia factum, sed ne Troiani cum Vulcani beneficiis interirent.”

auxilium: Echoing 10, of the Venulan embassy to seek aid from Diomedes; also the advent and assistance of the hero Hercules (201 *auxilium adventumque dei*). The sentiment is a reversal of sorts of Neptune’s note at 5.800 ff. that when Troy was in its last days, he was always willing and ready to show aid and comfort to Venus’ beloved Trojans, especially her son Aeneas. *Miseris* is designed to elicit sympathy; cf. 2.4–5 *Troianas ut opes et lamentabile regnum | eruerint Danaï, quaeque ipse miserrima vidi*.

arma: Balancing *auxilium* (see Henry for the theme and variation). Servius notes that Venus names at once the gift she is seeking (cf. 383).

rogavi: Followed at 383 by the present *rogo*; cf. 120, of the Trojan mission to seek Arcadian allies. Elsewhere the verb is not common in Virgil; at 7.120 *dis sedem exiguam patriisque litus rogamus* it is used of Ilioneus’ request of Latinus (also in a context of the imploring of aid, as at 11.101 (of the Latin emissaries seeking the burial truce)). Note also 2.149; *E.* 5.88; 10.21.

For consideration of certain perceived infelicities of expression at 376–378 (following Henry’s criticisms in particular), note H.W. Garrod, “Two Passages of Virgil,” in *CR* 33.5/6 (1919), 105. Garrod proposed emending the text of 378 to read *incassum vetitos* (and not *vetitum*) *volui*, etc.—“ingeniously” (Eden)—but there is no real reason to suspect the text or transmission, even if the correction would presage the Vulcanian sentiments of 398 very well. No editor has printed the emendation, though García et al. return it to the apparatus. Mackail found the present passage to be “ragged ... [it] clearly awaits the artist’s final remodeling.”

377 artis opisque tuae, nec te, carissime coniunx,

artis opisque tuae: Vulcan has not only the technical skill and artistic talent to forge the arms, but also the resources in precious metals, etc.

carissime coniunx: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 11.727 (Alcyone to Ceyx); *Trist.* 3.4b.53; Statius, *Silv.* 3.5.110. The vocative follows closely on 372 *thalamo ... coniugis*. This is the only appearance of the superlative of *carus* in Virgil (the only com-

parative is at 12.639); cf. Aeneas' *care pater* (2.707); the similar address of the shade of Anchises to his son at 5.724–725; Evander to Pallas (581 below); also Dido to Anna (4.492) and to the nurse Barce (4.634). Juno is the *cara Iovis coniunx* at 4.91; Cybele refers to herself as the *cara parens* of Jupiter (9.84). Camilla is *cara* to Diana (11.537, where the referent is the Volscian heroine and not Opis; 586; note the *carum onus* of the infant Camilla at 11.550). Every singular, masculine genitive use of *cari* is with reference to paternity (1.646; 677; 2.560; 5.747; 6.108; 10.789); cf. 1.689 (of Venus, the *cara genetrix* of Amor); 4.354 (of the *carum caput* of Ascanius). Blandishing words from the unfaithful wife to her talented and wealthy spouse. Cf. also Evander's words of lament at 11.158–159 ... *o sanctissima coniunx, | felix morte tua neque in hunc servata dolorem!* Spousal imagery will return at 383. On Latin descriptions of wives, etc., note J.N. Adams, "Latin Words for 'Woman' and 'Wife,'" in *Glotta* 50.3/4 (1972), 234–255.

378 *incassumve tuos volui exercere labores,*

incassumve: The adjective occurs only three times in the epic (2× in the *G.*). At 3.345 it is used in the poignant scene of the mourning of Andromache at Buthrotum; at 7.421 *Turne, tot incassum fusos patiere labores*, as part of Allecto/Calybe's remarks to the Rutulian. The verse is framed by the notion of work and the pointlessness thereof; Venus notes that Vulcan could have done nothing to save Troy (the irony, again, is that he was part of the divine effort to destroy it). *Apo koinou*, Gransden notes, with *te* and *tuos labores*. Geymonat prints *in cassumve* (also Sabbadini and Paratore); cf. Conington at *G.* 1.387 and 3.100. On the force of the enclitic (= *neque* or *nec*) see Gransden.

The Medicean originally read *incassumque* here (also the Neapolitanus); it was corrected in M, with the correction later erased. A similar textual variant occurs at 377 *opisque*, where some witnesses offer *opisve*.

exercere: Perhaps recalling the address of Anchises (both living (3.182) and dead (5.725)) to Aeneas as the *nate Iliacis exercite fatis*; Venus is *exercita curis* as she approaches Neptune at 5.779.

labores: Emphatically placed at line-end, and repeated almost at once at 380, of the *labor* of the goddess' son.

379 *quamvis et Priami deberem plurima natis*

quamvis: "... found ... in clauses with the subjunctive, continuing its use as a scalar adverb in simple sentences with the concessive subjunctive" (Pinkster 2015, 662).

Priami ... natis: For references to the sons of Priam cf. 2.527 and 662–663 (of Polites); 5.645 (of Pyrgo, the nurse to so many of the *nati*). On the Trojan king

see above on 158. We may be reminded here of the king's grandson *Priamus* (the son of Polites), who was a turm leader in the *lusus Troiae* (5.563–567).

Eden notes that the plural reference to the “sons” here is “evasive,” since (strictly speaking) the goddess owed a debt only to Paris (following Servius): “... emotion is allowed, intentionally or otherwise, to get the better of arithmetic.” Tib. connects the sentiment to the status of Creüsa as the daughter of Priam and daughter-in-law of Venus. Gransden considers that the filial reference could be a general one to the race of Trojans; Venus' point, however, seems to be focused on the familial argument.

deberem: The concept of owing something to sons is a key point in the Pallas requiem narrative (11.139 ff., especially 152 ff. and 175 ff.).

plurima: Cf. 1.305 *At pius Aeneas per noctem plurima volvens*; 9.335–336 ... *illa qui plurima nocte / luserat*; 9.398 ... *et conantem plurima frustra*.

380 **et durum Aeneae flevissem saepe laborem.**

Venus moves from the general case of the sons of Priam to her son, the resilient Aeneas. Cf. Hera's particular concern for Jason at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.59–60 (with Nelis 2001, 340).

durum: Cf. 371 ... *duro mota tumultu*. The adjective is richly indicative of praise for the Trojan hero (with implicit commendation that he is worthy of divine favor): Venus was often in mourning for his lot, and yet she never sought aid for him from her powerful husband; Aeneas, meanwhile, was *durus* and thus self-reliant and able to take care of his own situation reasonably well. Useful reading on the rich implications of the adjective is P. McGushin, “Virgil and the Spirit of Endurance,” in *AJPh* 95.3 (1964), 225–253.

Aeneae: First the goddess introduced the question of arms (376), and now she names the intended recipient and real subject of the whole appeal. Servius notes the effectiveness of the movement from Pergamum to Priam's sons to her own child.

flevissem: Cf. 2.179 (Aeneas with the ghost of Hector); 5.614; 615 (the Trojan women mourning Anchises on the strand); 6.177; 213 (the lament for Misenus); 6.427 (grief at the threshold of hell); 6.481 (the lamented souls of the Trojan dead in the underworld); the Sibyl's admonition to Aeneas *nos flendo ducimus horas* (6.539); 7.760 (the pathetic fallacy of nature's tears for Umbro); 9.451 (the Rutulians in mourning for Volcens); 10.842 (the laments for Lausus); 11.454 (the grief and tears in the Latin capital once the war resumes); 12.55 (Amata with Turnus). Of weeping or crying in lament, possibly with an indication of loud and demonstrative emotion.

laborem: Echoing 378, as Venus moves from the labors of her husband to those of her son; the former concern her only insofar as they accomplish her

wishes, while the latter are the prime motivation for this nocturnal interlude. If there is any “particular significance” to the repetition (see Gransden here), it lies in the contrast between the work of the husband of the unfaithful spouse, and that of her son by another man. There is exceedingly weak support for reading *dolorem* here; Conington notes that the poem is, after all, unfinished—but the repetition is both deliberate and telling.

381 nunc Iovis imperiis Rutulorum constitit oris:

Iovis imperiis: Another carefully crafted detail, as Venus lends Jovian authority to her request. Cf. 9.715–716 *tum sonitu Prochyta alta tremit durumque cubile / Inarime Iovis imperiis imposta Typhoeo*; also 5.726 *imperio Iovis huc venio* (of the mission of the shade of Anchises; cf. 746–747). The Venusian speech to Neptune also references the commands of Jupiter, but in the context of how Juno’s wrath seems to run amok of her husband’s will: 5.783–784 *quam nec longa dies pietas nec mitigat ulla, | non Iovis imperio fatisque infracta quiescit*. Venus seeks to dispel any hint that the Trojan arrival in Latium constitutes some sort of invasion.

The singular *imperio* is read by several Carolingians, and in the Servian tradition; the echoes of the two aforementioned passages from Book 5 might commend it, but the weight of the manuscript support is for the plural. If there is an error here, it may have arisen from the influence of the plural *oris*.

Rutulorum: Turnus is most on Venus’ mind.

constitit: Cf. 1.187; 1.459; 6.331; 6.559 (all of Aeneas), at the start of the verse; 5.507 (of Mnestheus), at the same *sedes* as here. The line-ending *constitit oris* occurs also at Propertius, c. 1.20.21, on which see Cairns 2006, 228–229: “In all Latin poetry prior to the fourth century AD this *iunctura* appears only here and, in the same *sedes*, at *Aeneid* 8.331 [sic]. This is not likely to be an accident, and imitation of Virgil by Propertius can almost certainly be excluded since the Monobiblos appeared before the composition of the *Aeneid* was properly underway. Imitation of Propertius by Virgil is also unlikely; and the two passages in which the combination occurs do not overlap in any other way. It can therefore be plausibly conjectured that the coincidence is due to imitation of the same Gallan hexameter by Propertius and Virgil.”

382 ergo eadem supplex venio et sanctum mihi numen

ergo: Venus moves to the substance of her request.

eadem: Rhetorical and not moral equivalence—the same goddess who did not ask for help in the plight of Troy now comes and seeks assistance in the wake of Jupiter’s command that Aeneas arrive in Rutulian land, and, what is

more, Venus implicitly blurs the lines between the soon to be mentioned Thetis and Aurora on the one hand, and the lover of both Mars and Anchises on the other.

supplex venio: Also at 11.365 *nil moror, en supplex venio*, of Drances to Turnus at the Latin war council. In the immediate context, we recall 145 *obiecī caput et supplex ad limina veni* above (Aeneas to Evander). Cf. Homer, *Il.* 18.457. On the Virgilian emphasis on the role of suppliants note Block 1981, 147–148.

sanctum ... numen: Lucretian (*DRN* 5.308–310 *non delubra deum simulacraque fessa fatisci | nec sanctum numen fati protollere finis | posse neque adversus naturae foedera niti?*; 2.434 ... *pro divum numina sancta*; 6.70–71 *delibata deum per te tibi numina sancta | saepe oberunt*). From the commands of Jove Venus moves to the divine nod of power of the husband she needs at this moment. Cf. also 3.543–544 ... *tum numina sancta precamur | Palladis armisonae*. P originally had *nomen* here, which Ribbeck preferred. For the meaning of the adjective see especially Bailey 1935, 76–78.

mihī: The little dative carries much carefully affected emotion; Venus presents herself as a loyal devotee of Vulcan's divine power. Schrader proposed *tibi* (i.e., the power of Venus should be respected by Vulcan)—but the goddess' point is to flatter and cajole.

The metrical rarity of this verse has been studied in detail (vid. Eden; Dainotti 2015, 26n124); two final disyllables are usually preceded by a monosyllable. Norden 1927, 447–448 lists thirteen cases with “zwei- oder mehr-silbigem Wort”: 3.695; 5.731; 8.382; 10.302; 10.400 10.440; 10.442; 10.471; 10.772; 10.849; 11.143; 11.170; 11.562. Eden speculates that Virgil may have been experimenting with a “harsher rhythm” for his battle books.

383 *arma rogo, genetrix nato, te filia Nerei,*

genetrix nato: Deliberately juxtaposed; the maternal appellation brings with it an echo of Lucretius' first verse. For *genetrix* see Newman and Newman 2005, 49: 13× in the epic, 6× of Venus and five of Cybele (once each of Euryalus' mother and Creüsa). Throughout the poem, the term is always applied in contexts that relate to Trojan mothers/patronesses. Venus' request incorporates key words from the openings of the epics of both Lucretius and Virgil. The word order moves carefully from the parent to the child to another child and finally parent. The collocation will be echoed at 10.466 *tum genitor natum*, in the moving scene of Jupiter's response to Hercules' request about the fate of Pallas; cf. also 10.800 *dum genitor nati parma protectus abiret* (of Mezentius and Lausus); 1.589–591; Dainotti 2015, 230–231 on juxtaposed indicators of strong bonds of affection. See Lyne 1987, 39–40 for the “*faux pas*” of the goddess in her rhetorical strategy to appeal to her husband. For problems inherent to the Virgilian

depiction of Venus Genetrix, see Newman and Newman 2005, 196: “She is a goddess of sex more than babies.” For the possible play on *genetrix* / *gnato* see Bartelink 1965, 105; O’Hara 2017, 212.

A famous anecdote in Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.24.6) concerns these verses; Evangelus—one of the *detractores* of the poet—notes that Virgil was right to want the *Aeneid* to be burned, given that he feared the judgment of posterity that it was shameful to depict Venus begging Vulcan to assist her son by another man (and a mortal at that). There is no need to punctuate after *rogo* (so Servius, followed by Mackail) to try to lessen the impact of Venus’ argument; she really does do that for which Evangelus indicted the poet.

filia Nerei: I.e., Thetis, the daughter of the marine god Nereus. Nereus (on whom note M.B. Sullivan in *VE* II, 902–903; H. Bauzà in *EV* III, 706–708 (with rich illustration); West on Hesiod, *Theog.* 233–236) was the son of Gaea and Pontus. At 2.418–419, the god is depicted in a storm image that is used to describe the action of the disguised Aeneas and his Trojan companions as they find themselves in combat both with their fellow Trojans and the invading Greeks; cf. 10.764–765, where Nereus is a metonym for sea.

“In Virgil the genitive termination of Greek proper names in *-eus* is always monosyllabic *-ei*” (Fordyce). Servius claimed that the correct form was *Neri* (citing Asper); cf. Kühner-Holzweissig I, 495. With the synezesis here cf. 292 and 553.

The present verse refers to the first book of the *Iliad*, just as the following refers to the *Aethiopsis*.

384 te potuit lacrimis Tithonia flectere coniunx.

potuit ... flectere: Cf. Catullus, c. 64–136–137 *nullane res potuit crudelis flectere mentis / consilium?*; also Seneca, *HF* 569 and 1197–1198; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 7.105.

lacrimis: On the copious weeping in the epic see J. Schafer in *VE* III, 1379; for other scenes of lachrymose suppliants cf. 1.228 and 12.56. For *lacrimae* with *flectere* cf. Silius, *Pun.* 6.507–508 ... *forsan duras Carthaginis iras / flectemus lacrimis*.

Tithonia: The only occurrence of this title of the dawn goddess Aurora in Virgil (note also Ovid, *Fast.* 3.403; 4.943–944; Statius, *Theb.* 6.25; 12.3; *Silv.* 1.2.45; 4.3.151; 4.6.16; 5.4.9–10; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.311; 3.1–2; Silius, *Pun.* 5.25). For Aurora see S. Fasce in *EV* I, 418–419; L. Fratantuono in *VE* I, 158; Fratantuono 2013-*Eos*; A. Keith, “The Dawn in Vergil,” in *StPh* 22 (1925), 518–521; Bailey 1935, 186ff.; Pötscher 1977, 121; cf. Preller/Robert I, 440–443; Roscher I.1, 1252–1278 (including on depictions of the goddess in art) and for Tithonus, note C. Prato in *EV* V, 201–202. The appeal ends on a spousal, marital note, with the implica-

tion that the god should help his wife. The reference to the Auroran request for divine arms for her son Memnon recalls the depiction of the Ethiopian hero on the walls of Dido's temple to Juno (1.489 *Eoasques acies et nigri Memnonis arma*); Dido references the lore in her request of Aeneas for stories at the banquet in Carthage (1.751 *nunc quibus Aurorae venisset filius armis*). Aeneas does not, in the end, mention Memnon in his account of Troy lore; the most extensive extant ancient account is Book 2 of Quintus' *Posthomerica*. See further below on 685 ff. For the celebrated armor of Memnon cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 984 (with West); West 2013, 144 (with reference to Eduard Fraenkel's argument that the cyclic *Aethiopsis* may have contained a scene in which Eos visited Hephaestus). "Altogether he cut a splendid figure with his divinely made panoply."

For Tithonus note also 4.585 and 9.460, both in dawn references (the first connected with Dido, the second to the fateful night raid). Thetis and Aurora are also linked at Ovid, *Ars* 3.9 *Memnona si mater, mater plorabat Achillem*, where see Gibson. Both Achilles and Memnon are doomed; Papaioannou 2003, 623 connects Memnon in particular with Virgil's Turnus. We may wonder if there was any influence here from Aeschylus' (?) *Psychostasia* (vid. Sommerstein 2008, 274–275, with bibliography), a lost tragedy in which Zeus apparently weighed the souls of Achilles and Memnon in the scales, with the two mothers pleading for their respective sons (cf. 12.725–727; Dover on Aristophanes, *Ran.* 1365–1410). The Venusian reference to Thetis and Aurora serves to unite the allusive intertext with both Homer and cyclic epic. Henry oddly considers the daughter of Nereus and the spouse of Tithonus to be the same person, and the passage to constitute another example of "theme and variation"; Eos was the daughter of Hyperion. For how Venus does not accord well with either Thetis or Aurora, see Newman and Newman 2005, 196; on the identification of Aeneas with Memnon, 153; 215.

flectere: Cf. 12.940–941.

coniunx: Cf. 373; 393.

385 *aspice qui coeant populi, quae moenia clausis*

Seneca quotes 385–386b at *Ep.* 49.7.3.

aspice: Cf. 190 above. Here the principal reference is to Venus' revelation to Aeneas of the divine destruction of Troy at 2.604 *aspice*, etc.

coeant: Cf. 7.317 *hac gener atque socer coeant mercede suorum* (Juno before the advent of Allecto); 7.546 *dic in amicitiam coeant et foedera iungant* (Allecto to Juno after the completion of her mission); 11.292 ... *coeant in foedera dextrae* (Aeneas to the Latin emissaries). The verb looks toward one of the main concerns of the epic: the coming together of diverse peoples into one polity. Probably no reference to Cicero's *coetus populi*.

moenia, etc.: With the bold personification of the walls the commentators cf. 7.629–630 *quinque adeo magnae positis incudibus urbes / tela novant*. The reference to the *moenia* of Venus' enemies may remind us of the ultimate movement toward the *altae moenia Romae* of 1.7. *Clausis portis* is Caesarian (BC 3.11.4.1); Livian.

Henry's note here on the closing of Japan to western missionaries, complete with references to "Armstrong guns, Congreve rockets, rum, the Bible, and English calicoes," must be read to be believed.

386 *ferrum acuunt portis in me excidiumque meorum.*'

ferrum: The iron of the weapons allegedly turned against Venus will be echoed in the iron of Vulcan's promise (402). Danielis *ad* 2.27 reads *bellum* here.

acuunt: The verb occurs also at 7.330 *quam Iuno his acuit verbis ac talia fatur* (to Allecto); 7.446 *Postquam visa satis primos acuisse furores*; 9.464 ... *variisque acuunt rumoribus iras* (of the death of Nisus and Euryalus); 12.108 *Aeneas acuit Martem et se suscitatur ira*; 12.590 *discurrunt magnisque acuunt stridoribus iras* (of the bees to which the trapped Latins are compared); 12.850 *apparent acuuntque metum mortalibus aegris* (of the Dirae); also G. 1.123 ... *curis acuens mortalia corda*.

in: On the zeugma effected by the preposition, see Mack 1978, 91–92.

me ... meorum: A powerful note of personal involvement to end the appeal. Venus may be especially concerned and indignant here with the Venulan embassy to her enemy Diomedes. "The germ of the exaggeration" (Conington): Venus takes the attack on Troy quite personally. On *meorum* as a common Virgilian line-ending see Conte 2016, 85–87.

excidium: So of the future Romans at 1.22 *venturum excidio Libyae*; Anchises' ... *satis una superque / vidimus excidia et captae superavimus urbi* (2.642–643); the disguised Iris' *septima post Troiae excidium iam vertitur aestas* (5.626); Venus' ... *per eversae, genitor, fumantia Troiae / excidia obtestor* (10.45–46); Saces' appeal to Turnus about Aeneas (12.655 *deiecturum arces Italum excidioque daturum*).

Tib. has a long note describing Venus' "epilogica dictio"; he notes that Vulcan would not want to see a repetition in Italy of the Diomedean wounding his wife had suffered at Troy.

387 *dixerat et niveis hinc atque hinc diva lacertis*

From the tricks of rhetoric, the lovely goddess proceeds to more overtly sexualized charms. Cf. Eros' action with Medea at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.275–298 (with Nelis 2001, 340 ff.).

hinc atque hinc: As at 1.162 (of a geological feature); 1.150 *hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades* (in the comparison of Dido to Diana); 4.447–448 *haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros / tunditur*; 9.379–380 *obiciunt equites sese ad divortia nota / hinc atque hinc*; 9.440–441 *quem circum glomerati hostes hinc comminus atque hinc / proturbant*; 9.550 *hinc atque hinc acies astare Latinas*; 12.431–432 *ille avidus pugnae suras incluserat auro / hinc atque hinc oditique moras hastamque coruscat* (of Aeneas). For the serpentine imagery note Di Cesare 1974, 152.

niveis: For the color adjective see Edgeworth 1992, 142–143. It occurs 8× in the epic: first of the tents of Rhesus' camp on Dido's murals (1.469); then of the island of Paros (3.126); of the snow-white fleeces that decorate Dido's shrine to Sychaeus (4.459); of the snowy fillets of the blessed in Elysium (6.665); of the swans to which the Faliscans are compared (7.699); at 720 below of the snowy threshold of Apollo's temple, where Augustus has his seat; lastly at 11.20, of the snow-white body of the dead Pallas. A rich set of associations, then: the snow imagery describes that which will actually enflame the god (scientific paradox via sexual seduction); ultimately the doom of the Arcadian youth who was entrusted to Aeneas' care and supervision. For the adjective with *lacerti* cf. Ovid, *Am.* 2.16.29 (with McKeown); Petronius, *Sat.* 124.1.249. The description here may owe something to Homer, *Il.* 5.314–315 (see Kirk's note), where the goddess throws her pale arms around Aeneas to protect him; it also has a hint of usurpation of the common (24×) Homeric epithet for Hera.

Niveus is thus used of the body only of Venus and Pallas (see here Reed 2007, 2011, with reference to Putnam 1985, 10–11, with note of the “physical allure” even of the dead Pallas—a bit of ghoulish aestheticism of the sort paralleled in the death of Camilla). On snow imagery in sexualized contexts see L. Fratanuono, “*Nivales Socii*: Caesar, Mamurra, and the Snow of Catullus c. 57,” in *QUCC* 96 (2010), 101–110.

lacertis: The noun in athletic contexts at 5.141; 422; 7.164. Silvia strikes her upper arms at 7.503; cf. also the use of the muscular part of the arm in contexts that involving both hurling missile weapons and Diana/Luna (9.402; 11.561); also 10.339 and 11.693. The emphasis is on the tightness of the goddess' grip.

Montaigne was much taken with the sexualized Venus of this scene in his *Sur des vers de Virgile*: “Venus n' est pas si belle tout nue, et vive, et haletante, comme elle est ici chez Virgile”; cf. Jenkyns 1998, 12: “No Latin poet can match him for the evocation of an impalpable, evanescent femininity ... Camilla is another case ... Here too we shall find sexual feeling in the charm and romance that surround her.”

388 *cunctantem amplexu molli fovet. ille repente*

cunctantem: Lyne 1987, 39 notes that Venus' speech is "nearly a model sua-soria," given that it fails: the physical dimension of flirtation is essential to the winning over of the divine craftsman. *Cunctantem* is a significant participial form in the epic; at 4.133 it is used of Dido in her *thalamus* as her retinue awaits her departure for the fateful hunt; at 4.390–391 *linquens multa metu cunctantem et multa parantem / dicere* it is used of Aeneas with Dido; at 6.211 (notoriously) of the Golden Bough; at 7.449 of Turnus with Allecto; and (perhaps most significantly) at 12.940–941 *et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo / coeperat*, of Aeneas with Turnus. It is not difficult to conjure reasons for Vulcan's hesitation to grant divine arms to the hero of a city he helped to destroy, a Trojan prince whose mother is his unfaithful wife. Several occurrences, then, but never outside moments of high emotional energy and dramatic suspense. The Dido and Aeneas passages balance each other, as, in a sense, do the hesitations of first the Bough and then Aeneas in the related Books 6 and 12; in 7–8, Turnus hesitates when confronted with the nightmarish Fury that is Allecto; here, Vulcan with his seductive, adulterous wife.

amplexu: Emphasized by repetition at 405; at 615 it is used of Venus with her son (and cf. 568, of Evander and Pallas). Venus speaks to Cupid of the embraces that Dido will give him when he is disguised as Ascanius (1.687); Aeneas speaks poignantly of *amplexus* with the shade of Anchises (6.698). For "soft embraces" cf. Apuleius, *Met.* 5.13.17. The adjective *mollis* has special force in the context of the god of the forge; Venus is molding Vulcan into the type of spouse and lover she needs at the moment. On the coordination (or lack thereof) with *lacertis* in the preceding verse see Hahn 1930, 9–10n44. With the soft embrace cf. the coverlets of 415 from which Vulcan rises.

fovet: So of Juno's feelings for Carthage (1.18); of Jupiter's prediction of Juno's future affection for the Romans (1.281); of Dido's cherishing of the disguised Cupid (1.718; cf. 692); of the relationship of Dido and Aeneas (4.193); of Iarbas' note of his devotion to Jupiter (4.218); of Anna's cradling of the half-dead Dido (4.686); of Turnus' remark about the Trojan refusal to leave their camp (9.57); of Juno's indignant *aut ego tela dedi fovine Cupidine bella?* (10.93); of Mezentius' ... *ipse aeger anhelans / colla fovet* (10.837–838); of Iapix's failed treatment of Aeneas' wound (12.420).

repente: The verse is framed by the key words that describe first the god's hesitation and then the suddenness of his change of heart; for the "contrapuntal positioning" see Lyne 1987, 41, with consideration of how physicality succeeded at once where a speech had failed. For the adverb cf. 238 and 247 above; see Eden for how we move from the spondaic rhythm of hesitation to the dactylic

of surrender to sexual passion. For the adjective in final position see Harrison on 10.12.

Reminiscent of Homer, *Il.* 14.346—though Hera did not take the initiative there.

389 *accepit solitam flammam, notusque medullas*

solitam flammam: “Vel quasi maritus,” Danielis notes with proper decorum; Servius speculates on the frigidity of sexual passion in old age and the need for stimulation. Eden comments on the homoeoteleuton, which serves to highlight the expression; also the pairing of *solitam* with *notus*. There may be a hint that Vulcan is indulging in conjugal relations and not the affairs for which his wife is famous; *solitam* may imply fidelity as well as familiarity. In any case, the god of fire is subdued by fire.

notus: Ovid has *notus amor* (*Am.* 3.2.4; *Her.* 18.40; *Fast.* 6.737; *Trist.* 3.6.6).

medullas: Cf. 4.66–67 ... *est mollis flamma medullas | interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus*, of the passion of Dido for Aeneas; Virgil has reworked that earlier use in his description of the surrender of Vulcan to the undeniable appeal of his wife. Note also *G.* 3.271–272 *continuoque avidi ubi subdita flamma medullis | vere magis, quia vere calor redit ossibus* ...

The metaphor of love as fire is common (cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 4.1087, with Brown); for the invasion of the flame to the very marrow of the bone, see Pease’s extensive catalogue of parallels *ad* 4.66 (“The marrow typifies the innermost citadel, the last to be captured, yet itself easily overcome when the outer defences have fallen”). Virgil may be thinking here especially of Catullus, *c.* 64.92–93 ... *quam cuncto concepit corpore flammam | funditus atque imis exarsit tota medullis*; also *c.* 100.6–7 *perspectast igni tum unica amicitia, | cum vesana meas torreret flamma medullas*; certainly of Eros’ arrow shot at Medea (Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.286–287, on which see Nelis 2001, 378). Cf. Ovid, *Am.* 3.10.27; *Met.* 14.351; Lucan, *BC* 5.5.811–812; also Manilius, *Astron.* 1.881–882; Petronius, *Sat.* 121.1.106; Seneca, *Ag.* 132 (with Tarrant); *Med.* 819 (with Boyle); *Thyest.* 97–99; Silius, *Pun.* 1.173–175. Caution about allowing erotic passion to reach the very marrow of the soul is expressed by the nurse to Phaedra at Euripides, *Hipp.* 253–255 (where see Barrett).

390 *intravit calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit,*

intravit: The verb is not particularly common in Virgil; only here in a non-personal use.

calor: Cf. the opposite situations at 3.308 ... *calor ossa reliquit* (of Aeneas at Buthrotum); 4.705 *dilapsus calor* (at the release of Dido in death); 9.475 ... *at subitus miserae calor ossa reliquit* (the reaction of his mother to Euryalus’

death): only here, then, of heat entering the bones/body. For the pause at the end of the second foot see Eden; it “produces a jolty effect and disturbs the rhythmic flow of the verse”—in this case appropriately enough, given the description of the metaphorical breakdown of the god’s bone structure and marrow. For the noun note Heuzé 1985, 46.

labefacta: So at 4.395 *multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore*, of Aeneas’ reaction to Dido; cf. *G.* 2.264 *et labefacta movens robustus iugera fossor*. *Labefactus* is Lucretian (*DRN* 1.492; 694; 3.593–594; 4.435; 697 ... *quod igni conlabefacta*; 1114; 5.653; 6.798). Ovid has *Met.* 2.402–403 ... *ne quid labefactum viribus ignis / corruat, explorat* (of Jupiter’s investigation after the Phaëthon episode); cf. 10.375 *sic animus vario labefactus vulnere nutat* (of Myrrha).

The Romanus and several Carolingians read *caefacta* here (cf. 12.66 and 269, of *ora* and *corda* respectively); the point is not so much that the bones become hot, however, as that they are undermined or loosened. The variant reading may have entered the tradition under the influence of *calor*. “... leçon certainement issue d’une glose” (Benoist).

cucurrit: And so 392 *percurrit*.

The verbs frame the line. On the strength of the image, note Clausen 1987, 146n41.

391 non secus atque olim tonitru cum rupta corusco

On this third simile of the book note Hornsby 1970, 106–107; the image is anticipatory of 523–526, of the flash of lightning in a clear sky that heralds the arrival of Venus with the arms. Eden comments on how the sounds of the line contribute to the effect of the thunderclap. From the shattered body of the god we move to the clouds of heaven that are rent asunder by thunder and a flash of lightning. The simile is very much indebted to the Lucretian description of thunder and lightning at *DRN* 6.96 ff.; the last of the poet’s alternate explanations for the former phenomenon is the case of ice and hail as they are smashed about in the clouds by wind (156–159); cf. the wintry imagery of Venus’ snow-white arms at 387. Lurking also here is the fire simile at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.291–295 that describes Medea’s newly instilled passion (see further here Nelis 2001, 340).

non secus atque: Not a common collocation; cf. Silius, *Pun.* 12.290; Pliny, *NH* 21.147.7; Suetonius, *Vit. Titi* 11.1.4. *Non secus ac* is far more common (so in Virgil at 243 above; 10.272; 12.856; also *G.* 3.446). The Medicean has *haut*, which is followed by Sabbadini (cf. *Ilias Latina* 491; Ovid, *Met.* 12.102); Götte prefers *haud*, citing 8.414; cf. also 2.382; 3.236; 4.447; 11.456; 11.814; 12.9; 12.124.

olim: For the force of the richly connotative temporal adverb see Fordyce, and Eden; here it seems to refer to that which happens from time to time; any

archaic ring fits the general Lucretian feel of the image (cf. *DRN* 6.281–284). Essential reading is H.L. Tracy, “*Olim* as Particle,” in *CW* 69.7 (1976), 431–433, on the “formula-particle indicating that the statement or reference made is so familiar that the listener will recognize it at once ...” *Olim* may also carry a subtle hint of the age-old power of Jovian weather weapons.

tonitru: The mention of thunder returns us to the Jovian storm reference of 352–354; *tonitrus* occurs also at 5.694, of the storm that extinguishes the fire from the Trojan fleet; also 4.122, of the fateful storm at Dido’s hunt. An old word (Pacuvian; Accian); 6× in Lucretius (*DRN* 5.550; 6.96; 113; 121; 164; 171). The thunder is a clear announcement of the favor and will of Jupiter, whose commands Venus cited as part of her case (381).

rupta: For the verb see Horsfall on 2.416 ... *rupto* ... *turbine*.

corusco: The adjective occurs at 1.164 of *silvae*; also 2.172–173 ... *arsere coruscae* | *luminibus flammae arrectis* (of the Palladium portent); 2.333 ... *mucrone corusco*; 2.470 ... *luce coruscus aëna* (of Pyrrhus); at 2.552–553 of an *ensis*; 9.163 ... *iuvenes auroque corusci*; 9.678 *armati ferro et cristis capita alta corusci*; 12.701–702 (of *ilices*). The commentators are divided on whether it should be taken here with *tonitru* or 392 *lumine*. Certainly used of rapid or trembling motion (*OLD* s.v. 1), and Vulcan’s response to Venus’ charms is swift indeed; also of that which emits gleams or flashes of light (*OLD* s.v. 2)—and indeed in the present image it may be meant deliberately to shade into both the thunder and the lightning (so Gransden). Sidgwick finds the idea of “glittering thunder” a bit too bold for Virgil; the emphasis, though, is on the sudden, explosive power of the meteorological *comparandum*. On Virgilian lightning see L. Fratantuono in *VE* II, 748–749. Lightning was a traditional concomitant of the commencement of Octavian’s building program (cf. *AAR* 233).

On 391–392 Mackail notes, “The interlacement of words in these two lines is, even for Virgil, unusually intricate ...” The disjointed word order describes effectively the tearing asunder of the cloud by the fiery lightning. Henry uncharacteristically silent here.

392 ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos

ignea rima: The noun/adjective phrase is classified by *OLD* (s.v. c) as “applied to lightning conceived as a sudden rent in the clouds,” with comparison of Pliny, *NH* 2.112 *his findi nubem, illis perrumpi, et esse tonitrua inpactorum ignium plagas ideoque protinus coruscare igneas nubium rimas* (a passage much indebted to Virgil’s simile, on which see Beaujeu’s detailed Budé notes). *Rima* occurs elsewhere in Virgil only once (1.123), with its more natural meaning of a crack or fissure. Cf. here Homer, *Il.* 16.297–300.

Igneus returns us to the world of Vulcan; for the other Virgilian occurrences see on 97 (where it is applied to the sun). Venus has in some sense appropriated the works of both Jupiter and Vulcan. Paschalis 1997, 284 compares 1.39–45, where Pallas/Minerva uses a blast of lightning against the Lesser Ajax. “... this is a new Venus, bent on conflict, the flame of whose love becomes metaphorically the very fire which helps forget the shield, through the intermediary of Vulcan himself” (Putnam 1966, 138–139).

micans: Also at 1.90 *intonuere poli et crebris micat ignibus aether*; 2.475 ... *et linguis micat ore trisulcis* (of a serpent); 2.734 *ardentis clipeos atque aera micantia cerno*; 7.743 *aerataeque micant peltae, micat aereus ensis*; 9.189 *lumina rara micant* (of the Rutulian camp during the night raid); 9.732–733 ... *tremunt in vertice cristae | sanguineae clipeoque micantia fulmina mittit*; 10.134 *qualis gemma micat fulvum quae dividit aurum*; 10.396 *semianimesque micant digiti ...*; 12.102 ... *oculis micat acribus ignis*. Cf. Ps.-V., *Culex* 173; 222; Ovid, *Ars* 3.504 *lumina Gorgoneo saevius igne micant* (with Gibson).

percurrit: Not a common verb in Virgil; also at 6.627 *omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possem*; 7.14 *arguto tenuis percurrrens pectine telas* (of Circe; cf. G. 1.294). Lucretian (*DRN* 1.283; 1003; 4.588; 5.1221; 1407; 6.288; 324; 668). The prefix indicates both direction and intensity; the verb follows closely on 390 *cucurrit*.

nimbos: Properly of a rain-cloud. “In *A.* both divine favor and displeasure are meted out via clouds ...” (S.J. Harden in *VE* 1, 276). The line opens with a semantic reference to fire, and closes with one to the water of the heavy storm clouds.

393 *sensit laeta dolis et formae conscia coniunx.*

The subtle, telling sentiment is reminiscent of 4.127–128 ... *non adversata petenti | adnuit atque dolis repertis Cytherea risit* (on which see Henry, and also the sensitive Austin). Subject and verb frame the verse.

dolis et formae: To be taken closely together; the goddess’ loveliness is, after all, the trick by which she has worked her will on the reluctant, hesitant Vulcan. Gransden notes the “syntactical ambivalence”; it may be best to take both nouns as datives (see Fordyce for the absolute use of the verb); otherwise *dolis* is a causal ablative. On the Venusian tricks here, useful is J.C. Abbot, “The *Aeneid* and the Concept of *dolus bonus*,” in *Verg.* 46 (2000), 59–82. Cf. 4.95 (of Venus’ characterization of her efforts to protect her son in Dido’s Carthage).

laeta: On this characteristic Venusian epithet see Wiltshire 2012, 175. In less than two dozen verses, the goddess’ mood has entirely changed. For *laeta dolis* cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.485.

conscia coniunx: For the “sound-echo” see Eden; the passage draws to a close on the ironic detail of the unfaithful goddess’ marital status (cf. 372; 377; 384). *Conscius* occurs 15× in Virgil, always in the *Aeneid*; very different is the *conscia*

virtus of 5.455, of Entellus at the boxing match. No Dido-like *ingénue* here (cf. Clausen 2002, 211). On how the epithet *formae conscia* echoes Lucretian epithets of the goddess, see Moseley 1926, 43. For the objective genitive with an adjective see Antoine 1882, 87 ff.

How different is all this from Homer, *Il.* 18.368 ff. For a sensitive reading of this passage in light of Venus as creative force, with consideration of both metaliterary and political implications, note McAuley 2015, 62–63. On Venus, Farron 1993, 65–66 makes the interesting observation: “Except for Juno, who also suffers great losses, *all the major characters in the Aeneid die or are the father, husband, wife or son of someone the pathos of whose death is evoked.*” But here, at least the moment, the goddess is in happy, carefree and light-hearted mode; her emotional pendulum will swing back for the divine council of Book 10.

394–406 Vulcan is completely smitten with his lovely wife, and he proceeds at once to promise that he will indeed accede to her request. He returns her embraces before seeking the peaceful repose of slumber. For Apollonian inspirations (*Arg.* 3.79–82; 4.1098–1109) see Nelis 2001, 341.

394 tum pater aeterno fatur devinctus amore:

pater: A subtle introduction of a note of paternity; by forging arms for Aeneas, Vulcan is acting as if he were a responsible divine parent, a father zealously working on behalf of his heroic, mortal son; the agreement of the god to respond favorably to the unfaithful Venus’ appeal is in some sense akin to an acknowledgment of paternity. The appellation is associated with Jupiter; here Vulcan is working in accord with the supreme god’s will. Cf. on 454; also 398. On Virgilian uses of *pater* note especially Newman and Newman 2005, 44–46: 171 occurrences in the epic, 26× of Jupiter (27 of Anchises and 33 of Aeneas).

aeterno: With connotation of an assured continuation of support and affection; the adjective echoes Lucretius’ *aeterno vulnere amoris* (*DRN* 1.34). Gossrau notes the vehemence of a love that cannot cease to be felt.

fatur: Cf. 116 and 559.

devinctus: A marvelous reworking and echo of Lucretius, *DRN* 1.33 ff., where Mars was depicted as *devictus vulnere amoris* (Wigodsky 1972, 134; cf. 138; Powell 2008, 151–153), and a reversal of the situation of Hephaestus, Ares, and Aphrodite from the Homeric song of Demodocus (*Od.* 266–369, where see Garvie). Throughout, we may be reminded that at *Il.* 18.382–383, Hephaestus’ wife is the Grace Charis (cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 945, where the bride is Aglaia). In the context of Odysseus’ journey the story of the goddess’ adultery has an obvious

enough contextual and thematic resonance (Penelope, Helen, Clytemnestra); in the *Iliad*, Aphrodite is discreetly left out of the picture of the forging of the arms for Thetis' son. In Virgil's conception, it is Vulcan who is bound (almost as if he were some loser in a gigantomachy; he was, after all, the phylogenetic son of Hera in some accounts, and an employer of Cyclopes/giants, and thus cast in something of a rebellious posture against Zeus). This is the only occurrence of *devincire* in Virgil; it may be borrowed from Lucretius, *DRN* 4.962 (beside the verbal echo of *devictus* of Mars); it is found in Cicero, but is not particularly common in poetry or prose of any period (2× in the *App. Verg.*). Hight 1972, 236 draws attention to the difference between the war god Mars and the "complaisant husband" Vulcan.

No surprise, then, that several witnesses attest to *devictus* here, a more common word that in context misses the key detail of the god's binding; it has strangely found some editorial support on account solely of the Lucretian intertext, without awareness of how Virgil has reworked Lucretius in a response to Homer. It is more difficult to appreciate the preference for *evinctus* of some of the *recentiores*.

The Homeric song of Demodocus is highlighted at *G.* 4.345–347 *inter quas curam Clymene narrabat inanem / Volcani, Martisque dolos et dulcia furta, / atque Chao densos divum numerabat amores*, where the scene is one of weaving (cf. below on 407 ff.; see Thomas *ad G.* 4.345 for the argument that the *inanis cura* of Vulcan may refer to his unrequited for the goddess); significantly, in the ruin of Troy Vulcan's metonymical fire is said to have destroyed the house of Deiphobus, the last Trojan husband of the adulterous Helen (*A.* 2.310–312).

amore: On the Virgilian presentation of *amor* here in the context of a family unit, see Wiltshire 1989, 112–113.

395 'quid causas petis ex alto? fiducia cessit

ex alto: The enraptured Vulcan may be eager to avoid any memories of Troy, in the destruction of which he played so great a role. There may indeed be an echo of the Accian *Cur vetera tam ex alto appetissis / discidia, Agamemno?* (fr. 127–128 Warmington), a passage quoted by Nonius (354L) for the meaning of *altum* as "vetus, anticum" (also citing *G.* 4.285). There is also an implicit contrast with Juno's *alta mente repostum*, etc. (1.26 ff.). "Argumentatione longe repetita" (Servius). The god may also be imagined to be in a hurry to proceed to the sexual reward for his acquiescence ("Vulcan sagt ihr denn auch, sie brauche nicht länger zu argumentieren, sondern solle wie immer auf ihre Reize vertrauen ... Damit wertet et ihre Rede im Vergleich mit der erotischen Wirkung ihres Körpers explizit ab" (Freund and Vielberg 2008, 234)). Williams translates as "far-fetched," but the emphasis is on the age-old story of what happened at

Troy, a nexus of events that Vulcan is for the moment quite eager to forget. Is there any hint here of Hephaestus' role as a restorer of divine harmony from *Il.* 1.571 ff.?

fiducia: The noun occurs 10× in the epic; cf. 1.132 (Neptune to the winds); 2.75 and 162 (in the Sinon episode); 9.126 ... *fiducia cessit* (of Turnus' faith and daring; cf. 10.276); 9.142 (of the Trojan trust in their camp); 9.188 (of the similar situation of the Rutulians); 10.152 (Aeneas to Tarchon); 11.502 (Camilla to Turnus). Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 8.531; the phrase is possibly an imitation of Sallust's *fiducia incessit* (Tacitus has *fiducia accessit*). The concept is especially pointed in light of Venus' infidelity to Vulcan. Cf. 5.800 ... *fidere*.

396 quo tibi, diva, mei? similis si cura fuisset,

quo: The Medicean originally read *quae* here.

diva: Echoing 387. Homer's Hephaestus (*Il.* 18.393 ff.) associates his granting of Thetis' request to the goddess' role in his salvation after he was cast down from Olympus by Zeus.

similis cura: Vulcan says that if Venus had had a similar anxiety or concern (i.e., for Aeneas and the Trojans), then it would have been licit for him to have armed the Teucrians; one could argue that there certainly was such a *cura* on the part of the goddess. Smitten though the god may be, there is a rhetorical flair to Vulcan's words (see Gransden for how he takes up Venus' points in due order); Homer's Aphrodite did not make any request of Hephaestus, and so no favor was shown.

fuissest: Repeated in 397; for such identical line-ends see Eden's note here (Heinsius conjectured *subissest*, and was willing to excise the verse entirely). "The repetition of this word at the end of the verse gives prominence to the condition and marks the conclusion as sure of fulfillment" (Tetlow). The other examples in the epic are 7.653–654; 9.544–545; 11.204–205 (and cf. 568–569 below); in none of these passage is it clear what point there might be to the repetition (though note Mackail 1930, lxxxix–lxxx). Here we might wonder if Vulcan is distracted and almost stumbling over his words (even if deliberately and artfully); in all cases, we do well to remember that the Romans were not as sensitive to this sort of effect as moderns. Fordyce takes the point to be the underscoring of the close connection between Venus' wishes and the god's avowed willingness to have acceded to them; Gransden sees an echo of Venus' repeated emphasis on *labor* at 376 and 380. "Neque est quod offendamur repetitione. Habet vim ..." (Peerlkamp).

"He is, naturally, speaking nonsense, but what he says is less important than what he does" (Di Cesare 1974, 153).

397 tum quoque fas nobis Teucros armare fuisset;

tum: *Tunc* has some manuscript support (also Tib.); the difference is very slight. *Tum quoque* also opens *G.* 4.523; *A.* 9.183. Vulcan focuses on what Venus could have done in the past; Neptune in Book 5 on what he did manage to achieve as a favor to the goddess—a subtle and interesting psychological shift. The temporal marker stands in contrast with 400 *nunc* below.

fas: A strong, solemn word in context; the commentators cite this passage as an example of the room for maneuvering in a predetermined world: Troy was fated to fall, but there was no demand that it fall exactly on the day it did. An echo, too, of 5.800 *fas omne est, Cytherea, meis te fidere regnis* (Neptune to Venus).

Teucros armare: A subtle touch: Vulcan speaks of arming the Teucrians in general, not of Venus' illegitimate son in particular. The Palatine manuscript originally had *Teucros nobis* here. For the Teucrians see on 10 above. *Teucros* here balances *Troiam* in the following verse.

Vulcan speaks in the hypothetical, conditional mood of what he might have done during the war, had Venus but asked; Neptune, in contrast, speaks of what he actually accomplished on behalf of the goddess (5.800 ff.). Homer's Hephaestus not only made arms for Achilles at the behest of Thetis—he also intervened with his fiery force on behalf of Achilles in his combat with Xanthus (*Il.* 21.331 ff.); Hera, of all people, had to ask the fire god—her son—to relent. At *Il.* 18.463–467, Hephaestus alludes to his wish to be able to save Achilles from death. For the parallel scenes of Aphrodite with Hera from *Il.* 14.194–196 and Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.79.–82, see Nelis 2001, 341.

398 nec pater omnipotens Troiam nec fata vetabant

pater omnipotens: Cf. the similar identification of Vulcan at 394; Lucretius, *DRN* 5.399; Virgil, *G.* 2.325; *A.* 1.60; 2.689 *Iuppiter omnipotens*; 3.251; 4.25; 6.592; 7.770; 10.100; 12.178. Arruns refers to Apollo Soranus as *pater omnipotens* at 11.789–790. The fire god here makes his own response to Venus' reference to Jupiter (381). In the present instance there might seem to be little distinction to be made between Jupiter and *fata*; the supreme god is in part supreme because unlike most of his immortal colleagues, he is never seen as seeking to circumvent destiny. Danielis has an interesting note on how the “Etrusci libri” argued that one should seek a delay or temporary reprieve from destiny first by appealing to Jupiter, and then by request of the *fata*. Here the mention of Jupiter's omnipotence comes with a certain quality of irony; the god is not, after all, supreme over the dictates of fate, and is omnipotent only insofar as he aligns himself with the demands of destiny.

fata: Cf. the *fata Iovis* of 4.614; Bailey 1935, 228–232 (with comparison of the problem of the identification of the “Jovian fates” in Homer and Aeschylus).

vetabant: For the verb see on 111. Here “in its proper imperfect sense: had Venus asked, there was nothing at the time to prevent the fate of Troy being postponed” (Papillon and Haigh). The line-end is imitated by Ovid, *Met* 3.548–549 ... *si fata vetabant / stare diu Thebas ...*

399 stare decemque alios Priamum superesse per annos.

stare ... superesse: Effective balance of infinitives: first of the city, and then of its monarch.

decem ... annos: Cf. Livy 5.4.11.1; Seneca, *Troad.* 126–128; 591; *Ag.* 156. The numerical specificity refers to the tradition of the length of the war and of the most famous of the returns; it also contrasts with the eternal life of the gods. Again, we do well to note that the Servian tradition cites “Etrusci libri” for the question of the postponement of that which is fated, with recourse first to Jupiter, and then “a fatis” (cf. 398).

Priamum: The king is here almost equated with the city (398 *Troiam*); Vulcan recalls the high emotion and pathos of the death scene of Priam—which, like the ruin of the city, could have been delayed for a decade, or exactly as long as the tradition of the Odyssean *nostos*. The sentiment is reminiscent of 2.54–56 *et, si fata deum, si mens non laeva fuisset, / impulerat ferro Argolicas foedare latebras, / Troiaque nunc staret, Priamique arx alta maneres*. With the sentiments Vulcan expresses here we may cf. Aeneas’ words to Dido at 4.342–344; for a consideration of this passage in terms of philosophical problems of determinism, note G. Williams 1983, 6–7. Neptune in Book 5 was discreet enough to omit any reference to 2.610–612; Vulcan, too, does not take account of any possible implications of such metonymical incendiary horrors as those of 2.310–312 of 5.662–663.

superesse: The infinitive occurs also at 5.615–616 ... *heu tot vada fessis / et tantum superesse maris*; cf. 9.212 and 10.47.

400 et nunc, si bellare paras atque haec tibi mens est,

nunc: Cf. 397 *tum*.

paras: Vulcan casts the request for the arms in terms of Venus’ wish to prepare to do battle; in fact she will not take any active role whatsoever in the Latin war, except 1) in the matter of tending to her son’s arrow wound (12.411); 2) of suggesting the plan of setting fire to Latinus’ city (12.554 ff.), and finally 3) of fetching Aeneas’ *telum* from Faunus’ wild olive (12.786 ff.). The personal touch may reflect something of the scene from Lucretius 1; there the poet asked the goddess to plead for peace from her divine lover, and here Vulcan speaks of his wife’s preparations for war. Conington takes it of Vulcan’s adoption of Venus’ identification of herself with her son. The second person verb and dative sec-

ond person personal pronoun are followed in 401 by the parallel *possum* and *mea*, with reference to Vulcan.

bellare: A not particularly common verb in Virgil; at 1.466 *bellantes* it is used with reference to the Greeks fighting at Troy on Dido's Carthaginian murals; at 11.660 of Amazons in the description of Camilla and her retinue (i.e., in both cases what we might call "artistic" vignettes); cf. Diomedes' reference to the Greek actions at Troy at 11.256 *bellando*; the fighting youths of 12.410. Here and of the Amazons (perhaps also of Dido's painting), we may wonder if it carries any reference to prettiness and feminine loveliness (i.e., *bellus*)? Servius connects the remark to 386 ... *in me excidiumque meorum*.

mens est: For the archaizing rhythm of the monosyllable at line-end followed at once by another monosyllable, see Eden. *Mens* here of studied intention (Negri 1985, 172–175)

401 **quidquid in arte mea possum promittere curae,**

The beginning of a threefold (*quidquid*; *quod*; *quantum*) progression of promises and assurances, as sexual arousal gets the better of the divine craftsman. "Marking the vehemence of Vulcan's promise" (Page).

arte mea: In response to Venus' remark at 376–377 about the god's skill. See further P. Capponi in *EV* 1, 338–340; the noun is also used of Venusian trickery (cf. 1.657), and Vulcan's shield will hold surprises all its own.

possum promittere: Lucretian (*DRN* 1.411 *hoc tibi de plano possum promittere, Memmi*); cf. Horace, *Serm.* 1.4.102–103; Juvenal, s. 3.43–44. *Possum* refers to the god's personal talent; 402 *potest* to the principles of metallurgy and metal working.

promittere: Very different is Iris' observation to Turnus at 9.6–7: *Turne, quod optanti divum promittere nemo | auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro*.

curae: Echoing 396. It is possible that the word should be taken to refer specifically to Aeneas, who is, after all, indistinguishable from his mother's *cura*; cf. 5.804 *Aeneae mihi cura tui*.

402 **quod fieri ferro liquidove potest electro,**

liquido: Henry takes this to mean "clear, translucent, pellucid electrum."

electro: *Electrum* can refer to a naturally occurring alloy of gold and silver (the Greek "white silver"); the color is either a pale yellow or a yellowish white, which may account for its being given the same name as amber (as at *E.* 8.54 and *G.* 3.522). It was mined successfully in Lydia and used extensively for coinage, especially in the eastern Mediterranean. For the noun cf. Homer, *Od.* 4.71–73; 624 below; Ovid, *Met.* 15.315–316 *Crathis et huic Subaris nostris conterminus oris | electro similes faciunt auroque capillos*. Bronze, tin, gold and silver for

Achilles' shield (*Il.* 18.474–475). The spondaic ending emphasizes the precious metal.

Pliny treats *electrum* at *NH* 33.80–81 (vid. Zehnacker's Budé annotations ad loc.), where he notes the proper proportion of one-fifth silver, observing that *quod si quintam portionem excessit, incudibus non resistit*.

The forging of the shield has affinities with the notion of the purgation of souls described in the eschatological revelations of Anchises' shade in Elysium; both processes result in a catalogue of the future Roman history. In terms of the progress of man alluded to in the decline of the ages, metallurgy was associated with the Bronze Age (cf. *E.* 6.41–42, where the theft of fire by Prometheus is a key moment in human history).

Gransden comments on how the "repeated *os* have a solemn effect, as befits a pledge ..."

403 **quantum ignes animaeque valent, absiste precando**

quantum ... valent: Cf. *E.* 9.11–13 (of the power of *carmina*). Henry notes that Venus had not, in fact, asked for all that Vulcan promises: "The uxorious god is ready to grant her ... a thousand times more."

animae: Apparently of the breath of the bellows (cf. the *aurae* of 449). There may be a play on the image of fire and breath as key elements in metallurgy, and *ignes* and *animae* in erotic contexts. See further here O'Hara 2017, 212.

absiste: Echoing 39 above; cf. 6.399, 11.408 and 12.676 ... *absiste moveri/morari* (Deiphobe to Aeneas, Turnus to Drances, Turnus to Juturna). The anacolouthon results from the excitement of sexual arousal. "The syntax collapses in the god's impatience" (Lyne 1987, 42). "The anacolouthon seemingly conveys Vulcan's overwhelming passion for Venus, which is so strong that it disrupts his flow of thought and his syntax." (*VE* III, 1411–1412).

404 **viribus indubitare tuis.' ea verba locutus**

viribus ... tuis: Vulcan may be the master of the forge, but Venus has her own strength and power.

indubitare: A coinage, as Danielis notes ("quis ante hunc?"); the *TLL* confirms the judgment (Statius has it at *Silv.* 3.5.110). "The new and perhaps clumsy compound" (Lyne 1987, 41, who takes it as further evidence of the god's excited, distracted state). "Perhaps the splendid sweep of 400 ff. made Virgil bolder than usual" (Eden, who notes that the prefix is not the normal negative, and that the use of the verb with the dative is striking). Creation of a neologism before forging of armor. The infinitive with *absistere* is also unprecedented in extant Latin before Virgil.

verba locutus: Sallustian.

Gellius (*Noct. Att.* 9.10) notes that *Annianus poeta* (i.e., Cornutus, the teacher of Persius and Lucan) praised the *verecundia* of the following description of the sexual act: ... *tot vero et tam evidentibus ac tamen non praetextatis, sed puris honestisque verbis venerandum illud concubii pudici secretrum neminem quemquam alium dixisse*—only to note that the same poet shamefully condemned Virgil elsewhere in his writings for the allegedly indiscreet use of *membra* at 406. Vulcan is eager to turn to matters sexual; Venus, for her part, was possessed of nervous dread at the urgent, pressing problems of the Latin war (cf. Otis 1964, 338).

405 *optatos dedit amplexus placidumque petivit*

optatos ... amplexus: The embraces echo 388 (and cf. the verb at 124; the noun again at 568; 615). The force of *optatos* is that the embraces were exactly what the goddess wished; she has deliberately employed her sexual charms in the interest of securing the divine arms for her son. For the periphrasis of the noun and *dare* see Eden. The coy Virgilian description of the interaction between the god and his seductive spouse is deliberately crafted to leave doubt as to exactly what happened; it is conceivable that sleep intervened before much happened in the arena of sexual drama, or that the exertions of the sexual act brought on a deeply soporific state. The (discreet) ambiguity is very much in Virgil's style. In *optatos* there may be an implication that the god resisted his wife, at least for a short while. The language, however, is not employed principally in an attempt at avoiding graphic, overly direct descriptions of what occurred. Rather, the poet crafts a deliberately ambivalent narrative of sexual innuendo and implicit comparison of the relative states of Venus and Vulcan, all as prelude to the forging of the arms. Again, all of this is foreign to Homer's parallel account; cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.111 ff. "And sinking on the bosom of his spouse, he sought peaceful slumber throughout his frame" (Gould and Whiteley).

placidumque petivit: An alliterative close to the verse as sleep takes over the god. For the adjective with *sopor* cf. 4.522–523 *Nox erat et placidum carpebant fessa soporem | corpora per terras*; the "placid" face of the sea (5.849–850) that Palinurus does not trust when confronted with the disguised Somnus; see further L. Piacente in *EV* IV, 128–129.

406 *coniugis infusus gremio per membra soporem.*

coniugis: The scene draws to a close with another reminder of the marital relationship of the gods; cf. 372; 377; 384; 393.

infusus: Cf. something of the opposite image at 9.461, where the infused light of the sun heralds the start of day; here Vulcan is depicted as seeking sleep in the tight embrace of his divine wife, cradled in her lap (*gremio*) and lost in

the peaceful slumber of what will, in fact, be a rather short, abbreviated rest. The participle has caused textual controversy since antiquity; the Romanus has *infusum* (i.e., taking it with *soporem*), a reading that Probus and Carminius maintained (*teste Servio*); *infusus* is cited not only by Gellius, but also at Nonius 582L (the definition of *petere* as *adpetere*). The Palatinus originally had *infusum* (corrected to the nominative); Tib. has *infusus*, while the grammarian Diomedes (*GLK* I, 460.18) has *effusus*.

Servius says that Probus and Carminius read *infusum* to avoid the *cacemphaton* (an early example of literary sanitation; see here McGill 2005, 109–110; Ziolkowski and Putnam 2008, 474–475 for Ausonius' remarks on this passage). Conington at least notes the textual variants; Page, Fordyce, and Gransden discreetly silent on the matter. Williams compares Ovid, *Her.* 2.93 *ausus es amplecti colloque infusus amantis* (Phyllis to Demophoon). But is there any more reason to see an allusion to the sexual act in *infusus* than to the *membrum virile* in *membra*? The passage draws to a close in a manner not dissimilar to that of Venus' appeal to Neptune in Book 5 (though significantly abbreviated); there the goddess' successful appeal was soon followed by the fall of night and the slumber of Aeneas and his crew, while the doomed Palinurus stayed awake to maintain his helmsman's post; here Vulcan will enjoy but a brief slumber before rising to his work—and, as we shall soon enough see, he will rise in an emasculated state.

Elsewhere in Virgil, participial forms of *infundere* are used of the power of water to quench the fire from the burning ships (5.684); also of the snow on Atlas' shoulders (4.250); the crowd at 5.552; 6.726–727 ... *totamque infusa per artus / mens agitat molem*. Delvigo 1987, 48–55 argues that the scene represents nothing more than one of reclining (but note Jocelyn's note on this in *CR* 39.1 (1989), 27–28; Timpanaro 2001, 61–64 concurs). Likely there is an echo here of Lucretius, *DRN* 1.39 *circumfusa super*; where Venus was literally poured out around Mars from above, while here Vulcan is poured into her lap (in both poets, the goddess is depicted as being in essential control of the situation, and in both, her power is more striking in the absence of any definitive account of sexual union).

per membra soporem: For the line-end cf. Ps.-V., *Culex* 158; note also Juvenal, s. 13.217–218 *nocte brevem si forte indulsit cura soporem / et toto versata toro iam membra quiescunt*. For *sopor* see on 27 above; the passage closes on a note of deep rest and repose. *Per membra* (which Sidgwick finds “slightly strained” after *petivit*) coordinates closely with *infusus*. For the affinity of this passage with the scene of Aeneas asleep on the bank of the Tiber (cf. 30), see Putnam 1966, 140–141, with comparison of the Cyclopes episode at Vulcan's forge with the Cacus epyllion.

We may compare here Hera's visit to Sleep on Lemnos (Homer, *Il.* 14.230 ff.), where the goddess promises a golden throne fashioned by Hephaestus if Zeus can be lulled into a state of slumber. Sleep recalls to Hera what happened the last time he meddled with Zeus' sleep patterns at Hera's behest—when Hercules had sacked Troy (14.243 ff.).

407–423 Vulcan rises in the hours before dawn, and proceeds to his volcanic island to commence work on the divine arms for Venus' son Aeneas.

407 *Inde ubi prima quies medio iam Noctis abactae*

Inde: For the use of this adverb in temporal expressions note Pinkster 2015, 848–849; on the use of *ubi* see Hofmann/Szantyr 11, 651 ff.

prima quies: In a different sense at 1.723 *Postquam prima quies epulis mensaeque remotae* (at Dido's banquet); the present depiction of the "first quiet/rest" is exactly parallel to 2.268–269 *Tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris / incipit et dono divum gratissima serpit*. *Quies* is referenced three times in the Palinurus episode (5.836; 844; 857). "The 'first rest', in the early hours of the morning, follows the first sleep" (Eden). The description is of what some might call a segmented or bimodal sleep pattern; Vulcan has his first period of slumber, and then awakens—but he is unable to return to sleep, given the magnitude of his work (see further Ekirch 2005 for the anthropological history of the practice of dividing the night). *Prima* is echoed at once by 408 *primum*. Mackail found fault with this passage ("The phrase is no doubt rather forced"; cf. Servius); the problem is the proper distinction between *prima quies* (i.e., "repose") and *somnus*. The god Somnus had urged Palinurus to abandon his work in pursuit of *quies*.

abactae: Cf. 11.261. For the participle with *nox* note the imitation of Statius, *Theb.* 1.231 ... *vix lucis spatio, vix noctis abactae*. The night that has departed (or, perhaps better, was in the processing of departing) from the midpoint of its course is literally enclosed in the midnight *curriculum*; the *rejet* neatly enacts the implicit running of the nocturnal chariot. For the chariot of Night cf. 5.721 *et Nox atra polum bigis subvecta tenebat* (with Fratantuono and Smith). "Midnight is the turning-point in night's course after which she no longer advances but begins to drive away" (Page). Cf. *Dum medium silentium tenerent omnia, et Nox in suo cursu medium iter perageret* from the Christmas liturgy in Missal and Breviary (adapted from *Lib. Sap.* 18.14 ff.). For perfect passive participles without anterior meaning see Pinkster 2015, 548; here *abactae* may be taken as virtually equivalent to *abeuntis* (so Conington). It was just after midnight, at the time of the start of the third of the *vigiles*.

408 *curriculo expulerat somnum, cum femina primum,*

curriculo: The only occurrence of the noun in Virgil. Rare in poetry; it appears in Ciceronian verse (also Germanicus). Cf. (in a different sense) Horace, c. 1.1.3.

expulerat somnum: For the verb cf. 1.620 (of the expelled Teucer); 10.354–355 ... *expellere tendunt | nunc hi, nunc illi*; also *G.* 1.320. On certain associations of the image of being driven from sleep see Reed 2007, 63.

cum femina primum: On this fourth simile of the book see Hornsby 1970, 14–15, 105–107; G. Williams 1983, 126 ff.; A. Rossini, “Cultural History in *Aeneid* VIII 407–415. The Assessment of an ‘Ideology’ and of Its Influence on the Work of Virgil,” in *RCCM* 42.1 (2000), 29–38. “This is one of the most memorable of Virgil’s similes” (Williams). Commentators have associated the image of Vulcan’s rising at the time when the work of weaving is commenced have compared Homer, *Il.* 12.433 ff., where the image is simply one of the weighing of wool in equally balanced scales (a comparative image for a stalemate in fighting); also Apollonius’ depiction of the burning, destructive love of Medea for Jason that is like the fire that a spinning woman lights to guide her nocturnal labor (3.291 ff.), and his memorable association of Medea to a weaver with her orphaned children, working the loom through the wee hours in despair and agony (4.1062 ff.). None of these *comparanda* are especially helpful in explicating Virgil’s image, some might conclude, and it is difficult to determine the full extent to which any of them were on the poet’s mind as he crafted his picture of Vulcan’s dutiful, nocturnal execution of his task. See further Newman and Newman 2005, 59 ff.; 236; also Nelis 2001, 341 ff.

Femina is a deliberately vague and imprecise word; it may refer to a wife, and indeed it may be used of a widow (so Peerlkamp, on which see Henry’s long note in criticism, with citation of Ambrose’s treatise on *viduae*). This *femina* does have maidservants (411). In context, the emphasis is on the gender reversal that Vulcan has undergone. Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* employs the metaphor of the city as a tangled, unclean lump of wool; for the “assimilation of female territory to male” see Henderson *ad* 476–613. Servius thought that the Virgilian image of the woman pursuing the life of difficult, thrifty work was borrowed from Terence (cf. *Andria* 74–79; A. Traill, “Terence,” in *VE* III, 1252). With this scene we may also compare Livy’s chaste Lucretia and her team of spinners at *Ab Urbe Condita* 1.57.

On how *prudentia* seems curiously absent from this and other scenes in the epic, see Henry 1989, 65 ff.

409 *cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minerva*

tolerare: The verb occurs in Virgil only here and at 515 below (Ennian; Lucretian). Vulcan has not only been emasculated, he has also been reduced to the

socio-economic status of one who must rise well before dawn to work for the sustenance of life.

colo: The noun appears in Virgil only here and at 7.805 (in the description of Camilla).

tenui: Since Servius there has been debate as to whether the adjective refers to the meager, poor work of weaving, or the fine spun product of a skilled worker of the loom; the point is probably to recall Homer, *Od.* 8.280, where the bonds that Hephaestus crafts for Aphrodite and Ares are said to be as evanescent as spiders' webs. See further Garvie ad loc., with reference to *Od.* 16.34–35, of the spider webs that are not to be found in Odysseus' bed. The Homeric work of the loom, as it were, was devoted to the entrapment of the adulterous goddess and her lover; now Minerva's art is turned to the service of the unfaithful Venus. In some sense this is a perversion of the sacred labor of the virgin goddess; in *tenuis* there may be a hint, too, of the cheapening of Minerva's art. Vulcan's status has been diminished, too, in the brief time that he has been asleep; from being the recipient of divine supplication he has been reduced to the status of a woman who works to sustain life. The slight manuscript support for *calathisque Minervae* is due to a reminiscence of 7.805.

Minerva: For the goddess see Bailey 1935, 152–157; Henry 1989, 90–117; Wilhelm and Jones 1992, 74–81; S. Spence, "The Polyvalence of Pallas in the *Aeneid*," in *Arethusa* 32.2 (1999), 149–163; L. Fratantuono, "*Pallasne exurere classem*: Minerva in the *Aeneid*," forthcoming in *Arctos* (2017); also L. Fratantuono in *VE* II, 831–832; J.L. Girard in *EV* III, 532–534; cf. Preller/Robert I, 184–230; Roscher II.2, 2982–2992. In Book 5 the poet notes that Nautes was taught by Tritonian Pallas (5.704–707); at the close of Book 7, the depiction of Camilla in the catalogue of Italian heroes includes the detail that the Volscian heroine was not interested in the pursuit of Minerva's domestic arts: 7.805–807 *bellatrix, non illa colo calathisque Minervae | femineas adsueta manus, sed proelia virgo | dura pati cursuque pedum praevertere ventos*. Camilla, in other words, is devoted to one aspect of Minerva's traditional associations: she is a battle heroine. "Camilla steht außerhalb des Bereiches der antiken Frau und verschämt es, der Minerva zu dienen ... die in der Aeneis noch zweimal ... als Schutzgöttin der Frauenarbeit erscheint" (Brill 1972, 23). It is Vulcan who (at the behest of Venus) is reminiscent of a woman who is devoted to the work of the loom and the distaff.

Minerva will return in the depiction on the shield of the goddess' participation in the naval battle at Actium (699–700). As for the goddess' association with the loom, there is a brief reference to the Minervan lore of Arachne at *G.* 4.246–247 *aut dirum tiniae genus, aut invisae Minervae | laxos in foribus suspendit aranea cassis* (where see Thomas). Virgil's image of the god Vulcan in

pursuit of the labors of the weaving goddess is indebted to Lucretius, *DRN* 5.1350ff., where the poet notes that iron is needed for the work of the loom, so that woven cloth comes after iron; also that men originally pursued such tasks before women (cf. 5.1355–1356 ... *nam longe praestat in arte | et sollertius est multo genus omne virile*), until *agricolae severi* considered it a source of *vitium*—at which point women were entrusted with the work. Pliny (*NH* 19.3.18) says that spinning flax (*linum nere*) is a respectable activity even for men.

410 **impositum, cinerem et sopitos suscitāt ignes**

An imitation of 5.743 *haec memorans cinerem et sopitos suscitāt ignis*. For a comparison of the treatment of the dying fire here and the fiery Vulcanian passion for his wife, see Di Cesare 1974, 153–154. Note also Ovid's *ignis in hesterno stipite parvus erat: | ipse genu nixus flammās exsuscitat aura* (*Fast.* 5.506–507).

impositum: The subject of controversy in antiquity (see Servius here; cf. Conington's "strangely misunderstood in Serv.'s time") as to punctuation and sense; *impositum* could in theory be taken with *cinerem* and refer to ashes that were used to keep a fire burning low in the night. The alleged problem has led to radical textual emendation (cf. Bentley's *femina, cui mos | est tolerare*).

cinerem, etc.: "Expressed in English by the one word *embers*" (Henry).

sopitos: Forms of the verb occur elsewhere in Virgil at 1.680 (of the slumbering Ascanius); 5.743; 10.642 ... *sopitos ... sensus*; cf. Also 542 below. The fire that had been "resting"/"asleep" must now also rise up from slumber, as it were, to light the way for the god's labor.

suscitat: 10× in the *Aeneid* and twice in the *G.*; cf. 455.

ignes: An appropriate detail of emphasis given the god's bailiwick. Vulcan is fittingly compared to someone who revives a dying fire.

411 **noctem addens operi, famulasque ad lumina longo**

noctem, etc.: I.e., making the labor even more intensive by having it commence at a time when most are enjoying the second part of the night's rest.

famulas: The handmaidens of the *femina* are the Cyclopes of the Vulcanian labor. Cf. the fifty *famulae* at Dido's banquet (1.703); Andromache's status as a *famula* of Neoptolemus (3.329); the *famulae* who rush to Dido at 4.391; Metabus' vowing of the infant Camilla as a *famula* of Diana. The *puellae* of *G.* 1.390–392 may or may not be *famulae*.

ad lumina: Probably in connection to the fire of 410 (otherwise of torches or the like); cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 6.900–902 *nonne vides etiam, nocturna ad lumina linum | nuper ubi extinctum admoveas, accendier ante | quam tetigit flammam, taedamque pari ratione?*

longo: With emphasis on the magnitude of the work; Vulcan's task on behalf of his wife will be arduous and of considerable labor. For the hyperbaton see Dainotti 2015, 250n780.

412 exercet penso, castum servare cubile

exercet: Cf. 378 and 424. The Medicean reads *exercens*.

penso: The wool that is set aside for a given task, and, by extension, the work itself; the noun elsewhere in the epic only at 7.476 *excussi manibus radii revolutaque pensa*, where Euryalus' mother is occupied with her spinning when the news arrives of the disastrous night raid.

castum: Cf. 3.409 *hac casti maneant in religione nepotes*; 5.735 ... *casta Sibylla*; 6.402 *casta livet patruī servet Proserpina limen*; 6.563 *nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen*; 7.71 ... *castis adolet dum altaria taedis*; 8.665–666 *castae | matres*.

Lanam fecit: this is the image of Lucretia at Livy 1.57.9 ... *ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam ut regias nurus, ut in convivio luxuque cum aequalibus viderunt tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam lanae inter lucubrantes ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inveniunt* (cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 2.741–760, with Robinson). Vulcan is cast in the role of the faithful *univira*; there is both gender reversal and implicit commentary on Venus' fidelity to the Roman moral *exemplum* of the devoted wife/widow. The god's task is associated with the efforts of a Roman matron to maintain faith with her husband (whether living or dead). Cf. also *G.* 2.523–524; on the epitaphic testimony to the revered status of the faithful wife at her loom, see Lattimore 1962, 296.

servare: For the verb (56× in the epic) note A. Aragosti in *VE* IV, 814–815, and cf. 188–189 above; 4.552 *non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo* (of Dido). For the epigraphic tradition of *servare cubile*, etc., see Hoogma 1959, 308.

cubile: Cf. 3.324 *nec victoris heri tetigit captiva cubile* (Andromache on Polyxena); 4.648 (of Dido's bed chamber); 12.144 (of Jupiter's); 4.585 and 9.460 (of Aurora's).

413 coniugis et possit parvos educere natos:

The verse is framed by references to spouse and children; in context, one thinks of Aeneas' status as Venus' illegitimate *natus*. For the juxtaposition of a cherished spouse and little children cf. Horace, *c.* 3.5.41–44 (of Regulus); Lucretius, *DRN* 3.894 ff. *Iam iam non domus accipiet te laeta neque uxor*, etc. (with Kenney); *G.* 2.523–524. On the preeminent concern of the raising of children and the emphatic placement of the noun at the end of the simile, see Wiltshire 1989, 42–43. Again, the implications for the relationship of Venus, Vulcan, and Aeneas are profound; for the “ethical dubiety” of Venus' behavior in light of Roman (especially Augustan) moral standards, and the god's care for the chil-

dren of an absent father (Anchises), see Putnam 1998, 171–172. On the influence of Homer, *Il.* 12.435 on the present detail (and its absence in the Apollonian models for the simile), see E.L. Harrison, “Cleverness in Virgilian Imitation,” in *CPh* 65.4 (1970), 241–243, 243n20.

educere: 14× in the epic (once in the *G.*); for the verb in connection with the rearing of children cf. Terence, *Eun.* 117; cf. Horsfall on 6.765. Virgil has *educat* at 10.518 (where see Harrison). Wool-working is associated not only with reverence towards one’s spouse, but with forethought and planning for children; cf. the virginal Camilla, who has no interest in wool or family (vid. further on this B.W. Boyd, “Virgil’s Camilla and the Traditions of Catalogue and Ecphrasis (*Aeneid* 7.803–17),” in *AJPh* 113.2 (1992), 213–234). On the problem of the care of future generations and the “poignant reminder of responsibilities” see Quinn 2000, 187–188. “One of the few wholly positive images of maternity is the simile comparing the industrious Vulcan to a poor woman working hard ...” (P. Hardie in *VE* 11, 849); the irony is that Vulcan is the mother, not Venus. On the significance of the survival of little children in light of the question of Aeneas’ son and the implicit problem of the Augustan succession, cf. Rogerson 2017, 6.

414 **haud secus ignipotens nec tempore segnior illo**

haud secus: Also in Virgil at 2.382; 3.236; 4.447; 11.456; 11.814; 12.9; 12.124. Plautine; Sallustian.

ignipotens: Also at 423; 628; 710; 10.243, all in the context of Vulcan’s forging of the shield; 12.90, of his work on the sword of Daunus. Vid. Klause 1993, 94. The compound may have been coined by Virgil (see on this Tarrant *ad* 12.90); it is found also in the *Ilias Latina* (106; 862); Valerius Flaccus (*Arg.* 2.80; 5.452). For the violent implications of the image (with comparison to the Cacus episode), see Newman and Newman 2005, 37. The god who is powerful in fire is here reduced to the image of a *femina* who works her wool by the light of a fire; we may also be reminded of the fire and heat imagery of the passionate lust the god felt for his seductive wife. The forging of the shield is presented in terms that juxtapose the Minervan worlds of the loom and of war. With the fire of the god of the forge we may compare the flame and fire imagery of Anchises’ explanation of the process of rebirth and reincarnation in Elysium (cf. 6.730–731; 746–747, etc.).

tempore ... illo: With reference both to the early hour and to the pressing urgency of Venus’ appeal.

nec ... segnior: We may recall that Vulcan was traditionally lame; despite his disability and the early hour, he rises dutifully in faithfulness to his task (Servius notes that the tradition of the god’s lameness derives “quia per naturam numquam rectus est ignis”). Cf. 10.657–658 ... *nec Turnus segnior instat* /

exsuperatque moras et pontis transilit altos; also 4.149–150 *tea sonant umeris: haud illo segnior ibat* | *Aeneas*; 7.383–384; 12.566; *G.* 2.275. “A favourite Vergilian litotes” (Harrison *ad* 10.657–658). Fire is of course notoriously quick; cf. N. Adkin, “The Etymology of *segnis* in Virgil,” in *AC* 76 (2007), 171–176; more generally, M. Horsfall Scotti in *EV* IV, 755–756.

Henry quotes here extensively from the Virgilian cento of the chaplain to Charles I, Alexander Ross, the *Virgilio Evangelisantis Christiados Libri XIII* (1634), where the present scene is adapted for the description of the markings on the passion cup of Gethsemane (i.e., the Grail).

415 *mollibus e stratis opera ad fabrilia surgit.*

mollibus e stratis: Recalling the soft embrace of the goddess at 388. The adjective stands in sharp relief with the mention of the craftsman’s labors. Cf. the description of the soft coverlets and pillows Pygmalion provides for his statue at Ovid, *Met.* 10.267–268. For literary imitations both Ovidian and Lucanian see Matthews *ad BC* 5.520–521 (with reference to *Met.* 8.655 ff.), after Thompson and Bruère 1968; cf. also U. Hübner, “Vergilisches in de Amyclasepisode der *Pharsalia*,” in *RhM* 130.1 (1987), 48–58.

opera ad fabrilia: Cf. *Aetna* 561–562; Seneca, *De Ben.* 6.38.3.6; Apuleius, *Met.* 2.4.14; 9.5.1.

fabrilia: Cf. *TLL* 6.1.23.37. The adjective occurs only here in Virgil, and is rare in poetry (Horace, *Ep.* 2.1.116; Ovid, *Am.* 1.9.39; *Met.* 4.175 (cf. Bömer’s note); Martial, *ep.* 11.84.6; also Ps.-V., *Aetna* 562).

For allegorical interpretations of Vulcan’s action here (i.e., the civilizing influence of fire and restraint of the powers thereof in the interest of philanthropy), see Gransden 1976, 40.

416 *insula Sicanium iuxta latus Aeoliamque*

insula: The start of a seven-verse description of the fire god’s workshop, the location of which was the subject of learned speculation; it may be intentionally of the same length as the seven Aeolian islands (on the problem note especially Nelis 2001, 343 ff.). At Callimachus, *Hymn. Art.* (3) 46 ff., the young Artemis visits Lipare (then known as Meligunis; it is the largest island in the archipelago) with her retinue of nymphs; she requests a Cydonian bow, arrows, and quiver from the monstrous Cyclopes. In Callimachus, Hephaestus’ monstrous workmen are engaged in finishing a horse-trough for Poseidon; Artemis’ Oceanid nymphs are frightened by the fearsome monocular visage of the craftsmen. The single eyes of the Cyclopes are compared to shields of fourfold hide.

At *G.* 4.173 ... *gemit impositis incudibus Aetna*, the poet seems to locate the forge under Etna (of course the fires could also be imagined to travel under-

ground). The poet of the *Aetna* disabuses the reader of any notion that there is actually a divine workshop under the famous volcano (29 *principio ne quem capiat fallacia vatum*, etc.).

Sicanium: Cf. 3.692–693 *Sicanio praetenta sinu iacet insula contra | Plemyrum undosum*, etc. The Sicilian connection is reminiscent of the events of Book 5; the island in question is named only at 422 ... *Volcania nomine tellus*. For the localization of Vulcan's forge/smithy see Hornblower on Thucydides 3.88.3; on the possibility that in the present passage Virgil is "alluding to a learned controversy" as to where exactly the god's factory was situated, see O'Hara 2017, 212–213; also the same author's "Callimachean Influence on Vergilian Etymological Wordplay," in *CJ* 96.4 (2001), 369–400, 373 ff. With the scansion of *Sicanios* cf. Fratantuono and Smith on 5.24 *Sicanos*.

Aeoliamque: The adjective also at 5.790–791 ... *maria omnia caelo | miscuit Aeoliis nequiquam freta procellis*; cf. 454 below. The reference is imprecise; it may refer generally to the (volcanic) Aeolian islands off the northern coast of Sicily, or specifically to Lipare as the home of the lord of the winds (on this question see D.M. Possanza in *VE* 1, 30; cf. Strabo 1.2.9; also Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.761–778, with Hunter ad loc.). Pomponius Mela (2.120) has *Circa Siciliam in Siculo freto ... illae septem quas Aeoli adpellant: Osteodes, Lipara, Heraclea, Didyma, Phoenicusa, ac sicut Aetna perpetuo flagrantes igne Hieria et Strongyle*. For the evocation of Aeolus imagery from Book 1 in the present scene, note Paschalis 1997, 285; also Hardie 1986, 105–107 (especially on the control of weather in favor of the Trojans); for commentary on the connections between Aeolia/Aeolus and Etna, see J. Shea, "Lucretius, Lightning, and Lipari," in *CPh* 72.2 (1977), 136–138. On the prosody (polysyllabic line-end with dactylic rhythm), see Gransden.

417 **erigitur Liparen fumantibus ardua saxis,**

erigitur: For the verb see on 25 above; here it coordinates closely with *ardua*.

Liparen: Vid. P.A. Johnston in *VE* 11, 751; also H.L. Allen, "Aeoliae Insulae," in *PE* 14–15 ("Of the entire group, Lipari (ancient Lipara) is of the greatest importance archaeologically."). Cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.95–96 *Lemnos cara deo nec fama notior Aetne | aut Lipares domus*; Silius, *Pun.* 14.56–57 *nam Lipare vastis subter depasta caminis | sulphureum vomit exeiso de vertice fumum*. The Romanus and Tib. read the nominative *Lipare* here, which would bring the Virgilian account into line with the Callimachean; the rest of the passage, however, would be left in an awkward state. The island was of significant strategic importance in the conflict with Carthage; it returned to military prominence in the struggle of Agrippa and Octavian against Sextus Pompey. "Under the Empire, it was a place of retreat, baths, and exile" (Allen).

fumantibus ... saxis: I.e., as evidence of volcanic activity; cf. Tib.'s observation on Vulcan's haunts: "quid de tali loco exire potuit vel sonare nisi fumus, ignis et gemitus strepitusque tudentium ferrum?" *Saxis* here is balanced by 418 *caminis*.

418 *quam subter specus et Cyclopum exesa caminis*

quam subter: Cf. 366 above. "If the relative is the object not of a verb but of a preposition, it is frequently hard to be certain whether or not its force extends to the second clause" (Hahn 1930, 64).

specus: Also at 241 and 258 (of Cacus' lair). Gransden sees the lair of the Cyclops as an "anti-type" of Cacus'. Both haunts are Vulcanian, and in no small way we shall see that the god of the forge will enjoy something of the final word in *Aeneid* 8. Cf. Putnam 1966, 141: "The association with Vulcan and his fire and the characteristic Virgilian image of the cave as a place of suppressed power combine to create a kindred setting." Neatly balanced alliteration with *subter specus* and then *Cyclopum ... caminis*.

Cyclopum: On the Cyclopes in Virgil see R.F. Thomas in *VE* 1, 326–327; A. Barchiesi in *EV* 1, 778–779. For the Hesiodic conception of these monsters see West on *Theog.* 139–146; there is evidence of an altar to them at the Corinthian Isthmus (Pausanias 2.2.1), but otherwise of no cult. The Cyclops Polyphemus of Homer, *Od.* 9.105–566 is a member of a pastoral race with no explicit connection to the world of the forge and divine craftsmanship; Polyphemus is the son of Poseidon (no other Cyclops is named in Homer). For an attempt to reconcile the disparate traditions, note R. Mondi, "The Homeric Cyclopes: Folktales, Tradition, and Theme," in *TAPA* 113 (1983), 17–38. The shores of the Cyclopes in *Aeneid* 3 are near Etna (3.568–681, where see Horsfall).

exesa: The verb occurs only twice in the epic; cf. 5.785–786 *non media de gente Phrygum exedissee nefandis / urbem odiis satis*; note also *G.* 1.495; 2.214; 4.44; 4.419. Eden follows Servius in arguing that the fires of the forge have eaten out the rocks, rather than that the rocks were eaten out for the purpose of constructing a workshop.

caminis: Cf. 3.579–580 ... *ingentemque super Aetnam / impositam ruptis flammam exspirare caminis*; 6.630–631 ... *Cyclopum educta caminis / moenia conspicio atque adverso fornice portas*. Note also Ovid, *Fast.* 4.473 *antraque Cyclopum positis exusta caminis*; Silius, *Pun.* 5.70–72.

419 *antra Aetnaea tonant, validique incudibus ictus*

antra: Cf. Juvenal, s. 1.8–9 ... *et Aeoliis vicinum rupibus antrum / Vulcani*.

Aetnaea: Cf. 440 below; 3.678 *Aetnaeos fratres* (of the Cyclopes); 5.820 ... *sub axe tonanti*; 7.786 *sustinet Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis* (of the Chimaera);

11.263 ... *Aetnaeos vidit Cyclopas Ulixes* (from Diomedes' account of the *nostoi*). On Etna note F.P. Rizzo in *EV* 11, 407–408; P.A. Johnston in *VE* 1, 34–35; this is the active volcano near which the Cyclopes threatened Aeneas and his Trojans at 3.675–679 during the Achaemenides episode. “Virg. supposes a submarine connexion between Sicily and Hiera” (Conington). The problem of how we have moved from the Aeolian islands to the vicinity of Etna is noted already in Servius, who took the point to be that the noise from the Cyclopean workshop was so great that the sound echoed even from Etna. Some have preferred to take the adjective as meaning that the Aeolian haunts are “like” Etna; cf. Hardie 1986, 106.

Cf. Dante's Capaneus at *Inf.* 14.52–60: *Se Giove stanchi 'l suo fabbro da cui / crucciato prese la folgore aguta / onde l'ultimo di percosso fui; / o s'elli stanchi li altri a muta a muta / in Mongibello a la focina negra, / chiamondo 'Buon Vulcano, aiuta, aiuta!' / sì com' el fece la pugna di Flegra, / e me saetii con tutta sua forza: / non ne potrebbe aver vendetta allegra* (where Mongibello = Etna).

If Cacus represented the misappropriation of the force of fire, Vulcan embodies its civilizing, beneficent uses on behalf of the Olympian order. For the association of fire and the god, cf. the god's storied volcanic haunts. For the monstrous association of Etna and environs with the god's signature tool, cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* 1.13 ff.

tonant: The verb is used at 529 below of the thunder that accompanies the granting of the arms; cf. 3.571 ... *sed horrificis iuxta tonat Aetna ruinis*; 4.510 *ter centum tonat ore deus*; 9.540–541 ... *tum pondere turris / procubuit subito et caelum tonat omne fragore*; 11.383 *proinde tona eloquio*; 12.757 ... *et caelum tonat omne tumultu*. In context there is perhaps a hint of Jovian approval and approbation for the award of the arms.

validique ... ictus: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 3.64 *duritia pellis validos cute reppulit ictus*; Lucan, *BC* 3.678–679 ... *validos dum praebeat ictus / sanguis et, hostilem cum torserit, exeat, hastam*.

incudibus: Also at 451; cf. 7.629–630 *quinque adeo magnae positis incudibus urbes / tela novant*; also *G.* 2.520 and 4.173. The metrical pattern enacts the striking of the hard blows on the anvils. For the noun note M. Antonietta Cervellera in *EV* 11, 937–938, with bibliography.

On the general topic of classical metallurgy see Healy 1978.

“Thus when of old, as mystic bards presume, / Huge Cyclops dwelt in Etna's rocky womb, / On thundering anvils rung their loud alarms, / And leagued with Vulcan forged immortal arms ...” (Erasmus Darwin, *The Botanic Garden*, I, 1.157–160).

420 *auditi referunt gemitus, striduntque cavernis*

auditi: Continuing the emphasis on thunderous sound; the work of the Cyclopes is not visible to mortals, but the noise of their labor is carried far and wide.

referunt: On the verb see B. Zucchelli in *EV* 11, 498.

gemitus: Another significant textual crux. The original Medicean and Palatine reading was *gemitu*, which has been corrected to *gemitus* (the reading in Servius and Danielis); the Romanus has *gemitum* (so also the bulk of the Carolingians and Tib.). *Gemitus* is preferred by Ribbeck; Sabbadini; Mackail; Mynors; Götte; Williams; Geymonat; Eden; Perret; Paratore; Goold; Conte; García et al.; Holzberg's *Tusculum* and Heuzé's *Pléiade*, while the singular *gemitum* is read by de la Cerda; Heinsius; Burman; Heyne; Peerlkamp; Forbiger; Gossrau; Conington; Nettleship; Page. Henry has the singular, *sans commentaire*. The confusion likely arose from the following *striduntque*. The repeated strikes on the anvils may point to the plural. Note, however, that the singular accusative is more common in Virgil than the plural (most of the occurrences in the war books).

striduntque: Cf. 450. The Medicean reads *stridentque*; the Palatine has *triduntque* (so also a corrector of M). There may be an echo here of Homer, *Od.* 9.3901–394, of the comparison of the grisly thrusting of the stake into Polyphemus' eye to the smith's plunging of a tool into cold water so as to harden it, and the hissing of the metal in the process of tempering (see further Heubeck ad loc.). Cf. also Lucretius, *DRN* 6.148–149 *ut calidis candens ferrum e fornacibus olim | stridit, ubi in gelidum propter demersimus imbrem*.

cavernis: The noun also at 2.19; 2.53 *insonuere cavae gemitumque dedere cavernae* (both times of the wooden horse); 3.673–674 ... *penitusque exterrita tellus | Italiae curvisque immugit Aetna cavernis*.

421 *stricturae Chalybum et fornacibus ignis anhelat,*

stricturae: The noun *hapax* in Virgil, and rare in all genres and periods. "The ingots or bars of pig-iron which hiss as they are cooled in the tank" (Fordyce). For a different view, note J.W. Mackail, "Notes on *Aeneid* VIII," in *CR* 32.5/6 (1918), 103–106, 106: he takes the *stricturae* to refer to "the mould of sand into which the molten metal is run ..."

Chalybum: Vid. R.F. Thomas in *VE* 1, 254–255; A. Fo in *EV* 1, 616; Hutchinson on Aeschylus, *Sept.* 728; Harder on Callimachus, *Aet.* fr. 110.48–50 (where Berenice's lock curses the inventors of iron); 446 below. For these storied iron-workers cf. Catullus, c. 66.48 (with Fordyce); *A.* 10.174 (of the island of Ilva/Elba that is rich in the metal of the Chalybes); *G.* 1.58, of the Chalybes who are naked for their work at the forge ("Die Chalyber ... sind ein Volk an der Nordküste

Kleinasiens, wo hochwertiges Erz gefördert wird ...”—Erren ad loc.); Statius, *Theb.* 3.586; 4.174 (with Parkes’ note); Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.611; 5.141; Martial, *ep.* 4.5512. For the localization see Pomponius Mela 1.105–106. Herodotus (1.28, where see Asheri) names the Chalybes among those subdued by Croesus. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 2.1001–1008 notes that they do not plough, tend fruit or pasture sheep; rather they see no dawn without work, consumed as they are in labors metallurgical. “... a half-mythical Homeric people, eventually associated with iron manufacture ... located usually to the East of the river Halys ...” (Asheri).

Lucan likely had this passage in mind at *BC* 6.797–798 *aeternis chalybis nodis et carcere Ditis / constrictae plausere manus.*

fornacibus: Also at 446 below; 7.636 ... *recoquunt patrios fornacibus ensis; G.* 1.472; 4.262.

anhelat: For the verb note 5.254; also 10.837 (of Mezentius). As with the groan(s) of 420, there may be something of a conscious personification of the forge; *anhelare* is commonly used of the panting of a winded person.

422 **Volcani domus et Volcania nomine tellus.**

A powerful line of onomastic glory in the name of the great god of the forge; for the etymological marker for the *tellus* where the workshop is located note O’Hara 2017, 212–213.

domus ... tellus: For the collocation cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 6.357–358; Horace, *c.* 2.14.21–22; Ovid, *Met.* 3.637; 15.717–718; Petronius, *Sat.* 5.1.10–11; Seneca, *HF* 631; Statius, *Theb.* 5.24; *Silv.* 5.3.164; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.399.

Volcania: The modern Vulcano; cf. Pliny, *NH* 3.92.7 ... *septem Aeoliae appellatae, eadem Liparaeorum, Hephaestides a Graecis, a nostris Volcaniae, Aeoliae, quod Aeolus Iliacis temporibus ibi regnavit.* For how Virgil acknowledges the localization of the forge at Volcano from Apollonius, and at Lipari from Callimachus, see Nelis 2001, 343.

nomine tellus: The line-end also at Ovid, *Met.* 13.648; Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 4.109.

423 **hoc tunc ignipotens caelo descendit ab alto.**

hoc: I.e., *huc* (Kühner-Holzweissig I, 1020). Priscian (*GL* III, 64) comments “pronomina quoque pro adverbis ponuntur, ut Virgilius in VIII,” etc.; cf. Servius’ note here and *ad* 1.4 (with reference to this passage). Fordyce observes that *huc* appears 7× times in this book (20; 114; 172; 229; 440; 477; 606); this is the only use of *hoc* for *huc* in Virgil, and it is difficult to see what special force (if any) attends to the conscious (?) archaism (Servius’ “secundum antiquum morem”). Page may be right to note “its use here seems dubious,” though it enjoys strong

manuscript support and the testimony of grammarians. The Palatinus has *huc* here, and so the Wolfenbüttel originally, possibly in an effort to regularize the grammar (conversely, did *hoc* arise because of *caelo/alto*?) Note that Tib. takes the demonstrative to be adjectival with *caelo ... alto*, in the sense of, the god descended from the heaven where everything up to this point had been taking place. Is the unique *hoc* a case of false assimilation with *caelo*? Plautus, *Amphit.* 164 (where vid. Christenson, and Sidgwick) is sometimes cited as a parallel; see Eden's note on the colloquial language of comedy. Goold opts for *huc* in his Loeb; certainly it is common at the start of the verse with this resumptive function.

caelo ... alto: Cf. *E.* 4.7 *iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto*; *G.* 4.227 ... *atque alto succedere caelo*; *A.* 5.542 *quamvis solus avem caelo deiecit ab alto*; 5.727 ... *et caelo tandem miseratus ab alto est*; 7.141 *hic pater omnipotens ter caelo clarus ab alto*; 10.633 ... *caelo se protinus alto*; 12.244–243 *his aliud maius Iuturna adiungit et alto | dat signum caelo*; also Manilius, *Astron.* 1.118 *Et quoniam caelo descendit carmen ab alto*; 4.817 *ut genus in terram caelo descendit ab alto*; Seneca, *Ag.* 850–851 ... *et sagittis nube percussa | Stymphalis alto decidit caelo*. The phrase is echoed at 427 ... *toto ... caelo*. For the use of the preposition with *descendit* cf. on 319 above.

424–438 Vulcan visits his forge, where the Cyclopes Brontes, Steropes, and Pyracmon are already engaged with other projects. The Cyclopes are the first image on the cloak of Jason (Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.730–734, on which see Nelis 2001, 343 ff.).

424 *ferrum exercebant vasto Cyclopes in antro,*

ferrum exercebant: “Oeconomia” (Danielis). “The English make a similar use of this verb *to work*” (Henry). The imperfect vividly depicts the busy atmosphere of the god's forge; his workmen are imagined almost as if they were running a twenty-four hour ironworks. “... invenit Cyclopes in aliis operibus occupatos, quae res futuris rebus addidit gratiam ...” (Tib).

vasto ... in antro: Cf. 1.52 (of Aeolus' cave); 3.431 (of the dwelling place of Scylla); 8.217 (of Cacus' lair). Here the adjective refers most particularly to the vast size of the giants who are employed in the service of the fire god.

For the appeal of this passage to Edmund Burke in his reflections on the sublime and the beautiful, see Gransden's note *ad* 424–453 (“... the energy and clashing sonorities of v.'s lines are unrivalled ... The passage begins grandly with a massive spondaic line”).

425 **Brontesque Steropesque et nudus membra Pyragmon.**

See Eden here for the archaic Greek metrical pattern; also Tarrant on 12.89. The monstrous Cyclopes are dutifully laboring in the service of the immortals; the interlude of Venus' cajoling of Vulcan has led to a scene where even the war chariot of the dread god Mars will have to wait (433–434). On this see further Fratantuono 2007, 245. The verse proceeds in reverse order of nature: thunder; lightning; fire; anvil. For the etymological implications note O'Hara 2017, 213.

Brontes Steropesque: For these children of Gaea and Uranus, see Roscher 1.1, 830; IV, 1504; Gantz 1993, 10: "... like to the gods in all things save for the single round eye in their foreheads." "Thunder" and "Lightning." Cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 140; fr. 54(a).2 Merkelbach-West (= 58 Most); Callimachus, *Hymn. Art.* 68, 75. West notes the onomastic reflection on the nature of thunder: what you hear (Brontes), what you see (Steropes): "... because there are ... separate words ... the unsophisticated mind thinks of ... separate things." Note also Ovid, *Fast.* 4.288 *Brontes et Steropes*; Statius, *Silv.* 3.1.131 *cum Brontes Steropesque ferit*; *Silv.* 4.6.48 *nec stolidus Brontes*. Sterope was the name of a Pleiad (so at Ovid, *Trist.* 1.11.14 *saepe minax Steropes sidere pontus erat*). For how the names of these Cyclopes fulfill the anticipation of 419 *Aetnaea tonant*, see Paschalis 1997, 293 (with connection between the work here on Jupiter's lightning and the seductive charms of the goddess that served to enslave Vulcan).

nudus membra: For the adjective see Fratantuono and Smith on 5.871. A Cyclops whose name refers to fire cannot be expected to wear clothing (though here the detail probably refers to all the Cyclopes; "For why should one be naked and not all"—Henry). "As foundrymen have always been (within the current limits of convention)"—Fordyce. "As puddlers and the like must always be" (Page). The Chalybes of *G.* 1.58 are likewise *nudi*. On Virgilian representations of nudity see especially Heuzé 1985, 323 ff. Gillis 1983, 139–142 sees erotic imagery throughout the scene of the naked Cyclopes at the forge, with reference to the sexual act and a phallic Vulcan; it is conceivable that any sexual action that the god had expected from his wife's seductive appeal has been transferred to the scene of the slavish labor on her behalf. Hephaestus, in contrast, dresses himself in a tunic at *Il.* 18.416. *Membra* = Greek accusative; see further Eden on 29 *turbatus pectora*; cf. Antoine 1882, 60–61.

Pyragmon: See here R. Arena in *EV* IV, 116; Roscher III.2, 3335. "Fire-Anvil." For the connection of the name not only to fire, but also with the notion of unwearied effort, see Paschalis 1997, 293–294. This Cyclops appears first here in extant literature, and Virgil's successors duly took up the name in turn: cf. Ovid, *Met.* 12.460; Statius, *Theb.* 2.599; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.583; Claudian, *Rapt.* 1.240; *III Cons. Hon.* 195; Sidonius Apollinaris, c. 11.16. "Perhaps borrowed from a lost

source" (O'Hara 2017, 213). The orthography varies in the manuscripts; P and R read *Pyragmon* (cf. also Servius), while M has *Pyragmo* (we owe *Pyracmon* to Terentianus Maurus; Tib. reads *Pyragmon*). The same manuscript authority for *Pyragmon* can be found, e.g., at *Arg.* 1.583 (cited above; see further Spaltenstein, and Zissos ad loc.; Gruzelier, and Hall, on Claudian, *Rapt* 1.240). Does the name signify the idea that something has been broken or fractured by fire? We might note that Servius has no problem with the spelling *Pyragmon* and the derivation of the name from *acmon* for "anvil." Homer (*Il.* 18.475–476) describes how Hephaestus set an anvil on an anvil block. Cf. also the Acmon of *A.* 10.128.

Mynors prints *Pyragmon* here, in deference to the manuscript tradition and ancient commentaries (*fortasse recte*). Note also the Lynesian Acmon of 10.128 (with Harrison's note). For the mysterious appellation of Uranus as Akmonides or "son of Akmon" see Gantz 1993, 12, with reference to Simias' *Pteruges*, where Eros succeeds Akmon as lord of the world.

426 *his informatum manibus iam parte polita*

his ... manibus: Cf. 4.680 *his etiam struxi manibus* (of Dido).

informatum: Cf. 447 *informant* below; 428 *imperfecta*. Here the participle coordinates closely with *polita*, with effective contrast. The unformed bolt is literally enclosed by the hands of the Cyclopes. The image of the unfinished work, with part already "polished," may well echo the language of rhetoric and oratory.

polita: Echoed at 436 *polibant*. "The polish of course is meant to refer to the brightness of the thunderbolt" (Conington). See also Eden on *polibant*; "here perhaps 'burnished.'" The "polished part" contrasts with the *pars imperfecta* of 428.

Jason's cloak at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.721 ff. has first a depiction of the Cyclopes as they toil on a thunderbolt for Zeus; it was almost finished in all its bright array, except for a single ray that the Cyclopes were still forging (a key theme of the description of the cloak is the unfinished nature of certain of the subjects). See further Hügi 1952, 70; Nelis 2001, 344–345.

427 *fulmen erat, toto genitor quae plurima caelo*

fulmen: For the particular association of the thunderbolt with Jupiter note 1.230 ... *et fulmine terras* (Venus to Jupiter); 2.648–649; 3.578–579; 4.25; 4.208; 5.691; 6.581; 7.773; 10.567; 12.200. For a good example of Virgil's delight in mixed associations, note the Jovian (?) *fulmina* associated with Turnus at 9.731–733 (with Hardie ad loc., who compares 12.654 *fulminat Aeneas armis*). The opening words of the verse commence the descriptions of the three divine works that are to be deferred: projects for Jupiter, Mars, and Pallas. All of this comes at the

behest of Vulcan, who is working as an agent of Venus; we shall explore below the possible divine ramifications of the change in project order. Seven verses are devoted to the thunderbolt; two to Mars' chariot; four to Pallas' aegis.

toto ... caelo: Cf. Vulcan's descent ... *caelo ... ab alto* at 423; *G.* 1.474–475 *armorum sonitum toto Germania caelo | audit*; *A.* 12.283–284 ... *it toto turbida caelo | tempestas telorum ac ferreus ingruit imber*; Propertius, *c.* 2.16.49–50 *vidisti toto sonitus percurrere caelo, | fulminaque aetheria desiluisse domo*; Ovid, *Am.* 1.8.9; 3.3.41; *Ars* 2.561; *Met.* 1.71; 4.189; 15.779; *Fast.* 6.67; Manilius, *Astron.* 2.397; 5.9; 5.26. *Toto* emphasizes the extent of the sky god's power; it coordinates closely with *plurima*. Servius notes here that the *physici* say that there are sixteen separate regions of the heaven from which lightning may be hurled; see further Eden's note on the Etruscan origin of the lore.

quae plurima: For the idiom from both Homer and prose, see Fordyce. With the "false agreement" of *quae* after *fulmen* cf. Cicero, *Pro Milone* 9 (*tempus ... quae*).

genitor: For the noun see Newman and Newman 2005, 48–49. The miniature catalogue of divine works that will have to be deferred commences with Jovian lightning; if the supreme god must suffer a delay in his work order, so must the lesser immortals.

plurima caeli: Perhaps in imitation of Lucretius, *DRN* 6.375–376 *nec mirumst, in eo si tempore plurima fiunt | fulmina tempestasque cietur turbida caelo*; the line-end occurs also at 7.269–270 ... *non plurima caelo | monstra sinunt ...*

428 **deicit in terras, pars imperfecta manebat.**

deicit: For the verb cf. 226 *deiecit*. The language may imitate Lucretius, *DRN* 5.1125–1126 *et tamen e summo, quasi fulmen, deicit ictos | invidia inter dum contemptim in Tartara taetra*; note *G.* 1.332–333 *aut Atho aut Rhodopen aut alta Cerunia telo | deicit*; the battle scenes of 10.752–753 and 11.641–642. The emphasis in the description of the bolt is on the god's use of the weapon in punishment and retribution; the delay in the completion of the Jovian thunder implies a reprieve for hapless mortals.

imperfecta: Balanced with 426 *informatum*; this unfinished part stands in contrast to the *pars polita* described there. *Imperfectus* occurs only here in Virgil (cf. *Ps.-V.*, *Ciris* 492; Germanicus, *Arat.* 636; Statius, *Theb.* 5.614; 10.151; 734; 11.582; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.689; Silius, *Pun.* 11.306; 15.437; 16.42). Ovid may have had the image of the unfinished lightning in mind for his account of imperfect creations at *Met.* 1.427–429. The unfinished Jovian thunderbolt will only be completed at Statius, *Theb.* 2.278–279 ... *Siculaque incude relictos | fulminis extremi cineres*, where Vulcan works with the Cyclopes on Harmonia's necklace, with reference to the present passage; on the brilliant Statian inter-

text see McNelis 2007, 54. Here the verb has a literal sense of unfinished, as opposed to a mere sketching out or blueprint for construction plans.

429 *tris imbris torti radios, tris nubis aquosae*

The commencement of a dramatic description of the work that had been finished on the Jovian thunderbolt. There were twelve *radii*; in powerful threefold repetition of *tris*, Virgil notes that there were three rays of *imber*; three of *nubes*; and three of *ignis*. There were also three of the winged *Auster*, for a total of three times four = twelve; the use of *tris* three times is solely for artistic purposes. The emphasis on “three” reflects the work of three Cyclopes.

imbris torti: Servius defines this phrase as *grando* or hail (followed by de la Cerda, and Ruaeus), and argues that lightning can occur at any time of year, so that Virgil notes the division of the seasons (winter, spring, summer and fall in sequence, with three months allotted to each). (“Various fancies”—Conington). And so Gould’s Loeb refers to “twisted hail” (unchanged from Fairclough). Eden suggests “pelting shower,” with reference to *torquere* in the sense of “to hurl”; cf. Gould and Whiteley’s “driving rain.” Fordyce offers “rain discharged as a missile,” noting that hail is “no doubt” on Virgil’s mind, with rejection, though, of Servius’ gloss of *torti* as “constricti et coacti in grandinem.” Gransden has “flung-down rain”; Conington defends “hail” by arguing that there must be a clear distinction between the *imber* and the *nubes* (Page, Papillon and Haigh, and Williams also favor hail, with Page noting that *torti* probably refers to the hurling of the hail). “Drei Stahlen für Hagel” (Holzberg’s *Tusculum*); “trois rayons de pluie torsadée” (Heuzé’s *Pléiade*). Perret’s Budé has “trois rayons de cette pluie qu’il brandit comme une arme.” Henry regrettably *silet*; Sidgwick translates “writhen storm”; he takes the image to be inspired by the visual arts, i.e., of a “sculptured Zeus.”

Tortus can mean “crooked or bent, coiled or twisted.” Conceivably the *imber tortus* could be rainfall driven by the wind that comes on horizontally (in contrast to the torrential downpours from a *nubes aquosa*). Sidgwick is correct that this is an “obscure” way of referring to hail, and we may well wonder how much of the *grando* interpretation depends on Servius’ note.

radios: Cf. 195; also 623; 7.141–143 *hic pater omnipotens ter caelo clarus ab alto | intonuit, radiisque ardentem lucis et auro | ipse manu quatiens ostendit ab aethere nubem*. The thunderbolt is depicted as if it were “a sort of bundle of darts” (Papillon and Haigh).

aquosae: So of Orion at 4.52; cf. 9.670–671 ... *cum Iuppiter horridus Austris | torquet aquosam hiemem et caelo cava nubila rumpit*, a passage that owes something to the present description of the unfinished thunderbolt. Of Pisces at G. 4.234; of *hiems* also at E. 10.66.

For *nubis aquosae* note also Ovid, *Met.* 4.622; Silius, *Pun.* 2.217. The genitive is appositive or epexegetical; see further Antoine 1882, 76 ff.

430 **addiderant, rutuli tris ignis et alitis Austri.**

addiderant: Pluperfect, in contrast with 432 *miscebant*. The Cyclopes had added the rays to the bolt before they were interrupted by their master; they were in the process of mixing in the various elements of flash and sound, etc.

rutuli: Vid. here Edgeworth 1992, 160–161. A textual crux of some significance. The Medicean and Palatine read *rutuli*; also the Wolfenbüttel; M and the Wolf, however, have corrections to *rutili*. *Rutuli* is preferred by Heinsius; Burman; Mackail; Mynors; Perret; Binder and Binder's Reclam; Conte; Holzberg's Tusculum and Heuzé's Pléiade; while *rutili* is favored by Edgeworth; Sabbadini; Geymonat; Gransden; Paratore; Goold's Loeb; García et al. No note in Fordyce or Eden. Cf. *G.* 1.454; 4.93. *OLD* has *rutilus* with a note that the spelling is *rutulus* at A. 8.430.

The key parallel to the present color description is 11.487–488 *iamque adeo rutilum thoraca indutus aënis | horrebat squamis*, of Turnus' breastplate; there M, P, and the bulk of the Carolingians read *Rutulum*, as if the armor were "Rutulian" and not red (see further Horsfall, and Fratantuono ad loc.)—unless the reading is to be interpreted as *rutulum*, i.e., the same chromatic orthography problem as might be found here. At 622 below, Aeneas' *lorica* is described as *sanguinea* or "bloody." If *rutilus* is the correct spelling in both places, then the point may be that Turnus' *thorax* is merely red, while Aeneas' divinely forged *lorica* is bloody ("Does the difference in adjectives reflect anything of Virgil's attitude toward his two characters?", asks Edgeworth). Or, just possibly, we are meant to think of Turnus' Rutulians in both places—certainly of Turnus in the context of his own armor, but also here, in the Jovian project that is temporarily put aside (cf. the Jovian lightning bolt image associated with Turnus at 9.731–733 *continuo nova lux oculis effulsit et arma | horrendum sonuere, tremunt in vertice cristae | sanguineae clipeoque micantia fulmina mittit*), where blood is also associated with Turnus, alongside a reference to Jupiter's weapon—almost as if Turnus in the Trojan camp were wielding/appropriating the *fulmen* of the god left unfinished here.

Further, we may compare the red imagery that accompanies the manifestation of the arms in a cloud at 8.529 *rutilare*; for the ambiguity of the chromatic marker there, see Edgeworth 1992, 31. Red is thus of mixed associations in Virgil; if we limit consideration to the related words *rutilare* and *rutulus/rutilis*, we find the fire of Jupiter's unfinished bolt; the breastplate of Turnus; and the arms of Aeneas. As we shall explore below, this last chromatic reference may foreshadow the death of Pallas. Note also Tibullus, c. 2.5.47 *Ecce mihi lucent*

Rutulis incendia castris, where there may be a deliberate play on the fires in the Rutulian camp and the color red; see further Murgatroyd ad loc.; also Maltby. There may be no ancient evidence of a connection between “Rutulian” and the color adjective, but a circumstantial case can be built (cf. Turnus’ fiery anger at 9.65–66; the juxtaposition of blood and Rutulian at 7.318; 11.88; 12.40). See further on 622 *sanguineam*.

Austri: For the south wind in Virgil see M. Labate in *EV* V, 497: “... di tempesta, umido, piovoso, malsano, rovisino, un flagello soprattutto per i naviganti.” Rarely of a favorable wind for sailors (note 5.764, e.g.). If the *imber* and the *nubes* were watery, so too is the *Auster*. See further D. Mark Possanza in *VE* III, 1386–1390.

On the point that the shield that will be forged in the same place where the elemental forces of nature are worked, see Hardie 1986, 106–107; also 186–187 on the “move towards a more scientific view of things.”

431 *fulgores nunc terrificos sonitumque metumque*

fulgores: The noun elsewhere in Virgil only at 5.88 ... *fulgor* (in the description of the Anchises serpent); 11.70 (in the cut flower to which the dead Pallas is compared); and 524 below, of the radiant brightness or flash of flame that heralds the bestowal of the shield (cf. *OLD* s.v. 1, of brilliance and radiance, 2, of fire, and 3, of lightning—the categories overlap). The Cyclopes were mixing in the *fulgore* and other elements of the thunderbolt when they were given new rush orders; the *fulgor* of 524 must come before Jupiter’s *fulgores* may be finished.

terrificos: The adjective also of the *vates* referenced in the wake of the archery contest portent (5.524); also at 12.104, of the bellowing of the bulls to which Aeneas and Turnus are compared. Lucretian (*DRN* 2.632; 5.1315; 6.388); more common in Statius and Valerius than in Ovid and Lucan. The Romanus has *horrificos* here (cf. 3.571 ... *sed horrificis iuxta tonat Aetna ruinis*); so also several later witnesses.

sonitumque: In balance with the visual element of the *fulgores*. Roiron 1908, 185–186 compares Lucretius, *DRN* 6.388 *terrifico quatiunt sonitu caelestia templa* (“où il s’agit également *du tonnerre*”); also *DRN* 1.723–726, with catalogue of the many Virgilian parallels for the description of Jovian lightning.

metumque: Perhaps to be compared with the Fear that figures on the aegis of Zeus at *Il.* 5.739–740 (and compare Strife with the *irae* of 432); verses 431–432 end on notes of Jovian terror and rage. *Metum* reinforces and strengthens *terrificos*. For the association of sound and fear cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 2.48–49 *re veraque metus hominum curaeque sequaces | nec metuunt sonitus armorum nec fera tela* (a passage that may have been on Virgil’s mind here; Lucretius’ “following cares” corresponds to the flames that follow anger at 432).

A descriptive *tour de force*, as the unfinished work is described both in terms of its elemental power, and the emotions it engenders in those who (at least for a time) will not experience its dread and fatal power. See Gransden here for the sound effects of 431–438, especially the striking repetition of *q* sounds, with *-que* occurring nine times: “The noise and urgency of the scene are vividly conveyed.”

432 *miscabant operi flammisque sequacibus iras.*

miscabant: Imperfect, of the action that was going on when Vulcan arrived; cf. the pluperfect *addiderant* (430). The orderly description of the different rays that had been added to the bolt is followed by a more general reference to what the Cyclopes were fashioning for the *fulmen* when they were interrupted.

operi: For the dative see Antoine 1882, 130, who notes that this is the only certain use of the dative with the verb in Virgil: “ceteris in locis incerta constructio.” Cf. 1.440; 483; 3.557; 5.791; 7.661.

flammisque: Following on the ruddy fire of 430; three elements of the description of the bolt emphasize water, and three are associated with flash and fire.

sequacibus: The form elsewhere in Virgil only at 5.193, of waves (where see Fratantuono and Smith on the hunting metaphor); the adjective also at 10.365 (of a fleeing Latin); *G.* 2.374 (of *caprae*); 4.230 (of smoke). The flames are literally seen to follow or accompany the anger. “The wrath of Jupiter pursuing guilty victims” (Eden). “Persecutricibus” (Servius); Conington discusses the possibility that *flammis sequacibus* is dative (in coordination with *operi*), but Sidgwick (who prefers to construe as descriptive ablative) does well to note that this might well “spoil both meaning and force.” Virgil has carefully arranged the elements of the bolt with which the Cyclopes were engaged: there was flash and sound, and also dread and anger; the *metus* follows on the sight and hearing of the *fulgores* and the *sonitus*, while *irae* refers to why Jupiter wanted to hurl a thunderbolt in the first place.

iras: For the plural see Fordyce on 7.445. For the association of flames and anger cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 1.722 ff. *hic est vasta Charybdis et hic Aetnaea minantur / murmura flammaram rursum se colligere iras*, etc.; Manilius, *Astron.* 5.226–227 ... *viresque ministrat / Bacchus et in flammam saevas exsuscitat iras.*

433 *parte alia Marti currumque rotasque volucris*

parte alia: Cf. 1.474 (in the description of the pictures in Dido’s temples); 682 below (on the shield); 9.521; 12.346.

Marti: On the Roman war god note E. Montanari in *EV* III, 391–394; A. Rossi in *VE* II, 793–794; Bailey 1935, 109–117; L. Fratantuono, “*Saevit Medio in Cer-*

tamine: Mars in the *Aeneid*,” in *Arctos* 48 (2014), 137–163; cf. Preller/Robert 1, 335–345. The Cyclopes may put aside their work on the chariot of Mars, but the god is referenced several times in the ensuing scenes: cf. 495; 515–516; 556–557, the last, fittingly enough, with the observation *et maior Martis apparet imago*. All of this serves to herald the climactic depiction of Mars on the shield, where he appears as part of the divine machinery of Actium (675–677; 700–701). Mars was a member of the so-called Archaic Triad (so also Jupiter); Minerva and Jupiter figured with Juno in the Capitoline Triad (vid. here Bailey 1935, 132–133). Danielis notes that the chariot of Mars was being discreetly worked on while Vulcan was away from the shop. For the *dativus commodi* see Antoine 1882, 100–102.

Turnus is compared to a wolf of Mars that steals a lamb at 9.563–566; at 12.331–336, the Rutulian is explicitly associated with the war god—the only hero in the epic who is compared to the martial deity (see Tarrant ad loc. for the more common Homeric practice whereby various heroes are said to be like Ares).

currumque: For divine chariots see J.M. Morgan in *VE* 1, 257–258. Mars’ chariot horses are referenced at *G.* 3.91 *Martis equi biuuges et magni currus Achilli* (cf. 12.333). The omission of the enclitic *-que* in some witnesses is due to lack of understanding of its epexegetical use.

rotasque volucris: As would befit a god who rides in the manner of a Homeric hero; cf. the vivid image of 11.195 ... *ferventisque rotas* (at the funeral pyres).

434 **instabant, quibus ille viros, quibus excitat urbes;**

instabant: “Nova elocutio” (Danielis): the verb is usually construed with the dative, not the accusative; see further Antoine 1882, 46. The commentators compare the only extant parallel, from Novius’ *Atell.* fr. 61 Ribbeck *instat mercaturam, spero, rem faciet: frugi est homo* (where the text is in doubt). Eden notes that there was already a dative *Marti*.

viros ... urbes: The same collocation in a different sense at Ovid, *Met.* 2.15.

excitat: Cf. 2.594 *nate, quis indomitus tantus dolor excitat iras?* (Venus to Aeneas); 2.728; 3.343 (echoed at 12.440); 542–543 below; 9.221; 12.445. In the present context, the interruption of work on Mars’ chariot may be connected to the drama of the Latin war; there needs to be a respite from strife for Aeneas to be able receive the divine shield in a state of relative calm (in Book 9, however, note that the emphasis of the narrative is on the absence of the Trojan hero and the vulnerability of his men, not least his son Ascanius). The unfinished chariot referenced here will be ready by the time Turnus is compared to Mars in his war car at 12.331–336; cf. the similar case of the lightning-like flashes from his helmet at 9.731–733.

The same line-end occurs at Manilius, *Astron.* 1.243 *illic orta dies sopitas excitat urbes*.

435 aegidaque horriferam, turbatae Palladis arma,

aegida: For the aegis cf. 354 above. Pallas' aegis recalls 2.615–616 *iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas | insedit nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva*, where the goddess was dramatically depicted in the divine ruin of Troy (cf. Saunders 1930, 104–105); Gorgon imagery in Virgil is associated with the defeats of both Troy and the forces of Antony and Cleopatra (and cf. 6.289, of the monsters at the doorway of Dis). But perhaps the most interesting Gorgon intratext is 7.341 *Exim Gorgoneis Allecto infecta venenis*; the Fury Allecto is also described in terms of the Gorgon, thus drawing a connection between Minerva and the underworld demon (who also has strong affinities with Camilla). The Trojan landing at *Castrum Minervae* (3.530–531) was the locus of the portent of the four snow-white horses that was interpreted by Anchises as heralding war in Italy (3.537–538); Aeneas and his men reverence the goddess of the sounding arms: ... *tum numina sancta precamur | Palladis armisonae ...* (3.543–544). Servius notes the difference between the divine use of the aegis and the mortal employment of the *lorica* (as at Martial, *ep.* 7.1.4–5 *Dum vacat, haec, Caesar, poterit lorica vocari: | Pectore cum sacro sederit, aegis erit*).

horriferam: The archaic (Pacuvius; Accius) compound only here in Virgil; cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 3.1012 *Tartarus horriferos eructans faucibus aestus!*; 5.218 *praeterea genus horriferum natura ferarum*; 5.996 *palmas horriferis accibant vocibus Orcum*; Germanicus, *Arat.* 23; Ovid, *Met.* 1.65; 725; 15.471; Seneca, *Phaed.* 934; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.306; 517. There is some slight evidence for *horrificam* here, an adjective found elsewhere three times in the epic.

turbatae: For the verb vid. R. Strati in *EV* V, 320–321; Fordyce's note here. Servius notes that some critics argued that the goddess had lost her *arma* in the gigantomachy, and that here they were being replaced; in the context of the epic, the last time Pallas Athena was involved in war was on the night Troy fell; her weapons must be repaired in time for the glorious vision of the future battle of Actium. Henry has a long note that argues the point that the aegis was a Palladian weapon of last resort, as it were, for special cases where the goddess was especially distressed.

Palladis: For the goddess Pallas/Minerva/Athena see on 409; in a relatively short compass of lines we have moved from a depiction of Minerva in her domestic capacity to the goddess as mistress of battle. Like Mars, she will return in the potrait of Actium on Aeneas' shield (8.699–700). The appearances of the goddess in Book 8 combine the two spheres of her influence; Vulcan crafted the shield at the hour when women see to the works of the loom, and Minerva

fought the animal gods of Egypt on the divine shield. The doomed Camilla represents an incomplete Minerva, a girl who will not have a place in the domestic sphere of the future Rome; the goddess herself, in contrast, is complete and integral, a defender of the sanctity of both home and country.

436 *certatim squamis serpentum auroque polibant*

certatim: See on 179 above. The Cyclopes work as a team, and simultaneously in competition with each other.

squamis serpentum auroque: Reminiscent of 5.87–88 ... *et auro / squamam incendebat fulgor*; cf. the wounded snake at 11.754; also the *squamea terga* of the Laocoön serpents at 2.218–219. The serpentine scales of the aegis are wrought from gold (hendiadys); cf. 9.707 (with Hardie). The ablatives are very much in the Virgilian style: instrumental or modal (so Conington), since the polishing of the scales would contribute to the splendor of the entire work; perhaps of “part concerned” (Roby 1210); of respect or description. These snakes remind us of those that killed Neptune’s priest (on this see Henry 1989, 97–100, with detailed consideration of the serpentine associations of the goddess; cf. 289 above, of the Junonian serpents sent to kill the infant Hercules); also of the snakes of the (Gorgonian) Fury Allecto. For the goddess’ protective Gorgon head note Euripides, *Erechtheus* fr. 351; 360.46 Collard-Cropp. On the great anger of Pallas and Jupiter in this scene, note Henry 1989, 176.

For Virgilian serpents see Fratantuono and Smith on 5.84. The present picture is complicated by the question of the relationship between the snakes of this verse and those of 437; in one sense the poet has enacted the intertwined nature of the herpetological horrors of the aegis; for a valiant attempt to disentangle the serpents, see Hahn 1930, 238–242. “It is difficult to say whether these scales are the same as those of the serpents mentioned in the next line, or not” (Conington).

polibant: Cf. 426 ... *iam parte polita*. For both the form and the meaning see Eden (who notes that *poliebant* would work in a hexameter, though with difficulty); Servius on 6.468 *lenibat* (with citation of this passage); Leumann I, 578. Some critics take the point to be that the Cyclopes were adorning the aegis with scales (see here Henry’s long note), though this leaves the construction of 436 rather abrupt. As we shall see with the shield, the wondrous nature of the work of divine craftsmanship is exhibited in the vivid, living quality of the art: the aegis of gold seems to be alive.

437 *conexosque anguis ipsamque in pectore divae*

conexosque: The verb occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at *G.* 4.257 (of the bees). The metrical pattern enacts the tightly intertwined relationship of the *anguis*.

ipsamque: The intensive announces the “central figure” (Fordyce), the Gorgon Medusa. Sidgwick associates *ipsam* with the “extreme horror” of the monster.

pectore divae: Cf. Silius, *Pun.* 5.222–223 *stridit Tartareae nigro sub pectore divae / letiferum murmur* (of Bellona). For the location of the aegis note also Ovid, *Met.* 2.754–755 *ut pariter pectus positamque in pectore forti / aegida concuteret*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.88–89 ... *aegisono quam nec fera pectore virgo / dispulerit*. “An ambiguous degree of realism, which exploits the lack of clarity over what Athena’s *gorgoneion* actually was” (Lowe 2015, 104).

438 Gorgona desecto vertentem lumina collo.

Gorgona: Vid. E. Pellizer in *EV* 11, 784–786 (with striking illustrations); H. Westervelt in *VE* 11, 569; West on Hesiod, *Theog.* 274–281; Murgatroyd 2007, 105 ff.; Lowe 2015, 96 ff. (especially 102–105). Danielis on 6.289 prints four verses on the Gorgons that some say were removed by Virgil’s *emendatores* (“These verses are ... impugned by the very evidence for their existence and by the company they keep”—Horsfall ad loc.; note also Y. Gomez Gane, “Virgilio *Aen.* 6, 289a–d: struttura, composizione, autenticità,” in *MD* 63 [2009], 175–190). On certain aspects of Gorgon imagery in the epic, see Panoussi 2009, 111–112. Propertius’ Cynthia is compared to Juno and to Pallas with her Gorgon avatar (c. 2.2.7–8).

desecto: Only here in Virgil, unless we are to read it at 9.770 (with the uncorrected Guelf.; note R *deiecto* here, and the same confusion of verbs in 9); cf. Propertius, c. 4.10.37–38 ... *desecta Tolumni / cervix Romanos sanguine lavit equos*; Lucan, *BC* 4.634–635 ... *in undis / desectam timuit reparatis anguibus hydram*.

vertentem lumina: With the vivid depiction of the severed head of Medusa Eden notes the eerie automatons of Hephaestus at *Il.* 18.417–418. Servius notes that the point could be that she turns away the eyes of those who would look at her, or that she petrifies the eyes of those who do not avert their gaze; all of these ideas may have been present in the poet’s mind, though the most dramatic is the image of the rolling of the eyes in the monster’s severed head: the Gorgon’s snakes and visage are “alive,” in contrast to the victims she turns to stone. For the aversion of the eyes from their own neck, see Lowe 2015, 104n180. Henry (a medical doctor, we might remember) argues that the Medusa head retains the “scowl” of the monster, even in death, or (“aliter”) that the point is that the eyes were turned up so as to show only the whites: “A friend of mine, who once saw a man guillotined, assured me the eyeballs turned up in this manner.”

Tib. sees the entire preceding passage as a comment on the “Aeneae meritum,” given that the works of such powerful deities will be put aside to make way for the shield. At 11.483–485, the Latin women will supplicate Minerva in

the wake of the Trojan attack on Latinus' capital; the answer they will receive to their prayer is Camilla. All of the deities whose work was deferred will in some sense return in the narrative of the war: consider Turnus' appropriation of Jupiter's *fulmina* in 9; then the appearance of the Minervan Camilla in 11; and finally the comparison of Turnus to Mars in 12. For the connection between Venus' gift of the shield and Minerva's of the fateful horse, see Putnam 1998, 179 (and note the equestrian nature of the *Camilliad*, where the cavalry battle is a feint to deflect attention from Aeneas' infantry surprise; also the connections between the second and second to last book of the epic).

439–453 Vulcan interrupts the aforementioned work of the Cyclopes, and orders them to commence labors on the arms of Aeneas.

439 'tollite cuncta' inquit 'coeptosque auferte labores,

tollite ... auferte: Vulcan's instructions to his Cyclopean workmen were copied by Pliny at the start of his letter to Voconius Romanus (*Ep.* 6.33), where he continues with *Seu scribis aliquid seu legis, tolli auferri iube et accipe orationem meam ut illa arma divinam (nam superbius potui?), re vera ut inter meas pulchram; nam mihi certare mecum*—a marvelous comparison of the epistolographer's achievement with the arms of Aeneas. For the connection between Vulcan's imperatives here and the simile of the housewife and her maidservants, see Hornsby 1970, 14–15: "The words of the passage acquire a metaphorical significance ..." *Tollite* will be echoed at 452, in a rather different sense.

cuncta: "Quite all," we might say; the Cyclopes are to clear the anvils and work areas of every other project.

coeptos: For the participial form see on 15.

auferte: Cf. 12.315–316 ... *mihi ius concurrere soli; | me sinite atque auferte metus*.

labores: Note here Wiltshire 1989, 131–134; cf. 444–445 below; Bruck 1993, 114.

440 Aetnaei Cyclopes, et huc advertite mentem:

Aetnaei: For the adjective see on 419. The Cyclopes are not at Etna, but the appellation is suitable enough for the volcanic craftsmen; for the association of the giant workers with Aetna, see Thomas *ad G.* 1.471–473 and 4.173; Seaford on Euripides, *Cycl.* 20. For a sensitive reading of the possible associations of Etna, the Cyclopes, and the fatal passion of Dido for Aeneas, see Newman and Newman 2005, 23–24, 60 (with note of the borrowing of Dido's curses at 4.612–620 from the Cyclops of Homer, *Od.* 9.528–535: "This links the passion of *Aeneid* IV with the end of I11"). Here, the passionate force of the Cyclopes is redirected in the wake of Venus' seduction of Vulcan.

advertite mentem: Cf. on 50 above; also 5.304 *accipite haec animis laetasque advertite mentes*; Ovid, *Ars* 1.267 *Quisquis ubique, viri, dociles advertite mentes*; *Ibis*. 69 *Huc, precor, huc vestras omnes advertite mentes*; Silius, *Pun.* 4.821 *huc laetos vultus totasque advertite mentes*; 5.426 *nec spoliare vacat praedaeque advertere mentem*; Seneca, *Phoen.* 131 *advertite mentem*.

441 arma acri facienda viro. nunc viribus usus,

arma ... viro: This is the title of a seventeenth-century engraving of Johann Friedrich Greuter (after a work by the early Baroque painter Giovanni Lanfranco); cf. the inscription added to a print of the same century by Giovanni Pietro Possenti in the British Museum; a 1688 Nuremberg children's picture book edition of the epic (the *Peplus virtutum Romanarum in Aenea Virgiliano ...*), with illustration of Vulcan and his three laborers, other workers, and even Putti preparing refreshments (Suerbaum 2008, 37). There may well be an echo of the opening verse of the poem.

acri ... viro: Cf. 12.938–939 ... *stetit acer in armis / Aeneas*; the Trojan hero recalls that Evander warned him that he was setting out to fight against *acris viros* (11.48). The interlocking word order powerfully associates arms and the man; also the metrical pattern of the line's opening. Tib. notes that the god makes no mention of his wife, or of his stepson, either by name or with reference to any specific circumstance or need.

nunc: The opening of a tricolon of urgency.

viribus usus: The same line-end at Ovid, *Met.* 7.440; 13.657; Manilius, *Astron.* 5.503. There is probably a deliberate play on words with *viro* (balancing *arma acri*). For the nominal use of *usus* see Eden's long note ("... it has all the air of a deliberate archaic revival"); cf. Plautus, *Most.* 250; also *Amphit.* 169 and 505 (with Christenson's notes). There is no true parallel in Virgil; at Livy 30.41.8 ... *quibus consuli usus non esset*, the context is the report of senatorial orders. For the impersonal use of *usus est* and *opus est* with the ablative (on the analogy of *utor*), see Pinkster 2015, 115–116; also 622 on taking these expressions as "imperative argument clauses" (cf. Kühner-Holzweissig I, 236–237); cf. Antoine 1882, 181–182. "... expression archaïque et familière, qui a le sens de *opus est*" (Lejay).

442 nunc manibus rapidis, omni nunc arte magistra,

Seneca quotes this passage (*Ep.* 95.33.1), as part of a discussion about scolding those who indulged excessively in sensual pleasures.

rapidis: For the Virgilian uses of the adjective vid. C. Milani in *EV* IV, 401; here it contributes to the hurried atmosphere (especially in conjunction with the anaphora of *nunc*).

arte magistra: The passage is echoed at 12.427–428 *non haec humanis opibus, non arte magistra / proveniunt*, where Iapyx comments on Aeneas' arrow wound (an injury that Venus will in the end heal; cf. the *ars* for war in contrast to the *ars* for peace). The *ars magistra* is that of Vulcan; the feminine adjective with *ars* does permit for a subtle reminder that the fire god has been emasculated by his wife. Cf. also 401 *quidquid in arte mea possum promittere curae* (Vulcan to Venus). There is need of strength (*viribus*) and skill (*arte*); the rapid hands that are placed between are the instruments by which both essential elements of the process will be executed. *Ars* coincidentally also at 5.442, in the boxing match; for a striking association between verses of the same number, note 10.442 *solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas* and 11.442 *devovi. solum Aeneas vocat? et vocet oro*.

443 *praecipitate moras' nec plura effatus, at illi*

praecipitate: "To cause to move in disordered haste, drive headlong" (*OLD* s.v. 6). The closest Virgilian parallel is 12.699 *praecipitatque moras omnis*; cf. 2.8–9 ... *et iam nox umida / praecipitat*; 2.36–37 ... *suspectaque dona / praecipitare iubent*; 2.316–317 ... *furor iraque mentem / praecipitant*; 4.250–251 ... *tum flumina mento / praecipitant senis*; 4.565 ... *dum praecipitare potestas*; 6.351 *praecipitans traxi mecum*; 9.669–670 ... *quam multa grandine nimbi / in vada praecipitant* (cf. 10.803–804); 11.3 *praecipitant curae*; 11.617 *praecipitat longe*. Statius has *praecipitant redimuntque moras* (*Theb.* 7.139). The imperative coordinates with the comparative adverb *ocius* at the start of 444.

nec plura effatus: Also at 11.98, just after Aeneas' farewell to the dead Pallas; also 12.896, after Turnus notes that he is not terrified by Aeneas and his harsh words, but rather by the gods and by Jupiter. Dramatic contexts, then, that link the death of Pallas and the prelude to Turnus' end. For the mid-hexameter end of the speech at the strong caesura, see Eden; the Cyclopes begin work at once, almost (as it were), before the god had finished uttering his commands. *Effatus* is "archaic and poetic" and not particularly common (see Harrison on 10.256). Ennian, Livian, Lucanian.

at: The Palatine originally read *et* here; so also some Carolingians. The strong contrast is between word and deed.

illi: On the demonstrative in "*contre-rejet*" see Dainotti 2015, 142n444 (with catalogue of examples).

444 *ocius incubuere omnes pariterque laborem*

ocius ... omnes: Cf. 278 above; 4.294–295 ... *ocius omnes / imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt*; Ovid, *Met.* 1.242; 12.226; Silius, *Pun.* 5.662. *Omnes* coordinates closely with *pariter* to describe the shared labor (see here Conington, with ref-

erence to Wagner); the collocation is common in both poetry and prose (5.830 *una omnes fecere pedem pariterque sinistros*; 12.574–575 ... *atque animis certantibus omnes / dant cuneum*; also Lucretius, *DRN* 5.494 *nec pariter tantundem omnes succumbere partis*). On the comparative Servius notes: “quam ille praeceperat.” Tib. comments on how “maturitas” is especially pleasing in the matter of granting “beneficia.”

incubuer: Very different contextually from 1.84 *incubuer* *mari* ..., of the winds that wreak havoc at sea for the Trojans (cf. the relationship of the Aeolian and Aetnaean forces in the poem, of wind and fire). The Cyclopes literally “brood over” their labor—time is of the essence.

pariter: Cf. 545 below.

laborem: Vid. Bruck 1993, 63.

445 *sortiti. fluit aes rivis aurique metallum*

sortiti: Cf. 2.18 *huc delecta virorum sortiti corpora furtim*; 3.374–376 ... *sic fata deum rex / sortitur volvitque vices*; 3.510 *sortiti remos* (as here, of the division of labor); 5.756 *sortiturque domos*; 9.174–175 *omnis per muro legio sortita periculum / excubat*; 12.920 *sortitus fortunam oculis* (of Aeneas). The commentators are divided here as to whether *sortiti* should be taken with an understood *sunt*, or as a participle; it is not certain how much of an impression the distinction would have made on the poet. Fordyce finds the question of the division of labor to be “whimsical.” This is a corporate effort, in contrast to the labor of the Homeric Hephaestus; part of the point may be that the Virgilian god delegates the work that is being performed on behalf of his unfaithful wife’s illegitimate son. Three Cyclopes can also be expected to discharge the pressing work in short order and with an emphasis on speed.

fluit ... rivis: So of the perspiration of the contestants at the regatta (5.200 *aridaque ora quatit, sudor fluit undique rivis*). Cf. Silius, *Pun.* 5.431–432 ... *fluit impia rivis / sanguineis vallis*.

metallum: Properly used of ore (though also applied to mines); the noun occurs also at 6.144 (of the Golden Bough); 10.173–174 (of Ilva/Elba, rich in metals); note also *G.* 2.165–166 *haec eadem argenti rivos aerisque metalla / ostendit venis atque auro plurima fluxit* (where see Thomas; the passage is a strong influence on the present description).

446 *vulnificusque chalybs vasta fornace liquescit.*

vulnificusque: The adjective occurs only here in Virgil (possibly a neologism); cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2.504; 8.359; Seneca, *Phaed.* 346; Statius, *Theb.* 4.87 (with Parkes’ note); Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.420. On adjectives in *-ficus* see Zissos’ note on Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.27–29: “... a traditional element of epic diction

(which Cicero had apparently used in his verse ...) ... “as well as early Roman tragedy.”

chalybs: Echoing the *Chalybes* of 421. Of iron or steel. “A sort of proleptic epithet” (Conington), in close coordination with *liquescit*. Propertius has *sit licet et ferro furior et chalybe* (c. 1.16.30). The spelling, not surprisingly, is confused in the capital manuscripts.

vasta: Vid. P. Pinotti in *EV* V, 454–456. Once again the emphasis is on the immense size of the forge, as befitting its divine and heroic products (hence 447 *ingentem*). Effective alliteration with *vulnificus*.

fornace: Cf. again 421 above. The “vast furnace” is Lucretian (*DRN* 6.681; cf. Hardie 1986, 186 on the “remythologizing” of the account of the manufacture of the shield).

liquescit: The inchoative verb also at *E.* 8.80 (of wax).

The author of the *Aetna* was not impressed with this description of the Cyclopes' labor: *discrepat a prima facies haec altera vatum: | illis Cyclopas memorant fornacibus usos, | cum super incudem numerosa in verbera fortes | horrendum magno quaterent sub pondere fulmen | armarentque Iovem: turpe est sine pignore carmen* (36–40), with numerous verbal echoes of the present scene—though the work is situated at Etna, of course, and is of Jovian provenance.

447 *ingentem clipeum informant, unum omnia contra*

ingentem clipeum: Also at *Ilias Latina* 533 (of Mars' shield); Ovid has *unum est in media lumen mihi fronte, sed instar | ingentis clipei* (*Met.* 13.852, of the Cyclops' eye); note too Silius, *Pun.* 9.423. Servius notes that the point is both the size and the solidity of the shield. The adjective recalls the description of *ingens* Aeneas at 367 above: a massive shield, fittingly enough, for a huge warrior.

informant: Echoing 426 *informatum*. The verb is not particularly common; here the alliteration with *ingentem* balances *vulnificus ... vasta*. Eden notes “the pounding beat of the hammers.”

unum omnia: One Trojan hero's shield in deliberate juxtaposition with all the weapons of the Latins. Only one shield, but a huge one. For the convergence of spondaic rhythm and synaloepha, see Dainotti 2015, 165. The mention of the “one” shield offers a numerical contrast with the detail that follows about the sevenfold *orbis*.

omnia contra: The line-end also at 10.359 *anceps pugna diu, stant obnixa omnia contra*, where see Harrison (“... *contra* is adverbial as at 5.21 ... and recalls in sense and final position the *contra* of Enn. *Ann.* 433 Skutsch ...”).

448 *tela Latinorum, septenosque orbibus orbis*

tela Latinorum: For the Latins see E. Dench in *EV* II, 731–732; G. Maddoli in *EV* III, 129–131; here there may be shades of reminiscence of the defeat of the Latins in 338 B.C., as well as of the Social War of 91–89. In the immediate context the reference is to Latinus' people, in officially declared war with Aeneas' Trojans. All mentions of the *Latini* in Virgil ultimately point to 12.837 ... *faciamque omnis uno ore Latinos*. *Tela* properly of missile weapons, as usual. The phrase also recalls 8.117 *Troiugenas ac tela vides inimica Latinis* (Aeneas to Pallas); note also 12.693 *parcite iam, Rutuli, et vos tela inhibete, Latini* (Turnus to his men); the vulnerable position of Ascanius in the midst of weapons and Latins "bristling with Mars" (*horrentis Marte*) at 10.236–237. We have come far from the happier note of the *tecta Latinorum* of 7.160.

septenosque orbibus orbis: Another close association between the first and last books of the epic's second third; cf. 5.584–585 *adversi spatiiis, alternosque orbibus orbis / impediunt pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis*. In the previous passage, the Trojan youth were engaged in the complicated equestrian ballet of the *lusus Troiae*, itself a commemoration of the Greek attack on Priam's doomed city. Here, the Cyclopes prepare a mighty shield for Aeneas to wield against all the weapons of the Latins, as the drama of the Trojan War is reborn in Italy. Not so completely different a context, then; Book 5 offers image and (Lucretian) *simulacrum*, while Book 8 offers typological fulfillment and reality.

The distributive *septeni* also occurs at 5.85 ... *septena volumina traxit* (of the serpent on Anchises' tomb); 6.21–22 (of the sevenfold human sacrifices for the Cretan labyrinth); 10.329 (of the weapons of the seven sons of Phorcus that are hurled against Aeneas and deflected by his mother, *alma Venus*). The number seven occurs frequently enough in epic poetry that connections (Pythagorean or otherwise) can be easily made, often to no precisely defined end (see further Fratantuono and Smith's long note *ad* 5.85); Turnus also has a sevenfold shield (12.925 ... *et clipei extremos septemplicis orbis*); cf. Homer, *Il.* 7.245 (of Ajax's). Lersch 1843, 66–67 argues that the pictures later described on the shield may be divided between the seven circles. The number seven is associated with the death of both the bees and of Turnus; if there is any hint of Pythagorean rebirth and renewal, it comes not only in the Bugonia, but also in the ultimate triumph of the Latin element in the future Rome.

On *orbibus orbis* the question that has vexed some of the commentators is whether or not the *orbis* are all the same thing. Henry argues with characteristic intensity that the *septenos orbis* are "the round layers of which the body of the shield consists," while the *orbibus* are "the concentric rings or hoops ... which bound the body ... of the shield all round the margin," i.e., held them in place. Gransden sees a connection to the circular heavens (136–137). Eden

argues that the *orbis* are the same thing; Tib. has “quattuordecim circulis sic clipei et inpedire viderentur.”

orbis: Or *orbis*? (cf. 137 above). The latter orthography is preferred by Heyne-Wagner; Conington; Mackail; Sabbadini; Mynors; Eden; Gransden; Perret; Goold’s Loeb; García et al.; Heuzé’s *Pléiade* (and not Holzberg’s *Tusculum*). In deference to the manuscript tradition, we have followed Geymonat and Conte in reading *orbis*; the question did not concern us *ad* the parallel 5.584, but there too *orbis* should probably be read.

This is the last mention of the shield for some time (see on 625 below); in Homer, the description of the signal work of the divine craftsman’s art commences at once.

449 *impediunt. alii ventosis follibus auras*

Verses 449–452 are a virtual copy of *G.* 4.171–174 *cum properant, alii taurinis follibus auras | accipiunt redduntque, alii stridentia tingunt | aera lacu; gemit impositis incudibus Aetna; | illi inter sese magna vi brachia tollunt*. One intra-textual allusion is followed at once by another, this time closer parallel. In the *Georgics*, the context is a simile that compares the humble bees to the Cyclopes at their forge; the key conclusion noted by the poet there is the *amor habendi* of the bees: 4.176–178 *non aliter, si parva licet componere magnis, | Cecropias innatus apes amor urget habendi | munere quamque suo*. The *amor habendi* of the bees connects to Evander’s detail at 8.327 *et belli rabies et amor successit habendi* about the decline of the ages. The Cyclopes at their forge are an image of the bees engaged in the work of the hive; the salient detail about the apian labor is that it is motivated by the love of acquisition that characterizes a post-lapsarian world. The *amor habendi* points to the desire of Venus to secure weapons for her son; even, we might think, of Aeneas’ desire for Lavinia and the conflict between the Trojan leader and the Rutulian Turnus. The metals of the construction of the shield remind the reader of the decline of the ages. For how the “love of having” is not such a bad thing for the bees (for whom it is “innate”), see Mynors *ad loc.*; for a darker reading, see Putnam 1979, 256 ff. (with emphasis on the implicit “mindlessness” of the Cyclopes; the objectification of the “preternaturally bellicose,” “the non-Saturnian mythology”; “an innate decadence”).

See Eden for the reversal of the usual Virgilian pattern by which material from the *G.* is recycled for similes in his epic. On the influence of the Callimachean hymn to Artemis see Thomas *ad loc.*

impediunt: Note 5.585 and 5.593 (both times in connection to the Troy game); 9.385 (during the night raid); 10.307 (of the discomfiture of Tarchon’s vessel); 10.553; 11.21; 12.747 (of the wounded Aeneas’ knees). Mackail describes how the Cyclopes “rivet” one circle into another.

alii: The “some” of 449 and “others” of 450 are not clearly delineated; there are only three Cyclopes, after all—but Virgil is composing an impressionistic image more than a syllabus of responsibilities.

ventosis: The adjective also at 6.335 (of *aequora*); 11.390 *ventosa in lingua* (Turnus to Drances); 11.708 *ventosa gloria* (the Ligurian’s taunt to Camilla); 12.848 (of the windy wings of the Dirae); cf. *E.* 9.58 and *G.* 1.206. Somewhat negative associations, then, especially with reference to Drances; Camilla and the Dirae have affinities (and are Harpy-like). Ox-hide bellows in the *G.* simile; “windy” bellows link the forging of the arms to Aeolus’ nearby kingdom.

follibus: “A pair of bellows” (*OLD* s.v. 3). Twenty bellows in all in Homer (*Il.* 18.470).

450 accipiunt redduntque, alii stridentia tingunt

The verse is copied verbatim from *G.* 4.172, where *stridentia* takes on special force in light of the characteristic hum or buzz of bees.

accipiunt redduntque: For the collocation cf. Plautus, *Persa* 762 *nam improbus est homo qui beneficium scit accipere et reddere nescit*; Cicero, *Top.* 21.6 *Repugnat enim recte accipere et invitum reddere*; *De Re Pub.* 2.10.4–5; *Ep. Fam.* 5.2.3.3; Horace, *Serm.* 2.3.66; Ovid, *Trist.* 1.8.26; commonly found in Seneca.

stridentia: Cf. 420 *stridunt*; vid. A. Traina in *EV* IV, 1035–1036. At 7.613 Virgil mentions the *stridentia limina* of the *Belli Portae* (see Horsfall ad loc. for the use of the verb in describing the sound of doors); the noise of creaking, grating, or squeaking doors (*OLD* s.v. 1) heralds war, as does the hissing of the metal by effervescence (*OLD* s.v. 1d).

tingunt: This use of the verb is paralleled at 12.90–91 *ensem quem Dauno ignipotens deus ipse parenti / fecerat et Stygia candentem tinxerat unda*; cf. 1.745 and 11.914, in astronomical contexts; 3.665 ... *necdum fluctus latera ardua tinxit* (of the Cyclops); 7.811 (of Camilla not wetting the soles of her feet as she skimmed over the water); 12.358 (of plunging a weapon into an enemy’s throat).

The three third person plural indicatives in quick succession underscore the rapidity of the Cyclopean labor.

451 aera lacu; gemit impositis incudibus antrum;

aera: Poetic plural.

lacu: The commentators compare Ovid, *Met.* 9.170–171 (where see Bömer); it also occurs (in the plural) at *Met.* 12.278. For dipping something in a *lacus* note also Propertius, c. 3.3.31–32 *et Veneris dominae volucres, mea turba, columbae / tingunt Gorgoneo punica rostra lacu*. “The ordinary word for the blacksmith’s tank, as it is for the vintner’s vat” (Fordyce). Danielis notes the Virgilian fondness of using *lacus* for *aqua*. For the dative “with local significance” see Antoine

1882, 153, who compares Homer, *Od.* 9.391, “si quis vero dubitet quin *lacu* pro lacui dativo locali sit accipiendum.”

gemit: The verb occurs 13× in the epic (3× in *U*); 4× in the *G.* and once in the *E.*

incudibus: For the anvils see on 419 above. The anvils recall Homer, *Il.* 18.475–476, where Hephaestus sets a great anvil on a block.

antrum: Changed from *G.* 4.173 ... *Aetna*, since we are, after all, in the workshop at Vulcano. First comes the description of nature; next that of the giant workmen.

452 illi inter sese multa vi bracchia tollunt

For the spondaic rhythm that enacts the challenging, laborious efforts of the Cyclopes, see Fordyce, Gransden, and especially Eden (the last two with lengthy metrical notes); the disyllabic sequence contributes to the effect. “The straining at the weight of the hammers, and the slow, difficult beginning of the upstroke, are represented by the heterodyne; the homodyne at the beginning and end renders successful effort, before and after the main resistance is felt.” (Jackson Knight 1939, 18–19). “Accommodation of sound to sense” (Page, laconically). Subject and verb frame the line.

illi: In Homer (*Il.* 18.474–477) it is Hephaestus who puts the anvil on the block, and who takes up the hammer and the tongs.

inter sese: Emphasizing the corporate effort.

tollunt: Echoing 439 *tollite*; the god’s imperative has been fulfilled. Cf. also 5.364 *adsit et evinctis attollat bracchia palmis*; Ovid, *Met.* 6.279 *ad caelum manus et splendida bracchia tollens*; 11.541 *bracchiaque ad caelum, quod non videt, inrita tollens*; 13.668–669 *illae tollentes etiamnum libera caelo | bracchia ...*; 14.374 *umentes oculos et pallida bracchia tolenns*; 15.570; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.209–210; 262–263.

The present verse is identical to *G.* 4.174.

453 in numerum, versantque tenaci forcipe massam.

Another line copied exactly from the *G.* model (4.175). For the change in metrical pattern as the work stabilizes into a steady rhythm, see especially Gransden’s long note.

in numerum: The phrase is imitated at *Aetna* 38 *cum super incudem numerosa in verbera fortes*. The commentators compare here *E.* 6.27–28 *tum vero in numerum Faunosque ferasque videres | ludere*, of a very different sort of rhythmic activity. It is uncertain if there is a deliberate reminiscence of Lucretius, *DRN* 2.630–631 ... *Phrygias inter si forte catervas | ludunt in numerumque exultant sanguine laeti* (of the Curetes). We may also compare the possible verse compo-

sition of the Sibyl's prophecies referenced at 3.446 *digerit in numerum* (where see Horsfall, who considers the phrase “markedly flexible”). The forging of the arms is eminently musical; *in numerum* links the song of Silenus, the pronouncements of the Sibyl Deiphobe, and the story composed on the shield of Aeneas. The music of the Cyclopean labors leads directly to the song of the birds of morning at 456.

versantque: For the verb cf. 21 and 619.

tenaci forcipe: Echoed at 12.403–404 *nequiquam trepidat, nequiquam spicula dextra | sollicitat prensatque tenaci forcipe ferrum* (of Iapyx's ministrations in the matter of Aeneas' arrow wound). *Forceps* is old, but rare in all periods and genres; cf. Ps.-V., *Cat.* 10.9; Ovid, *Met.* 6.556; 9.78; 12.277; Persius, *Sat.* 4.40; Juvenal, s. 10.131. There is confusion in the manuscripts between *forceps* and *forfex* or *forpex* (“etymologically identical”—*OLD*); Servius engages in a valiant effort to disentangle the Latin vocabulary for tongs or pincers.

massam: Cf. *G.* 1.274–275 ... *lapidemque revertens | incusum aut atrae massam picis urbe reportat*. Charisius (95.2) reads *ferrum* here.

454–468 The narrative returns to the plane of mortal affairs, as morning comes and Aeneas and Evander resume their discussions.

454 Haec pater Aeoliis properat dum Lemnius oris,

pater: Tib. has a perceptive note here on the deliberate description of Vulcan as a father (and not a stepfather *per se*), now that the work of the arms has commenced in earnest (*properat*). At this point there is a significant lacuna in the *Interpretationes*; the commentary resumes only *ad* 729, near the end of the book.

properat: The verb occurs 9× in the epic (5× in the *G.*); for the (poetic) transitive use see Eden. Another reminder of the need for haste.

Aeoliis: A reminder that the king of the winds was also associated with this volcanic region. The word order neatly interlocks: father; Aeolian; Lemnian; shores.

dum: Eden notes that this is the only example in the book of simultaneous action, though of course Aeneas and Evander were able to enjoy a night's rest. The work on the arms continues past dawn.

Lemnius: The island of Lemnos was associated with the fall of Hephaestus from heaven; for the appellation of the god cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4.185–186 *Lemnius extemplo valvas patefecit eburnas | inmisitque deos*; Garvie on Homer, *Od.* 8.283–284. There is an account of Vulcan's Lemnian forge at Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.332ff. The second word of the verse identifies Vulcan as a father; the penultimate as the *Lemnian* father, that is, the father associated with the island of

the god's Jovian expulsion from Olympus. Homer (*Il.* 1.584–594) has Hephaestus note that he was hurled down to Lemnos for intervening on behalf of his mother Hera; in the present context of the Latin war and the thus far unrelenting anger of Juno, the evocation of Lemnos is reminiscent of how Vulcan was closely associated with his mother (*contra* Jupiter); if *pater* is a reassuring word, *Lemnius* introduces a note of disquiet. This is especially true after *Aeoliis*, which reminds the reader of the disaster of the storm from Book 1.

455 *Evandrum ex humili tecto lux suscitata alma*

humili tecto: Cf. Ps.-S., *Oct.* 896–897 *Bene paupertas humili tecto / contenta latet*. *Humilis* is used elsewhere in the epic only of Italy (3.522); of the trench where Aeneas sets up his first camp in Latium (7.157); of Mercury as he arrives in Carthage (4.255); and, powerfully, of Turnus the suppliant (12.930). Wakefield conjectured *lecto* (see below).

lux ... alma: As at 1.306 *ut primum lux alma data est* (Aeneas before he meets his disguised mother); 3.311–312 ... *si lux alma recessit, / Hector ubi est?* (Andromache at Buthrotum); cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15.664; Seneca, *Ag.* 726; Ps.-S., *Oct.* 224; Silius, *Pun.* 13.808. Here *alma* heralds the visit of Venus to her son; for the epithet of the goddess note 1.618; 2.591; 2.664; 10.332. Also of the *orbis* of the sun (5.64–65); Deiphobe (6.74; 117); Italy (7.644); Trivia (7.744); Phoebe (10.215–216); Cybebe (10.220; 252); Juturna (10.439); of the light brought by Aurora (11.182–183); Diana (11.557). A striking three times of the goddess of the hunt et al. under her three manifestations; Diana is set up in opposition to Venus in the epic (cf. Fratantuono 2005).

suscitata: Echoing 410 ... *cinerem et sopitos suscitata ignes*. There is a deliberate contrast between the gentle, nurturing light of the early morning and the *femina* who stirred the dying embers of the fire in the hours before dawn.

Wakefield conjectured *Evandrum ex humili lecto lux suscitata alba*, principally from a concern for the question of where exactly Evander spent the night relative to Aeneas (i.e., in the same dwelling, or a different residence)? See further on 461 *limine ab alto*. Wise commentary on the alleged inconsistency is to be found at Horsfall 2016, 83.

456 *et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus*

matutini: Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.8.6) quoted this verse with the singular *matutinus ... cantus*. The adjective occurs in Virgil only here and at 465 below; it is probably borrowed from Catullus, c. 64.269 *hic, qualis flatu placidum mare matutino*; cf. Cinna, c. 6.1–2 *Te matutinus flentem conspexit Eous / et flentem paulo vidit post Hesperus idem*; Lucretius, *DRN* 5.462 *matutina rubent radiati lumina solis*; Horace, *Serm.* 2.6.20; 2.6.45; Propertius, c. 1.16.46 *et matutinis obstrepit alitibus*;

2.9a.31; 2.29b.31; 4.5.62; Manilius, *Astron.* 1.177; Ovid, *Ars* 1.367; *Met.* 1.62; 3.488; 11.26; 13.581; *Fast.* 5.160; Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 3.17; 5.32; 5.55; Lucan, *BC* 3.521; Seneca, *Oed.* 506; Statius, *Silv.* 2.1.62; Juvenal, s. 4.108; 6.523; 12.92; Silius, *Pun.* 14.22 *et matutinos volucrum tramittere cantus* (of the sounds emitted from the Straits of Messina). On the solemnity of this special morning see Jenkyns 1998, 548.

volucrum: Desire for ornithological precision has troubled commentators since Servius. Henry's note defending the cock crow *versus* the song of swallows is another of his triumphs of rhetorical art; cf. E.W. Martin, "Ruscinia," in *TAPA* 38 (1907), 31–40, 34, in favor of swallows, "... harbingers of spring, like the robin and bluebird in our own Eastern States." Some critics have compared *Anacreontea* 10 Preidendanz (10 Campbell), of the incessant chattering of swallows.

Sub culmine localizes the birds to the roof or eaves. For the songs of birds note also Silius, *Pun.* 4.86 and 4.22; Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 10.3.24.2–3. Horace has *avium cantus* (c. 3.1.120); cf. Manilius (*Ast.* 4.914) and Cicero (*Top.* 77.6–7); Tibullus *cantus avis* (c. 1.8.4); Pliny *cantus alitis* and *alitum*. For the collocation cf. *G.* 1.402–403 *solis et occasum servans de culmine summo | nequiquam seros exercet noctua cantus*. It is not entirely clear whose or what *culmen* is referenced; Henry takes it to be the house where the fowl were kept. Prudentius imitated this passage at *Cath.* 1.13–14 *vox ista qua strepunt aves | stantes sub ipso culmine* (on the allusive echo see O'Daly 2012, 48).

culmine cantus: An alliterative song of the morning. Very different are the *cantus* of 2 and 285 above. On the rising of dawn over the future city of Rome, see Putnam 1966, 141.

457 **consurgit senior tunicaque inducitur artus**

consurgit: Cf. 110 and 637. The aged Evander rises up at first light and to the songs of birds; the contrast again is with Vulcan's interruption of his sleep; we may compare Agamemnon after his fateful dream at *Il.* 2.42–47. Very different is the final dressing/arming of Priam *senior* at 2.509–511. The prefix is probably intensive and not coordinate (i.e., of the waking of the birds), though that idea may be present also. Cf. the dressing scene of the son of Odysseus at Homer, *Od.* 2.1 ff.

tunicaque: The noun also at 9.616 *et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae* (in Numanus Remulus' mockery of the Trojans); 10.314 *per tunicam squalentem auto latus haurit apertum* (of Aeneas' victim Theron); 10.818 *et tunicam molli mater quam neverat auro* (of Lausus as Aeneas slays him); 11.777 *pictus acu tunicas et barbara tegmine crurum* (of Chloereus). On Virgilian clothing see Bender in Sebasta and Bonfante 1994, 146–152; note also K.M. Coleman in *VE* 1, 275.

inducitur: The verb is used of the donning of boxing gloves (5.379); cf. 5.399; 11.620 *Troes agunt, princeps turmas inducit Asilas*. On verbs of dressing in Latin and the language's "only trace of a native middle voice," see Eden; Pinkster 2015, 264–267 on "autocausative passives."

artus: Rhyming with 456 ... *cantus*.

Leopardi has *E Sargo, e i lievi nugoletti, e il primo | Degli augelli susurro, e l'aura fresca, | E le ridenti piagge benedico* (*La Vita Solitaria* 8–10).

458 et Tyrrhena pedum circumdat vincula plantis.

Tyrrhena: The adjective introduces the forthcoming theme of Aeneas' mission to Tarchon's Etruscans (cf. on 479–480); Evander dons Tyrrhenian sandals, and Aeneas will make a journey to secure help from the enemies of Mezentius: "ornamental" epithet as narrative tool. For Servius, the point is to connect Evander anachronistically with the Roman senate, equestrians, and soldiers: "et dicit crepidas, quas primo habuere senatores, post equites Romani, nunc milites"—footwear, in other words, that had been adopted from Etruscan tradition. The commentators cite the definition of the second century A.D. grammarian Julius Pollux, who defined these shoes as having wooden soles and straps of gold (*Onomast.* 7.92); he adds that Phidias depicted Athena in such a manner (though here there is no reason to think that the goddess was on the poet's mind). The geographical descriptor comes from the Greek name for the Etruscans (fittingly enough in this Arcadian context). "Arcadian though he may be, King Evander at the site of Rome puts on "Etruscan sandals" ... some forerunner perhaps of the senator's *calcei*" (Newman and Newman 2005, 245–246, with reference to the "sanitising" of Etruscan history and Dionysian/Augustan Age attempts to make the Etruscans autochthonous).

pedum ... plantis: For the soles of the feet cf. 11.573–574 *utque pedum primis infans vestigia plantis | institerat* (of the young Camilla); the parallel probably supports taking *pedum* with *plantis* rather than *vincula*, though Conington is right to note that the difference hardly matters (see further Eden on the symmetrical, indeed interlocking word order. The soles of the feet actually go around the *vincula pedum*—a nice touch that reverses the natural expectation). For the dative see Antoine 1882, 114–115, and cf. *E.* 8.73; *A.* 2.218; 510; 792; 12.88.

circumdat: The form is used of Priam's arming himself before his death (2.510); also of Turnus (12.88).

vincula: For the noun applied to an article of clothing, note *OLD* s.v. 3; Clausen 2002, 11; and cf. 5.408 (of boxing gloves); Ovid, *Am.* 3.1.14; *Met.* 3.168; *Fast.* 1.410 and 5.432.

459 **tum lateri atque umeris Tegeaeum subligat ensem**

lateri atque umeris: Evander is donning a baldric, i.e., a belt for a sword that will be slung over the right shoulder, so that the sword may hang on the left side and be easily accessible for use. Cf. the diaconal stole that is placed over the left shoulder and tied on the right side. The plural *umeris* follows Homer, *Il.* 2.45; cf. 12.941–942 ... *infelix umero cum apparuit alto | balteus*. Note here also Ovid, *Met.* 12.415 *aut umero aut lateri praetendat vellera laevo*.

Tegeaeum: The old (Pacuvian) adjective also at 5.299 (of the provenance of the competitor Salius in the foot race), where see Fratantuono and Smith; *G.* 1.18 (of the god Pan). The Arcadian sword occasions no surprise; the sword will, in fact, prove to be as pointless as those of Priam at 2.509–511: it will be Pallas and not Evander who fights in the Latin war. “But the commentators have not been able to collect any other passages speaking of Arcadian swords” (Conington). The orthography is predictably confused in all three Virgilian uses. *Tegeaeum* here is balanced with 458 *Tyrrhena*: alliterative toponymic adjectives that point to Evander’s mixed identity (Etruscan/Italian and Greek).

subligat: The verb is echoed at 11.10–11 ... *clipeum ex aere sinistrae | subligat atque ensem collo suspendit eburnum*, of the macabre decoration of the Mezentius *tropaeum*, a passage where the mood is profoundly somber in the wake of Pallas’ death.

460 **demissa ab laeva pantherae terga retorquens.**

demissa: Cf. 7.278; also the metaphorical uses at 3.320 and 12.220.

pantherae terga: The only mention of the leopard in Virgil (vid. S. Rocca in *EV* III, 957–958; R. Katz in *VE* II, 741). The taxonomical identity of the feline in question is in some dispute (cheetahs?); note especially here Toynbee 1973, 82–86, and also the seeming distinctions of Aelian, *De Animal.* 7.47. Fittingly another Greek word (cf. Varro, *DLL* 5.100). At Plautus, *Epid.* 18 *pantherinum genus* refers to slaves who bear the marks of beatings; note that Cicero references leopards at *DND* 1.88.9; 2.126.7; also several times in his letters. Lucretius has *et quasi pantherae morsu saevique leonis | mandantur* (*DRN* 4.1016), of a particularly gruesome nightmare; cf. 5.1036–1037 *at catuli pantherarum scymnique leonum | unguibus ac pedibus iam tum morsuque repugnat*. The animal was classically associated with Roman spectacle entertainments (cf., e.g., Livy 39.22.2.4, with Briscoe on the question of the provenance of the leopards: North Africa, Asia Minor, Northern Greece all candidates; also Manilius, *Astron.* 5.702). The young Camilla (who is not without Arcadian associations) has a tiger pelt (11.576–577). It is difficult to determine why exactly Evander has such a cloak; one wonders if the *panthera* was deliberately referenced here to signify the entire world of animals (cf. Ruaeus’ perceptive note): the aged Arcadian monarch as zoologi-

cal/hunting master. See further Clausen 2002, 11 (with comparison of Agamemnon's lion skin at *Il.* 10.21–24; Menelaus' leopard pelt at 10.29–32; Paris' leopard at 3.16–20). Cf. also the lion pelt of 177–178 that is offered for Aeneas' comfort. Not a particularly common word, at any rate; consequently the manuscripts display a not unexpected variety of readings.

retorquens: The verb occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at 12.400 and 485. The tossing back of the pelt is meant to ensure ready access to the Arcadian sword—a weapon that will not actually be used in the present circumstances of war. Sidgwick notes that the image could be of “twisting back (round to the right) the hide that hung from the left.”

Statius imitates this passage to different effect at *Theb.* 5.520–521 *saevior anfractu laterum sinuosa retorquens / terga solo siccique nocens furit igne veneni*.

461 nec non et gemini custodes limine ab alto

nec non et: Also at 345.

gemini custodes: Almost certainly to be taken with the *canes* of 462; Evander has two dogs with him in the manner of Telemachus at *Od.* 2.11 (where see S. West's note). On Virgilian pairings note D. Krasne in *VE* III, 1309–1310. The domestic image of the canines comes immediately in the wake of the exotic hunting trophy, with effective contrast. Cf. the four guard dogs of the swineherd Eumaeus at Homer, *Od.* 14.21 ff. (no friends of Odysseus).

limine ab alto: Three little words that have occasioned the spilling of much critical ink (see especially here J.C. Yardley, “Evander's *altum limen*: Virgil *Aen.* 8.461–2,” in *Eranos* 79 (1981), 147–148). One imagined problem is how the *humile tectum* of 455 can be said to have a lofty or high threshold; another is the larger question of whether Aeneas and Evander spent the night in the same dwelling. Markland (in his note on Statius, *Silv.* 1.46) conjectured that *arto* is the correct reading (with comparison of 360 and 455); while it is conceivable that a hasty scribe might have changed *arto* to the conventional epithet *alto*, there is no manuscript support for the emendation—though Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.8.6) read *limine in ipso*. Peerlkamp suggested *aperto*. Conington notes that a door can be high even if not strictly so in comparison to other doors; Henry prefers to take the adjective with reference to the reverence that is due to the dwelling, rather than of any intimation of height or loftiness (cf. Eden's emphasis on the etymology from *alo*, which might have been on the poet's mind after the *lux alma* of 455). “Strikingly inconsistent” (Fordyce); Page and Mackail both find the reading awkward. Cf. 11.482 *et maestas alto fundunt de limine voces*; also 11.234–235; *Laus Pison.* 31; Ovid, *Met.* 9.397; Statius, *Theb.* 9.818–819.

The phrase is Accian, and from a Vulcanian context: *Volcania iam templa sub ipsis / collibus in quos delatus locus / dicitur alto ab limine caeli* (*Phil.* 533–535

Warmington; quoted at Varro, *DLL* 7.11.6–7), of the fall of the god to Lemnos—perhaps a deliberate reminiscence in context.

Does *alto* indicate the high position of the building on the Palatine?

462 praecedunt gressumque canes comitantur erilem.

praecedunt: The dogs precede Evander, but they also accompany him; the coordination of the verbs of the line describes the vivid movement of the loyal canines, which now seem to run ahead, and now to come back to their aged master. The verb is frequently confused in the manuscripts with *procedere*; cf. the same problem at 11.94; and note also 9.47. Henry notes: “... the going before of the dogs is too minute a circumstance to be noted in a grave, epic narration ...”

gressum: On Virgilian walking see Heuzé 1985, 436–437; T.M. O’Sullivan in *VE* III, 1371–1372. For the noun cf. 1.401; 410; 690; 2.753; 5.152; 649; 6.389; 677; 10.640; 11.29; 99; 855; 12.386; *G.* 3.117; 4.360.

canes: On Virgilian canines note F. Capponi in *EV* I, 646–648; R.F. Thomas in *VE* I, 86–87; Toynbee 1973, 102 ff. Presumably Evander kept them for hunting rather than as mere pets (and possibly as guard dogs); Capponi observes: “... non è possibile identificare il tipo, anche se nel *locus* dell’*Eneide* si colgono le attitudini del c. da guardia e di difesa.” No hint of any Cerberan associations (as, e.g., in the Petronian *Cena Trimalchionis*). The aged hero has two canines to accompany him; soon we learn that his son Pallas is with him (466), and Achates with Aeneas.

comitantur: The verb occurs 17× in the epic (once in the *G.*); the present scene recalls the pastoral description of the Cyclops Polyphemus at 3.660 *lanigerae comitantur oves*, where the herdsman is accompanied by his sheep. The alliterative effect with *canes* is followed soon by *sedem ... secreta*.

erilem: The adjective occurs elsewhere in Virgil also in connection with a domesticated animal; cf. 7.490, of the table where Silvia’s stag was accustomed to come to feed. Possibly here as an echo of Ennius, *Med. Ex. fr.* 237 *Jocelyn antiqua erilis fida custos corporis*, of Medea’s nurse; see further Jocelyn’s note (with reference to Löfstedt I, 116 ff.). The word is common in comedy (Plautus, Terence). On the adjective serving as a genitive cf. Harrison on 10.156–157.

Ovid may have had this passage in mind for the grisly ... *canes satiatae sanguine erili* (*Met.* 3.140, of Actaeon).

463 hospitis Aeneae sedem et secreta petebat

hospitis: Cf. 346 (in the description of the Argiletum; also followed soon by *sedem*, though in a quite different context); 493 (of Turnus’ sheltering of Mezentius). For Aeneas as *hospes* cf. 7.263–264 *ipse modo Aeneas, nostri si tanta cupido*

est, / si iungi hospitio properat sociusque vocari; 11.105–106 (of the changing fortunes of Aeneas' relationship with the Latins). The seductive goddess exercised her charms under the cover of night; heroes will meet in the light of morning. On Aeneas' relationships with strangers and the profound effect such meetings had for him (in striking contrast to his "sore lack of ... friends"), see Wiltshire 1989, 83–84.

sedem et secreta: Hendiadys. "Abstract and concrete" (Sidgwick).

secreta: For the substantive cf. 6.10 ... *horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae*; *G.* 4.403 *in secreta senis ducam*; note too 5.613 *at procul in sola secretae Troades acta*; 6.643 (in the *Lugentes Campi*); 6.678 (of the *secreta* where the souls of those valiant in battle reside); 670 below (of the souls of the just in Elysium). In the Helen episode, Aeneas notes *servantem et tacitam secreta in sede latentem / Tyndaridem aspicio* (2.568–569), where again there is a collocation of *sedes* and *secretus*; cf. 1.681 *aut super Idalia secreta sede recondam*; 7.774–775 *at Trivia Hippolytum secretis alma recondit / sedibus*. *Secreta* conveys a sense of protection and defense (in close coordination with *hospitis*); Aeneas is Evander's responsibility and charge. For the neuter plural see Eden.

464 *sermonum memor et promissi muneris heros.*

sermonum memor: Once again the power of memory; cf. 150–151; 171. Evander remembers the demands of the hour and the pressing circumstance of the war; he knows that there is much preparation to be made. *Memor* occurs once in Book 5 (25, of Palinurus); the adjective is associated with Juno's unforgetting anger and indignation (1.4; 23). Aeneas urges Ascanius to be mindful of the *exempla* of his father and Hector (12.439–440); note also his pledge not to be ashamed of Dido (4.336). Camilla is not mindful of the missile weapon sent by Arruns (11.802). On how the previous day had been focused on the past (in contrast to today's focus on the present), see Mackie 1988, 155. *Sermo* also at 468.

promissi muneris: Ciceronian (*Ep. Fam.* 3.9.3.1 *Et velim, reliquuum quod est promissi muneris tui, mihi persolvam*); cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 3.365; also Sallust, *BI* 80.3.2. The participle is used with reference to the divine arms at 531 and 612; cf. 401. The language associates the boon of the shield with the aid that will be provided by the Arcadian king; *munus* in this case will refer most particularly to Evander's son. Note also 11.45–46 *haec haec Evandro de te promissa parenti / discedens dederam*; 152 *non haec, o Palla, dederam promissa parenti*. Camilla makes her own promise, to Turnus (11.503, the only first person promise in the epic). On Virgilian gifts and promises note Fratantuono and Smith on 5.109; Wiltshire 1989, 54–55. *Muneris* anchors the verse with *memor* in alliterative balance; cf. *minus* and *matutinus* in the next line.

heros: Juxtaposed with *munus* and perhaps in a significant position (though see Fordyce here); on Virgilian heroes see Fratantuono and Smith on 5.289.

465 nec minus Aeneas se matutinus agebat;

nec minus: Echoing 461 *nec non*. Lucretian; cf. 6.212 *nec minus Aeneas casu percussus iniquo* (after the Dido episode in the underworld); 12.107–108 *Nec minus interea maternis saevus in armis | Aeneas acuit Martem et se suscitāt ira*; 746 *Nec minus Aeneas, quamquam tardata sagitta*.

se ... agebat: Cf. 6.337 *Ecce gubernator sese Palinurus agebat*; 9.696 *et primum Antiphaten is enim se primus agebat* (of Turnus). *Sese* has strikingly good manuscript support; as Conington notes, "... apparently a proof that the knowledge of quantity had died out when those copies were written or corrected."

matutinus: On the artful repetition from the description of the morning song of the birds at 456, see Clausen 2002, 11–12; N.F. Lain in *VE* III, 1076. Aeneas is the man of the hour; on personal uses of temporal adjectives (a Grecism), see Eden, and Fordyce. The emphasis on the morning highlights the contrast with the night that witnessed Venus' seduction of Vulcan and the sexualized atmosphere of the commission of the arms.

466 filius huic Pallas, illi comes ibat Achates.

filius huic: Carefully balanced word order, with deliberate ambiguity for the start of the line; the language (i.e., the reversal of demonstratives) confuses the issue of Pallas' parentage. This is the morning of the start of Aeneas' mentorship of the young Arcadian hero; this is the day on which the Trojan hero will assume the role of surrogate parent to Evander's son (note here Gillis 1983, 60). The phrase echoes 104 above; cf. 7.50 (of Latinus' lost son); 7.649 (of the doomed Lausus); 9.93 (Jupiter to Cybele). For *filius* note Newman and Newman 2005, 35.

Pallas: The first mention of Evander's son since 168.

comes: Of Achates also at 6.158–159 (the parallel is analyzed by Weber 1988, 145 ff.). See further on 308 above.

Achates: Vid. R. Hexter in *VE* I, 5–6; F. Speranza in *EV* I, 8–9; Wright 1937; Hexter 1997 (on associations between the Trojan and Aqht/Aqhat from Ugaritic epic); L.E. Eubanks, "The Role of Achates: Comes Fidus Achates," in *Verg.* 28 (1982), 59–61; M. Lossau, "Achates, Symbolfigur der *Aeneis*," in *Herm.* 115.1 (1987), 89–99; and especially Weber 1988. For thoughts on the semantic associations of the name, see Paschalis 1997, 58 (connections to gems); Servius *ad* 1.312 (a personification of Aeneas' grief and unrest); S. Casali, "The King of Pain: Aeneas, Achates, and Achos in *Aeneid* 1," in *CQ* N.S. 58.1 (2008), 181–189. Aeneas' trusted companion is mentioned again at 521 and 586; this is his first appearance since

6.158–159, just before the discovery of the body of Misenu. Of an “oddly shadowy nature” (Hexter). His appearances in the poem are scattered to a degree sufficient to allow him to appear to be present more than he actually is; during the Dido episode, the drama in Sicily, and the crucial arrival in Latium and outbreak of the war he is nowhere to be found, while the frequent references to him in Book 1 serve to highlight his role from the start. He is wounded in the thigh by Numitor (10.341–344), an injury that prefigures Aeneas’ arrow wound at 12.319–323 (see here Gillis 1983, 89 ff. on the ancient tradition that the wound was in the thigh; Virgil clearly indicates a leg wound of some sort, without specification of just where on the leg the arrow struck). On the allegorical tradition that Achates stands for Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, see Powell 2015, 106. If the name refers to anxiety and suffering, then it is appropriately balanced with the reintroduction of Pallas (cf. 585 ff. for an important change from the present meeting of the four men).

Achates is the first to cry out that the Trojans have seen Italy: 3.523–524 ... *Italiam primus conclamat Achates, / Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant*; he is also the ambassador to and escort of the Sibyl Deiphobe (6.34–35). Achates’ presence here may remind us of Ascanius’ absence.

We may note that verse 466 of Book 10 (*tum genitor natum dictis adfatur amicis*) is the start of Jupiter’s response to his son Hercules in the wake of the Stoic hero’s groan at the prayer of Pallas.

467 congressi iungunt dextras mediisque residunt

congressi: The verb occurs also at 1.475 *infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli* (of Troilus; cf. 5.808–809 ... *Pelidae tunc forti / congressum Aenean nec dis nec viribus aequis*); 2.397–398 *multaque per caecam congressi proelia noctem / conserimus*; 10.540 *quem congressus agit campo* (Aeneas with Haemonides); 10.889 ... *et urgetur pugna congressus iniqua* (Mezentius with Aeneas); 11.631; 11.720 (Camilla with Aunides); 12.13 *congregior* (of Turnus); 12.233; 342; 465; 510 (markedly more common in the battle books). The four men meet and join hands in hospitable friendship and alliance; then they sit down to discuss the business at hand. The substantive *congressus* is found in the very different circumstances of 5.733 and 12.514.

iungunt dextras: Cf. 124; 164; 169.

mediis / 468 aedibus: Of the altar that will be desecrated by the killing of Priam (2.512); of the locus of the *Actoris Aurunci spoliū* (i.e., a spear) that Turnus seizes in hasty error at 12.92–93; cf. Statius, *Theb.* 2.678; Martial, *ep.* 9.61.5; Silius, *Pun.* 12.377; Apuleius, *Met.* 3.28.8; 4.18.26. The echo of Priam’s inner sanctum is baleful; in the new war it will not be the old man who is doomed, but the son (Pallas will be slain, just as Priam’s son Polites was slaughtered). The

allusion to Priam's court is particularly interesting in light of Evander's words at 470–471 below.

residunt: The verb also at 232 and 503.

468 aedibus et licito tandem sermone fruuntur.

aedibus: The noun occurs at 2.487 and 512 in connection to Priam's palace; at 12.93 in the description of Turnus' mistake regarding his spear; at 12.473 in the simile of Juturna's action with her brother on the battlefield; and at 12.607 of the cries in the wake of Amata's suicide—not an auspicious set of associations. On the location of the *aedes* note J.W. Mackail, "Notes on *Aeneid* VIII," in *CR* 35.5/6 (1918), 103–106, 106: "amid the cluster of buildings—the thatched huts and sheds grouped round a courtyard." The "peristylum" (Gould and Whiteley). Statius imitates this scene at *Theb.* 148 ff. (with *mediae sedes* for *aedes*).

licito: Participial forms of the verb occur in Virgil only here and at 10.106 (of Jupiter's observation at the war council that it has not been permitted for Teucrians and Ausonians to be joined in alliance) and 10.344 (of how it was not permitted that Numitor should wound Aeneas; Achates was struck instead, rather by way of a proxy, substitute sacrifice). Discussion had been limited on the previous day, one might conclude, because of the sacrificial rites in honor of Hercules—admittedly the rites were interrupted by the Trojan arrival, and indeed aid has already been promised. Notions of privacy are difficult to justify here (see Eden on the point that the men are in the middle of a courtyard).

tandem: Possibly, as Servius notes, with reference to the intervening night. It has been the better part of a day since the Trojans arrived in Pallanteum.

sermone: Echoing 464.

fruuntur: The verb is rare in Virgil; at 3.352 it describes the Trojan enjoyment of the settlement at Buthrotum; 4.619–620 ... *regno aut optata luce fruatur, | sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena* (Dido's curse on Aeneas); 7.90–91 *et varias audit voces fruiturque deorum | conloquio* (of Latinus' oracular consultation); cf. *G.* 1.300.

The line-end here may occur in col. VII of the *Carmen de Bello Aegyptiaco/Actiaco* (54 Courtney *sic illi in[ter] se misero [s]e[r]m[o]n[e] fruuntur*).

469–519 Evander offers a long speech, with special focus on the state of affairs in Etruria; an Etruscan army is prepared to fight against Turnus because of the shelter and defense that Turnus has shown to the exiled king Mezentius. Evander notes that he is too old to lead the Etruscans into battle against the Latins, and that Aeneas is clearly the destined man of the hour; the young Arcadian Pallas will be sent off to war with the Trojan leader, together with a squadron of Arcadian fighters. On Evander's speech see further Highet 1972, 253 ff.

469 rex prior haec:

A line that would almost certainly have been finished in a final revision of the epic; cf. 41 above and 536 below. “An obvious stop-gap” (Gransden); “... clearly an insertion ... a *tibicen*” (Eden). The king here is Evander, as we learn at once; it could just as well have been Aeneas, one might think (though Evander is admittedly the host—cf. 8.52; 102 *rex Arcas*; 126; 185 and 313 *rex Evandrus*). Note also the report sent about Aeneas’ monarchical aspirations at 8.11–12. For the possibility that the unfinished lines represent a late and not an early stage of composition, see Mackail 1930, 47; cf. Günther 1996, 40 ff. There is a convenient arrangement of all the hemistichs into editorial categories in G.P. Goold, “Servius and the Helen Episode,” in *HSCPh* (1970), 101–168, 151 (following Sparrow 1931, 30 ff.); cf. Fordyce’s long note on 7.129.

470 ‘maxime Teucrorum ductor, quo sospite numquam

maxime ... ductor: Cf. Lucan, *BC* 8.759–760; also Silius, *Pun.* 6.82–83. The honorific appellation firmly establishes Aeneas as the greatest leader of the Teucrians/Trojans, before Evander’s remark about the survival of Troy—a sentiment that will prove debatable in light of the revelations made at the reconciliation of Juno. For *ductor* see on 129, and especially 513; cf. *maximus / Teucrus* (3.107–108); 11.690–691 ... *duo maxima Teucrum / corpora* (of Pandarus and Bitias). One verse is devoted to the greatness of Aeneas as Trojan leader; one to the memory of the ruined city. For Virgilian depictions of Aeneas as leader note Cairns 1989, 5110.

quo sospite numquam: The language is echoed at 11.56–57 ... *nec sospite dirum / optabis nato funus pater*, where Aeneas comments ruefully at the bier of Pallas (the only other use of the adjective in the poet). Ovid has *Sed bene consuluit casto deus aequus amori. / versa est in cineres sospite Troia viro* (*Her.* 1.23–24); *arma videt, Turnusque cadit: cadit Ardea, Turno / sospite dicta potens* (*Met.* 14.573–574).

Sospes is an old word borrowed from Ennius (*epicus, tragicus*); Accius; Catullus (c. 64.112; 211); the two Virgilian uses link this courtyard meeting of Trojans and Arcadians with the Pallas tragedy that will reach its climax at the young hero’s requiem.

numquam: The negative is emphatically placed at line-end; it will have its coordinate verb at the close of 471.

471 res equidem Troiae victas aut regna fatebor,

res ... Troiae victas: A poetic topos (cf. e.g. Lucretius, *DRN* 5.326–327 *cur supera bellum Thebanum et funera Troiae / non alias alii quoque res cecinere poetae?*; A. 1.597 *I sola infandos Troiae miserata labores*; 6.56 *Phoebe, gravis Troiae semper*

miserate labores; 10.45–46 *dura, per eversae, genitor, fumantia Troiae | excidia obtestor*; Ps.-V., *Aetna* 589–590; Lucan, *BC* 9.964–965); in Virgil, note the theme of the resurgence of Troy (1.206 ... *illic fas regna resurgere Troiae*, as Aeneas consoles his shipwrecked men).

equidem: Cf. on 129; Servius was convinced that the etymology was *ego quidem* (which would work here); vid. further Horsfall *ad* 2.77. On the use of *equidem* in declarations “to strengthen the assertive illocutionary force” see Pinkster 2015, 309.

Evander’s speech is concerned with the realities of the current situation in central Italy; it opens with a powerful affirmation of the Arcadian’s belief in the continued existence of Troy, and a denial that Troy could be called defeated and conquered so long as Aeneas is safe and well. The aged king will prove to be on the wrong side of history in light of 12.836 *subsident Teucri*. The verses are carefully balanced; taken by itself, the present line expresses the reality that will reach complete fulfillment in the scene of Juno’s reconciliation to the Roman future.

regna fatebor: The line-end only here; it may have influenced Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 2.53 *hunc ego sideribus solum regnare fatebor*. For the verb cf. 2.77; 4.20; *duodecies* in the epic (3× in the *E.*). With *regna* cf. 475 *regnis*.

472 nobis ad belli auxilium pro nomine tanto

nobis: Balancing *pro nomine tanto*, and in close coordination with *exiguae vires* at the start of 473.

ad belli auxilium: Echoing 171. The difference here between an objective genitive and one of quality is very slight. The key word *auxilium* is placed at the midpoint of the verse.

tanto nomine: Ciceronian; cf. Propertius, c. 1.5.26 *quam cito de tanto nomine rumor eris!*; Ovid, *Ars* 1.193; Silius, *Pun.* 1.600; 6.462; 11.153; 12.388; 13.859. The onomastic comment links directly to the depiction of Evander’s starstruck son at 121 above: *obstipuit tanto percussus nomine Pallas*. The commentators have questioned just whose name is so great; the echo of the Pallas scene, as well as the order of the opening of the oration (where all the emphasis is on the greatest of Teucrian leaders and Priam’s city), seems to point to Troy and Aeneas (Servius; Wagner; Ruaeus; Gossrau; Sidgwick; Williams; Gransden); the alternative is to take it of the Arcadians (so Heyne; Forbiger; Benoist; Henry; Conington; Papillon and Haigh; Page; Gould and Whiteley; Eden; Fordyce).

473 exiguae vires; hinc Tusco claudimur amni,

exiguae vires: For the adjective cf. 4.212–213 *femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem | exiguam pretio posuit* (Iarbas’ complaint to Jupiter about Dido);

5.754 *exigui numero, sed bello vivida virtus* (in the repair work on the ships and preparation for the settling of Trojan refugees with Acestes); 6.492–493 ... *pars tollere vocem / exiguam* (in the underworld); 7.113 *exiguam in Cererem* (of the eating of the tables); 7.229 *dis sedem exiguam patriis litusque rogamus*; 10.128 *haud partem exiguam montis*; 11.62–63 ... *solacia luctus / exigua ingentis* (at the Pallas requiem). *Exiguus* thus associated with the establishment of some sort of new foundation, however meager; also in connection to death and the underworld. The meager forces of the Arcadians include the young and thus far untested Pallas. For how the Tiber's advice to Aeneas has secured him help by a "remarkably roundabout route," see Jenkyns 1998, 521–522; Evander will indeed show the way to help, but the substantial aid will come from Etruria, not a Greek city—even if the four hundred Arcadian horse (cf. 518–519 below) include the one ally whose death will have the greatest impact on Aeneas.

hinc / 474 *hinc* (also 478): For the stylistic device whereby "the general truth is definitely expressed," see Palmer 1915, 54.

Tusco ... amni: "Tuscan" also at 10.164 *quae manus interea Tuscis comitetur ab oris*; 10.199 *fatidicae Mantus et Tusci filius amnis*; 10.203 *ipsa caput populis, Tusco de sanguine vires*; 11.316 *est antiquus ager Tusco mihi proximus amni*. The river is the Tiber, here the border between Arcadian territory and Etruria. The river that has been a symbol of such promise and support is here imagined as a confining feature of the natural landscape. Dionysius considered *Tuscus* to be an inaccurate label (*Ant. Rom.* 1.30.3). For the name note Schulze 1904, 247.

claudimur: Cf. 1.233 *cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clauditur orbis?*. The verb reinforces the sense of *exiguae*; the Arcadians do not have much in the way of resources, and they are hemmed in geographically.

474 **hinc Rutulus premit et murum circumsonat armis.**

Rutulus: For the substantival use note 10.108 and 232. The reference here is not specifically to Turnus (for the "collective singular of national names" see Eden); Fordyce observes that it is puzzling to note a Rutulian threat to Pallanteum at precisely the time when Turnus' men are mobilizing to fight the Trojans; the reference is no doubt to the state of war between Arcadians and Rutulians, not to any specific, pressing peril. Part of the point, too, is that Evander cannot send away the bulk of his force and thus leave his unprotected flank exposed to attack.

premit: Vid. G. Garbarino in *VE* IV, 255–256; for other occurrences in a context of hostile action/war, note 1.467; 2.530; 10.232; 375; 11.545. For the question of why the Rutulians would attack the Arcadians (cf. 55, with a different emphasis), see Moorton 1989, 11: "... Turnus' attack would appear to be undeserved,

and the simplest way to explain his aggression would be to assume that Turnus wants what the Arcadians have,” with argument in favor of an imperialist reading.

circumsonat: The only appearance of the verb in Virgil; once in Cicero; Gratius (*Cyn.* 348); Manilius (*Astron.* 5.582); 3× in Livy; 5× in Ovid; twice in Statius; several times in Seneca. The Medicean has a corrected reading with the rare verb *circumtonat*.

armis: The little word in the “comparatively simple passage” (Conington) has an unusual range of textual variants; the Romanus has *arans*, while *arcens* and even *Arruns* have some attestation.

475 sed tibi ego ingentis populos opulentaque regnis

tibi ego: Cf. 472 *nobis*.

ingentis populos: In contrast to 473 *exiguae vires*. *Populi ingentes* is Sallustian (*BC* 10.1.2).

opulentaque: The adjective (Ennian, both epic and tragic) appears elsewhere in Virgil only at 1.447 ... *donis opulentum et numine divae*, of Dido’s temple to Juno to Carthage. Plautus has it often; cf. Catullus, c. 64.43; Lucretius, *DRN* 5.1122. Livy has ... *qui Caere opulento tum oppido imperitans* (1.2.3, of Mezentius).

regnis: Perhaps an ablative of respect; the Etrurian camps are literally “opulent with respect to their kingdoms”: “bold” and “extravagant” language, says Fordyce (“slightly unusual”—Eden). There may be a hint of the commonplace of Etruscan indulgence in sensual pleasures and hedonistic pursuits (cf. Tarchon’s upbraiding of his men at 11.732–740), in which case the expression suits the context. Could *regis* be read here, as the anonymous referee suggests (comparing Kvičala’s *regni*)? This would emphasize Tarchon’s status as the supreme Etruscan king (as it 10.149 *regem adit et regi memorat*); *opulenta* suggests the traditional view of the Etruscans as given to luxury. The reference is clearly to the *castra* of Tarchon (cf. 507); the *populi* are the united peoples of Etruria under his command, to be detailed in the Etruscan catalogue of Book 10 (where is he not mentioned because he is the supreme commander).

476 iungere castra paro, quam fors inopina salutem

iungere castra: Cf. Livy 1.28.1.4; 22.29.20.1; 25.14.2.4; *coniungere castra* is more common. “Opulent camps” may not be what one would expect from reliable military allies—but these are Etruscans, after all.

fors inopina: *Inopinus* also of the fateful *quies* that takes hold of Palinurus (5.857); cf. 6.104 *o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit* (Aeneas to Deiphobe). The “unexpected/unforseen chance” that shows the way to salvation is the fact

that Mezentius was expelled from Etruria and subsequently sheltered by Turnus; the Etrurians are thus divided, and Mezentius' enemies are in search of a leader in their quest to avenge themselves on the savage king. Aeneas is seeking military forces, and the Etruscans are in search of a *dux* (cf. 496). Effective word order, with *quam salutem* framing the *fors inopina*.

salutem: Another key word at line-end; see here Brenk 1999, 122 ff., who notes that the term is always associated in Virgil with the future security of Rome, with the sole exception of 5.174 (where Gyas throws Menoetes overboard during the regatta); the ship race is itself a type of the journey from Troy to Italy. *Salus* and *fors/fortuna* are closely related; cf. Turnus' comment to his sister Juturna at 12.637 *aut quae iam spondet Fortuna salutem?*. The implication of Evander's sentiment is that there would be no *salus* absent the timely help of the Etrurians; his forces are too meager to make any difference against Turnus and his allies. The concepts of both fortune and safety coordinate closely with 476 *fatis*; for *fors* as an agent of *fatum* see Henry 1989, 200–201n4.

477 ostentat: fatis huc te poscentibus adfers.

ostentat: The visual element once again. The verb occurs ten times in the epic (3× in Book 5: 357; 521; 567); Ennian and Pacuvian.

fatis ... poscentibus: Echoing 12 ... *et fatis regem se dicere posci*, of the Venulan report to Diomedes about affairs in Latium. The substance of the demands of destiny will be expressed at 503 *externos optate duces*. Cf. also 2.121 ... *cui fata parent, quem poscat Apollo*; 4.614 *et sic fata poscunt*; 5.707 ... *vel quae fatorum posceret ordo*; 6.45–46 ... *poscere fata | tempus*; 66–67 ... *da non indebita posco | regna meis fatis Latio considerare Teucris*; 7.272 ... *hunc illum poscere fata*; 8.511–512 ... *tu, cuius et annis | et generi fatum indulget, quem numina poscunt*. On the evocation of the Herculean analogy of the timely arrival of the man of destiny, see Henry 1989, 124–125. For consideration of this passage in light of the problem of who knows what when, see G. Williams 1983, 8–9.

adfers: The form also at 3.310–311 *verane te facies, verus mihi nuntius adfers, | nate dea?* (Andromache to Aeneas). Servius notes the reading *adfer*. Aeneas does not realize that he has arrived just in time to fulfill another prophecy and oracular pronouncement.

478 haud procul hinc saxo incolitur fundata vetusto

haud procul: Also at 603 and 642 below; Sallustian; Livian; a favorite expression of Quintus Curtius Rufus. Evander here begins his description of Agylla/Caere; Aeneas is being more deeply entangled in the political and military problems of primitive Italy. The emphasis again is on the small realm Evander rules; Etruscan Caere is not far away (thirty miles or so, in fact, northwest of Pal-lanteum/Rome).

saxo ... vetusto: Also at 3.84 (of the temple of Apollo at Delos); cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 5.383. *Vetustus* is elsewhere used of the temple of Ceres at 2.713–714; of the *vetusta gens* of Priam to which Euryalus' mother belongs (9.284); 10.388 (of the race of Rhoetus); 11.142 (of the *mos* practiced at Arcadian requiems). Of venerable antiquity (“antiquo opere”—Servius), with a connotation of strength and defense in the description of the stone.

incolitur: The only other use of the verb in Virgil is at 6.675, of the inhabitation of the souls in Elysium; Caesarian (*BG* 4.10.5.1; 5.12.1.1); Livian (9.4.12.3); Tacitean (*Germ.* 3.34).

fundata: The verb also of the *sedes* of the Idalian Venus (5.759–760); cf. 4.260; 6.4; 8.11; 7.410. Yet another urban foundation; Italy has already been the scene of significant settlement before the Trojan arrival. For the line-end cf. Lucan, *BC* 4.12 ... *fundata vetusta* (of Ilerda), with Asso's note.

479 *urbis Agyllinae sedes, ubi Lydia quondam*

Agyllinae: On Agylla (i.e., Caere, the modern Cerveteri, celebrated for the Regolini Galassi tomb) see R. Katz in *VE* 1, 46; M. Torelli in *PE* 180/Map 16; Saunders 1930, 46 ff.; Rehm 1932, 12; Montenegro Duque 1949, 220 ff.; McKay 1970, 81–86 (with reference to the wealth of the Etruscan *lucomones*); Bonfante and Bonfante 1983, 13 ff. (with consideration of the rich trade and economic life of the settlement); for the tomb cf. Holloway 1994, 160. Note here too C. Julius Hyginus, F8 Cornell (with note; in Hyginus the Etruscans and the Pelasgians are the same people). Virgil mentions the name also at 7.651 ff. *Lausus, equum domitor debellatorque ferarum, | ducit Agyllina nequiquam ex urbe secutos | mille viros ...*; cf. 12.279–281 ... *quos agmina contra | procurrunt Laurentum, hinc densis rursus inundant | Troes Agyllinique et pictis Arcades armis.*

Founded by the Pelasgians, whose relationship with the Etruscans is confused in the sources (Pliny, *NH* 3.51.5 *Agylla a Pelasgis conditoribus dictum*, where see Zehnacker's Budé note); cf. Dionysius, *Ant. Rom.* 1.20; Strabo 5.220, 226; *Schol. Veron ad* 10.183 (with citation of Varro and Marcus Verrius Flaccus); Herodotus 1.167. What matters for Virgil is that Agylla was a Lydian foundation. Lycophron (*Alex.* 1241) notes the sheep-rich pastures of Agylla as part of the itinerary of Aeneas' wanderings. For the origin of the name Agylla see especially Saunders 1930, 48–49.

Lydia: For Lydia/Lydian note B. Taylor in *VE* 11, 771; G. Colonna (“Lidi”) and G. Bonamente (“Lidia”) in *EV* 111, 217–219. Creüsa describes the Thybris as *Lydius* at 2.781–782; cf. 9.11 and 10.155. The western Asia Minor realm of Lydia was associated with the Etruscans from Herodotus (1.94, where see Asheri), who describes the Lydian colonization of Tyrrhenia; cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.55 (with Martin and Woodman). The poetic use of “Lydian” for Etruscan is Catullan (c. 31.13);

Ciceronian (*De Cons.* 2.34 Ewbanks, Soubiran *Lydius ediderat Tyrrhenae gentis haruspex*); note also Horace, *Serm.* 1.6.1–2 (with Gowers); Silius, *Pun.* 10.484–485. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.28–30) considered the Etruscans to be indigenous; see further here Newman and Newman 2005, 247. For Dionysius, decisive evidence comes from the character of life/manner of living and the language of the Tyrrhenians/Etruscans; no other nation is similar in these regards, and so the Etruscans are likely autochthonous. Not entirely certain if for Virgil “Agylla” were considered to be an Etruscan name, *versus* Caere as Pelasgian; see here Horsfall on 7.652 (and note also Harrison on 10.183, of Aeneas’ allies from Caere).

“Lydian” would be a familiar geographical marker for the Trojan Aeneas, especially in a context where he is acclaimed as the fated *ductor* of the Etruscans in time of war. There is also the fact that the Trojan Penates had advised Aeneas in dream visitation to seek out Corythus (3.167–171); Latinus notes that Corythus is Tyrrhenian at 7.209 (cf. 9.10–11). See further Reed 2007, 10–13. If Dardanus were Etruscan, and Aeneas also Etruscan, at some point we are brought back to Asia Minor and Lydia.

quondam: The point is that the settlement took place at some distant point in the past; from the viewpoint of an Augustan audience, however, the adverb may evoke both the great antiquity of the Etruscans and how their day has passed. “Yet again a simple adverb speaks to us of process” (Jenkyns 1998, 555).

480 *gens, bello praeclara, iugis insedit Etruscis.*

bello praeclara: The adjective is used by Dido at 4.655 *urbem praeclaram statui*; note also the *praeclara facta* of Pallas at 10.397–398; also 12.347 *antiqui proles bello praeclara Dolonis* (of the ancestry of the doomed Eumedes); Aristaeus’ rueful comment about his divine ancestry at *G.* 4.322—not a particularly optimistic set of associations. *Praeclarus* is Lucretian (also Accian; Ciceronian). With the excellence of the Etruscans in the works of war cf. the sentiments of 1.21–22.

insedit: The verb elsewhere in Virgil only in a decidedly gloomy context for Troy: 2.615–616 *iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas | insedit nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva*. Intransitive in Virgil; Valerius Flaccus has *arva ... inseditimus* (1.513, where see Galli’s note); cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.73.

Etruscis: For the adjective cf. 503. Eden notes that coastal cities were often erected on heights to minimize the peril of pirate raids. We end the brief description with an adjective that might seem indelibly associated with Italy (“What could be more Italian than the Etruscans?”—Jenkyns 1998, 555)—and yet the emphasis of Evander’s speech is on *Asia* (first with the survival of Troy, and second with the mention of Lydia that takes us back to Creüsa’s description

of the Tiber). For how the Trojan origin of Aeneas will be received in a neutral way by the Lydian Etruscans, see Cairns 1989, 121.

481 hanc multos florentem annos rex deinde superbo

florentem: The verb also at 7.643–644 ... *quibus Itala iam tum | floruerit terra alma viris* (at the start of the catalogue of heroes); 7.804 *agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas* (of the Volscian Camilla; cf. 11.433); also 4.202 *pingue solum et variis florentia limina sertis* (in the description of Iarbas' worship of Jupiter). Livy has ... *ad florentes opes Etruscorum Mezentiumque eorum* ... (1.2.3, one of the verbal echoes between the accounts of Mezentius' reign in the poet and the historian); ... *per multos florentis annos* (30.11.3.2–3); cf. Petronius, *Sat.* 132.10.2–3 ... *annos primo florentes vigore*. The participle is neatly framed by the many years the king flourished; the emphasis on the many years takes on special resonance and force in light of the account of the monarch's savagery. Sidgwick notes here: "pres. part., because *extended* ... but the time of the principal verb is later ... The usage ... is common in Greek." For the metaphor cf. on 500.

rex: Mezentius is reintroduced to the narrative; cf. on 7 above, and see especially Thome 1979, 24 ff.

deinde: For the postponement of the adverb see especially Gransden; here it has the effect of highlighting the change in Mezentius' fortunes.

superbo: For the adjective see on 118. "Der Träger der auf solche Weise ausgeübten Königswürde wird damit von vornherein in die Reihe derer aufgenommen, auf deren Bekämpfung sich Auftrag und Sendung des Aeneas beziehen und die Bestimmung Roms ausgerichtet ist, wie sie besonders prägnant im Aufruf des Anchises zum 'debellare superbos' (6,853) zum Ausdruck kommt" (Thome 1979, 25). We may compare here 11.15–16 ... *haec sunt spolia et de rege superbo | primitiae manibusque meis Mezentius est*; 11.539–540 *pulsus ob invidiam regno virisque superbas | Priverno antiqua Metabus cum excederet urbe*; indeed 2.556–557 ... *tot quondam populis terrisque superbum | regnatorem Asiae* (from Aeneas' commentary on the death of Priam); 6.817–818 *vis et Tarquinios reges animamque superbam | ultoris Bruti, fascisque videre receptos?*. For the emphasis on Mezentius' arrogance and the coordination of *superbo* with *imperio* and *armis* in 482, see Dainotti 2015, 46. For the steady drum beat of adjectives that demonize the exiled Etruscan king, see Clausen 2002, 165–166 (with comparison of Hercules and Cacus). Evander had mentioned first the Rutulian threat to Pallanteum (474); that is passed over quickly in favor of the more monstrous case of Mezentius, who will, after all, indirectly provide a ready army of allies for Aeneas from the ranks of his disgruntled former citizens.

“La decadencia acaece, en parte, por las crueldades de *Mezentius*, en parte porque *Lausus* arrastra en pos de sí sus mil guerreros que combaten con Turno” (Montenegro Duque 1949, 224). For how Mezentius’ acts of cruelty reflect the continuing threat of irrationality and “the forces of disorder,” see Block 1981, 164–165.

482 *imperio et saevis tenuit Mezentius armis.*

The verse is framed by the savage means by which the king held Agylla under his sway; every noun and adjective highlights the vicious character of his rule. For the question of how many people may have fled with Mezentius and Lausus, see Gransden 1984, 94; on the association of Mezentius with other exiled figures (including Saturn), see Rimell 2015, 33 ff.

imperio: Not necessarily of negative import *in se*; cf. Anchises’ underworld admonition *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento* (6.851); Venus’ remarks at the council of the gods (10.42–43 *nil super imperio moveor. speravimus ista, | dum fortuna fuit*); 11.234–235.

saevis ... armis: Cf. 12.889–890 *quid nunc deinde mora est? aut quid iam, Turne, retractas? | non cursu, saevis certandum est comminus armis* (Aeneas to Turnus, where the Trojan speaks *saevo sic pectore*)—an interesting metamorphosis for the Trojan hero who here listens to the same sort of behavior on the part of the disgraced Etruscan king he will one day slay. Note also Ovid, *Trist.* 1.5.73; Lucan, *BC* 4.578; Statius, *Theb.* 7.554; 8.179; Silius, *Pun.* 4.253; 10.310; 11.231; 12.716; also the depiction of Sulla at Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.38.8–9 (with Ash’s note). For *saevus* in Virgil note De Grummond 1968; also the same author’s “*Saevus dolor*: The Opening and Closing of the *Aeneid*,” in *Vergilius* 27 (1981), 48–52; C. Craca in *EV* IV, 643–645.

tenuit: For holding something by force of arms cf. 9.168–169.

For Evander’s casting of the Mezentius problem not in terms of the Etruscan monster’s relationship with Pallanteum, but rather in light of his treatment of his own people, see Adler 2003, 175 ff.

483 *quid memorem infandas caedes, quid facta tyranni*

quid memorem: Ennian; cf. Aeneas’ words to the Sibyl at 6.122–123 ... *quid The-sea, magnum | quid memorem Alciden? et mi genus ab Iove summo*. The verb of recollection is effectively juxtaposed with *infandas*.

infandas caedes: Cf. 489 below; here of acts of slaughter that are too horrible for words. For Virgilian uses of *infandus* note Nurtantio 2014, 154; cf. Ps.-V., *Culex infandas scelerata manus et caede cruenta* (of Agave). Livy has *de stupro infando Lucretiae et miserabili caede* (1.59.8.3); also *cruentos legatorum infanda caede* (4.32.12.3); *infandae colonorum caedis* (9.24.14.3); *caede infanda* (24.39.9.2). Note

also the gruesome Carthaginian practices instituted by Dido that are described by Silius (*Pun.* 4.765–767). *Infandus* in Virgil is associated with the disaster at Troy (2.3) and the travails of the Trojan exiles in the aftermath of the city's destruction (cf. 1.251, 525, 597); also of the Cyclopes, who are *infandi* (3.644); the love of Dido for Aeneas (4.85; cf. 4.613); the war in Latium (7.583); Evander's fears for his son's safety (578 below); the death to which Turnus laments he has left his men (10.673); the Greek sufferings after the Trojan War (11.257); Clytemnestra (11.267); the war that Jupiter notes has been set in motion by Juno (12.804).

quid facta ... / 484 *effera*: For the adjectival *rejet* to secure emphasis, see Dainotti 2015, 110n356.

484 *effera? di capiti ipsius generique reservent!*

effera: For the adjective see on 6 and 205 above, also Newman and Newman 2005, 256–257; half of its Virgilian uses occur in this book. On the echoes of the Cacus episode see Thome 1979, 29n52. The present scene will reach its climactic fulfillment at 10.897–898 ... *ubi nunc Mezentius acer et illa | effera vis animi?*, of Aeneas before the death of the Etruscan king.

di, etc.: Not a curse in the same manner as the famous Didonian imprecations of 4.24–27; 381–387, and 607–629, though this is certainly an appeal to the gods for retributive punishment (vid. further L. Watson in *VE* 1, 323); the closest parallels to the present expression in the epic are probably 2.190–191 and 6.529–530. *Generi* has an interesting force here, considering that Mezentius' people are divided; the *genus* refers to those who have chosen to accompany the king into exile. For “the class of ‘realizable’ wishes ... curses, maledictions, and invocations of the gods and fate, which are particularly common in the early Latin comedies,” see Pinkster 2015, 505 ff. The present verse looks forward to the deaths of both Mezentius and Lausus at the hands of Aeneas.

capiti ipsius: With emphatic reference to Mezentius. For the intensive pronoun cf. 490.

reservent: The verb will recur at 575, in the context of the hope or expectation of Pallas' safety; it is also used by Dido in her complaint to Aeneas (4.368); and by Iris/Beroe in her efforts to secure the burning of the Trojan fleet (5.625)—another baleful set of echoes.

485 *mortua quin etiam iungebat corpora vivis*

The savage practice described here was cited by Cicero in his lost *Hortensius* (and the Roman orator claims Aristotle as a source); we have a quotation from Augustine in his *contra Pelagianos* (4.15; the Ciceronian fragment is n. 95 Mueller). Valerius Maximus notes (9.2.10): *Ac ne Etrusci quidem parum*

feroces in poena excogitanda, qui vivorum corpora cadaveribus adversa adversis alligata atque constricta, ita ut singulae membrorum partes singuli essent accommodatae, tabescere simul patiebantur, amari vitae pariter ac mortis tortores. E. Adelaide Hahn speculated in *The Classical Weekly* 20.6 (1926), 43 that the practice may have been both primitive and widespread, citing an account of the burial of a live infant with its dead mother in Pueblo, Colorado. For the possibility that Virgil makes a “ghastly” practice even worse by introducing “a horrific flourish of his own” (i.e., necrophilia), see P. Burke, “The Role of Mezentius in the *Aeneid*,” in *CJ* 69.3 (1974), 202–209, 203. The Mezentian *caedes* were unspeakable, but Evander will nonetheless offer some gruesome details (and see 492 for a different sort of *caedes*). See further Thome 1979, 26–27n42; Heuzé 1985, 121; P.T. Eden, “The Etruscans in the *Aeneid*,” in *PVS* 4 (1964–1965), 31–40; Perret’s Budé note ad loc.; Basson 1975, 137–138 (on the indication from the start in Virgil that the Etruscan king is of questionable character). The dead and the living frame the line.

Some have seen a connection here with the human offerings that Aeneas will seize for slaughter at the Pallas requiem (10.517–520; 11.81–82, the latter with Horsfall’s note on the problems of viewing this as a “sacrifice” ritual); there have also been attempts to connect Mezentius’ savagery with Etruscan funereal practices and the origins of gladiatorial combat.

quin: With *etiam*, to indicate the addition of a new point (*OLD* s.v. 3): Pacuvius; Plautus; Terence; Lucretius. “*Quin* went rapidly out of use after the Classical period except in authors who followed the Classical usage” (Pinkster 2015, 703).

iungebat corpora: Horrific reworking of Lucretius, *DRN* 5.962 *et Venus in silvis iungebat corpora amantum* (which may account for any Virgilian necrophiliac insinuations).

This line was imitated by Serenus at *Lib. Med.* 33.640 *mortua quin etiam producit corpora partu*.

486 componens manibusque manus atque oribus ora,

componens: The verb underscores the horror; the bodies of the living and the dead were not simply lashed together, but they were carefully fitted so that hands were interlocked and mouths were joined. Mezentius is depicted as if he were some sadistic artist or composer of graphic horror. The savagery of Mezentius’ mode of execution will find a rival in the description of the punishment of Mettius Fufius on the shield (642–645), in which “Aeneas’ shield seems to revel” (Newman and Newman 2005, 239).

manibusque manus: A terrible reimagining of the hands that interlocked with hands in the boxing contest (5.429 *immiscentque manus manibus pugnamque lacessunt*); cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 5.409.

oribus ora: Mezentius fixes together the faces of the living and those of the dead in disgusting union; Cacus set up the heads of his victims as grisly trophies outside his lair (195–197). “Mezentius will be one of the first to follow in Cacus’ footsteps and will suffer accordingly” (Putnam 1966, 132).

On the polyptoton see Dainotti 2015, 226–227.

487 *tormenti genus, et sanie taboque fluentis*

tormenti genus: *Tormentum* is used of a siege engine at 11.616 and 12.922 (*OLD* s.v. 2); only here in the poet of a method of torment. *Genus* recalls the language of Evander’s imprecation at 484. Kronenberg 2005, 408 ff. notes that this means of killing one’s victims is not attributed anywhere else to Mezentius; she perceptively associates Mezentius with Epicurean beliefs on the nature and relationship of body and soul. “Exclamatio est inventi supplicii” (Servius); Danielis notes that Evander is also condemning the practice (“et etiam detestatio”). Fordyce finds the expression “strangely prosaic”; Eden cites other poetic parallels. Evander’s point is that Mezentius wanted his victims to suffer extreme torment; one might find the present passage reminiscent of wartime atrocity stories (both all too real and exaggerated), of the sort used both to motivate soldiers and to secure just convictions for war crimes. See Henry for the use of *tormenti genus* with respect to ancient artillery (Festus; Ammianus).

sanie: The noun is rare in Virgil; at 2.221 *perfusus sanie* it is used of Laocoön, and in Book 3, a powerful three times in association with the feasting on human flesh of the Cyclops Polyphemus (3.618; 625; 632); on this note Raabe 1974, 234n50. Cf. also *G.* 3.493. Servius notes that *sanie* is used of the putrefaction of the dead, and *tabes* of the living (a distinction Eden considers “entirely sophisticated”).

taboque: For the noun see on 197 above; another reminder of the Cyclops (3.626).

The collocation of *sanie* and *tabum* is Ennian: *Thy.* fr. 296–297 Jocelyn *ipse summis saxis fixus asperis, evisceratus, / latere pendens, saxa spargens tabo sanie et sanguine atro*, where see Jocelyn’s note on poetic descriptions of the recently dead. Note also Lucan, *BC* 6.547–549; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.749 (with Spaltenstein), and Silius, *Pun.* 6.237. With the scene of wet decomposition and repulsive gore Conington compares the ghastly death of a Sabellian because of a the bite of a *seps* at Lucan, *BC* 9.762 ff.

fluentis: The Wolfenbüttel (and the Montepessulanus) read *fluenti* here. On the liquescence and putrefaction see Benoist’s note.

488 complexu in misero longa sic morte necabat.

complexu ... misero: The noun also at 582 (of Evander's embrace of Pallas); cf. 1.715 (the disguised Cupid with Aeneas); 4.616 ... *complexu avulsus Iuli* (in Dido's curse on Aeneas). Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 3.165. For the noun in amatory contexts note Propertius, c. 1.13.19; 4.7.96. We might think, too, of the means by which Hercules killed Cacus (260 above); Aeneas will recall Evander's embrace at 11.46, in the wake of Pallas' death.

longa ... morte: A perversion of the conceit of the lovers who lament being separated too soon; the miserable embrace ends only after a long and drawn out death. *Misero* and *longa* are deliberately juxtaposed.

sic: Of the inevitable conclusion of the dreadful *tormenti genus*; see further Fordyce on 7.668.

necabat: The only occurrence of the verb in Virgil. *Necare* is Ennian (*Ann.* fr. s.i. 573 Skutsch). The imperfect may describe the frequentative nature of Mezentius' savage practice. The line-end is Ciceronian (*Arat. Phaen.* fr. 34.424 Ewbank, Soubiran). *Subitanea morte necatus* is attested epigraphically (Hoogma 1959, 309). A prosaic, brutal verb for a brutal action. On how Mezentius will prove to be a rare example in the epic of someone who is punished for desecration, see I. Köster in *VE* I, 353.

489 at fessi tandem cives infanda furem

at: The adversative conjunction shifts the focus from Mezentius to his beleaguered and aggrieved citizenry.

fessi ... cives: Mezentius was expelled by his own citizens, in what amounts to the start of a civil war in Etruria. The Etruscans are tired, but not so tired that they cannot take strong action to remove a monster from power. For the republican sentiments of the citizenry see Hammer 2014, 220.

tandem: With reference to a frustration rather more serious, one might think, than that implicitly referenced at 468.

infanda: Echoing the *infandas caedes* of 483; cf. 248 *insueta rudentem* (of Cacus). For the grammar see Pinkster 2015, 85: "*Infanda* may be taken as: 'in his rage he produced unspeakable utterances' and not adverbially as 'he manifested an unspeakable rage' or 'he raged in an unspeakable manner.'"

furem: For the idea that in Virgil there is a distinction between qualified and unqualified rage (the former just, the latter unreasonable), see R.F. Thomas, "Furor and Furiarum in Virgil," in *AJPh* 112.2 (1991), 261. The accusative participle is particularly associated with Dido (1.659; 4.65; 283; 465; 548; the model is the Ariadne of Catullus, c. 64.124); it is employed also of Neoptolemus (2.499); Amata (7.350). See further on 228 above. Mezentius rages in his madness; his citizens soon enough indulge in retributive acts of violence. On the "Aristotelian, reactive" terms of the Argyllan response, see Braund and Most 2004, 218.

For the “heterodyned spondaic lines” at 489–490, see Eden: “like the slow menacing marking-time of resolute demonstrators.”

490 armati circumsistunt ipsumque domumque,

For the four-word hexameter see on 103; 158; 263.

armati circumsistunt: Livy has *centuriones armati Mettium circumsistunt* (1.28.7.1). The verb is Caesarian; its place here across the caesura enacts the effort of the Etruscans to surround Mezentius’ residence (on this note both Gransden ad loc., and—for the spondaic rhythm—Dainotti 2015, 79–80n261 on the “menacing tramp of the soldiers”). Note also 595 and 640. The image here is of a siege; we might also recall Phoenix and Odysseus guarding the Trojan spoils at 2.762–763; the giants Pandarus and Bitias in defense of the Trojan camp towers at 9.678–679. The armed action of the Etruscans here is in some sense the start of their involvement in the Latin war; on this see further Thome 1979, 32 ff.

Mezentius will echo the language of this image in his last words to Aeneas at 10.904–905 ... *scio acerba meorum / circumstare odia*.

ipsumque domumque: Imitated by Statius at *Theb.* 5.639–640.

491 obtruncat socios, ignem ad fastigia iactant.

obtruncat: The verb also of Pyrrhus’ slaughter of Polites (2.663); of the murder of Polydorus (3.55); of Orestes’ killing of Neoptolemus (3.332); of Caedicus’ of Alathous (10.747); and of Achates’ of Epulo (12.459); cf. *G.* 3.374; Plautus, Sallust, Livy. Anger at Mezentius is also directed against his *socii*; this is the first indication in Evander’s speech that Mezentius has allies. The verse is framed by the two verbs.

ignem ... iactant: A reworking of the Ciceronian astronomical description of *et Gemini clarum iactantes lucibus ignem* (*Arat. Phaen.* fr. 34.331 Ewbanks, Soubiran). The scene is reminiscent of descriptions of the destruction of cities (2.477–478, on Troy’s last night); the idea Venus gives to Aeneas of setting fire to Latinus’ capital (cf. 12.569). For the association of Mezentius with fire see Alessio 1993, 27.

fastigia: For the noun see on 366. For the noun with *ignis* note Statius, *Theb.* 10.600.

Here begins a rather different version of the Mezentius legend than that found in the fragments of Cato’s *Origines* (F6–F10 Cornell, where see the editor’s commentary).

492 ille inter caedem Rutulorum elapsus in agros

Cf. 709 below; also 11.648 and 729.

caedem: Now of his *socii*, in contrast to the unspeakable crimes of 483. An interesting twist is worked on the narrative; even in the highly rhetorical account of Evander, the Etruscans who were in revolt because of the *infandas caedes* of Mezentius have now reacted with their own *caedes*.

The singular *caedem* here is the reading of M, R, and several Carolingians; *caedes* is also attested (Conte compares 709 below, and 11.648 and 729 for the use of *inter caedes*), while P and the Wolfenbüttel offer *cedes*. The plural would accord more closely with the *infandas caedes* of 483; note also 537.

Rutulorum ... in agros: Mezentius flees to the Rutulians. The commentators note here the change from the tradition found in both Cato and Livy, where Turnus is the one who flees to Mezentius (and cf. Dionysius' account at *Ant. Rom.* 1.64.4–65.5 of how Turnus died before the rest of his people allied with the Etruscan king). Evander offers no indication of just how Mezentius escaped the siege and burning of his house; one must imagine that there was a skirmish as king, prince, and surviving *socii* fought their way through to safety.

In Virgil's account, the Etruscan king, his son, and a sizable contingent of men are already on the side of Turnus when war breaks out between the Trojans and the Latins. The only "local" forces willing to ally with Aeneas are the Arcadians (who have relatively little in the way of resources, and comparatively few men), and the Etruscans under Tarchon who are at war with Mezentius. A thousand men accompany Lausus (7.652–653); the assembled Etruscans of 10.166 ff. offer a larger force: the first in the catalogue alone (Massicus) has a thousand soldiers. Still, Mezentius and Lausus lead a not insignificant contingent by any means—Etruria is in a civil war. A good overview of the problems of the Virgilian reception of the tradition can be found in L. Kronenberg's article in *VE* 11, 827–828 (after Kronenberg 2005, with emphasis on how Mezentius may serve as "an impious monster or a rational and godlike hero"); we do well to remember that the worst aspects of Mezentius' character are distilled through the story of Evander. Note also Chaudhuri 2014, 69 ff. (on the question of Mezentius as theomach).

Turnus' "fault," it would seem, is to have sheltered Mezentius, Lausus, and their men; by the time Virgil is finished with the deposed Etruscan monarch, he will have undergone a transformation (cf. Burke 1974-CJ) that redounds to his credit and an ambivalent reading of Aeneas. What is interesting to note, too, is that we heard nothing of the resultant war (see below on 495) in Book 7 or at the start of 8 (did Turnus and Mezentius realize that Tarchon would pursue the exiled king?). When Aeneas visits the Etruscan Tarchon at 10.146 ff., he will ("astutely"—Harrison ad loc.) mention Mezentius first, and then make refer-

ence to Turnus' *violenta pectora* (10.151)—but there is no reference to Evander's note about Turnus as *hospes* (8.493). One explanation here is that Tarchon's forces have been delayed (8.498ff.); the crown of Etruria has already been offered to Evander as a potential *externus dux*, but the aged king has declined the honor.

The mention of the Rutulian *agri* may point to the tradition that Mezentius demanded the *primitiae* of the Rutulians (Catonian lore that is almost certainly alluded to at 11.16 *primitiae*, where see Horsfall; cf. Macrobius, *Sat.* 3.5.10; Fantam on Ovid, *Fast.* 4.879–896; and, on the subtle reference to a version not included in the Virgilian narrative, O'Hara 2007, 85; cf. Panoussi 2009, 28ff. on the implications of the “first-fruits” imagery in terms of sacrifice). At Pliny, *NH* 14.88, Mezentius is said to have asked for the entire vintage; for Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom.* 45) the demand was made from Aeneas as well as the Latins, and for Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* 1.65.2) it was made of Ascanius, since in his account Mezentius managed to survive both Turnus and Aeneas.

elapsus: So of Antenor (1.242); Panthus (2.318); Polites (2.526 *Ecce autem elapsus Pyrrhi de caede Polites*); Dioreas at the foot race (5.326); Entellus at the boxing match (5.445). The verb emphasizes the notion of having slipped through the cordon of besiegers; cf. 11.541 (Camilla's father Metabus, a doublet of Mezentius). Mezentius' exile may well be transformed into a particular point of sympathy for the tyrant; cf. the textual controversy at 10.849–850 ... *heu, nunc misero mihi demum / exilium/exitium infelix, nunc late vulnus adactum* (with Harrison ad loc.; also Gaertner 2007, 133 on the association of Mezentius with the Tarquins, and Turnus as an Argive, “a kind of Greek abroad,” a hostile figure in contrast to Evander).

493 *confugere et Turni defendier hospitis armis.*

confugere ... defendier: The historical infinitives (vid. Pinkster 2015, 527–531) express the rapidity of both the flight and the Arcadian king's *précis* of events; cf. N.F. Lain in *VE* 111, 1235. *Confugere* occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at 1.666 *ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco*, of Venus' plea to Cupid before Dido's banquet. By having Mezentius be the one who flees and not Turnus, Virgil also crafts the opportunity for a parallel between Aeneas and Mezentius (and, by extension, Evander and Turnus). The prefix is intensive.

defendier: Here the archaic present infinitive passive may speak to the solemn pledge of hospitality that Turnus has made to Mezentius; mere metrical convenience will not explain away a fourth foot use (as opposed to a dactylic fifth foot occurrence).

hospitis: Cf. 463, in a very different context; also 346 (on the etymology of the *Argiletum*). Were it not for the question of Mezentius' savagery, Turnus' hospi-

tality would be considered praiseworthy *in se*; it is not entirely certain that he should be expected to refuse the request of, say, a suppliant (not to mention the question of the needs of Lausus and the *socii*). On the question of how Turnus' decision to be *hospes* to Mezentius leads to the entanglement of Latinus' people in Etruscan affairs, see Gransden 1984, 93. Coffee 2010, 75 explores the idea that Evander may be imposing his own view of the guest-friend relationship on an "alliance of convenience."

494 *ergo omnis furiis surrexit Etruria iustis*,

Interlocking word order expresses Evander's conclusion that Turnus' reception of Mezentius has led to the uprising of "all Etruria." Eden comments on the sudden change of subject. The narrative is rapid and compressed; Evander knows that there is pressing business at hand, and his story raises many questions the poet leaves unanswered.

ergo omnis: Cf. 2.26 *ergo omnis longo solvit se Teucra luctu*.

omnis ... Etruria: Sallustian and Livian.

furiis: Cf. 205 and 219 above; we may also note 12.946 ... *furiis accensus et ira*, of Aeneas with Turnus (of whom Mezentius is a precursor); 501 of the *merita ira* engendered by Mezentius.

surrexit: The verb offers a neat play of words with the target of the just fury—the deposed *rex* Mezentius.

iustis: In the emphatic final position. Conington compares the *iustus dolor* of 500–501 below. On the question of the limits of just anger, see especially Newman and Newman 2005, 238–239; note also Henry 1989, 170, 206n9; Thornton 1976, Appendix A; Armstrong et al. 2004, 103 ff.

495 *regem ad supplicium praesenti Marte repossunt*.

supplicium: The noun also in Dido's frenzied wishes for Aeneas at 4.383 *supplicia hausurum*, etc.; also of Deiphobus' punishment (6.499); of the purgation described by Anchises (6.740); of Latinus' warning to Turnus of what he faces (7.597); of the travails suffered by the Greeks after Troy (11.258); of Diomedes' personal woes (11.274); of Camilla's fate as lamented by Opis (11.842). Mezentius, Camilla, Turnus: the three major deaths of the final movements (even if not in one case the very end) of Books 10–12.

praesenti Marte: For the reference to the war god see on 433–434 above, and cf. 515–516 and 556–557. The adjective is used of death (1.91, with *mors*; 10.622, with *letum*); in Nisus' prayer to Luna (9.404 *tu, dea, tu praesens nostro succurre labori*); note also 12.76–761 *Aeneas mortem contra praesensque minatur / exitium*. The metonymical (cf. Bailey 1935, 115) reference to Mars here refers to the war that Etruria threatens against Turnus and his Rutulians for sheltering

Mezentius; it is another bit of deft rhetorical engagement with Aeneas, given that the Etruscans are in fact waiting for an *externus dux* to lead them to war, and Turnus thus far has not appeared to be concerned in the least about the threat from his northern neighbors (again, he may not know of their plans). The extent to which the extent is temporal and/or locative is not definitively expressed; one need not imagine that there is an Etruscan army waiting on Turnus' borders (cf. 497–498), especially one bereft of a leader. On the strife and violence in Italy and its apparent conflict with the image of a “golden world,” see Jenkyns 1998, 494 (with distinction between violence civil and external). For the “urgent *presentness*” that marks this encounter of Evander with Aeneas, see Otis 1964, 339.

reposcunt: Cf. 2.139–140 (in Sinon's mendacious tale); 6.530 (Deiphobus' wish for the Greeks to be punished); 7.606 (of the reclaiming of the standards of Crassus); 10.374 *hac vos et Pallanta ducem patria alta reposcit*; 11.240 (Latinus' request that Venulus report on his embassy); 12.2 ... *sua nunc promissa reposci* (of Turnus); 12.573 *ferte faces propere foedusque reposcite flammis* (Aeneas of his intention to destroy Latinus' city). The verb frames the line with *regem* with alliterative force. Evander's note about the Etruscan demand is left vague and unspecified; again, we have heard nothing of this situation until now.

496 his ego te, Aenea, ductorem milibus addam.

his ego te: The little monosyllables juxtapose the Etruscan allies; the Arcadian Evander; and the Trojan Aeneas. The prominent role of Evander in the negotiation and arrangement of the Etruscan/Trojan alliance secures the Arcadian's position as the great helper of Aeneas.

Aenea: The vocative is used by Polydorus' ghost (3.41); Palinurus (5.17); Deiphobe (6.52, 261, 539); Cymodocea (10.229); Turnus (10.649); Latinus (12.197); Iapyx (12.428). The hero's name is framed by pronoun and title.

ductorem: Echoing 470; cf. Cairns 1989, 5110.

milibus: *Mille* appears twice in the Etruscan catalogue of Book 10 (167, 178); on Virgilian numbers, vid. J.D. Morgan in *VE* 11, 917–918.

497 toto namque fremunt condensae litore puppes

toto ... litore: Also at 4.397–398; 416; 11.199; see further Antoine 1882, 215.

fremunt: *OLD* (s.v. 2a) takes this of inarticulate protest and complaint, of grumbling, muttering and growling. Vid. further A. Traina in *EV* 11, 590–591. We may think of the personification of Furor at 1.296, especially in light of the *iustae furiae* of 494.

condensae: Elsewhere in Virgil only at 2.517 *condensae et divum amplexae simulacra sedebant*, in the comparison of Hecuba and her daughters to doves;

the verb is Lucretian (*DRN* 1.392; 575; 606; 2.100; 4.57; 5.486; 6.102; 466). The participle is deliberately chosen to evoke the image of a massed, massive force of naval units; it coordinates closely with *toto*.

litore: The commentators note that at 503–504, the Etruscan military has apparently withdrawn from the shore; cf. Fordyce's comment "more picturesque than clear" (on the exact movements of Tarchon's forces). Evander's language here is deliberately crafted to encourage Aeneas to go at once to take command of the sizable allied force; all the emphasis first is on the excitement of the Etruscan force, before the news of what the aged soothsayer said about leadership of the contingent (498 ff.).

puppis: Something of a surprise; we might have expected the Etruscans to be protesting and muttering, but the poet transfers the action to the ships, only at once to shift back to the men at 498 *iubent*. "By an obvious figure the ships are used for men" (Sidgwick). The line-end *litore puppes* occurs also at 3.135; 277; 6.901 (where see Austin, and Horsfall on the textual problem); cf. Lucan, *BC* 2.649; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.412; Silius, *Pun.* 17.201.

498 *signaque ferre iubent, retinet longaevus haruspex*

For the "*asyndeton adversativum in après-rejet*" see Dainotti 2015, 144.

signaque ferre: As at 7.628 *signaque ferre iuvat sonitusque audire tubarum*. Catullus has *nec te ferre sinam fortunae signa secundae* (c. 64.222), of Theseus' white sails (not exactly parallel); Caesarian (*BG* 1.39.7.3; *BC* 1.64.1.5); Livian. Anachronistic Roman military language.

iubent: The subject shifts now to Tarchon's men; once again, the atmosphere is hurried and full of excitement.

retinet: Of the inability of the trainers to restrain the horses at 5.669; cf. 10.308 *Nec Turnum segnīs retinet mora*.

longaevus: The adjective also of Priam (2.525); of the guardians of Ganymede on the cloak of Cloanthus (5.256–257); of Anchises (3.169; 5.535); of Beroe (5.620); of Aeneas (6.764); of Latinus (7.166); of Butes (9.650); of Daunus (12.44); of Iapyx (12.420). The aged soothsayer is balanced at line-end by the chosen youth of verse 499.

haruspex: Also in an Etruscan context at 11.739–740 ... *dum sacra secundus haruspex / nuntiet* (in Tarchon's speech to his men during the cavalry battle). For soothsaying in Virgil note E. Montanari in *EV* 11, 836–837 (with illustration). Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15.577 (with Bömer, and Hardie); also Murgatroyd on Tibullus, c. 1.8.3–4 (on the practice of *extispicium*); Pease on Cicero, *De Div.* 1.3.

499 fata canens: 'o Maeoniae delecta iuventus,

fata canens: Repeated at 10.417 of the fate of Halaesus; cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.43. So of the Sibyl at 3.443–344 *insanam vatem aspicias, quae rupa sub ima / fata canit foliisque notas et nomina mandat*; note also Cicero, *De Div.* 2.98.9; Horace, c. 1.15.4–5; Ovid, *Her.* 21.232; *Ibis* 246. The revelation of the *haruspex* is reminiscent of the incubatory pronouncement of 7.96 ff. “Etruscan prophecies make Aeneas seem to Evander a savior sent by the gods to his people and the Etruscans” (O’Hara 1990, 51). See further Adler 2003, 180 ff. (on the difficult question of just how foreign one must be to satisfy the oracles of Books 7 and 8, and the problem of why the “native” resources of Latium and Etruria are apparently somewhat lacking).

Maeoniae: Properly of a region in eastern Lydia (see here G. Senis in *EV* 111, 306–307; L. Fratantuono in *VE* 11, 778–779; Kirk on Homer, *Il.* 2.864–866), and by extension a poeticism for Etruria; for the same use note 11.759. The adjectival form is used in a derogatory description of Aeneas’ Asian dress by Iarbas at 4.216; cf. also 9.546 (with Hardie) and 10.141 (with Harrison); *G.* 4.380 (with Erren’s note); also 11.759 *Maeonidae*. Another appellation that is likely to be of some comfort and appeal to Aeneas (see here Reed 2007, 11). Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace, c. 1.6.2.

delecta iuventus: Cf. 606 ... *lecta iuventus*; Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.831a. The phrase also at the fateful hunt at Carthage (4.130); of the Trojan leaders at 9.226. The phrase is Ciceronian (*Pro Mil.* 67.7); Livian; once in Lucan and once in Silius. For *iuventas* cf. 5; 151; 182; 545; 606.

500 flos veterum virtusque virum, quos iustus in hostem

flos veterum, etc.: Cf. 481 *florentem*. On Virgilian flower imagery see G. Maggiuli in *EV* 11, 529–531; useful for general reflections is T.J. Haarhoff, “Virgil’s Garden of Flowers and His Philosophy of Nature,” in *G&R* 5.1 (1958), 67–82. Ennius has *Flos delibatus populi Suadaique medullla* (*Ann.* fr. 9.308 Skutsch), and Danielis identified the Virgilian expression as “Ennian” (see further here Wigodsky 1972, 41)—but the flower imagery and metaphor has a long literary history from Homer (e.g., *Il.* 13.484) and the lyric poets, for use in a variety of contexts (vid. Garvie on Aeschylus, *Pers.* 59–60; Friis Johansen and Whittle on *Supp.* 663–664; cf. *Ag.* 197–198, where spinning/wool imagery is also employed to describe the “flower” of the Argives; the “flower of the Thespian army” of Thucydides 4.133; Barsby on Terence, *Eun.* 319). Here the poet brings together the generations (with *flos* and *veterum* in deliberate juxtaposition); the youth of Maeonia are the flower and *virtus* of a race of storied men of old (*veterum* ... *virtum*). Strong alliterative effect marks the honorific address. Cf. Lucan, *BC* 2.196 *tum flos Hesperiae, Latii iam sola iuventus* (with Fantham); also 3.484; Cicero, *Pro Sest.* 88.7.

Livy speaks of the *flos iuventae* of Scipio that appeared to be renewed after his illness in Spain (28.35.7).

In Virgil floral descriptions are used of the deaths of both Euryalus (9.433–437) and Pallas (68–71); we may compare the floral offerings associated with the Marcellus requiem (6.883–886); again, the use is Homeric (*Il.* 8.306–308), distilled through Catullus (c. 11.21–24; 61.87–90; 62.39–44). Flowers are thus often associated in Virgil's epic with death; at 12.68–69, Lavinia's blush is compared to the contrast between lilies and roses—a blush that inflames the doomed Turnus. In the *Roman d'Enéas* Pallas is the *flour de jouvante* (6212 Petit). Plautus refers to the *flos poetarum* at *Casina* 18. One may wonder just how far the botanical/agricultural metaphor was felt in many of these expressions.

veterum ... virum: Cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.11–12. *Virtus* points especially at the ability of the men to fight well in the present circumstance of war; note further R. Laurenti in *EV* V, 564–568. On the association of *virtus* and *vir* see O'Hara 2017, 127–128. See further on 548.

iustus: Directly following on 494 *furiis iustis*. *Iustus dolor* is Ciceronian (*De Part. Orat.* 105.3–4); cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.71.3.

hostem: The referent is general; it may be taken inclusively of Mezentius (cf. 501) and his men, and (even if secondarily) of Turnus as *hospes* of the hated exile (and, via guilt by association, the Rutulians and their Latin allies).

“... si noti la forte allitterazione ... a celebrazione della forza etrusca; non si dimentichi che Virgilio era orgoglioso dell'origine etrusca della sua Mantova ...” (Paratore).

501 fert dolor et merita accendit Mezentius ira,

dolor: Vid. M. Ogawa in *EV* 11, 121–122 (“In alcuni passi *dolor* indica l'ira che sprona eroi e guerrieri al combattimento”), and cf. 219–220 above.

merita: Again with an echo of the *furiae iustae* of 484; for the verb *mereo* and its Virgilian uses note M.L. Fele in *EV* 111, 490–491. Opis speaks of the deserved, fitting death of the one who killed Camilla at 11.849 *morte luet merita*; cf. the opposite case of Dido's undeserved death at 4.696.

accendit: Continuing the fire imagery of 491; now it is Mezentius who is described as lighting the (metaphorical) flames, as we move from floral visions to conflagration. The *furiae* of 484 and *ira* of 501 are combined in Aeneas' reaction to the sight of Pallas' *balteus* at 12.946 ... *furiis accensus et ira*, a passage rooted in Evander's description to Aeneas of the Etruscan reaction to Mezentius.

“Aeneas will kill Mezentius, but Aeneas' war will take the life of the prince of Pallanteum and wipe out Evander's line” (O'Hara 1990, 51)—convenient, one might cynically say, for explaining why there was no lasting Arcadian presence in central Italy.

502 nulli fas Italo tantam subiungere gentem:

nulli ... Italo: An important ethnic qualification in light of the ultimate revelations of 12.826–828 *sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges, / sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago*: / *occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia* (Juno to Jupiter); also 12.836 *subsident Teuceri* (from Jupiter's response). Aeneas is not *Italus*, and thus he may serve as leader of the disaffected Etruscans. For the "self-contained spondaic word" at the start of the verse see Eden; here it emphasizes the prohibition on Italian leadership of Etruria. The sentiment will take on interesting relief, too, in light of 512; cf. 154, 188, and 470 (with Jenkyns 1998, 555–556: "Nowhere, in fact, does Evander address Aeneas by his own name, or indeed use any vocative to him which does not recall that he is a Trojan"). Arcadian Evander would have been eligible for the command—and so also Trojan Aeneas.

With *nulli fas* cf. 6.563 *nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen*; 12.27–28 *me natam nulli veterum sociare procerum / fas erat*.

fas: See on 397. One could wonder if Virgil's contemporary audience would have wondered about the continued validity of the prohibition in light of later history. A strange combination of surrender to rage and fury, as well as scrupulous observance of the dictates of religion and the soothsayers.

tantam ... gentem: A compliment to the Etruscans, as Conington notes—though the image of yoking them as if they were animals is not entirely flattering. Cf. Lucan, *BC* 8.323–325.

subiungere: The verb elsewhere in Virgil also at *E.* 25–26 *Daphnis et Armenias curru subiungere tigris / instituit*; 10.156–157 ... *Aeneia puppis / prima tenet rostro Phrygios subiuncta leones*. For the metaphor from the yoking of animals see Fordyce; the Trojan mother goddess Cybele was famous for her leonine chariot and yoked beasts of burden (see Harrison on 10.156–157; Bailey on Lucretius, *DRN* 2.604–605), and so the image is fittingly applied to the greatest of living Trojan heroes. "Slightly unusual use" (Sidgwick).

503 externos optate duces' tum Etrusca resedit

externos ... duces: The present admonition will be fulfilled at 10.156 ... *externo commissa duci*. The adjective occurs first in the epic at 3.42–43 ... *non me tibi Troia / externum tulit* (of Polydorus); most often it is used in connection with the problem of Aeneas' arrival in Latium and (in particular) the marriage of Lavinia (6.93–94 *causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris / externique iterum thalami*; 7.68–69 ... *externum cernimus ... / adventare virum*; 7.98 *externi venient gentes*; 7.255 ... *externa ab sede profectum*; 7.270 ... *generos externis adfore ab oris*; 7.367 *si gener externa petitur de gente Latinis*; 7.424 ... *externusque in regnum quaeritur heres*). For the possible Augustan associations of *dux/duc-*

tor see Gransden; for the question of the “external leader” note Cairns 1989, 121.

The plural is interesting; it could be a simple poeticism, but it is noteworthy given that Aeneas is arguably the only *externus dux* in question. “An oracular plural” (Conington).

optate: The exact force of the verb has been the subject of question; the point seems to be that the Etruscans are to be active in choosing a foreign leader or leaders, but necessity dictates that the fated leader needs to be on the scene in a timely fashion.

tum: That is, in consequence of the words of the *haruspex*. For the elision see Eden; the “harsh and colloquial effect” may reflect the reaction of the Etruscans to the *monita divum*.

resedit: For the verb see on 232; cf. 480 ... *iugis insedit Etruscis*; Fratantuono and Smith on 5.180. *Residere* of a state of action; there need not be any hint of a negative connotation of Etruscan idleness.

504 **hoc acies campo monitis exterrita divum.**

hoc ... campo: Evander’s rhetoric makes it seem as if Tarchon’s forces are drawn up in order and waiting for Aeneas right here in Pallanteum: the demonstrative of urgent appeal and anticipation. Williams takes the referent of *hoc* to be simply the place where the army had originally mustered.

acies: Vid. M. Malavolta in *EV* I, 25–26.

monitis ... divum: Cicero has *Ad quem metum si deorum monitis non ducemur* (*De Har. Resp.* 54.5).

exterrita: Cf. Venus at 370; the Tiber at 240. For an *acies* to be “quite terrified” is striking; the Trojan leader Aeneas will restore confidence in the mission to bring Mezentius to justice, as it were. On the liberation of the Etruscans from fear and the fulfillment of the warnings of the gods, see Fletcher 2014, 242.

divum: The emphasis in Evander’s remarks is on the will of the gods and the dictates of destiny; for the place of the “foreigner” Aeneas in this divine plan for Italy, see Henry 1989, 113–114.

505 **ipse oratores ad me regnique coronam**

ipse: Balanced by *Tarchon* at the end of 506 in framing order. “... the hyperbaton ... signals the elevated tone in the description of the ceremony of donning the toga. Virgil ... by means of this rare and polished figure creates a mosaic, a painting, and invites the reader to watch a miraculous scene for a moment.” (Dainotti 2015, 260–261).

oratores: On Virgilian ambassadors and spokesmen note G. Calboli in *EV* III, 869–872. The only other uses of the word in the poet come at 7.153 (of the hun-

dred Trojan ambassadors to Latinus); 11.100 and 331 (of the same number of Latin emissaries to Aeneas). On the failure of embassies even at this advanced stage of the epic narrative, note Smith 2005, 134–137.

regnique coronam: Tarchon offered the Arcadian Evander the crown of Etruria, in place of Mezentius. A rather different *corona* occurs at 684. The genitive is possessive (so Conington). Evander pleads old age and reduced strength as grounds for refusing the command and *corona*; in the contemporary political atmosphere, one might wonder if there were any thoughts of the suspicions of some that Caesar had had monarchical ambitions. For disentanglement of the evidence of the *corona triumphalis*, see Beard 2007; also Eden's note on the Etruscan origins of Roman consular garb. Servius notes: "insigne, non re vera coronam, quam Tusci reges numquam habuerunt. ergo species pro genere." Cf. Dionysius' description of Etruscan regal insignia at *Ant. Rom.* 3.61.1 ff., where a golden crown, ivory throne, scepter with eagle, purple tunic, etc., are described (note also Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.6.7, where the crown is not mentioned); Ogilvie's note on Livy 2.16.1. With the eagle of the scepter we may compare the comparison of Tarchon to an *aquila* at 11.751 ff., in his combat with Venulus (the ambassador of Turnus to Diomedes); also the triumphal associations of the character at 11.757 ff. *haud aliter praedam Tiburtum ex agmine Tarchon | portat ovans; ducis exemplum secuti*, etc. For a different view of the associations of Tarchon see M. Beatrice Bittarello, "The Construction of Etruscan 'Otherness' in Latin Literature," in *G&R* 56.2 (2009), 211–233, 215n30 (on the Virgilian associations of the Etruscans with wild animals). *Regni* is echoed at 507 *regna*.

506 cum sceptro misit mandatque insignia Tarchon,

mandatque insignia: Cf. 11.331–334 *centum oratores prima de gente Latinos | ire placet pacisque manu praetendere ramos, | munera portantis aurique eborisque talenta | et sellam regni trabeamque insignia nostri* (at the close of Latinus' speech to the war council). For the verb note also 3.50 (of Priam's entrusting of Polydorus); 3.444 (of the Sibyl's writing on leaves; cf. 6.74); 4.222 (of Jupiter's orders to Mercury); the funereal contexts of 9.214 and 11.23. *Insignia* also at 2.389 (of Danaan dress); 10.539 (of Haemonides' attire); 11.89 *post bellator equus positus insignibus Aethon*; 11.334. Danielis offers the idea of *mandari magistratus*; also the question of the significance of the plural *versus* the singular for *insignia* (he thought that the reference here was to something other than the crown and the scepter; cf. Henry's criticisms).

Tarchon: On this Etruscan leader vid. M. Cristofani in *EV* V, 39–40; S. Harrison in *VE* III, 1244; Montenegro Duque 1949, 186–187; K.P. Nielson, "Tarchon Etruscus: Alter Aeneas," in *PCPh* 19.1/2 (1984), 28–34; K. Muse, "Sergestus and

Tarchon in the *Aeneid*,” in *CQ* 57.2 (2007), 586–605. It would seem from 555 below that Tarchon is an Etrurian *rex* (cf. 10.149 *regem adit et regi memorat*, where the point is emphasized); if the name were meant to evoke the Tarquinius, then it is easy enough to see why an *externus dux* is needed to lead the Etruscan contingents. Echoes of “Tarquin,” and also the Athenian archons (see Harrison’s *VE* entry on the consideration of Tarchon as “eponym” for the regal dynasty). The name is spelled *Tarcho* at 603, *Tarchon* elsewhere (“a casual Homeric-type variation”—Harrison *ad* 10.153–154). Tarchon has no monarchical ambitions; when Aeneas visits him there is no hesitation in the Etruscan’s offer of authority to the Trojan leader (10.153 *haud fit mora*). At 11.725 ff., Jupiter stirs up Tyrrhenian Tarchon in the wake of Camilla’s extraordinary performance in battle; Tarchon upbraids his men for their apparent surrender to decadence, indolence, and a life of luxury and hedonism (11.732 ff.). The ultimate fate of Tarchon is left unspecified in the epic; the final mention comes as he carries off Venulus in triumph (11.757–758).

Lycophron has a mysterious account of Aeneas’ alliance with Odysseus and Tarchon at *Alex.* 1242 ff., where the Etruscan is noted as a son of Telephus together with Tyrrhenus; these “fierce wolves” are of Heracleian lineage (see further Hornblower’s notes *ad loc.*). Strabo (5.2.1 ff.) has Tarco as a precociously sagacious boy who was said to have been born with gray hair; the geographer also notes the tradition of the transfer of the insignia of rule from Tarquinius to Rome. On the Catonian tradition that Tarchon was not the brother, but rather the son of Tyrrhenus, see Cornell on F70. For Tarchon as one of the Virgilian “paradigms of Republican exemplary behavior,” see Goldschmidt 2013, 179. A better king than Mezentius, to be sure—but the evocation of the Tarquins introduces its own negative associations for a contemporary Roman audience. For the appearance of Tarquinius Superbus on the shield see on 646–647. For the seemingly mysterious omission of Tarchon from the catalogue of Etruscan heroes in Book 10, see Basson 1975, 189; carelessness (so Heinze), or to reflect the fact that Tarchon was a king and therefore the *de facto* commander of all the Etruscan contingents (so Danielis)? Or a reminder that his name evokes that of the expelled king?

507 *succedam castris Tyrrhenaque regna capessam.*

The jussive subjunctives frame the line. On the “old-fashioned simplicity” of the construction without the use of *ut*, see Eden’s note. Brisk military language (Caesarian).

succedam: Cf. the instruction of the dying Camilla to Turnus *succedat pugnae Troianosque arceat urbe* (11.826); also the invitation of Pallas to Aeneas at 123 *adloquere ac nostris succede penatibus hospes*; 606–607 below.

castris ... regna: Camp and kingdom, in carefully balanced array; “Tyrrhenian” at the middle of the verse holds all together; the adjective may also remind us of Tarchon’s brother/father Tyrrhenus.

capessam: For the verb note also 1.77 ... *mihi iussa capessere fas est* (Aeolus to Juno); 3.234–235 ... *sociis tunc arma capessant | edico*; 4.346 *Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes*; 5.703 ... *Italasne capesseret oras*; 9.366 ... *excedunt castris et tuta capessunt*; 11.324–325 *sin alios finis aliamque capessere gentem | est animus*; 11.466 *pars aditus urbis firment turrisque capessant*. For the verb with *regna* note the imitations of Manilius, *Astron.* 2.963–964 ... *utcumque aliena capessunt | regna*; Statius, *Theb.* 2.109 ... *quis regna capessat*; Silius, *Pun.* 13.63 *quis trepidus monitis Saturnia regna capessit*.

508 *sed mihi tarda gelu saecisque effeta senectus*

The passage is reminiscent of 5.395–396 ... *sed enim gelidus tardante senecta | sanguis hebet, frigentque effetae in corpore vires* (Entellus to Acestes).

mihi: For the *dativus acquisitionis* with an intransitive verb see Antoine 1882, 117 ff.; cf. 512.

gelu: Elsewhere in the epic only in the speech of Numanus Remulus, on the hardy nature of the Italians: 9.604 *deferimus saevoque gelu duramus et undis*; cf. *G.* 2.317; 3.355; 443.

saecisque: The precise force of the noun is uncertain (if Virgil intended it to have specific reference); it could refer simply to years, or to the passing of generations in the manner of Homer’s Nestor and the different ages he saw and outlived (Homer, *Il.* 1.250 ff., where see Pulleyn: “The Greeks were never entirely agreed on the length of a generation, but Herodotus (2.142.2) says that there were three to a century. In that case, Nestor is at least sixty-six and probably older.”). At 8.324–325 *saecula* refers to the age of gold (so at 6.792–793); cf. 1.444–445 ... *sic nam fore bello | egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem*; 1.605–606 ... *quae te tam laeta tulerunt | saecula?* (Aeneas to Dido); 6.235 ... *aeternumque tenet per saecula nomen*; 12.826 *sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges*. For the frustration of the loss of one’s years cf. 560.

effeta: Cf. 7.440 *sed te victa situ verique effeta senectus* (of Calybe/Allecto); the parallel 7.452 *en ego victa situ, quam veri effeta senectus*; 5.396; *G.* 1.81. On the image of worn out old age Page comments: “The phrase, though hard to render, is perfectly clear and not, as most say, exaggerated.”

senectus: Personified as one of the horrors at the entrance to the underworld (6.275). Cf. on 307 ... *obsitus aevo*.

509 invidet imperium seraeque ad fortia vires.

invidet imperium: An alliterative reflection on how Evander's old age has begrudged him the chance to command and lead Tarchon's Etruscans (cf. the similar effects of 510 *mixtus matre* and 511 *partem patriae*); the verb stands in sharp contrast to 512 *indulget*. The language and sentiment are echoed at 11.42–43 *tene, inquit miserande puer, cum laeta veniret, | invidit Fortuna mihi ...*; 44–45 ... *cum me complexus euntem | mitteret in magnum imperium*. For *imperium* note V. Ilari in *EV* 11, 927–928; E. Dench in *VE* 11, 649. On Virgilian constructions of the verb note Hahn 1930, 106n415.

serae ... vires: A poignant comment on the effects of advanced years (as at 581, where Pallas is Evander's "late pleasure"); very different is the "late quiet" of 30 above (cf. 7.16 and 492). The adjective can look forward to the future, sometimes ominously so (5.524; 6.569; 7.597). Note also Androgeos' criticism from Troy's last night: ... *num quae tam sera moratur | segnitias?* (2.373–374). The *vires* are present, but they are "late" and thus ineffective; the full implications of the vivid image will be felt only in the extended account of the Pallas requiem. On the "too late phenomenon," with reference to the relationship of Pallas, Evander, and Aeneas, see Lyne 1987, 177 ff.

fortia vires: Effective juxtaposition. For the relative force of the adjectives and nouns in the description of Evander's disabilities, see Hahn 1930, 218–219. On the imitation of Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.51–54, see Galli, and Zissos.

510 natum exhortarer, ni mixtus matre Sabella

exhortarer: For the verb cf. 7.472 *certatim sese Rutuli exhortantur in arma*; 11.610 *exhortantur equos*; also 12.159. Noteworthy is that his youth is not seen as an impediment for Pallas' taking command of the Etruscans—only his mixed blood. Further, Sabellian origins are seen as non-"external" to Etruscan. The verb describes an act of strong encouragement.

ni: Mainly used in conditional clauses (here a straightforward present contrafactual), with the sense of *nisi* (Pinkster 2015, 697); cf. 523.

matre: On the "pathos" of the reference to Pallas' (unnamed) mother, see Newman and Newman 2005, 47–48. The eleventh century monastic poet Sextus Amarcus notes of Pallas' origins: *Nullus apud veteres genitus de virgine fertur | Non Plato barbatus, non bello crudelis Achilles, | Non niveus Pallas praestanti corpore, quamquam | Anteveniret heros famosi nominis omnes* (*Serm.* 3.2.241–243).

Sabella: For the reference note N. Horsfall in *EV* IV, 627; E.A. Sonnenschein, "Sabellus: Sabine or Samnite?," in *CR* 11.7 (1897), 339–340. Samnite, we must conclude (though Sonnenschein notes that the present passage offers "inconclusive" evidence; cf. the reference to the rape of the Sabine women at 635;

Gransden considers Pallas to be half-Sabine; also Williams). “The Samnites were the Oscan-speakers *par excellence*, so much so indeed that all and any who had Oscan as their mother-tongue ... were regularly called Samnites. A better generic would be Sabelli ...” (Salmon 1982, 13). “Sabellian” elsewhere in the epic at 7.665 *tereti pugnans mucrone verque Sabello* (where see Horsfall); cf. *G.* 2.167 ... *Marsos pubemque Sabellam* (with Mynors) and 3.255 *ipse ruit dentesque Sabellicus exacuit sus*; Horace, *c.* 3.6.38 (with Nisbet and Rudd); *ep.* 17.28 (with Watson); *Serm.* 1.9.29 (with Gowers); 2.1.36. “The cultural vacuum left by the decline of the Italiotes and the Etruscans seemed likely in the fourth century to be filled by the tough and vigorous Sabellian stocks of the central Appennines, whose crude and undeveloped ways ... were repugnant to the less primitive Italians living nearer the coasts” (Salmon 1982, 158).

With Pallas’ mixed origins we may compare the description of Aeneas’ son Silvius in the *Heldenschau*: ... *primus ad auras / aetherias Italo commixtus sanguine surget* (6.761–762).

511 *hinc partem patriae traheret. tu, cuius et annis*

hinc: I.e., from Italy, irrespective of the ethnic and linguistic divisions of the peninsula.

partem patriae: Another reference to the imagined and realized union of disparate peoples; Pallas’ *patria* is Pallanteum, though here the point is more genealogical than geographical. He is of mixed origins, with his shared Arcadian and Sabellian blood; a part of his *patria* is thus Italian. All of these details are reflective of the poet’s concern with the joining together of different ethnicities in the future Rome. The phrase is curiously reminiscent of the later Augustan title *pater patriae*, which was conferred in 2 B.C. (cf. Manilius, *Astron.* 1.7; 925; Goldsworthy 2014, 394–395)—itself a variation on the earlier appellation *parens patriae* that was given to Caesar in 44 (Stevenson 2015, 141).

traheret: For the use (*OLD* s.v. 12, “to get, draw, derive (from a source)”), cf. Cicero, *Phil.* 2.20; 3.6; Horace, *Serm.* 1.2.59; Ovid, *Met.* 4.291; also Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.68.

annis: Aeneas’ life can be measured in *anni*, not *saecla* (508), one might say; we may wonder just how old the Trojan hero is imagined to be. “Nowhere does Vergil mention his age” (E.D. Daniels, “Aeneas: Physical Characteristics,” in *The Classical Weekly* 23.22 (1930), 172–173, who compares Juvenal, s. 5.45 *zelotypo iuvenis praelatus Iarbae*, with the note that Aeneas must be younger than forty-five at Carthage, and a speculation that Aeneas was about thirty-five at Dido’s court).

“The whole phrase is typically Vergilian: terse, unusual, strained and strong” (Sidgwick).

512 et generi fatum indulget, quem numina poscunt,

generi: Cf. 484 ... *di capiti ipsius generique reservent*. For the *dativus acquisitionis* with an intransitive verb see Antoine 1882, 117 ff.; cf. 508.

fatum ... numina: Also in close connection at 574–575; Eden speaks of “spoken and nodded decrees of fate.” There is manuscript variation as to singular or plural fate(s) and accompanying verb; among the capitals *fatum* is the reading of P and R; *fata indulgent* of the Medicean and a corrector of P. The singular is preferred by de la Cerda; Heinsius; Sabbadini; Mynors; Geymonat; Perret; Paratore; Goold; Conte; Binder and Binder’s *Reclam*; García et al.; Holzberg’s Tusculum and Heuzé’s *Pléiade*; the plural by Cunningham; Conington; Hirtzel; Page, Mackail, and Williams (all without comment). The difference in meaning is slight; singular *fatum* perhaps may be thought to accord better artistically with plural *numina*. There is also the contrast between the workings of destiny and fate, and the will of individual divinities (Jupiter, Venus).

indulget: For the verb cf. 2.776 *quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori* (Creüsa’s ghost to Aeneas); 4.51 *indulge hospitio causasque innecte morandi* (Anna to Dido); 6.135 ... *et insano iuvat indulgere labori* (Deiphobe to Aeneas); 9.615 ... *iuvat indulgere choreis* (Numanus Remulus to the Trojans); 10.625 *hactenus indulsisse vacat* (Jupiter to Juno regarding Turnus’ fate); G. 2.277; 4.198.

quem numina poscunt: Echoing 477 ... *fatis huc te poscentibus adfers*. The passage is echoed at 11.901–902 *ille furens (et saeva Iovis sic numina poscunt) / deserit obsessos collis*, where Jupiter’s savage will demands that Turnus give up his ambush so that Aeneas may be saved from harm. *Numina* and *fata* are linked at 545–545, as Evander prays to Jupiter before the departure of Pallas.

513 ingredere, o Teucrum atque Italum fortissime ductor.

ingredere: Cf. G. 1.42 *ingredere et votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari* (of Augustus). For the verb see on 309. The imperative also recalls 122 *egredere o quicumque es*, of the bold Pallas’ reception of Aeneas and his men.

o ... ductor: A deliberate expansion of 470 *maxime Teucrorum ductor*; in Evander’s judgment, the destiny of assuming *imperium* over Tarchon’s Etruscans entitles the Teucrian Aeneas to use of the title *Italum ductor*.

Italum: “But what *Itali* are these? How could a coalition of Trojans, Arcadians, and Etruscans fighting such adversaries as Turnus and Camilla represent Italy or Rome? And, if they do, is that not Civil War?” (Newman and Newman 2005, 19). Evander is the speaker of the sentiment, and from his perspective, at least, Aeneas is the fated leader of both Trojans and Italians; the transition to this more expansive vocative signals the advent of internecine strife in Italy (Etruscan, at least, *versus* Etruscan), with shades of memory of the Social War

and the civil strife of the late Republic. "... none of this ... actually makes Aeneas an Italian ..." (Jenkyns 1998, 556).

fortissime ductor: Cf. 154 above; also 10.185–186 *Non ego te, Ligurum ductor fortissime bello, / transierim, Cunare*; Silius, *Pun.* 7.329; 10.478. The superlative reflects the increased strength of Aeneas' power in light of the acquisition of both Arcadian and Etruscan allies. On *ductor* note Cairns 1989, 510. Diomedes is also *fortissimus* (1.96); cf. 2.348–349; 5.389 (of Entellus); 729; 6.169 (of Mis-enus); 7.752 (of Umbro); 10.865 (of the horse Rhaebus); 12.538 (of Cretheus)—a mixed assembly of the storied and the relatively minor. *Ductor* is poetic; see further Harrison on 10.185–186.

514 **hunc tibi praeterea, spes et solacia nostri,**

hunc tibi praeterea: As of Nestor's son Peisistratus with Telemachus (*Od.* 3.475 ff.); Lycus' son Dascylus with Jason (*Arg.* 2.802, on which note Nelis 2001, 364: "It is typical of Vergil's creative genius that the colourless and peripheral Peisistratus and Dascylus can be transformed into Pallas, a brilliant figure who is also pivotal for the end of the *Aeneid*. The Argonautic model makes Pallas' fate all the more poignant"). See further T. Papanghelis, "A Note on *Aeneid* 8.514–517," in *CQ* 43.1 (1993), 339–341. The deictic demonstrative here is balanced by the name at 515; note also 518 *huic*.

spes: Of the expectation that there will be a continued lineage of Arcadian heroes.

solacia: Another sentiment that will be echoed in the narrative of Pallas' requiem: cf. 11.62–63 ... *solacia luctus / exigua ingentis* (of the funeral cortège that will accompany the body back to Pallanteum; for the coordination of the passages see Reed 2007, 184 ff.). The noun is also used of the consolation prize in the boxing match that will be awarded to the half-dead Dares (5.367 *ensem atque insignem galeam solacia victo*); note also the Sibyl's note to the shade of Palinurus about the *duri salacia casus* (6.377) that he will receive in the naming of Capo Palinuro; *E.* 9.18. On *spes et solacia* Williams notes: "the alliteration of *s* draws attention to this phrase, so fraught with tragedy for the future."

nostri: Coordinating closely with 515 *te*.

On the relationship between this scene and Evander's own recollections of his youth at 154 ff., see Petrini 1997, 58–59. On the contrast with the Homeric Patroclus, note Moskalew 1982, 179–180. We may recall, too, the (anachronistic) Roman military institution of *contubernium*; see further Harrison on 10.160–161.

515 **Pallanta adiungam: sub te tolerare magistro**

adiungam: Also at 13 above, of the report of the report to Diomedes that Aeneas had found many allies in his war against the Latins (a rather anticipatory bit of

news). The metrical pattern enacts the idea of Pallas' being joined. The present scene will be fulfilled at 10.160–162, of *Pallas adfixus*, etc.

te: To be taken closely with 516 *tua ... facta* and 517 *te*, in a powerful threefold reference to the hero (followed soon by 519 *tibi*); Aeneas is associated closely with the deeds of valor that may serve as *exempla* to Pallas.

tolerare: For the verb cf. 409, of the life of the woman who rises early in the morning to tend to the work of the loom.

magistro: Volcens is *magister* (*equitum*, as it were) at 9.370 (cf. 5.562, in the description of the *lusus Troiae*, and also the handlers/animal keepers of 12.717); the noun is usually used in Virgil of the helmsman of a vessel (and so often in Book 5). Mnestheus and Serestus are said to have been appointed by Aeneas to be *magistri rerum* in his absence at 9.173. For Aeneas as tutor and surrogate parent, see Lyne 1987, 156 ff. For the pathos of how Aeneas will be teacher to the younger Pallas (in contrast to the Homeric depiction of Patroclus), see Stahl 2009, 38. On Aeneas' place in the tradition of Roman and heroic *exempla*, note Goldschmidt 2013, 150–151. Pupil and master frame the verse.

516 *militiam et grave Martis opus, tua cernere facta*

militiam: Alliterative with Mars (and *magistro*); the noun occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at 11.261 (of the Greek expedition to Troy) and 11.584–585 ... *vellem haud corrupta fuisset / militia tali conata lacessere Teucros* (Diana's lament for Camilla, who has affinities with Pallas). For the collocation with *opus* cf. Ovid, *Am.* 3.7.68 *nunc opus exposcunt militiamque suam*.

grave ... opus: Cf. the *gratum opus agricolis* of the *Georgics* that gives way to the *horrentia Martis / arma* in the *Ille ego* lines; *grave opus* is used in an agricultural context at Tibullus, c. 2.1.6; cf. Ovid, *Trist.* 4.1.6 (of the work of a digger of ditches). The model is Homeric (*Il.* 11.734), though as Conington notes the point here is the entire work of the forthcoming war, not a single engagement. For the adjective note A.M. Milazzo in *EV* 11, 794–796:

Martis: This reference to the war god follows on 495 *praesenti Marte*; cf. on 433. For the association of Mars with the death of Pallas note Newman and Newman 2005, 296 (with commentary on the parallels between the war god and the hero Hercules). Reference to Mars will take a markedly darker turn at 556–557.

cernere: The visual element; cf. 676 *cernere erat*, of the depiction of Actium on the shield, and see further on 246 above.

517 *adsuescat, primis et te miretur ab annis.*

adsuescat: For the verb cf. 174 ... *et iam nunc sociorum adsuescite mensis*, of Evander's invitation to Aeneas to join the Arcadians at table. The inchoative

force of the verb is especially moving in light of Pallas' premature end. Note also the admonition against civil war at 6.832–833 *ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella / neu patriae validas in viscera vertite viris*. In an important sense, the present war is a sad instance of internecine strife.

primis ... annis: In marked contrast to Evander's age, and with poignant reminder of Pallas' youth. The phrase also at 2.87 *pauper in arma pater primis huc misit ab annis* (Sinon to the Trojans); *Ilias Latina* 573–574 *ut meus hic, pro qua numina, natus, adoro, / virtutes patrias primis imitetur ab annis* (Hector to his infant son). The ordinal number contributes to the pathetic effect.

miretur: The sight of deeds of valor inspires wonder; for the theme of amazement and the marvelous cf. 81 ... *mirabile monstrum*; 91–92 ... *mirantur et undae, / miratur nemus insuetum*; 310 *miratur facilisque oculos fert omnia circum*.

The line-end *ab annis* is also used of Nisus' request that Euryalus and he not be judged by their years (9.235–236); 11.174 (of Evander's rueful remarks about Turnus' likely fate were Pallas and he better matched).

"It is this last announcement more than anything else which causes Aeneas' reaction to Evander's speech (lines 520–22)" (Putnam 1966, 142).

518 *Arcadas huic equites bis centum, robora pubis*

Arcadas ... equites: Anthon notes here: "The epithet is merely ornamental ... The Arcadians at home, by reason of their mountainous country, were not very strong in cavalry. The same remark will apply to the new territories of Evander in Italy, independent of their small size."

huic: Again with deictic force (cf. 514 *hunc*).

bis centum: No readily discernible reason for why two hundred should be specified; *centum* is a commonly cited number in poetry, and the presence of the two Arcadians contributes to a sense of doubling.

robora pubis: Catullan (c. 64.4 *cum lecti iuvenes, Argivae robora pubis*; on this see further Putnam 2006, 110). *Pubes* is an old word to describe youth—a nice twist for a reflection on the young by the aged Arcadian king. The tragedy of youth is palpably felt; Evander has his two hundred Arcadian horse, and Pallas will contribute his own to the war effort. For the semantic force of *robora* note Paschalis 1997, 7–8; with *robora* and its oak metaphor we may compare 315 above, of the race born from the hardy tree.

"The precariousness of youth is a recurrent theme ..." (P.E. Knox, "Ages of Man," in *VE* 1, 37).

519 *lecta dabo, totidemque suo tibi nomine Pallas.*

lecta: Cf. 499 *delecta iuventus*. Not just any cavalry, but choice steeds and riders.

totidem: Also at 208 and 567.

suo ... nomine: The Medicean, the majority of the Carolingians, and Servius read *nomine*; P and R have *munere*. *Munere* is read by Ribbeck; Mackail; Nettleship; Hirtzel; Mackail (with no comment); Eden; Geymonat; Goold; García et al.; *nomine* is preferred by de la Cerda; Benoist; Forbiger; Sabbadini; Mynors; Williams; Gransden; Perret; Paratore; Binder and Binder's *Reclam*; Conte; Holzberg's *Tusculum*; Heuzé's *Pléiade* (no note in Fordyce). Page prints *nomine* with the note that the alternative "is of equal authority and equal merit." Henry *silet*. But Pallas' name is of crucial importance to the progress of the epic's last books; cf. 12.948–949 ... *Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas / immolat*, especially in association with 8.538 *quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis!*. Cf. 1.276–277 *Romulus excipiet gentem et Mavortia condet / moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet*; for *munere*, G. 4.178. *Nomine* might also be thought to fit better with the sense of what Pallas does on his own, in what amounts to his first participatory action in the new, ill-fated alliance.

The line-end *nomine Pallas* occurs also at 121 *obstipuit tanto percussus nomine Pallas*, which can be taken either as evidence of a deliberate parallel (i.e., the one who was struck by the storied legend of Aeneas' Dardanian origins is now ready to give a cavalry contingent in his own name), or of how an error was introduced into the tradition. Servius comments on how Evander shows honor to his son by having half the contingent be given in the name of the son, though arguably all the units are a gift of the king to his prince. With the sending away of the son we may compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.95 ff. (of the similar case of Phalerus, the son of Alcon); the aforementioned parallels of Lycus' son Dascylus; Nestor's Peisistratus.

The Medicean originally had *tuo sibi* here; cf. *suo sibi* of P¹ *in rasura* (from *suo tibi*). With *suo* cf. 522 *suo corde*.

Pallas: "When ... Evander adds Pallas to Aeneas' army, his speech ends with Pallas' name" (O'Hara 1990, 48–49). A powerful onomastic tribute to the youth who shares his name with the Arcadian settlement on the site of the future Rome.

520–540 An extraordinary passage, as Aeneas and his faithful comrade Achaetes are first discomfited by Evander's words, only then to take courage and heart from Venus' portent of thunder and lightning from a clear sky, and the sight of the divine arms in the sky. Aeneas foretells destruction for Turnus. "Un lampo, un colpo di tuono, una visione annunciano la vittoria di Enea." (Gigante 1983, 275). Cf. Homer, *Od.* 15.160–181 (the portent of the eagle and the goose).

520 *Vix ea fatus erat, defixique ora tenebant*

Vix ea, etc.: Evander had not even finished his speech, and already Aeneas and Achates had a dark reaction. The phrase also at 1.586; 2.323; 692; 3.90; 655; 6.190; 12.650; once in Ovid and once in Valerius.

defixique: With the verb note 1.226; 495; 6.652; 7.249; 12.130. The present scene is an echo of 6.156–159 *Aeneas maesto defixus lumina vultu | ingreditur, linquens antrum, caecosque volutat | eventus animo secum; cui fidus Achates | it comes et paribus curis vestigia figit*, just after Aeneas learns that one of his companions has been left unburied (i.e., Misenus, not Palinurus); on this note especially Roiron 1908, 116. Note also Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 7.37–38; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.312 (with Wijsmans).

ora tenebant: The imperfect is frequentative and durative (so also 522 *putabant*). Eden (following Servius) explains the “gloomy silence” of Aeneas as being the result of his being offered only four hundred cavalry; still, in light of the news that the Trojan leader is the destined commander of the Etruscan contingents with Tarchon, one might well wonder just why Aeneas and Achates were so morose. Fordyce takes the gloom to be in consequence of the war (allies notwithstanding); cf. Conington’s “the perilous future.” A significant part of that hazardous destiny is the fate of Pallas, to which Warde Fowler ascribes the (anticipatory) sorrow of the Trojans. On the ominous scene note also O’Hara 1990, 50ff. Aeneas and Achates might well be in sober reflection on the problem of Turnus’ relative strength in allies *versus* their own.

The line-end occurs also at 2.1 and 11.121. Silence, Eden notes, is not explicitly stated (but cf. Nurtantio 2013, 159). “... the old king speaks for fifty lines, and Aeneas’ response, we learn, is a silent meditation, or would have been had not a portent intervened” (Jenkyns 1998, 517).

For the “syntactical zeugma” phenomenon whereby *ora* is both object of *tenebant* and an internal accusative with the participle, see Horsfall on 11.121. On the underscoring of the significance of the moment by Aeneas’ silence, see Ross 2007, 39–40.

521 *Aeneas Anchisiades et fidus Achates*

Three Trojan worthies are referenced in one line, as we move from Aeneas to the memory of his father (another sire, like Pallas’ Evander) to the loyal, trustworthy Achates (on whom see *ad* 466, where Pallas and Achates were named as the respective companions of Evander and Aeneas). Aeneas and his friend frame the verse (cf. 586). On the Homeric models (*Il.* 17.754, with Aeneas and Hector; *Il.* 20.160, with Aeneas and Achilles) see Clausen 2002, 16n33. Another line invested with onomastic commentary and reflection.

Anchisiades: Not a common patronymic in the epic; it occurs at 5.407 (at the boxing match); also 6.126 (Deiphobe addressing Aeneas); 6.348 (Palinurus’

shade to Aeneas); 10.250 (Aeneas in the wake of the visit of Cymodocea); 10.822 (Aeneas in the wake of Lausus' death); cf. Roscher 1.1, 540. Some have seen a particular reference in the use of the patronymic to the poignant setting of Pallas' separation from his father. See further Henry 1989, 200n34.

fidus Achates: Name and epithet as at 1.188; 6.158; 585 below; 12.384. For Achates see on 466; cf. Anzinger 2007, 30–34. The faithful Achates shares in the emotional response of his leader. Any association of the name with grief (*achos*) serves to highlight the gloom of the scene: an *alter ego* and partner in sorrow. The association of the two names is also reminiscent of Aphrodite's explanation in the *Homeric Hymn* that her son with Anchises will be named Aeneas because a "terrible sorrow" (*ainon achos*) took hold of her, namely that she indulged in the bed of a mortal (198–199).

522 *multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant,*

"A line with rich overtones of archaic gravity" (Eden). Human doubt followed by positive divine intervention: cf. 29 ff. above; also Homer, *Il.* 1.193.

multaque dura: Cf. Propertius, c. 1.15.1.

suo: Superfluous in the strict sense—but the point is to contrast Aeneas and Achates with Pallas (519); the Arcadian youth is excited about the adventure that lies ahead, while the two Trojans are mired in anxiety.

tristi cum corde: Ennian (*Ann. fr. s.i.* 507 Skutsch); cf. *A.* 6.185. Skutsch compares Lucretius, *DRN* 6.1233. The Ennian fragment has to do with a helmsman; the Virgilian underworld passage seems at first to point to Palinurus, but in fact refers to Misenus; here the real *triste cor* will come from the loss of Pallas (cf. *P-s* and *M-s* parallels with Palinurus/Pallas and Misenus/Marcellus). Pallas and Evander offer troops; Aeneas and Achates are in depressed spirits. For these "heart" passages note Negri 1984, 196 ff., with citation of *G.* 1.123; *A.* 1.50 (where see Austin); 6.185; 9.224; 10.871–871 (= 12.666–667); 12.452. "La sede dei sentimenti e della attività intellettive." On the heart as the center of consciousness and emotion see Harris 1973, 34.

putabant: For the agricultural metaphor see Eden.

523 *ni signum caelo Cytherea dedisset aperto.*

ni: Cf. 510. Nettleship notes that the construction of *nisi/ni* after an imperfect indicative is a favorite of Tacitus, but found already in Cicero (both oratory and letters). The apodosis of the contrafactual condition is thus made "elliptical" (O'Hara); Aeneas and Achates would have continued their gloomy reflection, had not Venus intervened with a portent. Henry's long note here describes the use of the conjunction with careful and admirable precision. "A common variation from the strict conditional sentence" (Sidgwick). On Virgilian counterfactuals see further Frizzarin 2016.

signum: For the “Waffenprodigium” see further Grassman-Fischer 1966, 29 ff. On the augural connection of the portent, note Bailey 1935, 22 ff. For the precise meaning of *signum* (often elusive) see Block 1981, 96 (part of the author’s delineation of the vocabulary of portents). Note 534 before; the *signum* the goddess sends stands in sharp relief with the *signum* of 8.1.

caelo ... aperto: “Open” in the sense of cloudless and clear; also with a hint of immortal contact with the world of men. So of Neptune at his calming of the sea (1.155 *prospiciens genitor caeloque invectus aperto*); cf. Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 7.28; Ovid, *Ars* 1.247 *Luce deas caeloque Paris spectavit aperto*; *Met.* 6.693. On the “open war” that will be conducted (in contrast to the concealment stratagem of the wooden horse), see Paschalis 1997, 285–286.

Cytherea: For this name of Venus note 1.257; 657; 4.128; 5.800; 615 below; M. Scarsi in *EV* 1, 801; Klause 1993, 76 ff. on cult names. For the (scholiastic) idea that the name carries notions of concealment and trickery, see Paschalis 1997, 50–51 (this semantic association accords well with *aperto* in the prominent last place; the actual etymology of the name is uncertain); Boedeker 1974, 19–20; Faulkner on *Hymn. Aph.* 6–7. The title is Hesiodic (cf. *Theog.* 188–200, especially 191–198), in recollection of the island the newborn goddess visited on her way to Cyprus; also Homeric (cf. *Od.* 8.288, where see Garvie; 18.193, with Steiner). For the goddess’ cult site at Cythera see Herodotus 1.105 (with Asheri’s notes); Pausanias 3.23.1. She was worshipped there as a goddess of storm and lightning—hence the signal meteorological event here.

dedisset: “The contrast between the imperfect indicative *putabant* and the pluperfect subjunctive *dedisset* tells the story of surprised interruption, the unexpected sign breaking his mood of saddened realism” (Otis 1964, 340).

524 namque improviso vibratus ab aethere fulgor

improviso: Adverbial. The adjective *improvisus* is used of Aeneas, after Venus has arranged for his sudden appearance at Dido’s court from a veil of mist (1.595); of the Greeks in Sinon’s story (2.182); of the snake in the Androgeos simile (2.379); Turnus before the Trojan camp (9.49); cf. the description of Aeneas’ sudden attack on Latinus’ capital (12.576, the only other adverbial use).

vibratus: The meaning is to propel something suddenly, to shoot out or flash (*OLD* s.v. 4); cf. 2.211 (of the tongues of serpents); of a brandished sword (9.769); of the strike of a spear (10.484); 11.606 *protendunt longe dextris et spicula vibrant*; 12.100 (of locks of hair curled with hot iron). “Das Attribut des *fulgor, vibratus*, charakterisiert auch die Schlangen des Laokoon ... und bezieht sich in den Büchern der Kämpfe mehrfach auf Waffen” (Grassman-Fischer 1966, 31).

aethere: The upper air that was associated with the gods; cf. 526.

fulgor: For the noun see on 431. Aeneas himself will be compared to lightning (12.654; note also 12.919–923, where the spear with which he wounds Turnus is similarly described); Augustus strikes like lightning at the Euphrates (*G.* 4.560–561), and lightning figured in Octavian's numismatic iconography even before Actium (Zanker 1988, 53–56). For the portent of thunder/lightning in a clear sky note Ennius, *Ann.* fr. s.i. 541 Skutsch *Tum tonuit laevom tempestate serena*, where the context is uncertain. “The Epicureans declared it could not happen (Lucr. 6.500), but Varro observed it ... Horace (*c.* 1.34) was converted by it ... Considered an omen ... it is generally favourable ...” (Skutsch, who goes on to note that the present instance comes just after the announcement that Pallas will participate in the war, and thus has both negative and positive associations).

The closest Virgilian parallel to the Venusian portent here is 7.141–143, where Jupiter uses his trademark thunder and lightning in the wake of the eating of the tables; see however Fordyce, and Horsfall for how *clarus* there likely refers to the loud thunder and not to a clear sky. *Apertus* of the sky not the technical term we might wish for, but the poet need not have felt constrained here by the rigid demands of religious vocabulary (cf. 528 *caeli regione serena*). For the *Waffenprodigium* note especially Barchiesi 2015, 53–67.

With *fulgor* note the evocative sound words *clangor* (526) and *fragor* (527).

525 *cum sonitu venit et ruere omnia visa repente,*

For the rhythm of the line see Eden: dactylic to express the swiftness of the meteorological phenomenon, and with synaloepha to enact the confused state of the sky (on the stylistic effect, see Dainotti 2015, 158–159). There is effectively interlocked alliteration: *venit; ruere; visa; repente*. Seneca cites this passage in his description of the collapse of rocks under the force of liquid attrition (*Nat. Quaest.* 6.22.3).

sonitu: Cf. 531; note Roiron 1908, 412 ff. See Henry to be disabused of the notion that the arms themselves are making any noise in the sky (and cf. on 529).

ruere omnia: Lucretian (*DRN* 4.403; cf. 4.518–519). The description is reminiscent of *G.* 1.199–200 ... *sic omnia fatis / in peius ruere ac retro sublapsa referri*.

visa: Again, the visual element. The verse is anchored by sound and sight. On “hyperbolic descriptions of local storms” in Virgil see Hardie 1986, 225–227.

repente: Echoing 524 *improviso*; cf. 238; 247; 388.

The line-end here is borrowed from 3.90, of the *augurium* at Delos; the oracular message there about the Trojan *antiqua mater* leads to the ill-fated voyage to Crete.

526 Tyrrhenusque tubae mugire per aethera clangor.

Tyrrhenusque ... clangor: Adjective and noun frame the line. *Clangor* is also used of *tubae* at 2.313 (during the destruction of Troy); 11.192 (at the requiem for Pallas—another dark intertext of the present passage). For the textual variation *plangor/clangor* of 6.561, see Horsfall.

The association of the Tyrrhenians with the war trumpet was old; the earliest extant citation is Aeschylus, *Eum.* 567 (where see Sommerstein); note also Finglass on Sophocles, *Ajax* 17 (more generally on ancient trumpets, the same editor's note on *Elec.* 711); Euripides, *Phoen.* 1377 (with Mastronarde on the tragic cliché and the fame of Etruscan bronzes); Ps.-E., *Rhes.* 988 (with Liapis); cf. also Euripides, *Heracl.* 830. In Latin verse, note Silius, *Pun.* 2.19. The Etruscan trumpet clearly connects to the destined alliance of Aeneas' Trojans with Tarcho's Etrurians, but the announcement of the sound effect in the wake of the noise of portentous thunder is striking. For the tradition that the instrument was invented by Tyrrhenus note Hyginus, *Fab.* 274.20.1 (cf. de Grummond 2006, 202–203), with reference to bizarre stories of cannibalism and the use of the instrument at funerals to confirm that the dead were not killed by poison or the sword; Isidore credits the invention to Tyrrhenian pirates, who were not easily summoned together on account of the roar of the wind (*Lib. Etymol.* 18.4.2, citing this line). Henry distinguishes between Etruscan trumpets and the trumpet of Tyrrhenus. The scholiast on Homer, *Il.* 18.219 notes that Athena invented the first “Hellenic” trumpet, and gave it to the Etruscans.

tubae: The *tuba* was particularly associated with battle (cf. 9.503), as Isidore noted (*Lib. Etymol.* 18.4.4). For Virgilian references to the straight horn note S. Hagel in *VE* 11, 859.

mugire: For the verb see on 215. Hercules was summoned to Cacus' cavern by the lowing of cattle; Aeneas is called to war by the ominous sound of the Etruscan trumpet.

527 suspiciunt, iterum atque iterum fragor increpat ingens:

suspiciunt: Closely following on 525 *visa*. The line opens with the visual; it closes with the aural. The Romanus had *suspiciunt*.

iterum atque iterum: Gossrau notes that the thunder is heard three times; we may recall the repetition of “threes” in the forging of the arms (429 ff.; on this note Smith 2011, 133).

fragor: For the noun see Fratantuono and Smith on 5.228; Putnam 1966, 143–144; used of the sound of the sea at 1.154 and 7.587; of the crash of trees in the forest at 7.677; the fall of a tower at 9.541; of the sound of grief and mourning in Latinus' city (11.214). The present crashing noise is reminiscent of 2.692–693 ... *subitoque fragore / intonuit laevum*; it looks forward to 12.723–724 *non aliter*

Tros Aeneas et Daunius heros / concurrunt clipeis, ingens fragor aethera complet.
Putnam notes: "It appears at least probable that Venus is foretelling to her son the death of Pallas in the conflict ahead."

increpat: Parallel is 9.503–504 *At tuba terribilem sonitum procul aere canoro / increpuit*; cf. Mavors with his shield at 12.332–333; the verb also at 6.387 (Charon at the Styx); 9.127 (Turnus with his men); 9.560 (Turnus with Lycus); 10.278; 10.830–831 (Aeneas with his men); 12.755 (of the snapping of a dog's jaws). The verb is old (Ennius *epicus* and *tragicus*); several times in Propertius.

Intonat is read here by Servius, and has some manuscript support (so also *insonat*); 9.503–504 would seem to secure the correct reading, if there were any reason to abandon the unanimous reading of the capitals (but note 9.709). The variant "more literal and prosaic" (Eden).

ingens: The verse closes not so much on a colorless, overused word, but rather on one that underscores just how loud the sound was. The alliteration at line-end enacts the sound effect, especially after *iterum*, etc.

528 *arma inter nubem caeli in regione serena*

arma: Not necessarily (as Henry is at pains to remind us) the arms of Aeneas, though in context those are the ones most on the audience's mind; what Virgil has done in this portentous passage is to shade together the gift of the Venusian *arma* with the sounding (divine) arms of dark and dire portents.

inter nubem: The appearance of this cloud has troubled commentators in light of the *caelum apertum* of 523. Henry (after Servius, and followed by Eden) argues at length that the point is for the arms to have a sort of airy cushion that props them up on either side (hence *inter*). Gransden and Fordyce more or less accept the same argument; note Page's observation that "The mind grasps, or seems to grasp, the idea of a cloud lending support, and hence they are commonly introduced when the gods are referred to as taking up a position in the sky or moving through it." It is perhaps overly subtle to see an allusion to the Epicurean argument that clouds were responsible for thunder (cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 6.96 ff.). In fact it is the arms that act like clouds (529 *pulsa tonare*). Pappillon and Haigh take *nubem* as a vague reference to the sky, comparing 5.525 *volans liquidis in nubibus*.

regione: The noun occurs 4× in the *G.* and 13× in the epic. Here it reminds one of the different sections of the sky for the purpose of augurial practice. For the ablative of region see Antoine 1882, 213–214.

serena: For the adjective see Fratantuono and Smith on 5.104.

The line is effectively framed by words that do not necessarily accord so readily; we move from arms to serenity, and indeed the divine shield is supposed to bring a degree of calm to Aeneas' troubled mind.

529 **per sudum rutilare vident et pulsa tonare.**

sudum: Cf. 4.77 (adjectival); only here in Virgil as a noun. We may note Plautus, *Miles* 2 (with Hammond); *Rudens* 123 (with Sonnenschein); Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.115; Silius, *Pun.* 8.626. Henry's response to Peerlkamp's proposal to read *subitum* on the grounds that *sudum* is redundant is another gem of polemical prose.

rutilare: A vivid chromatic detail (vid. Edgeworth 1992, 30–31; 160). As Edgeworth notes, there are two occasions in the epic where colored clouds are harbingers of unambiguously favorable circumstances: the golden cloud of 7.142 ff. after the eating of the tables, and the yellow (*fulvus*) cloud of 12.792, at the scene of Juno's reconciliation. See below on 622 for the *caeruleus* cloud associated with the arms. The verb is old (Accian, of the dawn). The red here looks forward to the blood of the victims of war (Di Cesare 1974, 143–144). One might think of the red cloud that figures so prominently in the mystery of Joan Lindsay's *Picnic at Hanging Rock*.

pulsa: "Having clashed": the arms clash together, and so the noise as of thunder is created (*tonare*). The image is the Lucretian one of the engendering of the sound of *tonitrus* by the warring of clouds. The intertext for the sound of the arms in the heaven is *G.* 1.474–475 *armorum sonitum toto Germania caelo / audiit*, of the portents associated with the assassination of Caesar (where see Erren's note; and Mynors' on the noise of arms in conjunction with trumpets). Dio (44.17.2) describes the noise of the arms of Mars that were kept at the residence of the *pontifex maximus*; cf. Plutarch, *Vita Caes.* 63.2 (with Pelling). Suetonius (*Vita Caes.* 81.3) notes *ea vero nocte, cui inluxit dies caedis, et ipse sibi visus est per quietem interdum supra nubes volitare, alias cum Iove dextram iungere*.

videre ... tonare: Another mix of the visual and the aural; for the application of *videre* to the perception of prodigies of both sight and sound, see Gransden. For *tonare* see on 419; *sonare* is the reading of P, R, and several Carolingians, while the original reading of the Medicean was *torare*.

See Nelis 2001, 364 on how Evander might well have reconsidered his decision to entrust Pallas to Aeneas, had he read his Apollonius.

530 **obstipuerunt animis alii, sed Troius heros**

obstipuerunt animis: For the verb cf. on 121; note also 2.120 *obstipuerunt animi* (in reaction to the oracle of Phoebus); 9.132 *Obstipuerunt animis Rutuli* (of the reaction of Turnus' men to the portentous metamorphosis of the ships into sea creatures; the reading *animi* is also found there); Negri 1984, 121 ff. (on the use of *animi* "dello stupore, dello stordimento, che arrestano ogni attività psichica"); 296n46; 308n74. It is conceivable that the *alii* have the correct reaction to the

portent. Pallas was agape at 121; his future fate may well be directly presaged in the attitude of the assembly.

Troius heros: Aeneas is here described as the “Trojan hero,” in the specific context of his recognition of his mother’s portent; the narrator’s appellation comes soon after the more expansive salutation offered by Evander at 513. Cf. 6.451 (at the encounter with Dido in the underworld); 10.584; 886; 12.502. For *heros* see above on 18. Fordyce wonders if the reference here is to Aeneas’ divine parentage. Evander had (prematurely? inappropriately?) hailed Aeneas as the leader of Teucrians and Italians; as Trojan hero, Aeneas may now make a mistake in his reading of the heavens.

531 *agnovit sonitum et divae promissa parentis.*

agnovit: With Aeneas’ recognition of the sound we may compare his ignorance at 730 below. He recognizes the sound of the omen, but perhaps he does not fully appreciate its import. The capricious Venus, for her part, may be imagined as having no sense whatsoever of the fate of Pallas.

sonitum: Cf. 525.

promissa: Cf. 612. There was an explicit promise in Homer of Thetis to Achilles (18.134 ff.), but so such *promissa* of Venus to her son (noted as early as Servius); on this see further F.J. Miller, “Evidences of Incompleteness in the *Aeneid* of Virgil,” in *CJ* 4.8 (1909), 341–355. The effect of the “inconsistency” is to cast into doubt the appropriateness of Aeneas’ reaction to the portent; he responds with a striking emphasis on violence and retributive indignation towards Turnus (532 ff.), with nary a thought to any possible dark implication of the vision and portent. Ironically, his ultimate act of violence against Turnus will come as retribution for the death of the Arcadian youth who stands now at his side. While the literary reader recalls the omens that heralded the death of Caesar, Aeneas has moved from gloom and depressed anxiety (520 ff.) to a triumphalist mood of readiness to fill the Thybris with the arms of his enemies (538–540). One might also argue that Aeneas heard the noise of arms clashing in the sky, and assumed that they were the arms his mother had (not) promised to him, and that all the celestial sights and sounds pointed to his mother’s divine favor—when in fact the weapons in question were the *arma* of such omens as those before the Ides. A misreading of signs by Aeneas, who has no apparent concern for the safety of Pallas. On how one is supposed to respond to portents, see Henry 1989, 82–83. Mackail notes the possible influence of Servius’ note here on Dryden’s observation about how Virgil “says much in little, and often in silence.”

divae: Echoed at 534 *diva*.

parentis: For the noun in Virgil see Newman and Newman 2005, 42–43.

532 tum memorat: 'ne vero, hospes, ne quaere profecto

On Aeneas' address see especially Lundström 1977, 75–86. For how Virgil concentrates three of the four speeches of Aeneas into the first section of the book, with this brief and powerful address standing forth as the only remaining utterance of the hero in the book, note Mackie 1988, 148.

tum memorat: For the verb cf. 79. *Tum memorat* is Ennian (*Ann. fr.* 1.35 Skutsch); cf. 3.181 (with Horsfall).

ne ... ne: The language of insistent prohibition. Aeneas is sure of how to interpret the portent. With *quaere* the reference is to the pursuit of an *augurium impetrativum* to confirm the *oblativum*—we may recall that it was Anchises who asked for just that sort of assurance at 2.687 ff.

hospes: Cf. 123; 188; 364; 463; 493. In this case the host has just offered the gift of his son's service under the hero's tutelage.

profecto: A mysterious word, if the controversies of the editors can be trusted. Most often taken (after Servius) as a particle of affirmation (only here in Virgil), and not as a participle (so Tetlow; Hirtzel; Ladewig) with reference to Pallas. Eden notes that Pallas has not actually set out yet, so that construing *profecto* as the dative, perfect passive of *proficisci* would be inappropriate. As adverb *profecto* underscores *vero* and emphatically highlights Aeneas' certainty and sense of assurance. For the Lucretian line-end see Gransden. Just possible that the word has a deliberately double sense: Aeneas is not worried at all about the portents and the outcome of what will follow, while Evander is concerned (with good reason) for the safety of his only son. For a defense of taking *profecto* participially, see Mackail. Williams see the use of the near tautology of *vero* and *profecto* as expressive of the anxiety of Aeneas in soothing Evander's fears. How different is all of this from the Trojan hero's reflections in the first movements of Book 11.

533 quem casum portenta ferant: ego poscor Olympo.

casum: For the noun see R.V. Pagnini in *EV* 1, 598. The reference points ultimately to Pallas' fate.

portenta: The noun is rare in Virgil; note 7.58 *sed variis portenta deum terroribus obstant* (regarding Turnus' proposed marriage to Lavinia); 11.271 (of the portent of the transformation of Diomedes' men into birds). On the mixed state of the *augurium* and the *prodigium* that portends both good and ill, see O'Hara 1990, 49–50: "What Vergil does show clearly is an encouraging interpretation of an omen that is more complex and ambiguous than the characters know or admit." Cf. also the same author's entry on "Prophecy" in *VE* III, 1046–1047: "... omens in the sky as Venus is bringing the arms of Vulcan, which Aeneas interprets as positive although they are not without ambiguity ... compare Turnus' interpretation of omens in the sky at *A.* 9.129–139 ..."

ego poscor Olympo: One of the more famous phrases in the epic. The Servian tradition offers evidence that there was dispute even in antiquity as to whether or not to punctuate after *poscor*, so that *Olympo* would be taken with what follows; Hirtzel's Oxford text has a period after the verb (so also Peerlkamp; Ladewig; Mackail). Williams notes that the idea "should not be entertained for a moment." Aeneas sees the portents solely in terms of his own destiny as the anointed one of fate. Eden notes that "we had no reason to suppose that the sign would come from hell." For the possible connection to Aeneas' future apotheosis, see Fratantuono 2007, 247; for the assertion of his personal rights, xi.

For Olympus see on 280; the verb echoes 512 *quem numina poscunt*; also 477 *fatis poscentibus*; 12 *fatis regem se dicere posci*. On the "double metonymy" of sky (the locus of the portents) and divine will, see Eden. "Olympus" points in particular both to the favor of Venus, and to Jupiter's divine assent to Aeneas' destiny.

534 *hoc signum cecinit missuram diva creatrix,*

hoc signum: I.e., of 523.

cecinit: Of prophetic utterance; cf. 499 *fata canens*. For the "momentary ambiguity" of the verb that gives way to the understanding that the goddess has made a prophecy, see M.K. Edwards, "The Expression of Stoic Ideas in the *Aeneid*," in *Phoenix* 14.3 (1960), 151–165, 164; the same author's "Intensification of Meaning in Propertius and Others," in *TAPA* 92 (1961), 128–144, 132 (on the "transient ambiguity" of how *signum canere* is not on the author's mind; again, we may compare 8.1–2).

missuram: For the omission of the reflexive and its archaic ring, see Eden; also Gransden for how the molossus expresses the solemnity of the action.

creatrix: Elsewhere in Virgil only at 6.367–368 ... *si quam tibi diva creatrix / ostendit* (Palinurus' shade to Aeneas); the reference is reminiscent of Lucretius, *DRN* 1.1 *Aeneadum genetrix*, but especially of the poet's use of *natura creatrix* (1.629; 2.1117; 5.1362). For the epithet see Moseley 1926, 44: "The striking fact about Venus' epithets in the *Aeneid* is that forty-eight of the sixty-two occurrences are accounted for by epithets indicating either her divinity or the fact that she is Aeneas' mother." *Creatrix* has special reference in light of the forging of the arms and the goddess' role in securing the divine gift. Alliterative with the verb.

535 *si bellum ingrueret, Volcaniaque arma per auras*

ingrueret: The verb at 2.301 *clarescunt sonitus armorumque ingruit horror* (on the night Troy fell); 11.899 *ingruere infensos hostis* ... (in Acca's report to Turnus about the death of Camilla and its consequences); 12.283–284 ... *it toto turbida*

caelo / *tempestas telorum ac ferreus ingruit imber*; 12.628 *ingruit Aeneas Italis et proelia miscet*; cf. *G.* 2.410. The verb is found at Plautus, *Amphit.* 236 (where see Christenson), but not again until Virgil; “the sinister overtones of the word naturally recommended it to Tacitus.” Livy has it often, and Seneca admitted it to his tragedies—but the epic poets did not follow Virgil in adopting it, with the exception of Silius. Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.60.4 is an imitation. The verb continues the strong auditory and aural effects of the portents and appearance of the arms; it also follows on 525 *ruere*. The mention of a state of war (*bellum*) also returns us to the language of 8.1–2.

The condition makes it seem as if the Venusian promise came before the outbreak of war; again, the strong emphasis on the promise and its specific nature (i.e., the Vulcanian arms) highlights the deliberate inconsistency. Highet 1972, 37 correctly observes that Aeneas will express no gratitude for the arms—another breach of the expectations of ritual and interaction with the immortals. The mother, we might note, made no promises—and the son renders no thanks.

Volcaniaque arma: For the god see on 198. The speech here takes on an especially presumptuous ring, we might think.

per auras: The (common) line-end is Lucretian (e.g., *DRN* 2.202; 3.400; 4.32; 4.221; 6.115; 6.190; 6.303); cf. *G.* 1.407; *A.* 1.59; 4.226; 4.270; 4.357; 4.378; 6.82; 6.194; 7.543; 9.112; 9.409; 10.634; 10.819; 11.558; 11.595; 11.617; 11.795; 12.253.

536 *laturamque auxilio.*

The third and final unfinished verse in the book (cf. 41 and 369). See Eden on 532 ff. for the half-line that ends a passage marked by several signs of alleged incompleteness. Conington has a lengthy note on the problems of interpretation of Aeneas' recollection of the Venusian promises, with reference to Gossrau's conclusion that the poet had not quite worked out this section to his complete satisfaction. Those who would attribute a more polished quality to the passage might argue that Virgil's language reflects the excited state of Aeneas, eager as he is to calm Evander and to assert the honor of his summons from on high; cf. Sparrow 1931, 41–45 on “effective hemistiches,” who notes that “Here, as at III. 316, the hemistich is followed immediately by *heu*, and the break may be intended to convey the effect of a sigh” (but he notes, too, that there may be other signs of a lack of the poet's *ultima manus* here).

laturamque: Not only was Venus going to send a sign to Aeneas regarding the shield—she was also going to convey the arms to Aeneas in person.

auxilio: Particularly apt in the context of how Aeneas has come in search of auxiliary troops.

537 heu quantae miseris caedes Laurentibus instant!

Interlocking word order juxtaposes the miserable Laurentians and the magnitude of the disaster Aeneas predicts for them. Some commentators have seen a parallel with the prophecy of Nereus from Horace, c. 1.15; certainly we may recall Latinus' words at 7.595–597. It is noteworthy that several commentaries decline to offer much in the way of explication of these last verses of Aeneas' response to the Venus portent.

heu: The interjection is more common in the first half of the epic than the second. See Horsfall on 7.293 (especially on the preference of high poetry for exclamatory *heu* in preference to the *eheu* of comedy). On such emotional interjections note Pinkster 2015, 365–366.

quantae: The start of a tricolon of terror (continuing with 538 *quas* and *quam*).

caedes: Cf. 483 and 492. The plural may be regarded as poetic, but the poet's concern is to underscore the gravity of what Aeneas intends. The noun will recur in the detail about Turnus' pride in the wake of Pallas' death: 10.514–515 ... *te, Turne, superbum | caede nova quaerens*.

Laurentibus: Cf. 613 below. Aeneas' remark about the slaughter that the Laurentians are to suffer stands in marked contrast to his pious prayer to the *Laurentes Nymphae* at 71. Venus was said to be legitimately afraid of the threats of the Laurentians at 371; cf. 1 and 38.

instant: Cf. 693, in the description of Actium; also 2.627 (in the simile that describes the work of the immortals in destroying Troy); 10.118 (of the Rutulians); 692; 713.

538 quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis! quam multa sub undas

poenas ... dabis: Ennian (*Ann.* fr. 1.95 Skutsch); the sentiment is borrowed, too, from Dido's attack on Aeneas at 4.386–387 *omnibus umbra locis adero. dabis, improbe, poenas. | audiam et haec Manis veniet mihi fama sub imos*; note also Ps.-V., *Ciris* 194; Propertius, c. 2.5.3; Ovid, *Am.* 2.2.60; *Ars* 1.179; *Met.* 6.544; *Fast.* 6.378; Lucan, *BC* 2.75; 3.370; 5.158; 9.161–162; Seneca, *HF* 643; *HO* 322; 1006; 1973; *Med.* 964–965; *Phaed.* 937; *Phoen.* 589–590; Ps.-Sen., *Oct.* 811; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.13; Martial, *ep.* 9.7.5; Silius, *Pun.* 7.539–540.

Turne: The threat to Turnus looks forward to the end of the epic; it echoes Latinus' words at 7.596–597. From the general reference to the people, Aeneas proceeds to the leader they have accepted in their terrible folly. "No doubt a manifest destiny drove him and his Aeneadae on, past Nisus and Euryalus and their massacre, past Lausus and Mezentius, past Camilla, and Pallas, finally past Turnus. But what a trail of blood led to his throne!" (Newman and Newman 2005, 18).

sub undas: Cf. 1.100 ... *sub undis*; the Romanus has *unda* here. The accusative vividly describes the result of the action of the river. Aeneas here returns to the image of the Tiber, which is now to be imagined as polluted with the bodies and arms of slaughtered Laurentians. Cf. also Homer, *Il.* 12.22 ff.

539 *scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volves,*

The verse is a virtual copy of 1.101 *scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit*, of the armor and corpses that were carried off by the Simois at Troy. That passage came at the close of the first remarks of Aeneas in the epic, as he faced the terror of the Junonian storm that Aeolus' winds had unleashed. Aeneas' earlier speech looks back to the devastation of the war at Troy; his comments now envisage a future where the Trojan War has been reborn in central Italy, and (implicitly) where the Laurentians will be in the position of the Trojans of yore. We may recall here 6.87 *et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno* (the Sibyl's prophecy, where see Austin); 6.872–874 (the vision of how the Tiber will see the funeral of Marcellus). Aeneas here becomes a virtual parrot of the prediction of Deiphobe; he takes possession of his destiny of blood. Note also Latinus' rueful reflections at 12.34–36 (with Tarrant), and cf. Raabe 1974, 79 ff. Homeric color; cf. *Il.* 12.22 ff.

scuta: The reference is not without irony in the context of the bestowal of the divine shield. Shields and helmets also at Ovid, *Fast.* 6.392; Lucan, *BC* 9.471; Pliny, *NH* 8.95.4; 16.144.7; 32.23.6; Statius, *Theb.* 2.530 (a passage that echoes this passage). Note also 562 below, as Evander recalls his own deeds of valor. Pallas' shield will do him no good against Turnus at 10.482 ff.

fortia corpora: Cf. 12.328; *Ilias Latina* 648; Ovid, *Ep. Pont.* 1.4.12 (of bulls).

volves: Imitated at *Ilias Latina* 909–910 ... *stringuntur sanguine ripae / spar-saque per totos volvuntur corpora fluctus*; cf. Lucan, *BC* 9.842–843; Silius, *Pun.* 4.161.

540 *Thybrī pater! poscant acies et foedera rumpant.'*

Thybrī pater: For the river see on 31; Pallas will also make an invocation to Father Thybris (10.421, where see Harrison); cf. Statius, *Silv.* 1.6.100. Already in Heyne there is the observation that the Tiber is not the scene of any great engagement in the Latin war; the signal importance of the river, however, makes the image all too fitting. Fordyce found the reference inappropriate: "Virgil has let Homer's Scamander dictate to him." Cf. also the cleansing of Turnus in the sacred waters at 9.815–818. Do we hear the word *hybris* in Aeneas' invocation? See further Dyson 2001, 57; 116–117.

poscant: The use of the verb introduces a play on the idea of being demanded by fate and destiny; cf. 533, etc. Aeneas is the chosen one of the gods; let the

Laurentians demand battle. In his excited state, Aeneas returns from his apostrophe to Turnus to the enemy more generally. For the verb with *acies* cf. Silius, *Pun.* 7.249–250. *Hysteron proteron.*

foedera: For the noun see on 56 and 169. The line-end is adapted from Lucretius, *DRN* 2.254 ... *quod fati foedera rumpat*; cf. 12.202 *nulla dies pacem hanc Italis nec foedera rumpet*; 12.582 ... *haec altera foedera rumpi*; Horace, *Ep.* 2.1.3.35; Livy 42.40.3.2; Ovid, *Her.* 4.17; Manilius, *Astron.* 2.639; 4.420; Lucan, *BC* 5.766; Seneca, *Med.* 605–606; Silius, *Pun.* 1.268; 2.494; 700; 11.5; 13.284.

rumpant: Vid. F. Cavazza in *EV* IV, 599–602. On the end of the speech and the question of Aeneas' resolution *versus* certain delusions of Turnus, see Mackie 1988, 156–157.

Pithy ABBA word order.

541–553 Aeneas sees to the demands of religious ritual and sacrifice, before making practical plans for his departure to claim his Etruscan allies. We may compare the sacrifice ritual of Homer, *Od.* 3.430–463.

541 Haec ubi dicta dedit, solio se tollit ab alto

Haec ubi dicta dedit: So at 2.790, as the ghost of Creüsa takes her leave from Aeneas; 6.628 (the Sibyl with Aeneas); 7.323 (Juno before her summons of Allecto); 7.741 (of Turnus); 10.633 (of Juno); 12.81 (of Turnus); 12.441 (Aeneas with Ascanius). The epic tag was a source of mockery of the supposed pretensions of the high style at Petronius, *Sat.* 61.5 (where see Schmeling); the expression has parallels in several genres: cf. Lucilius, s. fr. 1.18 Warmington; also Ennius *tragicus*; Lucretius, *DRN* 5.53; see further Horsfall on 7.471. Seemingly reserved for special occasions, notes Horsfall on 2.790. For periphrastic expressions with *dare* see Eden.

solio: For the noun see on 178.

alto: The epithet is reminiscent of the similar description of the *limen* of 461; conventional enough, one might think, though here the notion of loftiness may follow naturally enough in the wake of Aeneas' less than humble thoughts: the description of the normal enough act of standing up from the discussion is expressed in a manner consistent with the hero's mood and state of mind.

542 et primum Herculeis sopitas ignibus aras

Aeneas' action is parallel to that of the *femina* of 410. From the lofty seat whence he rose the hero advances at once to a task that is reminiscent of that of the woman to whom the emasculated Vulcan was earlier compared. The present scene is also closely parallel to 5.743–745 *haec memorans cinerem et sopitos suscitavit ignis, | Pergameumque Larem et canae penetralia Vestae | farre*

pio et plena supplex veneratur acerra, where Aeneas tends to religious duties in the wake of the nocturnal visitation of the shade of Anchises.

Herculeis: For the adjective cf. 276 and 288; the seemingly incidental detail about the god's sacrificial fires serves to link the present sequence with the earlier focus on the demigod and his own conquest of chaos in Latium. Possibly a transferred epithet, "more Vergiliano" (Conington), or fire that was brought from the Ara Maxima (one may compare the rite of the Holy Saturday blessing of the new fire and lighting of the lamps from the paschal flame). Earlier editors were troubled by the reference to the Herculean altars/flames: did Evander bring fire from the Ara Maxima to his household shrine, or does the poet mean simply that on the preceding night there was an unspecified religious act at the domestic hearth (cf. *Hercules/herkos*; Heyne's proposed emendation *Herceis*, with reference to the altar of Zeus Herkeios). Virgil may not have been troubled by such alleged problems; his concern is to reintroduce Hercules to the narrative, though by means of a scene in which the Trojan hero acts in a manner not unlike that of Vulcan after his seduction. The reintroduction of the god is also a poignant reminder of his relationship to Pallas, a connection that will be highlighted in Book 10 (460 ff.).

sopitas: See on 410.

ignibus aras: The line-end also at Ovid, *Met.* 7.427; 13.590; 15.574. The fires are artfully placed amid the *sopitas ... aras*; note too the interlocking word order.

543 *excitat hesternumque larem parvosque penates*

excitat: For the verb cf. 434 above. The Romanus and several Carolingians have *suscitat* here (in reminiscence of 410 and 5.743).

hesternumque: The adjective occurs elsewhere in Virgil only in the very different context of *E.* 6.15 *inflatum hesterno venas, ut semper, Iaccho* (of the drunken Silenus); it is read here by P, the Wolfenbüttel, and the bulk of Ribbeck's cursives; also Servius. M and R, however, offer *externumque*, a reading Servius attributes to "male quidam." The textual variation may be due to the relative rarity of the adjective, or to the aforementioned question of just which altars/sacrifices are being referenced. Fowler proposed reading 542 *hesternis* and 543 *Herculeum*, which Eden notes gives a more Ovidian than Virgilian read to the lines. A striking use of adjective for adverb, one might conclude; there is a haunting quality to the reference, as if Evander's household were already in some sense fading away.

In support of *externumque* is the point that Aeneas is paying homage to the local, foreign *penates*—Italy is now his home, and *externumque* echoes 503 *externo*. MacLennan notes: "... *excitat, externumque* does not sound a likely Virgilian hexameter-opening."

larem: One of only three references to the Lar in the epic; cf. the parallel 5.744; 9.258–260 ... *per magnos, Nise, penatis / Assaracique Larem et canae penetralia Vestae / obtestor* (Ascanius' address before the night raid); also *G.* 3.344 and 4.43; M. Stöckinger in *VE* 11, 719–721; E. Montanari in *EV* 111, 123–124; Bailey 1935, 97; and (for the identification of Aeneas himself as a Lar), S. Weinstock, "Two Archaic Inscriptions from Lavinium," in *JRS* 50 (1960), 112–118. "The Lar occurs curiously rarely" (Bailey 1935, 33); never in the plural in Virgil.

parvosque penates: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 8.637; 4.531; Silius, *Pun.* 1.616. In conjunction with the Lar we have "the sum total of the household gods" (Bailey 1935, 33). For the Penates see on 11 above; the smallness highlights the humility of Evander's household, and the fragility of the whole enterprise (some prefer to take the household gods to be Aeneas', or both the Arcadian and the Trojan—but the offering is most naturally taken of Evander's).

544 *laetus adit; mactat lectos de more bidentis*

laetus: For the key word note Wiltshire 2012, 125–126 (with reference to the connection of the adjective in context with the notion of *libens* or *volens*); Henry 1989, 156. Prominent placement.

adit: For the verb cf. 302; Fordyce on its use in religious contexts. For the paratactic pattern of the verbs note Henry 1989, 14–15.

mactat, etc.: On the verb note above on 85 and 294; the sacrifice described here echoes 6.38–39 *nunc grege de intacto mactare iuencos / praestiterit, totidem lectas ex more bidentis*; 7.92–93 *hic et tum pater ipse petens responsa Latinus / centum lanigeras mactabat rite bidentis*; also 4.57 ... *mactant de more bidentis*. Sheep are also sacrificed at 5.96 ... *caedit binas de more bidentis*; cf. 12.170–171. On Virgilian ovinos note R.F. Thomas in *VE* 1, 84–85; Toynbee 1973, 163–164. Again the earlier commentators worry about the exact liturgical sequence; is this part of the same offering to the Lar and the Penates, or a new ritual? The Medicean has the plural *mactant* here, possibly in reminiscence of 4.57, or perhaps because of the subjects of the following verse.

de more: Cf. 186 *ex more*. Liturgies have rubrics, and scrupulous adherence to the letter of the formula and rites is demanded to ensure the efficacy of the offering. Gransden et al. note that the custom in this case refers both to the sacrifice and to the selection of choice victims (*apo koinou*). The choosing of the sacrificial victims (*lectas*) will be followed at once by the selection of a different sort of sacrifice, as Aeneas chooses men for following him into battle (548 *legit*). Traditional Roman liturgy reveled in repetition; on the possible "ritual repetition" of this verse see Sparrow 1931, 103–104 (with consideration of the possible "stop-gap" nature of a line in a section he considers unfinished).

Altars; Penates; sacrificial animals close verses 542–544. “Rudimentary bestial sacrifice which is demanded at moments of change, and which serves as a sop to the superficialities of religion ...” (Putnam 1966, 144).

545 Evandrus pariter, pariter Troiana iuventus.

Mackail considered this verse and the following to be candidates for omission in a revision of a passage he considers confused and unpolished. The present verse may well be thought to have a stop-gap quality to it, though it is appropriate enough in light of the recently struck alliance.

Evandrus: Servius notes that the form is deliberately chosen to avoid homoeoteleuton.

pariter, etc.: With emphasis on the shared action of the Arcadians and Trojans. Cf. the stunning scene of mutual slaughter at 10.756–757 (with Harrison). Conington notes that the youth are not acting equally with Aeneas, but equally with each other.

Troiana iuventus: The referent is not entirely clear, especially in light of 546 *socios*; it cannot mean Aeneas and Achates, one might think—though if Aeneas and his faithful companion are under say forty-six, it is technically possible. Why is Pallas not mentioned? It may be that the line refers subtly to the two Trojans and only one Arcadian (i.e., the three who will survive the war). Cf. also 182; here one might imagine that Aeneas and Achates took men with them as an escort, but it is also possible that the poet was not bothered by the lack of precise accounting for who exactly was present. Evander and the Trojan youth frame the verse. Another reminder of Aeneas’ Trojan origin (cf. on 530 above). For *iuventus* see on 5 above.

546 post hinc ad navis graditur sociosque revisit,

post hinc: Cf. *G.* 3.300. The first word conveys temporal progression, the second spatial.

graditur: For the verb form cf. 1.312 (Aeneas with Achates); 3.664 (Polyphemus); 4.147 (Apollo); 9.223 (Euryalus with Nisus); 11.535 (Camilla). Twice, then, in the context of the premature loss of young heroes in battle; twice of Aeneas; once of the god to whom Aeneas is compared at Dido’s hunt. See Eden for the more or less abrupt change of subject: “In the comparatively unorganised style of Ennius and the early annalists abrupt changes of subject are common ... but they are natural enough in any case, and there is hardly any question here of deliberate archaism.”

sociosque revisit: The line-end is borrowed from 6.899 *ille viam secat ad navis sociosque revisit*; it is as if Aeneas has left the underworld, with Evander as the new Anchises and Pallas as the doomed Marcellus; on the repetition see

Sparrow 1931, 103–104. Note also Silius, *Pun.* 13.895 *tum laetus socios iuvenis portumque revisit* (in imitation of 6.899).

547 *quorum de numero qui sese in bella sequantur*

quorum ... numero: Reminiscent of the language of military prose. Virgil does not make explicit whether *de numero* should be taken closely with 548 *legit*, or with the relative clause *qui ... sequantur*; the difference in meaning is slight.

in bella: Servius has a note here on the distinction between *bellum* and *proelium*; Conington remarks on how the text seems to indicate that the mission for which Aeneas is selecting men is particularly hazardous, when in fact the Trojan contingent will be visiting a friendly, soon to be officially allied power. Is there some reflection here of the warlike Etruscans of early Roman history?

qui, etc.: The generic relative clause or relative clause of characteristic may be considered to be one of purpose. “Entre ceux de ses compagnons qu’il a amenés jusqu’à Pallantée, en remontant le Tibre, Énée fait choix des guerriers qui pourraient le suivre et le défendre dans une lutte s’il s’en présentait une. Il ne va pas au combat, puisque les Étrusques sont presque déjà des alliés, mais il prévoit des dangers possibles”—Benoist.

bella sequantur: The line-end also at Ovid, *Her.* 16.341.

548 *praestantis virtute legit; pars cetera prona*

Alliteration of *p* and *r*, with neat framing of *prae* and *pro*.

praestantis virtute: For *virtus* cf. 500; the adjective-noun combination is Ciceronian. These are the ones who literally stand before their fellows in courage and bravery.

legit: Echoing 519 *lecta*.

prouna: The commentators compare *G.* 1.203 *atque illum in praeceps prono rapit alveus amni*. The adjective occurs 10× in the epic (twice in the *G.*); here the emphasis is on the swift and easy departure of the remaining Trojans back to camp. Eden notes “Whether they arrived or not does not emerge from the later narrative,” but there is no reason to think that they did not (cf. Harrison’s note on 10.238–239, where a combined Arcadian and Etruscan cavalry force seems to make a surprise appearance at the Trojan camp). Conington explores the question of whether or not there is a hint here that those not so outstanding in *virtus* might need a trouble-free journey back to the Trojan camp.

549 *fertur aqua segnisque secundo defluit amni,*

segnis: Cf. 414; not the most complimentary of labels for this part of the army, one might be tempted to think. Ladewig (followed cautiously by Page) wonders

if the meaning is that these men failed in their mission to bring news to Ascanius (550): “Weiter sagt uns der Dichter über diese Abteilung nichts; dich wird sie voraussichtlich am zweiten Tage nach ihrer Abfahrt, an welchem der Kampf um die Landung des Äneas stattfindet, an ihrem Ziele angelangt sein.” Quite possibly one of those “slips” that does not really trouble a reader; perhaps something that would have been addressed in revision. One can remain “inactive,” of course, when there is no reason to row as the current carries them back. Conington notes that the matter is “of no consequence,” though with the observation that it might have been interesting to know what the reaction of the Trojan camp was to the news. The thoughts of Ascanius and the Trojan leaders in the absence of Aeneas are central to the drama of Nisus and Euryalus in the following book. We might note that Nisus’ speech to Euryalus closes at 9.196 with mention of the *moenia Pallantea*; the fates of the young men are closely connected.

For the possible significance of the sluggishness of the journey, with comparison of “Aeneas’ swift voyage upstream, hinting at Ascanius’ continued dissociation from adulthood as the business of war moved closer,” see Rogerson 2017, 154.

defluit: The verb also at 1.404 ... *pedes vestis defluxit ad imos* (of the revelation of the disguised Venus); 7.494–495 ... *fluvio cum forte secundo | deflueret ripaque aestus vididante levaret* (of Silvia’s stag); 11.501 *ad terram defluxit equis* (of Camilla’s cohort as they imitate their leader); cf. *G.* 3.447 ... *missusque secundo defluit amni*. The line-end *defluit amni* occurs also at Columella, *DRR* 10.1.1.136.

Sidgwick comments on the repetitive elaboration of the verse; the passage is reminiscent of 86ff., where the Tiber god calmed his waters for Aeneas’ departure to Pallanteum. On how the rhythm (coincidence of ictus and accent) enacts the description, see Eden; also Williams (on the absence of main caesura in the third or fourth foot). Theme and variation, Henry notes; the curmudgeonly critic is otherwise silent on the difficulties of this passage.

550 *nuntia ventura Ascanio rerumque patrisque.*

nuntia: The noun *nuntius* occurs 13× in the epic (see on 582); *nuntia* appears here and at 4.188 and 9.474. The “message that is about to come” stands in apposition to the *pars cetera* of the army that will deliver it. Jenkyns 1998, 521–522 comments on how “... the current of events is flowing their way,” with emphasis on the “lazy” progress of men who are now clearly aligned with destiny, men who are free of care as they proceed on their way along the course of the sacred river. The brief detail about the message that is sent to Aeneas serves in part to prepare the way for the drama of Book 9, where the question of sending news of how the Trojan camp is faring to Aeneas is an important plot element.

Ascanio: For Aeneas's son see on 48.

rerumque, etc.: A sort of hendiadys, especially in that the ultimate course of Trojan affairs is guided by what Aeneas is doing at any given moment. *Rerum* is suitably vague; there is, at any rate, exciting news to share with Ascanius regarding the new alliance.

patrisque: A timely reminder of the relationship between father and son, with parallelism of Pallas/Evander and Ascanius/Aeneas. See further Hahn 1930, 244 (on the question of part and whole).

551 **dantur equi Teucris Tyrrhena petentibus arva;**

dantur equi: A practical detail, matching the note at 550 about the Tyrrhenian cavalry. Cf. 171 (the promise of aid that Evander made to Aeneas); on the exchange of gifts between allies and guests note L. Fratantuono in *VE* II, 557–558; Wiltshire 1989, 54–55. “In the morning the old king proves himself an ally” (Lee 1979, 74). For horses in Virgil note R.F. Thomas in *VE* I, 82–84; G. Bianco in *EV* II, 349–351. It is interesting that the most memorable horse of the epic is Mezentius' steed Rhaebus (10.858–866, where see Harrison); we may note Pallas' horse Aethon at his requiem (11.89–90; the animal is reminiscent of Phaëthon). Turnus is compared to a horse at 11.491–497. On the motif of the gift of a horse, note S. Galson in *VE* II, 852.

Teucris Tyrrhena: The alliterative names of the new prospective allies are juxtaposed; the interlocking word order further reflects the connection. With *Teucris* cf. 513.

petentibus: Conington perceptively comments on the significance of the tense (present and not future); the chosen men were already on their way, as it were, from the moment of selection. Marked haste and zeal.

552 **ducunt exsortem Aeneae, quem fulva leonis**

exsortem: Elsewhere in Virgil only at 5.534 *talibus auspiciis exsortem ducere honores* (Aeneas' comment to Acestes after the arrow portent, on which see Fratantuono and Smith); 6.428–429 *quos dulcis vitae exsortis et ab ubere raptos / abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo*. Both passages may be connected to the loss of Pallas (for the interpretation of Acestes' omen as heralding the death of Pallas, see Fratantuono 2010; with 6.428–429 cf. 11.28, with Fratantuono's note). The horse in question is exceptional, as befitting the Trojan leader; it is literally selected outside of the usual lot. Cf. Latinus' equine presents at 7.277 ff. Danielis has a long note here on the question of whether or not it is appropriate for Virgil to have depicted Aeneas on horseback, given his status as a *pontifex*.

fulva: For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 130–132; Fratantuono and Smith on 5.309 (where Servius reads *fulva* for *flava*). Probably a dullish yellow that

comes close to brown (vid. Edgeworth 1992, 241–246 for extended treatment of brown); the color has an interesting range of uses in the poet, including framing references in Books 1 and 12 that point to Trojan loss and the Roman future: so of the “tawny pelt” of the wolf at 1.275; the lion pelt that cushions Anchises at 2.722; the lion Ascanius hopes to see in Carthage (4.159); the sword probably used in Dido’s suicide (4.261–262); the sand where Dares is said to have killed Butes (5.374); the sand of Elysium (6.643); the lupine gear of Caeculus’ men (7.688); the jewel set in tawny gold to which Ascanius is compared (10.134); Aeneas’ victim Camers (10.562); Aeneas’ ally Herminius (11.642); cf. 11.751 and 11.776; 12.276 and 741—and, lastly, the “tawny cloud” where Juno rests at 12.792, just before the announcement of the suppression of Trojan *mores*. The color reference here is balanced by *aureis* in the next verse. In the scene of the hunt at Carthage, the mention of Ascanius’ desire to encounter a *fulvus leo* (4.159) comes immediately before the start of the storm that will witness Dido’s union with Aeneas.

leonis: On Virgilian lions see above on 177; Aeneas was first welcomed by Evander with a lion pelt for a seat cushion, and now he departs with a leonine covering for his horse. Herculean associations abound (cf. Cairns 1989, 84); the god will ultimately be poignantly associated with the death of Pallas (10.460 ff.). Turnus will be compared to a lion as he faces Pallas (10.454–456, where the doomed Arcadian youth is associated with a bull; see further Harrison ad loc.; Fratantuono 2012/2013-*Eranos*, 84–85).

553 *pellis obit totum praefulgens unguibus aureis.*

pellis: Cf. 177; 282; 368.

obit: The verb also at 6.167 *obibat* (of the ill-fated Hectorean companion Misenu); 6.801 *obivit* (of Alcides/Hercules); 10.447 *obit* (of Pallas as he prepares to do battle with Turnus—a dark association); 10.483 *quem pellis totiens obeat circumdata tauri* (of Pallas’ shield as Turnus prepares to kill him); 12.478 *obit* (Juturna as he drives her brother around the battlefield); compare also the participial forms at 6.58 and 10.461. Twice, then, in association with the doom of Pallas, once in a passage that echoes the present description of the lion pelt (Pallas will have a taurine covering for his *clipeum* since he is, after all, a sort of sacrificial animal in the manner of Laocoön).

totum: With emphasis on the size of the covering.

praefulgens: The only appearance of the verb in Virgil; it is relatively rare (cf. Ps.-Cicero, *Rhet. Herr.* 3.32; Ps.-Caesar, *Bell. Hisp.* 25.7.3; Propertius, c. 1.2.13); Livy 45.43.3.1 (with Briscoe’s note); Manilius, *Astron.* 2.742; Seneca, *Ag.* 728; Statius, *Theb.* 7.502; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.119; Silius, *Pun.* 3.25, 4.324, 4.497, 11.534, and 17.391; Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.76.10; 13.45.5. Here it comes with an echo of 548 *praes-tantis*.

unguibus: For the noun cf. 4.673 (of human nails, in the dramatic aftermath of Dido's suicide); 5.352 ... *dat Salio villis onerosum atque unguibus aureis*, (of the lion pelt present that is given to the Arcadian Salius in the foot race); 11.86 (again of human nails, of Acoetes' grief for Pallas); 11.752 (of the claws of the tawny eagle to which Tarchon is compared as he makes off with Venulus); 12.255 (the same image, in the description of the Juturna portent); 12.871 *unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnīs* (of Juturna). Not the happiest collection of parallels.

aureis: The passage closes on a chromatic note. For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 88–95, and cf. 168, 324, 348, 372, 659, and 672; for the synezesis cf. 372; also 292. Eden notes that the gilding of the claws was purely for the sake of enhancing the value of the pelt.

“In Greek art skins of large animals ... are used as saddle-cloths by Amazons and other legendary figures ... And lion skins are thrown over the backs of horses on wall paintings from Macedonian tombs of the Hellenistic age, in which the dead man, shown as a victorious horseman, may be deliberately endowed with heroic attributes. Certainly Aeneas' horse ... seems more proper to the epic hero than to the ordinary gentleman rider” (Anderson 1961, 80).

554–584 Evander regrets that his youthful strength and vigor have faded away, and he expresses a wish for death should any misfortune befall his young son Pallas.

554 *Fama volat parvam subito vulgata per urbem*

Fama volat: So at 3.121; 7.392; cf. 10.510–511. For Fama/Rumor (here perhaps vaguely personified) note P. Hardie in *VE* 11, 471–472; A.-M. Tupet in *EV* 11, 461–462 (with illustration); Syson 2013, 28–40 on the classification of the different types of Virgilian *famae*. Aeneas may have departed in triumphal mode, but the rumor that swiftly spreads through Pallanteum is one fraught with anxiety and fear for the future—rightly and reasonably so in light of the future. The decisions of kings and princes now become the matter of common gossip and conversation. Here the detail about Rumor serves to link Pallas with Dido; note that *Fama volans* will bring the news to Pallanteum that Pallas has been killed (11.139 ff., where it is noted that the first report was of Pallas' victories in Latium, and the second of his loss).

parvam ... urbem: With pathetic force; cf. Jenkyns 1998, 609–610, and note the “small Penates” of 543. Servius has the prosaic observation that the news traveled quickly because the settlement was small.

subito: For the adverb cf. 637 below; its appearances are spaced fairly evenly throughout the books of the epic.

vulgata: The verb also at 1.457; 10.64; 12.608; G. 3.4.

555 ocius ire equites Tyrrheni ad litora regis.

ocius: On the comparative and its “constant use in impatient commands” see Page’s note.

Tyrrheni: P and the Wolf. (later corrected) have *Tyrrhena* in agreement with *litora*.

ad litora regis: An interesting textual crux. *Litora* is the reading of M, R, the corrected Wolfenbüttel, and several other Carolingians; the Palatinus et al. have *limina*. “Threshold” is preferred here by Heinsius; Burman; Bentley; Wakefield; Conington; Mackail; Mynors; Gransden; Heuzé’s *Pléiade*. For *litora* the detail about Tarchon’s disposition of forces on the shore has been noted (497); we might add that the beach location keeps the Tiber (cf. 540) in the reader’s mind. Eden notes that the two words are often confused in the manuscript tradition; preference for the *difficilior lectio* would point to *litora* as the correct choice (Fordyce silent). *Limina regis* is conventional (“a cliché intended to refer to a regal palace”—Eden); *litora regis* unparalleled and (for some at least; cf. Page; also Papillon and Haigh) questionable Latin (Valerius’ *litora regni* at *Arg.* 4.99 is not really parallel). Cf. also 2.321. In the end it may be the case that *Tyrrhena ad litora* was the original text (see further Conington’s note). Sidgwick comments, “i.e., the camp on the shore ... best supported, and if odd, is not less Vergilian for that.”

556 vota metu duplicant matres, propiusque periclo

Alliterative effects mark both the dread of the mothers, and the vivid description of how fear is drawing nearer to the peril (“their anxieties go to meet the peril which is not yet at hand”—Eden).

vota metu: For the hexameter opening cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 6.242. In a sense the prayers are answered at once, as the emphasis shifts to the dramatic advance of *timor* and the appearance of the *Martis imago* (557).

duplicant: For the verb cf. 11.645; also 12.927 (both times in combat scenes).

matres: With the prayers of the Arcadian mothers we may compare 11.481 ff., of the similar scene in Latinus’ capital; Hecuba and her daughters at 2.515–517 embrace the altars in Priam’s inner sanctum. No mother left alive to make a special prayer for Pallas. “Virgilian mothers appear most often in contexts of grief and madness” (P. Hardie in *VE* 11, 849);

propiusque periclo: So at Silius, *Pun.* 1.13. The construction perhaps undergoes a subtle shift; the women double their prayers because of dread, and fear advances nearer because of the peril (which caused the dread in the first place: ablative of cause). Or, as Page notes, possibly “in the danger,” as a sort of locative ablative. See Conington (following Wagner) on the image of fear anticipating the actual hazard that engenders it. Williams et al. take *periclo* as dative of

direction; admittedly this works better with 557 *it* (not to mention *propius*), and is also a more theatrically satisfying image; cf. Sidgwick's "the fear increases as the danger is more imminent"; "fear goes closer to the danger" (Eden). Cf. even Horace, c. 3.1.37–40. On the different nuances of possible/plausible interpretation, see R. Beare, "Propiusque Periclo It Timor: *Aeneid* 8.556–7," in *CQ* 19.1 (1969), 193–195: "I remain uncertain what Virgil meant by *propiusque periclo it timor*, but I think that the women's fear is moving from Pallanteum towards the danger."

557 *it timor et maior Martis iam apparet imago.*

An eerie line, replete with foreboding and haunted by the grim visage of the war god.

it: Echoing 555 *ire*; as the cavalry ride off to meet Tarchon, the image of Mars advances. For initial Virgilian uses of the verb form see Fordyce.

timor: Closely coordinating with 556 *metu*. Note T. Travillian, "Figuring Fear in the Roman Historians," in *NECJ* 40.2 (2013), 87–121, with helpful material. The women are afraid at the news of the impending Arcadian action in the war; they cannot see Mars (cf. 2.604ff., of Venus' revelation to Aeneas of the actual workings of the gods in the ruin of Troy), but they feel his presence nonetheless.

Martis: For the god see on 433. "In eerie language, it is almost as if the god himself is making a slow and inexorable epiphany" (Fratantuono 2014-*Arctos*, 146). Work on the chariot of the god had been put aside by the Cyclopes in order to make room for Aeneas' shield (cf. 433–434); Mars has in no way been hampered in his advance by the change in work orders. In the putting aside of the chariot work for the god there may be a subtle foreshadowing of the virtual revelation of Turnus as Mars at 12.331–336. Here the Roman war god is associated closely with the advancing doom of Pallas. The alliteration of *maior Martis* continues the similar effects of 556.

apparet imago: Lucretian (*DRN* 4.156, of the working of mirrors). The use of the verb is reminiscent of the powerful anaphora of *apparet, apparet* in the description of Priam's court (2.483–484). The image of Mars not only advances, but it is greater than before; the war god has taken strength from developments in Latium—notwithstanding the delay in the work on his chariot. Cf. 2.368–369 ... *crudelis ubique | luctus, ubique pavor et plurima mortis imago*. For *imago* note D. Gagliardi in *EV* 11, 921, and see below on 671.

558 *tum pater Evandrus dextram complexus euntis*

pater: Highlighting the relationship with Pallas.

Evandrus: For the form see on 100.

dextram complexus: Another significant embrace, as at 124 (Aeneas with Pallas); 163–164 (Evander’s recollection of his encounter with Anchises); 467 (Aeneas, Achates, Evander and Pallas as they meet for a morning colloquy). With *complexus* here note 582, closing a ring; for the noun see on 488 (in a very different context).

euntis: The referent is Pallas; Virgil increases the pathos of the scene by an almost casual use of the colorless participle; fear has advanced (557), and the young Pallas is also on his way (and no doubt eager to go off to deeds of heroic valor). Fordyce notes that Pallas has not been mentioned for fifty lines; *pater* is what serves to signal the allusion—and the young man is already fading away. For the line-end note 2.111; 3.130; 5.554; 5.577; 9.243; 9.308; 10.640. Note also 7.813 ... *euntem* (of Camilla in a parallel scene of sorts; Camilla and Pallas have strong commonalities).

On the elegiac parallels of this passage of farewell, note Hübner 1968, 116–123.

559 **haeret, inxpletus lacrimans, ac talia fatur:**

haeret: Vid. A. Bartalucci in *EV* 11, 829–830; Heuzé 1985, 587n396.

inxpletus lacrimans: A source of textual controversy already in Servius. Two adjectives, where the first is really adverbial; “... an unusually bold instance, and early attempts were made to regularise it out of existence” (Eden). *Inxpletum* is thus found; note also the *inpletus* of R. This is the only occurrence of *inxpletus* in Virgil; cf. Atacine Varro (fr. 14.1–3 Courtney *tum liceat pelagi volucres tardaeque paludis | cernere inxpletas studio certare lavandi | et velut insolitum pennis infundere rorem*); Ovid, *Met.* 3.439; Lucan, *BC* 2.176; Statius, *Theb.* 2.519; 4.474; 7.703; 8.481 (with Augoustakis’ note); 8.666; *Silv.* 3.3.8; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.579. In the wake of *complexus*, the point is that although the father has embraced (*complexus*) his son, nonetheless there is no satisfaction (*inxpletus*, with verbal echo).

lacrimans: Cf. 384; for the present participle note especially 11.90 (of Pallas’ horse Aethon at his funeral); 11.150 *procubuit super atque haeret lacrimansque gemensque* (Evander at Pallas’ bier); also 1.459 and 470 (Aeneas with Achates as they look at the pictures in Dido’s temple and recall the war at Troy); 2.790 (Aeneas after the loss of Creüsa); 3.10 (Aeneas as he leaves the Trojan coast); 3.334 (Andromache); 5.771 (Aeneas with Acestes as he prepares to leave behind some of his people); 6.1 (Aeneas in the wake of the loss of Palinurus); 7.358 (Amata); 9.501 (Iulus in the wake of the night raid; does *multum lacrimantis Iuli* lend support to reading *inxpletum* here?); 11.887. The Book 11 passages from Pallas’ requiem relate back directly to this scene of the emotionally charged departure of the doomed young Arcadian.

ac talia fatur: So at 3.485; 5.16; 5.464; 5.532; 7.330; 9.280; 12.228. On Evander's speech note especially Clausen 2002, 170 ff.

560 'o mihi praeteritos referat si Iuppiter annos,

o: For the interjection vid. Pinkster 2015, 364. Evander's prayer is essentially that of Nestor's at Homer, *Il.* 11.670–671 (cf. 23.629–663; also 7.132–133 and 157). For the echo of Priam's appeal to Hector see Highet 1972, 255 (after Knauer 1964, 254–255n4). Cf. Euripides, *Heracles* 232–235.

praeteritos ... annos: Cf. Ovid, *Ep. Pont.* 1.2.143; Martial, *ep.* 10.23.3. For the connection between the reminiscence of youth and prowess in war see Gleit 1991, 350 ff.

si: A protasis opens that does not find an apodosis until 568 *divellerer*, etc. where "The tenses of these subjunctive forms show that all hope of fulfillment of the wish expressed in v. 560 is abandoned as soon as uttered" (Tetlow ad loc.); Evander here vocalizes a wish that is, we might think, not really capable of fulfillment (for the use of *si* and the present subjunctive to articulate such wishes—with or without the emotional interjection—see Eden). The emphasis (as often in Virgil) is on the generations and the relationship thereof; Evander is old and cannot provide effective help in the war—except in the surrender of his young son, whose death he will live to see. For subjunctives with "optative illocutionary force" see Pinkster 2015, 504 ff.; 506 on third person invocations of immortals and the use of the present tense; cf. Ernout-Thomas, 240.

referat: Cf. 10.506 *impositum scuto referunt Pallanta frequentes*.

Iuppiter: For the god note J.D. Hejduk in *VE* 11, 697–700; U. Bianchi in *EV* 11, 743–747; Bailey 1935, 132–143; cf. Preller/Robert 1, 115–159. The present mention of the supreme god will be echoed at 572 ff. below; the god makes no response to Evander's invocations and wishes. In terms of the role of Jupiter in the matter of restoring youth, etc., we may be reminded of the exchange between Anchises and Aphrodite in the *Homeric Hymn* about the bestowal of immortality and youthful vigor (185 ff., where see Faulkner).

561 qualis eram cum primam aciem Praeneste sub ipsa

qualis eram: Cf. Horace, c. 4.1.3–4; Ovid, *Fast.* 5.460; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.602.

cum primam: The Romanus has *cum primum*; Evander's point is that he wreaked havoc on the first battle-line of the enemy, i.e., an exceptional achievement of courage and bravery. *Prima acies* is Caesarian (*BG* 1.24.5.2; 1.49.2.1; 2.25.2.2; *BC* 1.83.2.2); Sallustian (*BC* 59.3.3); Livian (2.20.7.3; 6.8.4.2; 6.23.12.2; 9.16.17.2; 9.27.9.4–5, etc.); Tacitean (*Hist.* 2.41.20; *Ann.* 2.14.13). Note also 7.531; 674; 9.595. *Primam* alliterative with *Praeneste*.

Praeneste sub ipsa: Praeneste (the modern Palestrina, twenty-three miles east-south-east of Rome) is mentioned elsewhere in Virgil in connection to Vulcan's son Caeculus, its founder in local tradition (7.682; cf. 7.678 for the adjective *Praenestinus*, both passages with Horsfall); see further V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* III, 1034; N. Horsfall in *EV* IV, 256; McKay 1970, 170–171; also Tilly 1961, 134–135. For the feminine gender note Juvenal, s. 3.190; Servius on 7.682: “fem. by synesis” (Conington).

Praeneste was a frequent foe of Rome in the fourth century, and a participant in the Latin War; it was sacked by Sulla in 82 for its devotion to Marius; would Virgil's audience have remembered Quintus Lucretius Afella's massacre of some twelve thousand inhabitants of Praeneste in the mention of Evander's destruction of the *prima acies*? Cf. Appian, *BC* 1.87; Plutarch, *Vita Sull.* 29.15; also Livy, *Per.* 88; Sallust, *Hist.* fr. 1.33–34 Ramsey; Lucan, *BC* 2.194. See Walbank on Polybius 6.14 for the *ius exsilii* Praeneste enjoyed. Vulcan's son is fighting on Turnus' side in the present war (cf. Caeculus/Cacus); Evander's reminiscence of a defeat of foes near Praeneste associates his achievement with Aeneas' current circumstances. For Praeneste in verse note also Propertius, c. 2.32.3 *nam quid Praenesti dubias, o Cynthia, sortes?*; also Horace, c. 3.4.23; Ovid, *Fast.* 6.62; Statius, *Silv.* 1.3.80; 4.4.15.

For the city's founder Caeculus as “bridge between an evil and a good Cacus” see Fontenrose 1959, 341m30: “conceived from a spark and found exposed beside a fire; on growing up he led a band of robbers for a long time, but finally founded Praeneste, where he established a festival of games: Cato *ap. Serv. et Schol. Vernon. in Aen.* 7.768.” Praeneste was also the site of a celebrated temple of Fortune; in context there may be a subtle comment on the fate of Evander's son Pallas.

sub ipsa: The (Etruscan) enemy was driven back even to walls of Praeneste. There is no external evidence for the engagement to which Evander refers; an interesting battle to recall, one might think, just as Aeneas and Pallas prepare to ride off in search of Etruscan allies.

562 *stravi scutorumque incendi victor acervos*

stravi: The first of three perfects in an ascending tricolon of Evander's recollection of heroic glory. For the verb with *victor* cf. Horace, c. 4.14.32. Alliterative effect with *scutorum*; the noun echoes the language of Aeneas' prediction at 539. With the verb cf. 566 *sternendus*.

incendi, etc.: Burning the spoils of the enemy was said to have originated after Tarquinius Priscus' defeat of the Sabines (Livy 1.37.5; the etiology referenced in Servius' note here); cf. also the description of the requiems at 11.182–212 (with Horsfall, and Fratantuono; also Henry 1989, 24–25); Livy 8.30.8–9 *congesta in*

ingentem acervum hostilia arma subdito igne concremavit, etc. (with Oakley's note); 23.46.5, on Marcellus after the Carthaginian defeat at Nola; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 7.28 ff.; Plutarch, *Vita Mar.* 22; Orlin 2002, 30. The burning was instituted in honor of Vulcan (fittingly enough); Evander arguably does what Turnus should have done with the *balteus* of Pallas, and the reference here to the Arcadian's proper disposition of spoils stands in sharp contrast to the Rutulian's fateful and fatal wearing of the baldric. See further Festus 276 L; Varro, *DLL* 6.20. The verb with *acervos* also at Columella, *De Arb.* 13.1.3; Silius, *Pun.* 2.370. We may compare the case of Achan in the wake of the destruction of Jericho (*Joshua* 7.19–26); he secreted away a portion of the spoils of the city that had been marked as accursed, and after he was stoned, his property and remains were burned.

victor: Cf. 203 and 362.

acervos: The noun also at 4.402 *ac velut ingentem formicae farris acervum*; 6.503–504 *nocte tulit fessum vasta te caede Pelasgum | procubuisse super confusae stragis acervum*; 10.245 *ingentis Rutulae spectabit caedis acervos*; 10.509 *cum tamen ingentis Rutulorum linquis acervos*; 11.207 *cetera confusaeque ingentem caedis acervum*; 11.304 *argue tu, Drance, quando tot stragis acervos*; 11.786–787 ... *cui pineus ardor acervo | pascitur*; also *G.* 1.158; 185; 263. Here the noun highlights the number of the dead. For the line-end cf. Ovid, *Ep. Pont.* 4.7.47; Statius, *Theb.* 12.64.

Another interesting allusion of mixed associations; Evander dutifully burned the shields of the enemy in honor of Vulcan; Caeculus was said to have founded Praeneste, and his forces now fight for Turnus.

563 *et regem hac Erulum dextra sub Tartara misi,*

regem ... Erulum: On Erulus see P.E. Knox in *VE* 11, 451; G. Gargubino in *EV* 11, 367. The story is attested nowhere else; it is reminiscent of Geryon and Cacus lore, though King Erulus would seem to have an army—if we are to take the reference to this monarch closely in connection with what precedes (Virgil does not make explicit whether or not Erulus is to be associated with Praeneste, though most likely he is to be taken as the Praenestine king). The first part of the name may be meant to evoke the notion of a defensive wall (cf. Paschalis 1997, 319n55); in the reference to his regal status we may think of Mezentius and tyrant kings. The name of the monster is neatly framed by the reference to the right hand of the hero. We may recall *Il.* 11.672 (where see Hainsworth) and Nestor's slaying of Ityomeneus; also *Il.* 4.319 and 7.136 ff., of the aged hero's vanquishing of Ereuthalion—both Homeric figures are, like Erulus, otherwise unknown. *Hac* with dramatic, deictic force.

“Erulus king of Praeneste is killed by the young Evander ... but in his Virgilian form ... is merely a doublet of Geryon ... the name Erulus is interesting,

but clearly need not in origin have belonged to an authentic figure of Praenestine myth" (Bremmer and Horsfall 1987, 4).

Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.8.8) cites the monster's name as *Erimus*; cf. the orthographical variety in the capital manuscripts, etc.; the dispute is perhaps understandable enough given the likely lack of familiarity with the creature. See further Schulze 1904, 166. It is impossible in the absence of further evidence to determine if Virgil invented Erulus, or adopted him from a preexisting Italic tradition. Tantalizing evidence of a local mythology that has suffered the ravages of time?

hac ... dextera: Cf. 567.

sub Tartara misi: As at 11.396–397 *haud ita me experti Bitias et Pandarus ingens / et quos mille die victor sub Tartara misi*; cf. Germanicus, *Arat.* 540–541; Silius, *Pun.* 6.40. For Tartarus note L. Fratantuono in *VE* III, 1245–1246; A. Setaioli in *EV* V, 46–47. The darkest region of the underworld, and the destined home of criminals in the afterlife (6.562–627); cf. 11.397 and 12.14–15. Always plural in Virgil (metrically convenient), except at 6.577. Evander would qualify for the *spolia opima*; cf. Pallas at 10.449–450 (with Harrison): anachronistic Roman military honor. Cf. also Homer, *Il.* 1.3b ff.

564 *nascenti cui tris animas Feronia mater*

nascenti ... mater: The line is framed by references to birth and maternity. On the significance of the verb (cf. *E.* 4.8) see Newman and Newman 2005, 28–29; 31–32; and for the mother, 48. Effective rhyming, as we move from Evander's sending down of the monster to hell, and the detail about his mother's gift of three lives.

cui: Cf. 566.

tris animas: Introducing a threefold (fittingly enough) repetition of the point: 565 *terna*; 566 *ter*. The three lives are reminiscent of the characteristic attribute of Geryon (Lowe 2015, 222); it is as if Evander, like Hercules before him, killed not one but three monsters (note the emphatic repetition at 567 *animas*). The poet may be thinking of Aeschylus, *Ag.* 869 ff., where Geryon is said to have had one life for each body. For *anima* of the "principio vitale" see Negri 1984, 35 ff.; 332–333. Virgil does not say that Evander slew a *tricornor*, though that is implied; it could be thought that Erulus needed to be killed three times in order to stay dead. Following on the evidence of 567, Page argues that Erulus must have had three bodies, lest he be imagined as coming to life again and again with a new set of armor (so Sidgwick's fantastic description "... as the sequel shews, he was slain and stripped, then came to life with a new set of armour, and then slain and stripped again, and again a third time")—but is that really any more astonishing than to imagine a hero with three bodies and three

sets of armor that Evander has the time and ability to kill and despoil one by one? Papillon and Haigh also favor the “reanimation with three sets of armor” explanation; so also Goold and Whiteley. Ruaeus notes simply that Erulus had three bodies, like Geryon.

Feronia mater: Vid. P.E. Knox in *VE* II, 477; M. Cancellieri in *EV* II, 498–500; Bailey 1935, 123; Roscher 1.2, 1477–1481; for the name, Schulze 1904, 165–166. Unlike Erulus, his mother Feronia is attested elsewhere; Varro (*DLL* 5.74) says that she was a goddess of Sabine origins; some scholars have preferred Etruscan provenance. She was associated with Capena near Mount Soracte (7.697, where see Horsfall; on the “major Sabino-Etruscan-Faliscan cult centre”; Livy 1.30.5), as well as Terracina (illustration in *EV*); cf. 7.799–800 ... *quis Iuppiter Anxuris arvis / praesidet et viridi gaudens Feronia luco* (with Horsfall); Horace, *Serm.* 1.5.24 *ora manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympa* (with Gowers). There was also a grove of the goddess in the Campus Martius, and possibly a shrine too (Platner and Ashby 1929, 207; *LTUR* II, 247–248; Leach 1974, 122; Rehak 2006, 14–15); cf. the temple likely alluded to at Livy 22.1.18 *unde Feroniae donum daretur*; note also 26.11.8; 27.4.14–25; 33.26.8; Pliny, *NH* 2.146.8; 3.51.8; Silius, *Pun.* 13.84–85; Tacitus, *Hist* 3.76.1 (with Wellesley). “In origin probably an Italic wood-water spirit, as suitable as any other for mothering Erulus” (Eden, who comments also on her association with the protection of freedmen, following Servius: “haec etiam libertorum dea est, in cuius templo raso capite pilleum accipiebant”; cf. Danielis on her defense of slaves). A Campanian nymph (Servius). Was Virgil playing on the semantic associations of the first part of the goddess’ name and the notion of wildness and savagery? As for her son, like Cacus another case of a monster—but *our* monster, from the Italian perspective. M. McOsker notes *per litt.* that *Fer-* may be cognate with Greek *ther* and connect the goddess to wild animals.

565 (horrendum dictu) dederat—terna arma movenda,

horrendum dictu: So at 3.26 (the Polydorus portent); 4.454–455 *horrendum dictu latites nigrescere sacros / fusaque in obscenum se vertere vina cruorem*. For the supine note Pinkster 2015, 64. Almost certainly said by Evander *propria persona*, not the poet-narrator.

terna: For the distributive numeral cf. 1.266; 5.120; 247; 560; 580; also *E.* 8.73 and 77. The exact meaning is ambiguous; *terni* can refer to three at a time or three at once; *OLD* (s.v. 2b) cites the present passage with the simple meaning “three,” with reference to things forming a set (cf. 1.266 and 5.120 and 526). The poet may be playing on a number of points: if Erulus has three bodies, then he is wielding three weapons and in consequence one could say that Evander either needs three weapons of his own, or exceptionally dexterous use of but one or two.

arma movenda: Servius notes that either Evander's weapons had to be wielded three times against Erulus, or the monster had to move his own *arma* in threefold defense: a mutually compatible distinction, though the balance of clauses works better if the arms are Erulus'. Williams et al. prefer to take the *arma* as another object of *dederat*, rather than with what follows; the punctuation adopted here is open to question (e.g., hyphen before *terna* as in Conte; semicolon as in Geymonat; hyphen after *movenda* as in Mynors). The two gerundives (cf. 566 *sternendus*) that follow on *horrendum* (another tricolon of sorts) should probably be taken closely together; but note Eden's connection of *animas* with *arma* and *nascenti* with *leto*; he considers it impossible to imagine that Evander wielded three sets of arms simultaneously, and implausible that the three sets were moved in succession (note also that there are balanced verses at 564–565 and 566–567—but also threefold references in 564–566). Again, Erulus' very existence as a *tricorpor*, or as one body with three lives, strains credulity and enters the realm of the fantastic; the description of both monster and valorous deed(s) is as much impressionistic as precisely charted and choreographed. The *arma* and the *animas* of 564–565 are echoed at 567. If *terna arma* is object of *dederat*, then the seemingly insubstantial referent of *animas* of 564 is given a material existence, as it were, in the threefold weapons (and this monster is not at all like the “truly” insubstantial shades Aeneas encounters in the underworld). The three words for “three” in close succession may well all be taken of Erulus: *tris animas*; *terna arma*; three times that he had to be lain low in death.

566 *ter leto sternendus erat; cui tunc tamen omnis*

leto: Often of violent death (see Fratantuono and Smith on 5.624); possibly here as a personification (so Wetmore; cf. 6.278 *tum consanguineus Leti Sopor*, with Horsfall; P. Serra Zanetti in *EV* III, 597). For the (likely) dative see Fordyce; also Tarrant on 12.464 *sternere morti*; good poetic Latin (already in Ennian, Pacuvian, and Accian tragedy) for sending someone down to D/death (note here Rivoltella 2005, 48); cf. also 5.806; 10.318–319 (with Harrison); 11.172. Note also Conington on the question of dative *versus* ablative; for the latter cf. 10.119 and 11.796; G. 4.432.

sternendus: Echoing 562 *stravi*; it is as if Evander has moved past the first line of battle and now faces the king in triple combat. For Virgilian gerundives note on 335 above.

tunc: *Tum* has slight attestation; the difference in meaning is negligible. It may have been introduced by accident before *tamen*, or perhaps out of dislike of the rhyme with 568 *nunc* (with which *tunc* coordinates closely). The little word is invested with the remembrance of heroic times now past, of a bygone age of valor.

omnis: For the enjambed hyperbaton (567 *animas*) see Dainotti 2015, 249 ff. The emphatically placed adjective emphasizes the totality of Evander's victory over the triple threat.

567 abstulit haec animas dextra et totidem exiit armis—

abstulit haec animas: Echoed at 9.443 ... *moriens animam abstulit hosti*; note also Juvenal, s. 4.151–152. For the verb form cf. 3.198–199 ... *et nox umida caelum / abstulit ...*; 4.28–29 *ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores / abstulit ...*; 6.271–272 *est iter in silvis, ubi caelum condidit umbra / Iuppiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem*; 10.394 *nam tibi, Thymbre, caput Evandrius abstulit ensis*; 12.382 *abstulit ense caput*; and especially 11.27–28 *mittatur Pallas, quem non virtutis egentem / abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo*.

haec ... dextra: Cf. 563; there the right hand enveloped the name of the monster, here the (three) lives. The emphasis on the young Evander's right hand presages 11.177–178 *quod vitam moror invisam Pallante perempto, / dextera causa tua est* (of the expectation that Aeneas will avenge the dead Arcadian youth).

animas: As at 564.

totidem: Cf. 208 and 519.

exiit: The verb also at 1.690; 2.153; 4.319; 518; 5.420; 423; 7.416; 11.395; *G.* 2.51. *Exiit armis* is Caesarian (*BG* 5.51.4.4); Livian (4.59.7.4); cf. Ovid, *Met.* 14.776–777; Valerius Maximus 3.2.5.5.

568 non ego nunc dulci amplexu divellerer usquam,

nunc: Note 566 *tunc*; also 579.

divellerer: The wish of 560 now receives an apodosis. The verb is Lucretian (*DRN* 1.201; 3.326); elsewhere in Virgil in connection with Laocoön's death (2.220); also of Dido's dark wishes for Aeneas (4.600); cf. 2.434; also Horace, *c.* 2.17.14–16 *nec si resurgat centimanus Gyges / divellet umquam: sic potenti / Iustitiae placitumque Parcis*. For the verb with *amplexus* note Ps.-Quintilian, *Dec. Min.* 3.2.4–5; 5.17.13. "After *referat* the regular sequence would be *divellar*, and that would be a common conditional: but the wish being *hopeless*, the sentence naturally slides into the other form of the conditional, in which he treats it as something *already ordered otherwise*" (Sidgwick).

dulci amplexu: Cf. on 124. Lucan has ... *non maesti pectora Magni / sustinet amplexu dulci ...* (*BC* 5.792–793); note Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.237–238. For the adjective in association with children note 2.138; 4.33.

usquam: Closely coordinate with 569 *umquam*, with dramatic emphasis on how no space or time would ever separate father from son.

569 nate, tuo, neque finitimo Mezentius umquam

nate, tuo: The opening of the verse is reminiscent of 6.688–689 ... *datur ora tueri, | nate, tua et notas audire et reddere voces?* (the shade of Anchises with Aeneas). Noun and possessive adjective are deliberately juxtaposed for pathetic effect.

finitimo: The adjective also at 5.106 (of the locals who will be present for the memorial games); 6.378 (of those who will honor the dead Palinurus); 7.549 (of the cities that Allecto says she is willing to lead into a state of war); 11.206 (of the fields to which the Latins send the bodies of the dead). Here the meaning seems to be that if Evander's youth and vigor were still intact, then Mezentius would never dare to insult his Arcadian neighbor and to wage war; *finitimo* is to be taken with 570 *capiti* (so Wagner) and to refer to Evander (and not with *ferro*). The Palatinus originally read *finitimos* here (which Ribbeck accepted); there is weak attestation of *finitimus*. Page objects to taking *finitimo* with *capiti*, and imagines an understood *mihi* (with *huic capiti* as a “parenthetic” expansion of the idea); *finitimis* might be attractive in the sense of, Mezentius would never be slaughtering his neighbors with impunity were Evander to be at his heroic best (so the interpretation of Danielis on 570). Fordyce et al. note that it is difficult to parallel the use of the adjective with *huic capiti*; admittedly, Evander's speech is emotionally charged and his syntax and usage in this passage not entirely polished: “The irregularity is therefore fully justified by the sense” (Sidgwick). Some see a deliberate balance here between *dulci tuo amplexu* and *finitimo huic capiti*.

Mezentius: The king was of course expelled; Evander casts a glance back at the tyrant's former deeds, and implies that the alliance with Turnus makes Mezentius potentially even more dangerous to Pallanteum and its environs.

umquam: So the Medicean reading, against *usquam* of P and R; Virgil prefers the former, but the point here is to give rhetorical emphasis first to the notion of space (symbolized by the embrace of father and son), and then of time (with reference back to Mezentius' recent history). Mackail took *umquam* to be an early attempt to vary the line-endings (cf. 396–397; 9.544–545); the two words are easily enough confused, and the use of either repetition or variation leads to much the same effect. On the “colourless word” at line-end note Dainotti 2015, 219n675.

570 huic capiti insultans tot ferro saeva dedisset

huic capiti: For the use of the demonstrative in colloquial language in place of a possessive adjective see Eden. The head is used to identify the person (cf. Griffith on Sophocles, *Ant.* 1). *Huic* carries it with indignation: the hero who destroyed the triple threat that was Erulus is now mocked by a less impressive

foe. The language recalls 484 ... *di capiti ipsius generique reservent!* (Evander on Mezentius).

insultans: So of Sinon at 2.330; of Tisiphone (6.571); of a battle horse (11.600); of Turnus (12.339); cf. the *matres* of 7.581; the Rutulians Venus refers to at 10.20; also *G.* 3.117 and 4.11. For the verb with *caput* note Suetonius, *Div. Iul.* 22.2. For the construction with the dative see Antoine 1882, 47, and cf. *G.* 4.11; 3.447; *A.* 12.339.

saeva: For the adjective see on 482. Rhetorically effective language, especially after the participle.

dedisset: Another subjunctive in apodosis, here of past action (so also 571 *viduasset*). On the Virgilian use of *dare* see Fordyce; the present passage is parallel to *G.* 3.246–247 ... *nec funera vulgo / tam multa informes ursi stragemque dedere*.

571 **funera, tam multis viduasset civibus urbem.**

funera: For the *rejet* of *funera* see Dainotti 2015, 125 (with comparison of 6.872–874). *Saeva funera* also at 12.629 *et nos saeva manu mittamus funera Teucris*; cf. *Ilias Latina* 1036; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 7.441–442.

viduasset: The verb occurs only here in the epic (note *G.* 4.518). Evander seems to be speaking about the widowed state of his own settlement; it is not entirely clear how this accords with his ability to give cavalry units in both his own name and that of his son (“a surprisingly strong expression”—Fordyce; of course Evander has good reason to indulge in rhetorical excess). “Clearly Pallanteum, though we know nothing of any attack on it by Mezentius” (Page). The verb balances *dedisset*: Mezentius made a present of funerals, and he took away the citizenry. *Viduasset* is framed by the many citizens lost to the tyrant’s savagery. Servius notes the appropriateness of the verb in reference to the feminine noun *urbs*. The city in question could conceivably be Agylla/Caere, though then the question would be the degree to which Evander would be affected by the slaughter; Pallanteum is thus the likeliest referent. Some commentators have raised the idea that Evander had tried to remonstrate with Mezentius, only to have his appeals be disregarded. Henry’s note in defense of the *urbs* being Pallanteum is another classic of his pen, complete with note of how the settlement could only be Agylla were Evander to be Don Quixote. On the whole matter see further Adler 2003, 176.

civibus urbem: The line-end also at 5.631 *quis prohibet muros iacere et dare civibus urbem?*; cf. Lucan, *BC* 1.592.

572 at vos, o superi, et divum tu maxime rector

at: Evander proceeds to an invocation of the gods as the commencement of his peroration. The verse is replete with language that speaks of the supremacy of the immortals, Jupiter in particular. On this prayer and farewell to Pallas note Jenkyns 1998, 518 ff.: “The eighth is the most sunny and relaxed book of the *Aeneid*. There is only one moment of keen pathos, when Evander bids goodbye to Pallas, praying to the gods that his son may survive, but if not, that they should kill him first, while he still has the possibility of hope.”

divum ... rector: Cf. Seneca, *Phaed.* 680. *Divom* is the reading of M and P; the archaic language might be thought to fit well with the religious language of Evander’s prayer. Cf. 131 and 504 above.

maxime rector: Cf. Lucan, *BC* 1.359–360 (with Roche’s note); Ovid has *summe deum rector* (*Met.* 13.599; cf. 9.244–245; 499); Seneca *pater ac rector | fulmine pollens* (*Ag.* 382–383); *summe pro rector deum* (*HO* 290); cf. Statius, *Silv.* 1.2.136. The noun is used elsewhere in Virgil of the pilot of a ship (5.161, 176); also of Mnesteus and Serestus as *rectores iuvenum* (9.173). The reference to Jupiter recalls 560; *rector* at line-end is balanced by 573 ... *regis*. Cf. 470 *maxime Teucrorum ductor*; we may also recall the repeated *maxima* of the Herculean altar at 271–272 above.

Maxume is the reading of R; as with *divom*, the archaic language may be particularly appropriate in context.

573 Iuppiter, Arcadii, quaeso, miserescite regis

Iuppiter: From the wish of 560 that is incapable of fulfillment, the aged king moves to a plea to the supreme ruler that he hopes might be granted. The verse is framed by references to the god and to the notion of kingship; Evander is to Pallanteum what Jupiter is to all.

Arcadii: For the adjective note also 5.299; 10.425; 12.272; *G.* 4.283. Fordyce notes the “curious periphrasis” the speaker uses to describe his status and provenance, with the observation that Evander makes implicit reference to his exile in order to secure divine pity and favor. God and place are juxtaposed to highlight the traditional, special favor of Jupiter for the Arcadians. Jupiter was Arcadian; on the learned reference see R. Mayer, “*Aeneid* 8.573 and Callimachus’ *Hymn to Zeus*,” in *CQ* 38.1 (1988), 260–261.

quaeso: Cf. 3.358 (Aeneas with Helenus); 12.72 (Turnus with Amata). For the pause at the strong caesura in the fourth foot and its echo in the following two lines, see Eden.

miserescite: The verb also at 2.145 (the Trojans with Sinon); 10.676 ... *vos o potius miserescite, venti* (Turnus after his experience with the phantom Aeneas); Catullan (c. 64.138). The language of Evander’s appeal is echoed at 12.934 ... *Dauni miserere senectae*.

regis: One king speaks to another; at once Evander transitions to the language of a father.

574 et patrias audite preces. si numina vestra

patrias ... preces: For the noun cf. 60 above. The prayers are not answered here; Evander notes at 11.157–158 ... *et nulli exaudita deorum / vota precesque meae!* Once again the language expresses the pathos of the father's prayer and heartfelt wish; the adjective coordinates closely with 575 *mihi*. Adjective and noun neatly and alliteratively frame the imperative.

audite, etc.: Cf. 4.611–612 *accipite haec, meritumque malis advertite numen / et nostras audite preces*; the verb with *preces* Caesarian; Ciceronian; Livian; Tacitean.

si numina vestra, etc.: Balancing the second half of 575. The association of divine power (*numina*) and fate/destiny (575 *fata*) echoes 511–512 ... *tu, cuius et annis / et generi fatum indulget, quem numina poscunt* (the youthful Aeneas in contrast with Evander). “The gods and fate are made co-ordinate” (Conington). *Numina vestra* also at Tibullus, c. 1.9.6; Ovid, *Trist.* 1.2.88; Silius, *Pun.* 10.436. Another condition opens here, with three protases before the apodosis of 577. *Vestra* echoes 572 *vos*. Once again the will of the immortals and the dictates of fate are seen as one and the same; the anxious protases of this and the following verse effectively enact the father's disquiet and unease with his son's departure.

575 incolumem Pallanta mihi, si fata reservant,

incolumem: Cf. 2.88 (in Sinon's speech); 2.577 (in the Helen episode); 6.345 (Aeneas' note about the promise that Palinurus would be safe); 6.415 (in the description of Charon's secure conveyance of Aeneas and the Sibyl across the Styx); 10.47 (of Ascanius); 10.615–616 ... *quin et pugnae subducere Turnum / et Dauno possem incolumem servare parenti*; 11.717 *nec fraus te incolumem fallaci perferet Auno* (Camilla to Ligus); 12.39 *cur non incolumi potius certamina tollo?* (Latinus on Turnus). *Columen* may have been heard in the adjective; cf. Aeneas' sentiments about the dead Pallas at 11.57–58.

Pallanta: The son is at last named; cf. 558 ... *euntis*. For the name with the personal pronoun cf. 10.442 *solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas debetur* (Turnus). The juxtaposition of the name of the son and the reference to the father is poignantly effective.

si fata reservant: The verb recalls Evander's rather different prayer at 484 ... *di capiti ipsius generique reservent!* (the curse on Mezentius). At 578 Evander will make an address to Fortune. For the line-end see also Ps.-V., *Ciris* 318. The verse is framed by words that refer to the safety and security of Pallas.

576 si visurus eum vivo et venturus in unum,

An alliterative line of hopeful anticipation of a secure future; in a sense the participles will be fulfilled grimly in the requiem narrative of Book 11 (148 ff.). “Notice the beautiful and strange pathos of this line, and generally of all this passage” (Sidgwick).

visurus: For the future participle cf. 5.108; also *G.* 2.68. The alliterative effect that commences here continues until 577 *vitam*.

eum: Cf. 33 (also after a form of *videre*). From the name of the young hero we move to a comparatively colorless demonstrative pronoun (with deliberate effect); cf. 558 *euntis*.

vivo: The only other Virgilian uses of this form are at 3.315 (Aeneas at Buthrotum); 10.855 (Mezentius after the death of Lausus). The verb coordinates closely with 577 *vitam*. The Romanus has *vivum*, evidently without note of the construction—a natural enough mistake in context.

venturus: For the future participle vid. Hofmann/Szantyr II, 390–391.

in unum: As at *E.* 7.2 *compulerantque greges Corydon et Thyrsis in unum*: “a Lucretian phrase (seven times), which *v.* was not to use again until late in the *A.* (8.576, 9.801, 10.410, 12.714)” (Clausen ad loc.); note also 2.716 *hanc ex diverso sedem veniemus in unam*. The union of son with father will only come in the first movement of Book 11, in the grim reality of the requiem for the dead hero.

577 vitam oro, patior quemvis durare laborem.

vitam oro: Evander begs for life, if he may be able to be reunited with Pallas (and if his son will be safe—*incolumem*); cf. 11.177 *quod vitam moror invisam Pallante perempto*. The commentators compare 5.617 *urbem orant: taedet pelagi perferre laborem*.

patior: The only appearance of the verb form in Virgil. Evander adds something of a parenthetical, conditional aside; he prays for life, and he is willing to endure any sort of labor in order to achieve his wish for the chance to see his son safely returned to Pallanteum. There is some manuscript attestation of the future *patiar*; see here Servius on the notion that the life of the old is already a burden/sickness (with reference to Terence, *Phorm.* 575, where see Maltby’s note on the proverbial expression).

quemvis ... laborem: Echoing Lucretius, *DRN* 1.141 *suavis amicitiae quemvis efferre laborem*. The only use of *quivis* in Virgil; cf. *Ps.-V., Ciris* 241.

durare: Note 1.207 *durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis* (Aeneas to his men); 9.603–604 *durum a stirpe genus natos ad flumina primum | deferimus saevoque gelu duramus et undis* (in the speech of Numanus Remulus); also *E.* 6.35; *G.* 1.91; 2.100; 2.295; 3.257. Only here in Virgil with a direct object (see further Eden).

578 *sin aliquem infandum casum, Fortuna, minaris,*

sin aliquem: For the stronger form of the indefinite see Eden. Cf. 2.676 *sin aliquam ... spem ponis*. *Sin* introduces a contrasting conditional.

aliquem ... casum: Caesarian; Ciceronian.

Infandum casum: Cf. on 483 and 489. The unspeakable event is the death of Pallas, the possible outcome that haunts the entire passage.

Fortuna: See on 334. Again it is difficult to draw a precise distinction between Fortune and Fate (capitalized or not), if one should be sought at all. Here Fortune is juxtaposed with *casus* or “chance”; cf. 9.211 and 12.321–322. Fortune may refer to the day to day unfolding of the workings of Fate (whose ultimate purpose is often left uncertain and enigmatic from the perspective of mortals and even, sometimes, the gods). Cf. also Aeneas’ lament at 11.42–44, on the action of *laeta Fortuna*. On Virgilian personifications note S. Spence in *VE* 11, 989.

minaris: For the verb note also on 620 and 649 below; cf. 1.162 *hinc atque hinc vastae rupes geminique minantur*; 2.240 *illa subit mediaeque minans inlabitur urbi* (of the wooden horse); 2.628 (of the ash tree to which the doomed city of Troy is compared); 3.540 *... bellum haec armenta minantur* (of the portent of the war horses in Italy); 10.196 (in the description of the Centaurus warship); 10.810 (Aeneas to Lausus); 10.900 *hostis amare, quid increpitas mortemque minaris?* (Mezentius to Aeneas); 11.348 (Drances’ aside about Turnus’ threats); 12.654 and 760 (of Aeneas).

579 *nunc, o nunc liceat crudelem abrumpere vitam,*

nunc, o nunc: The opening of this verse is variously preserved; this is the text of the Romanus, preferred by Heinsius; Burman; Conington; Ribbeck; Nettleship; Conte’s Teubner; García et al.; Holzberg’s Tusculum (Conte et al. compare 2.644 *sic, o sic*, from the appeal of Anchises). The Medicean and the Wolfenbüttel offer *nunc nunc o liceat* (so also the bulk of the Carolingians); cf. the Palatine *nunc nunc liceat*, later corrected with the interjection; so Hirzstel; Sabbadini; Mynors; Geymonat; Goold’s Loeb; Heuzé’s *Pléiade* (Fordyce and Gransden unconcerned; so also Page and Williams). This may be an instance where personal preference carries significant weight; the change in meaning is not very great, though some see a stronger emphasis on *nunc* in the Romanus (there is also an emotional point to the effective placement of the interjection between the repeated adverbs). Cf. the similar case of 568–569 *usquam, umquam*; also 2.644 *sic, o sic*.

liceat: For the verb cf. 468 above; for the language of the prayer, 1.551; 3.461; 4.103; 5.350; 796–797; 10.46–47.

abrumpere: The language of Evander’s prayer is copied at 9.497 *quando aliter nequeo crudelem abrumpere vitam* (of Euryalus’ mother); vid. here Dainotti

2015, 122–123. On the connection of Pallas; Euryalus; and Dido see Newman and Newman 2005, 223–224. For the verb note also 3.55; 3.199; 3.422; 4.388; 4.631 *invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem*; 11.492; 12.451; 12.687; *G.* 3.259 and 530. The infinitive neatly breaks adjective and noun—effective enactment of the agonized wish of the anxious father.

580 dum curae ambiguae, dum spes incerta futuri,

dum: The start of a tricolon of provisional hopes.

curae: Of “anxious thoughts” (Fordyce). From *curae* Evander proceeds to 581 *care*.

ambiguae: Also at 1.661 *quippe domum timet ambiguae Tyriosque bilinguis*; 2.98–99 (of Ulysses’ tricks); 3.180 *agnovit prolem ambiguae geminosque parentes*; 5.326 (in the foot race); 5.655 *ambiguae spectare rates miserum inter amorem*. Statius imitates the present phrase at 12.686–687 ... *stetit ambiguo Thebanus in aestu | curarum*.

spes incerta futuri: Here of what might be considered the blessing of not knowing exactly what will happen, of the very uncertainty about the final outcome or destined fate that permits one to hope for the best. For *spes incerta* note Livy 40.11.9.1; the adjective occurs also at 352. Note *futuri* at line-end at 4.508 *effigiemque toro locat haud ignara futuri* (of Dido)—these are the only two neuter substantive uses of this participle in Virgil. The meaning is the same whether we construe “uncertain hope of the future” or “hope with respect to the future is uncertain” (see further Conington’s note). For Virgilian *spes* note P. Colafrancesco in *EV* IV, 995–997. For Evander’s hopes note also on 514.

581 dum te, care puer, mea sola et sera voluptas,

care: For the affectionate address see on 377 above; cf. 11.33 ... *caro ... alumno*. *Care* coordinates closely with *voluptas*.

puer: For the vocative of *puer* note also 12.435 *disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem* (Aeneas to Ascanius). Pallas as *puer* also at 11.42 and 12.943; on Virgilian uses of the noun note Newman and Newman 2005, 43–44.

sola et sera: Eden notes that the reading of P (also the Wolfenbüttel, etc.) offers a “slight gain in rhetorical effect” by having the superlative *sola* come before the comparative *sera*. “There seems no means of deciding between the two” (Conington). *Sola voluptas* is Ciceronian (*De Fin.* 1.39.11; 1.54.3–4); note Ovid, *Her.* 19.17; Lucan, *BC* 8.294. “The very alliteration is pathetic” (Sidgwick).

sera: A haunting adjective. Cf. 5.524 *seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina vates* (with Fratantuono and Smith); the flaming arrow portent of Acestes may connect to the death of Pallas (so Fratantuono 2010). Note also on 30 and 509 above; the *serae vires* of Evander are a cause for regret and lament, and so too the “late

pleasure” that has come to the old man’s life from his ill-fated son. Once again the language presages the loss of Euryalus, whose mother addresses him as ... *tune ille senectae / sera meae requies* (9.481–482). One might recall too Augustine’s *sero te amavi* (*Conf.* 10.27).

voluptas: This preeminent Lucretian term for Venus (*DRN* 1.1, where see Bailey on “the Epicurean moral ideal”) occurs only three times in the *Aeneid*: cf. 3.660–661 ... *ea sola voluptas / solamenque mali* (of the pastoral life of Polyphemos) and 10.846 ... *nate, voluptas* (where Mezentius addresses the dead Lausus in the same language as Evander here at his leave-taking of Pallas)—an interesting triad of uses in light of the Lucretian model. See Eden on the language of comic endearment; the Lucretian echo prepares for the comparison of Pallas to the Morning Star (i.e., the planet Venus) at 587 ff. On the “function of the term in the language of love” note Versnel 1998, 218–219 (with comment on the use of the term in connection with both theater and arena). But Venus, ironically, is not at all concerned for Aeneas’ young Arcadian understudy.

Ausonius combines this reference to Pallas and Anchises’ greeting of Aeneas in Elysium (6.687) at *Cent. Nupt.* 88 *venisti tandem, mea sola et sera voluptas*.

582 **complexu teneo, gravior neu nuntius auris**

complexu: The noun recalls the very different circumstance of 488 above (of Mezentius’ torment of the living with the dead), and especially the participle *complexus* at 558; once again, too, we are reminded of Dido’s wish for Aeneas to be torn from the embrace of Iulus (4.616; cf. 1.715), and of the farewell embraces in Sicily (5.742). *Complexus* is read by the Romanus, and Apronianus’ correction of the Medicean (probably a reminiscence of 558); *complexu* may indeed be more euphonic (so Conington), and perhaps also more emotionally charged.

teneo: A poignant present indicative; for as long as Evander holds Pallas in his embrace, no announcement of ill fortune will arrive to wound his ears.

neu: For the use of *neve/neu* where one might expect *neque/nec* see Eden (and cf. 7.265 and 333); the perceived irregularity may account for the variety of negatives in the manuscript tradition here.

nuntius: Cf. 550 *nuntia*, of the report sent to Ascanius and the Trojan camp. *Gravis nuntius* is Ciceronian (*In Ver.* 2.5.92.6–7). The noun can be used of either the message or the messenger; Fama will bring the report of Pallas’ doom at 11.139 ff.

auris: For poetic periphrases that describe hearing, see R.F. Thomas in *VE* II, 592. *Auris* at line-end also at 9.474 (of the news of Euryalus’ death).

583 vulneret! haec genitor digressu maesta supremo

vulneret: The only appearance of the verb in Virgil; here it foreshadows the death of Pallas (cf. 10.486 *ille rapit calidum frustra de vulnere telum*). For speeches that break off after the first foot see Eden.

genitor: For the noun see Newman and Newman 2005, 48–49; again the point is to emphasize the poignance of paternity.

digressu ... supremo: Echoing 3.482 *nec minus Andromache digressu maesta supremo*; these are the only two occurrences of the noun in the poet. *Supremo* points to the inevitable loss of the young hero, which Evander either foresees or at least gravely fears. “Hoc ex persona poetae, quia periturus erat Pallas” (Danielis). For most critics, reminiscence of the earlier passage at Buthrotum probably accounts for the original Medicean reading *maesta* in place of the better attested *dicta*. But could not the poet have intended the recollection of Andromache and her lost son? See further here Newman and Newman 2005, 164. Pallas is Evander’s Astyanax (though in rather different circumstances); Ascanius had reminded Andromache of her lost son.

Maesta or *dicta*? For a detailed defense of *maesta* as the “lectio potior,” see L.R. García, “A Father’s Fears: A Critical Note on Verg., *Aen.* 8, 583,” in *MD* 64 (2010), pp. 189–196, with consideration of the important point that *maestus* is used by Virgil in particular connection to the loss of Pallas (it is a keyword of Book 11). *Maesta* was preferred by de la Cerda, and is printed in the García et al. 2011 edition of the epic, though other editors have been less willing to consider it.

Dicta may easily enough be understood with *maesta* (was it originally a gloss on the more emotionally charged reading? This seems to us to be likely). Cf. the *dicta* that Turnus tells the Arcadians to bring back to Evander (10.491–492). *Maesta* is certainly the *lectio difficilior* here; if it is incorrect, one wonders how it entered the text in the first place (unless it was an accidental reminiscence of 3.482). At the risk of indulging a Bentleyan penchant for recognizing the text’s mood of pathos at this juncture (let alone of seeking to “improve” the poet’s work), we have preferred *maesta*, though with honest acknowledgment that a manuscript tradition is practically non-existent to support it. The original writer of the Medicean, however, would seem to be sympathetic.

584 fundebat; famuli conlapsum in tecta ferebant.

fundebat: On this favorite verb of the poet note P. Tremoli in *EV* 11, 610–611; for its use in the context of speech note 3.344; 348; 4.621; 5.842; 6.55; 11.482. Once again there are echoes of Buthrotum; the classic farewell scene is that of Hector with Andromache and Astyanax at Homer, *Il.* 6.369–502 (where see Graziosi and Haubold); cf. 22.437–472 (with De Jong’s notes), where Andromache real-

izes that her husband is dead. Here the verb is especially fitting, given Evander's fainting spell. The verse is framed by the verbs that describe the actions of Evander and his servants; Conington notes perceptively that the imperfects reflect how the aged king was carried off while he was still expressing his lament and fear for the future. Effective alliteration of *fundebat* with *famuli* and *ferebant*.

famuli: Cf. the handmaidens referenced at 411; *famuli* also at 1.701; 2.712; 3.329; 5.95; 263; 9.329; 11.34 (in connection with the requiem for Pallas).

conlapsum: Echoing 4.391–392 ... *suscipiunt famulae conlapsaque membra / marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt* (of Dido); 4.664 *conlapsam aspiciunt comites* (also of the queen); 6.226 *postquam conlapsi cineres* (at the Misenus requiem); 9.434 *it cruor inque umeros cervix conlapsa recumbit* (of Euryalus); 9.708 ... *conlapsa ruunt immania membra* (of Bitias); 9.753 *conlapsos artus atque arma cruenta cerebro* (of Pandarus); *G.* 3.485 (of bones wasting away from disease). On Virgilian fainting note D.A. Secci in *VE* 11, 471; the instances involve Andromache (3.308–309, where if the heroine does not actually faint, she comes very close); Dido (4.391). “By word and tone, he conjures up the spectre of Fate; and then, having taken leave of his son, he faints” (Di Cesare 1974, 144). The swooning Evander dominates the middle of the sad verse. On the epic topos of “tears at a warrior’s departure foreshadowing the warrior’s death,” with reference to *Gilgamesh*, *Roland*, et al., see Currie 2016, 110.

tecta ferebant: So at Lucan, *BC* 10.112; Statius, *Theb.* 3.95; 12.104.

For how Virgil does not describe Aeneas’ reaction to Evander speech and its sudden interruption, see Di Cesare 1974, 144–145. Indeed, we hear nothing, too, of Pallas’ response to his father’s farewell. The silence for the moment is deafening; there will at last be a response—after a fashion—in Books 11 and especially at the end of 12.

585–607 Aeneas, Achates, Pallas, and the rest proceed out of Pallanteum; the son of Evander is compared to Lucifer, the Morning Star that is so beloved of Venus. Trojans and Arcadians proceed to rendezvous with Tarchon and his Etruscans. No commentator has captured the spirit of this passage better than Henry, who notes the affinities of the scene with 4.129 ff. (of the start of the hunt at Carthage): “... Each picture may be regarded as the last glimpse of a blue sky immediately to be enveloped in clouds and storm—as the ballet before the curtain rises for the last act of the tragedy.”

585 *Iamque adeo exierat portis equitatus apertis*

Iamque adeo: Lucretian (*DRN* 2.1150); elsewhere in Virgil note 2.567 (the start of the Helen episode); 5.268 (at the awards ceremony for the regatta); 5.864 (the approach of the Trojan fleet to the rock of the Sirens); 11.487 (the arming of Tur-

nus after receipt of the news that the Trojans had resumed military operations); cf. Ps.-V., *Ciris* 206; 468; Statius, *Ach.* 1.551; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.70; Silius, *Pun.* 1.20; 3.128; 12.534. For the use of *adeo* to throw emphasis on what precedes see Eden; one imagines that Aeneas et al. were eager to depart from Pallanteum (for many reasons). *Adeo* “carries emphasis and marks the change of scene” (Tilly ad loc.). Evander’s reaction to the departure of Pallas may well be thought to have dampened Aeneas’ mood in the wake of the Venusian portent.

exierat: The form also at 11.903 *vix e conspectu exierat campumque tenebat* (Turnus as he gives up the ambush); for the verb note 65 and 75 above.

portis ... apertis: Cf. *Ilias Latina* 227; 575; Silius, *Pun.* 15.626–627; 16.694; also Horace, *AP* 199. Mostly poetic; also in Livy and Quintus Curtius Rufus. Note also the open plains of 9.25–26, as Turnus’ forces prepare to challenge the Trojans.

equitatus: Cf. *TLL* 5.2.727.40. *Hapax* in Virgil (Ennian; also Catonian; Lucilian; Caesarian; Livian; Tacitean). The noun is artfully placed amid the open gates.

586 Aeneas inter primos et fidus Achates,

Once again Aeneas and Achates frame the verse (cf. 521). The company is mounted; on the question of whether Aeneas is thus depicted as violating a religious scruple cf. on 552, and note R.J. Starr, “Aeneas as the *Flamen Dialis*? Vergil’s *Aeneid* and the Servian Exegetical Tradition,” in *Vergilius* 43 (1997), 630–670; Dyson 2001, 10–12: “In the Roman view, every misfortune was attributable, at least in part, to a breach of religious propriety.” Certainly those interested in identifying such violations of rubrics on the part of Aeneas may indulge in multiple examples in the present book.

inter primos: Also at 2.479 *ipse inter primos correpta dura bipenni* (of Pyrrhus before the entrance into Priam’s *inter sanctum*); 7.783 *Ipse inter primos praestanti corpore Turnus*; 12.579–580 *ipse inter primos dextram sub moenia tendit | Aeneas, magnaue incusat voce Latinum*. For the Virgilian use of this phrase see Moskalew 1982, 152n39: “The phrase *ipse inter primos* thus appears to be confined to Neoptolemus, Aeneas, and Turnus, all of whom are at one time or another cast in the role of *alius Achilles*.” For a different view, note Horsfall on 7.783.

587 inde alii Troiae proceres, ipse agmine Pallas

Troiae proceres: The noun is used at 1.740 *post alii proceres* (at Dido’s banquet); 3.58 *delectos populi ad proceres*; 3.103 *audite, o proceres*; 6.489 *at Danaum proceres*; 9.659–660 *agnovere deum proceres divinaque tela | Dardanidae*; 10.213 *tot lecti proceres*; 11.403 *nunc et Myrmidonum proceres*; 12.213 *conspectu in medio procerum*; note Plautus, *Bacc.* 1053 *Fit vasta Troia, scindunt proceres Pergamum*. No indication as to the identity of these nobles. Mynors prints a semicolon after

the noun, in part because of his acceptance of Markland's conjecture of 588 *it* for *in ad* Statius, *Silv.* 5.1.245 ("haud incallide," comments Conte, who compares Homer, *Il.* 19.397 ff.); the reading may draw some support from Statius' initial *it medius* at *Theb.* 5.701; cf. Silius, *Pun.* 5.392. *Troiae* once again emphasizes the Trojan provenance of Aeneas (cf. 470; 545; 513; 530; 551).

ipse ... Pallas: The intensive reflects how all the attention is, after all, on the doomed young Arcadian—who for now is protectively held in the midst of the cavalry formation (588 *medio*). Servius comments on the practice of putting novices in the middle of the host, and also on the honored status of the place (with comparison of 9.28, of Turnus).

agmine: Also at 595.

588 *in medio, chlamyde et pictis conspectus in armis.*

in: Markland argued that the preposition should be emended to the verb form *it*; we might note the asyndeton of 585–586, and the force of having everything dependent on 585 *exierat* (i.e., the units move as one). Mynors adopted the conjecture; Fordyce concurs (also Goold's Loeb; T.E.V. Pearce, "Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.588," in *Mnem.* 40.1/2 (1987), 154–157). Conte notes on Markland's suggestion, "haud incallide"; Williams concludes "attractive but not essential." For suspicion as to the double preposition in the line, see Gransden. The use of *it* would also spoil the neat effect of how 585 *exierat* is converted into 591 *extulit*. Cf. also 595.

chlamyde: This Greek military cloak is also associated with the gifts that Andromache presents to Ascanius on the departure from Buthrotum: 3.483–484 *fert picturatas auri subtemine vestes | et Phrygiam Ascanio chlamydem*, etc.; also the clothing that Dido wears for the fateful hunt (4.137 *Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo*); the victor's prize at the regatta—a cloak decorated with the story of the abduction of the Trojan prince Ganymede (5.250 ff., another lost youth); the dress of the son of Arcens, slain by Mezentius (9.582 *pictus acu chlamydem et ferrugine clarus Hibera*); Chloereus' outlandish costume (11.775 ... *tum croceam chlamydemque sinusque crepantis*, etc.). Appropriate enough fashion for an Arcadian prince, but with dark associations in the overall context of the epic.

pictis ... armis: Cf. 7.796; 11.660 (of the Amazons to whom Camilla and her retinue are compared); 12.281 ... *pictis Arcades armis*. The "painted arms" may refer to inlay with precious metals (so Heyne, followed by Fordyce et al., with reference to the Sabine shields of Livy 9.40.2). In his note on the *versis Arcades armis* of Pallas' requiem (11.92), Servius claims that there were ornamental decorations on the arms that depicted the gods. Note also Livy 7.10.7.2–4 (with Oakley ad loc.); Lucan, *BC* 1.398 (with Roche); Silius, *Pun.* 8.466.

conspetus: The visual element. Pallas is like an inlaid gem as he rides forth in the midst of the assembly; there is an echo of *G.* 3.17–18 *illi victor ego et Tyrio conspetus in ostro / centum quadriugos agitabo ad flumina currus*. The splendor of Pallas' vesture is the focal point of the comparison of the young hero to the Morning Star; *conspetus* heralds *Lucifer* (589–591). Papillon and Haigh (following Henry) compare the description of Hannibal at Livy 21.4.7–8 *Vestitus nihil inter aequales excellens: arma atque equi conspiciebantur*.

589 *qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda,*

Pallas rides off to battle just as Lucifer, the Morning Star, lifts up his sacred head and scatters the darkness of the night. For the star simile cf. Homer, *Il.* 5.6–8; Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.238–240; 774–780; 2.40–42; 3.957–958. There is a brief analysis at Hornsby 1970, 35–36; note also R. Senfter, “Vergil, *Aen.* 8, 589–591: Konnotationsraum und Funktionalisierung eines Vergleichs,” in *MD* 2 (1979), 171–174; Rogerson 2017, 195. The simile is quoted by the author of the life of Maximinus the Younger in the *Historia Augusta* (*Duo Max.* 27), who asserts that the tutor Fabillus made Greek verses out of the Virgilian description in honor of the great handsomeness of the youth. Page (followed by Gransden) notes the imitation of Milton, *Lycidas* 168–171; Williams compares Spenser, *FQ* 1.12.21. Cf. the association of Christ with the Morning Star at *Apoc.* 22.11; also the prayer of the *Praeconium Paschale*: *Flammas eius lucifer matutinus inveniat. Ille, inquam, lucifer, qui nescit occasum. Ille, qui regressus ab inferis, humano generi illuxit* (where the topos of the dying Lucifer is replaced with resurrection imagery). On “metaphors involving comparisons to stars” see Ingelheart on Ovid, *Tristia* 2.167–168. For the complex literary associations of the comparison note too Nelis 2001, 319ff. (who sees an association with the departure of Camilla for battle at the end of Book 7).

qualis: Balanced with 590 *quem*.

Oceani: Cf. 4.129 and 11.1 (with connection both to Dido and, ultimately, Camilla).

perfusus: Cf. the grisly context of 2.221 *perfusus sanie vittas atroque veneno* (of Laocoön); also the use of the verb in the description of the horse to which Turnus is described just before he meets Camilla (11.495); Latinus at 12.611 *canitiem immundo perfusam pulvere turpans*. The present use of the perfect participle will also be echoed at 11.88 *ducunt et Rutulo perfusos sanguine currus*, in the funeral cortège for Pallas.

Lucifer: “Lucifer’s rising is a frequent, more colorful circumlocution for dawn (*E.* 8.17; *G.* 3.324; *A.* 2.801, 8.589)” (V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* 11, 762); cf. Tibullus, c. 1.3.94 (with Maltby); 1.9.62; also Propertius, c. 2.19.28; Ovid, *Fast.* 1.45 ff. (with Green); 2.150; 568; 4.677; 5.548; 6.211; 474; 791; and note too *Aetna* 242; *El. in*

Maec. 1.132; Ovid, *Am.* 1.6.65; 2.11.56; *Her.* 11.46; 18.112; *Ars* 3.180 (with Gibson); *Met.* 2.115; 723; 4.629; 665; 8.1–2; 11.98; 271; 346; 570; 15.189; 789; *Trist.* 1.3.72; 3.5.56; 4.10.11; *Ep. Pont.* 2.5.50 *qualis ab Eois Lucifer ortus aquis*; Lucan, *BC* 1.232; 2.725; 10.434; Manilius, *Astron.* 1.177; also named in Statius and Valerius (though not Silius). On the Morgen- und Abendstern, note Preller/Robert 1, 447–448.

Virgil here associates the departure of Pallas with the rising of Lucifer over Mount Ida on the morning of the exodus of the Trojan exiles: 2.801–802 *iamque iugis summae surgebat Lucifer Idea | ducebatque diem* (a passage that comes soon before both a reminder of the destruction of Troy at 3.3, and the account of the death of the Trojan prince Polydorus). These are the only two references to the Light-Bringer in the epic. The *stella Veneris* of Cicero, *DND* 2.53 ... *Lucifer latine dicitur cum antegreditur solem*; cf. Hyginus, *Ast.* 2.42.4.1 *Quarta stella est Veneris, Lucifer nomine; quam nonnulli Iunonis esse dixerunt*. It was Venus who showed the way for the Trojans after the fall of Priam's city (1.382 *matre dea monstrante viam*); here the Luciferian/Venusian note presages the arrival of the goddess with the shield (608ff.). There is ironic pathos in the fact that Venus does not seem at all concerned about the fate of this particular Morning Star.

At 11.4 *vota deum primo victor solvebat Eoo*, Aeneas makes offerings to Eous; if the referent there is Lucifer, then the detail is particularly apt in the wake of the death of the Arcadian and Aeneas' vengeance in slaying Mezentius (see further Fratantuono ad loc.). The Homeric model for the present comparison is *Il.* 22.317ff. (where see De Jong), of the gleam from Achilles' spear that is associated with the brilliant light of Hesperus, the Evening Star. "Venus is the brightest heavenly body in the night sky except for the moon" (De Jong). The Homeric Morning Star is cited at *Il.* 23.226 and *Od.* 13.93–94; for the understanding that the "two" stars were one and the same, cf. Catullus, c. 62.35 (with Fordyce); Columella, *DRR* 10.1.1.291 *Hesperus, Eoo remeat cum Lucifer ortu*; Seneca, *Phaed.* 751–752; *Oed.* 741–742 (with Boyle); *HO* 149. Same star or not, Lucifer is doomed to rise and then set in a single day; Hesperus would be a different star, as it were, that would rise in the evening to preside over nuptials of the sort that the Arcadian will not enjoy. A similar pattern of movement from dawn to dusk marks the book of Camilla, who has affinities to the dawn goddess and the Mater Matuta via her evocation of Marcus Furius Camillus (cf. Dumézil 1973/1978/1981).

Pallas has Luciferian associations in Virgil's epic, then, and to grim effect; cf. the prophecy of Isaiah, *Quomodo cecidisti de caelo Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris? corruisti in terram, qui vulnerabas gentes?* (*Is.* 14.12).

We may also compare here too Horace, c. 1.12.45–48 *micat inter omnis | Iulium sidus velut inter ignis | luna minores*, of the *fama* of Marcellus, another doomed young man (on this see further Reed 2007, 153n16).

590 **quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignis,**

The verse may hint at Pallas' physical beauty.

Venus: The brief reintroduction of the goddess before her more significant appearance for the bestowal of the shield is very much in the poet's style. In point of fact the capricious goddess will display no interest in this Arcadian, or in her son's grief over his loss.

ante alios ... ignis: For Lucifer as a sign of the goddess' favor note Wlosok 1967, 80–81. It would seem that Venus might have a special interest in Pallas, given the poet's astronomical commentary; in fact the goddess will be able to accomplish nothing on his behalf. Servius notes that while Lucifer/Vesper was Venus' principal star, the goddess also had *stellas* in the constellations Taurus and Ursa Major. The fact that Venus especially loved the light that ushered in the nuptial night has special relevance to the Pallas story; the young Arcadian will not know the joys of marriage, and Evander will be left without the promise of children.

astrorum: We may compare Nisus' prayer at 9.405 *astrorum decus et nemorum Latonia custos*; for the "fires of the stars" note 3.585–586 *nam neque erant astrorum ignes nec lucidus aethra / siderea polus* (with Horsfall).

diligit: The finite verb does not appear often in Virgil; note the participial uses at 1.344 ... *dilectus amore* (of Sychaeus); 2.784 ... *lacrimas dilectae pelle Creüsae*; 4.31 (of Dido) 5.569 *parvus Atys pueroque puer dilectus Iulo*; 9.85 *pineae silva mihi multos dilecta per annos* (of Cybele's trees); 12.391 (of Iapyx); also *G.* 1.399. But the only other finite use of the verb in the poet comes at 9.429–430 ... *caelum hoc et conscia sidera testor; / tantum infelicem nimium dilexit amicum* (Nisus of Euryalus, also with astronomical connection).

ignis: The mention of fire is reminiscent of the last time we saw the goddess Venus, when she was seeing to the Vulcanian forging of the arms.

591 **extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit.**

extulit: Cf. 585 *exierat*. The two verbs frame the verse.

os sacrum: The face of the star is sacred because it is beloved of the goddess; cf. Evander's long stare at Aeneas' face and eyes as he speaks (8.152–153); 11.39–40 (of the *ora* of the dead Pallas as Aeneas gazes on the corpse). For the adjective vid. H. Fugier in *EV* IV, 629–630. Camilla has a *sacrum corpus* at 11.591; cf. the *sacrum robur* of the wooden horse that Laocoön violated (2.230). The mention of Pallas' *os* may point to his handsome appearance; for the connection of this detail to Venus' favor, see Jenkyns 1998, 548; for Pallas' appearance, Heuzé 1985, 301. *Sacrum* anticipates 598 *sacer*, of the grove at Caere. For the idea that Pallas/Lucifer is the Morning Star that heralds the Hesperus/Venus of 606 ff., see Eden's note ad loc.; Eden takes the bestowal of the arms to con-

stitute a nocturnal divine apparition, positing that Aeneas and his new allies make camp for the night.

Cf. the comparison of Jason's appearance to Medea with the rising of Sirius at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.958. Apollonius' image is of double import (so also Virgil's); Jason is handsome to behold, but he also brings grief to Medea, just as the Dog Star portends harm to flocks despite its radiance loveliness.

caelo: Cf. 2.687–688 *at pater Anchises oculos ad sidera laetus | extulit et caelo palmas cum voce tetendit*; also Statius, *Theb.* 2.134–135 *et iam Mygoniis elata cubilibus alto | impulerat caelo gelidas Aurora tenebras*. For the dative of motion cf. 10.548 (with Harrison).

resolvit: For the verb note 2.157 *fas mihi Graiorum sacrorum resolvere iura*; 3.370 ... *vittasque resolvit*; 4.27 *ante, Pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo*; 4.695 *quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus*; 6.29 *Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit*; 6.422 ... *immania terga resolvit* (of the drugged Cerberus); 9.517–518 *quae stravit Rutulos late armorumque resolvit | tegmina*; also *G.* 1.44; 302; 4.225; 452. The language expresses death's opposite, the new birth of life and brilliant vigor; like the Morning Star, the young hero is destined to suffer a reversal of the present luminous splendor: he is born, as it were, for a day. The line-end is used also at Manilius, *Astron.* 3.639.

Mandra 1930, 169–170 considers the events of 8.455–731, 9.459–818, and 10.1–255 to constitute the fourth day of the war; Day 5 for him = 10.256–908, with Pallas' requiem on the sixth. The young Arcadian will be dead on the morrow.

592 *stant pavidae in muris matres oculisque sequuntur*

A rereading of the Iliadic *teichosopia*; for this theme in epic see Lovatt 2013, 217–225; cf. Gärtner 2005, 108 ff. (on the parallel of Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Post.* 9.138 ff.); note also Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.1182–1183.

stant ... sequuntur: Verbs frame the line.

pavidae ... matres: As at 2.489 *tum pavidae tectis matres ingentibus errant*; 766–767 ... *pueri et pavidae longo ordine matres | stant circum*. The present scene constitutes something of a reversal of 5.575–576 *excipiunt plausu pavidos gaudentque tuentes | Dardanidae* (during the *lusus Troiae*). For the adjective note also 2.685; 7.780; 8.349; 9.473 (in the wake of the deaths of Nisus and Euryalus, a scene with several verbal echoes of the present passage); 11.406; 12.717. From Aeneas' mother Venus we move to the more fearful and anxious *matres*; these are the same women who at 556 were redoubling their offerings upon receipt of the news of the impending war.

“Women are in his epic because they are necessary, so that, within his dark framework, their fearful questions may cast unwelcome, indecorous shadows on the refulgent arms” (Newman and Newman 2005, 137, who note that no

human mother in the epic speaks to her own child, unless he is dead; we may compare the relationship the goddess Venus has with her son).

oculis: Continuing the emphasis on the visual. With the gaze of these mothers compare 7.813 *turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem* (of Camilla).

Valerius Flaccus imitated this passage at *Arg.* 1.495–497 ... *stant litore matres / claraque vela oculis percussa que sole sequuntur / scuta virum*; 4.505–506 ... *stant litore fixi / Haemonidae atque oculis palantia monstra sequuntur*.

593 *pulveream nubem et fulgentis aere catervas.*

pulveream nubem: The dust cloud is a realistic detail that also introduces a note of meteorological gloom into the scene; from the bright rising of the splendid star of the morn we advance to the dusty world of battle. This is the only occurrence of the adjective in Virgil (it may be a coinage); cf. the use of *pulverulentus* at 4.155; 7.625; 12.463; *G.* 1.66. On Virgilian dust note V. Sivo in *EV* IV, 349–350; the present passage is echoed at 9.33–34 *hic subitam nigro glomerari pulvere nubem / prospiciunt Teucrici ac tenebras insurgere campis*. The darkness that Lucifer dispelled is replaced, in a sense, by the dust rising from the plain. Note the similar effect in the last phase of the cavalry battle, where mothers also raise a cry (11.876–878 *volvitur ad muros caligine turbidus atra / pulvis, et e speculis percussae pectora matres / femineum clamorem ad caeli sidera tollit*).

fulgentis aere catervas: Another echo of light, this time from the gleam of the bronze. We may recall 7.804 *agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas* (of Camilla's Volscians; cf. 11.433). The detail closes a ring: cf. 92–93 ... *fulgentia longe / scuta virum fluvio pictas innare carinas* (on this see especially Gransden 1984, 94–95). For the verb cf. 684, in another naval context. *Caterva* occurs 15× in the epic, 6× in Book 11.

“A fine pictorial line” (Page).

594 *olli per dumos, qua proxima meta viarum,*

olli: Also at 94. “Archaic forms of *illi* used to give an effect of grandeur” (Tilly ad loc.).

dumos: For the noun see on 348; cf. 657. Thickets/brambles are associated with the upbringing of Camilla (11.570; 843); also the night raid of Nisus and Euryalus (9.381; 393). See Eden for comment on the difficult terrain; the point is speed and haste, not an easy ride for cavalry. One might recall the hazardous route that Aeneas and his infantry take in their hope to assault Latinus' capital by surprise (11.522–531).

proxima meta viarum: The image is taken from the world of the race course; so of the goal in the regatta (5.129; 159; 172). The principal echo, however, is of 3.714 *hix labor extremus, longarum haec meta viarum* (Aeneas' comment on the

loss of his father); the Pallas/Evander drama will reverse that earlier situation. The passage also presages Jupiter's comment to Hercules at 10.470–472 *tot gnati cecidere deum; quin occidit una | Sarpedon, mea progenies; etiam sua Turnum | fata vocant metasque dati pervenit ad aevi* (just before the fateful encounter of the Rutulian and the Arcadian); cf. the *mortis metae* at 12.546. Note also 3.429; G. 3.202.

595 *armati tendunt; it clamor, et agmine facto*

armati: Of course they would be armed as they depart to meet Tarchon's Etruscans and proceed thence to war; there may also be a hint of the perils of ambush in the dense woods and thickets. For the participle note also 490 and 640.

tendunt: For the verb note G. Simonetti Abbolito in *EV* v, 95–96: ... “i tre spondei iniziali dei due versi rappresentano efficacemente il lento procedere dei soldati, appesantiti dalle armi, in mezzo ai cespugli, in contrasto con l'impeto dei cavalli al galoppo del verso seguente.”

it clamor: Cf. 557, of the fear and dread that spread as quickly as the rumor of the Arcadian decision to ally with the Trojans in the Latin war. The detail here points to a certain fearlessness as the cavalry proceed to Caere; they may be ready for the threat of ambush, but there is a buoyancy and bravado that mark their progress, and they shout as the horses regain the *campus*. With every bit of land traversed the sad, even embarrassing laments of Evander are all the easier to forget.

agmine facto: Cf. 587–588. The original cavalry formation may have been adjusted to account for the presumably narrow quarters of the *dumi*; the *agmen* is reformed once the troop exits to the plain. Servius notes: “agmen est proprie exercitus ambulans: quicquid fuerit aliud abusive dicitur.” The line-end also at G. 4.167; A. 1.82; 434 (of bees; of winds; of bees again—only here of an actual battle formation). The phrase Livian; once in Statius and twice in Juvenal.

596 *quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.*

A classic example of onomatopoeic and dactylic effects, with interlocking alliteration; the verse is virtually repeated at 11.875 *quadrupedumque putrem cursu quatit ungula campum*, as the Latins retreat in the face of the death-bringing Teucrians in the last stages of the cavalry battle (the change to *cursu* there highlights the flight back to the city gates). Macrobius (*Sat.* 6.1.22) cites the influence of Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 6.242 Skutsch *explorant Numidae totam quatit ungula campum*; fr. 8.263 *consequitur. summo sonitu quatit ungula campum* (“The rhythm ... is chosen deliberately to express speed and the clatter of hooves”); note also fr. 17.431 *It eques et plausu concutit ungula terram*; Wigodsky 1972, 44–45.

“A line which is perhaps more famous than it deserves for its almost exaggerated accommodation of sound to sense” (Page). “Hoofbeat entirely in dactyls” (R.F. Thomas in *VE* 11, 825–826). “The dactyls render speed, the heterodyne with accents on short syllables a kind of tumbled confusion, and the *u* sounds a dark, dull, thudding noise, expressing the sound of hooves on soil” (Jackson Knight 1944, 296).

quadrupedante: Note *quadrupedans* also at 11.614; *quadrupes* occurs at *E.* 5.26; *A.* 3.542; 7.500; 11.614. The word is old (Ennius *tragicus*; also Plautus at *Capt.* 814); for the correct orthography see Horsfall on 11.614. On kennings in Latin poetry see especially Hollis on Ovid, *Met.* 8.376.

putrem ... campum: The adjective occurs in the epic only here and at the parallel 11.875; note also *G.* 1.44; 392; 2.204; 262; 3.562. *Putrem* follows closely on 593 *pulveream*—but see Henry for the difference between “dusty” and “crumbly.”

sonitu: For the noun cf. on 431; Roiron 1908, 428–429. See Henry here for the specific reference to galloping; Hofmann/Szantyr 11, 712–714 on the description of sound.

quatit: Nicely picking up the sound of *quad-*; the verb is used in a variety of Virgilian contexts (cf. 2.611, of Neptune’s shaking of the earth; 3.30, of Aeneas’ physical reaction to the Polydorus portent; 5.200 and 432, of straining athletes; 6.579, of Tisiphone’s treatment of the guilty, etc.).

ungula campum: Cf. the same line-end at Statius, *Theb.* 6.401; Silius, *Pun.* 6.217; Lucan has *ungula frondentem discussit cornea campum* (*BC* 6.83). For *ungula* cf. *G.* 3.88; *A.* 11.875; 12.339; 533.

597 est ingens gelidum lucus prope Caeritis amnem,

est ingens, etc.: Introducing a brief ecphrasis of this most significant grove; on Virgilian groves note N. Goldschmidt in *VE* 11, 579–580. Clearly a numinous place; if there is any imagined etymology from the notion of “shining” (*lucere*), it is especially fitting as the place for the reception of the gleaming arms. The “huge grove” recalls 342 above, of the site of the Romulean asylum. For Virgilian *topothesia* see Gransden; the degree to which the details are geographically unrealistic is a measure of the magic with which the poet has invested the scene. With this grove Henry compares the Ovidian description of the vale of Tempe (*Met.* 1.568–570). Cf. also on 601. “Here, as always, setting is a crucial factor while the poet builds up the meaning of a scene” (Putnam 1966, 145). The passage is in part modeled on the discovery of the fleece at *Arg.* 4.123 ff.

gelidum: For the adjective note also 28; 139; 159; 343; 610. Here it comes with a note of cool relief after the breathless cavalry journey, and the verse brings with it a palpable sense of relief and relaxation.

prope ... amnem: The preposition occurs elsewhere in Virgil only at *G.* 4.278, also in connection to a river. This body of water is the *Caeretanus amnis* of Pliny, *NH* 3.15, the modern Vaccina, perhaps, though Servius thought it was the Minio (the modern Mignone). Eden notes that it could also be the Fosso della Molla, the stream that feeds the Vaccina.

Caeritis: For Caere/Agylla see on 479; Harrison on 10.183 *Caerete domo*. Probably the genitive is of the town, not the river (vid. Fordyce); Livy has *per agrum Caeretem* (5.16.5.3). “An eccentric genitive” (Page). If it is the genitive of the noun *Caere*, it occurs only here in extant Latin. For the semantic association of the place name with “rejoicing” see Paschalis 1997, 286 (on the reversal of Juno’s stirring of the powers of “Acheron,” and comment on the irony that Aeneas will now rejoice at the notion of conflict and war). For the appositive or epexegetical genitive of a proper name see Antoine 1882, 78; cf. Schulze 1904, 538–539.

598 *religione patrum late sacer; undique colles*

religione patrum, etc.: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 10.693 *religione sacer prisca*; *Fast.* 3.264 *est lacus, antiqua religione sacer*; Silius, *Pun.* 12.125 *religione sacer*. For *religio* note 2.151 *quae religio?*; 2.188 *neu populum antiqua sub religione tueri* (of the wooden horse); 2.715 *religione patrum multos servata per annos* (of the cypress that marks the spot where the Trojan exiles are to gather); 3.362–363 ... *namque omnis cursum mihi prospera dixit | religio* (Aeneas to Helenus); 3.409 *hac casti maneant in religione nepotes*; 7.172 *horrendum silvis et religione parentum* (of Latinus’ palace); 7.608 *religione sacrae et saevi formidine Martis* (of the *Belli portae*); 12.181–182 ... *quaeque aetheris alti | religio et quae caeruleo sunt numina ponto*. The language thus connects this grove to the location of the Trojan rendezvous before the departure west; also the *regia* of Latinus: a sense of both loss and of pride in the primitive history of Italy is thus evoked. *Sacer* is clarified at 600 *sacrasse*.

late: For the adverb note 14; 24; 671; here it follows on 597 *ingens*. Servius took the point to be that the precinct was considered to be sacred by many; it could also mean that the whole area was sacred (see further Conington on the not mutually exclusive possibilities). The latter might be supported by the description of 605.

undique colles: The enjambment neatly enacts the encircling action of the hills.

599 *inclusere cavi et nigra nemus abiete cingunt.*

inclusere: For the form cf. 12.744 *undique enim densa Teucris inclusere corona*. Fittingly enough, the verbs encircle the verse.

cavi: The hills are not actually hollow, but they create a hollow (as the commentators are eager to clarify); see Fordyce on the “relative” use of this adjective.

nigra: On the color note Edgeworth 1992, 138–141. It is used elsewhere of Memnon (1.489); the sheep Aeneas sacrifices to Hiems (3.120); the black ants to which Aeneas’ men are compared as they prepare to depart from Carthage (4.404); the black poison for Dido’s ghastly liturgy (4.514); the black cloud beneath which the dove is shot at the games (5.516); the tempest that Jupiter sends to save the burning ships (5.696); the prediction that Aeneas will sacrifice black sheep before entering Avernus (5.736; cf. 6.153); Tartarus (6.134–135); Avernus (6.238); the night in which Turnus sleeps before the Allecto visitation (7.414); the cloud of dust the Trojans see as the enemy draws near to the camp (9.33); sand stirred up when a pile is driven into Baiiae (9.714, in the description of the death of Bitias); the *turbo* in which Opis descends to avenge Camilla (11.596); the swallow to which Juturna is compared (12.473). Edgeworth speculates (1901131; 31; 51 ff.) that the chromatic detail may be a deliberate attempt to introduce dark associations for the arms sequence that soon follows.

nemus: Heyne considered this to be a sort of implicit (nominative) plural; see Henry for condemnation of the idea.

abiete: For the red or silver fir see Abbe 1965, 12–13; Sargeant 1920, 8: “Since a large mass of this fir as seen in the distance looks black, especially against the sky, Virgil’s epithet is justified.” On Mount Abetone/Abatone near Cerveteri, see Eden. The botanical detail prepares for the mention of the Italian forest god to whom the grove is sacred.

cingunt: The singular *cingit* is cited at Macrobius, *Sat.* 3.3.9, but there is no good reason to suspect the text. The black fir appropriately envelops the *nemus*.

600 **Silvano fama est veteres sacrasse Pelagos,**

Silvano: Vid. F. Trisoglio in *EV* IV, 853–854; J. Ferriss-Hill in *VE* III, 1176; Roscher IV, 824 ff.; also Bailey 1935, 37–38: “With the Nymphs and the Fauns ... is closely associated Silvanus, the deity of the woods outside the settlements, who always remained a rather outlandish and slightly hostile personality in Roman thought.” “More benign than Pan” (Nisbet and Rudd on Horace, c. 29.23). This is his only appearance in the epic; at *E.* 10.24–25 *venit et agresti capitis Silvanus honore | florentis ferulas et grandia lilia quassans*, he is one of the visitors of Gallus; cf. *G.* 1.20 *et teneram ab radice ferens, Silvane, cupressum*; 2.493–494 *fortunatus et ille deos qui novat agrestis | Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores*. We are reminded here of Evander’s comment on the indigenous inhabitants of central Italy (314–315 *haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphae tenebant*, etc.).

For god and grove cf. Plautus, *Aul.* 674–675 *Silvani lucus extra murum est avius, / crebo salicta oppletus*; 766 *ex Silvani luco*; note also Propertius, c. 4.4.4–5 *multaque nativis obstrepit arbor aquis, / Silvani ramosa domus*; Horace, c. 3.29.23; *ep.* 2.22; *Ep.* 2.1.143; Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 2.28; Grattius, *Cyn.* 20; Ovid, *Met.* 1.193 *faunisque satyrique et monticolae silvani*; 14.639 (with Mack); Lucan, *BC* 3.402–403 *hunc non ruricolae Panes nemorumque potentes / Silvani Nymphaeque tenent*; Pliny, *NH* 12.3.7; Statius, *Theb.* 6.111; Juvenal, s. 6.447 (with Watson and Watson); Martial, *ep.* 10.92.6. See Eden for the Etruscan Selva(ns). For the cult of the god near Agylla see Saunders 1930, 46–47.

Pelasgos: For this ancient race note D.A. Secci in *VE* II, 985; D. Musti in *EV* IV, 6–7. The references to the Pelasgians at 1.624; 2.83; 2.106; 2.152; 6.503; and 9.154 all seem to mean nothing more than “Greek”; in Homer they are a Thessalian tribe from Larissa that is allied with Troy (*Il.* 2.840; 17.301). For Herodotus (1.58) they were a distinct people, with their own language; they eventually merged with the Greeks. Eden notes that in the present passage, the *Pelasgi* may once again be “Greek” (otherwise this would be a unique Virgilian instance where they are not); already for Servius the provenance was in dispute (“*varia opinio*”): he notes that some identified them as Athenian; others as Spartan; even Thessalian (cf. Strabo 5.2.3), while Danielis adds citation of Hyginus and Varro for identification with Tyrrhenians (whom Virgil clearly considered Lydian). Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* 1.17) notes that Thessalian Pelasgians were obliged to leave Greece and to settle among the Aborigines, where they joined them in war on the Sicels; he notes that the Pelasgians were originally from Argos. At 1.20, Caere/Agylla is cited as a Pelasgian settlement, later taken over by the Tyrrhenians. Are the *veteres Pelasgi* “old” from the point of view of Virgil’s day, or “old” with respect to other Pelasgians? On the whole, it seems best to follow the usual Virgilian practice and to interpret these primitive inhabitants as Greek. “Whoever they were, the prehistoric inhabitants of Caere could not have been worshipping a god with the Latin name of Silvanus, a spirit of the wild woodland who later became a deity of the farmer” (Fordyce)—the verse is framed by names that do not readily accord. Gransden connects the *Greek* help from Caere with the similar case at Pallanteum.

For the Pelasgian founding of Agylla see Saunders 1930, 47 ff.; cf. also Rehm 1932, 63 ff. *Pelasgos* here at line-end correlates with *Latinos* at 602. Syncretism of a sort, we might think: the Latin god was worshipped by the (Thessalian?) Greeks who arrived at Caere even before the Lydian Etruscans. Any reference to Thessaly might also recall Achilles (appropriately enough just before the bestowal of the arms).

sacrasse: As at 7.62 *ipse ferebatur Phoebo sacrasse Latinus*.

Dedicator and dedicatee frame the verse.

601 arborum pecorisque deo, lucumque diemque,

arborum, etc.: The god of forests was also a pastoral deity of flocks and herds; “The woodland in which Silvanus protects the flocks is naturally dedicated to him” (Eden). *Arva* is a favorite Virgilian noun, with a wide range of specific meanings; it can refer simply to the country as opposed to the city (*OLD* s.v. 2); or to cultivated land in contrast to undeveloped meadows. Macrobius (*Sat.* 3.3.9) read *agrorum* here. “Fittingly enough for such a pastoral book, the grove and the day are sacred to Silvanus, god of fields and flocks” (Putnam 1966, 145).

lucumque diemque: Somewhat reminiscent of 268–271, on the worship of Hercules; the “day” in question has been taken by some to be a reference to the worship of Faunus on the Nones of December (as in Horace, c. 3.18); Silvanus and Faunus were sometimes conflated, but Virgil need not have had a specific festival in mind. *Diem* neatly echoes *deo*. Servius notes here: “hoc a Romanis traxit, apud quos nihil tam sollemne quam dies consecrationis.” For the possible etymological play between the grove and the name of the god, see O’Hara 2017, 213–214.

“Virgil now slows the pace of his narrative—a grove widely revered, shut in on all sides by dark wooded hills and sacred to Silvanus, the god of field and fold ... In the grove of Silvanus, in the timeless pastoral world, Aeneas is to have, as he had in the world of the dead, a vision of Roman history, to which he will respond ... with mute joy, even though he can understand only dimly what he sees.” (Clausen 2002, 173).

602 qui primi finis aliquando habuere Latinos.

qui primi ... aliquando: The exact meaning is open to question; Eden et al. take *primi* to refer to “the earliest times,” while *aliquando* refers to any time other than the present, and so here likely means “long ago” or “once upon a time.” The language invests the verse with a sense of the bygone past, of the distant, primitive origins of settlement and religious practice in the area. It does not accord easily with the migrations noted by Evander at 328 ff., or his aforementioned reference to the nymphs, fauns, and race from hard oak of 314–315. *Aliquando* also at 200, and nowhere else in Virgil; a mostly prosaic word.

finis ... Latinos: We are in Etruscan territory, land that may well have been settled first by Pelasgian Greeks—and yet, perhaps in a surprising note with the last word (effectively delayed from its noun), the region is firmly said to be *Latin* (and thus implicitly under the sway of Latinus). In quick succession, Virgil names the Pelasgians (600); the Latins (adjectival here); and then the Tyrrhenians (603); arguably the Greeks came first, and then the Etruscans, and finally the Latins who—if Evander’s speech can be trusted—were “always” there in

the sense that the indigenous fauns and nymphs are eminently Latin woodland spirits. Anachronistic, we might think: Latinus is not clearly the monarch of this realm, but one day this territory will indeed fairly be called “Latin.” Is there room for Trojans in this crowded locale?

With *finis ... Latinos* cf. 11.588 *labere, nymp̄ha, polo finisque invise Latinos*, as Diana gives instruction to Opis on the vengeance for Camilla’s impending death.

603 *haud procul hinc Tarcho et Tyrrheni tuta tenebant*

haud procul hinc: Also at 478; cf. 642 *haud procul inde*; 606 *huc*. Gransden notes that the echo of 478 serves to emphasize the point that this is the very spot of which Evander had spoken.

Tarcho: For this Etruscan leader see on 506. The line has marked dental alliteration.

tuta tenebant: *Tuta* from *tueri*, we might conclude; the Tyrrhenian camp would seem to be watched over or safely guarded by the very terrain (604 *locis*; cf. Goold and Whiteley, “secure by reason of its site”). The problem (noted already by Servius) is that the location of Tarchon’s camp is not so geographically sound; it is located on an open plain that can be spied from the nearby hills. Servius notes: “ne sit ergo contrarium, intellegamus quod hodieque videmus et legimus, hanc collium fuisse naturam, ut planities esset in summo, in qua inerant castra Tarchonis.” Mackail prefers to take *tuta* in what we might call a more loosely adjectival sense, meaning simply “guarded” or “safe,” with the pesky word *locis* construed closely with *haud procul hinc* and rendered “in a location not far from here.” Was the location considered especially guarded because it was, after all, sacred to Silvanus? Page observes: “How the position was ‘well-defended’ or ‘secure’ does not appear”—but the whole passage heretofore has emphasized the nestling hills, woods, and unspoiled nature of the place, and Virgil’s detail follows impressionistically if not strictly topographically. The verb with *castra* = standard military prose usage.

Henry argues that the camp was *tuta* precisely because it was near a wooded hills (for easy escape and camouflage, etc.), with emphasis on the significance of the plural *locis* to describe a general situation and not the particular place where the camp was situated.

604 *castra locis, celsoque omnis de colle videri*

castra, etc.: The alliterative now becomes more guttural and liquid; Eden ad loc. for the “background sound-pattern which does not reinforce the sense.” There is marked alliteration with *castra ... celso ... colle*.

celso ... colle: Cf. Lucan, *BC* 4.158–159; 7.790; Seneca, *Ag.* 96; Silius, *Pun.* 1.275; 4.222; 15.101; 16.473. For the adjective note 65; 107; 653; 680. The mention of the hill echoes 598.

omnis: With 605 *legio*; the description conveys a sense of impressive array. Williams notes that the forces mustered in these verses will not be mentioned again until 10.146; the impending shield narrative is most on the poet's mind.

videri: Another visual *tableau*, the effective expression of which seems to matter more to the poet than strict consideration of where Tarchon the military strategist should have pitched his camp.

605 iam poterat legio et latis tendebat in arvis.

poterat: With *videri* also at Cicero, *De Off.* 3.40.7 and in Livy and Seneca; Caesar has *provideri poterat*. Admitted to verse by Ovid (*Met.*), also Martial.

legio: The noun elsewhere in Virgil at 7.681 ... *hunc legio late comitatur agrestis* (of Caeculus' men); 9.174 *omnis per muros legio, sortita periculum* (of Aeneas' camp in his absence); 368 *cetera dum legio campis instructa moratur* (of the Latins); 10.120 *at legio Aeneadum vallis obsessa tenetur*; 12.121 *procedit legio Ausonidum*; 562–563 ... *cetera Teucrum | concurrat legio*. Used with equal opportunity of both the Trojans and the Latins, then; not necessarily anachronistic (see Horsfall on 7.681), though the poet's contemporary audience would of course think first of the Roman military machine, the vocabulary of which could be applied readily to other armed forces.

latis ... arvis: The adjective echoes 598 *late*; for the collocation note Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.508; Tacitus, *Ann.* 16.3.5. The detail about the fields continues the emphasis on the size of the force.

tendebat: Of stretching or spreading out a tent/encamping (*OLD* s.v. 3b; cf. G.S. Abbotto in *EV* v, 95, who notes on this passage: “dove il verbo ... contribuisce a creare l'impressione visiva del largo spiegamento di tende nella pianura come appare dall'alto del colle”); so at 2.29 *hic Dolopum manus, hic saevus tendebat Achilles* (where see Horsfall). Once again the Etruscan force is described in the familiar language of the Roman army: we are, after all, in Latin territory.

606 huc pater Aeneas et bello lecta iuventus

huc: Following on 603 *haud procul hinc*. “The formal signal that the ecphrasis is finished” (Gransden). For the question of the precise referent (the Etruscan camp or the grove of Silvanus), see Stahl 2016, 256.

pater: Because he is to take command of Tarchon's Etruscans, as the leader of a combined Trojan-Arcadian-Etruscan force. “The crucial moment when Aeneas is actually accepted as the Etruscan leader is delayed: perhaps an inten-

tional use of dramatic suspense otherwise rare in Virgil" (Eden). After the mention of the *fines Latini*, the poet is in haste to advance to the shield that glorifies the Roman past, and for the moment, the narrative of alliance and battle preparation takes second stage. Servius notes that it would have taken too long to describe the arrival, introductions, and securing of the alliance, and so it was with an exercise of *ingens ars* that the poet reserved the whole matter for Book 10. The shield ephrasis must come before any enumeration of Aeneas' new Etruscan allies.

lecta iuventus: Echoing 547–548 *quorum de numero qui sese in bella sequantur / praestantis virtute legit*; cf. the *delecta iuventus* of 499; also 4.130; 9.226, etc.; also Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.831a. *Lecta iuventus* again at Lucan, *BC* 9.478; Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.40.17.

607 *succedunt fessique et equos et corpora curant.*

The verse is framed by the two verbs.

succedunt fessi: An echo of 3.276 *hunc petimus fessiti et parvae succedimus urbi* (at Delos). For *succedere* note R.V. Pagnini in *EV* IV, 1054–1055; cf. 324 ff. above. The adjective also at 26; 232; 489 above.

equos: A realistic detail: the horses in particular need rest after the swift galloping described at 596.

corpora curant: Lucretian (*DRN* 2.31, where see Fowler's note); elsewhere in Virgil at *G.* 4.187 "an expression belonging to the human domain, normally referring to eating, washing, etc."—Thomas ad loc.; cf. 3.511 *corpora curamus*; *Ilias Latina* 687; also Livian. An alliterative end to the passage; Eden may be right to posit that the hour is now drawing on toward night. Horsfall notes on 3.511: "... a neat way of referring in general terms to the banal quotidian detail ... of moving ships and men; an Ennian origin seems likely ..." (*contra*, Wigodsky 1972, 120). A much more relaxed close to a scene than the description of Evander's fainting at 583–584. See further Conington's note, with a reminder that Homer's Thetis brings the arms to Achilles at daybreak (*Il.* 19.1–3). Virgil's narrative reverses the Homeric pattern where first there is description, and then award; in Homer, Thetis finds Achilles in mourning for Patroclus (cf. Pallas).

On this scene by the stream Papillon and Haigh cite the British explorer George Dennis from his 1848 *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (1, 228): "Insignificant as this turbid brook may appear, let the traveller pause a moment on the bridge, and bethink him that it had the honour of being sung by Virgil ... the eye wanders over bare undulating downs, the *lata arva* of ancient song." Cf. McKay 1970, 85: "... the poet looks back regretfully to the days when the heroes of yore enjoyed forests with cool, shady clearings, sparkling springs and limpid brooks." Note also Di Cesare 1974, 149: "These pastoral elements are not digres-

sive. The contrast between Arcadia and the war to be waged is immeasurably heightened in these passages.”

608–625 The beautiful goddess of love makes her epiphany, and at once she announces the gift of the divine arms that had been forged by Vulcan. Aeneas marvels at the present that his solicitous mother has arranged for her imperiled son.

608 At Venus aetherios inter dea candida nimbos

At: Introducing another major shift in the narrative. For parallels between this scene and the appearance of Iris to Turnus at the start of Book 9, see Smith 2005, 45 ff. On the “Waffenübergabe,” etc., note Wlosok 1967, 128 ff.; also Kühn 1971, 122–124. The goddess now appears to her son, who was just identified as *pater Aeneas* (606). Cf. 370 (as the goddess sought the arms); Paratore’s helpful note here. We return here to the goddess last mentioned at 523 ff.; we have come very far from the depiction of the flirtatious Venus in her huntress costume at 1.314 ff.

aetherios ... nimbos: The adjective also at 68; 137; 319.

inter: For the position of the preposition see Eden (with comparison of 32 above).

candida: For the chromatic detail see on 82; Fratantuono and Smith on 5.571 *candida Dido*; Heuzé 1985, 231–232; cf. *candida Maia* at 138 above; *E.* 2.46 *candida Nais*; the elegiac pentameter *candida caeruleo nata Venus pelago* preserved at Diom., *Art. Gramm.* 3 (*GL I* Keil, 507); also the *candida puella* of Catullus, c. 13.4; the Ovidian color commentary at *Am.* 2.4.39–40 (with McKeown). Here the adjective stands in sharp contrast to the juxtaposed *nimbos*. *Dea candida* also at Ovid, *Her.* 18.61 (of Luna; see Kenney ad loc.).

nimbos: Properly of a rain or storm cloud (5.13); cf. the detail about Venus and the *dictamnium* she secures to cure her son’s arrow wound at 12.416–417 *hoc Venus obscuro faciem circumdata nimbo | detulit*. Fordyce takes the clouds to be a deliberate attempt to highlight the brilliant loveliness of the resplendent goddess. Certainly the arms come as a bit of metaphorical sunlight amid the gloom of the war—and the pervasive sense of foreboding as to the fate of the young Arcadian Lucifer (note here Lyne 1989, 85–87). Some take the *nimbi* here to be the same as the *nubes* of 528.

On the expressive word order note E.A. Hahn, “The Origin of the Greek Accusative in Latin,” in *TAPA* 91 (1960), 221–238, 236n58.

609 dona ferens aderat; natumque in valle reducta

dona ferens: Also at 1.679 *dona ferens pelago et flammis restantia Troiae* (of the presents intended for Dido at her banquet); 11.478–479 *subvehitur magna matrum caterva / dona ferens, iuxtaque comes Lavinia virgo* (of the supplication of Minerva after news of the resumption of Trojan military operations); we may think too of 2.49 *quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentis*. For *dona* of the arms note also 617 and 729; for semantic connections between the arms and the wooden horse, and the trickery and deceit for which the goddess was famous, see Paschalis 1997, 286–287. If the language is formulaic (vid. Horsfall on 11.479), the Virgilian parallels are decidedly not. *Dona* here with a slight echo of 608 *dea*; note 617. The shield is finished, which for Lessing was the main point of difference between the Virgilian object and its Homeric predecessor—Homer describes a work in progress, and Virgil a completed artifact (and cf. further Hardie 1986, 336–272).

aderat: The verb here of divine manifestation; cf. 203 and 228 for the same form of Hercules. Silius has *namque aderat toto ore ferens iramque minasque / Hannibal* (*Pun.* 2.208, after the death of Asbyte).

natum: Cf. 613; 615.

in valle reducta: Exactly as at 6.704–705 *Interea videt Aeneas in valle reducta / seclusum nemus*, of the locus of the great eschatological vision of rebirth and reincarnation in Elysium. *Valle reducta* also at c. 1.17.17–18 *hic in reducta valle caniculae / vitabis aestus*; ep. 2.11–12 *aut in reducta valle mugientum / prospectat errantis greges* (where see Watson). “Conventional phrasing,” concludes Horsfall (*ad* 6.704), following Fordyce’s “a cliché of natural description”; nothing ordinary about either *Heldenschau* or shield ecphrasis. Aeneas is evidently alone (610 *secretum*; not so Homer’s Achilles). Cf. perhaps Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.114 (Aphrodite finding Eros in a grove); 4.123–126 (the grove of the fleece).

610 ut procul egelido secretum flumine vidit,

procul: Cf. 603. As soon as the goddess saw her son in the distance, she began to speak.

egelido: An occasion to ponder the temperature of the water. This is the reading of the Medicean, the corrected Wolfenbüttel, and the bulk of the Carolingians; the other capital manuscripts, etc., read *et gelido*. Servius interprets *egelido* as “nimium gelido.” Catullus has *ver egelidos refert tepores* (c. 46.1), and it is possible that Venus’ epiphany warms the waters of the stream (cf. the vernal, Venusian imagery of Lucretius’ first proem). Ovid has *gelidum Borean egelidumque Notum* (*Am.* 2.11.10), with clear indication of warming temperature (or perhaps a play on both apparent meanings of the adjective). Cf. Manilius, *Astron.* 5.131 *elegido stellata polo* (of the cold northern sky); Ausonius’ use

of the adjective for both the Moselle and the Danube (*Epp.* 10.4 and *Caes.* 21.1, where see Green; note too the tetrastich on Severus 21.1 *impiger egelido movet arma Severus ab Histro*); Maclennan considers the Ausonian use possible evidence in support of reading *egelido* here. Suetonius has ... *deinde perfundebatur egelida aqua vel sole multo tepefacta* (*Vit. Aug.* 82, where see Adams' Macmillan note); cf. Celsus' *aqua neque ipsa frigida, sed potius egelida danda est* (*De Med.* 4.18.3) and Pliny, *NH* 31.4. Eden cites *G.* 4.145 *eduram* as supporting evidence for the intensive prefix.

The adjective follows on 597, where it is clearly *gelidum*; likeliest may be that the goddess of spring has raised its temperatures, not lowered them. *Et gelido* is preferred here by Heyne; Peerlkamp; Conington; Nettleship; Mackail; note Ribbeck's *ecgelido*. Page considers it unlikely that the river that was so recently called "chill" would now be labeled "very chill." No comment in Henry. Would anyone in Virgil's day have thought the adjective meant "nimium gelido," after Catullus c. 46? What would modern scholars say, absent the evidence of Servius? Unclear how we move from "with the chill taken out" to the intensive of Manilius and Ausonius. Mackail notes that either adjective would be "unexceptional." Still, one might well think that *egelido* is just wrong for the context (Aeneas is relaxing by the cool stream of the *locus amoenus*). We have printed *egelido*, but with deep reservations.

secretum: Closely coordinate with 609 *reducta*; Eden compares the Moses of *Exodus* and the Odysseus of *Od.* 12.355 ff. The description echoes that of 3.389 *cum tibi sollicito secreti ad fluminis undam* (Helenus to Aeneas about the locus of the *Sauprodigium*; the present scene is a companion to the hero's earlier encounter with Tiberinus, etc. at 28 ff., where we find ... *gelidique sub aetheris axe*). The participle also of the home of Anchises at 2.299–300; cf. 2.568 (in the Helen episode); 4.494–495 *tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras / erige*; 5.613 (of the Trojan women on the shore in Sicily); 6.10 (of the Sibyl's haunts); 6.443 (in the Fields of Mourning); 6.478 (with reference to the souls of heroes); 7.774 (of Trivia's hiding of Hippolytus); 8.463 *sedem et secreta* and 670 (of the souls in Elysium). The participle is artfully placed between adjective and noun. Servius comments here on the need for Aeneas to be purified in the water before he can see the goddess.

611 talibus adfata est dictis seque obtulit ultro:

Hysteron proteron (so Servius).

talibus, etc.: Cf. 126 above; also 1.663; 9.652; 10.466; 591; Ovid, *Met.* 2.783; Statius, *Theb.* 4.552.

obtulit ultro: Accian; once in Ovid (*Met.* 14.799–800) and twice in Statius. Cf. perhaps Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.127b–128 (Aphrodite with Eros).

The present manifestation mirrors 2.589–590 *cum mihi se, non ante oculis tam clara, videndam / obtulit et pura per noctem in luce refulsit* (just after the Helen episode). Cf. 1.314 *cui mater media sese tulit obvia silva*; the goddess is rather more mysterious and hidden for her intervention at 12.416 ff. The adverb can mean “of one’s own accord, on one’s own initiative” (*OLD* s.v. 5). The commentators note 2.59 ... *qui se ignotum venientibus ultro* (of Sinon), where see Horsfall, and note A. Traina in *EV* v, 363–364. Eden notes the emphasis on the physical appearance of the goddess; Gransden translates as “actually,” and Fordyce “to his surprise”; cf. Heuzé’s *Pléiade* “elle s’avança vers lui et lui dit ces paroles.” Goold and Whiteley note: “No single word in English corresponds to this Latin word. It suggests that the statement it accompanies is an unexpected one.” On the seductive behavior of Venus here, note Putnam 1995, 43: “She must seduce Vulcan at the creation, Aeneas at the acceptance, of the arms. As in their final use in the epic, there is something deceitful, something irrational in the initial fortunes of Aeneas’ arms and in the pattern this combination of arms and man will set for Rome to come. No wonder Vulcan hesitates.”

612 ‘en perfecta mei promissa coniugis arte

en perfecta ... promissa: We may compare 7.545 *en perfecta tibi bello discordia tristi* (of the infernal work of the Fury Allecto); the participle *perfecta* also of the offering of the Bough to Proserpina (6.637 ... *perfecto munere divae*), and of the Ivory Gate (6.895 *altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto*)—an interesting range of correspondences. Cf. 3.178 ... *perfecto laetus honore*; 3.548 ... *perfectis ordine votis*; the *cymbia* of 5.267 (where see Fratantuono and Smith); 8.306–307 *divinis rebus / perfectis*; the *pocula* of 9.263 that are offered to Nisus and Euryalus; 9.357 (at the end of the slaughter of the night raid). Alliterative announcement of the completion of the god’s work. Nelis 2001, 476 sees no allusion to the perfectly round toy ball with which Aphrodite tempts Eros at *Arg.* 3.132–136.

For exclamatory *en* of supernatural manifestation note 7.452 (of the dramatic unveiling, as it were, of Allecto to Turnus); for the particle *vid.* Pinkster 2015, 367–368. *Promissa* recalls 531, where Aeneas indicated that he recognized the “promise” of his mother; there was no mention there of Vulcan, but also no indication that Venus had given any assurance to her son that she would secure divine arms (a silence noted here by Servius). Venus’ reference to her promises also recalls 7.541 *promissa dea facta potens*, of the Fury’s securing of her guarantees to Juno. The echoes of the Allecto-*Szene* are a reminder that the divine weapons presented here are instruments to be employed in the ongoing Latin war. The personal pronoun is highlighted by its placement between *perfecta* and *promissa*.

coniugis arte: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 6.152.

613 munera. ne mox aut Laurentis, nate, superbos

munera: The *rejet* throws the key word into sharp relief. For the noun cf. 273; 464.

ne: Best is to take this clause as an independent subjunctive, after the dramatic pause occasioned by the mention of the gifts. For the prohibition, cf. 42 above.

mox: The emphasis is on haste; now that the hero has his divine arms, he should not hesitate to proceed to war. 11× in the epic, the occurrences balanced between the first and second halves (6 + 5).

Laurentis: First the goddess names the Laurentians—Latinus' children of the laurel (7.59 ff.), and then Turnus (614). See further on 8.1, to which 613–614 makes direct reference.

nate: Echoing 609; deliberately repeated at 615.

superbos: Venus' injunction is reminiscent of the admonition of the shade of Anchises at 6.853 *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*, where the "Romanus" of the future (or Aeneas already addressed as a Roman?) is urged to spare the subjected and to beat down the proud in war (*hysteron proteron*, though with resultant emphasis on the extension of mercy to the defeated). Cf. on 118; 196; 202; 683; 721. The adjective at line-end coordinates closely with 614 ... *Turnum*.

614 aut acrem dubites in proelia poscere Turnum.'

acrem ... Turnum: Adjective and noun nearly frame the line. The adjective also at 3; 342; 441. An interesting progression: first of Turnus' horses; then of Romulus; and finally of Vulcan's note to his Cyclopes that arms must be made for the *acer vir*. Neither complimentary nor condemnatory, then, unless we apply the sentiment both to Trojan and Rutulian, indeed to eponymous Roman. Vid. further B. Zucchelli in *EV* 1, 15–17.

dubites: For the verb note also 3.316 *ne dubita, nam vera vides* (Aeneas at Buthrotum); 6.806 *et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis* (the shade of Anchises to Aeneas); 7.311 ... *dubitem haud equidem implorare quod usquam est* (Juno); 9.12 *quid dubitas?* (Iris to Turnus, one of the correspondences between the two divine apparitions); 9.191 (Nisus to Euryalus).

poscere: Echoing the language of the call of destiny and fate from 12; 477; 512. The alliteration follows on *perfecta promissa*: Aeneas has the means to demand battle. For the verb with *proelia* cf. 10.661 *illum autem Aeneas absentem in proelia poscit*; Lucan, *BC* 4.467; Seneca, *Phaed.* 342; Statius, *Theb.* 8.393; 11.245; *Ach.* 1.922; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.386–387. Venus' words will be echoed at the Latin war council, where Turnus notes *me solum Teucri in certamina poscunt* (11.434).

615 dixit et amplexus nati Cytherea petivit,

The two perfects frame the line; *dixit* follows neatly on 611 *talibus adfata est dictis*; they coordinate with 616 *posuit*. With the embraces here cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.145 ff. (Aphrodite seeking the aid of her archer son to inflame Medea with love for Jason), where Nelis 2001, 476 sees no Apollonian imitation by Virgil here.

amplexus: For the noun see on 388, where the goddess embraces Vulcan as part of her seduction of the master craftsman, and note 405 *optatos dedit amplexus*, etc. (Vulcan with his wife). The willingness of the goddess to allow her son a sign of physical affection contrasts with her behavior at 1.402 ff., where Aeneas complains ... *cur dextrae iungere dextram / non datur ac veras audire et reddere voces?* Conington compares 1.687 *cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet* (Venus' description of Dido's embrace of the disguised Cupid). For physical contact between Aeneas and Venus note 2.592–593 ... *dextraque prehensum / continuit* (after the Helen episode; those who would excise the verses about Aeneas' wish to kill Helen can only speculate as to what exactly Aeneas was on the point of doing when his mother grasped him); cf. Lyne 1987, 207. No exchange or encounter between mother and son when the goddess intervenes to cure Aeneas' wound at 12.411 ff. "Aeneas finally gets a hug" (O'Hara).

nati: Cf. 609 and 613. Son and mother in juxtaposition.

Cytherea: Echoing 523, as the goddess provided a *signum* of the divine favor that attends her son.

616 arma sub adversa posuit radiantia quercu.

For the nearly golden line see Eden.

arma: Following on 613 *munera*. For the connection with the *arma* of 1.1 see Nagy 2009, 596–598.

adversa: "La quercia stava di fronte" (Paratore).

radiantia: See on 23. On the "play of light and shadow" expressed by the participle with *quercu*, see Clausen 2002, 174. On the language of brightness and color that describes the arms, see J. Thomas 1981, 300.

quercu: The tree associated with Jupiter offers a subtle, arboreal note of Jovian approval for the arms. The golden fleece was also found on an oak (Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.123 ff., where see Hutchinson; not surprisingly, the fleece is also noted for its brilliant gleam); an echo here too of the oaken wreath or *corona civica* awarded for the salvation of a citizen's life, famously awarded to Augustus after Actium (on the decoration cf. 6.772 *atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu*, where see Horsfall; Ovid, *Fast.* 1.680 ff., with Green; *Trist.* 3.1.48; also *Res Gest.* 34.2, with Cooley; Pliny, *NH* 22.4.8). Gellius (*Noct. Att.* 5.6.12)

notes that it was fashioned from oak in honor of the first food of man (cf. 315). Intertextually, though, we mostly do indeed recall the oak where the fleece is mounted at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.123 ff., where see Nelis 2001, 356 ff.

For the oak see Sargeant 1920, 109–110; Abbe 1965, 82–83; G. Maggiulli in *EV* IV, 368–370. Elsewhere in the epic, the tree is associated with the Cyclopes (3.680 *aëriae quercus aut coniferae cyparissi*, in the simile that eerily describes their assembly on the shore); 4.441 (the oak to which Aeneas is compared as he withstands the entreaties of Dido); 7.509 (the trees cut for hasty battle preparations in the wake of the death of Silvia's stag); 9.681 (the comparison of the giants Pandarus and Bitias to oaks); 10.423 (the oak on which Pallas vows to hang the spoils of Halaesus in honor of *pater Thybris*); 11.4–6 (the oak set up by Aeneas for the Mezentius *tropaeum*). The *quercus* is thus used with mixed associations; of trophies (including the one erected in the wake of Pallas' death) as well as the hanging of the arms.

It is not always easy to discern if Virgil has a particular reason for citing the *quercus* as opposed to the *robur*; the latter word can be used to describe the hardy wood of any tree (cf. 12.783, of the *oleaster*). The tree in question here is the “common” or pedunculate oak, *Quercus robur*. The holm oak (*ilex*) is firmly connected to the Italian future (so at 43 above; also 3.390 and 5.129–130 (the *meta* of the regatta)); but note its employment in the context of the loss of Euryalus (9.381), the tomb of Dercennus that is the locus for Arruns' death (11.851), indeed also the Bough (6.209). See further H. Parker in *VE* III, 1292. At 518 above Evander speaks metaphorically of the *robora pubis* he will send with Aeneas; at 11.137 *robora* will be cut for the pyres for Pallas and the other war dead (as at 6.181 and 214, for the Misenus requiem). Note also 2.186, 230 and 260 (the *robur* of the wooden horse); 2.481–482 (the doors of Priam's palace); 4.399–400 (wood for ships in the Trojan preparations to leave Carthage); 5.681 and 698 (the wood of the Trojan ships; cf. 5.753); 7.610 (the doors of Janus' temple); 8.221 (Hercules' club); 8.315 (the race born of oak); 10.479 (the weapon Turnus wields against Pallas); 11.326 (the *Italum robur* referenced for ship building); 11.553 (the oak to which the infant Camilla is bound); 11.893 (the weapons thrown down by the women from the walls of Latinus' city); 12.783 (the hard timber of Faunus' tree that resists Aeneas' efforts to pull out his weapon). Weapons and ships; arms for Aeneas and Argonautic memories.

The verse recalls the Roman military honor of the *corona civica*: *Anachronismus* again.

617 ille deae donis et tanto laetus honore

ille deae: Son and divine mother side by side. For analysis of this depiction with that of Achilles on receipt of Thetis' gifts, see Hardie 1986, 370–371.

deae donis: More effective, now alliterative juxtaposition, now of goddess and present, with sound association; cf. 608–609.

tanto ... honore: Ciceronian. For the noun see Fratantuono and Smith on 5.58; A. Fo in *EV* II, 854–855. Theme and variation—but the exact meaning of *honor* here is open to debate. Servius took it of the privilege of Aeneas' seeing his mother face to face, indeed of embracing her (only here in the epic); others prefer to construe it of the arms or the particularly splendid qualities thereof (Virgil likely had no specific reference in mind). A contemporary audience might well have thought of Augustus, the adopted son of Caesar, the putative descendant of Venus.

laetus: See Wiltshire 2012, 126 ff. The line-end occurs also at 3.178 (also of Aeneas); cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2.634; *Ep. Pont.* 4.9.34; Statius, *Silv.* 3.3.140. Aeneas is no different here than Achilles with Thetis (Homer, *Il.* 19.18). Cf. the joy over the fleece at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.171a, with Nelis 2001, 357.

618 *expleri nequit atque oculos per singula volvit*

expleri nequit: For the verbs see on 265 *nequeunt expleri*, of the locals who could not see enough, as it were, of the monstrous corpse of Cacus.

oculos: The emphasis is again on the visual: Aeneas cannot satisfy his desire to take in the arms, and he turns his eyes over the presents with eager delight. For the *apo koinou* construction see Eden. With the vivid language to describe the insatiable gaze cf. 2.570 *oculos per cuncta ferenti*, in the Helen episode. The language here may be a reminiscence of Lucretius, *DRN* 4.256–258, of the phenomenon of seeing an object even when the individual *simulacra* are not able to be glimpsed. For the connection of Aeneas' visual action here with his gaze at the site of the future Rome (310–312 above), see R.F. Thomas in *VE* III, 1143.

singula: Cf. 311–312 *Aeneas capiturque locis et singula laetus | exquirique auditque virum monumenta priorum* (a parallel passage); 1.453 (of the pictures in Dido's temple); 3.348 (Helenus with Aeneas as he cries amid their words); 6.723 (prefatory to Anchises' eschatological discourse); 6.888 (of the vision of the *Heldenschau*); cf. *G.* 3.174.

volvit: On the verb note A. Traina in *EV* V, 624–627. Aeneas immediately turns to the divine gifts and to a state of wonder at the brilliance and splendor of the arms; for consideration of how Turnus, in contrast, turns to prayer in the wake of the Iris epiphany at 9.22 ff., see Smith 2005, 46–47.

619 *miraturque interque manus et brachia versat*

miraturque: The key verb for the book's theme of wonder and amazement; cf. on 91 above, and, for the loveliness of the arms and the curiosity of the hero, Heuzé 1985, 564. The metrical pattern of the verse enacts the handling of the arms

“inter manus et brachia.” The verbs frame the line. Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.8.11 ff.) notes the imitation of *Il.* 19.18. Pallas marvels at Turnus (10.446–447 *miratus stupet in Turno corpusque per ingens / lumina volvit*, a grim echo and evocation of the present scene). “When Aeneas is shown his armour, he ... rejoices ... but in a different, a pensive fashion. He marvels, and he says not a word; an eloquent silence” (Jenkyns 1998, 544). Cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.171b and 184a (marvel at the fleece), with Nelis 2001, 357.

interque manus et brachia: Servius distinguishes between the smaller pieces of the set of armor, which are handled by the hands—and the larger items, which are rested, as it were, on the *brachia* as the hero examines them.

versat: For the verb cf. 21; 453. “Of fascinated inspection” (Eden). The narrative moves quickly from visual to tactile inspection; Aeneas takes the arms at once and begins to handle them. The passage is foreshadowed at 5.407–408 *magnanimusque Anchisiades et pondus et ipsa / huc illuc vinclosum immensa volumina versat*, as Aeneas inspects the great Herculean *caestus* at the boxing match. Once again what was prefigured at the games now becomes reality. Cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.186b (eagerness to touch the fleece);

620 *terribilem cristis galeam flammasque vomentem,*

See further M. Wigodsky, “The Arming of Aeneas,” in *C&M* 26 (1965), 192–221.

terribilem: The adjective also at 266, of Cacus’ eyes; cf. 4.465 *terribili monitu horrificant* (of the *vatum praedicta* that frighten Dido); 6.277 *terribiles visu formae* (monsters at the gate of the underworld); 6.299 *terribili squalore Charon*; 7.667 *terribili impexum saeta* (of Aventinus’ lion mane); 9.503 *At tuba terribilem sonitum*; 12.498 *terribilis* (of Aeneas); 12.947 *terribilis* (again of Aeneas, just before he slays Turnus).

cristis: The noun 17× in the epic; cf. the golden plumes of Achilles’ divine helmet at *Il.* 19.383. From the crest of a bird or other animal comes the plume on a helmet (*OLD* s.v. 2); no more an evocation of Roman legionary helmets than of the headgear of the Homeric warrior. The poet may be evoking the image of Hector with his plumed helmet, too (*Il.* 6.466 ff.), where the Trojan hero’s helmet frightens and discomfits his young son Astyanax.

galeam: Achilles’ helmet (*Il.* 18.611–612) has a golden crest; it is elaborately worked, heavy, and beautiful.

vomentem: For the verb see on 199 (of Cacus’ fire breathing). Another textual crux; the Palatine and the Wolfenbüttel read *minantem* here (cf. 649; also 578); the Wolf. was corrected first to *vomentem*, and then to *moventem*. The image of the flames recalls Turnus’ Chimaera helmet at 7.785–786 *cui triplici crinita iuba gales alta Chimaeram / sustinet Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis*; it anticipates 680–681 below, of the depiction of Augustus on the shield (... *geminas*

cui tempora flammis / laeta vomunt patriumque aperitur vertice sidus, where the parallel verb helps to secure the reading here; the variants may have arisen from discomfort with the metaphorical/hyperbolic flames). Note also 10.270–271 *ardet apex capiti tristisque a vertice flamma / funditur et vastos umbo vomit aureus ignis* (with Harrison). Once again, the poet delights in multiple correspondences; the fiery helmet connects Aeneas and Augustus, but also the memory of Turnus' Chimaera and the Vulcanian Cacus (fire of course an expected feature of the god's handiwork). Very much in the Virgilian style, the text does not explain exactly what is meant by the detail; it may refer to the color of the plumes, indeed also the shape; the metal of the helmet may also gleam like fire. But above all, one imagines real flames; cf. Horsfall on 7.786: "... we are not discouraged from thinking of the helmet as in some way spraying supernatural flames ..." Certainly we move from Turnus and Cacus (both doomed to defeat) to Aeneas/Augustus—but the equivocation of the Rutulian and the Trojan may loom large. On the "demonic" flames of *furor* and the foreshadowing of Aeneas' behavior in the Latin war, see Mackie 1988, 162 ff., who considers Turnus' Chimaera-like fury to be externally imposed (i.e., by Allecto), in contrast to Aeneas' internal frenzy.

For the connection between the flames from Aeneas' helmet and the fire on Ascanius' head at 2.682–684; the fire portent of Servius Tullius (Livy 1.39); and also the Lavinian flames of 7.72–77, see Henry 1989, 118. Note also the powerful depiction of Turnus' helmet and its plumed crest at 9.732–733 ... *tremunt in vertice cristae / sanguineae clipeoque micantia fulmina mittit* (where Turnus is associated with Jovian force). On Virgilian "vomiting motifs" see Lyne 1987, 27 ff.; 31–32. Cf. also Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.173 (Jason's ruddy countenance after the reception of the fleece); 4.185a (the glowing fleece).

On the repetition of *-em* here and at 621–622, see Dainotti 2015, 171: "... passage enriched by superb phonic structure ..." Henry was not pleased: "The final *m* occurring nine times in the space of two lines and a-half has a bad effect." In Homer the brief descriptions are appended to the shield ecphrasis; Virgil reverses the pattern.

621 *fatiferumque ensem, loricam ex aere rigentem,*

Sword and breastplate are arranged in artful order (adjective/noun/noun/adjective). For the assonant effect of the verse, fundamental is R.G. Austin, "Virgilian Assonance," in *CQ* 23.1 (1929), 46–55. On Virgilian armor note A. Rossi in *VE* I, 128;

fatiferum: Cf. 9.631 ... *sonat una fatifer arcus* (the bow of Ascanius as he takes his shot at Numanus Remulus); the compound is not found in extant Latin before Virgil and may be a coinage. Ovid adopts it at *Am.* 3.3.27; *Met.* 6.251;

12.492; Silius, *Pun.* 1.631; 2.116. Both Turnus and Remulus will be slain by such death-bringing weapons. Once again Virgil's language emphasizes not only the impending death of Pallas, but Aeneas' revenge on Turnus.

loricam: The noun occurs at 3.467 (of Neoptolemus' arms); 5.260 (of the arms won by Aeneas from Demoleos); 7.640; 9.707 (of Bitias' breastplate); 10.485 (of Pallas'); 10.553; 11.692 (of Butes'); 12.88; 12.98; 12.376; 12.432; 12.925 (of Turnus'). Homer's Achilles has a corselet (*Il.* 18.610) that is more shining than the gleam of fire. Note also M.B. Charles, "Imperial Cuirasses in Latin Verse: From Augustus to the Fall of the West," in *AC* 73 (2004), 127–148.

ex aere: With the ablative cf. 624 *electro*.

rigentem: The verb also at 5.405 (of the *caestus* that were once worn by Eryx); cf. 1.648 (of the *palla* that had once been Helen's); 4.251 (the ice on Atlas' beard); 11.72 (the *vestes* in which Pallas is buried). The cuirass is stiff because of the bronze; for the use of the preposition in this sense see Fordyce. The exact method of composition is left unspecified; the breastplate might be thought to be of solid bronze.

622 *sanguineam, ingentem, qualis cum caerulea nubes*

sanguineam: The adjective is used elsewhere in association with the Minervan serpents sent to kill Laocoön (2.206–207); of Dido's bloodshot eyes before her suicide (4.643); of Amata's own *acies* after her infection with madness (7.399); of Bellona's whip in her depiction at Actium (703 below); of the plumes on Turnus' helmet (9.732–733); of the comparison of Aeneas' flaming helmet to *cometae sanguinei* at 10.272–273; of the association of Lavinia's blush with *sanguineum ostrum* at 12.67; of Mavors at 12.332 (where Turnus is compared to the god); of the *rores sanguinei* as Turnus' chariot tramples down his victims at 12.340. See further Edgeworth 1992, 31–32; 161–164. The adjective echoes 529 *rutilare*, of the appearance of the arms in the sky. On the connection between this adjective and Aeneas' role as Achilles to Dido's Penthesilea, see Newman and Newman 2005, 142–143.

ingentem: Conington considered the adjective to be "added perhaps a little inartistically." See Page's note here for how the asyndeton adds to the terror of the image; Henry on the attempts of some to emend the line to remove the perceived cacophony of after 621 *rigentem*.

caerulea: On this notoriously problematic color see on 64, where it is associated with Thybris; on the blue cloud here note Edgeworth 1992, 31, 51 ff. (on the "unique color tetrad" of 622 and 624); 202n232; Dyson 2001, 63–64 (ultimately on the fate of Aeneas in the Numicus). The Homeric antecedent is used in connection with Aeneas at *Il.* 5.348. Here its use anticipates 672 and 713, where it offers a chromatic setting for the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra in

the blue waters off Actium and of the Nile's reception of the vanquished. Heracles' shield has dark blue plates at Ps.-Hesiod, *Sc.* 143. "A darkling cloud what time it is fired by the sun's rays" (Page).

nubes: Following on 528 *arma inter nubem caeli in regione serena*, etc. Cf. the comparison of the fleece to a glowing red cloud at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.123 ff. (with Nelis 2001, 356 ff.).

623 *solis inardescit radiis longeque refulget*;

Effective alliteration: *ar*; *ra*; *re*.

solis ... radiis: The striking of the cloud by the rays of the sun is reminiscent of the imagery of 22 ff. above, where the anxious thoughts of Aeneas were associated with the reflection of the sun's rays off the tremulous water in a brazen vessel. Another Apollonian echo (*Arg.* 4.125–126). The rays of the sun recall 616 *radiantia*; references to the sun foreshadow the signal role of Apollo at Actium. Servius connects the description here with the rainbow; any such association connects the gleam of the breastplate with the appearance of Iris at 1ff.; the role of the goddess in the death of Dido (4.700 ff.); in the burning of the Trojan ships (5.604 ff.); note also the rainbow imagery for the snake that appears on Anchises' tomb (5.88–89). See further L. Fratantuono in *VE* III, 1067; Fratantuono 2013-*Eos*.

inardescit: The verb only here in Virgil; cf. Horace, *ep.* 3.18 (with Mankin, and Watson); Seneca, *HO* 251; Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.32.5; once in Pliny the Elder and once in Quintilian. Note 1.713 *expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo* (Dido with the presents from Aeneas); 11.607 *adventusque virum fremitque ardescit equorum*. For literal and figurative uses of the verb(s), note Faber 2000, 51–53.

longeque: The brilliant reflection of the sun's light cast its gleam far and wide.

refulget: Cf. 1.402 *Dixit et avertens rosea cervice refulsit* (the lovely scene of Venus' revelation of her divinity); 1.588 *restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsit* (the similar scene of the emergence of Aeneas from the goddess' protective mist); 2.590 *obtulit et pura per noctem in luce refulsit* (the goddess' epiphany on the night Troy fell, just after the Helen episode); 6.204 *discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit* (of the Golden Bough); 9.374 *prodidit immemorem radiisque adversa refulsit* (of the helmet that betrays Euryalus). A careful progression of images: three occurrences in association with the goddess and her protection of her son; the Bough; the Venusian arms; and finally the arms that will seal the fate of a reckless Trojan youth. Only here in the present tense. On how the poet emphasizes the refulgence of the arms, even while casting shadows on the gleam, see Newman and Newman 2005, 137.

Aeneas' breastplate certainly surpasses that of the Homeric Achilles (*Il.* 18.610), on which the poet expends little descriptive energy.

624 tum levis ocreas electro auroque recocto

ocreas: Elsewhere in the epic greaves are referenced only at 7.634 *aut levis ocreas lento ducunt argento*, of the arming of the Latins after the start of the war; that passage is echoed here by the verbal repetition of not only *levis ocreas*, but also of *recocto* from *recoquant*. The present passage thus serves as a companion piece to that earlier arming sequence (where no immortal intervention secured divine weaponry for the Latins). “The greaves seem to have been made of electrum laid with gold” (Conington).

electro: Echoing 402, as Vulcan assured Venus of his due diligence in the matter of forging the arms. For the collocation with gold note Ps.-Hesiod, *Sc.* 142 (of Heracles’ shield). For the ablative cf. 621 *ex aere*. For the precise construing of the ablative (*ablativus instrumentalis materiae*) see Antoine 1882, 188.

auroque: With the gold here cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.176 (of the fleece).

recocto: The verb occurs elsewhere in Virgil at 7.636 ... *recoquant patrios fornacibus ensis*, of the smelting of weapons in the wake of the outbreak of the Latin war.

625 hastamque et clipei non enarrabile textum.

hastam: A little word, easily enough passed over here in the shadow of the cuirass and the shield. But cf. 12.923–924 ... *volat atri turbinis instar / exitium dirum hasta ferens*, etc.

clipei: The most important item is reserved for last. For the noun see Saunders 1930, 169: “the word which Vergil most commonly uses for shield.”

non enarrabile: Other than a few occasions in the prose of Seneca the Younger; Pliny the Elder; and Quintilian this key adjective occurs in extant Latin only here and at Persius, s. 5.28–29 *voce traham pura, totumque hoc verba resignent / quod latet arcana non enarrabile fibra* (of Cornutus’ spirit, on which reference see Bartsch 2015, 122 ff.). Virgil will proceed to do exactly what his adjective says cannot be done (though admittedly the prefix *e-* is important here, as O’Hara notes), and for some hundred verses (how long would have been long enough?). Probably a Virgilian coinage. For reflections on the “natural dichotomy between narrative and painting” see Smith 1997, 178 ff.; note Eden on how both the “material composition” of the shield and the pictures depicted thereon both are said to defy analysis (again, as the poet seeks to prove his own assertion wrong). On the question of what can be told and not told, known and not known, note Kragelund 1976, 43–44. Servius focuses on the prosaic detail that there are, after all many episodes of Roman history that are not depicted on the shield.

textum: The metaphor is from weaving; cf. the *textum iter* of the Cretan labyrinth at 5.589 (and note 5.593); the weaving of the bier for Pallas at 11.65; Latinus’ call for the fashioning of ships at 11.326; also with respect to the con-

struction of the wooden horse (2.186). See further B.M. Giannatasio in *EV* v, 157–158; G.C. Trimble in *VE* III, 1379. Here the “weaving” appears to be of plates of metal (so Conington). A playground for metaliterary fancies. For sober analysis note U. Eigler, “*Non Enarrabile Textum (Verg. Aen. 8. 625): Servius und die Römische Geschichte bei Vergil*,” in *Aevum* 68 (1994), 147–164. The weaving image may introduce a Minervan note to the description of the *Schild*; on this note R. Cohon, “Vergil and Pheidias: The Shield of Aeneas and of Athena Parthenos,” in *Vergilius* 37 (1991), 22–30, and compare too the Ovidian imitation at *Met.* 6.63–66 (with Bömer), just before the ecphrasis of the tapestries of Minerva and her rival Arachne. The goddess is prominently featured in the depiction of Actium (699–700); allusion to her just before the description of scenes related to *res Italas Romanorumque triumphos* (626) is appropriate given her Capitoline status. Are we also to recall the haunting words of Lucretius, *DRN* 5.91 ff., of the *tria texta* of sea, land, and air that will one day be consigned to destruction? For the Quintan echo of *clipei non enarrabile tectum* at *Post.* 5.65, see Gärtner 2005, 94.

“The tradition of interpreting the Homeric shield of Achilles as an *imago mundi* ... was well established in antiquity; many readers see Virgil’s adaptation as equally cosmic in scope, a prophetic revelation of the substance of divine providence ...” (J. Schafer, “Philosophy,” in *VE* III, 1002).

626–666 (666a) The first part of the Shield Ecphrasis. The bibliography is extensive: note especially Plüß 1884, 257–334; Heinze 1902/1908/1914, 398–401; Cartault 1926, 620–635; Drew 1927, 25–31; Cruttwell 1947, 83–97; Otis 1964, 341–342; C. Becker, “Der Schild des Aeneas,” in *WS* 77 (1964), Knauer 1964, 255 ff. (on the Homeric intertext); 111–127; Putnam 1966, 147–150; D.E. Eichholz, “The Shield of Aeneas: Some Elementary Notions,” in *PVS* 6 (1966–1967), Klingner 1967, 540–542; 45–49; Quinn 1968, 195–198; A. Szantyr, “Bemerkungen zum Aufbau der virgilianischen Ekphrasis,” in *MH* 27 (1970), 28–40; Binder 1971, 150–282; K.W. Gransden, “Typology, Symbolism, and Allegory in the *Aeneid*,” in *PVS* 13 (1973–1974), 14–27; D. West, “*Cernere erat*: The Shield of Aeneas,” in *PVS* 15 (1975–1976), 1–7 (reprinted in Harrison 1990, 295–204); R.D. Williams, “The Shield of Aeneas,” in *Verg.* 27 (1981), 8–11; R.F. Thomas, “Virgil’s Ecphrastic Centerpieces,” in *HSCPh* 87 (1983), 175–184; G. Williams 1983, 152–156; Gransden 1984, 95–96; J. Romeuf, “Le Bouclier d’Énée (*Aen.* 626–731): imagination picturale et création littéraire,” in *REL* 62 (1984), 143–165; Hauck 1985; Hardie 1986, 336–376; Clausen 1987, 76–78; D. Quint, “Epic and Empire,” in *CL* 41.1 (1989), 1–32; A.J. Woodman, “Virgil the historian: *Aeneid* 8.626–62 and Livy,” in Diggle et al. 1989, 132–145; S. Lonsdale, “Simile and Ekphrasis in Homer and Virgil,” in *Verg.* 36 (26–27); O’Hara 1990, 172–175; R. Cohon, “Vergil and Pheidias: The

Shield of Aeneas and of Athena Parthenos,” in *Verg.* 37 (1991), 22–30; Glei 1991, 199–204; Gurval 1995, 209–247 (cf. the reprinted material in Quinn 2000, 168–184); S.J. Harrison, “The Survival and Supremacy of Rome: The Unity of the Shield of Aeneas,” in *JRS* 87 (1997), 70–76; K. Toll, “Making Roman-ness and the *Aeneid*,” in *CLAnt* 16 (1997), 34–56; S. Bartsch, “Arms and the Man: The Politics of Art in Virgil’s *Aeneid*,” in *CPh* 93.4 (1998), 322–342; A.G. McKay, “*Non enarrabile textum?* The Shield of Aeneas and the Triple Triumph of 29 B.C.,” in Stahl 1998, 199–221; Putnam 1998, 119–188; A.J. Boyle, “*Aeneid* 8: Images of Rome,” in Perkell 1999, 156–161; R. Faber, “Virgil’s ‘Shield of Aeneas’ (*Aeneid* 8.617–731) and the ‘Shield of Heracles,’” in *Mnem.* 53.1 (2000), 49–57; Nelis 2001, 345–359 (on the modeling of the Virgilian shield in part on Jason’s Lemnian cloak and the golden fleece, as well as the Empedoclean imagery of the poet’s depiction of Venus and Mars); Thomas 2001, 198–207; Clausen 2002, 175–184; Adler 2003, 187 ff.; H.C.R. Vella, “Virgil’s *Aeneid* VIII and the Shield of Aeneas: Recurrent Topics and Cyclic Structures,” in *Studia Humaniora Tartuensia* 5 (2004), 1–17; S. Casali, “The Making of the Shield: Inspiration and Repression in the *Aeneid*,” in *G&R* 53.2 (2006), 185–204; Fratantuono 2007, 250–258; A. Rossi, “*Ab urbe condita*: Roman History on the Shield of Aeneas,” in Breed et al. 2010, 145–156; A. Kirichenko, “Virgil’s Augustan Temples: Image and Intertext in the *Aeneid*,” in *JRS* 103 (2013), 65–87 (on the place of the shield and other works of art in the epic as “visual models for the poem’s organization of its own intertextual memory”); A. Feldherr, “Viewing Myth and History on the Shield of Aeneas,” in *CLAnt* 33 (2014), 281–318; also R. Gurval in *VE* III, 1164–1165; G. Ravenna in *EV* IV, 739–742. The prophetic aspects of the shield have been studied by Cairo 2013, 192 ff. The shield of Aeneas provided an epic model for Silius’ description of the shield of Hannibal at *Pun.* 2.391–456, where see Bernstein. Nagy 2009, 594 ff. considers the shield as a product of “Homerus Auctus.”

The poet of the *Roman d’Énéas* does not describe the pictures on the shield, but rather more generally the loveliness and the technical specifications of the arms.

626 *illic res Italas Romanorumque triumphos*

Balanced word order, as we move from the affairs of Italy to Roman triumphs. On how the Virgilian shield is a static object and not one in the process of being made, note Johnson 1976, 112–113. Cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.721–729 (of the cloak of Jason).

illic: Cf. 628; also 1.205–205 *tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas | ostendunt; illic fas regna resurgere Troiae* (Aeneas to his men); 2.783 *illic res laetae regnum et regia coniunx* (Creüsa’s ghost to Aeneas). The Trojan leader’s announcement to his men will not prove true in light of 12.834 ff.; fittingly enough in view

of the final disposition of ethnic affairs in the poem (not to mention Vulcan's own prejudices), the only mention of or reference to anything Trojan on the shield comes with citation of first Ascanius (628–629), and then the Aeneadae (648).

res Italas: Cf. Horace, *Ep.* 2.1.1–2 *Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus, | res Italas armis tuteris*, etc. (of Augustus; see further Brink ad loc.). With the geographic marker we may compare 502 *nulli fas Italo tantum subiungere gentem* (of the soothsayer's prophecy about the command of Tarchon's Etruscans); and especially 513 *ingredere, o Teucrum atque Italum fortissime ductor* (Evander's words to Aeneas as he prepares to send him off to Caere). No Italian was supposed to take control of the Etruscans; the Trojan Aeneas was subsequently hailed as the *ductor* of both Teucrians and Italians, precisely because he was the foreign *dux* capable of leading Tarchon's contingents. The first detail about the shield is Italy; the Trojan Aeneas will ultimately be ignorant of the *res Italas* and Roman triumphs on the shield (730). Cf. also 678, as Augustus leads the Italians into battle at Actium. The very juxtaposition makes clear how much Italy and Rome depend on each other.

Romanorumque: The adjective first in the epic at 1.33; note three occurrences in the great speech of Jupiter to Venus (1.234; 277; 282); twice with respect to Mercury's Jovian message for Aeneas (4.234 and 275, the second time with *regnum Italiae Romanque tellus* in juxtaposition, as here); 5.123 (with reference to the future *gens Cluentia*); three times in the *Heldenschau* (6.789; 810; 851; 857; 870); cf. 99, 313, 338, 361 above; 714 below; 9.449 (of the mysterious *pater Romanus* in connection to the declaration about the memory of Nisus and Euryalus); 10.12; 12.166 *hinc pater Aeneas, Romanae stirpis origo*; 12.827–828 *sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago: | occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia* (again, with balance of Roman and Italian).

triumphos: The word is not especially common in the epic; at 2.578 it occurs in the Helen episode (of the triumph over Troy that Aeneas imagines Helen will see); 4.37–38 ... *quos Africa terra triumphis | dives alit* (Anna of the potential suitors Dido is ignoring); 6.814–815 ... *et iam desueta triumphis | agmina* (of the battle lines Tullus will stir to action); 714 below (of Caesar's triple triumph); 11.54 *hi nostri reditus exspectatique triumphis?* (Aeneas' rueful reflections on the news of Pallas' death that will reach Evander). Appropriately enough in the context of the Latin war, we begin on a note of military triumph. A sort of theme and variation: Italian history (*res*), Roman triumphs.

The first verse of the ecphrasis emphasizes Italy and Rome; the concluding lines will feature more exotic locales from the vision of the Augustan Peace.

627 *haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi*

The verse is deeply invested with the question of knowledge and understanding of the future; Vulcan here contrasts with Aeneas at 729–731 (where the mention of Vulcan at 729 once again contrasts the knowing god with the ignorant hero). Interlocking alliteration. Danielis notes that some thought that this verse could be omitted.

haud ... ignarus: Sallustian (*BI* 28.5.4); Livian; Tacitean (*Ann.* 11.27.1; 12.67.9); at 11.154–155 *haud ignarus eram quantum nova gloria in armis | et praedulce decus primo certamine posset* it used of Aeneas in his lament for Pallas. *Ignarus* is echoed at 730 (of Aeneas); cf. 3.338 and 382; 10.25, 85 and 228 (also of Aeneas); 10.666 (of Turnus in the wake of the apparition of the phantom Aeneas); 11.154 (of Aeneas). Cf. 187.

P.H. Damsté conjectured *avium* for *vatum*, arguing that Vulcan was presented here as an *auspex* (*Mnem.* n.s. 38, 1910, 52; vid. also 48, 1920, 425–433). The suggestion is one of several critical reactions to this verse; already in Danielis we find “et quibusdam videtur, hunc versum omitti potuisse” (with no rationale given; Conte reprints the note in his apparatus). There is no particular problem with depicting an immortal as potentially ignorant of the future (Conington compares Venus with Jupiter from Book 1); the identity of the *vates* is left unspecified, as befitting a mysterious reference to the secrets of the future (cf. 5.524). Vulcan, at any rate, is in command of knowledge of the future—in pointed contrast to his wife and her son. Gossrau took the genitive as partitive.

vatum: For the noun see on 340. Possibly an Apollonian reference (“Vulcan has learned of the future of Rome from prophets (e.g. Apollo and those inspired by him)”—Williams. “Vulcan’s shield is linked to the *vates* ... the shield’s extensive description of the battle of Actium and especially its aftermath includes distortions: the shield, therefore, along with its prophetic material, either is propaganda or is presented as a potentially deceptive piece of propaganda” (J.J. O’Hara in *VE* III, 1047).

With the description of Vulcan here cf. the crow’s upbraiding of the seer Mopsus at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.932–933.

venturi: With this “eschatological participle” (Newman and Newman 2005, 37) cf. 6.790 *progenies magnum caeli ventura sub axem*.

inscius aevi: The line-end also at *G.* 3.189; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15.11; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.3 (where see Wijsman’s note on negated *inscius*). *Aevum* is a poetic word that properly describes time “as the medium in which events occur” (*OLD* s.v. 1); it can refer both to a long and indefinite temporal period (as here), and to the lifetime of an individual (5.73; 11.85). *Inscius* occurs of Dido (1.718); the shepherd to whom Aeneas is compared during the fall of Troy (2.307); Androgeos (2.372); Aeneas in Elysium (6.711); in the description of boys playing with a

top (7.381–382); Aeneas in the wake of Cymodocea's instructions (10.249–250); Mezentius as *haud inscius* at the moment Aeneas kills him (10.907); Turnus' reference to his *anima inscia culpa* at 12.648. A third of the occurrences, then, are of Aeneas. For Aeneas, "what is on the Shield is god-talk" (Newman and Newman 2005, 37).

628 *fecerat ignipotens, illic genus omne futurae*

fecerat: Soon echoed at 630.

ignipotens: For this grand title see on 414; 423; 710. The Medicean has *omnipotens*, an interesting variant.

illic: Echoing 626.

genus: From *res Italas* and Roman triumphs we move to *genus*, as the poet harks back to 1.6 ... *genus unde Latinum*, etc. Here the reference is to "all the race of the future stock from Ascanius"; the language echoes Dido's curse at 4.622–623 *tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum / exercete odiis*. The shade of Anchises announces to his son in dream visitation that he will reveal the future in Elysium: *tum genus omne tuum et quae dentur moenia disces* (5.737); for *genus omne* note also the difficult reference of 9.141–142 (Turnus' imagined Trojan appeal for pity and his response), and especially 12.529–530 *Murranum hic, atavos et avorum antiqua sonantem / nomina per regesque actum genus omne Latinos*, of Aeneas' victim Murranus, struck down by a stone and then trampled by his own horses. That passage also echoes 1.6, and depicts Aeneas destroying a scion of the Latin past. For *genus* in close union with *stirps* note also *G.* 4.482.

The problem of the present reference is its relationship to the two prior announcements in the poem of Ascanius' lineage and the line of the Albans. Jupiter refers to the boy Ascanius/Iulus and his transfer of the seat of power from Lavinium to Alba Longa in his speech to Venus (1.267 ff.); Anchises, in contrast, opens the *Heldenschau* with Silvius, *Albanum nomen*, born to Lavinia as Aeneas' last son (but see Horsfall's note on 6.763 *postuma*; Silvius was likely born when Aeneas was already dead), *unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba* (6.763 ff.). "There is no genealogy by which the blood of Priam passes unanswerably through the kings of Alba to emerge in the veins of the kings of Rome" (Horsfall). Pace Gransden et al., Virgil does not say here that Romulus was descended from Ascanius; Jupiter omits all mention of the *Albani reges* in his address to Venus. Both passages remain studiously vague about the exact lines of descent from Aeneas through Ascanius. Anchises' announcement completely omits mention of Ascanius; the shield includes the line of kings from Ascanius, and the wars they fought (Austin perceptively notes on 6.766 that Anchises leaves out any mention of Ascanius because "he was no ghost wait-

ing to be reborn.”) The repeated *fecerat* of 630 serves to set off the mention of the wolf and its sucklings. On the “ambiguous history” see Newman and Newman 2005, 36–37; for the Alban kings, J.D. Morgan in *VE* 1, 47–48, and cf. on 48 above. One could summarize matters by noting that Jupiter makes no mention of Italian-Trojan union to Venus in Book 1 (compare the substance of his framing colloquy with Juno in 12); Anchises emphasizes the blend of Trojan and Italian in the future Rome; the shield reduces mention of anything Trojan to the passing references of Ascanius (628–629) and the label *Aeneadae* at 648.

629 *stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella.*

stirpis: For the noun note Newman and Newman 2005, 37: “The noun perhaps shines most brilliantly from Vulcan’s workmanship on Aeneas’ new Shield.” From the start, the *stirps* descended from Ascanius is embroiled in war, one might think; *stirpis* and *bella* frame the verse.

Ascanio: See on 48. For the complicated tradition of the Alban kings and Ascanius’ place in the lore, see Cornell *ad Ann. Max.* F2: “Ascanius was succeeded by Silvius, and ... all his successors as kings of Alba also bore the name Silvius. In most versions Silvius was Ascanius’ half-brother (Livy makes him Ascanius’ son) ...” For how in a sense we “skip” Aeneas, see Fratantuono 2007, 250. For a convenient survey of the evidence surrounding the alleged descent of the Caesars from Ascanius, see Moseley 1926, 63 ff.

pugnataque ... bella: Catullan (c. 37.13 *pro qua mihi sunt magna bella pugnata*); Horatian (c. 3.19.4 *et pugnata sacro bella sub Ilio*; *Ep.* 1.16.25); Cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.770. The participle may be an “aoristic timeless” (so Fordyce); the wars were fought in the distant past, and Virgil does not provide anything in the way of details—the *non enarrabile* nature of the shield encompasses the astonishing range of detail that is not, in fact, described by the poet (Henry takes the tense to be proof positive of the prognosticatory powers of the god). Aeneas’ *clipeum* has a profoundly cinematic quality. *In ordine* speaks to artistic skill in organization and presentation: Vulcan is invested with the knowledge of everything that will happen to Ascanius’ line. Henry connects these wars with the Roman triumphs of 626, taking the second *illic* (628–629) as introducing a variation on the theme of the first (626). The mention of these wars leads at once to the reference to Mavors and the wolf. For the violent background even from the start of the ecphrasis, see Di Cesare 1974, 154; on wars as the theme of the shield, see Jenkyns 1998, 562. There may be a reference here to Amulius’ expulsion of Numitor, etc., just before the depiction of the offspring of Mars and the Vestal Rhea. On how the shield focuses both on generations and war see Putnam 1966, 149.

On the possible evocation of the annalistic tradition in Virgil's mention of *in ordine*, see A. Feldherr in *VE* 1, 90.

630 *fecerat et viridi fetam Mavortis in antro*

fecerat: Following close on 628, as 628 *illic* followed on 626. The ecphrasis moves to the celebrated image of the she-wolf and her "offspring." On the semantic associations of the depiction of the lupine nurse of the future Rome see Paschalis 1997, 295. In terms of descriptive attention, the she-wolf is certainly the first image on the shield; one could argue that it comes after the (unelaborated) depiction of the Alban kings and the wars, though 628–629 could also be considered prefatory to the entire decoration of the *clipeum*.

et: Usually taken as having particularizing force; from the *genus* of Ascanius as well as the *bella pugnata* the poet will note a few choice scenes. It could also be taken adverbially in the sense of "also."

viridi: For the color note Edgeworth 1992, 166–167, and see on 83 and 96 above. The "green cave" envelops *fetam Mavortis*. On the pastoral setting note Putnam 1966, 148.

fetam: Alliterative after the pluperfect; for *fetus* in darker contexts cf. 1.51 and 2.238; parallel to the present use is *G.* 3.176–177. The she-wolf is a "mother"; the adjective can describe an animal that is newly whelped (*OLD* s.v. 1), or one that is teeming with young and fruitful (*OLD* s.v. 3); both senses may be present here (especially the latter). As Eden notes, the young "may or may not have been delivered." "*feta* describes the animal as being in state of fertility, either pregnant or with milk" (Skutsch *ad* Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 1.65). Cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 2.413 (with Robinson). Putnam 1998, 120 perceptively asks what exactly it means for this wolf to be pregnant. Mention of the *stirps* from Ascanius leads to the pregnant wolf; from the *bella* of 629 we move to explicit mention of Mars. Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* 1.79.6–7) mentions that the she-wolf had just whelped and consequently was tame.

Mavortis: On the god vid. on 433; for the name Mavors note 700 below (references to the god form something of a frame for the shield), and cf. 6.872 ... *Mavortis ad urbem* (in connection to the Marcellus requiem); 10.755–756 *Iam gravis aequabat luctus et mutua Mavors | funera*; 11.389–390; 12.179 (Aeneas' oath); 12.332 (Turnus' comparison to the god); adjectival references at 1.276–277 (Jupiter's reference to the Romulean founding of Rome); 3.13 (of Thrace, where Paschalis 1997, 295 notes the connection between the god and the wolf with the reference to Thracian Lycurgus); 6.777–778 (of Romulus); 9.685 (of Haemon). The form is poetic and Ennian (*Ann.* fr. 1.99 Skutsch); Servius famously notes that the Virgilian description of the she-wolf is taken from his predecessor: "sane totus hic locus Ennianus est." Cf. *Ann.* fr. 1.65 Skutsch *lupus femina feta*

repente; Skutsch takes the Servian comment to apply only to 631, not to 630 (arguing that 630 is “incompatible” with *Ann. fr.* 1.66–68). Eden notes that not enough survives of *Ann.* 1 to make a definitive judgment on Servius’ note; see further Goldschmidt 2013, 87–88; also Wigodsky 1972, 68–69 (“... much in the Roman scenes may have had at least an Ennian color for readers better informed than we are”). For the genitive after *fetam* see Augoustakis on Statius, *Theb.* 8.231–232.

antro: The Lupercal, 343–344, here implicitly associated with the *lupa* (see O’Hara 2017, 214). The cave also in Dionysius (1.79.8). For the Lupercalia celebrated near it see on 663.

631 *procubuisse lupam, geminos huic ubera circum*

procubuisse: For the verb see on 30 and 83; the image of the reclining she-wolf is parallel to that of the portentous sow (the one animal heralding Alba Longa, the other Rome). For the infinitive after *fecerat* see Eden. An image of repose amid an atmosphere of wars and Mavortian strife.

lupam: On Virgilian wolves note L. Fratantuono in *VE* III, 1391; Fratantuono 2012/2013-*Eranos*; L. Fratantuono, “The Wolf in Virgil,” forthcoming in *REA* (2018); S. Rocca in *EV* III, 286–287; Toynbee 1973, 101–102. One of the poet’s favorite animals, of inestimable zoological significance to Rome. So at 1.275–277 Jupiter foretells the scene depicted here on the shield. Wolves are associated with Rome’s fierce martial tradition: Aeneas and his men are lupine on Troy’s last night (2.355–360); also Turnus before the Trojan camp (9.59–66); Turnus as he slays Lycus (9.565–566, where the Rutulian is a “Latin” wolf who slays a Greek one, as it were); Arruns after the slaying of Camilla (11.809–815, a wolf that has killed a shepherd). The rendering of wolves as harmless is a sign of the Golden Age (*E.* 5.60)—and certainly the present passage qualifies, wild, predatory animal imagery notwithstanding (cf. 633 *impavidos*). For the complicated train of lore and poetic presentation by which the Volscian Camilla is associated with the Romulean she-wolf, see L. Fratantuono, “Chiastic Doom in the *Aeneid*,” in *Latomus* 68.2 (2009), 393–401 (also on the possible associations of Camilla’s companion Acca Larentia and the Livian *lupa Larentia*, etc.).

“The wolf ... is naturally shown ... on Aeneas’ shield ... Nothing could be more germane to the Roman state. But what of Turnus, enemy of what would be the Roman state, as ... he presses home his attack ... Just ... as a wolf of Mars snatches a lamb” (Newman and Newman 2005, 299, with comment on the pervasive image of the Roman civil wars). For the depiction of the lupine suckling of the twins on the Ara Pacis, vid. Newman and Newman 2005, 5–6. On the appropriateness of the wolf in this book of Arcadia, note Fratantuono 2007, 250.

geminos: Vid. D. Krasne in *VE* III, 1309–1310: “Twins in Augustan Rome were perceived as an indication of bountiful fertility.” The memory of fratricide colors the lush image with a tinge of internecine strife and the painful memory of the Roman civil wars. For the adjective note 79; 289; 461 (very different contexts). Cf. the twin sons of Antiope on the cloak of Jason (Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.735–741).

huic: With deictic force. Cf. 633 *illam*.

ubera circum: For the anastrophe see Eden; cf. 45 (of the sow and her piglets).

632 *ludere pendentis pueros et lambere matrem*

ludere ... lambere: Whimsically, playfully alliterative verbal descriptions of the action of the infants. *Lambere* occurs also of the flame that plays harmlessly around the head of the infant Iulus (2.684; note that Aeneas et al. are described as *pavidī* in the wake of the portent; cf. 633 *impavidos* of these children). A darker use of the verb at 2.211 (of Minerva’s serpents); cf. 3.574 (the description of the violent activity of Etna). Aeneas taunts Tarquitus with how fish will lick his wounds (10.560 ... *piscesque impasti vulnera lambent*). The infinitives are balanced perfectly at 634, of the she-wolf’s nurturing.

There has been some question raised as to the subject of *lambere*. It is usually taken to be the infants, with the meaning, as Eden notes, “virtually ‘suck’”; cf. Fairclough’s “and mouthed their dam without fear”; revised by Goold to “suckled”. But it perhaps more naturally points to the action of the she-wolf (634 *mulcere*); the licking accurately describes the attention a she-wolf will pay to the removal of the fetal sac from the heads of her pups, an act that allows the baby wolves to take their first breath (the placenta is delivered along with the pup). Conversely, the balance of infinitives points to *lambere* of the infants: two actions for the twins, and two (cf. 634) of the wolf. In Livy certainly it is the wolf that does the licking (1.4 *lingua lambentem pueros*); Mackail remarks: “Virgil, reserving that touch for the next line, inverts the phrase, to make it describe the children nuzzling into the wolf-mother.” There may be a deliberate ambiguity, given that both “pups” and mother are licking each other.

Ludere elsewhere in Virgil sometimes carries a note of deception (1.408; 7.442; 453; 10.631–632; cf. 11.427 of the game of Fortune). Dido speaks of her wish for a *parvulus Aeneas* who might play in her court (4.329); Serranus played well into the night, to his doom (9.335–336). Note also the verb in animal contexts at 1.397 and 11.497. There is deception of a sort here, too; the children are, after all, not really wolf pups, and the she-wolf is perhaps fairly said to be deceived (more so, we might think, than the hungry infants).

pendentis pueros: Labial alliteration framed by the liquid. The boys are depicted as playing; in balanced order the (surrogate) mother is licked. Parallel

is *G.* 2.523 *interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati*; cf. *G.* 4.374. For *puer* note Newman and Newman 2005, 43–44. For the verb see F. Pini in *EV* IV, 16–17. The description reads as if Virgil had a particular work of the visual arts in mind, even if the she-wolf of plastic art is a standing and not recumbent beast. Virgil was more interested, too, in recalling Lucretius' *pendet* (*DRN* 1.37) than any artistic versimilitude.

matrem: For the noun of animal mothers note Newman and Newman 2005, 47; so also at 1.635; 4.516; 7.283 and 484; 9.61, 565 and 628. Danielis mentions the use of the term with reference to nurses.

Note that R. Rau (in *MH* 22 (1965), 237 ff.) sought to delete this line as an interpolation, on the grounds that the children are said to be hanging from a wolf that is lying down; J. Delz responded to what Eden calls Rau's "captious precision" in *MH* 23 (1966), 224 ff.

633 *impavidos, illam tereti cervice reflexam*

impavidos: The infant forebears of Rome are, fittingly enough, unafraid. The adjective recurs at 10.717 (of the wild boar to which Mezentius is compared); also 12.8, of the lion to which Turnus is associated: twice, then, in connection to Aeneas' great Etruscan and Rutulian foes, and both times in animal contexts—an interesting balance of uses. Wolf cubs are born deaf and blind; the fearlessness of Romulus and Remus has more to do with Roman honor and mythology than zoology; cf. Ovid's *Marte satos scires: timor afuit, ubera ducunt | nec sibi promissi lactis aluntur ope* (*Fast.* 2. 419–420). For the *rejet* of the adjective note Dainotti 2015, 110n356. The adjective here possibly conceals a deliberate play on *pasco*, *pascere*, *pavi*, as the fearless infants feed.

tereti cervice reflexam: An echo of Lucretius, *DRN* 1.35–37 *atque ita suspiciens tereti cervice reposta | pascit amore avidos inhians in te, dea, visus, | eque tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore*, of Mars in thrall to Venus—a description in which the war god is presented in a manner not unlike that of a wolf hungering after its prey. Here it is the wolf who is bent back and with smooth nape; the wolf of Mars recalls the appearance of the god in the context of the Epicurean poet's wish that peace might be secured for the children of the war god and his divine lover.

With *reflexam* cf. 2.741 (concerning Aeneas' backward glance or lack thereof in the matter of Creüsa); 10.632 (Juno's wishes regarding Turnus); 11.622 (of cavalry maneuvers). But the key parallel in the Virgilian battle books comes at 10.535–536 *sic fatus galeam laeva tenet atque reflexa | cervice orantis capulo tenus applicat ensem* (Aeneas' slaughter of Mago): a violent reworking of the peaceful, maternal scene of the she-wolf and her "pups." But the wolf, of course, is a violent animal. Note also the possible Virgilian imitation of Cicero's descrip-

tion of Draco: *obstipum caput, a tereti cervice reflexum, | obtutum in cauda maioris figere dicas* (*Arat. Phaen.* fr. 9.5–6 Ewbanks, Soubiran).

Reflexam is the original reading of the Medicean and the bulk of the Carolingians, later corrected to *reflexa* (the reading of P, R, the Wolfenbüttel, etc.). Page argues that *reflexa* must be right in light of Lucretian *reposta* (cf. Manilius, *Astron.* 1.334 *respicit ille tamen molli cervice reflexus*); he is joined in his choice of reading by Conington; Ribbeck; Nettleship; Mackail; Mynors; Williams (*sans commentaire*); Perret; Paratore; Goold; Binder and Binder's Reclam; Perret's Pléiade; cf. Heyne; Sabbadini; Geymonat; Conte's Teubner; García et al.; Holzberg's Tusculum in favor of *reflexam* (balancing 632 *matrem* and also *impavidos*; framing *tereti cervice* with *illam*: the accusative is likelier to have been altered, and offers the more artful word order). Eden prints *reflexa(m)*, with a note that leans toward the accusative (he observes that Virgil does not favor three words in successive agreement). Henry notes: "I shall not pretend to decide dogmatically between the two readings"; he concludes that the accusative "seems a little more Virgilian, a little less commonplace." The she-wolf is depicted as exposing its soft, warm underbelly to the nursing infants.

tereti: "A nicely untranslatable word" (Jenkyns 1998, 223–224), with analysis of echoes of the image from Catullus to Botticelli.

634 *mulcere alternos et corpora fingere lingua.*

mulcere: Lucretian (*DRN* 2.422; 3.142; 4.136; 5.1317; 1390); Catullan (c. 62.41); cf. 1.66 *et mulcere dedit fluctus* (of Aeolus' power); 1.153 (of the power of the man who can calm a crowd); 1.197 (of Aeneas); 5.464 (of Aeneas with Dares); 7.34 (of singing birds); 7.755 (of Umbro's abilities); also *G.* 4.510 (of Orpheus). Note also 11.812–813 ... *caudamque remulcens | subiecit pavitantem utero silvasque petivit*. Gransden wonders if the point is to draw an association between Venus' care for Aeneas and that of the she-wolf for her "pups."

alternos: A fleeting moment of balance and harmony between the twins. "Very difficult to represent pictorially" (Eden)—again, Virgil's shield is a dynamic work of art. Servius notes that the poet is not describing exactly what was on the *clipeum*, but rather what the audience knows to have happened. But the magic of the shield is in large part its vivid, cinematic portrayal of Roman mythology. "Rhetoric ... lures us into imagining an event happening directly before us" (Putnam 1998, 120–121).

fingere: The verb (cf. 42) refers to the aforementioned physical actions of the she-wolf with her pups, which here she practices on the humans; it also speaks to a metaphorical fashioning of the Romans as the children of the wolf. Conington notes that the original Medicean reading *lingere*—the technically more accurate verb—may have been intentionally implied by *fingere*. Ovid imitates

this passage at *Fast.* 2.417 (where see Robinson). On the cosmogonic implications of the description here, and the fact that *Romam* follows at once (635), see Hardie 1986, 349–350: the she-wolf’s action gives birth, as it were, to Rome.

The commentators here point to the reminiscence of the tradition that Virgil produced his verses *ritu ursino*, in the manner of bears (Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 17.10.3: *ut illa bestia fetum ederet ineffigiatum informemque lambendoque id postea quod ita edidisset conformaret et fingeret*, etc.); cf. *Vita Don.* 22 ... *dictare solitus ac per totum diem retractando ad paucissimos redigere, non absurde carmen se ursae more parere dicens et lambendo demum effingere* (of the composition of the *G.*; see Horsfall 1995, 15–16). Did the story arise from a metaliterary reading of this passage?

635 *nec procul hinc Romam et raptas sine more Sabinas*

nec procul hinc: The same phrase in the context of artistic description at 1.469; cf. 6.440; also 642 *haud procul* below (varied expression).

Romam: We move at once to the city that was founded by one of the *pendentis pueros* of 632; there is an artful haste in passing over how we move from the depiction of the she-wolf to that of the rape of the Sabines. The twins are left on an equal, peaceful footing; this depiction accords with Jupiter’s prediction at 1.292–293 ... *Remo cum fratre Quirinus / iura dabunt. Romam* is violently alliterative with *raptas*; the first mention of the city comes as preface to the indecent (*sine more*) rapine of the Sabines. No description of how “Rome” was added (637) to the shield. The name of the city subtly reminds us of which twin won the contest for preeminence between the twins. For the association of the rape of the Sabines with the predatory hunting of wolves, see Paschalis 1997, 295–296. On the problem of the representation of Rome on the shield (and whether or not the accusative here should be taken in a locative sense), see Fuhrer et al. 2015, 39 ff.: “Homer’s two cities become one in Vergil, and marriage gives way to rape.” Cf. Thebes on the cloak of Jason (Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.735–741), with the twin Amphion and Zethus.

raptas ... Sabinas: The episode also at Livy 1.9–13 (where see Ogilvie); Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 2.30.5; Plutarch, *Vita Rom.* 14–15; briefly alluded to at Ovid, *Fast.* 2.431–432 (cf. *Ars* 1.119; also *Am.* 1.8.39–40; 3.8.61; *Med.* 11–12; Propertius c. 2.6.21 *tu rapere intactas docuisti impune puellas*; c. 4.4.57 ... *at raptae ne sint impune Sabinae*); vid. C.S. Kraus in *VE* III, 1069; A. Fo in *EV* IV, 627–629 (with illustration); Binder 1971, 124–129. For the date note Gn. Gellius, F1 Cornell (fourth year of Romulus, not first); various reports of the number of the abducted (Plutarch, *Vita Rom.* 14.7; cf. Valerius Antias, F4 Cornell).

On the depiction of violence against women on the shield, note Newman and Newman 2005, 22–23 (on the “canonization” of both the Sabine rape and

the suicide of Cleopatra). “The Sabines form part of a pervasive narrative in which women’s bodies and words alternately delay Rome’s divine mission and are essential to it” (Kraus). Perhaps with deliberate recollection of Paris’ abduction of Helen. The rape of the Sabines is the first “Roman” episode on the shield, the first depiction of an event after the undescribed founding of the city. No reminiscence of Pallas’ mother as being Sabellan (see on 510), since the Sabelians were likely Samnite and not Sabine. On Virgilian ravishings note Reed 2007, 71–72.

The rape of the Sabines stands in striking contrast to the depiction of the city of marriages and feasting on the shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.491 ff.). There, however, in the place of assembly there was a quarrel about the blood price of a man who had been slain, and strife between two parties.

This is the last of three references to the Sabines in the epic; cf. 7.706–710, where Turnus’ ally Clausus is named in the catalogue of Italian heroes. Note also 7.178 *pater Sabinus*, of the eponymous father of the Sabini; *G.* 2.532–535, where see Thomas on the “moral superiority” of the Sabines in comparison to the poet’s contemporary Romans (the reference there to Remus by name and Romulus only by *frater* may reflect a deliberate balance of Remus/Sabines in opposition to Romulus/Romans, even if Remus, of course, had no connection to the Sabini—but the pairs then express priority in the fused settlement that is Rome).

sine more: The phrase framed by *raptas ... Sabinas*; Shrader conjectured *Marte* here, which may not accord so well with 637; see further Thomas 2001, 200. Cf. 5.694 (of the tempest that Jupiter sends to quench the fires that threaten the Trojan fleet).

636 *consessu caveae, magnis circensibus actis*,

consessu caveae: Echoing 5.340, in the description of the foot race (where see Fratantuono and Smith); ultimately Lucretian (*DRN* 4.78, of a theater setting). As at 5.340, so here there is textual variation; the Romanus has *consensu* and the Wolfenbüttel *concessu* (later corrected). For *cavea* of the space for an audience vid. *OLD* s.v. 4. *Consessu* possibly with a faint echo of *Consus/Consualia*. “The Roman imagination was ... profoundly theatrical and pantomimic” (Newman and Newman 2005, 83–84). Effective alliteration of *consessu ... caveae ... circensibus*.

magnis circensibus actis: A detail that has occasioned some critical commentary; *c(C?)ircensis* only here in Virgil. In Livy (1.9.6), the rape occurs during the Consualia, a festival established by Romulus in honor of Neptune *equester*; some have argued that Virgil here seems to allude to the *Ludi Magni* instituted by Tarquinius Priscus (Livy 1.35.9), games (including equestrian events) that

were established after campaigns against the Latins; these *ludi* were celebrated on 15–18 September and were associated with the 13 September anniversary of the dedication of the Capitoline temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. If Virgil thought of the Consualia as being derived from *condere*, then there may be an implicit comment on how the *circenses* described here are in some sense a celebration of the founding of Rome; the poet conflates Rome's establishment with the assault of the Sabine women. The Servian tradition offers long notes on the whole matter. For the “timeless past participle” see Fordyce.

The Consualia (on which see Ogilvie *ad* Livy 1.9) honored the mysterious god Consus, who was apparently a deity of the granary or storehouse; he was venerated on 21 August and 15 December, in connection with the harvest and winter reliance thereon. How Consus came to be associated with horses and Neptune is a story of religious accident and accretion; why the whole business should be connected to the Sabines is unknown (Ogilvie notes the speculation that the Sabine rape may have associations with the underworld abduction of Kore).

On the possible association of the *Circenses* and Circe, see Newman and Newman 2005, 405; 293. Eden follows Ribbeck and Sabbadini in not capitalizing the noun, for the sake of avoiding any particular ludic reference. *Circensis* properly refers to an aedilic or imperial offering of games in the *Circus maximus*; cf. Petronius, *Sat.* 70.13 (with Schmeling). The word is rare in both prose and poetry; the most famous occurrence is the celebrated *panem et circenses* reference of Juvenal, s. 10.81 (where see Courtney). The noun semantically relates to the notion of a circle, appropriately enough for the circular shield.

For the influence of this section of the shield narrative on the history of Oro-sius (2.4.2 ff.), see Van Nuffelen 2012, 54–55.

637 *addiderat, subitoque novum consurgere bellum*

addiderat: Following on the pluperfects of 628 and 630; cf. 666 *addit*. So at 430 *addiderant* (of the work of the Cyclopes). All of Roman history is depicted on the shield (vid. Clausen 2002, 178–180); do the scenes depicted reflect what caught Aeneas' eye in particular as he gazed on the rich embellishment?

subito: The war is said to have arisen suddenly; of course the abduction of the Sabines was also unexpected. For adverbial *subito* cf. 554.

novum consurgere bellum: The first war of the shield (cf. 629); *consurgere bellum* is Livian (10.13.4.2); Ovidian (*Her.* 16.353). For the verb see on 110 above; the adjective implies that this was not the first war in Roman history. Note also the *bella surgentia* of 4.43. On how the violence depicted on the shield leads ultimately to peace, note Putnam 1966, 150. “The first of several wars on the shield, it is here called new ... as if Rome's history consisted of little except war, one

new war after another—indeed, the subject of the shield was announced as mainly *bella ...*” (Mack 1978, 73).

638 Romulidis Tatioque seni Curibusque severis.

Romulidis: “The children of Romulus” patronymic only here; Virgil has borrowed it from Lucretius, *DRN* 4.683; cf. 648 *Aeneadae*. The name serves to reinforce the connection between the first image of the shield (the wolf and her sucklings) and the rape. The commencement of a tricolon of shared involvement in the new war; the datives may be considered referential/of advantage. *Romulidae* also adopted by Persius (s. 1.30–31 ... *ecce inter pocula quaerunt / Romulidae saturi quid dia poemata narrent*).

Tatioque seni: For the Sabine king Titus Tatius note T. Joseph in *VE* III, 1247–1248; C. Corbellini in *EV* V, 54–56 (with illustration). “Their king ... is a very obscure figure” (Eden). Ovid briefly alludes to this war at *Met.* 14.778 ff., where the Sabines are described as *inde sati Curibus tacitorum more luporum* (see further Mack ad loc.). For the age of Tatius relative to Romulus see Conington; perhaps *seni* is used more of venerable age than of calendar years *per se*.

Curibusque severis: For Cures cf. 6.809–812 ... *nosco crinis incanaque menta / regis Romani, primam qui legibus urbem / fundabit, Curibus parvis et paupere terra / missus in imperium magnum* (of Numa Pompilius in the *Heldenschau*); 10.345–346 *Hic Curibus fidens primaevio corpore Clausus / advenit*; cf. the etymological connection with *Quirites* hinted at in the description of Clausus at 7.709–710 (also Livy 1.13.5.2 *Quirites a Curibus*). Vid. further J. Ferriss-Hill in *VE* I, 322–323; M.P. Muzzioli in *EV* I, 964–965; *Barrington* 42 D4; near the modern Corese Terra. Interlocking order for the aged king and the austere birthplace of the monarch. *Severus* elsewhere in the epic only of the Styx (6.374); cf. *G.* 3.37 (of Cocytus). Here in sharp relief with the behavior of the Romulidae (635 *sine more*); the name of the town is used for the inhabitants (the same conceit at Ovid, *Fast.* 3.201, 6.216). On the etymology of *Cures* from “spear” or “spear-point” see Paschalis 1997, 352; if Paschalis is correct that there is also a semantic hint of *kouros*, then there is deliberate juxtaposition of the young and the old (*seni*).

639 post idem inter se posito certamine reges

post: Introducing what we might consider a “third scene” on the shield: the picture of violence and war now shifts to another image of peace and harmony, this time of the union of the Roman and Sabine kings in one polity. Alliterative with *posito*. Gransden comments on the dropping of the pretense of artistic description in favor of a more conventional historical narrative in *oratio recta*. *Post* is both temporal and spatial; cf. 642 *haud procul* (the next marker of changed scene).

idem ... reges: Nearly framing the verse.

inter se: The phrase emphasizes the corporate nature of the actions; it may be taken both with the ending of the war, and with the subsequent treaty ratification (640–641).

posito certamine: Livian and Tacitean. *Certamen* recurs at 700 of the struggle at Actium. With the use of *ponere* here Servius compares 1.374 *ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo*.

640 *armati Iovis ante aram paterasque tenentes*

The participles bookend the line; they coordinate closely with the two verbs of 641. For the connection of this treaty depiction to the image of Caesar and Pompey as son-in-law and father-in-law in civil strife (also Aeneas and Latinus), see Cairns 1989, 97–98 (with comment on the foreshadowing of the attempt of Aeneas and the Latin king to establish a *foedus* at 12.173 ff.). In an important sense, the images on the shield represent the story of the epic, with echoes now and again of events from the narrative of the Trojan voyage to Latium and the aftermath of the Teucric advent in Italy. For the differences between this treaty and the doomed one from Book 12, note Panoussi 2009, 56 ff., 61n22.

armati: Cf. 490 and 595. More alliteration (*armati, aram*). There need not be any hint of the threat of future combat, but the idea is not excluded, and the prominently placed participle keeps the image of war at the forefront.

Iovis ante aram: The scene is reminiscent of the treaty ratification between Tullus and the Albani as reported at Livy 1.24.8 (Diespiter; a porcine sacrifice). For the god see on 560. *Iovis aram* is Ennian (*Androm.* 94 Jocelyn *Iovis aram sanguine turpari*). “No altar of *Iuppiter* stood in a Roman private house or even in the *Regia* or any of the *curiae*” (Jocelyn ad loc., with connection to the altar of Zeus Hercaeus). There is also a likely allusion to the erection of a temple by Romulus to Jupiter Stator (Livy 1.12) after the Sabine war.

pateras: The noun also at 1.729; 739; 3.67 *sanguinis et sacri pateras*; 3.355 ... *paterasque tenebant*; 4.60 *ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido*; 5.91 *tandem inter pateras et leviam pocula serpens*; 98 *vinaque fundebat pateris animamque vocabat*; 5.775 *stans procul in prora pateram tenet*, etc.; 6.248–249 *supponunt alii cultros tepidumque cruorem | succipiunt pateris*; 7.133 *nunc pateras libate Iovi precibusque vocate*; 12.174 *summa notant pecudum paterisque altaria libant*; also G. 2.192 ... *qualem pateris libamus et auro*.

The altar becomes plural in the Romanus; the dishes singular in the Medicean.

641 stabant et caesa iungebant foedera porca.

The vivid imperfects contribute to the cinematic quality of the scene. Peace (though lupine); war; peace accompanied by an animal whose slaughter symbolizes the fate of the one who might break faith. At once we shall move to a scene of betrayal and vengeful violence.

caesa ... porca: The sacrificial pig frames the establishment of the treaty; cf. Varro, *DRR* 2.4.9. For how killing a boar (*porcus*) would be ludicrous, but killing a sow (*porca*) elegant and of high stylistic register, see Quintilian, *Inst. Orat* 8.3.19.3, with citation of this passage (Livy has a *porcus* for the Tullan-Alban treaty). We are reminded here of the portentous animal that was sacrificed to Juno (8.84–85); that offering came just before the Trojan arrival in Pallanteum, though it was not principally a sacrifice to ensure good relations between Teucrians and Arcadians. *Porca* only here in Virgil; on the poet's porcines note R.F. Thomas in *VE* I, 85–86; L.A. Whitlatch in *VE* III, 1008.

iungebant foedera: Cf. 4.112 *miscerive probet populos aut foedera iungi*; 7.546 *dic in amicitiam coeant et foedera iungant*; 11.356 ... *et pacem hanc aeterno foedere iungas*; 12.822 ... *cum iam leges et foedera iungent*; also (e.g.) Grattius, *Cyn.* 163; *Ilias Latina* 279; Ovid, *Her.* 4.147; *Met.* 7.403; Seneca, *Thyest.* 482; Statius, *Theb.* 5.138; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.215; 6.692; Silius, *Pun.* 11.149; 14.97. Livian; cf. Caesar's *et foedere adiungent* (*BG* 6.2.3.1). Servius has *foedera* from *foede*, of a pig "fouly" slaughtered; Danielis discusses the etymology of *foedus* from *feriri* (of the striking of the sacrificial animal with a stone); cf. O'Hara 2017, xxix; 214. For Virgilian treaties note Lersch 1843, 116–121 (with evidence that *porcae* were sometimes sacrificed, and not merely reserved for alleged poetic elevation).

642 haud procul inde citae Mettum in diversa quadrigae

haud procul: Cf. 635 *nec procul*. *Haud procul* also at 478 and 603 above. At once, Virgil turns to the ghastly consequences of promises not kept.

citae ... quadrigae: Framing the unfortunate victim. *Quadrigae* also at 6.535 (of Aurora's chariot); cf. 12.161–162 (Latinus' chariot); also *G.* 1.512 and 3.18; 268. The adjective *citus* is used elsewhere of Mercury (1.301); Aeneas' men (4.574; 594); Aeneas' fleet (5.33; 66); Iris' path (5.610); the Tritons (5.824); Caius' men (9.37); Turnus (11.462); Ligus' horse (11.714); the men to whom Iapyx calls at 12.425. On the participial use of the adjective see both Fordyce and Eden here. On the poet's seeming to revel in the unique circumstances of the death of the betrayer see Newman and Newman 2005, 239 (with commentary on the treatment of Italians in the poem). On the replacement of lupine violence with equine see Paschalis 1997, 296. Mettus' execution recalls *G.* 3.267–268 ... *quo tempore Glauci / Potniades malis membra absumpsere quadrigae*: "... horses, lit-

erally or metaphorically, emblemize violence" (Putnam 1998, 126). We may recall too Hippolytus' unfortunate fate (7.767 *turbatis distractus equis*).

Mettum: Vid. B. Gladhill in *VE* 11, 826–827; G. Maddoli in *EV* 111, 508–509. At Livy 1.23.4 Mettius Fufetius is elected dictator of the Albans ("Mettius is the Latin form of the Oscan title *meddix*" (Ogilvie)). Livy dramatically narrates battle between Alba and Rome; Mettius' punishment; and the fall of Alba (1.27–29; cf. the introduction of the Salii at 27.7, and below on 663). For the orthography of the name see Eden. On the original Medicean reading *medium* (later corrected), see Paschalis 1997, 296. Servius claims that Virgil "mutilated" (*mutilavit*) the name for the sake of the meter.

643 *distulerant* (at tu dictis, Albane, maneres!),

distulerant: Also in a context of punishment at 6.569; cf. 9.155 (in both cases of metaphorical and not literal separation); Watson on Horace, *ep.* 5.99. The pluperfect here coordinates with the imperfect *raptabat* of 644; the horses had already torn Mettus asunder, and the shield depicts the four animals as they carry his body parts through the forest in a grim gallop after the gruesome quartering.

at tu ... *maneres*: Gramatically this is usually explained as a "past jussive"; on the imperfect subjunctive in commands and past prohibitions, see Pinkster 2015, 503–504. It seems to be more common in early Latin, though this may be a concomitant of the relatively high amount of surviving comic verse (it may carry a colloquial ring); it does occur in both Cicero and Livy (45.37.3), but it is not common in high poetry.

dictis: The ablative has locative force; the point is that since Mettus did not remain "at his words," as it were, he will be rent asunder.

Albane: For the adjective (only here as a substantive) cf. 1.7; 5.600; 6.763; 7.602; 9.388; 12.134. The fate of Alban Mettus raises questions about the Ascanian establishment of Alba Longa, and the language of 12.183–186, where Aeneas says that Iulus will retreat from his fields if Turnus is victorious (see further Tarrant ad loc.; Gladhill notes at *VE* 111, 827 that this is exactly what would happen in the course of Roman history). For the apostrophe see Eden; the present instance is paralleled at 668 below, of another malefactor; there are no other instances in the ecphrasis. For the stylistic device note P.E. Knox in *VE* 1, 103; Curcio 1903 and Hampel 1908. Lucan certainly indulged in it more than his predecessors. Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* 9.3.26) cites this passage as an example of the combination of parenthesis and apostrophe. Putnam (1998, 126) comments on the chromatic implications of the name: Mettus does not remain "clear and bright"; this color imagery may continue in 645 *rorabant*, where the bedewing of the woods with Mettus' blood and gore has dawn connotations.

maneres: A “true” imperfect subjunctive, with “its proper and original past time-reference” (Eden). “Unfulfilled obligation in past time” (Tetlow). But see also Nettleship here: “... sometimes used in optative and hypothetical sentences in a sense virtually indistinguishable from that of the pluperfect.” For how the speaker of the verb is left unclear, see Putnam 1998, 125–126. There may be a hint, too, of a wish incapable of fulfillment in present time—a caution to the Alban/Roman of the poet’s own day (cf. Fratantuono 2007, 251; Fordyce’s note here).

644 *raptabatque viri mendacis viscera Tullus*

raptabatque: Echoing 635 *raptas*. Eden comments on the “feeling of unpleasant harshness which suits well with the sense”: *ra*; *vir*; *vis*. Verb and subject frame the verse. From the perspective of Aeneas and the earlier epic tradition, we may think here of Achilles’ desecration of Hector’s body (cf. 1.483; 2.272); we may also compare Alexander’s barbarous treatment of Batis/Betis’ (living) body after the siege of Gaza (Quintus Curtius Rufus 4.6.25–29).

mendacis: The adjective also at 2.80 (Sinon); nowhere else in Virgil. There may be a deliberate play on *mendax/meddix*. On the question of who exactly is punished for perjury in the epic (with consideration of the cases of both Jupiter and Sinon), note Lyne 1987, 84.

viscera: For the noun cf. 180. *Viri*; *viscera*; 645 *vepres*.

Tullus: Tullus Hostilius, the third king of Rome. On Virgil’s depiction of these monarchs note E. Dench in *VE* 111, 1092–1094. Tullus appears in the *Heldenschau*: 6.812–815 ... *cui deinde subibit / otia qui rumpet patriae residesque movebit / Tullus in arma viros et iam desueta triumphis / agmina* (vid. Horsfall ad loc.).

“A picture less revolting to ancient than to modern readers” (Tetlow).

645 *per silvam, et sparsi rorabant sanguine vepres.*

Sibilant alliteration, as the blood is sprinkled through the forest. By a perverse logic, the Romans are especially clement because they reserved this savage punishment for but one criminal. Cf. with this graphic description the bloody meadow of Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.750b–751a (of the result of Taphian cattle rustling), with Nelis 2001, 355.

sparsi ... sanguine: Accian; cf. 5.413 (sprinkled blood and brain matter); 11.82 ... *caeso sparsurus sanguine flammis* (of the intended sacrifice to Pallas); Ps.-V., *Culex* 28 (with Seelentag); Ovid, *Met.* 7.845; 11.367; 13.532; 14.408; 15.790; *Fast.* 4.886; Lucan, *BC* 3.124–125; Statius, *Ach.* 2.127; Silius, *Pun.* 5.220–221.

rorabant: The image of blood and dew also at 11.8 ... *aptat rorantis sanguine cristas* (at the setting up of the Mezentius trophy, on which see Horsfall; Fratantuono); 12.512 *suspendit capita et rorantia sanguine portat* (Turnus’ mounting of

bloody heads on his chariot). Cf. also 3.567 (of the *rorantia astra*). We may note the tragic influence here: Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1389 ff.; Sophocles, *Ant.* 1238 ff.; note also the depiction of slaughter on the shield of Achilles at Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Post.* 5.26–28, where men, horses, and blood are all combined in one ghastly image of death. The verb is borrowed from Lucretius (*DRN* 2.977; 3.469); it is found also in Propertius (c. 3.2.8; 4.1b.123); Ovid; Statius; etc. Deliberately jarring in its import; for *ros* in Latin poetry of ritually pure water, see Boedeker 1984, 64; cf. Heuzé 1985, 105–106; Clausen 1987, 158n66; G. Crevatin in *EV* IV, 577–579. The sanguinary lustration constitutes a macabre sort of expiation in the wake of the Alban's mendacious betrayal of his word. "Dew becomes blood only at a moment when human perversity alters natural into unnatural" (Putnam 1998, 126, who asks the timely question of how Vulcan could have depicted the continuous dripping of Mettus' gore).

vepres: The noun only here in the epic; cf. *G.* 1.271 and 3.444.

646 *nec non Tarquinium eiectum Porsenna iubebat*

Tarquinium: Tarquinius Superbus, the last king of Rome; Virgil proceeds to the description of what we may consider the fifth scene on the shield (after the she-wolf; the Sabine rape; the treaty; the treachery), here signaled by the transitional *nec non*. The Tarquins are also mentioned in the *Heldenschau*: 6.817–818 *vis et Tarquinius reges animamque superbam | ultoris Bruti fascesque videre receptos?* On the depiction of the Tarquins in Virgil and the ambiguities of Anchises' underworld question of his son see E. Dench, "Roman kings," in *VE* III, 1092–1094.

eiectum: For the participle cf. 1.578; 43.373 (of Aeneas); note also 10.894 (the dislocated fore-quarter of Mezentius' horse).

Porsenna: On this Etruscan king of Clusium and defender of Tarquin, vid. R.F. Thomas in *VE* III, 1029; M. Cristofani in *EV* IV, 220–221 (with illustration); for the name see Ogilvie on Livy 2.9–15 (and note Eden here on the spelling with an "extra" *n*, adopted according to Servius *metri causa*; we may compare his note on the orthography of 642 *Mettum*); cf. also Schulze 1904, 90–91. Only mentioned here in Virgil. Porsenna's reception of Tarquin parallels Turnus' defense of Mezentius. Livy (2.9–15) tells the story of Tarquin's sanctuary with his fellow Etruscan, and Lars Porsenna's march on Rome and the subsequent acts of bravery by Horatius Cocles; Cloelia; Mucius Scaevola (508–506 B.C.). Tacitus (*Hist.* 3.72 *dedita urbe*) alludes briefly to a different tradition, namely one in which Rome surrendered to the Clusian (the historian's point is that Porsenna did not dare to burn the city, in contrast to the civil incendiary strife of December, A.D. 69). Pliny (*NH* 34.139) notes that the Romans were only allowed to use iron for agricultural purposes after the Porsennan victory. For other

poetic references to the king note Horace, *ep.* 16.4 *minacis aut Etruca Porsenae manus* (with Watson); Martial, *ep.* 1.21.6 *Hanc spectare manum Porsena non potuit* (with Howell); *ep.* 14.98.2 *Lautus erat Tuscis Porsena fictilibus*; Silius, *Pun.* 8.389; 8.478; 10.483; 10.501. “A dim memory” of Porsenna’s capture of Rome survived, then (so Ogilvie). The story of Porsenna’s reception of Tarquin and the heroic exploits that followed in the wake of the Roman-Etruscan conflict are also narrated by Plutarch, *Vita Pub.* 16 ff.

647 accipere ingentique urbem obsidione premebat;

ingentique ... obsidione: The noun is used also at 3.52 of the siege of Troy; cf. 9.598; 10.26; 10.109 of the Trojan camp: Porsenna’s attack is akin to another military action against Troy. On the Virgilian semantic tricks by which the breaking of this siege will be narrated, note Paschalis 1997, 296. The evocation of Troy is made even more explicit by the use of the patronymic *Aeneadae* at 648. In Livy, the detail is noted that the Romans made suitable plans to secure grain from both the Volscians and Cumae (2.9.6; cf. 7.809, of the Volscian Camilla’s ability to skim over the standing corn, and the strongly felt parallel between Camilla and Cloelia—the infant Camilla made her own crossing of the Amasenus, though without touching the water: a magical Cloelia, we might think).

urbem: Another almost casual reference to Rome; cf. 635; 665. Fittingly, the “huge siege” envelops the city; the syntactic enactment of the image gives a more vivid picture than the variant *ingentemque* (Wolfenbüttel, later corrected).

premebat: In close, rhyming correlation with 646 *iubebat*; the verb coordinates also with 648 *ruebant*. Porsenna has his demand, and he backs it up with armed force. The imperfect is again especially vivid here, and speaks to the durative nature of the king’s action—we are reminded throughout the ecphrasis that Vulcan’s shield is eminently cinematic, a living work of art, as it were.

648 Aeneadae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant.

Aeneadae: The only reference to Aeneas anywhere on the shield; this patronymic and the allusion to Ascanius at 629 above constitute the only “Trojan” echoes in the ecphrasis; here appropriately enough of the action to aid the beleaguered, besieged city. Subject and verb frame the line. Fordyce notes that Aeneas would not recognize these “children” as his own; the patronymic (which balances 638 *Romulidis*) serves in part to highlight one aspect of the theme of Aeneas’ ignorance of these pictures: he cannot recognize his own children, as it were. For the poet’s adoption of the patronymic see Newman and Newman 2005, 247 (also 287, on the parallel between the Aeneadic defense of liberty and

the Augustan); the chief literary reference is to Lucretius, *DRN* 1.1. But the Virgilian use of the patronymic comes in a quite different context from that of his poetic predecessor.

in ferrum ... ruebant: In light of the heroism of Horatius and Cloelia, this probably refers to rushing into or against the iron of the enemy's weapons; cf. *G.* 2.503–504. There is a daring quality to the image and language.

libertate: The noun is rare in Virgil; cf. 6.821 *ad poenam pulchra pro libertate vocabit* (Brutus' willingness to kill his own sons); 11.346 *det libertatem fandi flatusque remittat*; also *E.* 1.27 and 32.

The specific actions in defense of *libertas* that are highlighted by the poet are two: the celebrated destruction of the *pons Sublicius* by Horatius, and the crossing of the Tiber by the adolescent Cloelia. Cloelia offers a parallel to the Virgilian Camilla, who as an infant successfully “crossed” the Amasenus when the Volscians were pressing close (11.545 *premebant*; cf. Porsenna at 647 *premebat*); her father Metabus bound her to a spear and made a prayer of entreaty to Diana (11.547 ff.). In Livy (2.14.5 ff.), after his unsuccessful siege of Rome, Porsenna sends his son Arruns (cf. the name of Camilla's killer) to make a similar attack on Aricia. Latin auxiliaries and help from Cumae come to the aid of the Aricians; the Etruscans seemed to be prevailing, when the timely aid of the Cumaeans helped to trap Arruns' force, which was largely cut to pieces. Some of the survivors made their way to Rome, where they were warmly welcomed; a few of these eventually departed for home, but others remained and founded the community later remembered in the name of the *Vicus Tuscus*. Aricia was famed for its cult site of Diana; in the Virgilian narrative of the Etruscan Arruns' stalking and killing of Diana's favorite Camilla (11.759 ff.), we may find an echo of the assault on Diana's sacred Arician haunt. Further, in Livy another Clusian Arruns would be responsible for inviting the Gauls to cross the Alps into Italy (5.33); the savior of Rome from the Gauls would be none other than Marcus Furius *Camillus*. Cloelia, we might note too, is sometimes associated with a horse (like Camilla). See further here Fratantuono 2007, 251. At Plutarch, *Vita Pub.* 19 Arruns comes to the aid of Cloelia and the other girls when they are ambushed by Tarquinius and his men.

“In political terms, the word meant freedom to conduct one's own affairs ... Virgil also alludes to the foundation of the Republic with this term” (C.S. Mackay in *VE* 11, 746).

ruebant: Following closely on the imperfects of 646–647; Page does well to note that it is difficult to see what point (if any) there is to the “doubtless intentional” (so Conington) rhymes.

Subject and verb frame the verse.

649 illum indignanti similem similemque minanti

A marvelously balanced description (*abba*) of the frustration and anger of Porsenna in the face of the Horatian and Cloelian resistance to his siege. For the “leonine hexameter” (in which there is an internal rhyme of the caesura at the third foot with the end of the verse), see Gransden; cf. Norberg 2004, 59–60.

illum: With deictic force, as the character of Porsenna is pointed out on the shield.

indignanti: The verb also at 2.93; 5.229 (during the regatta); 5.651 (of Beroe); 7.770 (of Jupiter on account of Paeon); 728 below (the Araxes, which is indignant at having a bridge thrown over it; cf. Horatius’ tearing down of such a structure); 11.831 and 12.952 (the souls of Camilla and Turnus); also 12.786 (Venus at Juturna’s action); *G.* 2.162. “Especially used of chafing at opposition” (Page). For the dative vid. Hofmann/Szantyr 11, 77–78.

similem, etc.: As at 5.254. The repetition serves to underscore how this is a representation of reality, an artistic *simulacrum*. For the double reminder of how it is “only a movie,” as one might say, see Putnam 1998, 127–128, with reference to how the patronymic of 648 and the second person singulae of 650 allow the audience to share in the experience of Aeneas as viewer of the artifact.

minanti: For the verb see on 578.

650 aspiceres, pontem auderet quia vellere Cocles

aspiceres: The same sort of expression of potentiality at 676 *videres* (of Actium); for the imperfect subjunctive of the verb cf. 12.642, and cf. 691 *credas*. The verse is appropriately enough framed by references to seeing and to One-Eye (*Cocles*); cf. also the emphasis in the description of Porsenna on his angry looks; Paschalis 1997, 296.

vellere: For the verb note also 2.480 (the breaking in to Priam’s inner sanctum); 3.28 (at Polydorus’ tomb); 3.650 (Achaemenides’ foraging); 9.506 (the Volscian preparation to tear down a rampart); 10.381 ... *magno vellit dum pondere saxum* (of Lagus); 10.888–889 ... *tot spicula taedet | vellere* (of Aeneas with Mezentius); 11.19 ... *vellere signa*; 11.566 ... *de caespite vellet* (Metabus’ successful retrieving of the Camilla spear); 11.724; also *G.* 4.108. Cocles tears down a bridge to save Rome; the very close of the epiphraisis will come with the Araxes complaining about its Roman bridge (728).

Cocles: On Horatius “One-Eyed” note J. Osgood in *VE* 11, 623; E. Montanari in *EV* 1, 830–831. The famous story is told at length at Livy 2.10 (cf. Polybius 6.54.6–55.4, with Walbank); for name note Servius: “... nam luscus ‘coclites’ dixerunt antiqui: unde et Cyclopas ‘coclites’ legimus dictos ...” (cf. Varro, *DLL* 7.71.2). *Hinc noster Cocles* (Cicero, *De Off.* 1.61.14); cf. Valerius Maximus 3.2.1.2; 4.7.2.17; Lucius Ampelius, *Lib. Mem.* 20.4.1. Manilius also refers to the hero of the Sublician

bridge and the valiant girl hostage (*Astron.* 1.780–781 ... *maiorque viris et Cloelia virgo, / et Romana ferens, quae textit, moenia Cocles*). The background story of this hero is related by Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* 5.23.2 ff.), who notes that Publius Horatius acquired the name Cocles after he lost an eye in battle (Plutarch, *Vita Pub.* 16 offers a less flattering rationale of Cyclopean appearance). Like Cloelia, he would receive a statue for his troubles (possibly on the Vulcanal); his immortality to generations of schoolboys would owe much to Macaulay's *Lays*. For the possibility that Ennius' *at Horatius inclutus saltu* (*Ann.* fr. 123 Skutsch) may belong to Cocles and not one of the other Horatii, see Goldschmidt 2013, 185 (who connects the paradigm of the One-Eyed fighter with the narrative of Turnus' lone assault on the Trojan camp in Book 9; at the end of fight and book (815 ff.), Turnus will jump into the Tiber like Cocles—a powerful association of Turnus with Horatius and Camilla with Cloelia; cf. Gransden 1984, 123). “Probably the last of the Horatii (not Horatius Cocles), the “opportunity” being the momentary advantage of the three Curiatii. So Skutsch 1985, 274–275, citing Liv. 1.25.8. Cf. Prop. 3.3.7 ...” (Goldberg and Manuwald in their Loeb edition of Ennius' fragments).

651 et fluvium vinclis innaret Cloelia ruptis.

fluvium: For the noun cf. 31 above; on the accusative see Eden.

innaret: For the verb see on 93; cf. 691. For the transitive use vid. Antoine 1882, 45, and cf. *G.* 2.541 A. 6.134; 369. The “swimming” version of the Tiber crossing is also found at Livy 2.14.6; Dionysius 5.33.1; Plutarch, *Vita Pub.* 19.1 (he says that the girls were possessed of a desire to swim away, notwithstanding the danger of the current, and that Cloelia crossed on horseback, encouraging the others); Polyaeus, *Strat.* 8.31. The description of Cloelia's swimming literally bursts her bonds: syntactic enactment.

Cloelia: Vid. V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* 1, 273; L. Colantoni Pennisi in *VE* 1, 819. On the surrender of this hostage to Porsenna as part of the peace negotiations between Rome and Clusium note the account of Livy 2.13.4 ff., where Cloelia eludes her guards and leads the female hostages to safety across the Tiber, under a hail of missiles. The enraged Porsenna demands that Cloelia be returned to him, but only so that he might honor her duly and then send her back with her choice of half of the remaining hostages—of whom Livy notes the report that she chose only boys, so as to save them from the likelihood of future harm. An equestrian statue was erected in the girl's honor at Rome (on the Via Sacra)—the first such monument in the city (cited also by Pliny, *NH* 34.28.3–5, who notes that neither Lucretia nor Brutus were accorded such an honor; at 34.29.4 he also relates the evidence of Piso that the statue was voted by those who were saved by Cloelia; and of Annius Fetalis that the statue opposite

the temple of Jupiter Stator was actually of Valeria, since the other hostages had been killed or in some way done away with by the Etruscans; on this note Oakley 1997, 91). Seneca (*Dial.* 6.16) comments on how the statue of Cloelia stands forth in heroic glory, at the expense of those young men who ride by and see the representation of the brilliant heroine (mocking them, as it were). Florus notes (*Epit.* 1.4.9) that we would consider Horatius, Mucius, and Cloelia to be *fabulae* were it not for their presence in the annalistic tradition. Dionysius mentions her too (*Ant. Rom.* 5.33.1ff.); in his account, the stratagem was employed of pretending to be going bathing and thus of needing privacy near the river (Wiseman 2008, 181–182 sees theatrical elements in the story, a patriotic play for the *ludi scaenici*; cf. the setting of the Sabine rape at 636, and the parallels between the two groups of girls, one abducted and the other in successful flight). “The king of Tyrrhenians” ends up presenting Cloelia with a magnificent horse in token of her victory (in Servius he suggests that the Romans provide the mount); note also the ambush narrative in Dionysius that may be reflected in part in the similar plot device employed in *A.* 11. Wiseman 2008, 180 sees the stories of Cocles, Mucius, and Cloelia as all etiological (i.e., to explain the statues).

Page notes: “Virgil introduces more into the representation than ought to be there,” noting how Porsenna (at least in Livy) was impressed with Cloelia and not indignant.

For the parallel to Virgil’s Camilla see above on 648; Cloelia, like Camilla, in some way defeats an Etruscan: the former by her river escape, the latter by her ultimate glorification and her killer Arruns’ ignominious death. Cloelia reverses the action of Cocles; Horatius had prevented an enemy crossing, while the valiant girl leads the Roman hostages to safety even in the absence of a bridge, in some versions on horseback. Silius has two references to this girl: *Pun.* 10.492ff.; 13.829–830 ... *qualis optabit habere / quondam Roma viros, contemptrix Cloelia sexus*. On Cloelia as a model for Roman girlhood, note Caldwell 2014, 15ff.; more generally note M. Roller, “Exemplarity in Roman Culture: The Cases of Horatius Cocles and Cloelia,” in *CPh* 99 (2004), 1–56.

vinclis ... ruptis: Cf. 11.492 *abruptis vinclis* (of the horse to which Turnus is compared—another equestrian reference); also Silius, *Pun.* 13.591. For the emphatic placement of *ruptis* see Gransden.

652 in summo custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis

in summo: Another transitional phrase, one might think (cf. Servius here), this time locating the “sixth” scene on the top of the shield (cf. 675 *in medio*, of Actium); it is possible that it refers to the citadel (so Heyne), though the alternatives are not mutually exclusive. On the semantic associations of this new

scene note Paschalis 1997, 297 (with emphasis on trickery and gift-giving). For the midpoint of the ecphrasis between Romulus and Augustus, see Gransden's note. Was the image of the she-wolf and her twins on the bottom of the shield? Helpful reading on the story of the geese is N.M. Horsfall, "From History to Legend: M. Manlius and the Geese," in *CJ* 76.4 (1981), 298–311.

custos: For the noun see also 270; 461. The noun here identifies Manlius as the guardian of the last remnant of Roman power on the Capitol in the wake of Brennus' victory.

Tarpeiae ... arcis: Cf. 347 *ad Tarpeiam sedem*. The allusion to Tarpeia comes immediately in the wake of the reference to Cloelia; the two women are in something of a juxtaposed opposition of types. They are both, however, in some sense daughters of Italy; cf. 11.656, where Tulla and Tarpeia are among Camilla's *Italides*. The fact that Tarpeia was crushed to death by Sabine shields adds to the appropriateness of the reference in the description of this most important *clipeum*.

Manlius: Marcus Manlius Capitolinus (vid. E. Dench in *VE* II, 784; A. Valvo in *EV* III, 348–349), whose story is told at Livy 5.47: one-time consul (392 B.C.) and savior of the Capitol (390 B.C., to be "traditional"; 387–386, more likely). Perhaps not surprisingly, the name has occasioned a certain orthographical variety in the manuscripts: cf. *Malius* of the Romanus. On the depiction of Manlius in the historiographical and other traditions, note Kraus 1994, 205; also Walsh 1961, 250 ff. Manlius' name is bookended by the mention of the Tarpeian citadel whence the tribunes cast down Manlius to his death in 384 B.C. (cf. Livy 6.20.10–12, with Oakley); the framing mention of the Tarpeian citadel is the only remote reference in Virgil to the hero's downfall. See R. Katz, "Tarpeian Rock," in *VE* III, 1245.

653 *stabat pro templo et Capitola celsa tenebat,*

The imperfect verbs frame the verse.

pro templo: "Pro defensione templi," Servius notes (since Manlius was, after all, under siege). We likely think here first and foremost of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, dedicated to the Capitoline triad and said to be the work ultimately of Tarquinius Superbus (see on 347). Eventually, the Capitoline summit would be the site of the mysterious temple of Juno Moneta (vid. Richardson 1992, 215: "It continues to be one of the great enigmas in the topography of ancient Rome"; cf. Platner and Ashby 1929, 289–290; *LTUR* III, 123–125; Littlewood on Ovid, *Fast.* 6.183–190), which was vowed by Camillus in 345 and eventually built by duovirs (Livy 7.28.4–6, where see Oakley), allegedly on the site of Manlius' *aedes*, though there was likely an earlier temple on the same spot (see here Meadows and Williams 2001, 32n32). Possibly here a simple ref-

erence to the *aedes* of Jupiter Feretrius that had been bounded and dedicated by Romulus (reference to whom follows at once, 654). But if you were simply to say “temple” with reference to the Capitol, the likeliest allusion would be to the most celebrated site.

Capitolia celsa: For the Capitol see on 347–348, where it is also referenced after mention of Tarpeia (specifically, the *Tarpeia sedes*). For the adjective cf. 65; 107; 604; 680. On the etymological allusion to the Manlian cognomen *Capitolinus* see O’Hara 2017, 214. Effectively alliterative.

tenebat: Wakefield conjectured *tegebat* here, on account of the perceived awkwardness of 657 *tenebant* (cf. the similar confusion at 193). We do well to remember that the ancients were not so bothered by such repetitions.

654 Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.

A verse that has occasioned significant critical question; it is defended eloquently by Gransden both for the quality of its versification (the alliteration especially pronounced and effective, we might note), and for its aptness at this point in the narrative. The 1479 *editio Parmensis* transposed this line after 641; Ribbeck followed, so also Mackail and Goold. Eden is sympathetic to the alteration, and considers the mention of the Romulean hut here to be an “awkward interruption”; Brunck simply deleted the line (Heyne also considered it spurious). It strikes us that the verse is quite awkward indeed after 641; here, most likely at the summit of the shield, it offers a protective image of the dwelling of Romulus, juxtaposed with the mention of the Capitoline temple. Powerfully alliterative, as the Capitoline hut of the founder of Rome is presented in its rustic, rough (*horrebat*) simplicity. For the *casa Romuli* (more accurately, the *casae*, i.e., Capitoline and Palatine, the former a replica of the latter), see on 366. Servius thought the reference was to the Curia Calabra, a court building.

Romuleo ... culmo: Adjective and noun frame the line. *Romuleus* only here in Virgil; for the noun cf. 5× in the *G.*; *hapax* in the epic. For the hypallage see Putnam 1998, 130 (with note of the effective juxtaposition of *recens* and *horrebat*); Page argues that the epithet is not transferred, but rather an emphatic note that the thatch was Romulus’. The reference to Rome’s first king serves to link this passage with the opening shield scene of the wolf; another animal will soon enough come to the rescue.

recens: The adjective has inspired debate (cf. Edwards 1996, 36–37). It is not particularly common in Virgil (16× in the epic; cf. 195); here it probably refers both to restorations of the hut, and also to the work of the god Vulcan in fashioning this image of “Rome’s first palace” (*regia*) on the shield: immortal art has rendered the old new again. Conversely, there could be a reference to the idea that in the fourth century, the *casa* was younger than in Virgil’s own day. Con-

ington cites the observation of Gossrau that the critics forget here that Virgil is not narrating history, but rather describing art.

horrebat: On the verb note M.L.A. Sanfilippo in *EV* 11, 855–858. Manlius the *custos* may have been standing guard before the temple on the lofty Capitoline—but Romulus’ palatial hut was also there, shuddering not in fear but in rustic, thatched simplicity.

regia: For the substantive cf. 242 and 363: first of Cacus’ home, and then of Evander’s. Implicit criticism of those who would not be content with a hut for a palace. On the Iron Age huts of Latium see Eden.

Henry’s bizarre rant here on “... that second, that greater Romulus, the swarthy, squat, big-headed, flat-nosed Hunn” (Attila) is not to be missed.

655 *atque hic auratis volitans argenteus anser*

atque: “And, what is more”: the conjunction introduces a further element of the story, indeed its most famous legend. The start of a brilliantly assonant verse.

auratis: Deliberately balanced with *argenteus*. For the color adjective see Edgeworth 1992, 86–88; elsewhere of the gilded cithara of Iopas (1.741); the roof beams the Trojans throw down on the invading Greeks (2.448); the cloak of Cloanthus (5.250); the sword Ascanius gives to Euryalus (9.304); the gilded horns of the bull Ascanius vows to Jupiter (9.627); the golden Apollo figure on the ship of Abas (10.171); Opis’ quiver (11.858–859); the gilded rays of Latinus’ crown (12.163); the gilded temples of Turnus’ victim Hyllus (12.536). Here the reference highlights Vulcan’s art—the *porticus* of the Capitol is represented in gold on the shield—and also the actual gilding that is alluded to also at 347 ff. above. Edgeworth also perceptively notes the straw of what may have been an originally thatched roof.

volitans: The metallic bird is depicted in lifelike flight. Henry specifies the flight as being in the opposite direction of the Gauls; on Heyne’s criticism that the whole picture could not easily have been depicted by the metallic arts, though it was perhaps pleasing to the “Romanorum sensus,” the Dublin doctor comments: “Modest, to acknowledge that Virgil might possibly know better than a German grammarian what was agreeable to the Roman taste.”

argenteus: The adjective only here in Virgil; vid. Edgeworth 1992, 70. Again, there actually was a silver image of a goose (*teste Servio*); Vulcan appropriately enough forged his representation of the bird from silver. Silver and gold also at 671–674, of the dolphins on the sea for the setting of Actium. “Each epithet has a double force” (Page).

anser: On Virgilian geese note Martin 1914, 26–30; Royds 1918, 34–35; Toynbee 1973, 261–264; Arnott 2007, 30–31; elsewhere in the poet at *E.* 9.36 and *G.* 1.119 (neither passage flattering to the goose). Sacred to Juno and thus spared

by the starving Romans of the Capitol siege. Collective singular, with a reminiscence, perhaps, of the statue. *Anser* balanced with 656 ... *canebat*. Cf. Propertius c. 3.3.2 (with Heyworth and Morwood); the goose of Ovid's Baucis and Philemon: *unicus anser erat, minimae custodia villae* (*Met.* 8.684); the *argenteus anser* of *Anth. Lat.* 95 Shackleton Bailey (106 Riese; for commentary note Kay 2006).

656 porticibus Gallos in limine adesse canebat;

porticibus: Cf. 2.528 and 761; 3.353; 12.476.

Gallos: Repeated for effect at 657, almost as if the birds were singing the name of the invader; the Gauls referenced also at 6.858 (of Marcellus' victory over Viridomarus, which earned him the *spolia opima*). The Gallic victory at the Allia is mentioned at 7.717; Camillus' recovery of the lost standards is part of the glory of the *Heldenschau* (6.824–825). See further C.B. Krebs in *VE* 11, 519; V. Kruta in *EV* 11, 628–630. The doubled reference to the Gauls of 656–657 is echoed in the golden anaphora of 659. On the Virgilian representation of the Gauls here see V. Raydon, "Les Gaulois de la prise de Rome selon l'*Énéide*," in *Ollodagos* 28 (2013), 129–134.

adesse: Echoed at 657 *aderant*, as part of the repetition of the name of the Gauls.

canebat: Eden highlights the prophetic character of the verb (following Servius); this allusion does not exclude the poetic elevation of the cackling of the geese to the melodic music of salvation. The imperfect is balanced by 657 ... *tenebant*. Henry notes on this goose: "... the bird more watchful than even the good god, and where is the bird can make so loud, so shrill a noise, and give so effectual an alarm? for even Heyne himself would hardly have put a *cycnus musicus* on top of the Capitol." "Scriblerus" notes on the Virgilian source of Pope, *Dunciad* 1.211 *Or rob Rome's ancient geese of all their glories*, "A passage I have always suspected. Who sees not the antithesis of *auratis* and *argenteus* to be unworthy the Virgilian majesty? And what absurdity to say a goose sings? ... Virgil gives a contrary character of the voice of this silly bird, in *Ecl.* ix." Aelian notes that geese are better guardians than dogs (*De Animal.* 12.33), before launching into his own narrative of the story, including the detail that geese make noise when thrown food, and so the Gauls' own trick backfired on them (for analysis of the passage see Smith 2011, 73 ff.).

657 Galli per dumos aderant arcemque tenebant

Subject and verb frame the verse. The metrical pattern first expressed the slow progress through the brambles, and then the swift appearance at the *arx*. The Romanus has *olli* instead of *Galli*.

per dumos: Cf. the dragging of Mettus' quartered body *per silvam* (645). For the noun see on 594. The Gauls advanced over difficult terrain to try to take the citadel by surprise.

aderant: The birds were singing that the Gauls had arrived, and indeed they were arriving; again, the shield has a dynamic vision of the celebrated episode of republican history. The Galli Senones emerge, as it were, from the unexpected protection of the dense thickets. Horsfall 1981, 300 considers the repetition awkward; there are in fact three "Gallic" repetitions: first of their name, then of their presence, and finally of their golden hair and vesture (659)—an ascending tricolor that involves a shift from the golden *porticus* of the Capitol to the blond hair and golden clothing of its would-be invaders.

arcemque tenebant: Echoing the end of 653, a repetition that some commentators have considered a candidate for revision. The imperfect may carry a hint of inchoative force; the Gauls were on the verge of capturing the citadel, when the watchful goose sang its prophetic song. *Arcem tenebant* is Livian (24.2.11). Possibly a hint at the tradition that the citadel was indeed captured (so Gransden: "... it seems likely that this is a covert reference to the alternative version of the story ...").

658 *defensi tenebris et dono noctis opacae.*

defensi: An interesting play after the mention of the taking of the citadel; normally those "defended" would be protected by the *arx*.

tenebris ... noctis: The natural combination also in Virgil at *G.* 1.248; 3.401; *A.* 3.195; 5.11; 8.255. Servius notes that some took the darkness to refer to *cuniculi* or underground passages—a detail offered by Cicero, *Caecin.* 88; *Phil.* 3.20. The chromatic implications of this verse contrast with the golden hair and clothes of the Gauls of 659, indeed of the silvery goose.

noctis opacae: The same image at 4.123 *diffugient comites et nocte tegentur opaca* (at the storm at Dido's hunt); 10.161–162 ... *opacae | noctis iter* (of the nighttime journey of Aeneas and Pallas); cf. Ovid, *Her.* 16.47–48; Seneca, *Thy.* 790; Statius, *Theb.* 1.520; 10.114; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.288; 7.372; Silius, *Pun.* 6.70–71; 15.691; Apuleius, *Met* 11.1.4. The night is also mentioned by Ennius (*Ann. fr.* 7.227–228 Skutsch *Qua Galli furtim noctu summa arcis adorti | Moenia concubia vigilesque repente cruentant*), in a passage that does not accord easily with the Livian version that the guards were not, in fact, surprised. Virgil "characteristically elusive" (so Horsfall 1981, 299). For the "dusky" night see Augoustakis on Statius, *Theb.* 8.159–160.

dono noctis: I.e., the sleep (of Manlius and his men). One might consider capitalizing *noctis*. "Rhetorical amplification" (Sidgwick).

659 aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea vestis,

aurea ... aurea: For the color see on 168, and cf. the gold of 661. Here the reference is most reminiscent of the *aurea Capitolia* of 347–348; once upon a time the Capitol was wooded and overgrown with thickets, but in Virgil's day it was golden. Here the Gauls advance under cover of night through densely wooded terrain; their hair and garments are of gold. We are reminded again, too, that the shield is metallic; the gold of the craftsman's art is here used effectively for the blond hair of the Gauls. For the possibility of dark associations between the golden Gauls and golden Ascanius, see Rogerson 2017, 142–143 (“Each of these parallels suggests Ascanius' beauty ... They also underscore his exotic, potentially dangerous otherness, again raising the issue of whether he might be too Trojan for a rightful place in Virgil's Roman epic”).

caesaries: Deliberately evocative of Caesar, the conqueror of *Gallia omnis*; the Roman general is associated with the population he vanquished. The noun appears elsewhere of Aeneas' hair, made more radiant and luxurious by his mother (1.589–590); also the blond hair of Catillus' victim Herminius (11.641–642), an ally of Aeneas who may well be Etruscan, but whose hair and lack of armor may point to a Gallic or Germanic origin; cf. *G.* 4.337. There was an etymology of Caesar's name from a thick head of hair (vid. Pelling 2011, 131–132, which may also be at play here). Is there any hint in all this of an image of Caesar as invader of Rome in the context of his war with Pompey? Eden notes on 670 that “Julius Caesar [is] conspicuously absent from the Shield”; this verse may well be his only appearance (but compare the reference to his *sidus* at 681). Cato, we might note, will be the sole named inhabitant of Elysium on the shield (670).

ollis: The form elsewhere in Virgil only at 6.730.

vestis: Edgeworth 1992, 92–93 speculates that the golden clothing could refer to plunder or perhaps a Gallic leader's *torques*; see further Eden. But Servius took it to refer to the Gallic beards (Fordyce *seq.*), and this may well be right (especially if the detail about the Gallic clothing is reserved for 660); see Page *contra*.

660 virgatis lucent sagulis, tum lactea colla

virgatis: *Hapax* in Virgil, and apparently with the meaning “striped” (i.e., like *virgae*); the closest parallel is probably Propertius, c. 4.10.43, of *virgatae bracciae* (where see Hutchinson). Catullus has it at c. 64.319 of osier baskets; Seneca of a tigress (*Phaed.* 345); cf. *HO* 146; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.159; Silius, *Pun.* 4.155 *auro virgatae vestes*; 5.148 (also of a *tigris*). Servius says that in the Gallic language, *virga* meant purple; the color combination purple and gold is a Virgilian favorite; cf. here Reed 2007, 56; O'Hara 2017, xxix.

lucent: The clothing may be gold, but whatever the Gauls are wearing, it has been represented in gold by Vulcan's art. For the verb note also 5.554 *frenatis lucent in equis*; 6.603–604; 6.725 *lucentem globum*; 9.383 *rara per oculos lucebat semita calles*; 10.136–137; 11.143–144 (of Pallas' torch-lit funeral procession); 11.693–693. The verb correlates closely with 661 *coruscant*; all the gleam of the Gauls contrasts sharply with the dark night on which they depend for surprise. On the hint that this detail may connect to their discovery, see Paschalis 1997, 297.

sagulis: Diminutive of *sagum*, a Celtic word found in Ennius (*Ann. fr. s.i.* 529–530 Skutsch). “The Roman *sagum* is generally dark, or, in the case of a commander, white or red” (cf. Horace, *ep.* 9.28, of Antony's exchange of his scarlet robe for the cloak of mourning, with Watson). For the noun note Cicero, *In Pis.* 55.6; Conington takes it here of a short military cloak that would be worn over the *vestes* of 659.

tum: Gransden takes this to have intensive, coordinating force (rather than of temporal progression).

lactea: Vid. Edgeworth 1992, 135–136. Ascanius' neck (*cervix*) is also milk-white (10.137–138, where see Harrison). “The whiteness of the neck is often mentioned in Latin poetry.” The brilliance of the image comes from the depiction of the golden necklaces of 661 and the contrast with the argentine representation of the light complexion of the northern invaders. On Isidore's etymological connection of the milk-white necks of the Gauls with the Greek *gala* of milk (*Lib. Etym.* 9.2.104; 13.4.25), see O'Hara 2017, 215, 284; Hardie 1986, 120–125 sees a reference to ivory reliefs.

colla: Of the neck in general, as opposed to *cervix* properly of the nape.

661 auro innectuntur, duo quisque Alpina coruscant

auro: Continuing the golden imagery of 659, and in chromatic contrast with the white necks of the preceding verse. The specific reference is to the Gallic torque, which Manlius Torquatus famously stripped from a defeated Gaul (Liv 7.9.6–10.14, where see Oakley). Cf. 6.825 (with Horsfall); Propertius, c. 4.10.44 (with Hutchinson); Fratantuono and Smith on 5.559. For the connection to the torque note O'Hara 2017, 215. The verse is framed by words of gold and gleaming.

innectuntur: For the verb see on 277.

Alpina: For Virgilian references to the Alps see M. Pavan in *EV* 1, 117–119; S. Harrison in *VE* 1, 57; Alpine rumblings are among the portents of the death of Caesar (*G.* 1.475); the Alps also figure in the description of the cattle plague at Noricum (*G.* 3.474–477); Harrison sees references to Caesar's Helvetic campaigns of 58. Aeneas is compared to an oak that can withstand the blasts of

Alpine northern winds (4.441–443); Caesar launched his invasion of Italy from the Alps and the citadel of Monaco (6.830–831). Jupiter warns the divine assembly of the day when Carthage will breach the Alps and threaten Italy (10.12–13)—a parallel to Caesar’s action during the civil wars.

coruscant: Also at 5.642 (Iris brandishing a torch to start the burning of the ships); 10.651 (Turnus wielding a weapon against the phantom Aeneas); Aeneas taking up his spear after his healing (12.431); Aeneas as he faces Turnus (12.887; 12.919). The basic meaning of the verb is to brandish; intransitively it can mean to emit flashes of light (*OLD* s.v. 3), and there may be a hint of that sense here, given the gold and the craftsman’s metal. The Palatine reads the singular *coruscat* here; so also the Wolfenbüttel and the bulk of the Carolingians. But no one would have altered the singular to the plural. For the strict solecism after *quisque* see Eden.

662 *gaesa manu, scutis protecti corpora longis.*

gaesa: Cf. *TLL* 6.2.1667.70. Another Virgilian *hapax*; it was a Gallic javelin, long and heavy, the same as the weapon referenced at Caesar, *BG* 3.4.2.1; cf. Propertius c. 4.10.42; Livy 8.8.6.1; 9.36.6.1; 26.6.5.4; 28.45.16.2; Seneca, *Phaed.* 111; Statius, *Theb.* 4.64 (with Parkes’ note); 7.339; *Ach.* 2.132. Silius has *Alpina gaesa* at 1.629; cf. 2.444; 4.195. Eden has a long note on foreign loan words. “Hastas viriles” (Servius, who notes that the Gauls referred to strong men as *gaesi*). “... a javelin of Celtic origin ... also employed by the Late Consular soldiers ... originally made of a thin narrow shaft of forged iron ... of about 1.4 m in length. When thrown, like the *pilum*, it bent once it had hit the enemy shields, and could not be reused.” (D’Amato 2009, 7).

scutis ... longis: Cf. Livy 38.17.3 and 38.21.6 (with Briscoe), in the latter passage of shields that were “not long enough,” as Fordyce notes. Servius connects the detail to the size of the Gallic bodies.

protecti: Cf. 658 *defensi*; also 2.443–444 (of the Greeks on Troy’s last night). The retained accusative as at 29 *turbatus pectora*.

The scene of the Gallic attack on the Capitol closes with an image of the warriors as they advance with both offensive javelins and defensive shields; the audience is left with a picture of the barbarians on the move against the Roman redoubt.

663 *hic exsultantis Salios nudosque Lupercos*

hic: Introducing the “seventh” scene, an apparent interruption of the images from Roman history. To this point we have had 1) the she-wolf; 2) the Sabine women; 3) the treaty with Tatius; 4) Mettus’ treachery; 5) the heroism of Cocles and Cloelia in the face of Porsenna and 6) Manlius and the geese; now the poet

turns to Roman religious institutions, in a transitional passage that precedes the depiction of Tartarus at 666 ff.

exsultantis Salios: For the verb cf. 2.386 (of Coroebus); 2.470 (of Pyrrhus); 3.557 *exsultantque vada*; 5.137–138 (the hearts of the sailors in the regatta); 5.398 (of Dares); 7.464 *exsultantque aestu latices*; 10.550 (of Tarquitus); 10.643 (of the phantom Aeneas); 10.813 (of Lausus); 11.491 (of Turnus); 11.648 (of Amazonian Camilla); 11.663 (of Penthesilea and her Amazons); 12.688; 12.700 (of Aeneas); also *G.* 3.105 and 4.431. For the gloss on the meaning of “Salii,” note O’Hara 2017, 215.

For the Salii see on 285; cf. Tullus’ institution of twelve Salii during the Alban crisis (Livy 1.27.7; these are likely the Quirinian Salii, now added to Numa’s twelve Salii for Mars Gradivus (1.20.4)). The Salii represent an image that Aeneas might have been expected to recognize from his sojourn at Palanteum, where he saw an anachronistic Salian liturgy; here the priests represent both the continuity of Roman religion in the wake of the liberation of the city from the Gallic peril, and the establishment of such cults in times of crisis. The Salii are fittingly introduced after the mention of the Gallic shields (662), since they were noted for their twelve *ancilia* or figure-of-eight shields, one of which fell from heaven; any mention of shields is appropriate in the context of the ephrasis.

nudosque Lupercos: We may recall the Lupercal from the tour of the site of the future Rome (343). The Luperci return us to the world of the she-wolf (the *antrum* of 630 was the Lupercal); the lupine associations of the festival (which Augustus restored; vid. Wardle on Suetonius, *Vita Aug.* 31.4) must have been prominently felt, even if only for dimly understood etymological reasons. Servius notes that when the Lupercalia was being celebrated in honor of Pan, the *pecora Romanorum* were stolen by brigands. The Roman youth cast off their clothes to allow for unimpeded pursuit of the robbers; on account of the successful recovery of the animals, the custom was initiated of a naked celebration of the rites of the Arcadian god (a loin cloth no doubt added to allow a modicum of modesty). The Lupercalia of 15 February, 44 was most memorable for the Caesarian refusal of a diadem offered by the Lupercus Mark Antony (an important historical event that is perhaps especially recalled in light of the allusion to Caesar at 659); to the traditional two groups of Luperci a third was added in Caesar’s honor in 45 (Suetonius, *Vita Iul.* 76.2; Dio 44.6.2; 45.30.2). See further J.A. North, “Caesar at the Lupercalia,” in *JRS* 98 (2008), 144–160.

The Lupercalia may originally have been a festival designed to supplicate the gods for the protection of flocks from predatory wolves (cf. the Hirpini lore cited by Servius on 11.785); it may also have been an apotropaic ceremony designed to guard against lycanthropes (did the nudity have anything to do with the results

of lupine metamorphosis?). A fertility rite, one might well think, especially given its mid-February celebration (the month's name from the *februm* or goat-skin whip of the patrician youths who struck women in particular as they ran around the Palatine); cf. Saint Valentine. It appears that Augustus toned down the sexualized elements of the festival, and indeed may have preferred to emphasize the apotropaic associations. *Nudos* here may represent an imagined primitive nudity that was later mitigated by the introduction of more or less modest attire.

664 *lanigerosque apices et lapsa ancilia caelo*

lanigerosque apices: The adjective also at 3.642 and 660 (of Polyphemus' flocks); 7.93 (of sacrificial animals); cf. *G.* 3.287. *Apex* also at 2.683; 4.246; 7.66; 10.270; 12.492; only here of hats. The reference is to a piece of olive wood to which a tuft of wool (from a sacrificial animal) was attached; according to Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* 2.70.2) such head gear was worn by the Salii. *Lanigeros* comes here in deliberate contrast with *Lupercos*, as we think first of wolves and then of the flocks they threaten. The *flamines* wore the woolen *apices*, and there may be a hint here of the possible Augustan innovation of a *flamen Dialis* for the Lupercalia (to increase its prestige). This interpretation would allow for a balanced arrangement of references to the Salii; the Luperci; the Lupercan *flamen*; the Salian *ancilia*. The passage is in any case problematic; while the *ancilia* were certainly the characteristic accoutrement of the Salii, the *apices* were not necessarily so linked. Eden considers the reference to be a general allusion to the *flamines*, with no particular Salian association.

lapsa ancilia caelo: Cf. Livy's *caelestiaque arma, quae ancilia appellantur* (1.20.4). Again, we are reminded of the large shields of the Gauls (662); see Ogilvie *ad* Livy 1.20.4 for the connection between the figure of eight *ancilia* and Homeric body-shields and the etymology (cf. Varro, *DLL* 7.43 *ab utraque parte ... incisa*). The *ancilia*, like Aeneas' own shield, glided down from the heavens. Cf. Horace, c. 3.5.10–12 (with Nisbet and Rudd); Ovid, *Fast.* 3.373 ff.; also Plutarch, *Vita Num.* 13, with detailed account of the shield and its copies.

Balanced sounds: *lan—ap—lap—an.*

665 *extuderat, castae ducebant sacra per urbem*

extuderat: The verb only here in the epic; note *G.* 1.133; 4.315; 328. We are reminded again of Vulcan's art. "Studiose fecerat" (Servius). The verb here is balanced by *addit* at the end of 666.

castae, etc.: A likely reference to the social initiatives of Augustus; cf. the *matrum chorus* of 718 (in the wake of the victory at Actium). The commentators refer here to the Livian evidence (5.25.8 ff.) of how the Roman *matrones*

donated their gold to supply money for the Apollonian temple Camillus had vowed in the wake of the fall of Veii; Livy notes that the women were consequently awarded the right to drive in four-wheeled carriages on festivals and for the games, and otherwise in two-wheeled. For *castus* cf. 412; we are reminded in the present passage of the chaste matron of 408 ff. These *castae matres* are cast in sharp relief with the denizens of Tartarus (666 ff.).

ducebant sacra: The women are depicted as advancing in a sacred procession; cf. Propertius, c. 4.1a.22 *ducebant macrae vilia sacra boves*. Virgil may not have had any specific festival in mind; scholars have speculated on the Carmentalia or the Matronalia, but the poet saw no need to particularize the reference.

urbem: Cf. 647.

666 *pilentis matres in mollibus. hinc procul addit*

pilentis: Only here in Virgil. The noun refers to a carriage, certainly of a more than common type, perhaps even luxurious (relatively speaking). “Vehiculum genus, quo matronae ferebantur” (Festus 225L). Cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 1.617 ff. (with Green), on the taking away of the right of Ausonian *matres* to ride in *carpenta*. The *pilentum* was connected with *pilum*, since both were swung easily; cf. the reaction of the *matres* at 11.891 ff., as they hurl down weapons in the wake of the example of Camilla.

mollibus: Probably of cushions in the vehicle (Danielis: “molliter stratis”). The brief passage on Roman religious institutions closes on a calm and quiet note, interrupted mid-verse by the sudden intrusion of Tartarus. Alliterative with *matres*.

hinc procul: Plautan (*Most.* 429; *Truc.* 709); Terentian; Afranian. Cf. 478; 603; 635 *procul hinc*. Transitional, and for the first time in the middle of the line; the abruptness is deliberate and intended to shock and to surprise. *Procul* here has special force: the punishments of the damned are kept far away from the chaste matrons—though Tartarus will be juxtaposed with Elysium, as Virgil presents something of a miniature *Aeneid* 6 in the space of five lines. Scene “eight.”

addit: Cf. 637 *addiderat*. Putnam 1998, 133 ff. highlights the vivid nature of this present verb (in contrast to the pluperfects that otherwise characterize the passage), almost as if Vulcan were to add this scene as the final touch on the shield: “Suddenly we are beholding the god in the act of manufacture, even now attaching further material ...” There may be an implication the shield is a dynamic, living representation of Roman history, always open to the possibility of supplement—even if, at least for now, Actium will be the centerpiece. The unique start of a scene mid-verse may also reflect this “addition.”

(666b)667–674 The second part of the shield ecphrasis. The underworld is also depicted on the shield, with Catiline as the arch sinner, and Cato as the giver of laws in Elysium. The broad image of the sea was also to be seen, with dolphins swimming in the swollen waves.

667 Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis,

The verse is framed by infernal proper names. An echo of *G.* 4.467 *Taenarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis*. We are plunged at once into a reminiscence of the parallel scene of the *Heldenschau*.

Tartareas ... sedes: For Tartarus see on 563, and cf. Statius, *Theb.* 4.473 (with Parkes); 8.65.

etiam: There is room even for hell on the shield.

alta ostia Ditis: For the god see L. Fratantuono in *VE* 1, 373–374; L. Fratantuono, “*Vinque Deum Infernam*: Virgil’s God of the Underworld,” in *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 21.1 (2016), 59–72 (“Here the *alta ostia Ditis* are an integral part of the artwork of the shield; indeed, the underworld of Catiline and Cato is mentioned just before the great description of the god’s presentation of Actium ... It is an *Aeneid* VI in miniature, with two Roman historical personages for underworld population”). Cf. Roscher 1.1, 1179–1188. Dis Pater sometimes lends his name to the underworld in general (note also *G.* 4.519–520; *A.* 5.731–732; 6.127; 6.541; 7.568; 12.199). The allusion to Dis’ lofty gates contrasts with the *celsa Capitolia* of 653. As Conington notes, there is an indication of both height and depth. Sallust says that Catiline always desired excessively lofty things: *nimis alta semper cupiebat* (*BC* 5.5–6).

668 et scelerum poenas, et te, Catilina, minaci

scelerum poenas: A doubtless deliberate echo of Cicero, *In Cat.* 4.8.11. Virgil also has the phrase at 11.258, of Diomedes’ recollection of the punishments of the Greeks after Troy; cf. Lucan, *BC* 2.75; Seneca, *Oed.* 1024–1025. *Scelerum* echoed by 669 *scopulos*. Sallust’s Catiline is possessed of *conscientia scelerum* (*BC* 5.7).

Catilina: Lucius Sergius Catilina (vid. here J.D. Morgan in *VE* 1, 245–246; L. Polverini in *EV* 1, 705–706). His *gens* is alluded to at 5.121 (where see Fratantuono and Smith). Catiline’s introduction here redounds to Cicero’s implicit glory (there may be a sling at Antony, too, given the proscriptions); there is no hint in the Virgilian depiction that Cicero may have gone too far in his condemnation of the conspirators to death without a trial, and no depiction of any valiant last stand of Catiline at Pistoria. For the poet, Catiline and Cato (who urged the death of the rebels) are the only named historical figures between Manlius Capitolinus and the cast of characters at Actium. With the vocative address cf. the apostrophe to Mettus at 643. Eden comments that perhaps the

seven year old Virgil would have first taken note of political strife in the wake of this conspiracy.

minaci: The threatening crag fittingly overhangs the verse. For the reminiscence of *Minerva*'s punishment of Ajax at 1.39–45, see Paschalis 1997, 297. The *scopulus* is what is threatening Catiline in the underworld; the juxtaposition of name and adjective also associates Catiline with threats to the republican order—his punishment is fitting on many levels. The adjective here of an inanimate threat (*OLD* s.v. 1c). For comparison with the punishment of Sisyphus, see J.J. Savage, “Catiline in Vergil and in Cicero,” in *CJ* 36.4 (1941), pp. 225–226.

Lucan seems to have had this passage in mind for *BC* 6.793–794 *abruptis Catilina minax, fractisque catenis / exultat* (Catiline in the underworld, rejoicing at the news of the civil war).

Cf. Guillemin 1951, 237 and Lavery 1965, 33–34 for the question of perceived hostility to Cicero in this passage. Lavery concludes: “If Vergil were hostile to Cicero, he would hardly have mentioned Catiline whose career was so strongly identified with Cicero’s glory.” Servius comments: “Hoc quasi in Ciceronis gratiam dictum videtur.” Praise of Cicero—even implicit—would also be a pronouncement on the Antonian insistence on the orator’s death in the proscriptions; any muted element of such praise would be a discrete reflection of the role of the more successful triumvir in the same purge.

669 *pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem,*

The participles frame the line.

pendentem: Catiline is depicted as hanging on a “beetling” (Fordyce) crag; the image is perhaps one of impalement or crucifixion. The exact nature of the punishment, however, is not entirely clear. Some have seen an allusion to Prometheus’ being chained to a rock, with the hepatophagic vulture replaced with the tormenting Furies; the interpretation of the passage is not made easier by the problematic text of 6.601 ff., where we move from mention of Ixion and Pirithous to a description of a Tantalean punishment, complete with overhanging *silex* and tempting banquets (cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 3.980 ff., following Pindar, *Ol.* 1.55–64, where see Gerber); the *Furiarum maxima* is there, too (6.605–606). We may certainly include Catiline among the “modern” (so Horsfall) sinners punished at 6.612 ff. for having followed *arma impia*. Some have argued that Catiline is suspended as if always in a state of being about to be hurled from a precipice (cf. the Tarpeian Rock). Virgil may be deliberately playing on several images simultaneously; on the one hand, Catiline is suspended from a crag, while on the other, the threatening crag recalls the torment of those who have a deadly threat overhanging them. We might note that the “threatening crag” not only overhangs the verse, but it also frames the hanging criminal. Are we

to think that Catiline is both suspended, and at the mercy of a *scopulus* that may fall at any time, a crag he cannot escape because of fetters and Furies? The shield, at any rate, forces the reader to confront that realm of the underworld that Aeneas did not visit.

Henry does well to compare the imagery of Manilius, *Astron.* 5.569 and 5.628, where Andromeda hangs from a crag in vigil for the sea monster; cf. 5.552 *et cruce virginea moritura puella pependit*, with vivid crucifixion imagery. A dramatic contrast, to be sure, from the *pendentis pueros* of 632; for connections with Catiline and Cato (a pair of almost as diverse a set of fates as Remus and Romulus), see Putnam 1998, 134–135.

Furiarum: For the Virgilian Furies note L. Fratantuono, “*Dirarum ab Sede Dearum*: Virgil’s Fury Allecto, the *Dirae*, and Jupiter’s Parthian Defeat,” in *BStudLat* 41.2 (2011), 522–530; V. Panoussi in *VE* 11, 514–515; S. Farron in *EV* 11, 620–622; also R. Cullick, “*Maximae Furiarum*: The Female Demonic in Augustan Epic,” Dissertation Minnesota, 2016. Here with implicit reference to Catilinarian *furiae*. Fordyce notes that the Furies are appropriately depicted here as the avengers of a civil war, with comparison of 7.324 ff. (of Juno’s successful summons of Allecto)—“curiously at variance.” But that action was of stirring up Italians against Trojans, not Romans *versus* Romans. See further on 701–703 below, of the appearance of the *Dirae* in connection with Actium (an action that mirrors the appearance of the same hellish spirits in Book 12). Cf. Sallust on Catiline: *discordia civilis grata fuere* (*BC* 5.2–3).

tremetem: There is weak manuscript support for *fremetem*, which would create an interesting image of seething *post mortem* rebellion.

“Here is where Aeneas’ own *Furiis accensus* bears progeny. It is after this on the Shield that the Augustan, Apolline victory at Actium over the monsters of the past is described” (Newman and Newman 2005, 260).

670 *secretosque pios, his dantem iura Catonem.*

A briefer description of the bliss of Elysium. Cato guards Purgatory in Dante’s eschatological vision (*Purg.* 1.31–108).

secretosque pios: Sound reminiscence of 668 *scelerum poenas*. *Secretos* recalls 610 *secretum*, of Aeneas as Venus approached him with the shield; the echo may point to the tradition of Aeneas’ death by a river (and, by extension, his entry into Elysium); *pios* is reminiscent of Aeneas’ signal characteristic of *pietas*. The general reference in the accusative correlates with the specific (*Catonem*) in framing order.

dantem iura: Cato is legislator in Elysium, a place where one might have assumed that lawgiving was unnecessary. Servius took the reference as evidence that the Cato of this verse is *not* Uticensis, but Censorius; once again,

Virgil brilliantly plays with ambiguous references: the Elysian lawgiver may very well be the same Cato who was both censor and author of the *Origines*, the first Latin historical work and a source of incalculable value for Virgil—but he inevitably recalls the *other* Cato, the more famous one in the context of recent history, and the one associated with both Catiline and Caesar. One may wonder how Caesar would have felt at the inclusion of the man whose suicide in 46 cheated him of a chance to show clemency (let alone the question of whether Cato merits a place on the shield, but not Caesar). The shield also follows chronological order; there would be no reason to move backwards in time, though again, the “Catonian” reference works on multiple levels simultaneously.

We may also be reminded here of Sallust’s depiction of the rival speeches of Caesar and Cato on the fate of the Catilinarian conspirators. At *BC* 51.20, Caesar speaks of death as a release from punishment (i.e., the Epicurean view), while at 52.13 ff., Cato observes that Caesar apparently considers the lore of the underworld to be false (*credo falsa existumans ea quae de inferis memorantur*). Again, Virgil’s clear enough indication is that he supported the position of Cato (and Cicero) as to the disposition of Catiline’s associates; none of this redounds to Caesar’s credit, any more than associating him with the very Gauls he subjugated (659) redounded to his glory. We may wonder as to the relevance of the Virgilian allusions to Caesar in light of the Ascanian nature of the history of the shield (629), and the place of the Julian/Venusian image in Augustan Rome. “The undisguised autocrat could not be reconciled with Augustus’ public professions and deserved public condemnation; but Augustus ... had supported his deification. Silence was the usual answer to such a paradox” (Eden). Virgil’s Cato gives laws to his fellow blessed; the days of his having to pronounce on malefactors like Catiline are finished. Is there any implicit association of Aeneas and Caesar; Ascanius and Augustus? On *dantem iura* vid. too Nettleship’s note, with comparison of the Homeric Minos (*Od.* 11.568 ff.).

Catonem: The crucial name reserved for the dramatic, indeed stunning last word. Vid. J. Osgood in *VE* I, 246–247; N. Criniti in *EV* I, 710–712. Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis, the great-grandson of the censor Cato the Elder. A suicide, and yet still in Elysium; a telling comment on the Virgilian view of Caesar in the prosecution of the civil wars, one might think, and a continuing implicit vindication of Cicero’s actions with respect to Catiline. The comparison is Sallustian. Cato is the last word before the beginning of the description of Actium; for the derivation of the name from *catus* (i.e., “prudent”/“clever”) see Paschalis 1997, 297 (with connection to the semantic associations of the name with “sharp” and the crag that marks Catiline’s punishment). Tetlow has a long note here on

why Cato is pictured as giving laws in Elysium and not as suffering in the wood of suicides.

Fowler 1917, 108 here follows Glover 1904, 22–23 in speculating on the aforementioned point that “the first public event” of which Virgil had any conscious sense was the conspiracy of Catiline.

671 *haec inter tumidi late maris ibat imago*

haec inter: At Homer, *Il.* 18.607–608, the sea is taken as surrounding the entirety of the shield, just as the River Ocean was viewed as the border of the world; Virgil’s conception is more ambiguous. The referent of *haec* could be all the preceding pictures; one may imagine the underworld as being at the bottom, with Actium in the middle (675 *in medio*), and the other scenes at the top—though the only reference to the top comes at 652 *in summo* (of the Capitol scene), and it is not clear exactly where the earlier pictures are imagined to appear (or if Virgil intended a stricter schematization than indicated by the few clues he provides). Page argues that “Apparently the groups hitherto described are on the border of the shield and have been mentioned beginning with those ‘at the top’ (632) and ending with those representing the under-world, which would naturally be at the bottom”—but a previous owner of Fratantuono’s copy of Page does well to make the marginal note, “But the description begins at 630.”

Mackail is perhaps right to argue that the passages named thus far are arranged in panels around the rim, with the Capitol scenes at the top and the underworld opposite; he notes that the matter should not be pressed too far, and there are difficulties with this arrangement. Williams notes that the sea is what renders the images on the shield discrete; the importance of the sea in the spread of Roman power cannot be exaggerated, and the sea was the locus for the defining victory that brought about the Augustan Peace. On the arrangement of the material of the Actium scene, note Halter 1963, 94 ff. It may well be misguided to try to constrict Virgil’s poetic vision by means of a drawing or other example of the visual arts.

For the preposition vid. Hofmann/Szantyr II, 232–234.

tumidi late maris: *Tumidi* carries with it a hint of the future battle at sea; elsewhere the adjective is used of stormy seas (1.142; cf. 3.157; 5.125; 5.820); of a serpent (2.472); of the Auster (3.357); the possessed heart of the Sibyl (6.407); Numanus Remulus (9.596); Turnus (10.21); of a lung (10.387); of the Thybris swollen with Trojan blood (11.393–394); also of *racemi* (G. 2.102). For the implications of the adjective note especially Putnam 1998, 138.

ibat: With a cinematic note; the (golden) sea appeared to move, even on the metallic shield.

imago: The beginning of the description of the depiction of Actium recalls 557 above, of the *imago* of Mars, the war god who will figure in this climactic battle between Rome and Egypt; for other occurrences of the noun in this book cf. 23 and 730. For the noun cf. 1.353 (the dream image of Sychaeus); the celebrated 2.369 *plurima mortis imago* (on Troy's last night); 2.560 (the mental image of Anchises that occurs to Aeneas in the wake of Priam's death); 2.773 793 (the ghost of Creüsa); 4.353 (of Dido's nightmares); 4.84 ... *genitoris imagine capta* (of Aeneas' image in his son); 4.654 (Dido of her *magna imago* that will enter the lower world); 5.636 (the ghost of Cassandra); 6.293 ... *cava sub imagine formae* (of shades); 6.405 *si te nulla movet tantae pietatis imago* (the Sibyl to Charon); 6.480 ... *Adrasti pallentis imago*; 6.695 (Aeneas of his father); 6.701 (again of Anchises); 7.179 *vitisator curvam servans sub imagine falcem* (of Sabinus); 7.180 ... *Ianique bifrontis imago*; 9.294 *atque animum patriae strinxit pietatis imago* (of Iulus); 10.456 ... *haud alia et Turni venientis imago*; 10.643, 656, 663 (the phantom Aeneas); 10.824 *et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago* (Aeneas after the death of Lausus); 12.560 *continuo pugnae accendit maioris imago* (with which we may compare 8.557); 12.665 *obstipuit varia confusus imagine rerum* (of Turnus). Overwhelmingly, then, of ghosts and dream images, and of the supernatural. The golden image of the sea on the shield is a magical, indeed mystical representation of the decisive battle of the new order.

672 aurea, sed fluctu spumabat caerula cano,

A line of striking chromatic imagery. For the word order and “linking for symmetry and balance” note Dainotti 2015, 51. Color adjectives frame the verse.

aurea: For the adjective see on 168; here the golden sea recalls the emphasis on gold in the description of the would-be Gallic invaders of Rome (659–661). The golden sea overflows the verse, as it were.

fluctu ... cano: Lucretian (*DRN* 2.767); Ciceronian (*Arat. Phaen.* 34.71 Ewbank, Soubiran); cf. Silius, *Pun.* 15.304.

spumabat: The number of the verb poses a textual crux; we have preferred to read the *difficilior lectio*, which in this case has the strongest manuscript attestation. The singular is read by M, P, R, the Wolfenbüttel, et al. (brtow); the plural by the bulk of the Carolingians, and possibly by Servius. Eden is perhaps correct that the source of the problem may be the overload of color adjectives; there may also be the question of whether *caerula* was recognized as a neuter plural substantive—he also notes that the emphasis is on blue (cf. Fordyce's “There is no question of blue”). The singular of the capital manuscripts is preferred by Sabbadini; Mackail; Götte; Geymonat; Eden; Perret; García et al.; the plural by Page; Mynors; Williams (who considers the singular “awk-

ward”); Paratore; Binder and Binder’s Reclam; Conte’s Teubner; Holzberg’s Tusculum and Heuzé’s Pléiade. The answer may admittedly lie with the adversative conjunction; the *image* of the sea was of gold, *but* the very seas were blue (emphatic color adjective as substantive), and they were foaming with white waves. Cf. 689, as the opposing fleets clash.

The evidence of Cicero, *Arat. B Prog.* fr. 111 Soubiran (cf. Cic. *De Div.* 1.13; Aratus, *Phaen.* 909 ff.; also *G.* 1.356 ff.) may be relevant here for the apparently transitive use of the participle of *spumare*: *Atque etiam ventos praemonstrat saepe futuros / inflatum mare cum subito penitusque tumescit, / saxaque cana salis niveo spumata liquore / tristificas certant Neptuno reddere voces, / aut densus stridor cum celso e vertice montis / ortus adaugescit, scopulorum saepe repulsus.* Virgil’s depiction of Actium on the shield is heralded by a reminiscence of Cicero’s Aratean verses on weather signs—appropriately enough given the significance of wind and weather to the actual events of the fateful day. On the whole matter see our forthcoming *QUCC* note, “*Ad Aen.* 8.672: New (Actually Old) Evidence for the Singular *spumabat*.”

caerula: Cf. on 64, of the Thybris; also the *nubes* of 622 as Aeneas handled his new weapons. The sea is made of gold, but Virgil uses the “proper” color adjective (i.e., blue) to make vivid how even the golden sea could appear life-like. For substantive *caerula* note also 10.209 (with Harrison); its use here serves to emphasize just how blue the water was (thus *caerula* and not, e.g., *aequora*, which, not surprisingly, is read by some of the *recentiores*, for which note 674). *Caerula* of the sea also at 4.583.

cano: For this third color in one line, see Edgeworth 1992, 118–119; elsewhere in the poet of Fides (1.292; the goddess either has white hair or a white robe); 5.744 and 9.259 (of Vesta, again either white-haired or of her vesture).

“Virgil’s elaboration throughout this passage sometimes gives a sense of unreality” (Page).

673 et circum argento clari delphines in orbem

Argentine dolphins; one is reminded of the Ps.-Hesiodic shield, where there are many dolphins that appear to be swimming as they angle for prey; two of them are silver (207 ff.); note also Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.933–936 (the darting of the Nereids around the Argo is compared to the playful swimming of dolphins); also 1.572a–574; cf. Nelis 2001, 355. For the dolphins of Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Post.* 5.93 ff. see Gärtner 2005, 95.

circum: Almost framing the verse with *orbem*; the dolphins are swimming in circular fashion, and they are placed “around,” perhaps as a sort of frame motif around the rim (presuming the water envelops the shield). The circular details remind us of the nature of the shield.

argento: Cf. the goose of 655. The dolphins stand in chromatic contrast with the gold image of the sea.

clari: The adjective works in close coordination with the noun *argento* (see Eden on the recollection of a Greek compound); the dolphins are shining and distinctive; they mark the sea as they swim in circles.

delphines: The dolphins of the shield are an echo of the comparison of the equestrian display of the *lusus Troiae* to the swimming of the marine mammal at 5.594–595 *delphinum similes qui per maria umida nando | Carpathium Libycumque secant* (where see Fratantuono and Smith, with detailed notes); for the appearance of the animal here note Hornsby 1970, 54. The reference here probably alludes to the seven dolphins that were added by Agrippa to the Circus Maximus in 33 (Dio 51.5.6; cf. 49.43.2); for this element of the Agrippan building program, and also the admiral's production of a Troy game, see Powell 2015, 73–74; the dolphins were allegedly added to aid in the counting of the laps at the races. See further P.M. Pratt in *VE* I, 378; Fratantuono 2012/2013-*Eranos*, 78; also Toynbee 1973, 205–208. Note also the dolphin-like ships of 9.118–120 *continuo puppes abrumpunt vincula ripis | delphinumque modo demersis aequora rostris | ima petunt*, of the Trojan ships rescued from Turnus' fire by divine intervention. We may perhaps also compare the dancing floor of Ariadne on the Homeric shield (*Il.* 18.590), which is described just before the River Ocean.

in orbem: Both of the individual dolphins in their circular motion, and, possibly, of the delphinic circle that surrounds the shield. “Gambolling in circles” (Gransden).

674 *aequora verrebant caudis aestumque secabant.*

A wonderfully balanced line, with the tails of the dolphins at mid-verse, between the two descriptions of their action. Conington is careful to warn us that there could not have been dolphins at Actium, and so the sea must be considered as “a natural object,” with part of it reserved for the set-piece battle.

verrebant: Of skimming a surface, as of the sea (*OLD* s.v. 3b). The language is Catullan (c. 64.7 *caerula verrentes abiegnis aequora palmis*); Lucretian (*DRN* 5.266; 5.388; 6.624); cf. *G.* 3.201 ... *aequora verrens*; Silius, *Pun.* 14.262–263; Manilius has *quin placidum ductus everrere retibus aequor* (*Ast.* 4.285). The imperfects once again of vivid action, as the sea comes to life on the metallic shield.

aestum: The noun can be used of the surge or the swell of the stormy sea (*OLD* s.v. 7); any indication of heat is prefatory to the description of 677 *fervere Leucaten*. Cf. 671 *tumidi*; there are clues here and there that naval war is imminent.

secabant: Cf. 5.595. Servius notes: “... nam semper mare turbatur, quando delphini apparuerint.” It is possible that the animal has funerary associations in

anticipation of the dead of Actium; dolphin reliefs were popular on Etruscan tombs—there was an association of the mammal with the conveyance of both the dead and the living (vid. Lightfoot 2009, 251). The dolphin was also said to be aware of its own impending death (Oppian, *Hal.* 2.533 ff.).

675–713 In the middle, the naval battle off Actium: Augustus and Agrippa face Antony and Cleopatra. There is a clash on the immortal plane, too, as the gods of Rome go to war with those of Egypt; Mars rages in the midst with the other spirits of martial strife. Apollo drives the Eastern hordes in flight, and Cleopatra flees to the Nile, her doom already upon her. The first third of the epic closes with the death of Dido, who is a type of Cleopatra at Alexandria; the second third now reaches its climax with the defeat of Cleopatra at Actium.

In medio ... Actia bella (2 September, 31 B.C.). What had been allusively and briefly referred to at 3.280 *Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis* is now climactically depicted on the shield of Aeneas. The ancient prose sources for the battle and its preliminaries (including some passing references to the site and its environs) include Strabo 7.7.6 (the death of Bogud at Methone); 8.4.3; 10.2.7–9 (the locale around Actium); 17.1.9–11 (Antony's Alexandrian sojourn after the battle; brief survey of his actions in the East); Josephus, *Contra Ap.* 2.59 (a textually vexed passage on the Jewish treatment of Cleopatra at Alexandria); *Bell. Iud.* 1.364; 370; *Iud. Ant.* 15.109; 121; 161–162; 190–193; 18.26 (mostly of interest for the role of Herod as ally of Antony); Plutarch, *Vita Ant.* 60 ff. (a lengthy account, where see Pelling); Appian, *BC* 13.5–6 (Actium as climax of the civil wars); 16.38 (career of Messalla Corvinus); 16.42 (fate of Metellus, an Antonian commander); 16.49–51 (Lollius and Barbula, caught on opposite sides; Lepidus' son was sent to Octavian on a treason charge while the latter was at Actium, while Cicero's son announces the victory); Dio 50.1.1 ff. (the second extant long account in Greek); Livy, 1.19.3.4; *Per.* 133.8; Velleius Paterculus, *Hist. Rom.* 2.82.3 ff. (a more or less complete narrative, where see Woodman); Pliny, *NH* 7.149.1; 14.148.5; 21.12.6; 32.3.7; Trogus, *Hist. Phil.* 40.pr.15; Suetonius, *Vita Aug.* 9.1.15; 18.2.5; Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.3.29; 1.42.15; 2.53.6; 4.5.3; Florus, *Epit.* 2.21; Eutropius, *Brev.* 7.1.1 ff.; Vegetius, *Epit.* 4.33; 4.37; Orosius 6.19.6 ff. (an underappreciated narrative). For the poetic references, note Propertius, c. 2.1.34; 2.15.44; 2.16.37 ff.; 2.34.61–64 *Actia Vergilium cordi sit litora Phoebi, | Caesaris et fortis dicere posse rates | qui nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitatur arma | iactaque Lavinis moenia litoribus* (where the composition of the *Aeneid* is alluded to as a work in progress); 3.11; 4.6 (the poem for the quinquennial games of 16 B.C.E.); the *Carmen de Bello Aegyptiaco* (where see Courtney 1993/2003); Horace, *Ep.* 1.18.61–62; Ovid, *Her.* 15.165–166; 185–186; *Met.* 13.714–715; *Fast.* 1.711; Manilius, *Astron.* 1.914–915; 5.51–53; Lucan, *BC* 5.478–479; Petronius, *Sat.* 121.1.114–115; Juve-

nal, s. 2.108–109; Martial, *ep.* 4.11.5–6; Silius, *Pun.* 15.301–302. Perhaps the earliest extant source is Horace's ninth epode. Tibullus, c. 2.5.80 *prodigia indomitis merge sub aequoribus* (where see Murgatroyd) may refer to the battle.

For the battle and what may have happened in actuality note *inter al.* J. Kromayer, "Kleine Forschungen zur Geschichte des zweiten Triumvirats, VII: Der Feldzug von Actium und der sogenannte Verrath der Cleopatra," in *Herm.* 34 (1899), 1–54; A. Ferrabino, "La Battaglia d'Azio," in *RF* 52 (1924), 433–472; W. Tarn, "The Battle of Actium," in *JRS* 21 (1931), 387–402; J. Kromayer, "Actium: ein Epilog," in *Herm.* 68 (1933), 361–383; Rodgers 1937, 517–539; Paladini 1958; A.J. Woodman, "Actium in Velleius," in *Lat.* 25.3 (1966), 564–566; J. Leroux, "Les problèmes stratégiques de la Bataille d'Actium," in *RPhL* 2 (1968), 29–37, 55; Carter 1970; Murray and Petsas 1989; W.M. Murray, "Reconsidering the Battle of Actium—Again," in Gorman and Robinson 2002, 339–360; W.M. Murray, "Birthplace of Empire: The Legacy of Actium," in *Amph.* 3.2 (2004), 8–9, 16; Sandmann 2007; W.M. Murray, "Recovering Rams from the Battle of Actium," in *Nicopolis* B (2007), 445–451; Lange 2009, 90 ff.; Sheppard 2009; Goldsworthy 2010, 356 ff.; Grainger 2011, 181–184; C.H. Lange, "The Battle of Actium: A Reconsideration," in *The Classical Quarterly* 61.2 (2011), pp. 608–623 (with excellent, judicious analysis of past treatments as well as primary sources); Fratantuono 2016. On the Virgilian depiction in the context of the presentation of war in Augustan poetry, note Berrino 2012, 33–35. For the afterlife of depictions of the battle, see M.S. Cyrino, "Screening the Battle of Actium: Naval Victory, Erotic Tragedy and the Birth of an Empire," in Guardiola 2018, 231–250.

For the "set piece" in honor of the patron Augustus, with comparison of 1.288–296 and 6.791–807, note S. Harrison in *VE* II, 980.

675 *in medio classis aeratas, Actia bella,*

in medio: There has been some debate as to whether this is a reference to the middle of the sea or to the middle of the shield; the latter is what the theatricality of the shield ecphrasis demands. Actium is the midpoint of the shield; the reference to the *medium* comes with metaliterary significance too. On the poet's careful visual emphasis on this crucial battle, see Scioli 2015, 40. For Virgilian central artistic images see O'Hara 1990, 36–37; Thomas 1999, 314 ff.; we may recall here *G.* 3.16 *in medio mihi Caesar erit*; Augustus is at the center of the *Heldenschau*. For commentary on this mid-panel of the shield note Weeda 2015, 106 ff. Note also 700 *medio in certamine*.

"Stylistically Virgil innovates as well, pioneering the practice of using the middle of the ecphrasis itself to refer to the central part of the object it describes" (S. Bartsch, "Ecphrasis," in *VE* I, 405, with emphasis on how the ship of Augustus/Agrippa is depicted at the exact midpoint of both the shield and the ecphra-

sis, following on R.F. Thomas, “Virgil’s Ecphrastic Centerpieces,” in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 87 (1983), 175–184 = Thomas 1999, 310–320).

classis aeratas: The ships are not only brazen as to their prows, but also in consequence of Vulcan’s metallurgic art. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 8.102–103 ... *classis retinacula solvi | iussit et aeratas impelli remige puppes*. We may think, too, of the decline of man and the Bronze Age of heroes. There is a surviving brazen prow, assumed to be from Actium (now in the British Museum), on which see Walker and Higgs 2001, 264–265; the damaged figure is thought to be either Minerva/Athena or Roma (the presumably female figure has helmet and aegis). Such figures on the prows of ships account for the “battle of the gods” at 698 ff. *Aerea puppis* at 5.198; “bronze” a conventional epithet for ships. Cf. the ruddy center of the cloak of Jason at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.727a.

Actia bella: A poetic plural, but also, perhaps, with reference to the whole complex of engagements that constituted the campaign. Actium was not quite the end of the war between Octavian and Antony/Cleopatra, but it was decisive both militarily and for propaganda value; on this see further the exemplary discussion of Lange 2009, 90 ff.

Cf. the possible influence of this line on Propertius, c. 2.34.61–62 *Actia Vergilium custodis litora Phoebi, | Caesaris et fortis dicere posse ratis* (with Miller 2007, 76n48 for bibliography); note also Manilius, *Astron.* 1.914–915 ... *restabant Actia bella | dotali commissa acie*. Tacitus has *Actiacam victoriam* (*Ann.* 1.3.29); Virgil prefers this form of the adjective (see further Fordyce). For Actium note L. Morgan in *VE* I, 9; R. Fauro Rossi in *EV* I, 443–444.

676 *cernere erat, totumque instructo Marte videres*

The verse is framed by verbs of vision, as we move from the impersonal to the personal and the poet draws in the viewer. In this book where spectacle figures so greatly (Hercules and Cacus, the images on the shield), the primary *tableau* is of Actium. On the strong emphasis on language of sight and on radiant brightness throughout the opening of the description, see Paschalis 1997, 298.

cernere: Borrowed from archaic tragic vocabulary (Ennius; Accius). The verb also of Priam’s complaint that he has been forced to witness his son’s death (2.538); parallel to the present use is 6.595–596 *nec non et Tityon, Terrae omniparentis alumnum, | cernere erat*; also *G.* 4.447; Silius, *Pun.* 6.694–695; 8.433–434. Cf. 516 above, of a son who is to behold the deeds of a mentor. Here the verb is deliberately chosen: it describes the ability to discern the Actium scene from the rest of the shield’s panels, and also how the ships come into focus amid the waves of the dolphins’ playground. A Grecism as we begin a war in Greek waters (Servius: “Graeca figura est”); for the construction see Pinkster 2015, 95–96. For the verb vid. R. Lamacchia in *EV* I, 748–749.

instructo Marte: For the reference to the war god see on 433; this metonymical epiphany is mere prelude to the dramatic depiction of Mavors raging in the midst of the strife (700–701). The verb of drawing up troops in order of battle (*OLD* s.v. 2).

677 *fervere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus.*

Fricative alliteration effectively marks the verse.

fervere: The verb also at 1.436 (the work of building Carthage); 4.407 and 4.409 (of the efforts of the Trojans to make ready their departure from Africa); 4.567 ... *iam fervere litora flammis* (Mercury's warning to Aeneas); 9.692–693 (the news brought to Turnus about the night raid); 11.195 ... *ferventisque rotas* (of the spoils in Pallas' funeral cortège); cf. *G.* 1.327; 436. It is possible that this image is in imitation of Lucretius, *DRN* 2.43a *fervere cum videas classem lateque vagari*, a verse quoted by Nonius Marcellus (808L); on this line vid. Fowler 2002, 114ff. The Lucretian context is that no great success on the field of battle can drive away the fear of death. For the conjugation see Eden; cf. Leumann I, 544.

Leucaten: On this southern promontory of Leucas (modern Lefkada) see S. Casali in *VE* II, 744; R. Fauro Rossi in *EV* III, 195–196; *Barrington* 54 c. The main claim to fame for the island was its celebrated temple of Apollo Leucatas. For the semantic associations of the name with sight and brightness, see Paschalis 1997, 298; cf. R. Carrubba and L. Fratantuono, "Apollo and Leuconoe in Horace, c. 1.11," in *QUCC* 74.2 (2003), 133–136. "The geography is not to be taken seriously" (Fordyce); Leucate and Actium are some thirty miles apart, but there were temples of Apollo in both places, and both promontories figured in the campaign. Leucas and Actium were both said to have been the sites of temples to Aphrodite dedicated by Aeneas (*teste Dionysio*, 1.50; see further here Galinsky 1969, 65ff.). Thirty miles is fairly insignificant in epic poetry, at any rate.

auroque: The waves gleam with gold because the image of the sea is forged from gold (671–672); there is also a possible allusion to the gilding of ships, and also to the weapons of the marines that are radiantly reflective in the September sun. There is effective elision between the gold and the sheen.

effulgere: As at 2.616 (of Pallas Athena on the night Troy fell); 5.133 (the captains at the regatta); 9.731 (the new light that shines from Turnus' eyes during the attack on the Trojan camp). The compound verb is first attested in Virgil; it occurs also in Livy; Ovid; Manilius; Statius; Valerius; Silius; Tacitus (the most poetic of the historians).

678 *hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar*

A line replete with patriotic pride in the glories of old Italy, and the triumph of the adopted son of Caesar and restorer of the Golden Age as well as the Republic.

hinc: Of the one side; cf. 685, of the other.

Augustus ... Caesar: An echo of 6.791ff. *hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis, / Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet / saecula*, etc. (cf. the problematic reference to Trojan Caesar in Jupiter's address to Venus at 1.286ff., where the supreme god highlights the Julian, Trojan identification of either Augustus or Julius Caesar for the sake of his audience; the passage is noteworthy in light of the final disposition of Trojan/Italian affairs announced by Jupiter to Juno in Book 12). Some have argued that *Augustus* should be written here with a small *a*, in reflection of the fact that the title was not assumed by the *princeps* until 16 (probably) January, 27 B.C.; it is possible that critics are right to see these Virgilian references to *augustus* as the source of the idea for assuming the name, but definitive evidence is lacking. For the assumption of the name see Wardle on Suetonius, *Vita Aug.* 7.2; cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 1.590 (where see Green), with the date of 13 January; also Goldsworthy 2014, 235–237. The name nearly encloses the verse, casting its protective spell over the Italian naval forces.

agens: Cf. 7.803–804, of Camilla leading her Volscian contingent; at 682–683, the same participle describes Agrippa. Eden notes that there are no finite verbs in the descriptions of Augustus and Agrippa; the effect is to render the whole picture timeless and eternal. This present participle is followed by 680 *stans*. *Aug* is echoed in *ag*; the sound effect will be exploited below for *Agrippa* as well.

Italos: “More than one blue-blooded chauvinist must have had an unpleasant shock at hearing the army of the Senate and People of Rome described as ‘Italians’” (Eden). No place for Troy at Actium. On the question of national identity and transition in the sea battle narrative, note Reed 2007, 5–6. See further on 715, where Augustus makes a consecration to the gods of Italy.

679 *cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis,*

cum patribus populoque: The Senate and the People. Labial alliteration of the human and divine (*penatibus*) retinue that accompanies Augustus and his Italians.

penatibus et magnis dis: The exact extent of this phrase has been the subject of critical debate. The most extensive study is of R.B. Lloyd, “*Penatibus et Magnis Dis*,” in *AJPh* 77.1 (1956), 38–46. The passage is a repetition of 3.11–12 ... *feror exul in altum / cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis*, just as Aeneas prepares to leave what was once Troy (*campos ubi Troia fuit*); the victory at Actium

brings to fruition a process that started as soon as Lucifer rose over Ida and the Trojans departed from the Troad. Macrobius (*Sat.* 3.4.6) records the view that some Roman antiquarians considered the Penates the Trojan name for Apollo and Neptune, the gods who had built the walls of Troy; even if *magnis dis* functions as a sort of amplification of *penatibus* (i.e., the cult name of the Penates in their Velian shrine), the language does not exclude the possibility of reference to the major immortals. There may also be an allusion to the figures of gods on the prows of the ships.

The use of the ablative of a form of *deus* at line-end has been considered Ennian (cf. Dainotti 2015, 208), based on a perceived reminiscence of *Ann. fr.* 6.190 Skutsch *Dono—ducite—doque—volentibus cum magnis dis*, but Lloyd is right to be cautious; the spondaic line serves to emphasize the gods of Rome that Augustus brings to the fight, as it were, against the monstrous deities of Cleopatra's Egypt (or, perhaps better, the gods who natively shield and protect Augustus against Antony and his consort).

"A stately line, the shape of which makes it look like a fragment from some old form of ritual" (Page). "This is the SPQR of the legionary standards. Its spirit is not sustained" (Newman and Newman 2005, 46; cf. 280–281 on the question of the Trojan identity of the Penates). For how the phrase is impressive in part because of its very obscurity, note Clausen 1987, 82. On certain aspects of the relationship between the major gods and the "small," note Adler 2003, 197–198. Note also 682 *secundis dis*; Agrippa too has his gods.

680 *stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui tempora flammas*

stans celsa ... puppi: Reminiscent of 653 *stabat pro templo et Capitolia celsa tenebat*, of Manlius' sentinel watch over the Capitol. The phrase directly echo 3.527 *stans celsa in puppi* (of Anchises); 4.554 *Aeneas celsa in puppi iam certus eundi*; 10.260–262 *Iamque in conspectu Teucros habet et sua castra | stans celsa in puppi, clipeum cum deinde sinistra | extulit ardentem*. The Romanus has *stat* here; Priscian *prima* for *celsa* (7.59). The reminiscence of Anchises' action in Book 3 prepares for the reference to the *patrium sidus* of 681 (Putnam 1998, 141). For the typology of Aeneas as prefigurement of Augustus, see especially Harrison's note on 10.261–262 ("... analogies between Aeneas and Augustus surface at intervals in the *Aeneid* (especially in book 8, cf. Binder, *passim*), but there is no constant identity ...").

geminas ... flammas: For the imagery note Lyne 1987, 31 ff.; Clausen 1987, 82; and cf. on 620 above; the passage connects back to the fire portent of the infant Ascanius at 2.682–684 *ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iuli | fundere lumen apex, tactuque innoxia mollis | lambere flamma comas et circum tempora pasci*; the similar Lavinian omen at 7.73 ff.; it also anticipates 10.270–271 *ardet apex*

capiti tristisque a vertice flamma | funditur et vastos umbo vomit aureus ignis. There is a typological link to Achilles (Homer, *Il.* 18.214), where the Greek hero's head sends forth fire to the heavens; this is likely of greater concern to the poet than the gleaming, fiery helmet of Diomedes at *Il.* 5.4–7. Augustus at Actium is also like Romulus in the *Heldenschau*: 6.777–780 *quin et avo comitem sese Mavortius addet | Romulus, Assaraci quem sanguinis Ilia mater | educet. viden, ut geminae stant vertice cristae | et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore?*; cf. the infant Servius Tullius at Livy 1.39.1. *Flammas* here corresponds to *sidus* at 681.

Henry argues forcefully that Virgil depicts Augustus with fire coming forth from his very temples (and not his eyes or his helmet): “Virgil was a better flatterer than either La Cerda, or Heyne, or Ladewig, or Wagner, and would never have been court poet or had a house on the Esquiline if he had not known better than to cover the head of Augustus with a mere helmet, no matter how beamy or star-crested ...” Eden notes that there is indeed a reference to Augustus' head, but also to the “plume-sockets” of his *galea*.

For the association of the double flame with the twin snakes of Minerva that killed Laocoön, see Henry 1989, 98; cf. 118. Other doublets may lurk; certainly Romulus and Remus (and cf. Caesar and Augustus); on this note Putnam 1998, 140.

681 *laeta vomunt patriumque aperitur vertice sidus.*

laeta: Vid. Wiltshire 2012, 135 ff. On the joy occasioned by acts of conquest, see Henry 1989, 176.

patriumque aperitur sidus: A reference to the celebrated comet that appeared in July of 44, during the funeral games in honor of Julius Caesar (Weinstock 1971, 370–384; O'Hara 2017, 134–135; 162; 216; Ramsey and Licht 1997; M. Williams, “The *sidus Iulium*, the Divinity of Men, and the Golden Age in Virgil's *Aeneid*,” in *Leeds International Classical Studies* 2 (2003), 1–29; J.T. Ramsey in *VE* 1, 287–288). This celestial object is also noted at *E.* 9.46 *Caesaris astrum*, where it appears in a poem devoted to the apotheosis of Daphnis (note also Suetonius, *Vita Iul.* 88, with Butler and Cary; Plutarch, *Vita Caes.* 69.3, with Pelling; Pliny, *NH* 2.93 ff., with Beaujeu's Budé notes; Horace, c. 1.12.47; Propertius, c. 4.6.59; Ovid, *Met.* 15.845–850, with Hardie's Mondadori commentary); the comets of *G.* 1.487–488 and 10.272–273 are baleful (cf. Dio 45.7.1, for evidence of how the Caesarian star was considered a portent of ill omen; Tibullus, c. 2.5.71; and note the comet of Lucan, *BC* 1.529 that portends war between Caesar and Pompey). We may note that in the Virgilian conception, the emission of flames from the head (or the harmless dancing of fire thereabouts) is associated with Ascanius; Romulus; Lavinia; Augustus; Aeneas; in the case of Lavinia

and Aeneas, the connection is explicitly connected to the peril of war. Can one think of Julius Caesar in an Actian connection without wondering what his emotions would have been with respect to his former lieutenant and *quondam* lover? The Caesarian image at Actium is the politically “safe” epiphany of the star of the apotheosized father of the savior of Rome. A fine, eminently Augustan response, too, to the awkward realities of the civil war: Cato is safe in Elysium, in honored glory—and Caesar’s star rises above his adopted son’s brow. So very much, after all, had transpired in the thirteen and a half years between the Ides and Actium.

The present passage is an echo, too, of 5.519–544, of the Acestes flaming arrow portent (where see Fratantuono and Smith, with detailed notes and exploration of the idea that the Acestes omen heralds the death of Pallas, whose loss to Aeneas is parallel—in an opposite sense, son instead of father—to the loss of Caesar to Augustus). With *patrius* cf. the description of Cleopatra’s *sistrum* at 696.

aperitur: An echo of 3.274–275 *mox et Leucatae nimbose cacumina montis / et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo*, of the Trojan approach to the site of Actium. “Nautical” (Sidgwick, who compares Livy 22.19 *aperientibus classem promontoriis*).

682 parte alia ventis et dis Agrippa secundis

parte alia: A reference both to the disposition of the naval forces at the battle, and to the delineation of persons and events on the shield. According to Plutarch, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa was on the left wing, with Caesar on the right and Lucius Arruntius in the center; in Velleius, Marcus Lurius commanded the right, Lucius Arruntius the left, and Agrippa in possession of *omne arbitrium*, a sort of flying command of the fleet.

The phrase is also used at 1.474 *parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis* (of the pictures in Dido’s temple); cf. 433 above (in Vulcan’s workshop); 9.521–522 *parte alia horrendus visu quassabat Etruscam / pinum et fumiferos infert Mezentius ignis*; 12.436 *parte alia Eumedes in proelia fertur*.

ventis, etc.: Plutarch reports that the weather was stormy on 29 August, and for the triduum thereafter; only on the second of September was the sea calm (at least in the morning; conditions would worsen as the day progressed). *Ventis secundis* also at 3.683; 7.23; cf. Cicero, *Pro Planc.* 94.2; Manilius, *Astron.* 3.26; Ovid, *Her.* 17.163. For Agrippa as master or lord of the winds (etymology from *hippos*, with association of horses and winds) see Paschalis 1997, 298–299.

dis ... secundis: The favoring gods protectively frame the admiral. Servius argues that the point here is that Augustus was able to manage on his own, as if already a god, while Agrippa needed the favor of the immortals to secure

his success—as if he were “second” to the *princeps*. Cf. also 707 *ventis vocatis*, as Cleopatra makes her escape.

Agrippa: Vid. C. Mackay in *VE* 1, 42; G. Vitucci in *EV* 1, 68–70; Powell 2015. We may think of Augustus and Agrippa as the allegorical pattern for Aeneas and Achates; for a cautious response, note Saint-Beuve 1857, 63. “The character of Marcus Agrippa seems to lack colour and personality—he might be the virtuous Aristides of Greek historians and moralists. The picture is consistent—and conventional. It was destined for exhibition to a docile public. Dispassionate scrutiny might have detected certain cracks and stains on this Augustan masterpiece” (Syme 1939, 343).

For the “unusual amount of rhyme” see Eden.

683 *arduus agmen agens, cui, belli insigne superbum,*

arduus: Vid. F. Del Chicca in *EV* 1, 303–304. Some scholars have wished to punctuate after the adjective, but cf. 299 *arduus arma tenens* (of Typhoeus against Hercules); 7.624–625, of the Ausonian cavalry after the declaration of war. Agrippa is in a lofty, indeed towering position (so Augustus at 680); these details may be more metaphorical than realistic, given that it was Antony who had the taller ships (cf. Dio 50.29.1–2). See Paschalis 1997, 298 for the semantic associations. See also on 693; *arduus* has been taken by some to refer to the towers on Agrippa’s vessels.

agmen agens: Alliterative, and figuratively etymological; cf. 687 of Augustus Caesar. The repetition of the initial syllable mimics the name of the admiral. *Agmen agens* occurs elsewhere in Virgil only of Camilla (7.804 and 11.433)—a significant parallel, especially if the cavalry battle of Book 11 represents something of an allegorized Actium, albeit on land.

belli insigne superbum: For the construction of *insigne* Conington compares 487 above; also 6.223; he concludes that *insigne* should be taken in (nominative) apposition with the rest of the sentence (Eden *seq.*). Fordyce considers it a sort of Latin extension of the Greek cognate accusative, “in loose apposition” (he notes that the nominative is very rare in such expression). See further Pinkster 2015, 1070 ff. Pliny has *virtutis bellicae insigne* (*NH* 33.9.3); cf. Valerius Maximus 3.6.4.5 *insignem bellicae rei successum*. Conte uses parentheses to set off the phrase;

For *superbus* see on 118, and cf. 721 below; the present passage affords a good example of how Virgil is fairly even-minded in his application of the adjective. Seneca echoes this passage at *De Ben.* 3.32.4 *Utrum maius beneficium dedit M. Agrippae pater ne post Agrippam notus, an patri dedit Agrippa navali corona insignis, unicum adeptus inter dona militaria decus ...*

684 tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona.

A golden line for a golden crown. For the award (late autumn of 36) see Powell 2015, 63; cf. Livy, *Per.* 129.10. Pliny, *NH* 16.7 notes that Pompey awarded a *corona navalis* to Marcus Varro for a pirate victory in 67 (cf. 7.115, with Beagon's note). Agrippa's award was for his victories over the forces loyal to Sextus Pompey at Mylae and Naulochus. The *corona navalis* or *rostrata* was traditionally awarded to the first man to board an enemy ship (Festus 16L; cf. Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 5.6 ff.); it was extended to the admiral or commander of a significant naval action. Velleius (2.81.3) has Agrippa as the first recipient of the honor (cf. Seneca's *unicum decus*—Agrippa as first and only such honoree, as in Dio). Was the Varronic victory an awkward memory in light of Agrippa's naval achievement against the son of Varro's benefactor?

tempora, etc.: Balancing the description of Augustus' temples at 680–681.

navali: The adjective also at 5.493 (of Mnestheus' victory in the boat race); 11.329 (as a substantive).

fulgent: For the verb cf. 92 and 593. The poet continues to employ the image of the gleam and sheen of precious metals.

rostrata: Ciceronian; Livian; Tacitean; rare in poetry (cf. Horace, *ep.* 4.17–19, with Watson). The crown was “beaked” because it bore a representation of the prows of the vanquished enemy vessels. See further Maxfield 1981, 74–76. The award was comparatively infrequent because naval warfare was not a regular feature of Roman military practice. Claudius set up a *corona navalis* in his palace to commemorate his conquest of the Ocean in the invasion of Britain (Suetonius, *Vita Claud.* 17.3, where see Hurley). Cf. 690 *rostris*.

685 hinc ope barbarica variisque Antonius armis,

hinc: On the other side, Antony and his barbarian array; the contrast with the Augustus of 678 is great. According to Plutarch, Antony was on the right wing of his fleet; a reader of Virgil would have no reason to think that there were Roman senators and legionaries with the one-time colleague of Octavian: no Marcus Octavius and Marcus Insteius; no Lucius Gellius Publicola or Gaius Sosius. On the opposition of the forces of Rome *contra* those of Egypt, see Borgies 2016, 322 ff. On how the “binary” character of the depiction of Actium on the shield will be “muddied” by Aeneas' slaying of Turnus at the end of the epic, see S. Bartsch in *VE* 11, 749.

ope barbarica: Ennian (*And.* 89 *vidi ego te adstante ope barbarica*, where see Jocelyn); cf. Stabryla 1970, 81. The adjective “occurs elsewhere in republican drama only at Pacuvius, *Trag.* 270 and three high-falutin passages of Plautus, *Capt.* 492, 884, *Cas.* 748. In classical Latin its use is restricted, except for Livy 25.33.2, to poetry.” (Cf. Livy 21.60.8.2; Columella, *DRR* 11.2.83). Lucretius has *iam*

tibi barbaricae vestes Meliboeaque fulgens / purpura Thessalico concharum tecta colore (*DRN* 2.500–501); cf. *Ps.-V., Ciris* 166; *Cat.* 9.5; often after. The only other use of the adjective in Virgil is at 2.504 *barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi*, where it is used of Priam's palace: Trojan wealth associated with Antony's East. On the possible connections between Laomedon's mendacious Troy and the perfidious Antony, see Newman and Newman 2005, 253.

variis ... armis: Cf. 12.122–123 ... *hinc Troius omnis / Tyrrhenusque ruit variis exercitus armis*, where see Tarrant: not a positive association for Aeneas' Trojan and Etruscan contingents. Note also Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.430; 5.564; Silius, *Pun.* 14.278. Heinsius offered the conjecture *Phariis* ("brilliant"—Eden); on this see A. Fusi, "Un verso callimacheo di Virgilio (*Aen.* 8.685): Nuovi argomenti a favore di una congettura negletta," in *Lexis* 34 (2016), 217–248 (with evidence of Flavian imitation of Virgil's "Pharian" point). *Phariis* would serve to underscore the Egyptian character of Antony's force—he is no longer a Roman, and the geographical adjective neatly removes the stain of civil war from the day's military proceedings. "Motley troops" (Henry).

Antonius: The one-time triumvir Marcus Antonius. Vid. C. Mackay in *VE* 1, 98–99; R. Fauro Rossi in *EV* 1, 205–208; Huzar 1978; Goldsworthy 2010; de Ruggiero 2013. Antony is framed by his *varia arma*; he is lost amid barbarian wealth and the ethnic and racial variety of his foreign naval forces.

686 *victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro*,

victor: Thought by some to be a contemptuous sneer at what Virgil's contemporaries would have recognized as a questionable title; Antony was indeed able to assemble a foreign host, but his expedition against Parthia had been disastrous (Markland conjectured *ductor* to restore history, perhaps at the expense of the effectively biting condemnation). Danielis notes that Virgil is at pains to show that Augustus and Agrippa fought against a worthy opponent.

Aurora: For the dawn cf. on 170. The victory over the Dawn's eastern peoples may refer most particularly to Parthia; in reality Antony lost something in the vicinity of 32,000 men to disease or fighting (cf. Huzar 1978, 179–180). It is possible that the reference is also to Armenia, where Antony did win a victory over the wily Artavasdes in the spring of 34: "This was the only province that Antony added to the Roman Empire" (Huzar 1978, 182). The Armenian attack was not celebrated in Rome; it was commemorated in Egypt with Bacchic revelry. Any reference to Parthian victories achieved by Antony's *legatus* Ventidius would make the *victor* appellation even more exaggerated. In Florus' estimation, after Parthia Antony had come to detest war, and to wish only for time to relax with Cleopatra (*Epit.* 21 *captus amore Cleopatrae quasi bene gestis in regio se sinu reficiebat*, with ironic allusion to Augustus' *Res Gestae*).

Is the doomed Antony associated here with Aurora's son Memnon?

populis: For the contrast between the plural of Antony's forces and the singular of Augustus' (679), see Putnam 1998, 142: unity *versus* the motley troops of the East.

litore rubro: On the color adjective note Edgeworth 1992, 158–159. This is the first of four occurrences of *ruber* in the epic; at 9.50 and 89 it is applied to the red plumes of Turnus' helmet, while at 12.247 it describes how “The tawny bird of Jupiter appears in the reddened sky” (Edgeworth discusses the strong use of red in the events of the epic's last day, on which see further Fratantuno 2013, 310 ff.). Cf. Ps.-Tibullus 3.8.19–20 *et quascumque niger rubro de litore gemmas / proximus Eois colligit Indus aquis*; Horace's c. 1.35.32 *Oceanus ruber* (which Nisbet and Hubbard take of the “totality” of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Arabian Sea). The “Red Sea” for the Romans was the Indian Ocean, which Antony—hardly deserving of the mantle of Alexander—never approached. Servius takes the “red shore” of the *mare Erythraeum*, that is, what we might call the Arabian Sea or the Indian Ocean (cf. the anonymous *Periplus*). There is no hint in Virgil of any Bacchic association with India; Antony's notorious drunkenness may have been a factor in suppressing any mention of Liber (cf. the parallel 6.791 ff.); on the association of Bacchus and India in Augustan poetry, Benaissa 2018, 42–43.

According to Plutarch, there were a number of foreign kings in Antony's army: Bocchus of Libya; Tacondimotus of Upper Cilicia; Archelaus of Cappadocia; there was aid too from Malchus of Arabia; Herod the Great; and the Median Artavasdes. On paper, at least, there were significant eastern contingents; how useful they would prove in campaigns on both land and sea against Octavian and Agrippa was another story entirely.

687 *Aegyptum viresque Orientis et ultima secum*

Aegyptum: The key nation in Antony's foreign coalition. Note here J. Tracy in *VE* I, 410; S. Donadoni in *EV* II, 182–183. Egypt figures at *G.* 4.287–294, where the fruitful realm is associated with the wonder of the Bugonia; for the connection of Egypt to the story of the Danaids on Pallas' baldrick (10.497–499), cf. Tracy. Antony brings Egypt with him; one might think at once of the infamous queen, who is referenced at the end of 688 as the close of a frame: Egypt, the Orient, Bactria, Egypt's queen. Egypt is in some ways the locus of the rebirth of Rome, as Octavian wins his victory over Cleopatra and Antony at Actium, and then again at Alexandria, where all resistance was effectively wiped out.

Orientis: For the use of this substantive note also 1.289; 5.42; 5.739; *G.* 1.250. Livy has *totius Asiae steterunt vires ab ultimis Orientis finibus* (37.58.8.4–5— but vid. Briscoe ad loc. for the text). “The star above Octavian's head is bal-

anced by Eastern light” (Paschalis 1997, 299, who notes that 686 *Aurorae* evokes *aurum*). For *vires* the commentators cf. 6.833 *neu patriae validas in viscera vertite viris*. See Reed 2007, 105–106 for the implications of Antony’s mustering of allies and wealth from the East, “Antony’s rulership over “barbarians” becomes a doomed struggle against history and the fate—the very existence—of the Roman people.” We are reminded, too, of the description of the customs surrounding the gates of Janus’ temple at 7.605 ff. ... *seu tendere ad Indos / Auro-ramque sequi Parthosque reposita signa* (i.e., Augustus will ultimately triumph where Antony now reigns supreme, at least in the view of the prevailing propaganda). There is perhaps an allusion in all this to cyclic epic; Achilles was a victor over the forces of the Dawn, and so was Antony (at least in the present vision); Augustus will be the ultimate winner.

For Virgilian “orientalism” note R. Pogorzelski in *VE* 11, 943.

ultima: Antony is depicted as having gone almost to the ends of the earth in search of allied forces with which to do battle against Italy. For the adjective in connection to Bactria note Quintus Curtius Rufus 7.7.4.2 *ultima Asiae, qua Bactria sunt*. Servius argues that *ultima* refers not so much to the limit of the world, as to the extent of Antony’s sway and dominion (“in imperio Antoniano”). The distant realm of Bactra appropriately overhangs the verse.

688 Bactra vehit, sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx.

Bactra: The modern Balkh, west of Mazar-i-Sharif in northern Afghanistan. “The remotest eastern city known to the Romans” (Tetlow). Cf. *G.* 2.137–139 *nec pulcher Ganges atque auro turbidus Hermus / laudibus Italiae certent, non Bactra neque Indi / totaque turiferis Panchaia pinguis harenis*; also Propertius, c. 3.1.1.16 *qui finem imperii Bactra futura canent*; c. 3.11.25–26 *duxit et Euphraten medium, quam condidit, arcis, / iussit et imperio subdere Bactra caput*; c. 4.3.7 *te modo viderunt intentos Bactra per arcus*; *Carmen de Bell. Aegypt.* 6.6 Courtney [*Ba*]ctra ...; Statius, *Silv.* 3.2.136–137 *tu rapidum Euphraten et regia Bactra sacrasque / antiquae Babylonis*; *Silv.* 4.140–141 *restat Bactra novis, restat Babylona tributis / frenari*. We may think of Alexander’s bride Roxane. See further L. Morgan in *VE* 1, 165; R.F. Rossi in *EV* 1, 468–469; *Barrington* 99 B2; 6 B2; 98 G2; Holt 1989; Strabo 11.1 ff. (the Bactrians a little more civilized than the Sogdians for the Augustan Age geographer). Bactra here represents the fantasy of the Augustan propagandist poet; neither Antony nor Cleopatra enjoyed allied support from anywhere between the Oxus and the Hindu Kush, whatever the queen’s (or the Roman’s) dreams of an Asian empire. *Ultima* tells the essential tale: for Virgil, this is truly the limit of the world, the border of China for all intents and purposes (so Thomas on *G.* 2.137–139). “A name of romance and mystery, an Eldorado awaiting conquest” (Fordyce).

sequiturque ... coniunx: Very different, we might think, is the departure of Creüsa behind Aeneas at 2.724–725, though she too is doomed. Cf. the same verb at 703 below, of Bellona.

nefas: Cf. 173. For the “parenthetic exclamation” see Eden, with commentary on the propaganda campaign (which was undertaken by both sides before Actium); note R. Tarrant in *VE* II, 969. *Nefas* explains why the queen is never to be named; Antony is at least accorded the dignity of onomastic memorial, though given the association with Egypt’s queen, he might well have wished for the blessing of anonymity. *Nefas* may also be taken as a noun in apposition with *coniunx* (so, e.g., Mackail); the difference in meaning is negligible.

Aegyptia coniunx: I.e., Cleopatra VII Philopator (vid. P.J. Jones in *VE* I, 272–273; M. Pani in *EV* I, 822–825; Goldsworthy 2010; Becher 1966 on the literary depictions), who is never named by the Augustan poets (for the name cf. Lucan, *BC* 9.1070–1071; 10 *passim*; Statius, *Silv.* 3.2.119–120 *anguiferamque domum blando qua mersa veneno | Actias Ausonias fugit Cleopatra catenas*; Juvenal, s. 2.108–109 *quod nec in Assyrio pharetrata Sameram is orbe | maesta nec Actiaca fecit Cleopatra carina*; Martial, *ep.* 4.59.5–6). She figures memorably in Horace, *ep.* 9 and c. 1.37; also in Propertius, c. 3.11 and 4.6. *Aegyptia* balancing 687 *Aegyptum*; “Egypt” in context means Cleopatra. All the emphasis of the verse falls on *coniunx*; we may think of Aeneas with Dido, and the question of Roman marriage to a foreigner; for the description of Cleopatra as Antonian *coniunx*, vid. Borgies 2016, 278–279. On Antony’s disgrace see Newman and Newman 2005, 89. Turnus will have Camilla; she will be transformed ultimately into a symbol of the protection and defense of Rome, in something of a brilliant metamorphosis effected by the poet from hostile foreign queen to nourishing she-wolf (vid. Fratantuono 2009b).

689 una omnes ruere ac totum spumare reductis

The naval engagement commences in earnest. It was the sixth hour (so Plutarch), or high noon; the winds rose from the sea, and Antony’s left apparently began to move forward to challenge Octavian’s right, which backed water to encourage the Antonians to advance and thus run the risk of encirclement. Agrippa, meanwhile, drew out his left wing, and Publicola advanced to meet the challenge; this drew Antony’s right away from the center, which quickly fell into confusion as it engaged with Lucius Arruntius—the wolflike Arruns, we might think. Conington and others complain that Virgil seems to have forgotten that he is describing a static work of art; Fordyce notes that the question is pointless: “the picture has become a story.” Vulcan’s shield is particularly spectacular insofar as its actions are viewed as cinematic, living scenes of the future-past. The present description may owe something to Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 14.377–378

Verrunt extemplo placidum mare: marmore flavo | Caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate pulsum (the context uncertain).

una omnes: Cf. 5.830 *una omnes fecere pedem pariterque sinistros*, of a very different sort of naval maneuver; also 8.104–105 above.

ruere: Vid. F. Cavazza in *EV* IV, 602–605. The historical infinitives express the vivid action. “Veniebant cum impetu” (Servius).

totum: Emphasizing the size and scope of the battle.

spumare: For the verb note 672 above.

690 *convolsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor.*

The verse is copied verbatim from 5.143 (where see Fratantuono and Smith; cf. Moskalew 1982, 124–125; Rimell 2015, 47n63), from the regatta—a striking association of the naval contest of the memorial games for Anchises with the struggle at Actium. The verse is powerfully alliterative (following on 689 *ruere*), as now the oars and beaks of the rival ships literally tear and rip up the sea.

convolsum ... aequor: Participle and noun frame the verse. With *convolsum* cf. the ships referenced at 1.383; 2.507–508 (of the *limina tectorum* of Priam); 3.414 *haec loca vi quondam et vasta convolsa ruina* (in the description of Sicily’s geological history). The prefix is intensive. Cf. 691 *revulsas*, at the end of the verse in framing order with the participle here. On the sea shaken or otherwise disturbed/cut by ships, see Galli on Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.688 *infinditque salum*.

rostrisque tridentibus: For the three prongs on the rams, see Morrison and Williams 1968, 7; also Casson 1971, 146: “When the Roman Republic first launched a fleet in the middle of the third century B.C., it adopted from the Hellenistic galleys the stempost that ended in a volute and the three-pronged ram ... and both features lasted until at least the end of the Republic.” Cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.688 (with Zissos). Numismatic influence here, on another work of metallic art. *Tridens* carries Neptunian associations (the word appears elsewhere in Virgil only of Neptune’s weapon). The Romanus has *stridentibus* (also the first corrector of the Wolfenbüttel); there is weak evidence for *rudentibus*; cf. similar textual confusion at 5.143. For a convenient illustration of a “Virgilian” ship, see Loseby 1942, 18–19; the three-pronged ships of the regatta are likely anachronistic (appropriately enough, since the competition represents in part the journey from Troy to Italy).

691 *alta petunt: pelago credas innare revulsas*

alta petunt: A simple declarative that has occasioned debate as to the exact sense relative to the course of the battle. Many commentators have taken the action to refer to the ships of Antony and Cleopatra, the idea being that the

large vessels of their combined fleet were seeking to escape the confines of the harbor and to make for the open sea. 689 *una omnes ruere*, etc. almost certainly refers to the fleets of both sides, Augustus' and Antony's; it might be strange to switch back to Antony and Cleopatra as subjects of *petunt*. Mackail notes that both fleets had started at anchorage ("that of Antony inside the mouth of the Ambraciot gulf, and that of Augustus in the bay of Mitika a little to the north"), and thus both navies could be said to "seek the deep." Eden *silet*; Gransden takes the phrase of Antony and Cleopatra.

We began with Augustus and Agrippa on opposite ends of their line of ships. On the opposing side, a foreign force was arrayed, with Cleopatra in the rear (688). "All rushed together" (*una omnes ruere*). They all sought the deep: no one wanted to fight a naval battle either in the shallows, or within missile range of Antony's shore batteries. One would think that the Cyclades had been torn up from the sea, etc.

With plural *alta* of the deep cf. 9.81 ... *et pelagi petere alta parabat*.

credas: The potential subjunctive calls attention both to the battle and to its metallurgic reincarnation. The audience is once again drawn into the ephrahis. Cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.725–726; 767–767.

innare: Cf. 651, of Cloelia swimming across the Tiber.

revulsas: The torn up Cycladic islands (cf. the sea that is *convolsum* at 690) fittingly straddle two verses. The same image impressed Dio; he notes in his account of the battle (50.33.8) that it was as if small towns or islands were being besieged—a more realistic picture, one might think, than the poet's hyperbolic comparison. Shades of the gigantomachy in the image of nature being uprooted? (cf. Nelis 2001, 354).

692 *Cycladas aut montis concurrere montibus altos*,

Cycladas: A poetic borrowing from Catullus, c. 4.6–7 *et hoc negat minacis Hadriatici / negare litus insulasve Cycladas*; cf. 3.126–127 ... *sparsasque per aequor / Cycladas*; Horace, c. 1.14.19–20 *interfusa nitentis / vites aequora Cycladas*; c. 3.28.14 *fulgentisque tenet Cycladas*; Ps.-V., *Ciris* 470–471; Manilius, *Astron.* 4.637 ... *inaequalis Cycladas*; Ovid, *Met.* 2.264 *existunt montes et sparsas Cycladas augent*; *Fast.* 4.281; 5.565; *Trist.* 1.11.7–8, etc. Vid. further G.C. Lacki in *VE* 1, 325–326; M. Bonamente in *EV* 1, 777–778. Here the reference corresponds in part to the circular nature of the shield. Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* 6.8.68) cites this passage as an example of hyperbole: *aut res per similitudinem attollimus: credas*, etc.

montis concurrere montibus altos: The image is reminiscent of the Symplegades; so at Ovid, *Met.* 7.62–63 *quid, quod nescio qui mediis concurrere in undis / dicuntur montes*; cf. Pliny, *NH* 2.199.4 *namque montes duo inter se concurrerunt*

crepitu maximo adsultantes recedentesque (of an earthquake). All the mountains may well be considered to be tall; conversely, given the evidence that Antony's ships were larger than Octavian's, the *montis ... altos* may refer specifically to the one side as vessels seek either to ram the enemy or to make good an escape (the same may be true of the Cyclades). The Cyclades are centered on Delos, the preeminent wandering island, and the home of the divine twins Apollo and Diana; the allusion prepares us for the signal role of Actian Apollo in the battle (704–706). For the connection of the uprooted islands imagery to the motif of the perversion of agriculture, cf. on 695; Paschalis 1997, 299.

altos: There is some slight manuscript evidence for *altis* (a reading Servius knew), but it works better to have the accusatives framing *concurrere montibus*. With the lofty mountains that offer a comparison to the tall ships cf. Horace, *ep.* 1.1–2 *Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium, | amice, propugnacula* (a much misunderstood phrase that has colored interpretations of the battle). But note also Marsden 1969, 172: “There was no spectacular difference between the ships of Octavian and those of Antonius, though the average tonnage of the latter may have been slightly higher.”

693 *tanta mole viri turritis puppibus instant.*

Servius notes here, “hoc de historia traxit: nam Agrippa primus hoc genus turrium invenit, ut de tabulatis subito erigerentur, simul ac ventum esset in proelium, turres hostibus improvisae.” Agrippa did not invent the use of towers on ships, but he may have been responsible for significant advances in the technology and practice.

tanta mole: Most likely a reference principally to the large size of the vessels; possibly, though, a general comment on the nature of the attack (so Heyne, construing the ablative closely with *instant*). The exact construction of the ablative is uncertain; it may be an ablative of manner (less likely of means). Mackail takes it as closely coordinate with *turritis puppibus* as a sort of compound construction, but the framing word order seems to favor construing it with *instant*. Sidgwick took the ablative of the men, with reference to the great mass of marines as they throng to board an enemy ship—but the preceding emphasis is on the bulk of the warships. Papillon and Haigh argue that the phrase extends to both men and ships, and this may well be right. Cf. the Pléiade translation: “tant est dense la masse des guerriers qui se pressent ...”; the Tusculum “mit solcher Wucht bedrängen die Männer die Hecks, die mit Türmen bewehrt sind.”

turritis puppibus: Possibly dative after *instant* (so Goold and Whiteley, *contra* the majority of editors who prefer the ablative; following Servius, G&W prefer to understand the towers to be Agrippa's, and the *tanta moles* of Antony's mas-

sive vessels); the “turreted ships” refer to the vessels of both sides (not just the Antonian—but cf. Dio 50.23.3; 50.33.4); this avoids the awkward collocation of two ablative phrases in close succession (and weak connection). The adjective is old (Lucretius has it at *DRN* 5.1302 of a war elephant); cf. 3.536 *turriti scopuli*; 6.785–786 of the crowned Cybele. Towers were an old story in marine warfare (vid. Casson 1971, 122n92); they are first cited in a strictly naval engagement at the Battle of Chios in 201 (Polybius 16.3.12; cf. Thucydides 7.25.6). Agrippa had experience with them during the campaign against Sextus Pompey. Plutarch (*Vita Ant.* 66.3) says that Antony’s ships fired catapults from wooden towers, and that three or four of the Antonian vessels would engage with one of Octavian’s—the men all fighting with wicker shields and spears. The “towered decks” also reflect the parallel between the naval battle and a land-based siege—Actium is like a clash of two moving cities (cf. Florus, *Epit.* 21.2, where Antony’s ships mimic the outlay of cities and fortifications in both massive size and the construction of siege towers).

instant: Cf. 2.627–628 (the simile of the cutting down of a tree that symbolizes the fall of Troy); 537 above; 10.118 *Interea Rutuli portis circum omnibus instant*; 10.681–692; 10.713.

694 *stuppea flamma manu telisque volatile ferrum*

The verse is neatly balanced: adjective/noun combinations framing the two ablatives.

stuppea: The adjective also at 2.236 *stuppea vincula*; cf. *G.* 1.309 *stuppea torquentem Balearis verbera fundae*; Grattius, *Cyn.* 36; Ovid, *Met.* 14.547 *stuppea praerupit Phrygiae retinacula classis*; Lucan, *BC* 10.493; Statius, *Silv.* 3.2.6. “The reference is to the *malleolus*, a sort of fire-dart shaped like a hammer” (Tetlow).

telis: Another little word that has caused much critical confusion (Gransden silent on this verse). Henry has a long and useful note that does well to remind the reader that Virgil takes great pleasure in expressing one idea through coordinated phrases (in other words, there is only one weapon, not two, and *telis* does not refer to some sort of engine); the *stuppea flamma* or “flaming tow” and the *volatile ferrum* are the same thing; i.e., *telis* “is the weapon formed by the union of the two.” Cf. Eden’s “a typically Virgilian hendiadys for a single weapon, the *malleolus*” (see further Livy 42.64, with Briscoe). Marsden 1969, 172 notes that “There is very little evidence for employment of artillery on either side. Antonius’ sailors undoubtedly employed it ... shooting from ship-mounted towers, and it is possible that the flaming bolts ... used by Octavian’s men were hurled from catapults.” For the use of the epexegetical or possessive ablative where the genitive might be expected, see Antoine 1882, 80–81; cf. 12.63 *strictis seges mucronibus horret*. For the ablative where one might expect an epexeget-

ical or possessive genitive (i.e., *generis*) see Antoine 1882, 80–81, and cf. 12.663 *strictis seges mucronibus horret*.

volatile ferrum: The line-end also at 4.71 (of the shepherd to whom Aeneas is compared in the wounding of Dido simile); these are the only occurrences of the adjective in Virgil. The poet may be borrowing from Lucretius, *DRN* 1.970 *volatile telum*; cf. *Ilias Latina* 347; Ovid, *Ars* 1.169; *Met.* 7.841; Silius, *Pun.* 7.656. Cf. Euripides, *Heracles* 367.

The detail about weapons of fire and iron comes just before an allusion to Neptune; we may recall the god's son Messapus, who was immune to such threats (7.692 *quem neque fas igni cuiquam nec sternere ferro*).

695 *spargitur, arva nova Neptunia caede rubescunt*.

spargitur: Vid. G. Torti in *EV* IV, 975–976; for the “sprinkling” of weapons cf. 7.686–687; 11.650; 12.50–51 (also with *rejet* of the verb, for which note Dainotti 2015, 75–76). Verbs frame the line.

arva: The metaphor from agriculture; the future Augustan Rome is sown in the Neptunian “fields” of blood. Interlocking word order.

nova ... caede: Cf. 9.693; 10.515; Statius, *Theb.* 9.200. The adjective (as often) conveys a sense of newness and strangeness; naval combat was relatively uncommon in Roman history, and there were likely technological advances that were demonstrated for the first time now in combat—Agrippa and Octavian had certainly had the opportunity to hone their skills in the long and difficult struggle against Sextus Pompey. For the paradox of fire causing death on water, see Hardie 1986, 109. Servius takes the adjective of slaughter that is “magna, nimia.” *Caedes* repeated at 709, as Cleopatra fears for her own future death as she sails away amid the slaughter.

Neptunia: For the god note M. Massenzio in *EV* III, 710–712; R.T. Ganiban in *VE* II, 912; Bailey 1935, 118; L. Fratantuono, “*Graviter Commotus*: Neptune in the *Aeneid*,” in *Latomus* 74.1 (2015), 130–148; cf. Preller/Robert I, 566–596; Roscher III.2, 201–207. Neptune figures in the closing scenes of both Books 5 and 8; in the former (779 ff.), he meets with Venus to discuss the Trojan passage to from Sicily to Italy, where he demands the sacrifice of one life (i.e., Palinurus’); now he figures (fittingly enough) in the battle that takes place in his realm (cf. on 699). Ennian origins have been suspected for *Neptunia arva*; see further Wigodwky 1972, 110.

rubescunt: First in the epic at 3.521, of the ruddy dawn that greets the first Trojan sighting of Italy; the Battle of Actium is a rebirth of an Italy triumphant. At 7.25, the sea becomes red with the light of the dawn on the morning that the Trojans reach the Tiber; the reference looks back at the initial gaze on Italy, even as it anticipates the waters that will be red with blood off Actium. Cf. *G.* 2.34;

Edgeworth 1992, 159–160. “A cliché of epic sea-fights” (Gransden). For the use of “colour-note expressions” to indicate consequence, see Dainotti 2015, 149.

The fire and iron that wreak such bloody havoc represent a new, second stage in the battle; missile weapons and incendiaries are flung at close quarters, as men seek both to destroy the towering siege engines and to board enemy vessels.

696 regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro,

regina in mediis: Echoing 675 *in medio*, of the apparent position of Actium on the shield; now the unnamed queen appears in the midst of the sanguinary slaughter that has resulted from the clash of ships and men. On the title “queen” see Newman and Newman 2005, 140, and note 707. With the middle of the fray cf. 700 *medio in certamine*. On the prejudice against female rule see J. Tracy, “Egypt,” in *VE* I, 410; for the question of the depiction of women warriors in Roman literature, note especially Gillespie 2018, 91–104.

Cleopatra was in the rear of Antony’s ship formation (688); here she bursts forth through the havoc of the broken lines, with no hint of cowardly action or any effort to escape the disaster. Plutarch notes that as Agrippa drew out his left wing and Publicola responded, the center was thrown into confusion, and soon enough Octavian’s center commander Lucius Arruntius was bearing down on the Antonian fleet. As Cleopatra’s forces advanced, they likely clashed with Arruntius’ ships. The cavalry battle of Book 11 is an allegorized Actium (note that Neptune was a patron of horses), with Camilla as Cleopatra and the wolf-like Arruns as *Loukios* Arruntius. Cf. 11.648 *At medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon*, of Camilla at the cavalry engagement. In Velleius, Arruntius is on the left; it is possible that this was the commander’s original position, and that he moved to the center to respond to the sudden appearance of Cleopatra’s Egyptian vessels.

An ongoing historical debate: what exactly was Cleopatra trying to do? Was she seeking to flee the scene of the battle, taking advantage of a gap in the lines and the rising of favorable winds for Egypt? Plutarch records that when the battle was balanced equally, Cleopatra’s sixty ships hoisted sail for an escape through the midst; they caused great confusion in the Antonian front line as they sought to break through, and Octavian’s forces were in amazement as they saw the sudden development unfold. Dio makes clear that the contest was unsettled and indeed anyone’s game, until the queen raised the signal to flee, having lost her nerve after hours of uncertain waiting at anchor. What is clear in the Virgilian shield depiction is that Cleopatra was a major player in the battle; this ecphrastic presentation does not accord well with the major surviving historical accounts (and so Fratantuono 2007, 255 and 261n138 is overly cautious

about associating Cleopatra with Camilla). It is possible that Virgilian propaganda invented a prominent role for the queen in the battle (both to redound to the greater glory of Octavian and Agrippa, and to shift as much responsibility for the battle as possible away from Antony)—but there is also the chance that Virgil's account of Actium should be taken at face value, and that Cleopatra's forces were indeed in the midst of the fray (Virgil does not address the question of Egyptian flight until 705–706). In Fratantuono's reconstruction of the battle (2016, 117 ff.), the Antonian center under Marcus Octavius and Marcus Insteius became dangerously thin, and Cleopatra's forces responded in the middle and clashed dramatically with the warships of Lucius Arruntius. The resulting engagement saw some of the fiercest fighting of the conflict, or at least some of the most remarkable and memorable. Destruction or flight were the queen's only choices as the battle turned against her; she opted to escape under the favorable influence of a northwest wind (cf. 710 ff.).

patrio ... sistro: The *sistrum* of Isis. The noun is rare; note Propertius, c. 3.11.42–43 *et Tiberim Nili cogere ferre minas, | Romanamque tubam crepitanti pellere sistro*; Manilius, *Astron.* 1.917–918 *femineum sortita iugum cum Roma pendit | atque ipsa Isiaco certarunt fulmina sistro*; Ovid, *Am.* 2.13.11 *per tua sinistra precor, per Anubidis ora verendi*; 3.9.33–34 ... *quid nunc Aegyptia prosunt | sinistra?*; *Ars* 3.635; *Met.* 9.693; 777–778; 784; *Ep.* 1.1.37–38; 1.1.45–46; Lucan, *BC* 8.832; 10.63–64; Persius, s. 5.186–187; Statius, *Silv.* 3.2.103; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.418; Juvenal, s. 13.93; Martial, *ep.* 114.54.2 (also the *sistrata turba* of 12.28.19). *Patrio* is used in studied contrast to the same image of Rome and Italy (cf. the senators of 679, and especially the *patrium sidus* of 681). Instrument and adjective frame the call to the battle lines. “A good example of the propagandist sneer” (Gransden). For the possible etymological reference to Cleopatra, see P. Chaudhuri, “Naming *nefas*: Cleopatra on the Shield of Aeneas,” in *CQ* 62.1 (2012), 223–226. The queen is not named, and neither is her patron goddess Isis (note here S. Takács in *VE* 11, 669).

agmina: Cf. 678 (of Augustus) and 683 (of Agrippa); Antony was said to have conveyed Egypt, the strength of the East, and distant Bactria with him (687–688); Cleopatra takes a more active role in the battle (cf. the queen's *vocat* to Antony's *vehit*). The scene may reflect a move of the Egyptian forces in the rear to shore up the collapsing Antonian center after the move to the right to defend against Agrippa's attempt to outflank Antony.

697 *ne dum etiam geminos a tergo respicit anguis.*

An eerie foreshadowing of the eventual suicide of the queen at Alexandria, as the shield ecphrasis telescopes a moment of Actian battle frenzy and a scene from a year later, in the Alexandrian end game of Octavian's conquest of Egypt.

necdum etiam: Catullan (c. 64.55); cf. *G.* 2.539; *A.* 1.25; *Ps.-V., Ciris* 146; Manilius, *Astron.* 1.73; Statius, *Theb.* 5.645.

geminos ... anguis: So at 7.450 ... *et geminos erexit crinibus anguis* (Allecto with Turnus); 8.289 ... *geminosque premens eliserit anguis* (the infant Hercules with the twin snakes of Juno). Two snakes also involved in the death of Laocoön and his sons (2.203 ff.). This is the only extant source that records the use of two snakes in the death of Cleopatra; cf. Horace, c. 1.37.26–27 ... *fortis et asperas / tractare serpentis*; Propertius, c. 3.11.53 *bracchia spectasti sacris admorsa colubris*; Florus, *Epit.* 2.21 ... *admotisque ad venas serpentibus*, all plural snakes, where “two” would be likelier than three or more. Plutarch (*Vita Ant.* 85–86) and Dio (51.54) have a single snake. The *De Viris Illustribus* has *Postea Antonio iuncta, cum eo victa, cum se illi inferias ferre simularet, in mausoleo eius admotis aspidibus perit* (86.3 Martin).

See further here J.G. Griffiths, “The Death of Cleopatra VII,” in *JEA* 47 (1961), 113–118 (in favor of two, with argument from the double uraeus image that represented Upper and Lower Egypt); B. Baldwin, “The Death of Cleopatra VII,” in *JEA* 50 (1964), 181–182; J.G. Griffiths, “The Death of Cleopatra VII: A Rejoinder and a Postscript,” in *JEA* 51 (1965), 209–211; Lange 2009, 78; Goldsworthy 2010, 384–385 (a sober analysis that favors the use of the Egyptian cobra, a difficult animal to conceal—let alone doubled or trebled). Twin snakes; twin children of the she-wolf. For the “traditional” asp, cf. Nicander, *Theriaca* 182–185, with Jacques’ lengthy Budé notes. On Cleopatra’s *geminos anguis* and other Virgilian snakes, note R. Uccellini in *VE* III, 1182–1183. For how the suicide reference is perhaps atonement for Cleopatra’s perceived transgressions in fighting against the Roman order, see De Boer Simons 2016, 127n326.

In a long note, Henry argues that the “twin snakes” are not to be taken of the queen’s mode of suicide, but rather with general reference to the impending catastrophe (“wholly metaphorical”). See further here A. Tronson, “Vergil, the Augustans, and the Invention of Cleopatra’s Suicide: One Asp or Two?,” in *Vergilius* 44 (1998), 31–50. On the more or less speculative thesis that Cleopatra was actually murdered by order of Octavian, cf. Brown 2013. An argument could be made that the drama of Cleopatra’s suicide redounded to Octavian’s credit: she was, after all, a fierce opponent, as evidenced by her ability to “escape” her captor (cf. the spirit and sentiment of Horace, c. 1.37). The “twin” snakes constitute a rather different pair from the storied “twins” of 631.

a tergo: With reference to the order of battle; Cleopatra had been in the rear, and her forces have now advanced into the midst of the fray. But the queen does not realize that something is already at her back. The snakes have been depicted by the god just behind the figure of Cleopatra as she rages *in mediis*.

respicit: The backward glance; in the preeminent Virgilian book of vision, Cleopatra does not yet see her herpetological fate. For the parallel of the suicide to the rape of the Sabines, note Newman and Newman 2005, 23. On Didonic parallels see Reed 2007, 84. The line-end is used also at Martial, *ep.* 14.177.1 *Elidit geminos infans nec respicit anguis* (of Hercules).

698 *omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis*

One verse is devoted to the animal gods of Egypt, before significantly more attention is paid to the deities of Rome. “Les dieux monstrueux et zoomorphes” (cf. Borgies 2016, 322).

omnigenumque: The adjective only here in Virgil and otherwise rare; it is probably borrowed from Lucretius, *DRN* 2.759; 2.821; 4.735; 5.48; 5.440, in all of which places Lachmann conjectures *omne genus*. An interesting textual question here: the first hand of the Medicean has *nigenumque*, which Lachmann suggested might reflect *Niligenumque*; Hoffmann conjectured *amnigenumque* (again, with reference to the gods of the Nile). Eden argues that the Medicean “mistake” is not of great importance, but the rarity of the adjective might give pause as to the correct reading. Note too the confusion as to meaning; Priscian (*Inst.* 7.9.5) recognizes a nominative *omnigena*, but the meaning of *omnigenumque* would not be “born from all things,” but rather “of all kinds,” i.e., from *omnigenus*. Was the poet’s point that the monsters were born from the Nile? This would provide a balance to the verse, with the two proper names in framing order.

monstra: Close to English “monsters.” Cf. the *monstra ferarum* at the entrance to the underworld; the sea monsters referenced at 6.729; Circe’s transformed victims at 7.21; the Junonian snakes of 288–289 above. *Monstra*, Servius notes, because the Romans under Augustus had not yet received the rites of Egypt; see Eden’s note here on the history of the Isis cult in Rome. For the association of (Argive) Turnus with Isis/Io (7.789–792, where Io and Argus appear on his own *clipeum*), see Reed 2007, 70. Turnus’ shield depicts a moment of (however questionable) Junonian triumph in the guardianship of the transformed Io; cf. the imagery on the baldric of Pallas. Significantly, Turnus’ shield shows the girl as a *bos*, not as the Egyptian goddess Isis (which would evoke Cleopatran associations).

et: Epexegetic; the “barking Anubis” is but one example of the gods that Cleopatra (and, by extension, Antony) brought to Actium.

latrator Anubis: Imitated by Ovid at *Met.* 9.690 ... *cum qua latrator Anubis*; cf. Propertius, c. 3.11.41 *ausa Iovi nostro latrantem opponere Anubim*. For the god note P.J. Jones in *VE* 1, 100; S. Donadoni in *EV* 1, 210–211 (with illustration); Bailey 1935, 182; also Roscher 1.1, 386–387. On the place of Anubis in the Augustan

propaganda against Cleopatra, see Harrison on Horace, c. 2.19.30–31. Anubis was characteristically identified with the head of a jackal or dog. The adjective is contemptuous; Anubis yaps ineffectually at the Roman gods on the side of Augustus and Agrippa.

699 *contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Minervam*

A triad (though not Capitoline, whether archaic or recent); all three immortals figure earlier in the book: 1) Venus most prominently, the goddess who procured the arms and is appropriately depicted on the shield she commissioned; 2) Minerva, the goddess of weaving who was mentioned at 409 in the simile comparison of Vulcan to a woman who rises early to see to the work of the loom; and 3) Neptune, who was named in passing at 695, where his *arva* (i.e., the seas) were said to be red with the blood of Actium's casualties. Theomachy: for "anti-Egyptian" god battles, note Chaudhuri 2014, 184. For the irony of how the *eastern* Aeneas goes to war with a shield that depicts the defeat of the gods of the east, see Jenkyns 1998, 560. Cf. the theomachies of Homer, *Il.* 21.387 ff. and Nonnus, *Dion.* 36, which are Olympian internecine struggles.

contra ... contra: The repetition contributes to the notion of a hard fought battle.

Neptunum: The first god named is the lord of the stage on which the battle is set. Danielis connects the mention of Neptune here to the mysterious ichthyological detail of Pliny, *NH* 32.3–4 (where see Saint-Denis' Budé note) concerning the *echeneis* (*fertur Actiaco Marte tenuisse praetoriam navem Antoni properantis circumire et exhortari suos, donec transiret in aliam, ideoque Caesariana classis impetus maiore protinus venit*). See further Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* 2.14 (with Peck's Loeb annotation); Aelian, *De Animal.* 1.36 and 2.17; E.W. Gudger, "Some Old Time Figures of the Shipholder, Echeneis or Remora," in *Isis* (!) 13.2 (1930), 340–352, with the testimony of Key West, Florida fishermen as to the ability of the sucking fish to retard a boat. Wardle notes on Suetonius, *Vita Aug.* 18 that it was only after the defeat of Sextus Pompey that Augustus began to worship Neptune publicly; the son of the republican hero had claimed Neptunian favor.

Venerem: We may recall the cooperation of Venus with Neptune near the end of Book 5 (and so the two immortals are closely linked here); note that at 5.704 ff., Nautes is said to have been taught his arts of prognostication and interpretation by *Tritonia Pallas*, so that in a sense the three deities of this verse are all players in the closing scenes of that sister book. Cf. the eroticized reflection of Aphrodite in the bronze shield of Ares at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.742–473.

Aphrodite had some connection to Actium, it would appear; the goddess needs no defense for her presence here, but there may be a nod all the same

to whatever local cult existed. Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 1.50.4–1.51.1, with attestation of a temple of Aphrodite Aineias; there was another at Leucas; Palagia and Pollitt 1996, 175 on the numismatic and other evidence. For the absence of the temples in the Virgilian accounts of Actium and Leucas, see Miller 2009, 96.

Minervam: The goddess' name is set in prominent relief at the end of the verse; she is the only one of the trio to hold membership in the Capitoline triad, and her identification as a battle goddess makes her presence fitting and unobjectionable. We may think here too of the twin snakes at the end of 697, which balance the name of the goddess with whom they are associated; on this note Henry 1989, 98. The Minerva of the shield is the battle goddess Pallas Athena; the poet's earlier reference to the goddess' patronage over the domestic sphere coordinates with the epiphany of the martial Minerva in the crafting of the *compleat* goddess; the mistress of the loom was associated with the work of forging the arms that are now emblazoned with the theomachy.

Horace has a similar passage at c. 3.4.53 ff., of the gigantomachy (with which the present scene has affinities); one recalls the Homeric battle of the gods at *Il.* 20.54–75, though here there is no hint of Olympian disorder. Jupiter and Juno are notably and discreetly absent.

On the Homeric shield of Achilles, Pallas Athena and Ares are grouped together (*Il.* 18.516 ff.), clad in gold, fair and tall; they lead forth the men at arms from the besieged city of war.

700 *tela tenent; saevit medio in certamine Mavors*

tela tenent: The alliterative object and verb pair coordinate with the subjects (698) in framing order around the Roman gods. The Wolfenbüttel originally read *tela tenens* (later corrected; probably a reminiscence of 5.514); so also a would-be corrector of the Palatinus. *Tela* properly of missile weapons, in this case the arms the Egyptian gods hurl against the divine protectors of Rome.

saevit: For the verb note 5–6 above, of the *iuventus effera* in Latium—closing something of a ring of rage. Vivid vocabulary, as we are reminded once again of the tension between static imagery and cinematic art.

medio in certamine: Cf. 696 *regina in mediis* (of Cleopatra); 675 *in medio classis aeratas* (of the depiction of Actium on the shield). Alliteration with *Mavors*. For the noun note 639, of a conflict that was put aside. Cf. *Ilias Latina* 526; Livy 25.30.12.1; Pliny, *Ep.* 9.6.2.5.

Mavors: For the god see on 433, and for the name cf. 630; the present scene closes a ring with the reference to the Lupercal and the Mavortian twins that were suckled by the she-wolf. The war god is fittingly raging in the midst of the strife; there may be an allusion too to the god's place in the so-called Archaic

Triad (appropriately signaled by the archaic name). The terrifying image of Mavors here echoes the end of the first georgic: 1.510–511 *vicinae ruptis inter se legibus urbes / arma ferunt; saevit toto Mars impius orbe*. For the place of the god here with respect to the powers of Augustus and Apollo, note Newman and Newman 2005, 294 ff. For the appearance of Mars as a force of discord and potential dealer of equal carnage see Miller 2009, 70–71. Page et al. distinguish between the Mavors of Actium and the Mars who is the father of Romulus; it is not clear that Virgil allows so comforting a separation.

On the influence of this scene on Lucan, *BC* 7.567–773, see Dinter 2013 in Lovatt and Vout 2013, 133 ff. For the parallel passage of Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Post.* 11.8 ff., see Gärtner 2005, 112 ff.

701 caelatus ferro tristesque ex aethere Dirae,

caelatus: The verb also at 1.640–641 *ingens argentum mensis caelataque in auro / fortia facta patrum* (in the description of the preparations for Dido's banquet); 5.307 *spicula caelatamque argento ferre bipennem* (in the listing of the awards for the foot race); 7.791–792 ... *et custos virginis Argus / caelataque amnem fundens pater Inachus urna* (of Turnus' *Io-clipeum*); 10.499 *quae Clonus Eurytides multo caelaverat auro* (of Pallas' baldric); cf. *E.* 3.37. Of the depiction of embossed or engraved work (*OLD* s.v. 2). The sound echo of the verb reminds us of *caelum*, which leads soon enough to *aethere*—but the “heavenly” spirit of the line is shot through with infernal color and the grim reality of war and death.

ferro: The metal is chosen for its appropriateness to the god of war and martial strife, not for any metallurgic harmony with gold and silver (or with any concern for the exact method by which the iron is embossed).

tristesque ex aethere Dirae: For the *Dirae* note Roscher I.1, 1310 ff. (“Erinys”); Hübner 1970; R. Edgeworth, “The *Dirae* of *Aeneid XII*,” in *Eranos* 84 (1986), 133–143; C. Mackie, “Vergil's *Dirae*, South Italy, and Etruria,” in *Phoenix* 46 (1992), 352–361; W. Hübner, “Die Dira im zwölften Buch der Aeneis: eine Klarstellung,” in *Eranos* 92 (1994), 23–28; Fratantuono 2011-*BStudLat*; Fordyce, and Horsfall on 7.324 ff.; cf. also S. Donaldson, “‘Direness’ and Its Place in the *Aeneid*,” in *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 13 (1988), 100–101. The *Dirae* have clear enough affinities with the *Furiae*, and it is not surprising that encyclopedia articles, e.g., treat them in common—but there are important distinctions to be made. Servius on 4.609 records a division between the Furies of earth, the Eumenides of the underworld, and the *Dirae* of the upper air (*ex aethere*), though it is not clear that Virgil would have approved of the delineation. *Deum ira*. The *Dirae* are the children of Night, sisters of Megaera, born together in one nativity (12.845–848). They terrify cities that merit the treatment (12.852 *meritas urbes*). Jupiter uses

one of the Dirae (12.853 *harum unam*) to frighten Juturna in order to remove her from battle. Henry notes that the description highlights how the Dirae are depicted as hovering over the combatants.

The Dirae also figure in the dream torment of Dido (4.471–473 *aut Agamemnonius scaenis agitatus Orestes, | armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris | cum fugit ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae*); cf. 4.610 *et Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae*.

The Romanus and Apronianus' correction of the Medicean read *divae* here (so also the bulk of the Carolingians), apparently with reference to the following mention of Discordia and Bellona (702–703). In Book 12, the Dirae are clearly associated with the will of Jupiter; they stand at his threshold and await his word (see here Tarrant on 12.845–852; cf. Dyson 2001, 128). Some have identified them with Tisiphone and Allecto, a tempting completion of a furious sorority with Megaera; certainly in Book 12 the Dirae are akin to winged female demons that bring tidings of ill omen (cf. the more traditional association of the Dirae in Book 4 with the Furies, at least in *Dido's* conception). Dido; Cleopatra; Juturna: the Dirae might seem to be particularly associated with the frightening of women, though it is unclear whether the poet intended any special link here to the role of Cleopatra at Actium (note though the portent of the swallows that is recorded from before Actium, and the Virgilian association of Juturna with the same bird, and the Dirae with avian imagery; on this lore see Fratantuono 2016, 4).

Tristes is a conventional enough epithet; the dire goddesses are grim even to those whose side will be victorious. On the *dea dira* of 12.914 see Fratantuono 2011-*BStudLat*, 528–529. For semantic associations of *dira* see Paschalis 1997, 400–401. Henry notes that *aethere* is used interchangeably here with *aëre* merely for metrical convenience, but there may be a deliberate association of the Dirae with the Jovian ether. See further here Panoussi 2009, 91–92.

702 et scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla,

scissa ... palla: So of Polyxena at Juvenal, s. 10.261–262 *Iliadum lacrimas, ut primos edere planctus | Cassandra inciperet scissaque Polyxena palla*. Cf. 12.609 ... *scissa veste Latinus*; also 9.478 *scissa comam* (of Euryalus' mother). *Palla* occurs elsewhere in Virgil only of the ominous gift of the cloak of the Argive Helen that Aeneas sends to Dido (1.648; 711); of Tisiphone's bloody vesture (6.555 *Tisiphoneque sedens palla succincta cruenta*); the clothing of the young Camilla at 11.576. Virgil plays on the semantic associations of Pallas with *pallor* and *pallidus*; the *palla* in Virgil has its own less than positive associations. Here the garment is torn to symbolize division; in the ecphrastic conception of Actium, the battle is essentially a foreign struggle between Rome and her immortals *ver-*

sus the bizarre animal gods of the East and the crazed queen Cleopatra; there are only subtle reminder that Actium was the climactic engagement of the civil wars of the late Republic.

gaudens: Also of Rumor (4.189–190); Feronia (7.800). Deliberate contrast between the rejoicing of the spirits of martial rage and the implicit suffering of mortals.

vadit: The verb is not particularly common in Virgil; note 2.359; 396; 3.462; 480; 4.223; 5.548; 6.263; 11.176.

Discordia: Cf. Ennius, *Ann. fr.* 7.225–226 Skutsch *postquam Discordia taetra / Belli ferratos postes portasque refregit*, a poetic source for Virgil's Allecto. The Homeric Eris. For the goddess/personification see T. Joseph in *VE* 1, 375; A. Grilli in *EV* 11, 97–98 (with illustration); Roscher 1.1, 1179; she appears also as one of the specters at the threshold of the underworld (6.280 *ferreique Eumenidum thalami et Discordia demens*, where the iron, the Eumenides, and Discord prefigure the engraving of Actium on the shield). We may compare here the question of Jupiter at the divine council, *quae contra vetitum discordia?* (10.9, where see Harrison); Gransden makes a distinction between civil war and legitimate strife (on this see especially Newman and Newman 2005, 295). Cf. Allecto's address to Juno: *en, perfecta tibi bello discordia tristi* (7.545); 10.106 *haud licitum nec vestra capit discordia finem* (Jupiter to Juno at the council); 12.313 ... *quaeve ista repens discordia surgit?* (Aeneas after the breaking of the truce); 12.583 *exoritur trepidos inter discordia civis*. Note also here Cairns 1989, 107n59.

Seneca quotes this line at *De Ira* 2.35.6 *Vel, si videtur, sit qualis apud vates nostros est: Sanguineam quatiens dextra Bellona flagellum, aut scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla*, with adaptation of 702–703.

Eris is memorably depicted on the shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.535), where Strife, Tumult, and Fate do their worst (see below on 703).

703 **quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello.**

sanguineo: Sibilant alliteration with the main verb. For the adjective cf. 622. Bellona is regularly associated with the spattering of blood.

Bellona: For the Roman goddess of war (originally Duellona) note E. Fantham in *VE* 1, 178; E. Montanari in *EV* 1, 477–478 (with illustration); Bailey 1935, 115–116; also Roscher 1.1, 774–777. In Juno's furious conception, Bellona will be the *pronuba* for Lavinia's wedding (7.319). For the goddess cf. e.g. Plautus, *Amphit.* 42–44 *vidi, Neptunum Virtutem Victoriam / Martem Bellonam, commemorare quae bona / vobis fecissent quis bene factis meus pater* (with Christenson's note); *Bacch.* 847 *nam neque Bellona mi unquam neque Mars creduat*; Cicero, *In Verr.* 2.5.41.2 *O divina senatus frequentis in aede Bellonae admurmuratio!*; Tibullus, c. 1.6.45–46 *haec ubi Bellonae motu est agitata, nec acrem / flammam, non*

amens verbera torta timet (with Murgatroyd); Horace, *Serm.* 2.3.223 *hunc circumtonuit gaudens Bellona cruentis*; Livy 8.9.6.1 and 10.19.17 and 21 (with Oakley); Ovid, *Met.* 5.155–156 *pollutosque simul multo Bellona penates / sanguine perfundit renovataque proelia miscet*; *Fast.* 6.201–202; Lucan, *BC* 1.565 (with Roche); 7.568; Petronius, *Sat.* 124.1.256–257 *et Bellona minax facibusque armata Megaera / Letumque Insidiaeque et lurida Mortis imago*; Seneca, *Ag.* 82 *sanguinolenta Bellona manu*; *HO* 1311–1312; Statius, *Theb.* 2.719; 4.6–7 (with Parkes); 7.73–74 *sanguinea Bellona manu longaque fatigat / cuspide*; 805; 8.348–349; 9.296–297; 10.855; 11.413; 12.720–721; *Ach.* 1.33–34; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.545–546; 2.227–228; 3.60–61; 7.635–636; Juvenal, *s.* 4.123–125; 6.510–513 (with Watson and Watson); Silius, *Pun.* 4.439 ... *atro stimulat Bellona flagello*; 5.221. Dio (42.26.2) records that vessels of human flesh were discovered when the *sacellum* of Bellona was accidentally destroyed in 48 B.C. (on this see further Miller 2009, 70–71, with comment on the correspondence of Bellona, Discordia, etc. to “Homeric clusters of mostly personified deities inspiring indiscriminate slaughter”). Sulla was associated with the Cappadocian goddess Ma (Orlin 2010, 199 ff.).

flagello: Also at 5.579, as Epytides gave the signal for the *lusus Troiae* (a mimicry of the battle for Troy); cf. 6.570 (of Tisiphone’s whip); 7.731 ... *sed haec lento mos est aptare flagello* (of the Oscans). The bloody whip may be a reminiscence of Aeschylus, *Ag.* 642, where Ares has such a weapon. For the Virgilian association of the crack of the whip with war and horror see Newman and Newman 2005, 5. A hint of serpentine imagery, with which both the Furies and Pallas/Minerva are invested; on this note Panoussi 2009, 110–111. For Bellona’s whip see Augoustakis on Statius, *Theb.* 8.655–656.

It is possible that Mars and the Dirae are to be associated with Augustus and Agrippa, and Discordia and Bellona with Antony (who fomented civil war) and Cleopatra (who has affinities with Bellona), as some commentators have speculated; the spirits of war and strife are exemplary, however, in equal opportunity for sanguinary violence and the gruesome death toll of battle and war. The Dirae and Discordia offer alliterative balance between the framing appearances of Mavors and his consort Bellona.

With these spirits of war and strife we may compare the similar figures on the Quintan shield of Achilles at *Post.* 5.31 ff., where Eris, the Erinyes, the Keres, Thanatos, the Gorgons, etc. all make appearances; cf. also 11.8 ff., where Eris, the Erinyes, the Keres, Phobos and Ares stalk their prey amid the strife of war (see here Gärtner 2005, 112–113). On the Homeric shield, Eris, Ker, etc. take an active role in combat (*Il.* 18.535 ff.), with the Ker grasping one man alive, another half-dead, her cloak red with the blood of the slaughtered and wounded; the destructive spirits of war and dead fight as if they were men, and they drag away the bodies of their slain rivals.

704 *Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo*

Adjective and noun frame the highly assonant verse; for the appellation cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 2.404. This is the first appearance of the god Apollo in the epic in the array and glory of battle; this is the crowning image of Augustan verse and the rebirth of Rome under its victorious future *princeps*. Whatever the power of the other immortals, it will be Apollo who reigns supreme at Actium; it is Apollo who fashions order out of the bloody chaos and ghastly horrors of the war in the waters near his shrine.

Actius ... Apollo: On the Virgilian Apollo note above on 335–336; vid. Miller 2009; A.G. McKay in *EV* 1, 220–222; J.F. Miller in *VE* 1, 100–101; L. Fratantuono, “Apollo in the *Aeneid*,” forthcoming in *Eirene* 53 (2017); Bailey 1935, 163–172; W. Unte, “Die Gestalt Apollos im Handlungsablauf,” in *Gym.* 101 (1994), 204–257; cf. Preller/Robert 1, 230–295. For “Apollo of the Shore” see Horsfall on 3.280. The temple of Actian Apollo at the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf is attested by Thucydides 1.29.3. Wardle on Suetonius, *Vita Aug.* 18 conveniently sketches the history: three temples on the site, the oldest sixth century; Augustus apparently enhanced and restored the shrine, though the exact extent of his work is unclear. On the site of his camp, Augustus also consecrated a shrine to Mars and Neptune, with a monumental altar to Apollo on the spot where Augustus’ tent had been pitched. Leucas was the site of the great temple of Apollo Leucatas; the different Apollonian shrines were sometimes conflated in Augustan poetry.

God and title neatly alliterative with *arcum* at mid-verse. Apollo also appears in the poet’s programmatic description of the temple that he will construct out of hexameter verses (i.e., the *Aeneid*): *G.* 3.13 ff. (where see Thomas). On the epiphany of Actian Apollo as a “victory-miracle” for the preservation of Rome, see Hardie 1986, 124–125. On the theological import of the depiction of the immortal on the shield, note Syed 2005, 179–181. The god will figure in the death of Camilla (11.784 ff.), where he answers at least part of the prayer of Arruns; the Homeric Apollo was instrumental in the death of Patroclus. In Propertius’ vision (c. 4.6.27 ff., where see Hutchinson), Apollo leaves Delos and comes to Augustus’ flagship; he delivers a long speech before emptying his bow. Cleopatra is duly punished (4.6.57 ... *dat femina poenas*); Caesar looks down from the Idalian star of his parent Venus and proclaims both his own divinity and the *fides* that Augustus is of his blood.

On the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield*, Apollo is depicted in the middle, playing music on a golden lyre (201–203). Cf. the depiction of Apollo shooting at Tityos on the cloak of Jason at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.759–761a; also 2.674–684 (the epiphany of Apollo to the Argonauts) and 4.1706–1710 (Apollo’s revelation of one of the Sporades); 1.403b–404a for *Actian* Apollo, all with Nelis 2001, 354–355.

cernens: The emphasis on the visual: Actian Apollo oversees the whole struggle. The verb echoes 676 *cernere erat*, of the ecphrastic depiction of the battle as a whole.

intendebat: A powerfully vivid imperfect: Vulcan captured the moment just as Apollo began to draw his bow (inchoative). The image is borrowed from Ennius, *Alc.* fr. 28–30 Jocelyn *intendit crinitus Apollo | arcum auratum luna innixus; | Diana facem iacit a laeva*. Cf. Seneca, *HO* 974; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.401; Silius, *Pun.* 12.711 *intenditque arcum et pugna meditatur Apollo*. On the “slight ambivalence toward archery as a weapon” in the epic, with reference to Apollo’s use of the bow here, see R.F. Thomas in *VE* 1, 119–120.

705 **desuper: omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi,**

desuper: Cf. 249. For how the stretching of the bow “from above” is an extension of the sight (*cernens*) of the archer god, see Paschalis 1997, 299–300 (who compares the semantic association of *Actius* with high and sharp points, and the connection between *arcum* and *arcere* in the sense of keeping away or averting one’s enemies). Cf. the action of Apollo at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.1709b.

omnis ... Aegyptus: “Every Egyptian,” even if there is one who looms over the rest. The spelling *Aegyptos* may be correct (so the Palatinus and the corrected Romanus); see further Conington’s note.

eo terrore: A bold extension; Apollo’s stretching of his bow is an act of terror for his enemies and archery targets. *Terror* only 8× in the epic, and always in the Iliadic half (3× in the book where the war erupts): 7.58 *sed variis portenta deum terroribus obstant*; 7.552 ... *terrorum et fraudis abunde est*; 7.577–578 *Turnus adest medioque in crimine caedis et igni | terrorem ingeminat*; 9.202 *Argolicum terrorem inter Troiaequae labores*; 11.357; 11.448; 12.617. For the attraction of the demonstrative see Eden. Causal ablative.

Indi: Plural in interlocked order with singular here and at 706. The Indians are associated with the Augustan dream of world conquest and peace in the vision of the *Heldenschau* (6.794–795 ... *super et Garamantas et Indos | proferet imperium*); note also the mention of Indians in the description of the Latin customs surrounding the declaration of war: 7.605–606 ... *seu tendere ad Indos | Auroramque sequi Parthosque repscere signa*. Indian ivory is mentioned in the extended reflection on Lavinia’s blush (12.67–68 *Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro | si quis ebur*); cf. *G.* 2.116 ff.; 2.138; 172; 4.425. Egypt and India represent the western and eastern geographical extremities of the Antonian forces (again, with suppression of Roman, Italian involvement).

For India/the Indians note S. Galson in *VE* 11, 652–653; M. Offredi in *EV* 11, 938–943; Thomas 1982, 85–86; Parker 2008; Grainger 2013 (on the earlier historical background of Roman contact with Parthia and India). Virgil seems to have

located the source of the Nile in India (*G.* 4.293), another point of association between Egypt and the Roman “Far East.” The ultimate extent of Alexander’s conquests also alluded to here. For the theory that Virgil had access to a Greek copy of the Sanskrit *Mahabharata* see J. Lallemand, “Une source de l’*Énéide*: Le *Mahabharata*,” in *Lat.* 18 (1959), 262–287.

The foreign peoples of 705–706 were not actually at Actium: they present a fantastic image eminently suitable to Augustan propaganda.

706 omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei.

omnis ... omnes: For the completion of a tricolon (*omnis, omnis, omnes*) with anaphora, see Gransden’s note. The adjectives highlight the totality of the Roman rout of the Eastern enemy.

Arabs: For Roman Arabia note L. Grillo in *VE* I, 114; V. La Bua in *EV* I, 261–262; Bowersock 1994. Referenced only here in the epic; cf. *G.* 2.115.

vertebant terga: Standard military prose (Caesarian; Livian; Tacitean). Cf. 6.491 ... *pars vertere terga*. The phrase describes the taking flight of Cleopatra’s contingents; as the god draws his bow (presumably from his lofty temple), the Egyptians, Indians, Arabs and Sabaeans seek to extricate themselves from the fray.

Sabaei: The Sabaeans (cf. Sheba) were famous for incense (thus 1.416–417 ... *centumque Sabaeo / ture calent arae*, the only other use of the geographical descriptor in the poem; note also *G.* 1.57 and 2.117). Horace has *non ante devictis Sabaeae / regibus* (c. 1.29.3–4, where see Nisbet and Hubbard). Saba famous in the Epiphany gradual/responsory *Omnes de Saba venient, aurum et thus deferentes ...* (from *Isaiah* 60.6).

The Sabaeans were for Virgil the inhabitants of a vaguely defined southern region of the Arabian peninsula; it is unclear if for Virgil there was any distinction to be made between northern and southern Sabaeans. See further Pomponius Mela 3.7; L. Fratantuono in *VE* III, 1109; V. La Bua in *EV* IV, 625–627 (with map). Most probably modern Yemen. An expedition to subjugate Arabia in 25–24 B.C. under the command of the Egyptian prefect Aelius Gallus ended in disaster; Augustus refers laconically at *Res Gest.* 26.5 to the penetration of Sabaeian lands. Virgil implicitly associates the Sabaeans who flee from Apollo’s bow with the sort of luxurious living that Venus apparently enjoys (cf. the paradox of the eastern Aeneas being associated with the western victory of Augustus over the irrational forces allied with Cleopatra and Antony, a paradox that makes sense only in light of the ultimate suppression of Trojan *mores*). Alexander did not live to achieve his planned invasion of the peninsula, and his would-be successors did not have the time, resources, or inclination to fulfill his dream; Augustus would aspire to the vision, at least in poetic propaganda if not

military success. Lands always easier to subdue in epic poetry than in military and political reality.

707 ipsa videbatur ventis regina vocatis

ipsa ... regina: Returning the focus to Cleopatra (695–696), and with intensive force; she was the last mortal to appear before the theomachic interlude. Queen and winds in essentially interlocking word order. Cf. 709 *illam*.

videbatur: Of the glimpsing of the visual *tableau* of the queen's departure from the battlefield. Fordyce correctly emphasizes the descriptive force of the passive, as the audience is invited to gaze on the picture. Less likely is that the verb should be rendered "seemed" (see Page's note here). For the use of a passive verb to describe the viewer's perspective, see Scioli 2015, 40. On the "double duty" of the verb as indicator of the queen's being seen by her allies, and as an *objet d'art*, see Putnam 1998, 147. Alliterative with *ventis*.

ventis ... vocatis: The winds protectively envelop the *regina*. Cf. 3.253 *Italiam cursu petitis ventisque vocatis*; 5.210–211 *agmine remorum celeri ventisque vocatis / prona petit maria et pelago decurrit aperto*. Plutarch notes a favorable wind as Cleopatra made her escape; Dio describes this wind as having arisen by chance. The winds noted here contrast with Agrippa's at 682. The commentators take this as ablative, though noting that it could be dative after 708 *dare*; the implication is that there were prayers and perhaps sacrifices to invoke the divine favor and gift of a speedy flight. Virgil's narrative does not support the interpretation that the queen planned nothing more than a breakout *ab initio*.

"The queen ran then, but only after a hard fought battle, and one in which there was apparently no initial plan to flee. The Virgilian description is clear enough; there was a difficult naval engagement, a strenuous battle that opened with a general clash and attempts at ramming, followed by a resorting to fire and flame; at last the Antonians were overwhelmed, and Cleopatra made her escape ..." (Fratantuono 2016, 62). Of course it would best suit Augustan propaganda to have a hard fought struggle, not a mere rout of those who never intended to do much more than to escape harbor entrapment.

708 vela dare et laxos iam iamque immittere funis.

The sails and ropes frame the line as objects of the two infinitives in balanced order; vid. further Dainotti 2015, 223–224 for this use of words of the same semantic register. The queen apparently makes a strategic escape after the battle turns against her; again, there is no hint of deliberate flight as a planned goal of the day's campaign. For a classic description of setting sail cf. Lucan, *BC* 5.426–429. See Henry on the question of *hysteron proteron*; also Gransden ("the two actions should be regarded as taking place almost simultaneously").

vela dare: Cf. 1.35; 2.136; 3.9; 4.546; 12.264: unexceptional, conventional language, the very ordinariness of which contributes to an extraordinary effect. Gransden notes on 706–708 that Virgil enjoys the use of *v*-alliteration to heighten suspense. Whatever the context of Cleopatra's flight, it was the decisive turning point in the struggle, since the sources concur that Antony fled after her, with attendant disgrace and ruin.

laxos, etc.: For the adjective note 1.63 (*laxas habenas*); 1.122 (*laxis compagibus*); 11.874 (*sed laxos referunt umeris languentibus arcus*); also *G.* 2.364; 3.166; 4.247. The same sailing action is referenced at 3.266–267 ... *tum litore funem / deripere excussosque iubet laxare rudentis* (where see Horsfall); cf. 6.1 and 10.229. "Scilicet aviditate fugiendi" (Servius).

iam iamque: Echoed at 12.754 *haeret hians, iam iamque tenet similisque tenenti* (of the Umbrian hound as it seeks its prey in the comparison of Aeneas' pursuit of Turnus to a dog's hunting down of a deer); 12.940 *et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo*; also Pyrrhus in pursuit of Polites (2.530 ... *iam iamque manu tenet et premit hasta*).

immitere: "To let go slack or loose" (*OLD* s.v. 9).

funis: "The ropes at the lower corners of the sails which are used to regulate the angle and extent of their exposure to the winds" (Gould and Whiteley).

709 *illam inter caedes pallentem morte futura*

inter caedes: Echoing 695, as the carnage unfolded. *Caedes* balanced with the future death that fills the queen with pale fear. Servius vividly notes that Cleopatra became afraid amid the corpses of her own dead.

pallentem morte futura: Imitated by Ovid (*Met.* 13.74); Valerius Flaccus (*Arg.* 1.824). Virgil here associates Cleopatra in her escape and fear with Dido, who was *pallida morte futura* (4.644; cf. 4.499 *pallor simul occupat ore*); vid. Heuzé 1985, 559–560; Moskalew 1982, 23. With *pallentem* cf. 4.26 *pallentis umbras Erebo noctemque profundam*; 4.242–243 ... *hac animas ille evocat Orco / pallentis; alias sub Tartara tristia mittit*; 6.480 ... *et Adrasti pallentis imago*; 10.822 *ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris* (of Aeneas' gaze on the dead Lausus). The pallor of the queen stands out from the shield; it contrasts with the iron and the red of the blood (*caedes* and *pallentem* in studied juxtaposition). See further L. Fratantuono, "Pallor," in *VE* 11, 961; Augoustakis on Statius, *Theb.* 8.136–138. Pale Sicknesses are among the horrors at the threshold of the underworld (6.275 *Pallentes Morbi*). Pallor will overcome Turnus before his single combat with Aeneas (12.221 ... *et iuvenali in corpore pallor*)—the last of the many monstrous underworld spectres to make something of a reappearance in this book. Dante consigns Dido and Cleopatra to the same lustful circle of hell (*Inf.* 5.61–63). On how Virgil's Cleopatra serves to explicate his Dido, see M.B. Ogle, "Virgil's

Conception of Dido's Character," in *CJ* 20.5 (1925), 261–270; cf. S. Farron, "The Aeneas-Dido Episode as an Attack on Aeneas' Mission and Rome," in *G&R* 27.1 (1980), 34–47. The first third of the epic closed with the death of Carthage's queen; the second third reaches a climax on the shield with its heralding of the doom of Egypt's.

No hint in Virgil of the proud tradition of the queen who decided on her own means of death (Horace's *deliberata morte ferocior* of c. 1.37.29; cf. Propertius, c. 4.5.64).

710 fecerat ignipotens undis et Iapyge ferri,

fecerat ignipotens: A timely reminder of the god's work in forging the shield, as the crescendo of the drama passes, and the depiction of the aftermath of the battle draws to a quiet close. The god's title in deliberate juxtaposition with *undis*—a reminder, too, of the ghastly blend of fire and water in the mayhem of Actium.

Iapyge: Iapyx, the west-northwest wind, "qui de Apulia flans optime ad Orientem ducit." This is the only reference to the wind in the epic; Iapyx was also a son of Daedalus, who gave his name to a vaguely defined region of southern Italy (Apulia, Calabria), the home of Diomedes in retirement (11.247). Camilla's victim Ornytus rides an Iapygian horse (11.678), a detail that may describe both the provenance of the steed and its wind-like swiftness (which does not serve to help its rider in the face of the swifter Volscian heroine); vid. Paschalis 1997, 300 on the interplay of horse and wind imagery. Iapyx is also the name of Aeneas' physician (12.391–431); for the different Virgilian *Iapyges* note L. Fratantuono in *VE* 11, 638–639; F. Stok in *EV* 11, 883–884. Is the reference to Iapygia in the *Camilliad* a reminder of the wind that ensured the success of Cleopatra's flight from Actium? Note Gellius' citation of this line at *Noct. Att.* 2.22.21 ff., where he observes that the wind blow from Apulia. Horace prays that all the winds may be confined except the Iapyx, so as to speed Virgil's journey to Greece: c. 1.3.3–4 *ventorumque regat pater / obstrictis aliis praeter Iapyga*. A bit of learned humor, were Horace to have known of the critical role of the wind in Cleopatra's eastward escape?

There was no way that an escape could easily have been planned (let alone executed) amid the chaos of a naval battle. Timing was critical; the Iapyx was the crucial wind that would save the queen (at least for a while). In Book 12, Iapyx will not be able to save Aeneas from his grave wound—that which saved Cleopatra would not do to save Aeneas, after all.

711 **contra autem magno maerentem corpore Nilum**

contra: Of the arrangement of pictures; the Nile is opposite the queen as she readies her escape.

magno ... corpore: As befitting the great river. Interlocking word order; there is no indication that the river is violently shaking in its grief at Cleopatra's defeat. For the huge Nile see Augoustakis on Statius, *Theb.* 8.358–359.

maerentem: The verb also at 1.197 ... *et dictis maerentia pectora mulcet* (Aeneas with his men); 4.32 *solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa* (Anna to Dido); 4.82–83 *sola domo maeret vacua stratisque relictis | incubat* (Dido); 10.860 ... *adloquitur maerentem* (Mezentius with Rhaebus); 11.211–212 *maerentes altum cinerem et confusa ruebant | ossa focus*; 11.215–216 ... *hic cara sororum | pectora maerentum* (at the Latin requiems); 12.399–400 *Aeneas magno iuvenum et maerentis Iuli | concursu* (Aeneas after his wounding); cf. *G.* 3.518; 4.511. The first participle in a tricolon of actions.

Nilum: The mention of the mourning river recalls its appearance in the *Heldenschau*, where it figured as part of the image of the extent of Augustus Caesar's conquests (6.800 *et septemgemini turbant trepida ostia Nili*). At 9.30–32, the advance of Turnus' Italian army against the Trojan camp is compared to the silent, calm course of the Indian Ganges and the Nile's collecting of its waters after its annual flood: *ceu septem surgens sedatis amnibus altus | per tacitum Ganges aut pingui flumine Nilus | cum refluit campis et iam se condidit alveo* (where see Hardie). It would seem that the mention of the Nile there offers an association of Turnus and his Italian forces with Antony and Cleopatra and their Eastern retinue—but closer examination reveals an interesting Virgilian subversion of expectation. In the case of the comparison of the Nile to the Italian army on the march, it is interesting that the Nile is seen as *hiding* itself (*se condidit*); the river is said to hide, even as the Teucrians see the Italians *rising* over the plain (9.34 *insurgere campis*). The Tiber will receive Turnus in its cleansing waters at 9.816–818; we move from the Tiber at the start of Book 8 to the Nile at the end, and then from the Nile at the start of 9 to the Tiber at the close. As the Italians advance on the Trojan camp, the image is of the Nile resuming its peaceful course after inundation; it is an image of the Augustan victory over Egypt (and, for that matter, the Augustan vision of the conquest of India). Cf. Reed 2007, 57. The Nile also on the doors of the temple of *G.* 3.38; note 4.287 ff.

For the river note Jones 2005, 39–41; 96 ff.; P.J. Jones in *VE* 11, 906; G. Panessa in *EV* 111, 928–929 (with illustrations). The book moves to its close as it begins, with the waters of a river. In the darkest sense, we may be reminded again that Aeneas would traditionally meet his own end by a river. With Virgil's description of the Nile compare Propertius, c. 3.11.51–52 *fugisti tamen in timidi vaga*

flumina Nili, | nec cepere tuae Romana vincla manus; c. 4.6.63–64 illa petit Nilum cumba male nixa fugaci | occultum, iusso non moritura die. A possible source of inspiration for Virgil's image of the river may be Homer, *Il.* 21.238 ff. (of the Scamander).

"The bestial, depraved enemy has been conquered, but it is upon her, preparing for suicide, and upon the mourning Nile and its vanquished countrymen that our eye, and perhaps our compassion, finally rest" (Putnam 1998, 148). "But this in turn is nothing so easy as a covert criticism of Augustus; rather, Virgil has the breadth of conception to comprise the misery within a picture of authentic glory" (Jenkyns 1998, 561). On the poet's compassion for the queen (as for Dido) note Clausen 2002, 185. Antony, if mentioned or referenced anywhere, is relegated to the participle *victos* at 713.

On 711–714 Fowler 1917 comments: "The peculiarity of these lines is that they will apply equally well to a statue of the Nile ... or to the actual river itself. Henry's very long note on this passage is well worth careful reading, though he does not seem quite to grasp this fact ... Those who read the accounts of the destruction of the German cruiser *Königsberg* in the *sinus* of the East African river in 1915 will at once recognise the appropriateness of Virgil's language to a flying ship making for the protection of a sedgy river."

712 *pandentemque sinus et tota veste vocantem*

Cf. 669, where the verse was also framed by rhyming participles.

pandentemque sinus: The river god opens the folds of his robe to admit his queen and her consort. Seneca has ... *et qui frigidum | septena Tanain ora pandentem bibit* (*Troad.* 8–9); cf. *o mors pudoris maximum laesi decus, | confugimus ad te: pande placatos sinus* (*Phaed.* 1190); also Ps.-Seneca, *Oct.* 135–137 *Emergere umbris et fer auxilium tuae | natae invocanti, genitor, aut Stygios sinus | tellure rupta pande, quo praeceps ferar; 404–405 et ipsa Tellus laeta fecundos sinus | pandebat ultro.* For the double meaning of *sinus* see Fordyce: the recesses of the river, and the folds of the god's cloak.

tota veste: Imitated by Ovid at *Met.* 6.299, of Niobe as she tries in vain to shield her youngest daughter from Diana's arrow. The vast river has an implicitly large *vestis*; on the security of distant Egypt (though not secure enough to safeguard for long against Augustan pursuit), see Tracy 2014, 1ff. Henry takes the adjective in a somewhat transferred sense, of the river god throwing open his vesture to its full width. "As the moderns wave a handkerchief ..." (Tetlow).

veste vocantem: Alliteration to describe the call of the river's waters; its garment is the color of its flow, and its seven mouths open to receive the vanquished. Horace, *ep.* 9.29–32 speaks of Antony after Actium (and not Cleopa-

tra), noting that he may reach Crete, though not without his own winds, as it were (*30 ventis iturus non suis*), or he is seeking the Syrtes, or he is being carried on the uncertain sea (*32 aut fertur incerto mari*). Horace's account—perhaps our earliest evidence of the battle and its aftermath—reflects a certain doubt as to what exactly the queen and her lover would do in the wake of Actium; see further Mankin ad loc. on the fear of a renewed civil war with forces in Cyrene or Crete.

Servius sees a reference here to the schemes of Cleopatra (in particular) and Antony to continue the war. For the events after Actium until the arrival of Octavian in Alexandria and the suicides, see Goldsworthy 2011, 370 ff.; Fratanuono 2016, 131 ff.

713 *caeruleum in gremium latebrosaque flumina victos.*

Eden notes how “the heavy spondees of grief and death” from 709 and 711 are followed by the dactyls that enact the hasty flight.

caeruleum: For the color cf. 64; 622; 672. The blue Tiber of the opening movements of the book is now framed by the blue lap of the Nile as it welcomes the defeated. Here the associations are clearly negative; at 622, Aeneas' *lorica* gleams as a blue cloud when it has been sundered by the rays of the sun; for the ambiguous chromatic detail there, see note above (with reference to Edgeworth 1992, 110–111).

gremium: We may recall 405–406, of Vulcan relaxing in the lap of his wife Venus. Rather different is the representation of the Nile's garland-like protection of Apis and Memphis as described in the Orphic *Argonautica* (44–45): Antony and Cleopatra are hiding as much in shame as for the sake of defense.

latebrosa: The (mostly poetic) adjective also at 5.214 *cui domus et dulces latebroso in pumice nidi*, of the home of the dove in the comparison of Mnestheus' ship during the regatta (in a sense, the vessels of Cleopatra and Antony reverse the action of Mnestheus' *Pristis*); cf. 12.587–588 *inclusas ut cum latebroso in pumice pastor / vestigavit apes fumoque implevit amaro* (the simile of Aeneas as shepherd smoking out the bees). An old word (Plautus, *Bacch.* 56; 430; *Trin.* 278); also in Ovid; Lucan; Seneca; Statius; Silius. Servius connects *latebroso* with the problem of the origins of the Nile and the mystery of its source; see further Page's note, and Williams': “he has room for all to hide.”

victos: In studied contrast with 686 *victor*, and with 714 *triumpho*. The plural participle here encompasses both Antony and Cleopatra. The decisive word is saved for the end of the scene; it balances 711 *Nilum*. Henry takes the participle of Cleopatra alone, arguing that “the plural and general” is “less offensive than the singular and particular.” But if anything, it is Antony who is insulted by the brusque reference. The doomed Camilla appears at the end of Book 7;

the equally doomed Cleopatra not far from the close of 8 (and cf. Camilla's procession to war with Cleopatra's flight from battle).

714–731 Two final pictures adorn the shield: first Augustus Caesar celebrates a triple triumph; second, Augustus sits on the threshold of the temple of the Palatine Apollo, as a procession of conquered nations attests to the quelling of disorder and to the pacification of a world that now knows the peace of rebirth and renewal. Aeneas takes up the burden of the shield; he rejoices in the pictures that adorn it, even as he remains ignorant of what they signify.

714 at Caesar, *triplici invectus Romana triumpho*

at: Introducing the final and climactic scene of the shield: the triple triumphs of Augustus Caesar. Virgil here crafts an eminently Augustan response to the city of marriage and feasting at Homer, *Il.* 18.490–496.

Caesar: The shield epiphraisis' depiction of Actium returns to the *princeps* of 678–681, now in triumphant and victorious glory. On how Caesar here is only Caesar and not Augustus (as at 678), see Putnam 1998, 150, who connects the onomastic label with the etymology from *caedere* (cf. 719 *caesi iuveni*), with emphasis on Caesar as spiller of blood at Actium, blood that is recalled in the sanguinary sacrificial rites of the triple triumph.

triplici: For the adjective note 5.119–120 *urbis opus, triplici pubes quam Dardana versu | impellunt* (of the Chimaera of Gyas); 6.548–549 *Respicit Aeneas subito et sub rupe sinistra | moenia lata videt triplici circumdata muro* (of the city of Dis); 7.785 *cui triplici crinita iuba galea alta Chimaeram* (of Turnus' helmet); 10.202 *gens illi triplex, populi sub gente quaterni* (of the Mantuans); 10.783–784 ... *illa per orbem | aere cavum triplici* (of Aeneas' attack on Lausus). Cf. *E.* 8.73. Alliterative with *triumpho*.

There was a triple triumph on 13–15 Sextilis/August, 29 B.C., for the victories in Dalmatia, at Actium, and at Alexandria (Suetonius, *Vita Aug.* 22, where see Wardle; cf. Dio 51.2.6). Three curule triumphs; Augustus autobiographically notes his three rides in a triumphal chariot (*Res Gest.* 4). Servius has a different order of triumphs: Actium; Dalmatia; Alexandria. The dates were apparently deliberately chosen to coincide with the liturgical festival of Hercules Invictus. The defeated Antony's claim of descent from Anton, the son of Hercules made the connection all the more fitting (cf. Cairns 1989, 102). For the association of Cleopatra with the Amazon Hippolyta and the Augustan victory over Egypt's monarch with the Herculean labor, see Newman and Newman 2005, 328–329 (and cf. Camilla's own Amazonian affinities and associations). No hint on the shield of the Illyrian/Dalmatian victory; Alexandria is alluded to in the presaging of the suicide.

The number three may accord with the three nights and three days that have been posited for the action of the book (see above on 1–17); cf. the threefold repetition that marks the opening of the book (vid. n. on 1), with which the triple triumph of Augustus Caesar closes a ring (observe three mentions of Latium from 14–18).

invectus: So of Neptune in his chariot (1.155); note also 5.122 (of Sergestus in the Centaur); 5.571 (of Iulus) 6.587 (of Salmoneus); 6.785 (of Cybele); 7.287 (of Juno); 12.77 (of Aurora); *G.* 3.358 (of Sol). See Paschalis 1997, 300–301 for the “radical change” from the horse-born invasion of Troy in Book 2, and the implicit threat that violence and disorder may once again return. For the omission of the preposition see Eden; for *invehi* with the accusative, Antoine 1882, 45.

Romana: Balancing Caesar as the second and penultimate words of the verse. The mention of Caesar’s entry into the Roman walls recalls the opening verses of the epic (1.7 ... *atque altae moenia Romae*). Propertius has *et, famulos inter femina trita suos, / coniugii obsceni pretium Romana poposcit / moenia et addictos in sua regna patres* (c. 3.11.30–32). *Romana* here correlates closely with 715 *Italīs*. But mention of Caesar in an Augustan context makes one wonder again at the place of the assassinated (albeit deified) Julius in the whole political scheme and propaganda program.

715 *moenia, dis Italīs*—*votum immortale*—*sacrabat*

dis Italīs: Closing a ring with 626 *illic res Italas Romanorumque triumphos*, at the commencement of the ecphrasis. We move from “Italian history” and “Roman triumphs” to a verse presentation of Caesar’s triumphal entrance into the walls (i.e., the city) of Rome (*moenia* with an element of protective care and guardianship, as well as a reminder of Romulus’ foundation), to the Italian gods whose victory over the monstrous animals of Egypt has just been depicted in ecphrastic splendor. Strong emphasis on the native glory of Italy and her divinities. The Palatine Apollo is perhaps most prominent in Virgil’s imagined pantheon here, but the detail is deliberately generalized. On the geographical note cf. Newman and Newman 2005, 282n7: “*Italiam fato profugus* (1. 2) opens a persistent drumbeat. Even so, Metternich could still say in 1849 that Italy was not a country but a geographical concept. “Forse è ancora vero.” On the poet’s Transpadanic patriotism see Jenkyns 1998, 104–105.

votum immortale: The adjective is not common in Virgil; at 6.598 it describes Tityos’ liver, forever tormented in the underworld; at 9.95 Jupiter speaks of the *immortale fas* that Cybele seems to expect for her ships. Juturna sarcastically asks if she is indeed immortal (12.882). For Virgilian vows and votive offerings

see O. Diliberto in *EV* V, 629–633; B. Gladhill in *VE* II, 923. *Immortale* close after *dis*; the vow is immortal because the temples in honor of the Italian gods will last forever. For the contrast with Cleopatra's *mors futura* (709), see Putnam 1998, 149.

sacrabat: Another vivid imperfect; Vulcan has depicted Augustus in the very act of making his vow. Cf. Aeneas' vow at 6.73; indeed the reminiscence of Daedalus' consecratory act at 6.18; also the reference to the consecrated altars of Anchises at 5.48; Latinus' consecration of the laurel at 7.62; the fires that Priam had consecrated, only for them to be defiled with his own blood (2.502). Vid. further H. Fugier in *EV* IV, 630. Some have punctuated strongly here, taking the following reference to the temples as the subject of 717—but the point is that Augustus made a vow of temples (*votum immortale* thus to be taken appositively).

716 **maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem.**

maxima: The greatest of temples, as befitting the greatest of victories. Cf. the repeated allusion to the Ara Maxima at 270–271. The description is a paean both to Augustus and to the glory of the city that is adorned by the temples he has vowed. The adjective at the start of the verse balances the *moenia* of the preceding.

ter centum: A triple triumph is followed at once by the depiction of the vowing of three hundred temples. *Ter centum* common in Virgil. At *Res Gest.* 20 (where see Cooley) Augustus notes the restoration of eighty-two temples: *Duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sextum ex auctoritate senatus refeci nullo praetermisso quod eo tempore refici debeat*. A dozen new temples are noted at *Res Gest.* 19, for a total of ninety-four edifices. The number three came as easily to Virgil's pen as seven (cf. Austin on the close of *A.* 1), and a hundred times three expresses a suitably grand number that rebels against prosaic precision.

totam ... per urbem: The adjective expresses the immense spread of the sacred edifices throughout Rome; *urbem* at line-end balances 715 *moenia*. The city of Rome—securely encircled by its walls—is the abode of the very immortals who aided in the attainment of the Actian victory. Cf. 2.611–612 *fundamenta quatit totamque a sedibus urbem / ruit*; 11.349–350 ... *totamque videmus / consedissee urbem luctu*; 12.594 *quae totam luctu concussit funditus urbem*; 12.608 *hinc totam infelix vulgata fama per urbem*: every other mention in the epic of the *tota urbs* comes in a dark context. See further here J. Morwood, “Aeneas, Augustus, and the Theme of the City,” in *G&R* 38.2 (1991), 212–223.

delubra: Cf. 2.225; 248; 410; 4.56; also *G.* 3.23; 4.541; 549. On Virgilian temples note L. Fratantuono in *VE* III, 1250–1251; D.S. Corlàita in *EV* V, 80–86.

A complicated scene: “It is a powerful evocation of the ruthless spirit of national pride and conquest, and it is managed with supreme artistry” (G. Williams 1968, 434).

717 laetitia ludisque viae plausuque fremebant;

laetitia ludisque: The alliteration of joy and carefree celebration. *Laetitia* also at 1.513–514 ... *simul percussus Achates / laetitiaque metuque*; 1.636 *munera laetitiamque dii*; 1.734 *adsit laetitia Bacchus dator et bona Iuno*; 3.99–100 ... *mixtoque ingens exorta tumultu / laetitia*; 9.636–637 ... *Teucrici clamore sequuntur / laetitiaque fremunt animosque ad sidera tollunt* (after Ascanius’ slaying of Numanus Remulus); 11.806–807 ... *fugit ante omnis exterritus Arruns / laetitia mixtoque metu*; 12.700 *laetitia exsultans horrendumque intonat armis* (of Aeneas). The start of a tricolon of rejoicing: *laetitia, ludis, plausu*.

With *ludis* we may recall the games referenced at 3.280 *Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis*; note 9.605–606 *venatu invigilant pueri sibvasque fatigant, / flectere ludus equos et sicula tendere cornu* (Numanus Remulus on the Italians). There may be a reference here to the *lusus Troiae* of 18 Sextilis/August, 29 that was celebrated in the wake of the triple triumph—but it was a busy two month period of festivals and anniversaries, including the two year anniversary of the battle on 2 September, and the natal day of the *princeps* on 23 September. “... team sports other than the *lusus Troiae* are not mentioned in Virgil” (P. O’Connell in *VE* 11, 521). Servius sees an allusion to the *ludi compitalicii* (where see Lott 2004, 51 ff.), but the Troy game provides a parallel to Book 5, as well as a reminder of how the entrance of the horse-drawn chariot of Augustus into Rome’s walls is an echo of the Greek conquest of Troy. In the remembrance of the games of the fifth book, we may recall too the parallelism of Aeneas’ memory of Anchises and the Augustan treatment of the more problematic Julius Caesar. We may remember also the games at Nicopolis in honor of the Actian victory.

With the (natural enough) association of games and rejoicing cf. Livy 30.38.12.1–2.

plausuque: The noun occurs at 1.747 *ingeminant plausu Tyrii, Troesque sequuntur* (at Dido’s state dinner for Aeneas); otherwise in the book of games (5.148; 215; 338; 506; 575); cf. G. 1.163.

fremebant: For the verb see on 497. Another imperfect of lively action.

718 omnibus in templis matrum chorus, omnibus arae;

The poet continues his elevated account of the prescriptions and practices of Augustan *religio*.

omnibus ... omnibus: Echoing the flight of every Egyptian, every Arab, and all the Sabaeans from Actium (705–706). Again the emphasis is on the totality of

the solemn festival; the whole city is in a state of rejoicing, and every shrine is open for special hours of liturgical worship. For the ablative see Antoine 1882, 215, and cf. *G.* 2.379; 3.483; *A.* 4.386; 5.683. Here with a preposition.

matrum chorus: With *chorus* cf. 287 *hic chorus iuvenum*. The reference to the mothers recalls 664–665 ... *castae ducebant sacra per urbem | pientis matres in mollibus*; the scene is a *supplicatio* (Tetlow compares Cicero, *In Cat.* 3.23). For the pause after a Greek loan-word see Eden.

omnibus arae: A classic instance of an occasion for critical carping: every temple, of course, had an altar, and so why would Virgil note the obvious? For the evocation of the liturgical practice of the *supplicatio* see Fordyce; Eden comments on how Virgil is describing what was on the shield, so that the mention of the altars is a detail about the ephrastic depiction. Peerlkamp conjectured *ardentes* at 719 to avoid the perceived difficulty: "... ingenious but unnecessary" (Eden; cf. Ribbeck's "magnopere placet" and Henry's characteristic note). On Virgilian altars see on 285. 718 is to be construed closely with the following verse; the poet's focus is on the rites that are being conducted at every altar in every shrine.

C.S. Lewis comments on Gavin Douglas' sixteenth century Scotch translation of this passage: "Thus, again, Douglas translates *omnibus in templis matrum chorus* by 'in caroling the lusty ladeis went'. If this seems altogether too merry and too medieval, turn to Dryden again, and you will find that Dryden has flatly refused to translate those five words at all." Etc. (Lewis 1954, 84).

719 ante aras terram caesi stravere iuveni.

caesi ... iuveni: Cf. *G.* 2.536–537 *ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis et ante | impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvenis*; 3.22–23 ... *iam nunc sollemnis ducere pompas | ad delubra iuvat caesosque videre iuencos*; 4.284–285 ... *quoque modo caesis iam saepe iuvenis | insincerus apes tulerit cruor*; *A.* 3.369–370 *hic Helenus caesis primum de more iuvenis | exorat pacem*; 5.329–330 ... *caesis ut forte iuvenis | fusus humum viridisque madefecerat herbas* (of Nisus' untimely fall). Note also Ovid, *Fast.* 3.375; Lucan, *BC* 4.132; Statius, *Ach.* 1.417; Silius, *Pun.* 4.796; 11.251; 12.445.

"Slaughtered bullocks should put us on our guard": so J.T. Dyson, "*Caesi Iuveni* and *Pietas Impia* in Virgil," in *CJ* 91.3 (1996), 277–286, 284, who draws a possible link between the sacrificial animals of this liturgical scene and the three hundred senatorial and equestrian victims slain at the altar of the Divine Julius after the Perusine victory of 40 B.C.—"one of the greatest atrocities of his reign." On this note Suetonius, *Vita Aug.* 15, with Wardle; Dio 48.14.4. Scholars argue variously as to the degree of credence that should be paid to the story; it is certainly within the realm of possibility that Virgil's contemporary

audience might have remembered such an event in the account here of the slaughtered sacrificial animals after Actium and Alexandria. The ecphrastic scene that began with the adversative introduction of Caesar in the wake of the flight of the losers of Actium (714 *at Caesar*) draws to a close on a note of sacrificial death and slaughter, with *caesi* here echoing *Caesar*.

stravere: For the verb see Fratantuono and Smith on 5.763. On Virgilian depictions of animal killings note Wiltshire 1989, 25–26. The present passage recalls the porcine offering that marked the establishment of peace between the Romans and the Sabines at 641 *stabant et caesa iungebant foedera porca*. The *iuvenci* here may be a reference to the four bulls that adorned the altar of the temple of the Palatine Apollo (cf. Propertius, c. 2.31.5–8).

720 ipse sedens niveo candentis limine Phoebi

A line of majestic splendor and chromatic power, with interlocking word order; cf. 3.369–373 (with Heyworth and Morwood). With Virgil's depiction of Augustus at the threshold of the temple of the Palatinian Apollo we may compare Quintus Smyrnaeus' depiction of the mount of Arete on the shield of Achilles (*Post.* 5.49 ff.).

sedens: In studied contrast with 680 *stans celsa in puppi*: Augustus stood on the lofty deck of his ship, and now he can sit in secure repose as he takes in the sight of the procession and the presentation of the *dona populorum* (721 ff.). Caesar (*ipse*) and Apollo (*Phoebi*) frame the verse. For the possible connection between the depiction of Augustus here and a colossal statue of the god, see Newman and Newman 2005, 309. There may be just a hint of the future apotheosis of the *princeps*.

niveo: For the color reference cf. above on 387, of the snow-white arms of the goddess Venus as she seduced her husband Vulcan. The next time the color adjective appears, it will be in the description of the dead Pallas on his bier (11.39).

candentis: Vid. Edgeworth 1992, 112–114. At 3.573 the verb describes the white ash of Etna; at 4.61, Dido pours wine between the *cornua* of a white cow. Cloanthus promises the offering of a gleaming bull, should he achieve victory in the regatta (5.236); one of the *Somni portae* is of white ivory (6.895). Turnus is associated with an eagle (that is, the bird of Jove) that carries off a white swan (9.563); Ascanius promises to sacrifice a white bull before his arrow shot (9.628); Turnus arms himself with a sword that Vulcan had plunged into the Styx when it was white-hot (12.91). The epithet of the god reflects the gleam of the marble of his temple; cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.481–482 *Iam summas caeli Phoebus candentior arces / vicerat et longas medius revocaverat umbras*.

Edgeworth highlights the parallel between the snow-white threshold of gleaming Phoebus, and the Ivory Gate of *falsa insomnia* from the close of the sixth book (6.893 ff.). This would then be the final echo and parallel between the vision of the *Heldenschau* and the glorious ecphrasis of the divine shield; Phoebus, we might note, was associated with prophecy and prognostication. Horace has *nube candentis umeros amictus | augur Apollo* (c. 1.2.31–33, where see Nisbet and Hubbard).

The temple is the splendid edifice of the Palatine Apollo, a shrine that was first vowed in 36, when Octavian was busy with the difficult campaign against Sextus Pompey (vid. Platner and Ashby 1929, 16–19; Richardson 1992, 14; *LTUR* 1, 54–57; *AAAR* 234). The dedication was on 9 October, 28 B.C., so that this last scene depicts an event celebrated a year and more after the triple triumph of the late summer of 29 (“About fourteen months of historical time are telescoped in the picture of Augustus ...” (Eden); cf. Paschalis 1997, 300). Two elements of fantasy may be present here: first, the transference of the parade of conquered nations from the Actium/Alexandrian triumphs to the temple dedication; and second, the linkage of the Palatine Apollo with the close of the Augustan triumphal procession, which in fact would have ended at the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter. Servius notes that the marble for the temple was taken from the bay of Luna. On this temple scene see especially J.F. Miller, “*Triumphus in Palatio*,” in *AJPh* 121.3 (2000), 409–422; note also O. Hekster and J. Rich, “Octavian and the Thunderbolt: The Temple of Apollo Palatinus and Roman Traditions of Temple Building,” in *CQ N.S.* 56.1 (2006), 149–168, with consideration of the problem of the temple’s location and especially its place in the tradition of Roman temple foundation. For ancient *testimonia* note Horace, c. 1.31 (with Mayer); Propertius, c. 2.31; Ovid, *Ars* 1.73–74 (with Hollis); *Fast.* 4.951–954 (with Fantham); *Trist.* 3.1.59–64; Velleius 2.81.3 (with Woodman). Useful on the sources of the Augustan depiction of Apollo is A. Gosling, “Political Apollo: From Callimachus to the Augustans,” in *Mnem.* 45.4 (1992), 501–512 (with focus on the inherent tension between Apollo as patron of poets and the political sphere of the god’s patronage of the victor of Actium).

limine: On the image of the savior who waits on a threshold, see Newman and Newman 2005, 31.

Phoebi: The Apollonian reference here in the scene of triumph and sedate majesty echoes the action of the god in resolving the disorder of Actium (704–706). The same line-end at Statius, *Theb.* 1.665. Eden sees a connection between Augustus’ actions and the temple to Phoebus and Trivia that was vowed by Aeneas at 6.69–70.

721 dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis

dona ... populorum: Cf. Juvenal, s. 13.148–149. The poetic reference offers a general description of the spoils and plunder of the conquered nations; the shifting panels of the shield move forwards and back in time, as we return now to the aftermath of the campaigns of Actium and Alexandria in particular. Servius takes it of the *aurum coronarium* that was given to the triumphant general from the gold taken from the vanquished; he distinguishes between *dona* and *spolia*, though it is not clear that the defeated nations would appreciate the subtlety. For the Propertian imitation of the Virgilian presentation of the movement from battle to aftermath, note J.F. Miller, “Propertian Reception of Virgil’s Actian Apollo,” in *MD* 52 (2004), 73–84, 82–83.

recognoscit: The verb only here in Virgil; the meaning is to examine or review (*OLD* s.v. 1). A mostly prosaic word; for other poetic uses note Ovid, *Met.* 11.62; *Fast.* 1.7 and 4.418. For the lexical issues see further C. Weber, “Bureaucratise in Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.721,” in *Vergilius* 60 (2014), pp. 117–125.

aptatque: Cf. 80; there is a dark echo and parallel at 11.8–9 ... *aptat rorantis sanguine cristas / telaque trunca viri* (in the description of the Mezentius trophy); we may also think of the heads of Cacus’ victims outside his lair (196–197). But the present passage most recalls Aeneas’ actions in the wake of the landing on Actian shores: 3.287–288 *postibus adversis figo et rem carmine signo*: / *AENEAS HAEC DE DANAIIS VICTORIBUS ARMA* (where see Williams’ Oxford edition, and Horsfall). At 7.183–186 there is an anachronistic description of spoils (including naval *rostra*) that decorate Latinus’ temple, an offering of the Latin king that prefigures the setting up of spoils after Actium (who exactly was defeated by Latinus in a sea campaign?). The anachronism, at any rate, is with respect to Actium, not in the reference to *rostra* (vid. Horsfall ad loc.).

superbis: Recalling 683 *belli insigne superbum*, of Agrippa’s naval crown. We may also remember the fate of Priam’s Troy: 2.504–505 *barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi / procubuere*. There is a hint of transference of pride from the conquered foes to the door-posts of the god’s temple; also of the sumptuous splendor of the edifice, the glory of which is now enhanced by the *dona populorum*. For the implications of the “prideful posts,” the question of the restoration of Troy and the comparison of Latinus’ own temple-citadel, note the sensitive reading of Reed 2007, 123 ff.

722 postibus; incedunt victae longo ordine gentes,

incedunt: The verb of a stately procession, this time in the sense of lending grandeur and dignity to the sedate gaze of the *princeps*. Cf. 1.46 (of Juno); 1.497 (of Dido); 1.690 (of Cupid disguised as Ascanius); 4.140–141 (of the *Phry-*

gii comites and Iulus); 5.67–68 ... *et qui viribus audax / aut iaculo incedit melior* (during the games). 5.553 (of the *pueri* at the *lusus Troiae*); 9.308 *protinus armati incedunt*; 10.764 (of Orion); cf. G. 4.68.

victae ... gentes: Neatly framing *longo ordine*. Cf. Horace, c. 2.9.21–22; Propertius, c. 2.7.5–6 ... *sed magnus Caesar in armis: / devictae gentes nil in amore valent*; note the opposite sense of 12.190–191 ... *paribus se legibus ambae / invictae gentes aeterna in foedera mittant* (Aeneas at the treaty ratification).

longo ordine: The adjective emphasizing the extent of the Augustan victory. Parallel is 2.766–767 ... *pueri et pavidae longo ordine matres / stant circum* (of the gathering of the Trojan exiles); 6.482–483 ... *quos ille omnis longo ordine cernens / ingemuit* (Aeneas as he sees the souls of those who died in war); 6.754–755 (of the procession of souls to be reborn); 11.79 (of the spoils that Aeneas orders to be led in the funeral cortège for Pallas); 11.143–144 ... *lucet via longo / ordine flammaram et late discriminat agros* (of the Arcadians during the requiem rites); note also 1.395–396 ... *nunc terras ordine longo / aut capere aut captas iam despectare videntur* (of the omen of the swans).

gentes: The Romanus has *matres* on account of a reminiscence of 2.766. Danielis refers here to an Augustan “Porticus ad Nationes,” on which one could find *simulacra* of the various conquered nations; cf. Pliny, *NH* 36.39 (with Rouveret’s Budé notes); R.R.R. Smith, “*Simulacra Gentium*: The Ethne from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias,” in *JRS* 78 (1988), 50–77, 71ff.; Platner and Ashby 1929, 426; Richardson 1992, 316–317; *LTUR* IV, 138–139. Both location and type of monument are uncertain. Cf. also Gleis 1991, 342–343.

723 *quam variae linguis, habitu tam vestis et armis.*

A tricolon of immense variety: the conquered nations were diverse in language, clothing and weapons. Eden compares Lucan, *BC* 3.288 ff., of the description of Pompey’s eastern allies. There is a reminiscence here of the motley associates of Antony and Cleopatra (685 ff.), but also a hint of a new Augustan world order of union and the conquest of chaos and disorder. We are reminded, too, of the problem of how Troy is geographically and culturally associated with the conquered East of the Augustan victory over Antony and his lover; Juno’s appeal to Jupiter in Book 12 involves the twin concerns of language and raiment: 824–825 *neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque vocari / aut vocem mutare viros aut vertere vestem*.

habitu: Cf. 1.315 *virginis os habitumque gerens et virginis arma* (in the description of Venus disguised as a Diana-like huntress); 3.596–597 *isque ubi Dardanio habitus et Troia vidit / arma procul* (of Achaemenides when he sees the Trojans); also G. 1.52. For *habitus vestis* note Quintus Curtius Rufus 3.3.3.3. With the reference to the vesture of the vanquished we may compare the detail of

the Nile and its protective cloak (711–713); clothing is an important element of the indignant remarks of Numanus Remulus about the Trojans (9.614–616), remarks with which Juno would be in complete sympathy.

armis: The weapons are now associated not with a threat to Rome, but with the defeat of exotic, far distant foes.

724 **hic Nomadum genus et discinctos Mulciber Afros**

hic: In powerful anaphora with the opening of 725. The Palatinus has *hinc* in both verses.

Nomadum genus: For the Nomades see D.A. Secci in *VE* II, 908–909; R. Palmieri in *EV* III, 795–796. Cf. 4.41 *et Numidae infreni cingunt et inhospita Syrtis* (Anna's remarks to Dido about her need for protection and a husband); *Numidi* and *Nomades* are apparently interchangeable geographical labels. On how the Nomades seem to resist the bridle, and the Africans the *cingulum* (*discinctos*), see Paschalis 1997, 301. Historical accuracy: the region in the north of Algeria was a hotbed of Antonian support; the Numidian/Mauretanian king Bogudes may be referenced here (Dio 50.6.11; cf. Plutarch, *Vita Ant.* 61). Bogudes was slain by Agrippa at Methone in the Peloponnesus during the campaigns preliminary to Actium. But there is also an emphasis on the very limits of the known world, on the extent of Augustus' victorious sway. The Octavian partisan Lucius Autronius Paetus was proconsul in Africa; he celebrated a triumph in 28 B.C. that may be hinted at in this verse.

discinctos: The only appearance of the verb in Virgil; there may be a hint of the idea of disarming (cf. *OLD* s.v. *discingere*). The idea that one would not gird one's robes with a belt or fastener of some sort was considered a sign of undisciplined casualness by the Romans ("a mark of sloth and effeminacy"—Tetlow); there may be an implicit criticism of the *Afri*. See further Fordyce ad loc. Cf. Silius' description of Hannibalic soldiery at *Pun.* 2.56 *discinctos inter Libyos* (with Bernstein's note).

Mulciber: An old title of Vulcan, used in Virgil only here. For speculation on the semantic and poetic reasons for its employment see Clausen 2002, 219–220; also O'Hara 2017, 216; Paschalis 1997, 301. Clausen sees a connection to the Plautan and Accian uses of the name for the god of Achilles' armor; Clausen, O'Hara, and Paschalis all identify a play on *mollire*, whether with reference to the shield as a work of art, or to the pacification of the Euphrates described at 726. Macrobius (*Sat.* 6.5.2) notes: *Mulciber est Vulcanus quod ignis sit et omnia mulceat et domet* (with citation from Egnatius, *DRN* 1 *denique Mulciber ipse furens altissima caeli / contingit* (where see Courtney 1993/2003, 147–148)). The title also in the poetry of Cicero; Ovid (often); Lucan; Statius; Valerius Flaccus; Silius; the *Ilias Latina* (857–858 *excitat Aetnaeos calidis fornacibus ignes / Mulciber*

et validis fulvum domat ictibus aurum). For the god in general see on 198. Possibly a reference here to the fact that the god himself was softened (*mulcere*) by the seductive caresses of his wife; the subtle allusion would be especially appropriate in the depiction of the conquered nations (and cf. 729, where once again Vulcan is Vulcan).

Afros: On the Africans note M. Carter in *VE* I, 35; G. Senis in *EV* I, 48–49. Like the Nomades, the Africans are also referenced in Anna's discussions with Dido (4.37–38); cf. *E.* 1.64 and *G.* 3.343–348. Perhaps a hint of the Roman defeat of Carthage, and a memory of the drama of Book 4.

Arma petit genetrix, dat Mulciber: in clipeoque | Res pingit Latias, et fortia facta nepotum (*Carm. XII sapientum Pentasticha de XII libris Aeneidos*).

725 hic Lelegas Carasque sagittiferosque Gelonos

We proceed from Africa to Asia.

Lelegas: Vid. D.A. Secci in *VE* II, 741; G. Bonamente in *EV* III, 174. Only mentioned here in Virgil; at Homer, *Il.* 20.92–96, Aeneas observes that he was nearly killed by Achilles, saved only by the aid of the gods as they drove the son of Peleus on to slay Leleges and Trojans. A brilliant twist, then, on the narrative of the shield, with a subtle reference to the conquest of a nation associated with Troy; presumably Aeneas should recognize the Leleges who lived in Asia Minor near Pedasus and Lyrnesus (they are mentioned by Dolon, also with the Carians, at *Il.* 10.428–429; cf. Herodotus 1.171 (with Asheri's note), where they are Carians ("Homer distinguishes between Carians and Leleges ... Other authors too distinguished between the two people ..."—Asheri); Ovid, *Met.* 9.645). Servius quotes Lucan, *BC* 6.383 *mox Lelegum dextra pressum descendit aratrum* for the identification of the Leleges as Thessalians.

Caras: For the Carians note P.E. Knox in *VE* I, 233; G. Bonamente in *EV* I, 662–663; *Barrington* 61 F2. A region of southwestern Asia Minor, mentioned only here in Virgil. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4.297 (with Bömer); also Livy 38.13.7.2 (with Briscoe).

sagittiferosque: The adjective *hapax* in Virgil; Catullan (c. 11.6 *seu Sacas sagittiferosque Parthos*); also in Germanicus and Manilius; Ovid, *Met.* 1.468; Statius, *Theb.* 7.254; 9.571; *Silv.* 3.3.131; *Ach.* 1.416; Apuleius, *Met.* 11.5.12 (of the Cretans); Silius, *Pun.* 773.

Gelonos: On the Geloni note J.D. Morgan in *VE* II, 525; M. Bonamente in *EV* II, 645–646; also Mayor 2014, 237 (on the question of their language; cf. Herodotus 4.102, 108–109, with Corcella's notes). Scythians; half-civilized; mentioned elsewhere in Virgil only at *G.* 2.115 ... *pictosque Gelonos* and 3.459–463, where see Thomas: associations with both tattoos and the drinking of milk curdled with the blood of horses. One of the fringes of the world (see here Fordyce, with

reference to Horace, c. 3.4.35). We may also note here Horace, c. 2.9.17 ff. (with Harrison's notes); 2.20.18–19. Memories of Alexander.

726 finxerat; Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis,

finxerat: For the verb cf. 365; it correlates closely with *mollior*, as one thinks of the forging of soft metal. Here it is the conquered river that learns to run in a softer, gentler course with its waves.

Euphrates: Another river for a book that has been focused on the importance of both the Tiber and the Nile. The Euphrates is also associated with the vision of Augustan conquest and resultant peace at *G.* 1.509; 4.560–561; see further P.J. Jones in *VE I*, 459–460; M. Malavolta in *EV II*, 422–423. Virgil does not simply list the Euphrates here as part of a mere catalogue of exotic geographical locations that have come under the Augustan sway, but rather because at the exact same spot in the Callimachean hymn to Apollo, the same river is mentioned by the god in his answer to Pthanos. The personified spirit of envy whispers in the ear of the god that he does not admire the poet who refrains from singing songs as numerous as the waters of the sea; Apollo notes that the great river of Assyria—that is, the Euphrates—carries much filth and refuse in its waters, and that Melissae or Bee Girls do not bring just any water to Deo (i.e., Demeter). Verse 108 of the Callimachean hymn is echoed in the present Virgilian reference to the same river; the intertextual allusion comes as a seal on the ecphrastic description of the shield, a Callimachean poetic offering on the mysterious divine gift of Venus to her son. The signal importance of Apollo to the closing panels of the ecphrasis, and to the Augustan regime more generally, make the nod to the Apollo hymn of the poet's Hellenistic predecessor all the more fitting. On this brilliant trick of the Augustan poet (repeated also in the only other allusions to the river in his corpus, each also six lines from the end of its book), see Thomas 1999, 123–124 (following on R.S. Scodel and R.F. Thomas, “Vergil and the Euphrates,” in *AJPh* 105.3 (1984), 339; cf. J. Clauss, “Vergil and the Euphrates Revisited,” in *AJPh* 109.3 (1989), 309–320). Historically and politically, the Euphrates was the border between the Roman sphere of influence and the Parthian; there is a not so covert allusion here to the righting of the situation occasioned by the Antonian disaster in the region, and also, just possibly, to the question of the recovery of the standards of Crassus.

mollior undis: An echo of Lucretius, *DRN* 2.375. The phrase will be recalled at the close of the following Book 9, too, as Turnus is washed in the soft waters of the Tiber: 816–818 ... *ille suo cum gurgite flavo | accepit venientem ac mollibus extulit undis*, where the Roman river actively receives Turnus after the battle in the Trojan camp. Note also Ovid, *Met.* 4.386 (a splendid verbal trick); 15.417.

727 **extremique hominum Morini, Rhenusque bicornis,**

extremique hominum: For the genitive vid. Hofmann/Szantyr II, 54–55 (with comparison of Lucan, *BC* 7.541 *extremi ... orbis Iberi*).

Morini: On these Belgians, inhabitants of the modern Pas-de-Calais in France, see J.D. Morgan in *VE* II, 843; R.F. Rossi in *EV* III, 588; Pomponius Mela 3.23.5; *Barrington* II B2. The poet leaps now to the other side of the world; the jarring geographical jump has led some critics to wonder if verses 727 and 728 should be inverted. But Virgil's point is to dazzle with a dizzying presentation of the vast extent of Augustan (and, by implication here, Caesarian conquest); for an Augustan audience, the coast of modern France and Belgium could fairly serve to represent part of the empire's northern as well as western border. For the Morini in Caesar note *BC* 2.4.9.2; 3.9.10.2; 3.28.1.2; 4.21.3.2; 4.22.1–2; 5.3; 4.37.1.2; 4.38.1.2; 5.24.2.2; 7.75.3.5; 7.76.1.4. Grattius has *quid, si freta Morinum dubio refluentia ponto | veneris atque ipsos libeat penetrare Brittanos?* (*Cyn.* 174); cf. Silius, *Pun.* 15.723; Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.28.4. *Extremi hominum* because of the border of Roman rule, not out of geographic ignorance of Britain. Historical accuracy again: there was a Morinic revolt, and the Morini did figure in the triumphal celebrations of 29 B.C. (Dio 21.6). It is possible that the reference to the Morini—who look toward Britain, as Servius notes (“populi Galliae in finibus, qui Britanniam spectant”)—is a covert allusion to the possibility of an Augustan invasion of Britain (cf. the efforts of Julius in 55–54 B.C.), even if by the time of the composition of Book 8 such a dream had been dismissed as undesirable or impractical.

With *Mor-* cf. Irish Mhuir; Welsh Môr; Cornish Mor; Breton Mor. A maritime people, their home the gateway to Britannia.

Rhenusque bicornis: For the Virgilian Rhine note J.W. Ziolkowski in *VE* III, 1080; R.F. Rossi in *EV* IV, 535–536. *Bicornis* also at *G.* 1.264, in a different context; the reference here to the two horns of the river god comes 650 verses after the similar description of the Tiber at 77. Servius takes the adjective to refer to the division of the Rhine into two estuaries (i.e., the branching off of the distributory channel of the Waal) before the river reaches the North Sea; for how the reference points to the Batavians, see Weeda 2015, 107.

As with the Morini, so with the Rhine there is historical justification for the inclusion; there was a victory over the Suebi as well as their western fellow rebels—Gaius Carrinas, the proconsular governor of Gaul, received a triumph for his efforts in driving the enemy back across the Rhine. We are reminded of the placards that were carried in triumphal processions, artistic representations of the rivers of the conquered lands (Eden notes that the Rhine, for example, could only have two horns in “tauomorphic” visual representation). For the use of rivers to mark the extremes of the world (Rhine; Euphrates, etc.),

see Jones 2005, 73–74 (with note of the Virgilian lack of reference to the Ocean as a border, and possible indication of the poet's subscription to a Herodotean rather than a Homeric geographical view). See further I. Östenberg, "Demonstrating the Conquest of the World: The Procession of Peoples and Rivers on the Shield of Aeneas and the Triple Triumph of Octavian in 29 B.C.," in *Opuscula Romana: Annual of the Swedish Institute of Rome* 24 (1999), 155–162. The contemporary audience is invited to "see" the distant rivers through the media of both the poetic and the imagined visual arts. On the connection of the *Rhenus bicornis* to a rhinoceros and the threat of river violence see Paschalis 1997, 301n136.

On the distinction between the status of the different *gentes* of the closing movement of the ecphrasis, note Weeda 2015, 106 ff., who identifies 1) those conquered and placed under Roman rule; 2) those vanquished but given more or less special treatment for political and economic reasons; 3) those never actually defeated by Rome.

"Though Virgil's works abound in ethnographic material, Germania and its inhabitants play only a marginal role. On occasion, the region is alluded to by means of its defining river ... After Actium ... the development is clear: now conquered under Augustus (something of an overstatement) Germania (or rather the Rhine) represents the northern borders on the shield of Aeneas ..." (C.B. Krebs in *VE* 11, 541–542).

728 *indomitique Dahae, et pontem indignatus Araxes.*

A twist at the very close of the shield ecphrasis.

indomitique Dahae: With the Dahae we return to the Scythian world of the Geloni; vid. V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* 1, 332; M. Malavolta in *EV* 1, 973. The Dahae were Scythian nomads (we may recall the *Nomadum genus* of 724); they lived east of the Caspian and were part of the lore of Alexander's conquests in that region. Scholars have noted the apparent inconsistency with 722 *victae gentes*; elsewhere in the epic *indomitus* is associated with the unbridled spirit of war (2.440); with the anger for which Venus reproves Aeneas (2.594); with the fire that assails the Trojan ships (5.680–681); and with the Italian farmers of 7.521 as they proceed to go to war against the Trojans; cf. *G.* 3.174. *Indomiti* closely coordinate with *indignatus*. Are the Dahae to be considered as the only *victa gens* that had no legitimate place whatsoever in the catalogue of historical Augustan victories? The Dahae are more fearsome if they are *indomiti*, and any "conquest" via representations on a poetic shield would be quite unknown to them in their Scythian haunts.

pontem indignatus: For the river's indignation at being "civilized" by the construction of a bridge see R.F. Thomas' note on *G.* 2.161–162; the Servian tradition credits Xerxes, Alexander, and Augustus with the construction and

repair/renovation of bridges. But were any of those three historical luminaries ever engaged in commissioning such engineering work? Augustus certainly was never anywhere near the Araxes. On the river's reaction to the bridge (pathetic fallacy indeed), note Quintilian's comment at *Inst. Orat* 8.6.11: *Præcipueque ex his oritur mira sublimitas quæ audaci et proxime periculum tralatione tolluntur, cum rebus sensu carentibus actum quendam et animos damus, qualis est pontem indignatus Araxes*. For the verb see above on 649, of Porsenna; there the Etruscan king was indignant because Cocles destroyed a bridge, and because the heroine Cloelia had swum across the Tiber. We may think, too, of the fates of both Camilla and Turnus.

Araxes: For this last river of the book see P.J. Jones in *VE* I, 117; U. Cozzoli in *EV* I, 264–266. The Araxes of what for the Romans was southern Armenia is perhaps if not probably the modern Aras. As Fordyce notes here, Antony crossed this great river in 36 B.C., both on the way to his date with Parthia and destiny, and on his return in disgrace. One might argue that the river is indeed conquered by the addition of a bridge, and that the Dahæ are among the vanquished nations that process pass the Palatine Apollo/Augustus. But the ecphrasis closes with the name of a far distant river of Asia, and on a note of resistance and rebellion against the establishment of order. The ecphrasis comes to an end with an ominous, haunting indication that war may erupt again at any time. We may wonder at how the richly textured Virgilian image would have been depicted in Vulcanian art. Murmurings of the perils of future wars, in any case, as the long description winds down; we may compare the opening of the book, where the threat of war was all too real. Propertius has *et disco, qua parte fluat vincendus Araxes, | quot sine aqua Parthus milia currat equus* (c. 4.3.35–36).

For the possible etymological connection of the name of the river to ἀράσσω, see O'Hara 2017, 216–217 (following Hardie 1986, 208n132).

729 *Talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis,*

Talia per clipeum: “The formal signal,” as Gransden notes, that the ecphrasis is now finished. In *talia* there may be a hint that there are pictures on the shield that Virgil has not related in his description. On the idea that the end of the ecphrasis comes with a reminder that there is little room for joy in the unfolding of the *res Romanas*, see D.R. Dudley, “A Plea for Aeneas,” in *G&R* 8.1 (1961), 52–60, 60. The phrase closes a ring with 8.28 *Talia per Latium*, as the poet transitioned from his description of Latin war preparations (cf. the history of Italian wars on the shield) to the reaction of Aeneas to the outbreak of war; the emotional reaction of the *Laomedontius heros* or, we might say, eminently *Trojan* hero to the developments in Latium was to be ill at ease, his thoughts similar

to the reflection of light on water, where the *imago lunae* was one of the possible sources of the light (23). Austin compares the end of Book 8 with that of Book 2 in his commentary ad loc.

Volcani: A final mention of the god who was responsible for the crafting of the shield.

dona parentis: The *dona populorum* of 721 are recalled; the gifts of the conquered peoples lead to the gift of the “parent.” The reference is to Venus, the mother of Aeneas—but we may also think of how the seduced stepfather has granted arms to his stepson, and in a sense has become a parent of the Trojan hero in a tangible, appreciable fashion. The gift of the parent, however, includes reference to the conquest of the very lands associated with the son of the beautiful, capricious goddess. *Dona* is poetic plural; we may note the interlocking word order: shield, Vulcan, gift, parent. *Dona parentis* recalls 617 *deae donis*. On the significance of the immortals in the bestowing of the arms, see Thornton 1976, 118. Cf. also Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.768 (Athena’s gift of the cloak of Jason).

For the apposition of the poetic plural with a singular (*clipeum*), see Ernout-Thomas, 135.

730 *miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet*

The verbs frame the verse, as Aeneas is lost in both wonder and rejoicing.

miratur: One of the key words of the book; cf. on 91–92; 161; 310; 517; 619. The penultimate appearance of the verb in *A.* 8 provides the occasion for the otherwise unspecified subject of its final lines: 617–619 *ille deae donis et tanto laetus honore | expleri nequit atque oculos per singula volvit, | miraturque interque manus et brachia versat*. Aeneas is in a state of wonder; at first we may be forgiven if we need to pause to realize that he is the subject. Cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.184a (the wonder at the fleece).

rerumque: The commentators note that the genitive coordinates both with *ignarus* and *imagine*.

ignarus: The adjective also at 187; the main echo, however, is of 627 *haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi*, of Vulcan at the very start of the shield ecphrasis. A neat twist on the relationship of the seduced husband, his flirtatious, unfaithful wife, and the mortal son of goddess and Anchises: Vulcan is well aware of the meaning of the images on the shield; he understands his art in a way that Aeneas does not. A significant adjective at mid-line, halfway between Aeneas’ wonder and his joy. We may consider the reaction of Aeneas to the pictures in Dido’s temple at 1.494–495 *Haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda videntur, | dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno*; also 1.459–463. On the ambiguities of the word order (which serve only to highlight the image of the

hero's state of unknowing), see Gransden's note. For a connection between Aeneas' ignorance of Roman history and the Anchisean admonition of 6.851 *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento*, etc., see Newman and Newman 2005, 266. Aeneas cannot hope to follow the advice of the shade of his father when he is clearly not *Romanus*; a Roman would not be ignorant of *res Italas Romanorumque triumphos*. "Aeneas' Romanisation yet generates the experiential and moral blindness characteristic of passionate man" (Boyle 1986, 172). At Ovid, *Met.* 13.291 ff., Ulysses notes that Ajax cannot even understand the images on Achilles' shield; for the allusion to the present scene, see Hopkinson ad loc.

On the parallelism with 6.710 ff., where Aeneas is *iniscius* in the grove by Lethe, see the remarks of Di Cesare 1974, 111–112. Both the first and the last books of the poem's second third end on notes of unknowing; cf. 5.871 *nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena*, where Aeneas comments ruefully on the "unknown sand" (i.e., of Italy) where Palinurus will lie naked. On the association of Aeneas' ignorance with the dictates of fate, see Gleis 1991, 136.

imagine: Alliterative with *ignarus*; the noun occurs also at 23; 557; 671. On how the shield becomes an *imago* see Newman and Newman 2005, 27. Virgil here recalls Aeneas' reproach of his disguised mother at 1.407–408 *quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis / ludis imaginibus?* (on the parallel note Newman and Newman 2005, 58 ff.; 89 on the "slippery noun"). The Ovidian shield of Achilles is *clipeus vasti caelatus imagine mundi* (*Met.* 13.110); for the allegorical tradition that the Achilles-shield was an *imago mundi*, see Gee 2000, 39–40. At 671 *imago* was used of the sea that served as the stage setting for the victory at Actium; now the noun is applied to the entire artifact, as it were.

gaudet: For the verb cf. 702; 617 *laetus*. It is rare for a book of Virgil's epic to end on a comparatively happy note, though here too dark shadows gather. The end of Book 8 recalls the close of 2, where Aeneas lifted up his aged father as they made their escape from Troy (2.804 *cessi et sublato montis genitore petivi*). At the end of 3 Aeneas is said to have related the *fata divom* (3.717) in his story to the assembly at Dido's banquet. Book 5 closes with Aeneas' rueful question about the fate of the lost helmsman Palinurus. Book 10 ends with Aeneas' killing of Mezentius, where the Etruscan king is not unaware as he receives the Trojan's blade in his throat: 10.907 ... *haud iniscius accipit ensem*. On Aeneas' optimism here see Syed 2005, 70–71. Cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.171a (Jason rejoicing over the fleece), with Nelis 2001, 357.

A final note of visual emphasis: Aeneas rejoices in the loveliness of a masterwork of the metallurgic arts. Lines 729–730 reverse the verb order of *E.* 6.29–30 *nec tantum Phoebos gaudet Parnasia rupes, / nec tantum Rhodope miratur et Ismarus Orpheus*. Book 8 opened with Turnus; it closes with Aeneas.

731 **attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.**

Danielis notes that this last line of the book was criticized by some as being superfluous, lacking in dignity, and “magis neotericus.” The exact nature of the discomfort is unclear; Eden associates it with the alleged problem of lifting “weightless abstractions,” i.e., the *fama* and *fata* of his descendants. Certainly we move here from the concrete to the abstract, from the actual *clipeum* to what it represents; we might think of the *Somni portae* at the end of 6, one for *verae umbrae*, and one for *falsa insomnia* (6.893 ff.); on this see Newman and Newman 2005, 304–305. For the etymological connection between *fama* and *fata* see O’Hara 2017, 187 on “juxtaposition of cognates.”

For the association of Aeneas with Atlas, see especially Nagy 2009, 596 ff. With *attollens umero* cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.721a; 4.179b (Jason bearing the cloak of Pallas; Jason with the fleece); cf. Nelis 2001, 355–357.

attollens: The verb also at 32. For how the ghost of Anchises continues to haunt Aeneas, note Newman and Newman 2005, 152. The end of Book 8 harks back to the end of 2: the last time Aeneas lifted something on his shoulder, the Morning Star was rising over Ida; now it is the Arcadian Pallas who is Lucifer, proceeding to his setting, and Aeneas is shouldering the fame and fate of descendants whose *sermo* and *mores* will be Italian and not Trojan. Aeneas’ action here contrasts with Turnus’ raising up of the *signum belli* from the Laurentian citadel at 1–2 above. Cf. the Heracles of *Hym. Orph.* 12 Ricciardelli, who is said to bear the dawn and the black night on his head.

umero: Tib. comments on how much is borne on one shoulder and one shield. Proper epic placement of a shield; cf. how Satan wears his buckler “Behind him cast” at Milton, *PL* 1.286–287 (on this see Dobranski 2015, 66 f.). For the motif of shouldering burdens in the epic, see T. Rendall, “*Succedoque oneri*: Shouldering Responsibility in the *Aeneid*,” in *CJ* 112.2 (2016–2017), 180–195.

fata: Far superior to the weakly attested alternative *facta*. For *fata* with *famam* the commentators cf. 7.79–80 *namque fore inlustrem fama fatisque canebant / illam* (of Lavinia). A subtle tribute, perhaps, to the poet’s own art, with play on the root of both *fama* and *fata*, i.e., *fari*. Gransden has a lengthy note here on Virgilian destiny and fate. We may recall the opening of the ecphrasis, *Illic res Italas Romanorumque triumphos* (626); in some sense the *fata* here recall the *res*, and the *famam* the *triumphos*—a neatly balanced close to a ring. On how Aeneas contributes to his own *fama* by taking up the *famamque et fata nepotum*, see Syson 2013, 45–46. “Virgil’s use of the word imports a somber tone and a sense of the inscrutability of the divine order.” (R. Jenkyns in *VE* 11, 475).

nepotum: “Children’s children”; the last word of the book refers both to the Alban line of Ascanius, and to the descendants of Lavinia’s son Aeneas Silvius.

We have come very far from the parallel close of Book 2, as Aeneas carried his father and led his son into the future following the destruction of Troy. Father Anchises represented the Trojan past; in the underworld, his shade would point the way to the Roman future. Aeneas now carries the tangible representation of what had been shown to him in the misty meadows of Elysium; despite the many lessons of the second third of the epic, he advances to the books of war in a state of profound unawareness of the meaning of the beguiling images that defend and protect him.

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