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NICHOLAS HORSFALL

VIRGIL, *AENEID* 11



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A COMMENTARY

BY

NICHOLAS HORSFALL



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In memory of my parents
Thomas Mendelssohn Horsfall
Commander, Royal Navy, O.B.E. (Milit.)
6.xi.1900–29.vii.1964
and
Sofia Oskarovna (geb. Szapiro)
6.xi.1906–19.xi.1993

and of
George Goold
15.v.1922–5.xii.2001
paene patris alteri

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PREFACE

“È il libro meno studiato e meno amato del poema” F. Della Corte, *EV* 2, 258.

“A commentary should not be duller than the text on which it is based” R.G.M. Nisbet, cited by Adrian Hollis, *Ovid, Ars am.*1 (Oxford 1977), vi.

It should be supposed that I disagree quite violently with at least one of these statements; the first was sent me, sped upon quiet gales of mirth, by Woldemar Görler quite soon after he began reading my commentary in draft and the second came recently to my attention through the kindness of Christina Kraus and the curious learning of John Henderson, in *The classical commentary . . .* ed. R.K. Gibson, C.S. Kraus (Leiden 2002), 205, n. 3. After my commentary on *Aeneid* 7, it seemed no bad idea to write another such (or even two); the slow gestation of *Aen.*7 (*Mnem.*Suppl.198, Leiden 1999) meant I had acquired some familiarity with the problems and with the relevant scholarly literature. Bk. 8 might have seemed an obvious choice, but I felt (and feel) out of sympathy with a good deal of the relevant literature and had in fact written a good deal (much of it unpublished) on the peculiar problems of 11. Della Corte was perhaps right to draw attention to how very little has been written on 11; that means that the commentator does not have much (comparatively) to read or cite and is usually a good deal on his/her own. On consideration, I preferred not to consult the unpublished BPhil. thesis by Rachel Woodrow (1978), on the Camilla episode, available in the Bodleian.

Unlike R.G. Austin and R.D. Williams, I have decided not to repeat discussions, slightly altered, from volume to volume; readers wanting to know where I stand on (e.g.) the *genitius inhaerentiae* will have to go back to the earlier volume. Cross-references I have tried to make as clear as might be and while I must apologise for any inconvenience resulting from this decision, I do hope that the resulting reduction in bulk and expense will not pass unappreciated.

To several reviewers of my *Aeneid* 7 I am most grateful. The general annoyance caused by the unusual system of bibliographical cross-references has been registered. The fact that three reviewers actually cited ‘precise instances’ which did not (really and truly did not!) correspond to the text of the book in the end brought home to me that things could perhaps be clarified. This time I began at v. 1 and finished at v. 915; the earlier book had advanced like Theseus without his bit of string. My selective enthusiasm for certain new critical approaches has been received with toleration, even amusement. In the Book of Camilla, I have read all the feminist criticism I could reach (my thanks to Christine Perrell and Sallie Spence) and have

certainly not gone back on my willingness to experiment with intertextuality, though in practice, as I shall try to explain, much of xi seems sadly barren terrain for trying to understand Virgil's richest compositional techniques.

This commentary has been read by two extraordinarily kind friends, Margaret Hubbard and Woldemar Görler: their attention has not been limited to the identification of typographical errors and with WG in particular the argument often continues unresolved. Their encouragement and good humour have been altogether indispensable and this book's merits are in large measure theirs.

In the middle of writing I moved from the centre of Rome to the Oxfordshire countryside; that delayed progress at one point but probably made not very much difference to the commentary. The relocation of the beloved Haverfield/Ashmolean library in new quarters next door (the Sackler library) was almost a more severe shock to the system. In Rome I might have had access to a wider range of recent books and journals. Or not. I really do not know, but have tried to be hospitable to the most recent arrivals on various New Books shelves.

There are fewer vast entangled problems in bk. 11 than there were in bk. 7 and as a result I have had to persecute my friends rather less, but Antonie Wlosok and Christine Walde have procured me books, Jan Bremmer has sent xeroxes and sage counsel with imperturbable goodwill and when I was able to turn to both Brian Shefton and Thomas Mannack in the space of two days to try to find out how to understand ancient ways of drawing the bow, I realised more than ever that *quod petis hic est, est Ulubris, tibi si quaerenti est doctus amicus*: Licinia Ricottilli, Jim O'Hara, Barbara Kowalsig, Eleanor Dickey, Ettore Cingano, Denis Fceny and Brian Gilmour have all borne a hand when asked; I can only apologise for omissions (and other kind friends indeed are named *ad loc.*; for this inconsistency, no apologies!). Not to mention Stephen Harrison, who let me teach Latin verse composition, an arcane activity still genuinely useful to the Virgil scholar, while Giuliano Bonfante did all he could and more to accelerate my consultation of the Accademia dei Lincei's copy of Ia Cerda. Many friends, moreover, have most kindly and generously continued to send me their books (special thanks to Paola Ceccarelli!) while substantial packets sent long ago by Danielle Porte and Jean-Claude Richard have proved remarkably useful. In Oxford, the friendship of Prof. J.N. Adams and Dr. C.S. Kraus is a strong, but pleasant, inducement to try to keep up standards.

I would hope, *dis bene uolentibus*, and if reaction to the present commentary does not rule the plan out of court, to be able to pass in the near future to *Aeneid* 3, a difficult book and one which I hope by now to be nearly qualified to tackle.

My mother took her *Abitur* in Polish-administered Vilna, reading Livy 21 with a Russian commentary (*habeo!*), and taught me a little Latin, when I jumped a class ca. 1954; more important, she was a remarkable linguist, who viewed with amused disapproval my concentration (until ca. 1986) on languages which did not have to be spoken. My father, in a small emergency ca. 1958, stunned his family with a flood of eloquent German, remembered in modest silence from governess days and spoke decorously both French and Italian. Six languages were sometimes heard at home, at least in my grandmother's time, and to thank both my parents here for passing on some of their linguistic capacity is the very least I could do.

These have been sad months for Latinists: after the deaths of Scevola Mariotti and Sebastiano Timpanaro comes that of George Goold; we were friends (close, even, at times) for just under thirty years. Towards him there abides a deep indebtedness both scholarly and human; he had everything to do with my eventual turning aside from articles and reviews to books, as I have explained (*Alambicco*, 12) and *Aeneid* 7 he had in hand in his last months. That closing of the circle was extremely important to me, so much so that he shares the dedication of 11.

Nicholas Horsfall
Stanton St. John, Oxon.
26.11.02

INTRODUCTION

§1 **Structure** To the hasty reader, it might seem that bks. 10, 11 and 12 all lead up to deaths, but Camilla's is placed very deliberately not at the book's end (one thinks of the delayed prooemium in 7!), but with **832–915** to follow, that apparent inconcinnity will lead us to a clearer view of **11**'s importance in the economy of the 'plot'. **11** is formally, and formidably, tripartite: (a) funerals (**1–224**), (b) debate (**225–444**), and (c) battle (**445–915**), with both complex links with the books preceding and following, and exceptionally careful transitions between the three parts.

Thus (a) Aen.'s first concern is perforce his duty to the gods in erecting a trophy for the death of Mez., the final episode of 10, while Pallas' funeral, pending since 10.506 and now Aen.'s chief concern, along with the burial of his men, has—but for the last time—to be postponed. Pallas' funeral is rich in foreshadowings of Tu.'s death (**5–13**, **17**, **91f.**, **108–19**, **129**, **152–81**, etc.) and the motif remains prominent through the entire book (cf. **477**, **483–5**, **487–91**), alongside the numerous foreshadowings of Camilla's own death. V. intertwines the tragedy of Pallas and Evander (**29–99**, **139–181**) with the mass funerals of **133–8** (Trojans and Latins), **182–202** (Trojans and Etruscans), **203–24** (Latins). But in the depths of tragedy, he remains a subtle and ingenious developer of the plot, for it is Drances who accepts Aeneas' terms for the burial-truce (**118–32**) and then, as an open enemy of Tu. among the Latins, becomes a key figure in the debate upon Venulus' message from Diomedes (**336–75**). We should not forget the crucial intervention at **219–21**: Drances prepares the ground for his attack on Turnus in the assembly *before* Venulus' embassy returns; the lines in which grief is transmuted into political opposition (**213–24**) are of prime importance. Moreover, before Lat. speaks, his position is revealed, **232–3** (the good, weak king convinced by a first report of the embassy's failure and by the scale of the Latin funerals), just as the outline of Venulus' address is anticipated, **226–30**, enough to weigh heavily upon the king.

(b) The debate; entirely inconclusive (**445–6**), indispensable in retarding both the appearance of Camilla, which must have seemed inevitable after the manner of her first appearance (**7.803–17**) and the final clash between Aeneas and Turnus. Profoundly important for the development of Turnus' character and history, for the political or public debate at the heart of the poem and for the moral and human evaluation of the Trojan war and the *nostoi*. The speakers are

(i) Venulus, **243–95**, reporting Diomedes, **252–93**. The return of the embassy a card free for Virgil to play dramatically, once their departure, 8.9f. has passed into dimmer memory. Turnus had counted upon Diomedes' support, and the message from Arpi is essential to Virgil's development of

Turnus' personal and political isolation. He is not to die at the head of a great national (i.e. pan-Italian) coalition; as leader of the Latins alone, the confusion of his motives itself acquires a special character.

(ii) Latinus, **302–35**. Sensible proposals for peace, couched in calculatedly flat, prosy language, and entirely in harmony with Diomedes' message. But peace is in practice (for the plot and for us the readers) far less momentous than the personal enmity between Drances and Turnus (cf. e.g. **364** for such feuding in late Republican political life).

(iii) Drances, **343–75**. The deeply disagreeable, markedly Sallustian *popularis* expresses, much of the time, sane and helpful views. But his suggestions (offering Lavinia to Aeneas, single combat between Turnus and Aeneas) are, even when tending to lasting peace, couched amid such corrosive dislike of Turnus that they can only tend to the opposite result.

(iv) Turnus, **378–44**. A response calculated, one imagines, to appeal to connoisseurs of verbal battles in the *curia*. Loathing repaid with interest. Tu can still count upon Camilla's troops (**432–3**) and is eagerly ready to take up the proposal of single combat: thus the second half of 11 and the development of 12 are prepared.

Finally, (c), battle.

445–97. The news of Aeneas' having broken camp to march upon Latinus' city brings a revulsion again 'mere words' (**446, 460**). Turnus knows it is his moment and gives orders. Successively Lat. (**468–72**) laments the failure of his policy, his citizens take up arms (**473–6**), while amid the *matres* his wife and daughter pray (undercut with foreboding) for victory against Aeneas (**477–85**), and Turnus emerges onto the field of battle in all his glory (**486–97**), doomed, but for now highly attractive.

At **498–531** Camilla and Turnus meet; as a result, Turnus leaves the field to check Aeneas' advance (and to remove himself from the action until bk. 12), while Camilla takes charge of the defence of the approaches to Latinus' city.

532–96 give us, on Diana's lips, successively, a biography of Camilla, a clear anticipation of her death (**587**) and orders to Opis which lead to vengeance being taken upon her killer, Arruns (**587–96**).

The onset of combat proper is narrated with notable skill, first in a cavalry engagement between Latins and Etruscans, recounted in the typical waves of advance and retreat familiar from prose accounts (**619**); the movements of large bodies of men is interleaved with individual combats (**612–7, 636–45**) and the rather splendid general images of combat, **631–5**. At this point Camilla enters the fight (**648–63**); the organisation of **664–835**, Camilla's *aristeia*, will be discussed *ad loc.*; Orsilochous is familiar from **636** and rather unexpectedly the chain of Camilla's triumphs is interrupted by the combat between Tarchon and Venulus (**725–58**), both hitherto known in

the book (**184, 242**). The climactic episode, that between Camilla and Arruns, we will find divided by Camilla's pursuit of Chloreus, which prepares the way for Arruns' success. With Camilla's death (**831**), the Volscian cavalry is thrown into disarray. Opis avenges her mistress's death (**836–67**) but the combat of 12 is prepared by the Latins' rout and the simultaneous arrival of both Aeneas and Turnus from the failed ambush (plotted with minute skill, **825, 897**). An accelerated onset of the final battle is only prevented by timely nightfall.

Cf. Büchner, 394.48ff., Di Cesare, 198ff., Heinze, 228f., Otis, 361–70, Klingner, 582–8, C.W. Mendell, *JCS* 12 (1951), 223f. There are a number of surveys of 11 'as a book', of which the most useful are perhaps W.S. Anderson, in Perkell, 195ff., Quinn, 233–52, and Puccioni (1983), 367ff. = (1985), 137ff.

§2 Sources: epic, and *Kreuzung der Gattungen*

Homer. It is easiest to consider Virgil's debt in 11 under five distinct headings:

(a) Phrases taken directly and recognisably from H. I discuss at the beginning of §3.

(b) For Homeric 'history' (that is, the use of Hom.'s text as a source of 'facts', versions of myth to be revered or reversed (cf. *Companion*, 188 on **11**), cf. **243–95, 267, 297**. Camilla as Amazon is essentially post-Homeric, post-Iliadic; cf. Appx. I, §1. Homer's presence in her book is thus always in some sense mildly paradoxical.

(c) Structural reworkings. Given the book's tripartite structure and the alien character of the cavalry battles, the depth and complexity of these reworkings might seem surprising. But cf. Knauer, 308–15 and vd. **14–28, 42–58, 72–7, 91, 108–19, 122–32, 133–8, 152–81, 182–202, 203–24, 225–42, 243–95, 302–35, 447–97, 487–91, 785–93, 794–835, 809–13, 896–915**.

A general summary is scarcely possible in a small compass.

(d) Motifs. We might note "human sacrifice" (**82**), blood-spattered chariots (**88**), the weeping horse (**90**), the noises of the battlefield, trumpet and shout (**192**), mass graves (**207**), the anger of the gods (**233**), the parity of Hector and Aeneas (**289**), the language of insult (**378**), biting the ground (**418**), the ritual of supplication (**477**), milk-drinking on the steppe (**571**), dust on the field of battle (**877**).

(e) Scholia. Now that we have Schmit-Neuerburg to supplement Schlunk, we might have hoped for substantial progress. As it is, though, cf. **72–7, 593** for a couple of passages where V. does seem to have considered ancient discussion of Homeric difficulties. But **492–7** seems of particular importance, for Xenophon's reading of Virgil's Homeric source there seems amply to confirm the moral implications of V.'s unusual **equarum** and

does suggest that Hom. had in fact been thus read earlier than our current scholia.

Non-Homeric elements are, typically, crucial to *Aen.*11, but little attention has been paid to them systematically (though at least for Sallust, cf. now *SCI* 21 (2002), 79ff.).

Appendix I will discuss more fully the problems of V.'s sources for the story of Camilla and the impossibility of proving his direct use of the Epic Cycle. Discussion of **647 pulchram . . . mortem** points to an idea dear to T yrtaeus, and it will have reached V. by mysterious channels.

There is some concentration of tragic motifs in Diomedes' account of the *nostoi* (cf. Nauplius, **260** and notably **uel Priamo miseranda manus 259**); cf. **43** the idea of the envy of Fortuna and, more significant the distinctively tragic motif of the consolation of vengeance (**836–47, 847**).

There is very little Alexandrian art, sentiment, scholarship (Nelis, 479f. suggests some passing analogies); note Callimachean learning in the figures of Opis and Camilla (**532, 543**), an Homeric simile which had been reworked by AR (**492–7**), some Hellen. forms of names at **297, 405, 657**, some passing flashes of learning at **262** (a personal favourite for years!) and perhaps **673**, but not **581** (*pace* Tissol).

Nor, since there is little religious and ceremonial activity, is Varro a probably strong presence, though some traces of antiquarian detail will be found in Pallas' funeral (see e.g. **72–7**). Now that Turnus' *deuotio* has returned to its proper dimensions, V. may indeed be thinking of various ancient episodes of loosely-defined self-sacrifice; Varro contributed something to V.'s image and naming of Camilla (**532–95, 543**), to his notion of ancient recruitment (**632**), to his use of the frequent motif of the dedication of spoils, but more notably to his knowledge of the stories of the *nostoi* of the heroes (**243–95**) and of the cult of Apollo on Mt. Soracte (**785**) and just possibly to his use of the name Dercennus (**850**).

For much of 11, though, V. is writing of cavalry actions and that directs his reading elsewhere: as I suggest more fully at Appx. I, §4, V. turns to the specialists; for Drances, Sallust, and for the combat scenes, Caesar, Livy and Sallust. Drances, La Penna and I agree entirely, is a *popularis*; I would add only that he is authentically and identifiably drawn in Sallustian colours (**336–75**). It has now become far easier to identify the precise origins of V.'s lexical choices; *EV* 1, 754 asserts that 'Caes.*ap.*Serv. *ad Aen.***11.743**' is the one proof that V. knew the Caesarian battle-narratives; it is singular that Serv.'s 'citation' is treated there as even possibly authentic and remarkable that no attempt was made to explore further V.'s indebtedness. At **11.381**, *Companion*, 245, the debt seemed rather likely and further systematic enquiry rather confirms my earlier hypothesis: cf. **473 sudes, 513 praemisit, 616 tormento**, but it is above all as the classic exponent of military narrative in recent times that V. read Caes.; *infra* we shall see

how often V. uses what is in effect Caesarian language when applying the conventional terminology of the business of war to an epic context.

After Caes., Livy. I do not here suggest any radical redating of either author, but at *SCI, cit.*, 79 I have proposed that by the time V. wrote the bulk of 11, the whole of Livy's first decade was presumably available to him, and perhaps the second (unverifiable!) and third as well. At all events, the hunt for traces of Livy 1-10 in *Aen.*11 is strikingly rewarding and the analogies do not point simply to joint use of e.g. Ennius: **460 cogite concilium**, **501 defluxit**, **528 occurrere**, **531 insedit**, **553 bellator**, **571** (Hannibal and Camilla in the wild), **593 corpus et arma**, **610 simul undique**, **609** (rearing horses), **636** (wounding the horse not the rider), **707 pedestri**, **743** (wrenching an adversary from his saddle), **782 praedae et spoliolum**, **800** (?) **conuertere**, **841f. crudele supplicium**, **879** (besiegers and besieged mixed in the gates). Above all, **522-9** the site for the ambush.

Lastly, 'military language', not to be pinned down to a particular author, but used by V. to create a general effect of combat described in the appropriate language, for which we have already seen he had a certain appetite (**7.159 pinnis**): cf. **446 mouebat**, **464 equitem** collective (cf. **608**), **466 aditus**, **firment**, **467 inferat**, **468 discurritur** (and note use of *impers. pass.*), **475 cinxere**, **475** (?) **corona**, **512 missi exploratores**, **517 conlatis signis**, **528** (?) **occurrere**, **531 iniquis**, **599 compositi numero**, **609** (**506**) **substiterat**, **613 incurrunt**, **618 turbatae acies**, **623 referuntur**, **632 implicuere**, **636 suffosso**, **642 deicit** (cf. **665**), **666 apertum**, **676 emissa** (?), **685 traicit**, **710 resistit**, **731 reficit**, **783 insidiis**, **826 succedat**, **853 speculatur**, **860 duxit**, **868 leuis**, **888 praecipitis**, **899 ingruere**, **902 obsessos collis**, **906f. toto agmine**, **915 ual-lant**. Vd. too the significant use of asyndeton, **898** and note further the terse, almost Caesarian organisation of simultaneous actions and orders **463-7**, **505-6**, **511-7**, **901-7**. The preference for for trick-free open combat is strongly typical of conventional Roman battle-narrative, **515**. So too the almost rhythmical alternation of charge and retreat in cavalry combat, and **619**, the encouragement of soldiers by name, **731**. Cf. also **476 matronae puerique**, **516**, **525 fauces**, **608 iactum**, **progressus**, **609 erumpunt**, **668f. cruenta humus**, **703 instantem**, **764 uictrix redit**, **879 inrupere**. I hardly need mention the names of units and weapons (notably **770f.**, the Sallustian account of a cataphract's armour). Cf. too **475**, **891** (women man the walls).

§3 Language, grammar, syntax, style, metre

In my earlier introduction, I explained in some detail how I had come, rather to my own surprise, to be fascinated by the finer detail of Virgil's Latin, and his verse, how the tools of the trade, some old, some new, were sometimes adequate and quite often not, and how a great deal

remained to be done. Three years on, we now have *ALLP*, a couple more fascicles of *TLL*, a couple of new commentaries, and in appearance not much else, but my familiarity with the new technology seems to have grown (862 was an interesting case!) and I have been able to add some very useful books to my shelves; it is, for example, a great help to be able to consult Oakley's Livy at leisure. And increased acquaintance with V.'s manner and idiom seems often enough to help; after a while, enallage actually becomes easier to spot and it sometimes comes as a relief (perhaps to reader as well as to commentator) that there are fewer notes on, let us say, the genitive of sphere to construct. Essentially, though, my interests and approach have not changed, for the case for a systematic commentary advanced three years ago is not weakened by time and the application of the approach there championed to more than one book should after two, even three commentaries, have useful, even surprising results. Four instances of the *gen. inhaerentiae* here are, though, rather what one might expect (an old preoccupation, bk. 7, xxiii).

In Appendix II, the question of whether V.'s writing has changed, even declined since the heady days of bk.7 will be faced. Here, after discussion of military idiom in §2, I collect, for comparison with the earlier introduction, some other rich sources of language. Homer is included, in the sense that V. uses many expression best understood as precise (or nearly precise) renderings of the idiom and manner of *Il.*:

6 fulgentia, 20 adnuerint, 27 non uirtutis egentem, 29 sic ait inlacrimans, 81 mitteret umbris, 168 cecidisse, 191 spargitur . . . sparguntur, 203 miseri, 245 concidit, 266 Mycenaesus, 282 stetimus contra, 485 portis . . . altis, 556 librans (with 606 uibrant), 596 nigro turbine, 615 pectora pectoribus, 634 armaque corporaque, 635 pugna aspera surgit, 641 ingentem . . . ingentem, 646 ater cruor, 687 aduenit dies, 691 fixit, 696 per arma perque ossa, 704 uersare dolos, 725 hominum sator atque deorum, 797 adnuit, 812 conscius audacis facti, 831 uitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.

We do not, alas, know how much (in terms of episodes) Enn. contributed to Virgil's ability to turn cavalry combat into poetry, but cf. Appx. I, §4 (n. 67); however, I note some of the more relevant contributions to the battlefield language of *Il.*: **225 tumultus, 259 uel Priamo miseranda, 345 mussant, 425-7, 446 certantes, 464 equitem (coll. sing.), 484 frange, 492-7, 597-647, 561 hostile, 607 fremitus equorum, 635 semianimes, 705f. forti equo, 745 tollitur in caelum clamor, 770 spumantem equum, 806 exterritus, 817 mucro, 875 quadrupedum, quatit ungula terram, 883 confixi.**

Catullus' *Attis* impinges upon Camilla's solitary devotion to Diana (**557f.**, **582**), though not upon Chloereus' trappings! For Cat.62, vd. **68–71**, **567** (??), and for 64 (I select the more striking analogies), **43**, **68**, **376**, **764**. For Cat., in general, vd. **4**, **25f.**, **106**, **300**, **320**, **523**, **534**, **557**, **581**, **596**, **622**, **686**, **736**, **818**, **831**, and **846**, **847** (a singular concentration and for Cat.101, cf. also **25f.**, **95**, **831**).

Of language from *Cic.cam.* (or as I suggested, familiar to us from *Cic.*, but actually reflecting the idiom of lost tragic and epic texts) there may seem to be less than in bk. 7, but V. continues to borrow colourful and weighty expressions (**667 transuerberat!**): cf. **14**, **22f.**, **29**, **110**, **120**, **225**, **320**, **723**, **900**.

§4 Text.

No repetition here of what I wrote in my earlier introduction on the transmission of the *Aeneid* (xxvi–xxx). Nor do I list my divergences from Mynors on points of punctuation (at e.g. **11.309** that can lead to a substantial rearrangement of the sense) and orthography. Only at **173** and **688** does my text differ significantly from the OCT (1969 ed.; in the 1972 revision, the oddity of Mynors' **688** is removed), only **404** is deleted (as in all serious edd.), and only at **692** do I toy with an old ingenious suggestion. This should not be taken as implying that I am smuggling back into the conservative fold, not least since I have been able to benefit from George Goold's revision (Cambridge, Mass. and London 1999, 2000) of Fairclough's Loeb ed., which turns out not to be a quick removal of the more embarrassing blemishes but a real, thorough rethinking of many problems by a scholar of admirable learning, independence of mind and fine judgement. As before, my decision on points of spelling is *ad hoc*; I see no reason to suppose that Virgil's spelling, or that of his scribes, was standardised (cf. *SCI* 16 (1997), 72), and therefore, though careful, I hope, to remove actual errors of orthography, I am happy to follow the usage of the majority of the best mss. even though this leads me into frequent inconsistency, and disagreement with, e.g., my friend Josef Delz! In 11, **P** has a phase of violent archaising,—**397**, **418**, **427**, **430**, **436**—which illustrates nicely both the effect of textual scholarship upon copyists and the case for continuous open-minded inconsistency; **P**, that is to say, is to be remarked, not followed! More serious and more curious is a more general textual issue: only twice, I repeat, in bk. 11 do I differ from Mynors, as against, e.g. 9 times in bk. 7 and I noted at *Vergilius* 41 (1995), 57 how variable such lists of divergences in practice were: fifteen passages in Hardie (9), twenty-seven in Harrison (10). As against two here! I should have been delighted to register thirty divergences but honestly can not. It may be timely to advance a suspicion that some books of *Aen.* are in fact better transmitted than others (the worst, perhaps, 3 and 10) and to begin to consider why this might be so. That might depend upon the various copyists

used by the poet himself, or by Varius and could also be influenced by variations in the degrees of difficulty in lexicon, grammar, idiom, etc. adopted by the poet (vd. *supra*). I have once more provided a translation, above all because to do so compels the commentator to look, to think, to decide. If you write notes, a word or an implication may give you the slip; if you try conscientiously to translate, that is less likely. The appearance of an admirable Loeb edition when I was some way into the commentary has been a great help; at times I have needed positively to struggle in order to differ somewhat from Goold's precise, grand and readable version.

§5 Commentary and commentaries

The commentator upon *Aen.*11 needs to take account of three fairly recent predecessors:

- (1) Williams (London 1973); cf. **7**, xxxiii–xxxiv.
- (2) Paratore (s.l. 1983); cf. **7**, xxxiii.
- (3) Gransden (Cambridge 1991). In *Vergilius* 38 (1992), 144ff. there is a review of this little book by me, there attributed to T. Leo Calder. This is an anagrammatical pseudonym (the anagram of Della Corte serves to guarantee my authorship, rather in the ancient manner) and—a couple of small, hasty errors aside—I stand by the severe view there taken.

By these three works, our understanding of 11 is not very much advanced. But there is also M. Alessio, *Studies in Virgil* . . . (Laval 1993), which becomes almost a commentary to certain passages. Of this book S.J. Harrison wrote in generous mode at *CR* 46 (1996), 19ff., and indeed the hard work it displays, however misguided, does go some way to counterbalance a rather singular accumulation of mistakes.

Recently, I was reproved, by a distinguished Italian scholar, for not having paid more attention in my commentary on *Aen.*7 to Pascoli's *Epos* and Sabbadini's school edition. The former is a book I know, like and respect, which indeed I cite gladly when it offers material to my purpose. Sabbadini, however, is not as sound as his German and English contemporaries (Ladewig, etc., Page) and to have worked through him with care did not seem likely to be a fruitful expenditure of time! In general, then, I continue to try to be thoughtfully selective in bibliography. On every line of 11, I have consulted sixteen commentaries, from Servius to Gransden. But (e.g.) with Miss Tilly's *Story of Camilla* (a modest school commentary) I do not engage in detail. There may be other school editions I ought arguably to have consulted, as there were for bk. 7, but while for

that book I knew they existed and failed to find them after a good deal of effort, this time I can only surmise that they may have escaped even my rather full enquiries. The Aris and Phillips annotated translation of bks. 11–12 which was announced *passim* as forthcoming, some five years ago, has not in fact appeared.

Book 7 was sent to the publishers at the end of 1998, and appeared a year later, by which time 11 had started; that is to say, the present book has been written rather more briskly and there has been no significant development in my outlook as a commentator since I tried to define and explain historically my position in 7, pp. xxxiv–xxxv; there may even be—or so I would argue—more of a change in the poet. But the concern with style and language, the preference for prosody over metre, the concern with matters antiquarian (poet permitting!), more of an interest in the poet's models than in his influence, a general concern with the 'intellectual baggage' with which Virgil's original readers faced the text (and 11 is a markedly 'un-Augustan book, requiring virtually no concern with those readers' 'political baggage')—all this, it is hoped—remains unaltered. If it should seem that I have drawn back after some earlier signs of polite flirtation with recent critical trends I can only plead first, that my interest was (and is) real, and limited only by my inability to master active use of the jargon (so V.'s dialogue with his models here passes through a filter of critically conservative language!), secondly that my productive friendships with several active, modern critics of Latin poetry are mercifully undiminished and lastly, that Virgil is here writing, much of the time, in the unfamiliar veins of cavalry battle-narrative and political debate, by which peculiar limitations are imposed. 11 is still a terrain *siluestribus horrida dumis*, while by the time 7 was completed, I was writing in reaction to widespread interest; here, then, I may at times be seen still to be hacking away at the brushwood with a billhook, when earlier I was pulling the odd weed out of a passably well-laid lawn. Both activities, however, represent progress and to have two books quite fully commented on one and the same computer is really very useful.

AD LECTOREM

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

(1) Bold type is used for refs. within *Aen.* 11; **915** in a note elsewhere in the book may refer *either* to that line *or* to my note on it, and readers will quickly realise which it is advisable to consult first. Line-references without book number are to bk. 11; this short-cut is only used when there is no possibility of confusion. I have also used bold type for line- and note-references to bk. 7; the latter are, naturally distinguished: **'7.817'**.

(2) In the text of bk. 11, **O** in the margin indicates a note in the commentary on a point of orthography; so **P** for punctuation and **T** for text; often enough I have written **O** when others might write **T** or *vice versa*. Given the availability of Mynors and Geymonat I have dispensed with a conventional apparatus, but give full details of mss. as and when strictly necessary for the argument. Bold type is used to indicate the capital mss..

(3) The bibliography that follows contains most of the short titles and abbreviations used; those used within a single section are to be found in the introduction to that section. (**794–835**)—e.g.—after an author's name signifies that the full title is to be found in my note on those lines (i.e., in this case, the introduction to that section of narrative).

(4) The *EV* is a mixed bag: its quality oscillates from the palmary to the pitiful; by that earlier understatement, which has proved shocking to some, I am compelled to stand! I rarely comment explicitly on the merits of an article, but '*EV* 4, 1234' indicates a piece less good than '*EV* 4, 1234 (Della Morte)'; that, in turn, is less good than a reference to the author including initial or Christian name. These three categories all fall between explicit condemnation or commendation.

(5) In the bibliography, I do not include e.g. Schwyzer, KG, ANRW, DS, Mommsen, *StR* and the like; they are not cited very often and those who are able and willing to consult them will certainly know such standard abbreviations. The same goes, naturally, for the even more familiar *TLL*, *OLD*, *PW*. Nor do I, unlike some recent commentaries, list what edition I use of every author that I quote. Note, though, that I cite *Naev. Bell. Poen.* from Strzelecki (Teubner, 1964), Ennius, *Ann.* from Skutsch, the fragments of tragedy and comedy from Ribbeck, ed. 2 (1871, 1873; ed. 3 lacks the index), Lucilius from Marx, Cicero's poetry from Soubiran (Budé, 1972), the fragments of Latin poetry from Courtney (available to me before Blänsdorf; I do not enter into questions of merit), Varr. *RD* from Cardauns (*Abh. Mainz* 1976), Horace from Shackleton Bailey (Teubner 1985) and Fronto by page and line of van den Hout ed. 2 (Teubner 1988). *Festschriften*

and collected papers I cite in as brief a form as possible; likewise the *acta* of academies by *SB* or *Abh.*, followed by the name of the city, not the region, while the *Klasse* may be assumed to be *Phil.-Hist.* or the like. I am no lover of (superfluous but mysteriously fashionable) bibliographical detail. When, lastly, an article or a series of articles is cited without author's name, they are my own. Much repetition of a familiar name would have been most distasteful.

(6) For Homeric *Realien* I continue to use (often, not always) Seymour rather than *Arch.Hom.*, for it is the text of Homer, not the fruit of the spade that is important for Virgil. For myth, I cite Gruppe and Preller-Robert rather than Roscher and PW; many eccentric articles are thereby avoided and the necessary information is almost always more swiftly available.

(7) The availability of new books in Oxford bookshops and libraries is governed by many irrational and uncontrollable factors; that I wrote originally of Rome, but it is just as true in Oxford. Be it noted that DS is now relegated to the Bodleian's stacks! I am most grateful to friends and booksellers elsewhere who have supplied me with new (or otherwise unobtainable) material, but I ask comprehension, as before, for any inevitable delays and holes. It is usually simpler not to bother with citation and criticism of plainly bad books and articles and the expert will note some significant omissions in my references. The same applies to books or articles unobtainable without prolonged effort or friendship with the author. I have sometimes even cited translations when originals were slow in the finding. The minor periodical is in the end even harder to find than the obscure book; the acute and informed reader will be able to reconstruct where the limits of my patience lie. Mazzocchi on battle-scenes (Fasano 2000) only came to my notice as I was finishing these pages; it may be that I ought to have waited yet longer for the book to reach me. Maltby's *Lexicon of . . . etymologies* is here only neglected because superseded for V. by O'Hara.

(8) Very occasionally I offer a relatively full bibliography of recent discussions on some important point (those containing fifteen items, or thereabouts). Otherwise I am deliberately selective in the interests of time and space and rarely engage in discussion of unilluminating hypotheses; This book could very easily have been twice as long; to my original decision not to engage in polemic save under compulsion I remain happily loyal.

(9) My own Virgil collection has not ceased to grow and has been supplemented successively by the libraries of the American Academy in Rome and the Sackler library, Oxford. For all of *Aen.*11 I wrote the first draft of a commentary, without consulting my predecessors; that draft was then vastly improved by consultation of La Cerda, Heyne (and Wagner), Forbiger and Conington (more than Benoist), Henry, Page (more than Ladewig-Schaper-Deuticke). I record with awe and gratitude what I have learned from the best of my predecessors, though by and large less has been achieved for 11 than it had for 7.

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AENEID 11
TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit:
 Aeneas, quamquam et sociis dare tempus humanis
 praecipitant curae turbataque funere mens est,
 uota deum primo uictor soluebat Eoo.
 ingentem quercum decisis undique ramis 5
 constituit tumulo fulgentiaque induit arma,
 Mezentii ducis exuuias, tibi magne tropaeum **T**
 bellipotens; aptat rorantis sanguine cristas
 telaque trunca uiri, et bis sex thoraca petitem
 perfossumque locis, clipeumque ex aere sinistrae 10
 subligat atque ensem collo suspendit eburnum.
 tum socios (namque omnis eum stipata tegebat
 turba ducum) sic incipiens hortatur ouantis:
 'maxima res effecta, uiri; timor omnis abesto,
 quod superest; haec sunt spolia et de rege superbo 15
 primitiae manibusque meis Mezentius hic est.
 nunc iter ad regem nobis murosque Latinos.
 arma parate, animis et spe praesumite bellum, **P**
 ne qua mora ignaros, ubi primum uellere signa
 adnuerint superi pubemque educere castris, 20
 impediat segnisue metu sententia tardet.
 interea socios inhumataque corpora terrae
 mandemus, qui solus honos Acheronte sub imo est. **T**
 ite,' ait 'egregias animas, quae sanguine nobis
 hanc patriam peperere suo, decorate supremis 25
 muneribus, maestamque Euandri primus ad urbem
 mittatur Pallas, quem non uirtutis egentem
 abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.'
 Sic ait inlacrimans, recipitque ad limina gressum **O**
 corpus ubi exanimi positum Pallantis Acoetes 30 **T**
 seruabat senior, qui Parrhasio Euandro
 armiger ante fuit, sed non felicibus aequae
 tum comes auspiciis caro datus ibat alumno.
 circum omnis famulumque manus Troianaque turba
 et maestum Iliades crinem de more solutae. 35
 ut uero Aeneas foribus sese intulit altis
 ingentem gemitum tunsis ad sidera tollunt
 pectoribus, maestoque immugit regia luctu.
 ipse caput niuei fultum Pallantis et ora
 ut uidit leuique patens in pectore uulnus 40

Then the rising Dawn quitted the Ocean. Aeneas, however, much though his concerns press to allow time for burying his men and allies and his mind is troubled by the funeral, as victor, begins to fulfil his vows to the gods at the first moment of dawn. On a mound he set a mighty oak, with its branches lopped on every side (5), and girt it with gleaming armour, the spoils of prince Mezentius, a trophy to you, mighty lord of war. He also fixed the crested helmet, dripping with blood, the hero's broken weapons and his breastplate hit and bored through at twelve points. On the left, he slings the bronze shield (10) and the ivory-inlaid scabbard he hangs from the neck. Then he began as follows to rouse his exultant men, for the whole band of leaders flanked him closely:

“Men, a great deed has been done. Let there be no trace of fear for time to come. these are the spoils and first-fruits taken from a mighty king (15), and here, the work of my hands, stands Mezentius. Now we must march on the Latins' king and his walls. Prepare your weapons; with courage and hope look forward to the battle. Let no delay hold you back in uncertainty, just as soon as the gods give their approval to draw out the standards and lead the army from its camp (20), and let not morale hold them back, hesitant with fear. Meanwhile let us consign the troops' unburied bodies to the ground. That is the only tribute in lowest Acheron. Go” he said “and honour those noble souls who secured this country for us by their blood with funeral offerings (25) and first of all, let Pallas be sent to Evander's city, in its mourning: him, not lacking in courage, the day of darkness has carried off and plunged in bitter death”.

So he spoke, in tears, and returned to his door where old Acoetes (30) was watching over the lifeless Pallas' laid-out corpse: previously he had been squire to Parrhasian Evander, but under auspices not so happy did he then go as companion assigned to his dear pupil. Round about them was all the body of servants and crowd of Trojans, as also the women of Ilium, their hair ritually loosed (35). But when Aeneas moved into the high doorway, they raise a great lamentation to the skies and beat their breasts and the palace booms with sorrowing grief. Aeneas himself, when he saw the raised-up head and snow-white face of Pallas and the wound inflicted by an Italian spear gaping on his smooth chest (40),

cuspidis Ausoniae, lacrimis ita fatur obortis:
 'tene,' inquit 'miserande puer, cum laeta ueniret,
 inuidit Fortuna mihi, ne regna uideres
 nostra neque ad sedes uictor ueherere paternas?
 non haec Euandro de te promissa parenti 45
 discedens dederam, cum me complexus euntem
 mitteret in magnum imperium metuensque moneret
 acris esse uiros, cum dura proelia gente.
 et nunc ille quidem spe multum captus inani
 fors et uota facit cumulatque altaria donis, 50
 nos iuuenem exanimum et nil iam caelestibus ullis
 debentem uano maesti comitamur honore. **O**
 infelix, nati funus crudele uidebis. **P**
 hi nostri reditus exspectatque triumphus? **P**
 haec mea magna fides? at non, Euandre, pudendis 55
 uulneribus pulsum aspicias, nec sospite dirum
 optabis nato funus pater. ei mihi quantum
 praesidium, Ausonia, et quantum tu perdis, Iule!
T
 Haec ubi defleuit, tolli miserabile corpus
 imperat, et toto lectos ex agmine mittit 60
 mille uiros qui supremum comitentur honorem
 intersintque patris lacrimis, solacia luctus
 exigua ingentis, misero sed debita patri.
 haud segnes alii cratis et molle feretrum
 arbuteis texunt uirgis et uimine querno 65
 exstructosque toros obtentu frondis inumbrant.
 hic iuuenem agresti sublimem stramine ponunt:
 qualem uirgineo demessum pollice florem
 seu mollis uiolae seu languentis hyacinthi,
 cui neque fulgor adhuc nec dum sua forma recessit, 70
 non iam mater alit tellus uirisque ministrat.
 tum geminas uestis auroque ostroque rigentis
 extulit Aeneas, quas illi laeta laborum
 ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido
 fecerat et tenui telas discreuerat auro. 75
 harum unam iuueni supremum maestus honorem
 induit arsurasque comas obnubit amictu,
 multaque praeterea Laurentis praemia pugnae
 aggerat et longo praedam iubet ordine duci;
 addit equos et tela quibus spoliauerat hostem. 80

spoke thus, with welling tears: “so it was you, was it, poor boy, that Fortune begrudged me, when she came in her joy, so you would not see our kingdom, nor be carried victorious to your father’s palace? These were not the promises I had given about you to your father Evander (45) on my departure, when he embraced me as I left and sent me off to mighty empire, warning me fearfully that the Italians were fierce warriors and that the fighting was against a hardy race. And now he at least may be deceived by empty hopes and perhaps makes vows and heaps altars with his offerings (50). In mourning we accompany the boy, lifeless and owing nothing more to the gods above, in empty ritual. Unhappy man, you will see your son’s harsh funeral. So was this our homecoming and the triumph we anticipated? Was this my famous word? But, Evander, you will not see him routed and shamefully wounded (55), nor, as a father, with a living son, will you wish for a terrible death. To my grief, you lose a great stronghold, Italy, and so do you too, Iulus.

When he had lamented thus, Aeneas ordered the pitiful corpse to be taken up, and out of the whole force sent a thousand men (60), to escort the last rites, and to be present at the father’s tears, little consolation for a great grief, but one owed to the poor father. Swiftly, others wove the wicker and the pliant bier of arbutus-rods and oak-shoots (65), and cast shadow across the built-up couch with over-spreading foliage. Here they rest the boy on high upon a rustic quilt, like a flower cut by girls’ fingers, of soft violet (?) or drooping hyacinth (?), whose gleam and beauty have still not yet departed (70), though mother earth no longer nurtures them or gives them strength. Then Aeneas brings out two cloaks which Sidonian Dido had once made for him with her own hands, joyful in her labours, and had laid fine threads of gold amid the warp (75). Of them, he puts one about the boy as a last honour and with this covering garbed his hair, about to burn. Besides, he heaps up many trophies of the battle against the Laurentes and orders the booty to be brought out in a long procession; he adds the horses and weapons of which he has stripped the enemy (80).

uinxerat et post terga manus, quos mitteret umbris
 inferias, caeso sparsurus sanguine flammās,
 indutosque iubet truncos hostilibus armis
 ipsos ferre duces inimicaque nomina figi.
 ducitur infelix aeuo confectus Acoetes, 85
 pectora nunc foedans pugnis, nunc unguibus ora,
 sternitur et toto proiectus corpore terrae;
 ducunt et Rutulo perfusos sanguine currus.
 post bellator equus positus insignibus Aethon
 it lacrimans guttisque umectat grandibus ora. 90
 hastam alii galeamque ferunt, nam cetera Turnus
 uictor habet. tum maesta phalanx Teucrique sequuntur
 Tyrrhenique omnes et uersis Arcades armis.
 postquam omnis longe comitum praecesserat ordo,
 substitit Aeneas gemituque haec addidit alto: 95
 'nos alias hinc ad lacrimas eadem horrida belli
 fata uocant: salue aeternum mihi, maxime Palla,
 aeternumque uale.' nec plura effatus ad altos
 tendebat muros gressumque in castra ferebat.
 Iamque oratores aderant ex urbe Latina 100
 uelati ramis oleae ueniamque rogantes:
 corpora per campos ferro quae fusa iacebant,
 redderet ac tumulo sineret succedere terrae;
 nullum cum uictis certamen et aethere cassis;
 parceret hospitibus quondam socerisque uocatis. 105
 quos bonus Aeneas haud aspernanda precantis
 prosequitur uenia et uerbis haec insuper addit:
 'quaenam uos tanto fortuna indigna, Latini,
 implicuit bello, qui nos fugiatis amicos?
 pacem me exanimis et Martis sorte peremptis 110
 oratis? equidem et uiuis concedere uellem.
 nec ueni, nisi fata locum sedemque dedissent,
 nec bellum cum gente gero; rex nostra reliquit
 hospitia et Turni potius se credidit armis.
 aequius huic Turnum fuerat se opponere morti. 115
 si bellum finire manu, si pellere Teucros
 apparat, his mecum decuit concurrere telis:
 uixet cui uitam deus aut sua dextra dedisset.
 nunc ite et miseris supponite ciuibus ignem.'
 dixerat Aeneas. illi obstipuerunt silentes 120

He had bound behind their backs the hands of those to send as offerings for the shades, being about to sprinkle the flames with the blood of slaughter and he orders his commanders themselves to carry tree-trunks girt with enemy weapons and the names of his foemen to be attached. Unhappy Acoetes, worn down by age, is brought forward (85), beating his breast with his fists and gouging his face with his nails; now he sprawls onto the ground, with his body all stretched out. They lead out too Pallas' chariot, splashed with Rutulian blood. Then Aethon, Pallas' charger, comes with his trappings laid aside, weeping and he wets his face with great drops (90). Others carry his spear and helmet, for the victorious Turnus holds the rest. Then in a sorrowing mass there follow all the Trojans and Etruscans and Arcadians, with arms reversed. After all the procession of comrades had gone on far ahead, Aeneas halted and with a deep groan added (95): "us the savage fates of war summon on to other tears: I bid you hail, most mighty Pallas, and forever farewell". He said no more, made for the lofty walls and moved towards the camp.

And now the ambassadors from the Latin city were arriving (100), holding olive-twigs with fillets of wool entwined, to beg forgiveness: would he return the bodies which lay struck down by the sword across the plains, and let them attain a mound of earth. There was no battle against the conquered and those bereft of the air above; would he spare those once called his hosts and fathers-in-law (105). The object they sought was grave and the good Aeneas reacted with benevolence and spoke moreover as follows: "What undeserved misfortune entangled you, Latins, in so great a war, that you shun us, your friends? Do you ask me for peace for the lifeless, killed by the chance of cruel war? (110) I would myself gladly grant it to the living as well. Nor would I have come, had not the fates granted me the place to settle. Nor do I wage war against your people. The king deserted our friendship and preferred to trust Turnus' armed support. It would have been fairer for Turnus to face *this* death. (115). If he plans to finish the war and to expel the Trojans by force, then he should have fought me with these weapons. He to whom the god, or his right hand, had granted life would have survived. Now go and set fire under your poor fellow-citizens." Aeneas finished and the Latins fell silent in wonder (120);

conuersique oculos inter se atque ora tenebant.

Tum senior semperque odiis et crimine Drances
 infensus iuueni Turno sic ore uicissim
 orsa refert: 'o fama ingens, ingentior armis,
 uir Troiane, quibus caelo te laudibus aequem? 125
 iustitiaene prius mirer belline laborum? **T**
 nos uero haec patriam grati referemus ad urbem
 et te, si qua uiam dederit Fortuna, Latino
 iungemus regi. quaerat sibi foedera Turnus.
 quin et fatalis murorum attollere moles 130
 saxaque subuectare umeris Troiana iuuabit.'
 dixerat haec unoque omnes eadem ore fremebant.
 bis senos pepigere dies, et pace sequestra
 per siluas Teucrici mixtique impune Latini
 errauere iugis. ferro sonat alta bipenni 135
 fraxinus, euertunt actas ad sidera pinus,
 robora nec cuneis et olentem scindere cedrum
 nec plaustris cessant uectare gementibus ornos.

Et iam fama uolans, tanti praenuntia luctus,
 Euandrum Euandricque domos et moenia replet, 140
 quae modo uictorem Latio Pallanta ferebat. **O**
 Arcades ad portas ruere et de more uetusto **T**
 funereas rapuere faces; lucet uia longo
 ordine flammaram et late discriminat agros.
 contra turba Phrygum ueniens plangentia iungit 145
 agmina. quae postquam matres succedere tectis **T**
 uiderunt, maestam incendunt clamoribus urbem.
 at non Euandrum potis est uis ulla tenere,
 sed uenit in medios. feretro Pallanta reposito **T**
 procubuit super atque haeret lacrimansque gemensque, 150
 et uia uix tandem uoci laxata dolore est: **T**
 'non haec, o Palla, dederas promissa parenti, **T**
 cautius ut sacuo uelles te credere Marti. **P**
 haud ignarus eram quantum noua gloria in armis
 et praedulce decus primo certamine posset. 155
 primitiae iuuenis miserae bellique propinqui
 dura rudimenta, et nulli exaudita deorum
 uota precesque meae! tuque, o sanctissima coniunx,
 felix morte tua neque in hunc seruata dolorem!
 contra ego uiuendo uici mea fata, superstes 160

they turned their gaze and faced each other.

Then old Drances, loathed by the youthful Turnus for his hatred and accusations replied aloud to his speech: "Man of Troy, great in fame and greater in arms, with what words of praise should I exalt you to the sky? (125). Should I wonder first at your justice or at your deeds of war? We shall gratefully report these words to our native city and if fortune shall grant the way, shall bring you to king Latinus. Let Turnus seek out his allies! Yes, it will even be a pleasure to raise up the blocks, approved by destiny, of your walls (130) and to heave masses of stone for the Trojans upon our shoulders" He finished and all the Latins shouted the same in unison. They agreed on twelve days and with the truce as guarantee Trojans and Latins mingled peacefully through the forests and roamed over the ridges. The lofty ash rang to the iron axe (135); they fell pines reaching to the stars and continue to split oaks and fragrant cedar (?) with wedges and to transport manna-ashes on creaking carts.

Now flying report, messenger of such grief, takes hold of Evander, of his palace and city (140), that report which had lately announced Pallas as victor over Latium (?). The Arcadians rushed to the gates and following ancient usage seized funeral torches: the road was lit with a long line of flames and far away divided the fields in its path. Arriving, the body of Trojans joined their mourning ranks (145) to the Arcadians. When the mothers saw them approach the buildings of Pallanteum, they roused the sorrowing city with their howls. But there was no force that could hold Evander: he entered their midst and fell across Pallas when the bier was duly set down and clung to him weeping and groaning (150). At last grief just opened a passage to his voice:

"These, Pallas, were not the promises you had given to your father, that you would take to cruel war with some prudence. I had a good idea of the effect that glory in your new arms and that too-sweet distinction in your first battle might have (155). The boy's initiation was tragic, and his first trial in war against a neighbour was hard; no god heard my vows and prayers. As for you, my most sainted wife, you are fortunate in your death, nor were you preserved for this grief. I, on the other hand, have in my days outlived my destiny, as the sole remaining survivor—his father. (160)

restare ut genitor. Troum socia arma secutum
 obruerent Rutuli telis! animam ipse dedissem
 atque haec pompa domum me, non Pallanta, referret!
 nec uos arguerim, Teucris, nec foedera nec quas
 iunximus hospitio dextras: sors ista senectae 165
 debita erat nostrae. quod si immatura manebat
 mors gnatum, caesis Volscorum milibus ante
 ducentem in Latium Teucros cecidisse iuuabit. **O**
 quin ego non alio digner te funere, Palla, **T**
 quam pius Aeneas et quam magni Phryges et quam 170 **T**
 Tyrrhenique duces, Tyrrhenum exercitus omnis.
 magna tropaea ferunt quos dat tua dextera leto;
 tu quoque nunc stares immanis truncus in armis, **T**
 esset par aetas et idem si robur ab annis,
 Turne. sed infelix Teucros quid demoror armis? 175
 uadite et haec memores regi mandata referte:
 quod uitam moror inuisam Pallante perempto
 dextera causa tua est, Turnum gnatoque patrique **O**
 quam debere uides. meritis uacat hic tibi solus
 fortunaeque locus. non uitae gaudia quaero, 180
 nec fas, sed gnato manis perferre sub imos.
 Aurora interea miseris mortalibus almam
 extulerat lucem referens opera atque labores:
 iam pater Aeneas, iam curuo in litore Tarchon
 constituere pyras. huc corpora quisque suorum 185
 more tulere patrum, subiectisque ignibus atris
 conditur in tenebras altum caligine caelum.
 ter circum accensos cincti fulgentibus armis
 decurrere rogos, ter maestum funeris ignem
 lustrauere in equis ululatusque ore dedere. 190
 spargitur et tellus lacrimis, sparguntur et arma,
 it caelo clamorque uirum clangorque tubarum.
 hic alii spolia occisis derepta Latinis
 coniciunt igni, galeas ensisque decoros
 frenaque feruentisque rotas; pars munera nota, 195
 ipsorum clipeos et non felicia tela.
 multa bouum circa mactantur corpora morti, **O**
 saetigerosque sues raptasque ex omnibus agris
 in flammam iugulant pecudes. tum litore toto
 ardentis spectant socios semustaque seruant 200

Would that I had followed the arms of my allies, the Trojans, and that the Rutuli had crushed me with their spears. I should have given up my life and this procession would bear me, not Pallas, home. I have no blame for you, Trojans, nor for our alliance, nor for the right hands we linked in hospitality. This was the lot owed my old age (165). But if an untimely death was awaiting my son, it will be pleasing that he fell after slaughtering thousands of Volsci, and leading the Trojans into Latium. And yes, Pallas, I would not hold you worthy of any other funeral pomp than that bestowed by the pious Aeneas and the mighty Phrygians and (170) the Etruscans and all the Etruscan army. They carry great trophies of those whom your right hand put to death. You too would now stand, a mighty tree-trunk under arms, Turnus, were you of the same generation and did you draw the same strength from your years. But in my misery, why do I hold back the Trojans from their weapons? (175) Go, and remember to give your king these instructions: that I cling to a hateful life after Pallas has been despatched is because of your right hand, that hand which you see owes Turnus to father and son alike. This is the only role for your valour and your good fortune. I seek no joys of life (180)—and that were not right—but to carry the joy of revenge to my son amid the spirits below. Meanwhile dawn had brought kindly light to wretched mortals, bringing back toil and labour. Now father Aeneas and Tarchon set up pyres on the curving shore; here each army brought its corpses (185) after the manner of their ancestors; smoky fire was laid below the pyres and the sky was plunged into darkness as blackness reached its heights. Three times, arrayed in gleaming arms, they made the round of the fired pyres, three times they purified on horseback the mourning funeral fire and uttered howls aloud (190). The ground is wetted with tears, wetted too are their arms. The cry of men and the din of trumpets reaches the sky. At this point, others cast spoils torn from the slain Latins upon the fire, helmets and fair swords, horse-trappings and blazing wheels; some add familiar offerings (195), the Latins' shields and unsuccessful weapons. Many bodies of oxen are put to death round about, and they slaughter into the flames bristly hogs and sheep taken from all over the fields. Then along all the shore they look at their comrades on fire, and watch over the half-burned pyres (200),

busta, neque auelli possunt, nox umida donec inuertit caelum stellis ardentibus aptum.		T
Nec minus et miseri diuersa in parte Latini innumeras struxere pyras, et corpora partim multa uirum terrae infodiunt, auectaue partim	205	
finitimos tollunt in agros urbique remittunt. cetera confusaeque ingentem caedis aceruum nec numero nec honore cremant; tunc undique uasti certatim crebris conlucent ignibus agri.		
tertia lux gelidam caelo dimouerat umbram:	210	
maerentes altum cinerem et confusa ruebant ossa focus tepidoque onerabant aggere terrae. iam uero in tectis, praediuitis urbe Latini, praecipuus fragor et longi pars maxima luctus.		T
hic matres miseraeque nurus, hic cara sororum	215	
pectora maerentum puerique parentibus orbi dirum exsecrantur bellum Turnique hymenaeos; ipsum armis ipsumque iubent decernere ferro, qui regnum Italiae et primos sibi poscat honores.		
ingrauat haec sacuus Drances solumque uocari	220	
testatur, solum posci in certamina Turnum. multa simul contra uariis sententia dictis pro Turno, et magnum reginae nomen obumbrat, multa uirum meritis sustentat fama tropaeis.		
Hos inter motus, medio in flagrante tumultu,	225	
ecce super maesti magna Diomedis ab urbe legati responsa ferunt: nihil omnibus actum tantorum impensis operum, nil dona neque aurum nec magnas ualuisse preces, alia arma Latinis quaerenda, aut pacem Troiano ab rege petendum.	230	T
deficit ingenti luctu rex ipse Latinus: fatalem Aenean manifesto numine ferri admonet ira deum tumulique ante ora recentes. ergo concilium magnum primosque suorum imperio accitos alta intra limina cogit.	235	
olli conuenere fluuntque ad regia plenis tectata uiis. sedet in mediis et maximus aeuo et primus sceptris haud laeta fronte Latinus. atque hic legatos Aetola ex urbe remissos quae referant fari iubet, et responsa reposcit	240	OT

nor can they be torn away until the moist night turns the sky set with burning stars.

So too, in another quarter, the poor Latins raised numberless pyres and in part committed many human bodies to the ground, in part carried them (205) off to neighbouring lands and sent them to their cities. Other bodies, a vast mound of indiscriminate slaughter, they burn without individual honours. Then on all sides the wide spread of the fields glitters with many fires in competition. A third dawn had removed the cold dark from the sky (210). Grieving, they raised from the pyres a mound of ash and mingled bones, and buried them under a warm heap of earth. Now in the palace, in opulent Latinus' city, there was the deepest mourning and the heart of their long-drawn grief. Here poor mothers and daughters-in-law, here the loving breasts of sisters and boys bereaved of their fathers curse the ill-starred war and Turnus' marriage. They bid him to fight it out at arms, him to decide the issue with the sword., since he claims the kingdom of Italy and the chief honours for himself. This sentiment savage Drances fans and insists that Turnus alone (220) be summoned and called on to fight. In opposition, there was a widespread feeling with varied expression on Turnus' behalf, and his fame, with the many trophies he had earned, upheld him.

Among these tides of opinion, in the blazing midst of the upheaval (225), look, envoys also brought answers from the great city of sorrowing Diomedes. Nothing had been achieved by the expense of so much effort; neither gifts, nor gold, nor insistent pleas had had effect. Either the Latins should seek out other allies or peace should be sought from the Trojans' king (230). King Latinus himself collapsed in deep grief: the anger of the gods and the fresh burial-mounds before their eyes showed that Aeneas, a man of destiny, was clearly borne by divine will. So he summoned a great council and the first among his men, and bade them meet at his will within his lofty threshold (235). They came together and poured towards the palace through packed streets. In their midst sits Latinus, their senior in years and the first in authority, with his brow grim. Now he bids the envoys sent home from the Actolian's city speak their message and asks for the answer they bring (240),

ordine cuncta suo. tum facta silentia linguis, et Venulus dicto parens ita farier infit:		
‘Vidimus, o ciues, Diomedem Argiuaque castra, atque iter emensi casus superauimus omnis, contigimusque manum qua concidit Ilia tellus.	245	O
ille urbem Argyripam patriae cognomine gentis uictor Gargani condebat Iapygis agris.		T
postquam introgressi et coram data copia fandi, munera praeferimus, nomen patriamque docemus, qui bellum intulerint, quae causa attraxerit Arpos.	250	T
auditis ille haec placido sic reddidit ore: “o fortunatae gentes, Saturnia regna, antiqui Ausonii, quae uos fortuna quietos sollicitat suadetque ignota lacessere bella? quicumque Iliacos ferro uiolauimus agros	255	T
(mitto ea quae muris bellando exhausta sub altis, quos Simois premat ille uiros) infanda per orbem supplicia et scelerum poenas expendimus omnes, uel Priamo miseranda manus; scit triste Mineruae sidus et Euboicae cautes ultorque Caphereus.	260	T
militia ex illa diuersum ad litus abacti Atrides Protei Menelaus adusque columnas exulat, Aetnaeos uidit Cyclopas Vlixes.		O
regna Neoptolemi referam uersosque penatis Idomeni? Libycone habitantis litore Locros?	265	T
ipse Mycenaeus magnorum ductor Achium coniugis infandae prima inter limina dextra oppetiit, deuictam Asiam subsedit adulter.		TT
inuidisse deos, patriis ut redditus aris coniugium optatum et pulchram Calydonia uiderem?	270	
nunc etiam horribili uisu portenta sequuntur et socii amissi petierunt aethera pennis fluminibusque uagantur aues (heu, dira meorum supplicia!) et scopulos lacrimosis uocibus implent.	275	
haec adeo ex illo mihi iam speranda fuerunt tempore cum ferro caelestia corpora demens appetii et Veneris uiolauit uulnere dextram. ne uero, ne me ad talis impellite pugnas. nec mihi cum Teucris ullum post eruta bellum Pergama nec ueterum memini lactoriae malorum.	280	

all of it in order. Silence was imposed and Venulus obediently began to speak as follows:

“We have seen, my fellow-citizens, Diomedes and the Argive settlement. We completed the journey and overcame all its mishaps and we have touched the hand which brought low the land of Ilium (245). He was as victor establishing the city of Argyripa, after the name of his ancestral race, in the lands of Iapygian Garganus. When we entered and permission to speak was granted in his presence, we presented gifts and gave our names and nationality, explaining who made war against us and what cause brought us to Arpi (250). To us, when we had been given audience, he replied as follows from his tranquil mouth:

“Happy peoples and realm of Saturn, old Ausonians, what mischance troubles your calm and stirs you to meddle with unfamiliar war. Those of us who invaded the fields of Ilium at sword-point (255) (I omit all our effort to the very end at war under Troy’s lofty walls, and the men sunk under famous Simois) have all of us paid unspeakable sufferings and the penalties of our misdeeds, a band to be pitied even by Priam. Minerva’s grim star knows, as do the rocks of Euboea and avenging Caphereus (260). From that service, carried away to a distant shore, Ulysses saw the Cyclopes under Etna. Why mention Neoptolemus’ kingdom and Idomeneus’ home overturned? Or the Locrians dwelling on the coast of Libya? (265). The lord of Mycenae himself, leader of the mighty Achaeans, fell by the hand of his unspeakable wife, on the very threshold and the adulterer waited upon the conquest of Asia. Did the gods begrudge that, returned to my country’s altars I should see my longed-for wife and lovely Calydon? (270) Even now portents—a foul sight—pursue me, and my lost companions make for the sky on their wings and wander as birds about the rivers (alas for the fearful torments of my followers) and fill the rocks with their plaintive voices. It was just this to which I had to look forward (275), from the time when in my madness I made for the bodies of two gods with my steel and violated Venus’ right hand with a wound. Do not, do not force me to such battles. I have no quarrel with the Trojans after the destruction of Pergama nor do I have any glad recollection of old sufferings (280).

munera quae patriis ad me portatis ab oris
 uertite ad Aenean. stetimus tela aspera contra
 contulimusque manus: experto credite quantus
 in clipeum adsurgat, quo turbine torqueat hastam. 285
 si duo praeterea talis Idaea tulisset
 terra uiros, ultro Inachias uenisset ad urbes
 Dardanus, et uersis lugeret Graecia fatis.
 quidquid apud durae cessatum est moenia Troiae,
 Hectoris Aeneaeque manu uictoria Graium 290
 haesit et in decimum uestigia rettulit annum.
 ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus armis,
 hic pietate prior. coeant in foedera dextrae,
 qua datur; ast armis concurrant arma caute.”
 et responsa simul quae sint, rex optime, regis
 audisti et quae sit magno sententia bello.’ 295
 Vix ea legati, uariusque per ora cucurrit
 Ausonidum turbata fremor, ceu saxa morantur
 cum rapidos amnis, fit clauso gurgite murmur
 uicinaeque fremunt ripae crepitantibus undis.
 ut primum placati animi et trepida ora quierunt, 300
 praefatus diuos solio rex infit ab alto:
 ‘Ante equidem summa de re statuisse, Latini,
 et uellem et fuerat melius, non tempore tali
 cogere concilium, cum muros adsidet hostis. 305
 bellum importunum, ciues, cum gente deorum
 inuictisque uiris gerimus, quos nulla fatigant
 proelia nec uicti possunt absistere ferro.
 spem si quam ascitis Aetolum habuistis in armis, 310
 ponite. spes sibi quisque; sed haec quam angusta uidetis
 cetera qua rerum iaceant perculsa ruina,
 ante oculos interque manus sunt omnia uestras.
 nec quemquam incuso: potuit quae plurima uirtus
 esse, fuit; toto certatum est corpore regni.
 nunc adeo quae sit dubiae sententia menti, 315
 expediam et paucis (animos adhibete) docebo.
 est antiquus ager Tusco mihi proximus amni,
 longus in occasum, finis super usque Sicanos;
 Aurunci Rutulique serunt, et uomere duros
 exercent collis atque horum asperrima pascunt.
 haec omnis regio et celsi plaga pinea montis 320

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As for the gifts you bring me from your ancestral lands, divert them to Aeneas; against his bristling weapons we stood, with him I clashed. Believe one who made trial how mightily he cut at my shield on the rise, with what a spin he delivers his spear. If the land of Ida had produced two other such men (285), the Trojan would of his own have come to the cities of Inachus and Greece would mourn at the reversal of fate. For whatever delay there was before the walls of enduring Troy, Greek victory was checked by the effort of Aeneas and Hector and stayed its steps until the tenth year (290). Both of them were distinguished in courage, both in their excellence at arms; Aeneas was the foremost in piety. Let their right hands meet in treaty, when there is the chance. Beware of a clash of arms against arms.”

“Excellent king, you have heard both what is the king’s reply and what his decision is on the mighty war” (295).

The envoys had just finished when a mixed clamour passed round the troubled mouths of the Ausonians, as when rocks stay swift rivers and there is booming in the enclosed pool and the neighbouring banks sound with the noisy waves. As soon as spirits were calmed and anxious mouths fell quiet (300), the king first addressed the gods and began from his lofty throne:

“I should prefer, and it would be better to have decided before on this gravest matter, and not to summon an assembly at such a time, when the enemy sits before the walls. Fellow-citizens, we wage an untimely war with men unconquered, of divine stock (305), whom no battles weary, who do not stand down from arms even when beaten. If you had any hope in calling for Aetolian aid, drop it. Each man hopes, but you see how straitened these circumstances are and elsewhere in what ruin to our cause they lie (310). Everything is before your eyes and between your hands. I blame no-one. The most that courage could be, it has been. The fight has been fought with all the body of the realm. Right now I shall set forth my doubtful mind’s judgement and shall—pay attention—expound it briefly (315). I have an old territory, right by the Etruscan river, stretching far to the West, right over the territory of the Sicani. It is tilled by Aurunci and Rutuli; they cultivate the hard hills with the plough and use its roughest parts as pasturage. Let all this region and the pine-filled tract of mountain (320)

cedat amicitiae Teucrorum, et foederis aquas
dicamus leges sociosque in regna uocemus:
considant, si tantus amor, et moenia condant.
sin alios finis aliamque capessere gentem
est animus possuntque solo decedere nostro, 325
bis denas Italo texamus robore nauis;
seu pluris complere ualent, iacet omnis ad undam
materies: ipsi numerumque modumque carinis
praecipiant, nos aera, manus, naualia demus.
praeterea, qui dicta ferant et foedera firment 330
centum oratores prima de gente Latinos
ire placet pacisque manu praetendere ramos,
munera portantis aurique eborisque talenta
et sellam regni trabeamque insignia nostri.
consulite in medium et rebus succurrite fessis.' 335 **T**
Tum Drances idem infensus, quem gloria Turni
obliqua inuidia stimulisque agitabat amaris,
largus opum et lingua melior, sed frigida bello **T**
dextera, consiliis habitus non futtilis auctor, **T**
seditione potens (genus huic materna superbum 340
nobilitas dabat, incertum de patre ferebat), **T**
surgit et his onerat dictis atque aggerat iras:
'rem nulli obscuram nostrae nec uocis egentem
consulis, o bone rex: cuncti se scire fatentur
quid fortuna ferat populi, sed dicere mussant. 345 **T**
det libertatem fandi flatusque remittat,
cuius ob auspiciu infaustum moresque sinistros
(dicam equidem, licet arma mihi mortemque minetur)
lumina tot cecidisse ducum totamque uidemus
consedissee urbem luctu, dum Troia temptat 350
castra fugae fidens et caelum territat armis. **T**
unum etiam donis istis, quae plurima mitti
Dardanidis dicitque iubes, unum, optime regum,
adicias, nec te ullius uiolentia uincat
quin natam egregio genero dignisque hymenaeis 355 **O**
des pater, et pacem hanc aeterno foedere iungas. **T**
quod si tantus habet mentes et pectora terror,
ipsum obtestemur ueniamque oremus ab ipso:
cedat, ius proprium regi patriaeque remittat. **P**
quid miseros totiens in aperta pericula ciuis 360

be ceded to the Trojans' friendship. Let us lay down fair terms for a treaty and invite them as allies into our kingdom. Let them settle, if they have such desire to, and build walls. But if their will is to make for other lands and another people, and they are free to leave our territory (325), then let us devise twenty ships from Italian oak. Or if they can man more, all the means lies by the waves. Let them lay down the number and the size of the ships and let us contribute bronze, hands, docks. Besides, it is my pleasure that a hundred Latin envoys, of the best stock, shall go to bear my words and sign the treaty (330), and to stretch out the branches of peace, carrying gifts and talents of gold and ivory, along with throne and mantle, emblems of my kingdom. Take counsel for the common good and relieve our weary affairs" (335).

Then Drances as before an enemy, whom Turnus' glory drove with the bitter goads of sidelong envy, lavish of his wealth, and outstanding with his tongue, a right hand, though, chill in war, but in counsel held a fount of note, powerful in sedition—his mother's nobility bestowed on him a proud stock (340), his father's he proclaimed (?) unknown—he rises, loads the meeting with these remarks and builds up their anger:

"You take counsel, good king, on a matter dark to none of us, nor requiring my voice. All admit they know how the nation's fortune tends, but they mutter in silence. Let *him* grant freedom to speak and lay aside his pride (345), thanks to whose unlucky command and harmful ways—and I *will* speak out, though he threaten me with violence and death—so many of our glorious leaders have fallen and we see the whole city slumped in sorrow, when he trusts in flight, attacks the Trojan camp (350) and frightens the heavens with his weapons. One thing, best of kings, one thing you should still add to those gifts, which you order to be sent and to be offered in abundance to the Dardanidae, nor should any man's violence prevent you from giving your daughter to a distinguished son-in-law and a worthy marriage (355), and from confirming this peace with an eternal union. But if so great a fear has taken hold upon minds and breasts, let us beseech *him*, let us beg *him*: let him yield, let him give up his right to king and nation. Why do you cast forth our wretched citizens into open dangers (360),

proicis, o Latio caput horum et causa malorum?
 nulla salus bello, pacem te poscimus omnes,
 Turne, simul pacis solum inuiolabile pignus.
 primus ego, inuisum quem tu tibi fingis (et esse
 nil moror), en supplex uenio. miserere tuorum, 365
 pone animos et pulsus abi. sat funera fusi
 uidimus ingentis et desolauimus agros.
 aut, si fama mouet, si tantum pectore robur
 concipis et si adeo dotalis regia cordi est,
 aude atque aduersum fidens fer pectus in hostem. 370
 scilicet ut Turno contingat regia coniunx,
 nos animae uiles, inhumata infletaque turba,
 sternamur campis. etiam tu, si qua tibi uis,
 si patrii quid Martis habes, illum aspice contra
 qui uocat.' 375

Talibus exarsit dictis uiolentia Turni.
 dat gemitum rumpitque has imo pectore uoces:
 'larga quidem semper, Drance, tibi copia fandi
 tum cum bella manus poscunt, patribusque uocatis
 primus ades. sed non replenda est curia uerbis, 380
 quae tuto tibi magna uolant, dum distinet hostem
 agger murorum nec inundant sanguine fossae.
 proinde tona eloquio (solitum tibi) meque timoris
 argue tu, Drance, quando tot stragis aceruus
 Teucrorum tua dextra dedit, passimque tropaeis 385
 insignis agros. possit quid uiuida uirtus
 experiare licet, nec longe scilicet hostes
 quaerendi nobis; circumstant undique muros.
 imus in aduersos—quid cessas? an tibi Mauors
 uentosa in lingua pedibusque fugacibus istis 390
 semper erit?

pulsus ego? aut quisquam merito, foedissime, pulsum
 arguet, Iliaco tumidum qui crescere Thybrim
 sanguine et Euandri totam cum stirpe uidebit
 procubuisse domum atque exutos Arcadas armis? 395
 haud ita me experti Bitias et Pandarus ingens
 et quos mille die uictor sub Tartara misi,
 inclusus muris hostilique aggere saeptus.
 nulla salus bello? capiti cane talia, demens,
 Dardanio rebusque tuis. proinde omnia magno 400

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you who are for Latium the head and fountain of these misfortunes? There is no salvation in war. We all ask you, Turnus, for peace and as well for the one inviolable pledge of peace. Look, I come first in supplication, I whom you maintain is your enemy—and I make nothing of my being so—Take pity on your people (365), lay aside your pride, and go, in defeat. Beaten, we have seen deaths enough and have laid waste great lands. Or, if your fame rouses you, if you conceive in your breast such a strength and if the palace as dowry is so dear to your heart, take courage and carry your breast against the facing enemy (370). Naturally, so that Turnus may receive a royal wife, while we, a crowd unburied and unwept are strewn across the plains. Do you too, if you have the strength, if you have any inherited valour, look at your challenger on the other side” (375).

At such words, Turnus’ violent nature blazed up. He roars (?) and these words break forth from the depths of his breast:

“Your store of words, at least, Drances, is large, just when war calls for your hands, and you are there in the forefront when the elders are summoned. But the assembly is not to be filled with words (380)—big words that fly when you are not at risk—while wall and rampart keep the enemy at bay and the ditches are not yet awash with blood. Go and thunder eloquently (it is your usual way) and accuse me, Drances, of fear. When your right hand has wrought so many heaps of dead Trojans and you cover the fields with your trophies (385). Do make trial of what your living courage can do, nor to be sure are our enemies far to seek. They surround the walls on all sides. We shall go against the enemy. Why are you waiting? Or will your valour always be in your windy tongue and in your flying feet? (390)

Me, beaten? Shall anyone rightly accuse me, you scum, of defeat, when he shall see the Tiber rise and swell with Ilian blood and all the house of Evander, with its descendants lie low, with the Arcadians stripped of their arms? (395) This was not how the giants Pandarus and Bitias made trial of me, nor that thousand whom in my victory I sent in a day down into Tartarus, when I was shut in the walls and surrounded by an enemy rampart. Is there no salvation in war? Go tell such stories, you madman, for the Dardan’s head and for your own affairs. Do just go on (400):

ne cessa turbare metu atque extollere uiris gentis bis uictae, contra premere arma Latini. nunc et Myrmidonum proceres Phrygia arma tremescunt, [nunc et Tydides et Larisaeus Achilles,]		T
amnis et Hadriacas retro fugit Aufidus undas.	405	
uel cum se pauidum contra mea iurgia fingit, artificis scelus, et formidine crimen acerbat. numquam animam talem dextra hac (absiste moueri) amittes: habitet tecum et sit pectore in isto.		
nunc ad te et tua magna, pater, consulta reuertor.	410	T
si nullam nostris ultra spem ponis in armis, si tam deserti sumus et semel agmine uerso funditus occidimus neque habet Fortuna regressum, oremus pacem et dextras tendamus inertis.		
quamquam o si solitae quicquam uirtutis adesset!	415	P
ille mihi ante alios fortunatusque laborum egregiusque animi, qui, ne quid tale uideret, procubuit moriens et humum semel ore momordit.		OO
sin et opes nobis et adhuc intacta iuuentus auxilioque urbes Italiae populique supersunt,	420	
sin et Troianis cum multo gloria uenit sanguine (sunt illis sua funera, parque per omnis tempestas), cur indecores in limine primo deficimus? cur ante tubam tremor occupat artus?		TT
multa dies uariique labor mutabilis aevi	425	T
rettulit in melius, multos alterna reuisens lusit et in solido rursus Fortuna locauit.		O
non erit auxilio nobis Aetolus et Arpi: at Messapus erit felixque Tolumnius et quos		
tot populi misere duces, nec parua sequetur gloria delectos Latio et Laurentibus agris.	430	O
est et Volscorum egregia de gente Camilla agmen agens equitum et florentis aere cateruas. quod si me solum Teucris in certamina poscunt idque placet tantumque bonis communibus obsto,	435	O
non adeo has exosa manus Victoria fugit ut tanta quicquam pro spe temptare recusem. ibo animis contra, uel magnum praestet Achillem factaque Volcani manibus paria induat arma		T
ille licet. uobis animam hanc soceroque Latino	440	

throw everything into confusion with your panic and exalt the strength of a man twice beaten and likewise belittle Latinus' arms. Now the Myrmidons' leaders quake at Phrygian weapons and the Aufidus flows fearful back from the waves of the Adriatic (405). Or when he pretends he is scared in the face of my insults—a craftsman's crime—and embitters the accusation with fear. You will never lose such a spirit by this right hand. Do not be alarmed; let it live with you and lie in that breast. Now, father Latinus, I return to you and to your great project (410). If you place no further hope in our weapons, if we are so abandoned and if after a single defeat we are utterly lost and fortune never returns, let us beg for peace and stretch our powerless right hands. And yet, o that something of my usual courage were present! He seems to me before all others lucky in his labours and high in heart who, so as not to see anything of the kind, fell down dying and for good and all bit the ground. But if we still have resources and there are still young men untouched, if the cities and peoples of Italy are still to hand (420), if glory has come upon the Trojans too with much bloodshed—they have their casualties and all of us are under the same storm of war—then why do we give up shamefully at the first step? Why does trembling seize their limbs before the trumpet sounds? Time, and the changeable toils of inconstant age improve much, variable fortune looks on many, deceives them, then sets them on a solid base. The Aetolian from Arpi will not help us, but Messapus will, and lucky Tolumnius and the leaders whom so many tribes have sent and no small glory (430) will follow the levies from Latium and the Laurentine fields. There is also Camilla, from the glorious Volscian people, leading her column of cavalry and the squadrons gleaming in bronze. But if the Trojans challenge me alone to combat, and that decision is acceptable and I am that much of an obstacle to the common good (435), then Victory has not quite fled these hands in hatred, that I should refuse to try anything, for so great a hope. I shall go against him bravely, though he should play the part of great Achilles and don equal armour, made by Vulcan's hands. To you I offer this life, second to none as I am of the old heroes, and to my father-in-law Latinus (440).

Turnus ego, haud ulli ueterum uirtute secundus,
 deuoui. solum Aeneas uocat? et uocet oro;
 nec Drances potius, siue est haec ira deorum,
 morte luat, siue est uirtus et gloria, tollat.
 Illi haec inter se dubiis de rebus agebant 445 **P**
 certantes: castra Aeneas aciemque mouebat.
 nuntius ingenti per regia tecta tumultu
 ecce ruit magnisque urbem terroribus implet:
 instructos acie Tiberino a flumine Teucros
 Tyrrhenamque manum totis descendere campis. 450
 extemplo turbati animi concussaue uulgi
 pectora et arrectae stimulis haud mollibus irae.
 arma manu trepidi poscunt, fremit arma iuuentus,
 flent maesti mussantque patres. hic undique clamor
 dissensu uario magnus se tollit in auras, 455 **T**
 haud secus atque alto in luco cum forte cateruae
 consedere auium, piscosoue amne Padusae
 dant sonitum rauci per stagna loquacia cycni.
 'immo,' ait 'o ciues,' arrepto tempore Turnus,
 'cogite concilium et pacem laudate sedentes; 460
 illi armis in regna ruunt.' nec plura locutus
 corripuit sese et tectis citus extulit altis. **T**
 'tu, Voluse, armari Volscorum edice manipulis, **T**
 duc' ait 'et Rutulos. equitem Messapus in armis, **T**
 et cum fratre Coras latis diffundite campis. 465 **T**
 pars aditus urbis firment turrisque capessant;
 cetera, qua iusso, mecum manus inferat arma.'
 Ilicet in muros tota discurritur urbe.
 concilium ipse pater et magna incepta Latinus
 deserit ac tristi turbatus tempore differt, 470 **T**
 multaque se incusat qui non acceperit ultro **T**
 Dardanium Aenean generumque ascuerit urbi.
 praefodiunt alii portas aut saxa sudesque
 subuectant. bello dat signum rauca cruentum
 bucina. tum muros uaria cinxere corona 475
 matronae puerique, uocat labor ultimus omnis.
 nec non ad templum summasque ad Palladis arces
 subuehitur magna matrum regina caterua
 dona ferens, iuxtaque comes Lauinia uirgo,
 causa mali tanti, oculos deiecta decoros. 480 **T**

Does Aeneas challenge me alone? Do let him challenge. Let not Drances instead, if this is divine anger, pay with his death, or if it is courage and glory, win the prize.”

They debated thus upon open problems among themselves (445), contentiously, while Aeneas shifted base and force. Amid great clamour—look!—the news breaks all through the royal palace and fills the city with great fears. The Trojans, drawn up in battle-array and the Etruscan contingent are bearing down from the river Tiber, right across the plains (450). Right away, spirits were troubled, people’s hearts were shaken and anger was aroused by no gentle goads. Hastily they call, gesturing, for arms; for arms the young men shout and the elders weep and grumble. Now on all sides a great clamour rises to the skies amid confused disagreement (455), just as when flocks of birds chance to have settled in a lofty wood, or the noisy swans call on the fish-filled Padusa, over the echoing marshes. Turnus seizes the moment and speaks: “well, fellow-citizens, you meet in assembly, and praise peace, seated (460), while they rush, armed, upon your homes.” He spoke no more, but hastened off and swiftly took himself out of the high palace. “You, Volusus, tell the squadrons of Volsci to arm and lead the Rutuli. Messapus, Coras (and your brother) spread the cavalry over the wide plains (465). Some of you strengthen the city’s entries and man the towers. Where I shall order, all remaining troops shall advance with me.” Then at last all over the city there was a rush to the walls. Father Latinus in person gave up the assembly and his great project, which he put off, distressed by the tragic circumstances (470). He charged himself repeatedly that he had not taken in Trojan Aeneas in welcome, of his own accord, and called him to the city as heir. Others dig trenches before the gates and carry up stakes and stones. The hoarse trumpet gives the signal for bloody war. Boys and mothers ring the walls in mixed array and a final undertaking summons them all (475). Moreover, the queen herself, with a great cortège of mothers, is carried up to the temple, and Pallas’ highest citadel, bearing offerings, and next to her goes as companion the maiden Lavinia, origin of so much woe, with her fair eyes decently downcast (480).

The mothers come up and fill the temple with the scent of incense. On the lofty threshold they pour forth their sad cry: "Tritonian maiden, mistress of war and lady of weapons. with your hand break the Phrygian bandit's spear and lay him low on the ground, sprawled before the lofty gates. (485)". Turnus himself, raging, arms eagerly for battle; at this moment, he was wearing the gleaming breastplate and bristled with scales of brass; he had enclosed his calves in gold, had bound his sword to his side, but his temples were still bare. He gleams in gold as he rushes down from the lofty citadel (490) and rejoices at heart and in his hopes is already anticipating his enemy. Just as a stallion at last free flees his stall with bonds broken, gains the open plain and either makes for the pastures and herds of mares or flashes out, used to bathe in the river's familiar stream (495); he neighs with his neck raised high and rejoices as his mane plays over his neck and shoulders. To meet him, Camilla comes up, with the line of Volscians for company, and below the very gates, the queen leaps from her horse. Her whole escort forsakes its mounts (500) and slips to the ground. Then she speaks as follows: "Turnus, if a brave warrior has any self-confidence, then I too dare and promise to face the squadron of the sons of Aeneas and to encounter the Tyrrhenian horsemen. Let me face with force the first dangers of war (505). Do you stay as infantry near the walls and take care of the fortifications." In reply, Turnus fixed his eyes on the awesome maiden: "maiden, glory of Italy, what thanks should I make ready to speak and to repay. But now, since your spirit stands above everything, share the task with me (510). Aeneas, as rumour and the scouts I sent bring back evidence, has greedily advanced a light force of cavalry to throw in turmoil the plains. He, through the lonely steepes of the mountains, is passing over the ridge and moves towards the city. I am planning a tactical trick in a deep path through the forest (515), to block the two passes with an armed force. Do you surprise the Etruscan cavalry, pennon to pennon. With you there will be keen Messapus and the Latin squadrons and Tiburtus' men. Do you take on also a commander's duties." So he spoke and with like words (520)

hortatur sociosque duces et pergit in hostem.

Est curuo anfractu ualles, accommoda fraudi
armorumque dolis, quam densis frondibus atrum
urget utrimque latus, tenuis quo semita ducit
angustaeque ferunt fauces aditusque maligni. 525

hanc super in speculis summoque in uertice montis
planities ignota iacet tutique receptus, **T**

seu dextra laeuaque uelis occurrere pugnae
siue instare iugis et grandia uoluere saxa.
huc iuuenis nota fertur regione uiarum 530
arripuitque locum et siluis insedit iniquis.

Velocem interea superis in sedibus Opim,
unam ex uirginibus sociis sacraque caterua,
compellabat et has tristis Latonia uoces **T**
T

ore dabat: “graditur bellum ad crudele Camilla, 535

o uirgo, et nostris nequiquam cingitur armis,
cara mihi ante alias. neque enim nouus iste Dianae
uenit amor subitaque animum dulcedine mouit.
pulsus ob inuidiam regno uirisque superbas
Priuerno antiqua Metabus cum excederet urbe, 540

infantem fugiens media inter proelia belli
sustulit exsilio comitem, matrisque uocauit
nomine Casmillae mutata parte Camillam. **O**

ipse sinu prae se portans iuga longa petebat
solorum nemorum: tela undique saeua premebant 545
et circumfuso uolitabant milite Volsci.

ecce fugae medio summis Amasenus abundans
spumabat ripis, tantus se nubibus imber
ruperat. ille innare parans infantis amore
tardatur caroque oneri timet. omnia secum 550

uersanti subito uix haec sententia sedit:
telum immane manu ualida quod forte gerebat **OT**

bellator, solidum nodis et robore cocto,
huic natam libro et siluestri subere clausam
implicat atque habilem mediae circumligat hastae; 555

quam dextra ingenti librans ita ad aethera fatur:
“alma, tibi hanc, nemorum cultrix, Latonia uirgo,
ipse pater famulam uoueo; tua prima per auras
tela tenens supplex hostem fugit. accipe, testor,
diua tuam, quae nunc dubiis committitur auris.” 560

urged Messapus and his allied leaders to battle and headed for the enemy.

There is a valley, tortuous and winding, well suited to the tricks and wiles of war, which a mountainside dark with thick leaves closes in on both sides; a narrow track leads in, as do the tight gorges of a hostile access (525). Over it, on the crags and the mountain's highest peak, there lies an unknown corry, a safe place to withdraw to, whether you want to face battle on either side or take stand on the ridges and roll down great rocks. Here young Turnus, knowing the direction of the paths (530) went, held the place and took position in the menacing woods.

Meanwhile, in her seat above, Diana, Leto's daughter, addressed swift Opis, one of the virgin companions of her sacred band and spoke these words: "Camilla is on her way to cruel war (535), dear maiden, and to no effect has donned my weapons: she is dear to me above the rest. This love for Diana has not come upon her recently or stirred her spirit with a sudden affection. On account of the envy felt for his pride and power, Metabus was driven from his realm: leaving the ancient city of Privernum (540) in flight, he took up his infant child on the very midst of war and battles, as companion of his exile and called her after her mother's name, Casmilla, with a little change, Camilla. He carried her before him in his breast and was making for the long ridges of the lonely woods; on every side he was pressed by savage weapons (545) and the Volsci hovered with outspread forces. Look, in the middle of his flight, the Amasenus in spate was foaming at the top of its banks; so great a storm had burst out of the clouds. He was making ready to swim but was slowed by his love for the baby and feared for his dear burden (550). As he considered everything, of a sudden this solution reached him, not easily: the great spear which he happened as a warrior to be carrying in his powerful hand, stout with knots and fire-hardened oak, to it he binds his daughter, wrapped in the bark of a woodland cork-tree and fastens her handily to the middle of his spear (555). Poising it in his vast right hand, he spoke thus to the heavens: "kindly goddess, dweller in the forests, maiden daughter of Leto, to you I as her father vow this child as your servant. As a suppliant, it is your weapon she first holds to flee her enemies through the air. Goddess, I pray you, receive as yours the child now committed to the perilous breezes" (560).

dixit, et adducto contortum hastile lacerto immittit: sonuere undae, rapidum super amnem infelix fugit in iaculo stridente Camilla.			T
at Metabus magna propius iam urgente caterua dat sese fluuio, atque hastam cum uirgine uictor	565		
gramineo, donum Triuiaae, de caespite uellit.			T
non illum tectis ullae, non moenibus urbes acceperere (neque ipse manus feritate dedisset),			P
pastorum et solis exegit montibus aeuum. hic natam in dumis interque horrentia lustra	570		
armentalis equae mammis et lacte ferino nutribat teneris immulgens ubera labris. utque pedum primis infans uestigia plantis institerat, iaculo palmas armauit acuto			
spiculaque ex umero paruae suspendit et arcum.	575		
pro crinali auro, pro longae tegmine pallae tigridis exuuiae per dorsum a uertice pendent. tela manu iam tum tenera puerilia torsit et fundam tereti circum caput egit habena			
Strymoniamque gruem aut album deiecit olorem.	580		
multae illam frustra Tyrrhena per oppida matres optauerere nurum; sola contenta Diana aeternum telorum et uirginitatis amorem intemerata colit. uellem haud correpta fuisset militia tali conata lacessere Teucros:	585		P
cara mihi comitumque foret nunc una mearum. uerum age, quandoquidem fatis urgetur acerbis, labere, nympa, polo finisque inuise Latinos, tristis ubi infausto committitur omine pugna.			
haec cape et ultricem pharetra deprome sagittam:	590		
hac, quicumque sacrum uiolarit uulnere corpus, Tros Italusque, mihi pariter det sanguine poenas. post ego nube caua miserandae corpus et arma inspoliata feram tumulo patriaeque reponam.”			
dixit, at illa leuis caeli delapsa per auras	595		T
insonuit nigro circumdata turbine corpus.			
At manus interea muris Troiana propinquat, Etruscique duces equitumque exercitus omnis			T
compositi numero in turmas. fremit aequore toto insultans sonipes et pressis pugnat habenis	600		

He spoke, drew back his arm, spun the spear and threw it. The waves rang, and poor Camilla fled over the river upon the sounding spear. But Metabus, as the great troop pressed ever closer, threw himself into the river and plucked the spear, with the girl (565), a gift of/to Diana, from the grassy turf. No towns received him in their homes and walls (nor would he, from ferocity, have yielded) in the lonely mountains. Here he fed his daughter in the thickets and amid the overgrown lairs (570) on the milk of mares from the wild herds, squeezing their teats into her tender lips. And when the child had started her first footsteps upon her soles, he armed her hands with the sharp javelin and hung bow and arrows from the child's shoulder (575). In place of the gold pin in her hair and of the long cape's covering, a tigerskin hung down her back from the head. While her hands were still tender, she spun 'toy' spears and about her heard she whirled the sling with the smooth strap, to bring down cranes from the Strymon or white swans (580). Through the Etruscan cities, many mothers sought her in vain as a daughter-in-law: satisfied with Diana alone, untouched she pursued the abiding love of weapons and maidenhood. I could wish she had not been caught up by such a service in trying to engage the Trojans (585). She would now be special to me and one of my companions. But come, since she is oppressed by an untimely destiny, slip down, nymph Opis, from the sky's vault and visit the Latin territory, where a sorry fight is being engaged under an unlucky omen. Take these and draw an avenging arrow from the quiver (590). With this, whoever violates with a wound her sacred person, whether Trojan or Italian, will alike pay me the penalty with his blood. Afterwards, I shall bear her poor body in a hollow cloud, along with her weapons undespoiled, to the burial mound and shall restore them to her country.

She spoke, but Opis slipped lightly down (?) through the air (595), with a sound, and girt her body in a dark whirlwind. But meanwhile the Trojan army draws near the walls, with the Etruscan leaders and all the force of cavalry, their number organised into squadrons. The stamping steeds neigh and struggle against the tightened reins (600),

huc conuersus et huc; tum late ferreus hastis horret ager campique armis sublimibus ardent.		T
nec non Messapus contra celeresque Latini et cum fratre Coras et uirginis ala Camillae aduersi campo apparent, hastasque reductis	605	
protendunt longe dextris et spicula uibrant, aduentusque uirum fremitusque ardescit equorum.		T
iamque intra iactum teli progressus uterque substiterat: subito erumpunt clamore furentisque exhortantur equos, fundunt simul undique tela	610	T
crebra niuis ritu, caelumque obtexitur umbra. continuo aduersis Tyrrhenus et acer Aconteus conixi incurrunt hastis primique ruinam		PT
dant sonitu ingenti perfractaque quadrupedantum pectora pectoribus rumpunt; excussus Aconteus fulminis in morem aut tormento ponderis acti praecipitat longe et uitam dispergit in auras.	615	T TO
Extemplo turbatae acies, uersique Latini reiciunt parmas et equos ad moenia uertunt; Troes agunt, princeps turmas inducit Asilas.	620	
iamque propinquabant portis rursusque Latini clamorem tollunt et mollia colla reflectunt; hi fugiunt penitusque datis referuntur habenis. qualis ubi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus nunc ruit ad terram scopulosque superiacit unda	625	TT
spumeus extremamque sinu perfundit harenam, nunc rapidus retro atque aestu reuoluta resorbens saxa fugit litusque uado labente relinquit: bis Tusci Rutulos egere ad moenia uersos, bis reiecti armis respectant terga tegentes.	630	
tertia sed postquam congressi in proelia totas implicuere inter se acies legitque uirum uir, tum uero et gemitus morientum et sanguine in alto armaque corporaque et permixti caede uirorum semianimes uoluuntur equi, pugna aspera surgit.	635	
Orsilochus Remuli, quando ipsum horrebat adire, hastam intorsit equo ferrumque sub aure reliquit; quo sonipes ictu furit arduus altaque iactat uulneris impatiens arrecto pectore crura, uoluitur ille excussus humi. Catillus Iollan	640	

turning this way and that. The country bristles afar with iron-tipped spears and the fields blaze with weapons held on high. And on the other side Messapus and the swift Latins, and Coras with his brother, and the virgin Camilla's squadron come into sight on the other side of the field. They draw back their right arms (605) and stretch their spears far forward and brandish their weapons. The arrival of men and the neighing of horses take fire. Both sides had advance within spear-range and halted. They burst out with a sudden shout and urge on their horses to madness. On every side at once they pour weapons (610), thick as snow, and the sky is woven close with darkness. Forthwith, Tyrrhenus and fierce Aconteus clash stoutly with opposed spears; they are the first to crash with a great din. Breast of steed they shatter and shiver against breast; Aconteus is unhorsed (615); like a thunderbolt or a weight flung by a siege-catapult he is hurled far and scatters his life in the air.

At once the lines are thrown into disorder; the Latins turn, sling their shields on their backs and turn their horses to the walls. The Trojans drive them on: Asilas in the first to lead the troops (620). Now the Latins were approaching the gates and once again they raised a shout and turned their lithe necks. The Trojans flee and are carried far back at full rein. As when the sea, flowing forwards with regular motion, now hurried landwards, covers the rocks with a wave (625) and washes the topmost rim of the beach with its swirl, now swiftly it slips back, sucks the stones with it, tossing them in its ebb, and leaves the shore with its withdrawing waters. Twice the Etruscans drove the retreating Rutuli to the walls; twice, flung violently back, they look round, protecting their own backs (630). The Trojans drive them on. But after they met in their third clash, they entangled their entire battle-lines and man picked out man. Then did the dying groan, and in the deep blood, arms and bodies and in among the shambles, half-dead horses rolled and a cruel fight swelled (635). Orsilochus, frightened to face his man, flung a spear at Remulus' horse and left the tip under its ear. At that wound, the horse reared madly, raised its chest and, tormented by the wound, flung out its forelegs high. The man was unseated and rolled on the ground. Catillus brought down Iollas (640),

ingentemque animis, ingentem corpore et armis
 deicit Herminium, nudo cui uertice fulua
 caesaries nudique umeri nec uulnera terrent;
 tantus in arma patet. latos huic hasta per armos
 acta tremit duplicatque uirum transfixa dolore. 645
 funditur ater ubique cruor; dant funera ferro
 certantes pulchramque petunt per uulnera mortem.
 At medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon
 unum exserta latus pugnae, pharetrata Camilla,
 et nunc lenta manu spargens hastilia denset, 650 **O**
 nunc ualidam dextra rapit indefessa bipennem;
 aureus ex umero sonat arcus et arma Dianae.
 illa etiam, si quando in tergum pulsa recessit,
 spicula conuerso fugientia derigit arcu.
 at circum lectae comites, Larinaque uirgo 655
 Tullaque et aeratam quatiens Tarpcia securim,
 Italides, quas ipsa decus sibi dia Camilla
 delegit pacisque bonas bellique ministras: **T**
 quales Threiciae cum flumina Thermodontis
 pulsant et pictis bellantur Amazones armis, 660
 seu circum Hippolyten seu cum se Martia curru
 Penthesilea refert, magnoque ululante tumultu
 feminea exsultant lunatis agmina peltis.
 Quem telo primum, quem postremum, aspera uirgo,
 deicis? aut quot humi morientia corpora fundis? 665
 Eunaenum Clytio primum patre, cuius apertum
 aduersi longa transuerberat abiete pectus.
 sanguinis ille uomens riuos cadit atque cruentam
 mandit humum moriensque suo se in uulnere uersat.
 tum Lirim Pagasumque super, quorum alter habenas 670
 suffuso reuolutus equo dum colligit, alter
 dum subit ac dextram labenti tendit inermem, **T**
 praecipites pariterque ruunt. his addit Amastrum **T**
 Hippotaden, sequiturque incumbens eminus hasta
 Tereaque Harpalycumque et Demophoonta Chromimque; 675
 quotque emissa manu contorsit spicula uirgo,
 tot Phrygii cecidere uiri. procul Ornytus armis
 ignotis et equo uenator Iapyge fertur,
 cui pellis latos umeros erepta iuuenco
 pugnatori operit, caput ingens oris hiatus 680

a giant in spirit; and also a giant in body and arms, Herminius: his head was bare, his hair yellow, and his shoulders also uncovered. He had no fear of wounds, though he stood open to blows on such a scale. Through his broad shoulders a spear was driven, quivering and, forced through, it doubled him over with pain (645). Black gore pours out everywhere. Fighting with cold steel, they dealt death and through wounds seek out a fair end.

In the midst of the slaughter, the Amazon Camilla exults with her quiver, bare on one side for the fight: sometimes she takes and hurls thickly pliant shafts (650), then tireless grabs in her right hand a stout two-headed axe. Diana's weapons and golden bow ring from her shoulder. And if ever she was worsted and withdrew towards the rear, she also turned her bow and shot off arrows in her flight. Round her, there were her chosen companions, the maiden Larina (655), and Tulla and Tarpeia, brandishing a brazen axe, Italian girls, whom the godlike Camilla chose as an ornament to herself, good handmaidens in peace and war, as the Thracian Amazons pound by the stream of Thermodon and make war with painted armour (660), whether about Hippolyte, or when Penthesilea daughter of Mars returns in her chariot and the columns of women rejoice with their moon-shaped targets as their great clamour resounds howling.

Whom, cruel maiden, do you lay low first with your weapons and whom last? Or how many dying bodies do you spread on the ground (665)? First Eunaeus. His father was Clytius, whose exposed chest she spits with a long pine-shaft. He spews streams of blood, falls, bites the bloody ground, and dying writhes about his wound. Then too Liris and Pagasus: the first while he was gathering the reins after he was spun off his hamstrung horse, the second as he came to help and stretched out an unarmed hand to Liris as he slipped. They both crash, together, headlong. To them she adds Amaster (?), son of Hippotas and follows, pressing with her spear from a distance Tereus, Harpalycus, Demophoon and Chromis (675). As many spears as the virgin despatched spinning, so many Trojan warriors fell. At a distance, the hunter Ornytus rides in unknown arms on an Apulian horse: the warrior's broad shoulders the hide stripped from a steer covers. His head the vast gaping maw of a wolf (680)

et malae texere lupi cum dentibus albis,
 agrestisque manus armat sparus; ipse cateruis
 uertitur in mediis et toto uertice supra est.
 hunc illa exceptum (neque enim labor agmine uerso)
 traicit et super haec inimico pectore fatur: 685
 “siluis te, Tyrrhene, feras agitare putasti?
 aduenit qui uestra dies muliebribus armis
 uerba redargueret. nomen tamen haud leue patrum **T**
 manibus hoc referes, telo cecidisse Camillae.”
 Protinus Orsilochum et Buten, duo maxima Teucrum 690
 corpora, sed Buten auersum cuspide fixit **T**
 loricam galeamque inter, qua colla sedentis **T**
 lucent et laeuo dependet parma lacerto;
 Orsilochum fugiens magnumque agitata per orbem
 eludit gyro interior sequiturque sequentem; 695
 tum ualidam perque arma uiro perque ossa securim
 altior exsurgens oranti et multa precanti
 congeminat; uulnus calido rigat ora cerebro.
 incidit huic subitoque aspectu territus haesit
 Appenninicolae bellator filius Auni, 700
 haud Ligurum extremus, dum fallere fata sinebant.
 isque ubi se nullo iam cursu euadere pugnae
 posse neque instantem reginam auertere cernit,
 consilio uersare dolos ingressus et astu
 incipit haec: “quid tam egregium, si femina forti 705
 fidis equo? dimitte fugam et te comminus aequo
 mecum crede solo pugnaeque accinge pedestri:
 iam nosces uentosa ferat cui gloria fraudem.” **T**
 dixit, at illa furens acrique accensa dolore
 tradit equum comiti paribusque resistit in armis 710
 ense pedes nudo puraque interrita parma.
 at iuuenis uicisse dolo ratus auolat ipse
 (haud mora), conuersisque fugax aufertur habenis
 quadripedemque citum ferrata calce fatigat. **O**
 “uane Ligus frustra que animis elate superbis, 715
 nequiquam patrias temptasti lubricus artis,
 nec fraus te incolumem fallaci perferet Auno.”
 haec fatur uirgo, et pernicibus ignea plantis
 transit equum cursu frenisque aduersa prehensis
 congregitur poenasque inimico ex sanguine sumit: 720

and its jaws with their white teeth cover. A peasant shaft arms his hand. He moves in the midst of the troops and stands a clear head above. Him she catches—it is not hard with the army in retreat—, pierces and speaks as follows with hostile spirit (685): “was it in the woods, Etruscan, that you thought you were hunting wild beasts? The day has come to refute your words with a woman’s weapons. Yet you will carry to your ancestral shades the great renown that you fell under Camilla’s spear”.

Directly, Orsilochus and Butes, two huge Trojans (690): Butes she spitted from behind with a spear, between breastplate and helmet, where his neck gleamed as he sat and his shield hung down from his left arm. Orsilochus, as she fled and was driven along a huge curve she outwitted, winning the inside as they turned, and following her follower (695). Through the man’s armour and through his bones she redoubled her stout axe, rising higher upon him the more he begged and besought. The wound bathed his face with hot brains. Upon her came the warrior son of Appennine-born Aunus (700); terrified at the sudden sight of her, he stayed, not the least of the Ligurians, while fate permitted him to deceive. When he saw that in no direction could he get out of combat, nor could avert the queen’s onset, he set to spinning trickery with a wily plan and began: “what is so splendid about it if, as a woman, you trust in a stout horse? (705) Give up your flight and at close quarters upon a fair ground match yourself against me and make ready to fight on foot. Now you will learn to whom windy fame brings harm.” He finished; Camilla in a rage and fired by biting resentment gave her horse to a companion and halted under the same arms (710), on foot, with unsheathed sword and fearless, notwithstanding her uncrested shield. The young man, thinking he had bested her by a trick, turned about, dashed straight off and was carried away in flight, turning his reins about; he wore out his swift steed with an iron-spurred kick. “Tricky Ligurian, uselessly buoyed up in lofty spirits, you tried the slippery skills of your home (715) in vain, and deceit shall not bring you safely back to your deceitful father Aunus”. So spoke the maiden and like fire on swift feet overtakes the horse; facing it, she seizes the reins, meets her man and exacts the penalty from his hostile blood (720).

quam facile accipiter saxo sacer ales ab alto
 consequitur pennis sublimem in nube columbam
 comprehensamque tenet pedibusque euiscerat uncis;
 tum cruor et uulsae labuntur ab aethere plumae.
 At non haec nullis hominum sator atque deorum 725
 obseruans oculis summo sedet altus Olympo.
 Tyrrhenum genitor Tarchonem in proelia saeua
 suscitatur et stimulis haud mollibus incit iras. **T**
 ergo inter caedes cedentiaque agmina Tarchon
 fertur equo uariisque instigatur uocibus alas 730
 nomine quemque uocans, reficitque in proelia pulsos.
 "quis metus, o numquam dolituri, o semper inertes
 Tyrrheni, quae tanta animis ignauia uenit?
 femina palantis agit atque haec agmina uertit! **P**
 quo ferrum quidue haec gerimus tela inrita dextris? 735
 at non in Venerem segnes nocturnaue bella,
 aut ubi curua choros indixit tibia Bacchi. **P**
 exspectate dapes et plenae pocula mensae
 (hic amor, hoc studium) dum sacra secundus haruspex
 nuntiet ac lucos uocet hostia pinguis in altos!" 740
 haec effatus equum in medios moriturus et ipse
 concitat, et Venulo aduersum se turbidus infert **T**
 dereptumque ab equo dextra complectitur hostem
 et gremium ante suum multa ui concitus aufert.
 tollitur in caelum clamor cunctique Latini 745
 conuertere oculos. uolat igneus aequore Tarchon
 arma uirumque ferens; tum summa ipsius ab hasta
 defringit ferrum et partis rimatur apertas,
 qua uulnus letale ferat; contra ille repugnans
 sustinet a iugulo dextram et uim uiribus exit. 750
 utque uolans alte raptum cum fulua draconem
 fert aquila implicuitque pedes atque unguibus haesit,
 saucius at serpens sinuosa uolumina uersat
 arrectisque horret squamis et sibilat ore
 arduus insurgens, illa haud minus urget obunco 755
 luctantem rostro, simul aethera uerberat alis:
 haud aliter praedam Tiburtum ex agmine Tarchon
 portat ouans. ducis exemplum euentumque secuti
 Maeonidae incurrunt. tum fatis debitus Arruns
 uelocem iaculo et multa prior arte Camillam 760

As easily as the holy hawk catches up in flight the dove high in the clouds, grasps and holds her and with curving claws disembowels her; so blood and plucked feathers shower from the sky.

But the father of gods and men sat upon highest Olympus and viewed these events intently. He roused Etruscan Tarchon to cruel combat and filled him with anger under no gentle goads. So amid the bodies and the yielding ranks Tarchon rides his horse and with varied cries rouses his squadrons (730), calling each man by name, and restores the defeated for battle. "What do you fear, Etruscans, who will never be stung by defeat, forever sluggish? What limitless cowardice has come upon you? Why do we carry swords in our right hands? Wherefore these useless arms? But sluggish you are not in love, nor in nighttime combat, or when the curved flute leads Bacchus' dances. Go and wait for the feasts and goblets of a heaped table (this is your passion, this your pursuit), till the haruspex announces a favourable sacrifice and the fat victim beckons you into the lofty groves" (740). He spoke thus and thinking to die himself as well spurred his horse into the *melée* and storming brought himself against Venulus. He tore him away from his horse, grasped him with his right hand and violently carried him away at the gallop in front of his lap. A shout goes up to the sky and all the Latins (745) turned their gaze. Fiery Tarchon rushes over the plain, bearing arms and his man. Then he snaps the tip off the end of Venulus' spear and gropes for an unprotected spot, to deal a fatal wound. Venulus fights back, holds Tarchon's right hand off his throat and by force escapes force (750). And as when a high-flying tawny eagle snatches up and carries off a serpent, twists his feet about his prey and clings with his claws, but the wounded snake winds its twisting coils and bristles with upraised scales, rise erect and hisses from its mouth. No less, the eagle bears down on the snake as it struggles with curved beak (755) and likewise beats the air with his wings. Just so, Tarchon in triumph carries off his prize from the column of the men of Tibur. The Maconians charge forwards, following the successful model of their leader. Then Arruns, bound to fate, takes the initiative with javelin and much skill, edges round swift Camilla (760)

and tries the easiest opportunity. In whatever direction the raging maiden moves in the midst of the ranks, Arruns comes up close and quietly follows her tracks. Wherever she comes back successful and withdraws from the enemy, here young Arruns surreptitiously turns his swift reins (765). This approach he tries and this approach, and the whole circuit on every side, and insistently brandishes his unerring spear.

There happened to be a former priest devoted to Cybelus, Chloreus; prominent he gleamed in Phrygian armour and drove a foaming horse (770), whom a skin with bronze scales and secured with gold protected. Chloreus himself, bright in imported rust-red and purple despatched Cretan arrows from a Lycian bow. On his shoulders, the seer had a golden bow and his helmet was golden. With tawny gold he had gathered the rustling folds (775) of his cotton cloak into a knot; his undershirts and the barbarian coverings of his limbs were ornamented by the needle. Him the maiden, whether to deck the temples with Trojan arms or to parade herself in captured gold as huntress followed him alone unseeing out of all the combat of the battle (780) and incautiously through all the array blazed with a womanly love of booty and spoils. At last Arruns seized his moment, flung his spear from hiding and prayed as follows: "highest of the gods, Apollo, guardian of holy Soracte (785), whom we foremost worship, when the pine blaze feeds on the bonfire and trusting in our piety we as worshippers plant our footsteps through the midst of the fire in the deep embers. Grant, almighty father, that this disgrace be wiped out by our arms. I do not seek plunder, or a trophy (790) or any spoils of the maiden defeated. My other deeds shall bring me praise. So long as this plague shall fall defeated by *my* wound, I shall return anonymous to my ancestral cities."

Phoebus heard him and by his decision permitted part to take place and scattered part into the swift breezes (795). To his suppliant he permitted that he should lay low the distracted Camilla by a sudden stroke, but that his high homeland should behold his return he did not grant and the breezes diverted his prayer into the winds' path. So when the well-flung spear sounded through the air, all the Volsci turned their eyes and fierce spirits towards the queen (800).

cuncti ad reginam Volsci. nihil ipsa nec aurae **T**
 nec sonitus memor aut uenientis ab aethere teli,
 hasta sub exsertam donec perlata papillam
 haesit uirgineumque alte bibit acta cruorem.
 concurrunt trepidae comites dominamque ruentem 805
 suscipiunt. fugit ante omnis exterritus Arruns
 laetitia mixtoque metu, nec iam amplius hastae
 credere nec telis occurrere uirginis audet.
 ac uelut ille, prius quam tela inimica sequantur,
 continuo in montis sese auius abdidit altos 810
 occiso pastore lupus magnoue iuueno,
 conscius audacis facti, caudamque remulcens
 subiecit pauitantem utero siluasque petiuit:
 haud secus ex oculis se turbidus abstulit Arruns
 contentusque fuga mediis se immiscuit armis. 815
 illa manu moriens telum trahit, ossa sed inter
 ferreus ad costas alto stat uolnere mucro. **O**
 labitur exsanguis, labuntur frigida leto
 lumina, purpureus quondam color ora reliquit.
 tum sic exspirans Accam ex aequalibus unam 820
 adloquitur, fida ante alias quae sola Camillae **PT**
 quicum partiri curas, atque haec ita fatur:
 ‘hactenus, Acca soror, potui: nunc uulnus acerbum
 conficit, et tenebris nigrescunt omnia circum.
 effuge et haec Turno mandata nouissima perfer: 825
 succedat pugnae Troianosque arceat urbe. **T**
 iamque uale.’ simul his dictis linquebat habenas
 ad terram non sponte fluens. tum frigida toto
 paulatim exsoluit se corpore, lentaque colla
 et captum leto posuit caput; arma relinquunt 830 **TP**
 uitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.
 tum uero immensus surgens ferit aurea clamor
 sidera: deiecta crudescit pugna Camilla;
 incurrunt densi simul omnis copia Teucrum
 Tyrrhenique duces Euandrique Arcades alae. 835

At Triuiaie custos iamdudum in montibus Opis
 alta sedet summis spectatque interrita pugnas.
 utque procul medio iuuenum in clamore furentum
 prospexit tristi mulcatam morte Camillam, **T**
 ingemuitque deditque has imo pectore uoces: 840

She paid no attention to the sounding rush of air, or to the weapon coming from the sky, until the spear carried, lodged beneath the exposed breast (?) and driven deep drank the virgin blood. Her anxious comrades ran up and gathered their collapsing mistress (805). Ahead of them all, Arruns fled terror-struck, in mingled fear and delight. No more did he dare trust his spear nor face the maiden's weapons. And just like the wolf, before his enemies' weapons come after him, directly hides himself out of the way in the lofty mountains (810) when he has killed a shepherd or a robust bullock, well aware of his outrageous deed; he curls down his tail and hides it quivering under his belly and makes for the woods. Just so, Arruns swept himself out of sight and, delighted with his escape, hid himself in the midst of his comrades (815).

Dying, Camilla tried to draw out the spear by force, but the iron tip was lodged by her ribs in a deep wound; she slipped down from loss of blood and her eyes drooped in the chill of death; the colour left her face, once so glowing. Then, breathing her last, she addressed Acca, one of her companions (820) as follows, Acca, trustworthy beyond the rest, who alone was used to share Camilla's problems with her, and speaks as follows:

"Thus far, dear sister Acca, I have been able; now an untimely wound has worn me down and all turns dark about me. Escape and bear to Turnus these last behests (825). Let him get to the battle and keep the Trojans from the city. Now farewell."

With these words she began to lose her grasp upon the reins, slipping to the ground. Then, chill, she freed herself bit by bit from all her body and laid down her heavy neck and her head seized by death; her weapons take leave of her (830) and her life flees, reproachful and with a groan, into the shadows. Then truly a great clamour rises up and strikes the golden stars; with Camilla's fall, the fight grows savage. The whole force of Trojans charges close-packed and with them the leaders of the Etruscans and Evander's Arcadian troops (835).

But Opis, for some time Trivia's watcher on the mountains, sits on high and unshaken gazes at the battle. When she saw at a distance Camilla punished with tragic death, in the midst of the young warriors' raging shouts, she groaned and uttered these words from the depths of her breast (840):

'heu nimium, uirgo, nimium crudele luisti
 supplicium Teucros conata lacescere bello!
 nec tibi desertae in dumis coluisse Dianam
 profuit aut nostras umero gessisse pharetras. T
 non tamen indecorem tua te regina reliquit 845
 extrema iam in morte, neque hoc sine nomine letum
 per gentis erit aut famam patieris inultae.
 nam quicumque tuum uiolauit uulnere corpus
 morte luet merita.' fuit ingens monte sub alto
 regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere bustum 850
 antiqui Laurentis opacaque ilice tectum;
 hic dea se primum rapido pulcherrima nisu O
 sistit et Arruntem tumulo speculatur ab alto.
 ut uidit fulgentem armis ac uana tumentem, T
 'cur' inquit 'diuersus abis? huc derige gressum, 855
 huc periture ueni, capias ut digna Camillae
 praemia. tune etiam telis moriere Dianae?'
 dixit, et aurata uolucrem Threissa sagittam
 deprompsit pharetra cornuque infensa tetendit
 et duxit longe, donec curuata coirent 860
 inter se capita et manibus iam tangeret aequis,
 laeua aciem ferri, dextra neruoque papillam.
 extemplo teli stridorem aurasque sonantis
 audiit una Arruns haesitque in corpore ferrum. P
 illum exspirantem socii atque extrema gementem 865
 oblitum ignoto camporum in puluere linquunt;
 Opis ad aetherium pennis aufertur Olympum.
 Prima fugit domina amissa leuis ala Camillae,
 turbati fugiunt Rutuli, fugit acer Atinas,
 disiectique duces desolatique manipuli 870
 tuta petunt et equis auersi ad moenia tendunt.
 nec quisquam instantis Teucros letumque ferentis
 sustentare ualet telis aut sistere contra,
 sed laxos referunt umeris languentibus arcus,
 quadripedumque putrem cursu quatit ungula campum. 875 O
 uoluitur ad muros caligine turbidus atra
 puluis, et e speculis percussae pectora matres
 femineum clamorem ad caeli sidera tollunt.
 qui cursu portas primi inrupere patentis, O
 hos inimica super mixto premit agmine turba, 880

“Alas, you have paid a punishment too cruel, much too cruel, having ventured to try the Trojans in war. It was no help to you to have worshipped Diana, alone in the woods, nor to have borne my quiver upon your shoulder. Yet your queen has not left you without glory (845), even now in death’s last hour. This death shall not be without renown through the tribes, nor shall you endure the reputation of one unavenged. For whoever has violated your body with a wound shall pay with a well-deserved death. There was under a high mountain the great burial-mound, made of an earthen barrow, of Dercennus (850), an ancient king of the Laurentes, covered with dark holm-oak. Here the lovely goddess, with a swift flight, first halted and looked for Arruns from the high mound. When she spotted him in gleaming weapons and uselessly puffed-up, “why”, she said, “do you slip away? Turn your steps this way (855). Come *here* to die, to receive a due reward from Camilla. Are you too to die by Diana’s weapons?” Thracian Opis spoke and drew a swift arrow from her golden quiver; she stretched her swift bow in enmity and drew it far, till the curved ends met together (860) and she touched with hands now level the steel arrow-head (with her left) and her breast (?) with the string (and her right). Right away Arruns heard the arrow’s whistle and the ringing air and in that moment the tip lodged in his body. Him, groaning and breathing his last (865) his companions—forgot and left unknown in the dust of the plain. Opis travelled on her wings to lofty Olympus.

At their mistress’s loss, Camilla’s squadron flees first of all; the Rutuli fly, routed, and fierce Atinas flies. Scattered chiefs and abandoned troops (870) make for safety, turning away on horseback to the walls. No-one has the strength to hold up the Trojans by force of arms or face them as they advance and bear death, but they carry their slack bows on drooping shoulders; their mounts’ hooves shake the crumbly plain at the gallop (875). A swirl of dust rolls towards the walls in gloomy darkness and from their vantage-point the mothers beat their breasts and raise a womanish outcry to the stars of heaven. Upon the first to break through the open gates in their rush, a crowd of enemies presses hard, with their masses mingled (880),

nec miseram effugiunt mortem, sed limine in ipso, moenibus in patriis atque inter tuta domorum confixi expirant animas. pars claudere portas, nec sociis aperire uiam nec moenibus audent accipere orantis, oriturque miserrima caedes	885	T
defendentum armis aditus inque arma ruentum. exclusi ante oculos lacrimantumque ora parentum pars in praecipitis fossas urgente ruina uoluitur, immissis pars caeca et concita frenis arietat in portas et duros obice postis.	890	O
ipsae de muris summo certamine matres (monstrat amor uerus patriae, ut uidere Camillam) tela manu trepidae iaciunt ac robore duro stipitibus ferrum sudibusque imitantur obustis praecipites, primaeque mori pro moenibus ardent.	895	P
Interea Turnum in siluis saeuissimus implet nuntius et iuueni ingentem fert Acca tumultum: deletas Volscorum acies, cecidisse Camillam, ingruere infensos hostis et Marte secundo omnia corripuisse, metum iam ad moenia ferri.	900	T
ille furens (et saeua Iouis sic numina poscunt) deserit obsessos collis, nemora aspera linquit. uix e conspectu exierat campumque tenebat, cum pater Aeneas saltus ingressus apertos exsuperatque iugum siluaque euadit opaca.	905	
sic ambo ad muros rapidi totoque feruntur agmine nec longis inter se passibus absunt; ac simul Aeneas fumantis puluere campos prospexit longe Laurentiaque agmina uidit, et saeuum Aenean agnouit Turnus in armis	910	T
aduentumque pedum flatusque audiuit equorum. continuoque ineant pugnas et proelia temptent, ni roseus fessos iam gurgite Phoebus Hiberno tingat equos noctemque die labente reducat. considunt castris ante urbem et moenia uallant.	915	T

nor do they escape a sorry death, but on the very threshold, in their ancestral walls and between the safe retreat of their homes they are pierced and breathe out their lives. Some close the gates, do not dare open the path to their comrades, or admit them into the walls for all their pleas and a most pitiable slaughter (885) arises of those who defend the entrances with their weapons and of those who rush upon the sword. Shut out before the eyes and faces of their weeping parents, some are rolled into steep ditches as the rout presses upon them, some unseeing and headlong, with loose bridle, charge at the gates and the leaves which block their path (890). From the walls, even the mothers, with a peak of effort—real love of country shows the way—when they saw Camilla, excited they threw their weapons with force and with heart of oak, with charred billets and stakes they imitate in haste real iron and burn to die in the front line in defence of their walls (895).

Meanwhile, Turnus, in the woods, is filled with the harshest news and Acca brings the warrior a great alarm—that Camilla has fallen, that the enemy are pressing fiercely on and with Mars' favour have mastered everything and panic is now being carried right up to the walls (900). Raging—and the cruel decision of Jupiter requires it thus—he deserts the pass he had blocked and leaves the overgrown forest. He had only just passed from sight and was reaching the plain when Aeneas entered the unblocked pass, crossed the ridge and emerged from the dark forest (905). So both of them advance swiftly and with full force towards the walls and are at no long distance apart. At the same moment, Aeneas notices at a distance the plains smoking with dust and the ranks of Laurentes and Turnus recognises fierce Aeneas under arms (910), and hears the approach of feet and the hard breathing of horses. And right away they would enter battle and try the issue, did not pink Phoebus bathe his horses, tired now, in the Spanish ocean and bring back the night as day faded. They settle in camp before the city and fortify the ramparts (915).

COMMENTARY

1 Oceanum . . . reliquit Also at 4.129 (vd. *infra*). Cf. *Il.*19.1f. Ἡὼς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων/ὄρνυθ' . . ., Furius Bibaculus, *Annales* fr. 7 *interea Oceani linquens Aurora cubile* (vd. Courtney *ad loc.*, Knauer, 266, n. 2). The (Homeric) noun first in extant Latin at *Enn. Ann.*416.

interea Cf. **7.572**; note that only 'loose temporal sequence' (so Harrison on 10.1) does justice to the sequence from 10.908. Cf. Worstbrock, 64f..

surgens ὄρνυθ'; the verb also of *dies, sol*.

Aurora Cf. **7.26**. Here not one of V.'s thematically significant dawns (**7.25ff.**), though the only one that begins a book; rather, an element of formal epic structure, (*more suo* writes Serv.; Sparrow, 82, Moskalew, 66f.), indicating as often a significant recommencement of the action (La Penna, *EV* 1, 76), though we are not compelled to seek out analogies between Dido's hunt and Pallas' funeral (*pace* Moskalew, 182); that the Tyrrhenian sea lay within sight of the field of action, but to the West (contrast Carthage) was not the sort of detail that troubled V. The book will end with a later dusk, **913–4**, *EV* 2, 238); cf. **133**, Heinze, 342. Note the typical asyndetic parataxis to avoid temporal subordination, as at 4.129; cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 275.

2 Aeneas . . . /4 . . . uictor That Aen. is alive, and victorious (cf. **92**), he owes to the gods (while the impious Mez. had himself vowed a trophy—Lausus, alive, in Aen.'s armour—in vain, 10.774ff.); Aen.'s successful vow was not narrated (contrast Pallas', 10.420ff.; compare rather Evander, **50, 158**), unlike the payment (Bailey, 49, 101, *EV* 5*, 630ff.); here his personal debt to his gods comes (whatever his inclinations: Cairns, 73, Mackie, 177, n. 4; cf. Traina, *EV* 4, 98, Hickson, 91ff. and Beard-North-Price, 32ff. for Roman vows) before that to Pallas, and to his allies, as TCD explains (cf. Cairns, 73, Worstbrock, 64f. and, more generally, M. Fernandelli, *Quad. dip. fil.* . . . *Torino* 1999, 215ff.); his victory is real enough, but bought too dear.

quamquam et . . . que . . . A complex sequence to convey a busy commander's struggle with his priorities (cf. Nisbet in Harrison, *OR*, 387; Henry brilliantly cites Xen. *Hell.*4.3.20), or a bitter victor's with

the various debts incurred by his latest triumph in the field. See Rieks, 112.

sociis . . . humandis S. are indistinguishably Trojans, Etruscans or Roman allies (cf. Évrard, *EV* 4, 912); it is not a heroic commander's urgent task, though, to bury unnamed warriors (cf. **102, 7.80**, Griffin, 137f.; Serv. here well *nam est haec consuetudo apud poetas, ut a plebe segregent duces*) and the plural is a generalising anticipation of the one particular *funus* that occupies Aen.'s mind, and V.'s, Serv.'s and ours (the verb *bis* in Lucr., who also has *inhumatus*; cf. too Cic.*car.m.*Eur.7.2 and see too *EV* 2, 868). Nothing particularly prosy about the construction: cf. *G.*1.3f. (vd. Page), 2.9, 178, 397, 3.159, *Aen.*4.290, Hor.*C.*4.11.3, *CS* 18f. (*EV* 2, 716ff. is not helpful). Note that Cic.*Leg.*2.57 (contrast Plin.*Nat.*7.187, perhaps interpolated) uses *humare* of both cremation and inhumation (Saunders, 126, n. 8; cf. *OLD* s.v., §2) and here, since Trojans, Etruscans and Arcadians may be supposed not to use uniform rites, the use of a neutral term is particularly appropriate (cf. well, Saunders, 126, who points out that at 6.161 and 10.493 *humare* refers to cremation; see **22**).

dare tempus Cf. 5.844 *datur hora quieti*, Caes.*Gall.*3.4.1 [*rebus*] *collocandis atque administrandis tempus daretur*; it might well be that V. uses **d.t.** + gerundive precisely because of a distinctive flavour of 'military business': a register he will be found to know well and use widely (vd. index s.v. military language). There is, virtually, juxtaposition of opposites with the following indic. (Görler, *EV* 2, 276; *per litt.* he points also to 3.181 *nouo ueterum*, 10.630, **11.63**, 12.802 *dulci tristes*)

3 praecipitant curae Cf. Stat.*Theb.*1.679 (Adkin, *TLL* 10.2.3.469.55); Serv. paraphrases **p.** as *urgent*, but with **c.** as subject (= *dolor*, nearly enough: cf. *G.*3.539, *Aen.*3.341, 12.801(?), Fedeli, *EV* 1, 962), V. achieves an *ad hoc* expression that one might render more prosily as *Aeneas dolens festinat*; for the peculiarly typical extension of the construction with infin., cf. 9.44, 186f. and the admirable list, Görler, *EV* 2, 271 (note that, given V.'s choice of subject, the verb has effectively become one of 'desiring'); editors less familiar with the wilder shores of Virgilian idiom succumb to panic.

turbataque . . . mens est Cf. trag.*inc.*96 *pectora turbat*, but the type of collocation is markedly Lucretian (cf. 3.483, 493, 500, 4.922, 930, 6.1183). In prose too: cf. Cic.*TD* 4.30, *Dom.*140, *QF* 1.4.4, Liv.3.47.4. The verb is dear to V. and common of grief and affliction (Strati,

EV 5*, 319 cites also **470**, 3.314, 8.29, 12.160, 599). Cf. **7.790** for the double monosyllable at line-end.

funere The corpse (cf. *Aen.*9.491; vd. **366**) before his eyes and/or the impending funeral (cf. **169**, *G.*4.256, *Aen.*3.62): both senses (and choice is immaterial) implicate the further and almost graver problem, that of telling Evander. A striking omission from *EV*.

4 uota deum The object thrust forward to give due prominence to Aen.'s preference (on *pietas*, cf. now Thome (**27**), 2, 29ff.), without need of any adversative particle. Cf. **157f. deorum/uota precesque meae**, *TLL* 5.1.904.12 (Gudeman): not a stock phrase, but cf. *G.*2.473, 4.521 *sacra deum* (the gods become possessors of the offerings vowed/made). See above on **Aeneas . . . uictor** for the religious aspect.

primo . . . Eoo Neatly taking up the more formulaic **1**: the morning star, as at *G.*1.288, *Cat.*62.35, *Cinna*, *Zmyrna* 6.1 and at *Aen.*3.588 *postera iamque dies primo surgebat Eoo* (cf. further Lyne on *Ciris* 351f., Hollis on *Call.Hec.*113.3) but in *V.*, more common as an adj.. The prosody of the initial vowel oscillates in both *Gk.* and *Lat.* (cf. Williams on 3.588).

soluebat Inceptive: Aen. was beginning, at the first possible moment, to pay his obligations to the gods (Hickson, 93, n. 5, *G.*1.436, *Aen.*3.404, *EV* 4, 934, 5*, 629ff.).

5–13 Homeric and Roman notions of the proprieties in disposal of the armour of the slain are sharply distinct: apart from the post-Homeric dedication at *Il.*7.83 (cf. Kirk *ad loc.*, Seymour, 516f.), and *Il.*10.462ff. where Odysseus prays to Athena, and stores Dolon's arms in a tamarisk bush, for later collection (quite after the manner of *SOE* and arms dropped to partisans at awkward moments: M.R.D. Foot, *SOE* (repr. London 1999), 138) and shipboard dedication, as implied by 10.570 (where vd. Kirk; the tamarisk, *pace* Harrison on 10.423, is not, therefore, an ancestor of Virgilian tree-dedications), the victor may (and normally does) strip the armour of the vanquished and re-uses or redistributes at will (to the references at *Companion*, 205, add *Plut.Caes.*26.8 and W.R. Barnes, *PCPS* Suppl.22 (1999), 64ff.). At Rome, though, such arms belong to the gods or to the victor's *domus* and *gens* (cf. **7.183**); here, Mezentius had taken over from Turnus (cf. 10.688–9) and Aen.'s defeat of Mez. foreshadows a later combat and its outcome. The gods have granted Aen. victory, and his *tropaeum* is a statement of *pietas*, gratitude, and soldierly pride, and a

consolation and comfort, too, to both Trojans and allies. The trophy here described (cf. 10.423, 774–6 (vowed by Mez.; irregular if not positively blasphemous), **11.83f., 173**; cf. further Suet.*Cal.*45, Malavolta, *EV* 5*, *cit.*) is very far from the splendours of Hellenistic usage; Greek analogies (DS 13.24.5), the associations of the oak (**5**), the primitive offerings in the tree described at Arnob.1.39, 5.16 (cf. Mynors on *G.*2.389 *oscilla*), the *hinc spolia capta, fixa in stipitibus, appelluntur tropaea* of Varr.*Men.*61, and the neglected analogy (cf. *infra* on **7 exuuias**) of the horns, skins, etc. dedicated on trees by huntsmen (cf. *Buc.*7.30, F. Pfister, *Reliquienkult* 1 (*RVV* 5.1, Giessen 1909), 324ff., Bömer on *Ov.Met.*12.266f., J. Aymard, *Les chasses romaines* (Paris 1951), 508f., etc.) may point to antiquarian reconstruction, or to the survival of some more or less genuine details of archaic usage: either way, material markedly attractive to V. in bks. 10–11. Note too that Romulus laid the first *spolia opima ad quercum pastoribus sacram* (Liv.1.8.5; so Harrison); cf. too Marcellus' arboreal dedication of *his spolia opima* (Plut.*Marc.*8.2). Mez., though, cannot possibly be thought of as holding *imperium* and we shall face soon enough (**57–99**) the problems raised by overenthusiastic identification of overlapping rituals. See Thome (*M.*), 181ff., S. Reinach, *Rev.Arch.*1908, 43ff. = *Cultes, mythes et religions* 3 (Paris 1908), 223ff., G.C. Picard, *Les trophées romains* (BEFAR 187, Paris 1957), *EAA* 7, 996ff. (Mansuelli), *EV* 2, 449f., *ib.*, 5*, 296f. (Malavolta), F. Lammert, PW 7A1.663. 68ff., R.G. Basto, *AJP* 105 (1984), 336, K.P. Nielson, *Vergilius* 29 (1983), 27ff., *Companion*, 176f. Phallically symbolic for Gillis, 74f.

5 ingentem quercum Cf. 10.423, and the oak used by Romulus, *supra*. The *corona ciuica*, awarded for saving a fellow-citizen's life, and fixed to Augustus' own door, was a wreath of oak (*quercus*, Gell.5.6.11, but cf. also G. Maggiulli, *Conv. . . . Georgiche. Napoli 1975* (Napoli 1977), 429, Weinstock, 163ff.), yet for all V.'s two references we cannot be quite sure that the oak was, for whatever reason, integral—though peculiarly Jupiter's tree, and often enough in some way sacred (e.g. *Buc.*7.13, *G.*3.332, Liv.3.25.7f.)—to the ritual. It may be relevant to recall that Mez. had been armed on a huge scale (10.762, 768; Thome (*M.*), 84ff.).

decisis undique ramis The verb at 10.395 of a severed arm; Liv.29.18.13 of lopped ears (and nose); commonly too of (parts of) trees, Cato *Agr.*45.1, Paul.exc.Fest.p.33.21, Tac.*Germ.*10.1, *TLL* 5.1166.14 (Simbeck), *OLD* s.v., §1b. Apparently, therefore, the arms were not hung from the branches, and the lopped trunk may have

symbolised the now incapacitated warrior (cf. *truncus*, as both noun and adj., of both body and tree). **10 sinistrae** might suggest a stump of sorts was left. Lucr.'s *caesis lacer undique membris/truncus* (3.403f.) was clearly present to V..

6 constituit tumulo The verb (5.130, 6.217) suggests that the tree had also been felled (a yet more drastic symbolism) and was now in some way mounted on the mound (cf. **7.6**, 6.380, 10.493, etc. of burial mounds; see *EV* 5*, 314ff. and contrast the heroic mounting of *arma* (not weapons) on the tomb, 6.233, *Od.*12.15).

fulgentiaque . . . arma Cf. **7.526**, *Acc. trag.*319; the adj. of stars, *Enn. Ann.*27, 145, so not improbably of arms also once in *Enn.* (Norden, *Aen.*6, p. 380, n. 1). In V., formulaic: cf. 2.749, 6.217, 490, 861, 10.550, **11.188**, 12.275 and Worstbrock, 181ff.. Cf. λαμπρά, λαμπόμενα, αἴγλη, παμφανόωντα variously in Hom..

induit Sc. *quercui*; cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.1265.33, *Sil.*9.380f. *erepta uolentem/induere excelso caesi gestamina trunco*. Note **83 indutos . . . truncos hostilibus armis**.

7 Mezenti ducis Cf. Thome (*M.*), A. La Penna, *EV* 3, 512ff., *id.*, *Maia* 32 (1980), 3ff. and **7.647–54** for recent accounts of Mez.; *d.* common in V. (like *urbs*) with a noun in apposition (3.122, 10.374 . . .): so too Hom. ἄναξ. On the invaluable gen. in -i (universal in V., except for 3.702, 9.151; NW 1, 145), cf. NW 1, 134ff., Leumann, 425.

exuuias *Ea quae exuuntur* (cf. EM, WH, *Paul.exc.Fest.* p. 70.28); originally, claims Malavolta inexplicably (*EV* 2, 449), of animals' skins, not arms. In V. used of trophies of both war and hunt and in war a synonym for *spolia*, which V., unlike Lucr., does not use of animal skins.

tibi magne . . . /8 Bellipotens The name used as adj. by *Enn.* (*Ann.*198); here naturally of Mars (Bailey, 110): like *omnipotens* (**7.770**), an epic, not a cult, title (promoted to noun as at e.g. 3.75, 8.414, 10.615). Cf. 1.241 *rex magne*, 9.245 *magne pater diuum* and for the added reverence conferred on the epithet by separation from the noun, cf. 12.808f. *quia nota mihi tua, magne, uoluntas/Iuppiter*. **MR** have *magnae* and Henry, E., 106 with the encouragement of R.D. Williams, suggests we read **magna** here (i.e. Minerva; Mackail thought, after all, of Tiberinus, but the epithet tells strongly against his logic)! The apostrophe may perhaps reflect the terms of *Aen.*'s own dedication (Williams, *TI*, 183f.) cf., closely, 10.542 *tibi, rex Gradivae, tropaeum*.

tropaeum Cf. **5–13**. A monument, of course, to the enemy's τροπή, rout; first attested at Rome for 121 BC (*Flor.*1.37.6) but *Duilius*'

columna rostrata is already in the best tradition of the Greek naval *tropaion*.

8 aptat Cf. 8.721f. of dedications (see Garbugino, *EV* 1, 243), fixed, not hung (cf. **5 decisis**); Vollmer reminds us to supply *trunco arboris* with the absolute verb (*TLL* 2.324.54).

rorantis sanguine Cf. 8.645 *et sparsi rorabant sanguine uepres*, 12.512 *suspendit capita et rorantia sanguine portat*; cf. the drops of blood, 12.339f.: the verb Lucretian (2.977, 3.469), the bloody dew (or more generally ‘drops’) tragic (Aesch.*Ag.*1389f., Soph.*Ant.*1238f.) and Apollonian (1.751, Clausen *THP*, 158, n. 66). For bloody trophies, cf. Leonidas, *HE*, 2113ff. and **88 infra**.

cristas Cf. **7.185**: again trophies; here too the crest by synecdoche for the helmet.

9 telaque trunca Of a pine, 3.659, of a nose, 6.497, of a body at Cat.64.370. V. will shortly use **t.**, noun, twice of *tropaea* (**83f.**, **173**); both weapons (cf. Juv.10.133) and tree-trunks (**5**) are lopped (cf. Paschalis, 358); both ‘body’ and the threat its arms once posed have visibly (and with marked alliterative brutality; cf. 10.555) to be cancelled, as has the effect of an hostile spirit (Narducci, *EV* 5*, 306, after Picard, 30ff.; cf. too Leonidas, *HE* 2114ff.). They too should perhaps be thought of as dripping with blood.

uiri Cf. **7.296**, 4.3, Laurenti, *EV* 5*, 550f.; a good deal weightier than a mere pronominal reference back to **7** would have been. At least ἀνέρος; almost ἥρωος. For the synaloepha, cf. Norden, 454.

bis sex . . . / 10 locis Distinguish metrically superfluous periphrases (1.381, 2.126, 8.518, **11.326**) from those more commonly employed to avoid a metrically impossible numeral (*Buc.*1.43, *Aen.*1.73, 393, 5.561, 9.161, 272, **11.133**, 12.163, 899); no precise reference to the combat in 10, but an explicit bridge (and there are many such, as **7.1 tu quoque**) to the previous book nonetheless (Thome (*M.*), 182). Because the previous narrative does not specify blows to the upper body (vd. 10.882ff.), Lyne concludes (*WP*, 113, anticipated by (e.g.) Serv. (on **9**) and Highet, 208; cf. Alessio, 39f.) that Mez. has been subjected to posthumous mutilation, in violation of his plea at 10.904f., not quite convincingly (as explained at *AR* 38 (1993), 206f.; TCD concurs *quanta uis fuit istius qui duodecim plagis occidi non potuit!*). Had V. also used recognisable elements of Hector in his portrayal of Mez., just as we will see that there are traces of Achilles in *Aen.* here, then the mutilation of Hector’s body by the Achaeans (*Il.*22.367ff.) might have been cited in favour of a (suppressed and not on internal

grounds alone compulsory) mutilation here. V.'s numerals have been sorted with ingenuity (here cf. Zorzetti, *EV* 3, 786), but the specificity of individual instances normally leaves us mildly perplexed; Serv. was rather too venturesome ('an extraordinary fancy', Con.), thinking of vengeance exercised—one blow each—by the cities of the northern dodecapolis of the Etruscans (cf. Harrison on 10.202f.: only Mantua enters the *Aen.*), but is solemnly followed by (e.g.) Hight, *cit.*

thoraca *Quinquies* in *Aen.* (cf. **487**, **7.633**, with discussion) for the more common *lorica* (**692**, **7.640**): the old solid bronze Homeric breastplate.

petitum 'Aim at' or 'strike' (cf. 9.629, 10.343, 420, del Chicca, *EV* 4, 51; *OLD* s.v., §3a well cites Sisenna fr. 21HRR).

10 perfossumque 'Dug through'; the brutal prosiness (cf. Varr.*RR.* 3.17.9, Vitr.2.1.5, *quater* in Colum.) of the expression (well brought out by Lyne, *cit.*) quite unparalleled, as was to be expected. The second participle, alliterative (as often with *percussus*; so **7.503**, 4.589) and weightier, drives home the expenditure of effort required to bring Mez. down.

clipeum For the round Homeric or hoplite (i.e. non-legionary) shield, cf. **7.639**.

ex aere Cf. 5.266, 8.621; also *G.*3.26, *Aen.*4.138, 5.129 and **7.178**
antiqua e cedro for this (quite common, LHS 265) type of prepositional phrase (contrast e.g. 6.552 *solidoque adamante columnae*).

sinistrae Where it had been in Mez.'s lifetime (2.443, 671, etc., *EV* 4, 877); the substantivised adj. is so common (KS 1, 231, LHS, 154f.) that we do not consider what noun might be 'supplied', given that the shield is slung, not carried on the forearm. Cf. **619**.

11 subligat In Cato, and perhaps introduced to high poetry by V.: at 8.459, Evander girds (*subligat*) sword to side and shoulder (with a baldric, *balteus*): here we might even object that no left arm remains (**5 decisis**), but V.'s epic customarily passes over improvisation and bits of string.

ensem . . eburnum Cf. *Aen.*9.305; Serv. thinks of an (Homeric: *Od.*8.404; cf. Seymour, 666) ivory scabbard (cf. Malavolta, 126, Saunders, 167f. and Wickert, 443, citing Plin.33.152); Ballaira's ivory hilt (*EV* 2, 160) is fanciful, and, as though that mattered, both fragile and impractical, though ivory over metal (or inlaid) is another matter.

collo suspendit Baldrics (suppressed as here at 9.303) are inessential to battle-narrative (cf. 5.311ff., 12.273f., Saunders, 187, Malavolta,

126, Seymour, 666): swords presuppose them, but only when plot demands do they acquire interest or importance. The verb common (Pacuv., Lucr., Cic.*Phaen.*), of hanging offerings (*G.*2.389, *Aen.*6.859, 9.408, 12.769), or arms (*Aen.*1.318, **11.575**), or other objects (*G.*4.247, *Aen.*5.489).

12 tum *Aen.* has to decide his priorities and perform his vow before he can tell his men what he has done and what they must now do. **socios . . . / 13 . . . ouantis** ἐταίρους; cf. **7.35**. They are here a welcome reinforcement from *G.*1.346 *socii comitentur ouantes*; the vb. thus at Hor.*Serm.*2.3.146 (identified as a Virgilianism by Muecke) and 17x in *V.*: the metaphor from celebration of an *ouatio* (*semel* in *Rhet.Her.*, *ter* in Cic.), and the word peculiarly *V.*'s.

namque Neatly parenthetical to reintroduce the Trojans' motivated presence in the narrative (cf. Squillante Saccone, *EV* 3, 973).

omnis . . . stipata . . . / 13 turba ducum The noun suggests simply a crowd, devoid of any necessary implication of disorder (cf. **34, 145, 7.813**, Strati, *EV* 5*, 317; at 2.580, it shows merely that the forger had read *Aen.* with unusual care, as we knew). For Trojan *duces*, cf. **7.107, 431**. Note the *stipata cohors* (the verb *sexies* in Lucr.) of Phorcus' seven sons that saves Cydon at 10.328 (the surrounding crowd focuses attention on the individual; cf. 4.544); **omnis** peculiarly frequent in intensification of a collective noun: 2.415, **7.154**, 9.25, **11.598**, 12.59 *et saep.*

eum Cf. **7.757**: extremely rare in high poetry.

tegebat *OLD* s.v., §4c notes this singular use (and *EV* s.v. does not!): the Trojan *duces* neither hide nor protect their leader, but rather 'escort' or 'flank' him; cf. the use of *latus tegere*, to walk on a person's left, formally as a protection, and out of respect (cf. Hor.*Serm.*2.5.18, Suet.*Claud.*24, Mayor, Courtney on Juv.3.131, Bömer on Ov.*F.*5.68, W. Kroll, *Kultur der cic. Zeit* (Leipzig 1933), 185).

13 sic incipiens Cf. *G.*4.386 *sic incipit*, but otherwise not in the least formulaic;

hortatur Hardly a key word of *Aen.*'s mild, modern unHomeric style of command (*pace* Munzi, *EV* 2, 858) for only here and at 6.184 *hortatur socios* is *h.* used of *Aen.* exercising the supposed new command techniques.

14–28 Aeneas' speech

Formally, a (non-urgent) speech of command (Hight, 121; cf. Ehrhardt, *infra*, M.H. Hansen, *Class.Med.*52 (2001), 106ff.: currently, an intensely controversial topic) for the facts of military usage, historiography

aside), to an allied army, of which one contingent has just lost its leader. At the outset, Aen.'s *socii* (that includes Trojans) are *ouantes* (**13**); at the close Aen. is weeping (**29 sic ait inlacrimans**); there indeed is a precise turning point, **22 interea** (just as there was in Hom., *Il.*22.385f., when Achilles thinks of the dead Patroclus, Mackie, 180), as Aen., having explained the fulfilment of his vow (**2ff.; 13ff.**) and given orders for the next phase in the action (another clearly marked phase, **17 nunc**), is finally free to devote himself to the duty and emotions of burial, orders intertwined with consolatory themes. Even when V. falls back into the language and tone of *Aen.*6, the speech retains a singular stylistic unity (Gransden, comm., if anything understates, but **18** is problematic; see also *EV* 2, 66ff. 'businesslike and flat' when all about him are jubilant, Quinn, 234), thanks to the regularity of its exceptionally frequent dikola, of essentially synonymic rather than of contrasting notions: **spolia-primitiae, regem-murosque, arma-bellum, parate-praesumite, ignaros-segnis, animis-spe, uellere-educere, impediatur-tardet, socios-corpora, abstulit-mersit**. The regularity, even a faint, grim prolixity, of the old oak, much changed and now vocal, ever standing against the wind, while its leaves still fall. Aen. raising Lausus echoes Achilles raising the dead Hector (10.831 with Harrison); Aen. challenging Mezentius (10.876) looks to echo Ach. challenging Hector (20.429; Hight, 206), as Knauer's further link between 10.878f. and *Il.*20.431f. confirms. That creates some pre-existent context for the association (noted by Heyne) between Aen.'s brief exultation over the dead Mez. (**13-6**) with Ach.'s over Hector (*Il.*22.378-94, which does follow directly the mutilation of the corpse): cf. **14, 15, 17** for some more specific detail. Whether we are then free to continue (**9f.**) and find in V. too a hint of posthumous mutilation of Mez. we have seen was disputed in antiquity and is still a far from necessary conclusion: some readers may still be reluctant to intertwine the tragedy of Pallas' loss and Aen.'s tears so closely with the superfluous savagery of the implicit butchery proposed. See Mackie, 178ff., Hight, 121, 206, Cairns 73, C. Ehrhardt, *Hist.*44 (1995), 120f., J. Ter Vrugt-Lentz *Mors immatura* (Groningen 1960), *cit.* (**28**).

14 maxima res In Cic., something of a stock phrase in plur. (so too *res maxima*); here cf. *Fam.*13.7.1. *Liv.*6.41.8, *Cic.leg.agr.*2.41, are rather different. Not the language of military communiqués, but perhaps with Achilles on the death of Hector in mind (*Il.*22.393 ἡράμεθα μέγα κῦδος).

effecta The verb 18x in Lucr.; of no distinctive colour in prose texts and only *quater* in V.: if Aen. begins in downbeat jubilation, it is in the face of personal tragedy and a greater struggle ahead. Ellipse of copula (**7.202**) strips great deeds of trivial words. SDan. acutely notes that the impersonal expression lends modesty to Aen.'s achievement. **uiri** Cf. 2.373, 668, Laurenti, *EV* 5*, 552; so *trag.inc.34*, *Cic.carm.* Hom.1.1 (for Hom. φίλοι). Contrast prose *militēs*, *Quirites*.

timor omnis Cf. 1.202f. *timorem/mittite* (again Aen. to his men). Turnus has vanished and Mez. is dead: *quod superest*, for the future, the Trojans have solid grounds for confidence. Cf. **7.635** for **omnis** in intensification of loss (there) or absence (here).

abesto The fut. imperative *decies* in V. (**7.126**); *sunto, bis*.

15 quod superest *Ter* in *G.*, *ter* in *Aen.*: a Lucretianism (*quod superest/superest* 22x). Cf. Hor.C.2.16.25 *quod ultra est*, and *quod satis est* (3.1.25), *quod adest* (29.32), all, though, are true relative clauses, and not as here adverbial, like prose *quod reliquum est*. See KS 2, 308, Ernout-Thomas, 341.

haec sunt spolia Cf. **5–13**; note 10.774f. a *tropaeum* that is *indutum spoliis* and *infra*, **790f.**: **exuuias**, **tropaeum** and **spolia** are part-synonyms and spoils are an integral part of the *tropaeum*, an offering to Mars.

de rege superbo With ellipse (*OLD* s.v., §6a) of e.g. *raptae* or *sumptae*, as in the language of *elogia*, where *de* is used similarly (*ILS* 69); so too (Gransden) 3.288; but note V.s ample familiarity with epigraphic usage (**7.1**). V employs both *tyrannus* (8.483, 10.448 with Harrison's n., A. La Penna, *Maia* 32 (1980), 10ff.) and *rex* (8.481, 495) of Mez.; Saturn, Jupiter, Aeneas, Evander are all *reges*, but Mez.'s *imperium* had been unacceptably *superbum* (8.481f.; cf. 10.445, Traina, *EV* 4, 1074), suggestive perhaps of proud Tarquin (Thome (*M.*), 209, 251f., La Penna, *cit.*, 3f.). Possibly a thought too of Achilles' sense of achievement at *Il.22.379f.*

16 primitiae Already in Cato (fr. 12HRR), Mez. was said to have claimed the first-fruits, *primitiae* vowed by the Latins to Jupiter (cf. on **7.647–54**): hence *contemptor diuum* and hence too, it is said, an (?ironic) allusion here (La Penna, *cit.*, 9, *id.*, *EV* 3, 513, Thome (*M.*), 184f., after P.F. Burke, *Vergilius* 20 (1974), 28f.). *Primitiae* (Wissowa, 409f.) are often enough metaphorical (just so, of a first trial of war, **156**): Aen. offers Mars the fruits of his first victory of note on Italian soil. It is hardly true to say (Burke, Lyne *WP*, 160f.) that V. has

hitherto suppressed the old story of Mez. and the *primitiae*, so that its irony only now breaks upon the reader; that had long been implicit in his choice of epithet for Mez. (Horsfall, *cit.*). Only now, though, does Aen. have substantial fruits of his valour to offer (the **spolia** constitute the **primitiae**; a sort of hendiadys, all deriving from Mez.'s arms), and their price is too high: that is the real irony (if that is the word) and the reversal of Mez.'s *primitiae* does not compel assent. **manibusque meis** By the work of Aeneas' two hands, both as slayer of Mez. and as responsible (6) for the *tropaeum*. Cf. 5.811, **11.74f.**, and notably 2.192 *manibus uestris . . . ascendisset* (sc. the Trojan horse). **Mezentius** Cf. **5–13**. Not another word of the corpse, despite Mez.'s own plea; it is the 'body' now present in image, neck and all, and dedicated to Mars, that matters, to the victor Aen.: after 10.908, the corpse slips from view and we are not compelled to consider its (surely unmutilated) end.

hic est Cf. 6.791, 9.205, with different *sedes* but undiminished deictic force (Serv. compares 9.481 *hunc ego te, Euryale, aspicio*). Cf. **3** for the double monosyllable at line-end. Here cf. rather the *hoc est* of 6.466.

17 nunc As the sequence of Aen.'s actions was governed by his religious priorities (**12 tum**), so now in his speech he makes an exactly analogous step from explanation of ritual to orders for military action. Remarkably, we might think, he turns first not to Pallas and Evander but to the prosecution of the war against Latinus and Turnus (cf. Mackie, 178).

iter ad regem . . . nobis Cf. 6.542 *hac iter Elysium nobis*, 3.507 *unde iter Italiam*, Tessmer, *TLL* 7.2.544.10. Here and *en route* for Elysium the ellipse is of *faciendum est*, a good deal more striking than the frequent instances with the copula or verbs of speaking. Note also **822**, *Buc.*9.1 *quo te, Moeri, pedes?*, *Aen.*1.135, 4.131, 8.18 *talia per Latium*, Marouzeau, 216f., Roby 2, 183, KS 2, 553f.; many instances that Serv. notes are relatively unexciting zeugma, syllepsis or brachylogy. Ellipse, though, is only part of the explanation: given V.'s freedom in using constructions after nouns (e.g. *cura, amor*) as though they were verbs (**7.467**, Görler, *EV* 2, 271), to find a noun used here almost as though it were a verb of motion (*eundum est* as it might be) is rather less surprising. The effect is clearly that of the brisk language of command; Nisbet sees 'menacing understatement' (Harrison, *OR*, 387f.), but Caes. does use *iter* some 560 times.

murosque Latinos On Latinus' nameless city and its fortifications, cf. **7.151, 161, 162**. Aen. arrives before the walls and lays siege to them in the last line of the book. Perret notes, in one sense quite correctly, that the Aen. who invokes a march on Lat.'s city and the Aen. who accepts a twelve days' truce (**133**) are not easily compatible; here the Trojan commander explains to his **duces** the next major military move after Mez.'s death (like Achilles at *Il.*22.381–4), in ignorance that Tu.'s disappearance is very temporary; at **133** he adjusts (cf. **2 quamquam et**) his priorities in obedience to *pietas*.

18 arma parate Cf. **7.468 iubet arma parari**.

animis et spe M_2P_2 punctuate at **animis** (so too, evidently, TCD). Serv. realises that either V. means 'armis parate animos' (hypallage, he says; as would I, following Görler and Bell, 322, who shows that the hypallage here is not simple) or we should pause at **parate**. Mynors sensibly places a comma at **parate** (so too Heyne, Nisbet, *cit.*), and even a semi-colon might answer, while (e.g.) Ribbeck, Sabbadini, Geymonat and Williams, by not punctuating, indicate that they understand the line chiasmically. Pretty (too pretty, says Heyne!) but clearly enough wrong: the first two words are a set, simple, soldierly expression (cf., in prose, Sall. *Cat.*27.4, *Jug.*43.3, Liv.3.27.4, 4.46.5, 5.43.4, 22.57.10 etc.: the assonance perhaps also appealed). Now thrive the armourers: cf. **7.630**; *animi*, unlike whetstones, are not required for preparing cutting edges: nevertheless (e.g.) Williams and Gransden suggest 'with courage' while Serv., we saw, invokes hypallage. At **491 animis et spe** the nouns are divided, with no possible ambiguity, between two quite different verbs (in short, a false parallel) and we should compare rather the balance at 10.259 *animos aptent armis pugnaeque parent se* (where vd. Harrison), 12.788 *sublimes armis animisque refecti*, and for similarly warlike *animi*, 2.799, **11.291, 438, 641**). Aen. knew, as Caesar did, that his men had to be *animo parati*. Here, both courage and confidence (**411**, 12.35, 325, Cic. *Lael.*102 etc.; Henry is impeccable here and the 'school' distinction of *spes* and *timor* (cf. Serv. on **275**, 4.419) is a clearly superable difficulty) are required—not to sharpen swords or spears, but to face psychologically the renewal of combat (cf. **491**, Caes. *Civ.*3.86.5, J.E. Lendon, *Class.Ant.*18 (1999), 293, Harrison, *cit.* and Nettleship here, citing intelligently—e.g. Acc. *trag.*308, Liv.7.13.6—though to no good end, not least since **arma** and **animis** are on no possible reading paired). Not soon, though Aen. does not yet know that. On

the (irrelevant) 9.158, here occasionally cited, cf. (well) Hardie. Note that, however we divide **18, mora . . . impediati** corresponds to the first member and **segnis . . . tardet** to the second.

praesumite bellum The verb not previously attested; conceivably a coinage, but possibly once formed by a tragic poet after Euripidean *προλαμβάνειν*. Contrast the *puer et ualidus praesumis mollitiem* of Hor.*Serm.*2.2.87. Görler ingeniously suggests *per litt.* that V. might be varying the typically Stoic *praecipere* (so already Bowra, in Harrison, *OR*, 371; cf. Dyck on Cic.*Off.*1.81, while Cic. himself uses *praemeditatio* for the same idea at *Tusc.*3.29, 31f.).

19 ne qua mora Cf. 3.473 *fieret uento mora ne qua ferenti*, 12.565 *ne qua meis esto dictis mora*, Liv.9.13.2 *ne mora . . . pilis emittendis . . . esset*, 28.36.11, 34.9.11. Clío's *sine mora* rendered in hexameters. Pallas unburied; Aeneas determined to lose not a moment; no Homeric rush to action but in the shadow of tragedy the epic *imperator's* forward planning: *omnibus rebus ad projectionem comparatis* wrote Caesar (*Gall.*1.6.4); in the same vein cf. Caes. of Pompey, *Civ.*1.27.2.

ignaros Cf. 9.345, 766, *EV* 2, 902; the prose commander spoke rather of *incautos, inconsultos* or *imparatos*.

ubi primum Against 9x *cum primum*; 8x *ut primum* (possibly *ubi* here because of dactylic haste); cf. also cases where adj. *primus* is used for advb. (*EV* 3, 994 confused).

uellere signa Cf. *G.*4.108 *aut castris audebit uellere signa* (note too **7.628 signa . . . ferre**); here Serv. explains that *signa figebantur in castris* (so from Plb. to Veget.!) while on setting forth for action *captatis auguriis* [cf. Bömer on Ov.*F.*6.764] *auellebantur a terra*. This is quite correct and technical prose language too: Cic.*Div.*1.77 (where vd. Pease's n.), Liv.3.7.3, 50.11, 54.10, 22.3.11, 12, 13, Tac. *Ann.*1.20.1.

20 aduerint superi Cf. Enn.*Ann.*132 *adnuit sese mecum decernere ferro* (contrast 262), Cat.64.230, (here too with infin.; a typical extension of usage: cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 271), *Aen.*1.250 etc. (*decies* in V.) after Hom. *νεῦσε*; for the nod of divine approval, cf. Harrison on 10.8, Bailey, 60f., Kirk on *Il.*1.528, *EV* 3, 782, etc.. Cf. Liv. 22.3.11, 12, 13, with D.S. Levene, *Religion in Livy* (*Mnem.Suppl.*127, 1993), 40, Plut.*Crass.*23.1 (the episode noted by Serv. here). **S.**: cf. **7.312**.

pubemque All the young Trojans of fighting age: cf. **7.794**.

educere castris Plaut.*Amph.*218 *legiones educunt suas* would suggest its use in Enn.; also standard military prose: Caes.*Gall.*1.10.3, 50.1, 51.2, 2.8.5., etc.. Cf. Hey, *TLL* 5.2.118.54f..

21 impediāt So e.g. *Caes. Gall. 1.12.3 impeditos et inopinantis*, 2.9.2 *ut impeditos adgrederentur, parati in armis erant*: Aen. has an impeccably Caesarian sense of the dangers inherent in unpreparedness/delay (cf. Lendon (18), 287, and note too *Cic. Phil. 3.2*).

segnisue metu sententia S. Ennian (*Ann. 246, 278*) and 19x in *Aen.* (cf. *EV 4, 778f.*); the adj. 22x in V. and hitherto prose/tragic (*trag. 69*, the abstract *bis*); the inactivity of fear is a markedly Virgilian conception (Horsfall Scotti, *EV 4, 756*); cf. 4.390 *metu cunctantem*, 9.787, 10.592, 12.615 (*infirmitas animi* remarks Serv.), 12.916. That renders less likely the notion (so e.g. Paratore) of *metu* ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with adj. and verb: the underlying thought is that the blood was thought to be chilled/congealed by fear, as by age (*G. 3.97, Aen. 5.394f., 8.508, Onians, 46f.* and for age cf. Courtney on *Juv. 6.325, 10.217*). Trojans are real heroes, subject to common fear (1.514, 562, 6.807, etc., 383), just as they were in Hom. (Griffin, 93). Note **-ue MR, -que M₂ωγ**; it is hardly possible to offer a reasoned case against the unexceptionable disjunctive. It seems generally to be assumed that **segnis** is nom., but with acc. **segnis metu** (acc. and abl. still linked—cf. 9.341, 12.718—, as we have seen that both the words and the ideas must be) now unimpeachably balances **ignaros** just as **sententia** (which does not demand an adj.: cf. 12.238 *talibus incensa est iuuenum sententia dictis*) does **mora**. The remarkably regular stylistic equilibria in this speech at large (vd. 14–28) do slightly support, it would seem, acc.; otherwise, reason seems powerless and instinct rather favours the acc. plur.; the point seized (as rarely) by Forbiger and (as often) by Pascoli.

tardet The adj. in Enn., the verb common in (e.g.) *Caes.*, but not distinctively prosy/military: note Acc.'s experiments with abstracts from the adj., and Pacuvius' Kenning *tardigrada*; also in *Cic. cons* and Varius *de morte*. Adj. and verb mutually reinforced (and this applies whatever the case of *segnis*): cf. *G. 2.482, Aen. 9.610f.* and 2.373f. *sera moratur segnities*.

22 interea Here clearly (contrast 1) 'for now' (cf. 7.572).

socios inhumataque corpora For the *socii*, see 12; theirs has been the principal sacrifice to offset the death of Mez.. The unburied bodies (the adj. at *Pacuv. trag. 103, Lucr. 6.1215, sexies* in *Aen.*, including 372; cf. Pascucci, *EV 3, 699f., 7.11*) are both Trojan and allied, but it is to an ally's body that Aen. will be most concerned to offer the honours of burial (by a sort of priamel of grief); hence the specific force of the hendiadys (as it used to be called; vd. e.g. Page here):

better 'splitting up of an idea into its component parts' or *exaggeratio* (accumulation of near-synonyms). See **7.15, 751**. V.'s language (cf. **2**) is inexplicit: again Saunders (*cit.*) well notes that the ashes of cremated bodies are interred and that neither part of V.'s composite expression here refers decisively to either cremation or inhumation, now that we have learned that *humare* itself is ambiguous.

terrae/23 mandemus 'Commit his body to the deep/ground' in the Anglican rite; so 9.214, and already (?) the Scipionic *ILS* 11.5 = *CLE* 9.5, *Cic.carm.Hom.7.3* (no comparable idiom in the original); *TLL* 8.261.71 (Bulhart).

solus honos Not quite the formulation of the oft-cited Homeric τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων (*Il.*16.457, etc.); in V., burial-honours are the *only* mark of respect (in itself, of course, γέρας) that counts for anything to the dead (cf. **7.3**, E. Henry, 135); *honos* so at **52, 61, 76**, 5.58, etc., 6.333, *EV* 2, 854 (Fo). For the consolatory funeral, cf. 10.493 *quisquis honos tumuli, quidquid solamen humandi* (where vd. Harrison), *Prop.* 4.11.72, *Cons. Liv.* 455ff., Lattimore 224ff. (on public burial; for Athens, vd. N. Loraux, *The invention of Athens* (Eng.tr., Cambridge, Mass. 1986), 17ff.). Williams *TI*, 161f., 210 wrests these lines from that context of the conventions of consolation-literature in which it will soon become even clearer that they are to be read.

Acheronte sub imo Cf. **7.91, 312**.

est On the aphaeresis, cf. **7.311**. **Est** is in **M**, omitted by **PR**.

24 ite Cf., with following imperatives, **119**, 4.593f., *EV* 2, 322; at **7.425f. i nunc** there is formidable εἰρώνεια; that, here and in the other passages cited, is quite lacking. The asyndetic imperative thus used (cf. *Hor.Ep.*1.7.71 *nunc i, rem strenuus auge*, *TLL* 5.2.632.1, Rubenbauer), is also a Greek idiom (*Il.*3.432): cf. ἄγε, *age*, firmly in the realm of spoken idiom (Goodwin, *Moods and tenses*, 87, Hofmann-Ricottilli, 148ff.), but here as at 4.593f. perhaps also suitable stylistic characterisation of a speech of command (though note too the imperatorial *ite et* at **119**).

ait *Vitiose in media oratione 'ait' positum critici* [cf. **188**; they are cited *undecies* by Serv.; cf. Thomas, 247ff., H. Georgii, *Die ant. Aneiskritik* (Stuttgart 1891), 22ff. for Serv.'s anonymous forerunners] *notant* SDan.. Cf. **41-2** (*iteratio* Serv.), 3.480 (*iteratio* Serv.), 5.551, G. Highet, *HSCP* 78 (1974), 213. 'Emphasis' cannot be invoked here, except in the sense that only now, and here, does Aen. at last turn, with solemnity, to the tragedies of war at his feet, so in a sense the speech begins anew and Peerlkamp really did not need to emend (*agite*).

egregias animas Apparently (Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.288.27) peculiar to this passage and without epigraphic survival; the souls of the dead (cf. Isnardi Parente, *EV* 1, 172) become *egregiae* (good old poetic language; cf. **7.258**; no clear Homeric equivalent in ὑπερ-) on account of their services to country. We are very close to the thought of 6.660 (cf. **7.182**), though the tone here is not distinctively ‘Orphic’. **quae qui** Macr.4.4.9, because his quotation omits the (fem.) antecedent (so Wagner).

sanguine . . ./25 . . . suo The hyperbaton encloses (in sense, of course, too) both **patriam** and **nobis**; cf. **422**, though one would expect the effect to be commoner: **suo** and **nobis**, though not characteristically juxtaposed (cf. **7.221**, **427**), both stand prominently, at line-end, and at clause-end. Death *pro patria*—in literary and epigraphic texts alike—is commemorated less in the *res publica* than in the Greek *polis*: cf. (consolatory) *Cons. Liv.* 236 *et dux pro patria* and see too **7.182**, *Companion*, 208, n. 113, *TLL* 10.1.5.769.11ff. (Tessmer), J. Gonzalez, *ζPE* 55 (1984), 59, Lattimore, 237ff., Tosi, n° 1233, O. Longo, *SIFC* 49 (1977), 5ff., Loraux (**23**), 42ff.

nobis/25 . . . peperere Cf. *Mon.Anc.* 13 *parta victoriis pax*, *Liv.* 1.26.11 *manus, quae . . . imperium populo Romano pepererunt*, *Sall.Hist.* 1.55.3 *ea quae maiores uirtute peperere*, *TLL* 10.1.3.400.40 (Kruse).

25 hanc patriam The soil of the Trojans’ new homeland (**7.122**), on which too many of its conquerors, Trojans and allies, are lying dead, right there (**hanc**); the conquest is not yet definitive (cf. Henry E., 125), little though that matters here and now (cf. C. Babcock in *Two worlds of the poet* ed. R.M. Wilhelm, H. Jones (Detroit 1992), 48). To speak of prolepsis (Con.; ‘this to be our country’, he renders) is ungenerous; for that it already most definitely is in the eyes of both Trojans and readers. Cf. **7.182**.

decorate Cf. *Enn.Var.* 17 *nemo me lacrimis decoret*, 6.217 *decorantque super fulgentibus armis*, *TLL* 5.1.211.59f. (Leissner); like **peperere**, and **supremis**, gratefully re-used by epitaph-writers (e.g. CLE 1164.10; vd. Hoogma, 329).

supremis/26 muneribus Cf. *Cat.* 101.3, *Ov.Pont.* 1.7.29 *lacrimas, supremum in funere munus*, *Tac.Ann.* 3.2.1 *suprema erga memoriam filii sui munera*, *TLL* 8.1666.81f. (Lumpe).

maestamque Euandri . . . ad urbem Cf. **147 maestam incendunt clamoribus urbem**, **35**, **38**, **52**, **76**, **92**. The adj. sets the tone of the whole scene, occurring *octies* (well, Fo, *EV* 3, 308; cf. Rieks, 112f.); here to be understood of both king and city. E. does

not know his son is dead: not so much prolepsis as a reminder of the aura of doom which hung over Pallas' departure and Ev.'s reactions (8.572ff., G.E. Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and suspense* (Princeton 1933), 58f., etc.).

primus V. at last turns from the generalised *socii* to the true focus, from the very first, of this narrative.

27 mittatur Pallas The Palatine is only twenty miles away, near enough, from the imagined site of the battlefield; Pallas will not be buried where he fell. If we read V. here with the long, minutely recorded funeral processions of Drusus and Germanicus in mind, so much the better (points of contact will be noted *infra*): those processions are close heirs of Marcellus' and that, here, must be in the forefront of V.'s thoughts (vd. **29–99**).

non uirtutis egentem The Homeric οὐδέ τί φημι/ἀλκῆς δευήσεσθαι, litotes and all (*Il.*13.785f.). Ennian too (*Ann.*605, echoed at *Rhet.Her.* 4.28) [*?quem*] *non uirtutis egentem*: Cf. 5.751 *nil magnae laudis egentis*, 8.299 *non te rationis egentem*, **11.343 nostrae nec uocis egentem** (cf. Wigodsky, 54); the partic. of *careo* is inevitably not used quite comparably, for the initial consonant precludes a formulation equally neat and weighty at line-end. Courage, the quality of the *uir*, however (paradoxically) under-age, is consolatory too (and here concessive): cf. *Cons. Liv* 14ff., *Sen.Cons.Marc.*12.3, Lattimore, 242. On *uirtus*, see now G. Thome, *Zentrale Wertvorstellungen der Römer* 1 (Bamberg 2000), 75ff.

28 abstulit The line repeated from 6.429 (and cf. 6.272 *et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem*); Sparrow (153) scents that **27** was an hemistich filled out from 8.299, onto which 6.429 was successively cobbled. Perhaps (Moskalew, 100 is equally unpersuaded): 6.429 is used of the death of the ἄωροι (there Serv. writes of the adj. *translatio a pomis*) and that V. should have ascribed (quite wittingly) to Pallas' death something of that pathos attaching to an infant's is profoundly appropriate (cf. Highet, 206, Scarcia, *EV* 2, 397): the really exceptional bulk of epigraphic echoes (Hoogma, 285ff.) suggests that V. sagely and appropriately re-used a line which (as well he knew) touched a specially deep chord in his readers' sentiments cf. Ter Vrugt-Lentz, 67ff., Edgeworth, 84, Bonfanti, 255.

atra dies So too Prop.2.11.3f.; the fem. metrically indispensable (so e.g. *orta, nulla, longa dies*, cf. Austin on 6. *cit.*, after Fraenkel, *Kl.B.*1, 27ff.; *deest* in *EV*). Day takes on the ill-omened blackness of (Hell or) night (so the *nox atra* of 6.866 which hangs over another *mors imatura*, Marcellus'—note Worstbrock, 184, Nisbet in Harrison, *OR*, 387; also

1.89, 2.360, 4.570, 5.721); the *dies ater* of the Roman calendar (cf. Page here, Bonfanti, 255f., André, 51, F. Bömer, ed. *Ov.Fasti, Einl.*, 38) clearly belongs within the same nexus of associations (as does—Bonfanti, *cit.*—Hom. θάνατος μέλας) but is less directly relevant here. **funere . . . acerbo** Plautine (*Amph.*190, *Asin.*595) and Ciceronian (*Quinct.*50, *Dom.*42, *Rep.*2.68); the epic-military context in *Amph.* is surely significant, even if the phrase is not provably Ennian.

mersit Cf.6.512, 615 (and e.g. *Lucr.*3.829). The image is of plunging the victim into the depths (literally, of Hades? of Acheron? Cf. 6.174).

29–99 Honours to Pallas' corpse. It has long been realised (cf. e.g. La Cerda on **83**) that there are analogies between the ritual described here and a Roman triumph; these analogies have been pondered closely for a century (Versnel (1970), 115ff.) and it has become increasingly clear, after some informative false starts (Brelich) that the amply studied analogies point to (i) fixed elements of ritual and (in some cases Alexandrian) processional usage and (ii) a tendency in both funeral and triumphal processions to adumbrate ever less obliquely the heroisation of the central figure (see Weinstock and Versnel, *bis*, leading to Richard). The relevant detail has been neglected by Virgilians (Delvigo partly excepted) since La Cerda and is summarised *infra*. Homer's heroes were generally cremated, like Virgil's Trojans (Saunders, 127, Pritchett); Latin and Etruscan usage appears mixed in *Aen.* (as it was historically). Curiously, just what will happen to Pallas' body is not disclosed. See Morris, 42ff., Saunders, 121ff., B. Köting, *RAC* 12, 377ff., *EV* 1, 923f.. V. limits himself to two extended funeral scenes—Misenus' and Pallas': contrast Hom. (start e.g. from Richardson on *Il.*24.777–804). The opening of bk. 11 must be the slowest-moving passage of the whole poem: in the procession's departure, there are two speeches by Aen. (**42–58; 96–8**) and the rest is grieving description of the cortège, undeniably but deliberately repetitive (use of **gem-words**, **infelix**, **maestus**) in language (vd. Bonfanti) and inevitably suspected, on not completely convincing grounds, of not being V.'s final text (**61, 86, 88**). There is in fact alternation of pace and intensity, between Aen.'s long lament and the slow marshalling of the procession, followed in turn by the intense pathos of our view of Pallas' corpse; Aethon and Acoetes reinforce Aeneas' reactions and his last farewell is homage at once to Homer, Andromache, Catullus and Pallas. The end of bk. 12 makes little sense if the open-

ing of 11 is not considered with equal care. Cf. Alessio, 42ff., Bonfanti, 256f., Rieks, 112ff., Flower, 97ff., Weinstock, 346ff., M. Andronikos *Totenkult in Archaeologia Homerica IIIW* (Göttingen 1968), Pritchett (133–8), 100ff., J. Arce, *Funus imperatorum* (Madrid 1988), A. Brelich, *SMSR* 14 (1938), 189ff., J. Bodel in *Art of the ancient spectacle* ed. B. Bergmann and C. Kontoleon (Washington 1999), 259ff., E. Cuq, *DS* 2.2.1386ff., M.L. Delvigo, *MD* 42 (1999), 199ff., K. Hopkins, *Death and renewal* (Cambridge 1983), 217ff., I. Morris, *Death-ritual and social structure* (Cambridge 1992), O. Nussbaum, *RAC* 9, 930ff., J.-C. Richard, *ANRW* 2.16.2 (1978), 1121ff. (a *summa* of his earlier work), B. Riposati, ed. Varr. *de vit.*, pp. 218ff., H. Versnel *Triumphus* (Leiden 1970), 115ff. and in *Perennitas. Studi . . . Brelich* (Roma 1980), 541ff., G. Wesch-Klein, *Funus publicum, HABES* 14 (Stuttgart 1993). Note the useful comm. on *Cons.Liv.* by A. Witlox (diss. Groningen, 1934). J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and burial in the Roman world* (repr. Baltimore 1996) is insufficiently detailed to justify further citation here.

29 sic ait inlacrimans ὡς φάτο δάκρυ χέων, *Il.*1.357 etc.; so too at 9.303 (formulaic in the Homeric manner, Moskalew, 63ff., Sparrow, 79ff.) and note also Priam, *Il.*22.429 ὡς ἔφατο κλαίων, 6.1 *sic fatur lacrimans*. Here, at the mournful close of his speech (cf. Ricottilli, 156), Aen., ‘strong and silent’ though he is, weeps (in mitigation of his silence, even), like any epic hero, or noble Roman: on 4.449, cf. *Companion*, 125, n. 20; vd. also S. Farron, *Vergil’s Aeneid; a poem of grief and love* (*Mnem.Suppl.*122 (1993), 65, Mackie, index s.v. Aeneas; tears of, Heinze, 487, Griffin, 67ff., Heuzé, 527, Rieks, 113, R. MacMullen, *CPh.*75 (1980), 254f. The compound verb at *G.*1.480, *Cic.cam.Soph.*1.23 and note *Cic.Cato* 27 *illacrimansque dixisse*; the case for normalising to **ill-** against the general usage of the capital mss. (Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 431) is not strong (cf. **7.79, 181**). For the (irresoluble) issue at large, cf. Leumann, 195.

recipitque . . . gressum The noun an elevated Accian (trag. 24, 568; *bis* also in Lucr.); equivalent to *gradus*; used in similar compound phrases with *derige*, *comprime*, *tendit* (Ricci, *EV* 2, 788). Compare use of e.g. *occasus*, *digressus*, *monitus* and for V.’s use of *deuerbatiua*, cf. Ferraro, *EV* 1, 379. The verb in Enn., Lucr., Cat..

ad limina . . . / 30 . . . ubi Cf. (not very closely) Ach., with Patroclus’ body lying in his tent, feet towards the opening (*Il.*18.231ff., 19.211f., Seymour, 474), as at Rome (Suet.*Aug.*100.2, Pers.3.105, Sen.*Ep.*12.3, Plin.*Nat.*7.46, Marquardt, 347, Flower, 93f.).

30 corpus . . . positum The verb *simplex* (cf. **7.351**, *Lucr.*3.871, *Aen.*2.644 and Pecere's fine note (Padova 1975) on *Petr.*111.2 *positum . . . corpus*) for prose/technical *compositum* (Marquardt, *cit.*, *Cat.*68.98, *Hor.Serm.*1.9.28: not so used by V., *EV* 4, 200).

exanimi . . . Pallantis Body, participle, name and adj. interwoven, $A_1B_2A_2B_1$, with, naturally, the name in highest relief. The adj. *quinquies* in *Lucr.*, 15x in V.; for the form, cf. **51**: here **M** offers **exanime** and **R exanimis**.

Acoetes Paschalis toys merrily with etymological associations of the name with 'laid out for burial' or even with 'bedfellow' (371), and neither *EV* nor O'Hara offer comment. Oddly, for the next word pushes us, surely, towards thoughts of α -privative + $\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu$, to rest or sleep (so, eventually, Paschalis): this otherwise unattested figure *watches unsleeping* over his prince, as at *Il.*18.354 (Ach. over Patr.; cf. 315), *Petr.*111.2 *corpus custodire ac flere totis noctibus diebusque* or *Apul.Met.*2.22 (*perpetem noctem eximie uigilandum est*; cf. *ib.*8.7). For the scene at Rome, cf. Flower pl. 5 (tomb of the Haterii), with p. 94; we do not know (*ib.*, 93) just when or for how long the *collocatio* took place. The name A. is itself rare and of unhelpful associations (*Hyg.Fab.*134).

31 seruabat Cf. **200f. semustaque seruant/busta**, *Apul.Met.*2.21 *siqui mortuum seruare uellet*. There does not appear to be a standard technical term; the *uigilarium* of *ILS* 7922, 8117 is part of a tomb.

senior The old servant watching over his dead, young master, anticipating the old father's grief (cf. Scarcia, *EV* 2, 397); so Phoenix, \acute{o} $\gamma\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$ laments the dead Achilles, *QS* 3.460ff., a reaction also of humbler attendants both epic and tragic (cf. Seymour, 261 with n. 3). Had *Aen.* in some way shared in the vigil (Con.)? Or was he anxious not to be defiled by the presence of a corpse, before he had fulfilled his vow (Ladewig)? Mercifully, the poet is less troubled by such trivia than some of his editors.

Parrhasio Euandro Exactly the metrical effects of 9.647, *infra*; cf. Norden, 438, Winbolt, 128ff., Clausen on *Buc.*7.53, Austin on 1.617, **7.631**. Parrhasia (cf. 8.344) a town (*Il.*2.608) and district (*Strab.*8.8.1) in W. Arcadia near the Messenian frontier: not at all Ev.'s 'real' homeland, near the Achaean frontier (8.165), but synecdochic for 'Arcadian'; compare (pedantically different, for he was lord, not native of D.) Ulysses, the Dulichian (Clausen on *Buc.*6.76), Lunelli-Kroll, 45.

32 armiger Cf. (after adj. at *Acc.trag.*547) 2.477, 9.647ff. *antiquum in Buten. hic Dardanio Anchisae/armiger ante fuit fidusque ad limina custos;/*

tum comitem Ascanio pater addidit: Evander and Anchises are explicitly parallel figures (8.155ff.; cf. Otis, 334f., etc.); so now likewise Butes and Acoetes: *comites*, not *armigeri*, note; ‘tutors’ perhaps, in some sense (cf. 9.173), too old for the tasks of a nimble Homeric θεράπων (Seymour, 675; note **11.655, 710**), and in role perhaps closer to Phoenix, though far humbler than Aen., *magister* to Pallas, as Evander had intended him to be (8.515). Naturally, we may close the circle (cf. Moskalew, 182) and see in the dead Pallas the hint of a threat to Ascanius’ life. The question of whether Butes was written up before Acoetes (cf. Dingel *ad loc.*) is complicated by Misenus, follower of Hector, then of Aen., *non inferiora secutus* (6.170; Epytides, 5.546, looks a temporary appointment while at 10.779 Antores passes from Hercules to the gentler service of Evander). Followers, rather like objects of special moment (5.412ff., 9.360f., etc., Henry E., 31ff.), have their individual histories and Acoetes is introduced with the pathos the context requires while the lines on Butes could in theory be a terse, soldierly simplification of an earlier, ampler, more emotive version! Of course the passages are intimately related: just how is less clear, and both belong to a wider group of motifs (cf. the *custos* and *alumnus* of Hor.*AP* 239, and *GR* 34 (1987), 48ff., Harrison, xxxii, G. Strasburger, *Die kleinen Kämpfer des Ilias* (diss. Frankfurt 1954), 130ff., for some outline of these biographical vignettes in V.).

ante fuit Only here and at 9.648.

sed non Cf. **7.756** (and contrast **7.736 sed non et**), with discussion of the pathetic motif and the Homeric original (*Il.*2.859).

felicibus aequae/33 . . . auspiciis Cf. Liv.3.60.2 *infelicibus auspiciis*, VM 5.4.pr. *felicibus auspiciis*; though *felicitas* was rooted in a right relationship with the gods, and Jupiter manifested his approval of Rome through the auspices (cf. E. Wistrand, *Felicitas imperatoria* (Gothenburg 1987), 11ff.), the phrase here used is apparently invented *ad hoc* by V.. Striking interlaced hyperbata: **f.a., comes . . . datus, caro . . . alumno.**

tum comes Cf. **32 armiger**: from *cum+eo*, and as *EV* 1, 853 remarks, of imprecise and undefinable rank, though senior, in appearance, to *socius* (*is qui sequitur*): note e.g. Misenus *comes* of Hector (6.166), Nisus, *c.* of Aeneas (9.177), Melampus, *c.* of Hercules (10.321), but we have just seen (**32**) that the word can serve equally as precise equivalent to θεράπων. ‘The world of Aeneas’ is markedly more impalpable than Odysseus’ (some explanation at *EV* 1, 151ff.; cf. too the papers by Nisbet and Sandbach in Harrison, *OR*).

caro . . . alumno Cf. **31 senior** for the literary antecedents of such relationships of affection and **32 armiger** for the peculiarly intense emotionality of these lines. So of Dido towards her nurse (4.634; Odyssean (φιλη τροφός, 2.361, etc.), as Pinotti, *EV* 1, 683, remarks). **A.** was taken by Serv. and by Nonius (243.8) in the active sense of *dominus*, minutely studied by G. Polara, *Ann.Fac.Lett.Nap.* 11 (1964–8), 69ff.; the earliest genuine instance of *a.* in an active sense (common enough by Nonius' day) is apparently *Ciris* 441 (where vd. Lyne). Etymologically linked to *alere*, but used 'atrophically' in e.g. Cic., and cf. *Aen.* 6.877 for a transferred but very clearly passive sense.

datus 'Assigned', 'appointed', perhaps; cf. 8.518f. *robora pubis/lecta dabo*. No obstacle to the growth of affection.

ibat In this military sense ('was on active service'), already Ennian (*Ann.* 502); cf. **7.624**; Serv.'s *pro 'erat'* (Marouzeau, 146f.) is rather simplistic.

34 circum Cf. **379**. *Aen.* arrives in tears and late; his duties to gods and army fulfilled, he is at last free to face directly—and in the midst of a mourning crowd (cf. 2.767, 10.837, 12.606)—the human side of his tasks as the dead Pallas' former *magister*. Far better integrated into the passage than the *circum* of 3.65 (so Cova, rightly); vd. *infra*.

omnis . . . manus . . . turba For the intensificatory adj., cf. **12f**. Cf. Prop. 2.29.2 *seruorum . . . manus*, Ov. *F.* 6.558 *serua manus*. At 6.753 *conuentus trahit in medios turbamque sonantem* a similar technique of breaking up a crowd into synonymic elements (see **13 turba**), to augment its diffuse and noisy complexity.

famulum . . . Troiana A gen. plur. (Ennian, *Ann.* 148, cf. 313 and see *EV* 2, 464) and an adj. in discreetly elegant balance (note 9.179f. *quo pulchrior alter/non fuit Aeneadum Troiana nec induit arma*), the latter loftier (**7.1**, Harrison on 10.156f.; Marouzeau, 221 notes the more flamboyantly mannered Tac. *Dial.* 29.4 *histrionalis fauor et gladiatorum equorumque studia*, where vd. Gudeman); it is not clear quite who the Trojans are—men, in contrast to **35** and perhaps not the **turba ducum** of **13**; it is, at that, quite possible that the two members refer to but a single group, by 'hendiadys' (**22**). Such crowds were typical of the formal *collocatio* at Rome, Flower, 94.

35 maestum . . . crinem So after the reburial of Polydorus *Aen.* tells of the *circum Iliades crinem de more solutae* (3.65); there Cova is convinced of a conscious cross-reference (cf. Glei, 143, n. 123), while Moskalew hunts for analogies between Pallas and Polydorus, uncon-

vincingly (118). Sparrow (68), on the other hand, remembers that the *matres* had been left in Sicily (5.715, etc.) and V., he concludes with unwelcome assurance, would have explained their presence here, or later excised the stop-gap. Serv. tries to side-step the 'problem': *ancillulas intellegimus*, while Babcock (25), 45ff. recalls that there are a couple of other exceptions (cf. 7.1, J.W. Zarker, *Vergilius* 24 (1978), 18). Significant or incidental? Rather, a question misconceived, for we should also consider the *crinibus Iliades passis* represented in Juno's temple at 1.480 and possibly too the Cassandra of 2.404: the Trojan women are essential 'extras' in ritual scenes, and not only of mourning, as here, and in the cases of Polydorus and Euryalus' mother (9.217, 473ff.). V., we may suspect, repented his decision to eliminate the Trojan *matres* (not all perforce actual mothers; the term is looser; see e.g. 7.441) and allowed a few to return discreetly to the action, improving here on his line in bk. 3. **M.** is not simply enalage for *maestae*: the Trojan women have loosed their hair (for some other contexts, cf. 7.394, Bömer on *Ov.F.3.257*)—that hair which is a token or symbol of life itself (Onians, 98f., 231ff., etc.)—as a (post-Homeric) sign of mourning (3.65, 12.870, *Cat.64.350*, *Tib.1.1.67f.*, *Liv.1.13.1*, *Plut. QR 14.1*, Bömer on *Ov.F.3.560*, Pecere on *Petr.111.2 passis . . . crinibus*, J. Heckenbach, *de nuditate sacra* (*RVV* 9.3, Giessen 1911), 74f., Nussbaum, 938, Marquardt, 356).

Iliades A Virgilianism, used thus, as I should have noted at 7.248: *sexies* in *Aen.* and see Austin on 2.580. V. is partial to such persuasive pseudo-Hellenisms, of various kinds: cf. 7.631.

solutae Cf. 7.403 **soluite crinalis uittas**, *Ov.F.4.854 soluta comas*. Cf. 7.74 for the retained acc.. *EV* 4, 936 is peculiarly superficial and unhelpful.

36 ut uero Almost a variant on the common **tum uero** (7.376, 519); likewise minimally adversative, but **ut** of course subordinates.

Aeneas *Aen.* had given orders that Pallas was to be laid in his own tent: a mark of grief and respect. That Pallas was also the object of Aeneas' love is a recent hypothesis that has attracted rather more attention than it merited (Putnam, 27ff., C. Lloyd, *Vergilius* 45 (1999), 16f.), not least because, though the real Roman army may have emulated the Sacred Band's worst excesses (cf. Dover, *Gk. Homosexuality*, 192; both sides did, to some degree, in *Aen.*: cf. Hardie, ed. *Aen.9*, 32ff.), the ideal (at higher levels of command), which one can hardly imagine V.'s *Aeneas imperator* not following, with chaste scruple, was one of prim disapprobation (and exemplary punishment of

the older man): cf. J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Romans and aliens* (London 1979), 226, E. Eyben, *Restless youth* (London 1993), 243, R. MacMullen, *Changes in the Roman Empire* (Princeton 1990), 181, R.G.M. Nisbet in Harrison, *OR*, 378ff., C.A. Williams, *Roman homosexuality* (Oxford 1999), 101f.

foribus . . . altis So weeping filled *primas fores et ipsam regiam* (TCD); at least Aen.'s *praetorium* (Carcopino, 366, della Corte, 145; see **38 regia**), in keeping with a certain magniloquence in describing the epic's physical surroundings (**7.170f.**, **512**) and a calculated effort to assign a degree of splendour to the Trojans' first settlement (**7.157**). **sese intulit** 12x in V.: a neutral synonym for *inīit* (*EV* 2, 497); cf. Cat.68.71, Liv.1.21.3, *TLL* 7.1.1378.68 (Hofmann).

37 ingentem gemitum The adj. common of sound (**7.65**) and of *gemitus* at 1.485 and 3.555 (cf. Clausen, *THP* 130f., n. 7); I repeat that Henry's discussion of *ingens* at 3, pp. 39–45 'remains unchallenged'. The noun common in trag., Lucr. and in V. as obj. of *dat*; in scenes of collective mourning, cf. 2.486, 4.667, 10.843. V. will return to *gem-* at **95**, **150**: as in the case of **maestus** (**26**, **35**, **38**, **147**) V. finds there are limits to synonyms and variation.

tunsis . . . / 38 pectoribus 86, *Il.*18.30f. (etc.), 1.481 *tunsaē pectora palmis* (participle in a 'middle' sense), 4.673 (with Pease's ample note), 12.871, *EV* 5*, 316 (Carratello). A gesture more commonly female (Gatti, *TLL* 10.1.6.912.26). For the range of mourning gestures more generally, cf. Sittl, 273ff., G. Neumann, *Gesten u. Gebärden* (Berlin 1965), 145ff. and in a different key, J.N. Bremmer in (ed.) JNB and H. Roodenburg *A cultural history of gesture* (Cambridge 1991), 26.

ad sidera tollunt Cf. 1.103 *fluctusque ad sidera tollit*, 1.287 *famam qui terminet astris*, 3.619f., etc. (22x. in V.; *septies ad astra*); see Hardie, *CI*, 291, 301, **7.272** for the stellar element (Homeric and Theocritean, too) in these conventional polar hyperboles.

38 maestoque . . . luctu Cf. **37** for this thematic repetition (*luctus* again at **62**, **139**; cf. *EV* 3, 279); we might prefer (and V. might have welcomed) a greater abundance of synonyms, but the poet might also have sought to sound yet again the same note (**m** taken up in **immugit**; note too the dully repeated **u** in **37** and **38**).

immugit Onomatopoeic, but not low bovine oxymoron, any more than *μυκᾶσθαι*—in the common transferred sense—perforce incited amusement. The compound perhaps first in V. (also 3.674); the *simplex* of a female flautist at *Enn.inc.7* of which Varro remarks (*LL* 7.103) *multa ab animalium uocibus tralata in homines*.

regia Cf. **36** for V.'s promotion of Aen.'s *praetorium*; the Trojans' camp, newness apart, is the equal of Latinus' city.

39 ipse . . ./40 ut uidit Servants and/or *turba*, and women have shown by their collective reaction on Aen.'s entry that he is the key to the scene. We now follow his eye from Pallas' head, to his face, to the death-wound, rather as his eye, rolling not in search but in thought, will stray down to Pallas' baldric on Turnus' *umeri* at 12.941. The sequence here strongly reminiscent of 2.518f. *ipsum autem . . . Priamum . . ./ut uidit*.

caput . . . fultum . . . et ora The head raised, exactly as in the scene of *collocatio* on the relief from the Tomb of the Haterii (**30**), or on that from Amiternum (Flower, pl. 6). Cf. the **effultus** of **7.94**, Sall.*Hist.*3.96.B15, Ov.*Ibis* 235, *TLL* 6.1.1504.3 (Rubenbauer). If the two nouns have a precise effect, beyond the creation of a 'visual tricolon', it may lie in leading the eye from the general to the beautiful to the fatal. Cf. Aeneas looking at Pallas, dying on the battlefield, 10.821 *uultum uidit morientis et ora*.

niuei Pallantis *Mortui corpus noua arte laudauit; augent enim dolorem quae possunt in defuncto laudari. Tantaе, inquit, Pallas pulchritudinis erat ut eum nec mors ipsa deformare ualuerit* comments TCD, with atypical delicacy. The adj. is in mild hypallage, for it is above all the **ora**—and by association the *pectus*—that are 'snowy'. The adj. does not exclude the pallor of death, but hints quite strongly at an ephebic pallor. 'Sunburn was a sign of manliness' (NH on Hor.C.1.8.4; cf. André 39f., 325, Edgeworth, 143, *EV* 3, 745, Putnam, 37): cf. Bion 1.27 (Adonis), 2.19 (Achilles in hiding), Prop.2.13.53 (Adonis), Mart.7.50.3, 12.49.12, etc..

40 leui . . . in pectore A second adj. reinforces the tonal effect of **niuei**: cf. Amata (**7.349**) and Camilla (**7.815**); in the male, though, (pre-)pubescent (*pulchro, puerili, nondum saetoso* Serv.), superhumanly perfect, or effete: cf. Hor.C.4.6.28 (Apollo), Pers.1.82, Juv.3.111, *OLD* s.v., §2. Noted by Quint.6.2.32 (along with 9.474, **11.89f.**) as classic instances of ἐνάργεια (cf. Ricottilli, 46f.).

patens . . . uulnus Apparently an expression invented for the occasion: cf. *EV* 3, 1013, *TLL* 10.1.5.659.74 (Kruse). V. has not forgotten the moment of wounding, 10.483–6 (cf. Wickert 449, with n. 119 for V.'s chest wounds and see too Seymour, 618f.; Putnam (38f.) here senses Dido's wound of love, 4.67!).

41 cuspidis Ausoniae Cf. Prop.1.1.13 *Hylaei percussus uulnere(?) rami*, 'w. gen. indicating cause or source', *OLD* s.v., §1b (well said; contrast *EV* 5*, 610f.): the *genitiuus auctoris* (KS 1, 414). There is bitterness or

paradox in the adj.: Pallas is himself half-Arcadian, half-Samnite (8.510) and Italian-born, just as Turnus's Greek origins had had their moment of importance (**7.371f.**); he has therefore in some sense died in civil war (for his *magister*, the 'invader' Aeneas, is likewise—**7.205ff.**—not altogether *externus*). For the adj., cf. **7.623** ('central Italian'); the noun Catullan, and possibly synecdochic (**7.756, 815**); cf. Malavolta, 119.

lacrimis . . . obortis Again (cf. **29**) Aeneas weeps, as did Achilles over Patr. (18.235); not a fault, whether by heroic or by Roman standards, though strict Stoics would have objected (C.M. Bowra in Harrison, *OR*, 374, and e.g. E.V. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (Cambridge 1911), 342f.). The verb of tears first in V. (cf. 3.492, 4.30, 6.867); of darkness, Enn *trag.*146 (cf. *trag.inc.*211 of joy).

ita fatur Taking up, in calculated emotional continuity, the conclusion of his last speech, **29 sic ait inlacrimans**. The formula here used is an *unicum* (for other instances with *ita fatur* alone, cf. Moskalew, 65, n. 82).

42–58 Aeneas' lament So Achilles' first lament on Patroclus, newly killed by Hector (*Il.*18.235ff.; cf. 324ff.): cf. **43, 45f., 54** (Knauer, 420, Gransden, *VI*, 162). 'One of the focal points of the entire poem' (*ib.*, 161), at least in moral and emotional terms (themes of 'disappointment, negation, loss, failure', *ib.*), not least on account of the closeness of the links with the lament on Marcellus (**42, 51, 53**). Into Aen.'s tearful lament are woven themes of conventional consolation (**54, 56, 58**) and to him is assigned a leap of imaginative insight (some answer to Feeney's now classic critique, Harrison, *OR*, 167ff.) into Ev.'s present state of mind, with hints at his former (but not narrated) and present (**55**) speech. See Alessio, 47ff., Feeney in Harrison, *OR*, 183, Gransden, *VI*, 160ff., Hightet, 206f., Lyne, *FV*, 178f., Mackie, 181f., O'Hara, *DOP*, 47f.

42 tene inquit Cf. **24** for the repetition of the verb of speaking. Only here used with a monosyllabic pronoun + *-ne* preceding, and synaloepha at ½. No greater emphasis could have been given: 'so it was you, was it, . . . that Fortune.?' The pronoun + *-ne* only here and at 12.778; *mene septies*. Direct obj. after *inuidere* perhaps first in V., *Buc.*7.58, *G.*1.504, *Aen.*8.509, LHS, 90, *TLL* 7.2.194.69 (Stiewe). Compare closely (so Görler *per litt.*) 6.456 *infelix Dido, uerus mihi nuntius*. . . .

miserande puer 'Pathetic apostrophe' (**7.1f.**); note similar uses of

voc. gerundive at G.3.1, *Aen.* 9.276, 10.327, 557, 793. Here, cf. 6.882 *miserande puer* (that Anch. on Marcellus is echoed by *Aen.* on Pallas was to be expected: **27, 28**), 10.825 (*Aen.* on Lausus). A useful summary of V.'s *pueri* and *pathos ab aetate* at *EV* 2, 396 (Scarcia) and vd. Heuzé, 301, Hightet, 206, Ricottilli, 184, n. 4; cf. further **51** (P.'s age), **7.531. cum laeta ueniret** For *l.* thus, see *Hor.C.3.29.49 Fortuna saeuo laeta negotio*, [Sen.] *Oct.* 563, *Front.p.* 223.11 *laetam et pinguem fortunam*, *TLL* 7.2.888.52ff. (von Kamptz) compares *Cat.* 61.8 (not very close); cf. too *Plaut. Amph.* 2 (and of dreams, stars, omens). For *uenire* used thus (often in cletic contexts), cf. **7.470** and NH on *Hor.C.1.2.30*.

43 inuidit Fortuna mihi Cf. **269 inuidisse deos**, *Cat.* 64.169f. *saeua/fors etiam nostris inuidit questibus auris*, *Buc.* 7.58, *Apul. Apol.* 21 *mihi fortuna diuitias inuidit*. The envy of Fortune (here close to 'fate' in sense, Bailey, 238) is notably common in *CLE* (cf. Hoogma, 330, Lattimore, 155); for Greek ideas of φθόνος θεῶν, cf. Fraenkel on *Aesch. Ag.* 762, Bond on *Eur. Her.* 67, H. Lloyd-Jones, *Justice of Zeus* (Berkeley 1971), 3f. *et passim*, P. Walcot, *Envy and the Greeks* (Warminster 1978), 22ff.. Note that to *Aen.* it is Fortune's hostility to *himself*, not to *Ev.*, or to Pallas, that has led to the boy's tragic return home; cf. 12.436. Mackie, 180 unfortunately forgets this pronoun, though his general point, that *Aen.* unhomericly avoids speaking of himself, is of interest. *Patr.* will not return home to Menoetius, nor, *Ach.* knows, will he himself to Peleus (18.326, 334ff.).

ne .../44 ... neque Common Aug. poetic usage, LHS, 536; earlier poets seem to have been more faithful to *ne ... neve/neu*; it is the contr. after *inuidere* that is more surprising (**269**).

regna .../44 nostra While at **25 patriam**, *Aen.* claims that the Trojans already have a country (and indeed they have landed in their destined homeland), here he laments that Pallas has not lived to see Trojan or allied rule established (cf. **7.256, 263**); that, formally, has not yet happened, beyond the ditch of their camp, nor will it, quite yet, by the end of 12 (cf. *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 22ff.).

uideres The thought of **263, 270** is closely similar (the forger, as usual, noted a very Virgilian idiom, 2.577). Note 5.633 (sight and longing for homeland), 8.576 (seeing Pallas again alive and safe!), *EV* 5*, 535: sight can carry a very marked implication of longing fulfilled.

44 ad sedes ... paternas Used of *Ev.*'s palace (8.362, 463), but not inherently palatial (Spallone, *EV* 4, 750f.): so here, his father's home (which is of course, however modest, a royal palace).

victor ueherere Evander never dared envisage the possibility of his son's glory or victories (8.514ff., 574ff.; cf. **54**) until after Pallas' death, in his recognition of the hazards of **noua gloria** (**154**; cf. the boy himself at 10.463); only *fama* had told Ev. of his son's victories (**141**) and it is Aen. (**55ff.**) who will insist on Pallas' distinction as warrior. Cf. the alliteration of *G.3.9 uictorque uirum uolitare per ora*: V.'s phrasing (cf. 12.162 of Latinus in his chariot) is to be viewed in terms of the more general analogy/ambiguity that exists between triumphal and funeral processions (**29–99**; cf. Delvigo (**72–7**), 207). In the ceremonial sense, Pallas will indeed have his triumph, of a kind. Paired impf. subjunctives are not that rare in V. (cf. **47**, **103**, *Buc.*9.19f., 48f., *G.*1.133f., *Aen.*1.467, 2.56, 3.187, 627, 4.230f., 312, 343, 410, 5.54, 651f., 702f., 8.354, 10.568); such dikola (cf. **7.449**) can be majestic, not cumbrous, though V.'s dislike of subordination in general should not be forgotten (*Companion*, 231).

45 non haec . . . promissa . . . / 46 . . . dederam Cf. **152 non haec, o Palla, dederas promissa parenti**, *Aen.*2.777, 3.161, 4.647, 8.185, 9.737, 10.614, etc., *Hor.*C.1.15.32. A Catullan dactylic alternative for *promiseram* (64.139f. *at non haec quondam blanda promissa dedisti/uoce mihi*); sensed, perhaps, to be a little weightier (cf. **7.567**, *EV* 2, 116); Aen. is the (justifiably, given his ktistic destiny) anxious father of a high-spirited boy (cf. 4.156ff., 9.247ff., 638ff., Scarcia, *EV* 2, 396); that he should, as we are now told, have comforted Pallas' equally anxious father (widowers, both, with one son each: cf. 8.574ff.) is excellent characterisation (cf. O'Hara, *DOP*, 47, Mackie, 181f., Gransden, *VI*, 163 and note Achilles to Menoetius of Patroclus' return after sacking Troy, *Il.*18.326ff. Aen. too could himself so easily have placed Ascanius under Evander's command, with fatal results); he will himself shortly elevate this promise (Ach. only 'spoke' (φῆν) while the Roman Aeneas thought in terms of *fides*, which his relationship with Ev. as ally explicitly entailed, 8.150, 169) into a profoundly self-reproachful expression of failed trust (**55**; *patrocinium* and *clientela* do not enter into it, *pace* Renger, 77: this is a familiar military relationship, *contubernium*; cf. Hellegouarc'h, 72). Whether we are expected to share all Aen.'s sense of guilt here is another matter (M.A.B. Herford, *CR* 33 (1919), 29f. (in expansion of Warde Fowler on 8.520ff.); cf. now Renger, 75ff.): he had fought before Troy and knew the life-expectancy of gallant boys; now he was to have been Pallas' *magister* in war, and a vow (only mentioned by Aen. and in these lines) to bring the boy back alive may make emotional or

rhetorical sense but was never one an epic hero could make with any conviction of success; thus Achilles (*supra*) had said to Menoetius that he would himself bring Patr. home., though knowing of his own coming death (*Il.*22.365f.; cf. J. Griffin, ed. *Il.*9, p. 6).

Euandro . . . parenti More solidly rooted in distinctively poetic language (*octies* in trag.; Lucr., Cat., cf. *EV* 3, 971) than *patri*. Cf. *G.*4.320, *Aen.*1.646, 2.138, 229, 596, 606, 664, 3.58 etc.: the insertion of a personal name when sense and clarity do not logically require it seems to represent a faint augmentation of emotional level.

de te Cf. **42**; cf. *BICS* 30 (1983), 89 for a summary of the important role of *Du-Stil* in the *laudatio funebris* (though that is not exactly what this is; cf. 6.883). Cf. **152**.

46 discedens Not a perfect fit in the narrative at either 8.522 or 583; a back-reference to an answer not narrated (cf. **7.107–47** (v), Sparrow, 65f., Moskalew, 108ff.): here too the verbal reference to the ‘promise’ is a mild form of ‘ungeschehenes Geschehen’, for a speech by Aen. in 8 would have been unacceptably retardatory (cf. Heinze, 410) and ethically compromising, even.

me . . . euntem Cf. **7.493** for ‘the present participle used with extreme economy’, and cf. **7.676** for the pres. part. of *eo* in V.; here *simplex* for the cumbersome *abeuntem*.

complexus Note Evander’s parting from his son, 8.558, *dextram complexus euntis* (an echo and association missed by Moskalew), 568, 582 *complexu teneo* (so Aen. and Asc., 1.715, 4.616, 12.433, Aen. and Anchises, nearly, 5.742, 6.700, as with Creusa, 2.792; the language of gesture, as a significant supplement to speech, undervalued by Feeney in Harrison, *OR*, 181). Cf. (e.g.) Cic.*de orat.*1.245, *Att.*2.12.2, 16.5.2, *QF* 1.3.3, Liv.40.4.15, Quint.8.3.68, Tac.*Ann.*1.40.3, and Sittl, 31, Heuzé. 583f. on the embrace of farewell.

47 mitteret in magnum imperium Cf. 6.812 (of Numa) *missus in imperium magnum*: a precise echo, though outside the criteria of Sparrow and Moskalew, and clearly significant in creating a link across the generations (here, though, the obvious pacific correspondence of Ev. and Numa is not to the point; there may also have been something of Numa in that other unwarlike elder, Latinus: cf. **7.203**). Norden and Highet (207) thought of Ennian sound-effects, seductively but undemonstrably, while Highet (*cit.*) is disturbed that neither Numa nor Aeneas were destined, exactly, to *magnum imperium*; Rome, though, was, and in V.’s view of history the *magnum imperium* for which Pallas has died is Augustus’. Sall.*Iug.*5.4 has *magnum atque*

late imperium of Syphax; Liv. writes more triumphalistically of *maximique secundum deorum opes imperii principium* (1.4.1). Henry argues fiercely for a reference to the command of the Etruscan forces: 8.509 (Ev. excluded from *imperium* [not *magnum!*] by age) is in his favour, and both senses may indeed be present here.

metuensque moneret Not quite what Ev. has already said (cf. **46**): note, though, *graue Martis opus* at 8.516. His justifiable apprehension (*a quodam motu animi, quom id, quod malum casurum putat, refugit mens* writes Varro of *metuere*, *LL* 6.48; cf. **401**, G.1.186, 335) has oppressed his farewells and clouded his thoughts (cf. **154**); V. frequently uses *monere* in contexts that suggest underlying anxiety and latent threat (e.g. G.1.457, 465, *Aen.*3.436, 712). One of V.'s most powerful alliterative sequences (A. Cordier, *L'allitération latine* (Paris 1939), 33; here cf. 1.55), linking, moreover, two clauses of contrasting tone; the first also contains homoeoptoton of *-um, -um*.

48 acris esse uiros The adj. here as often rather 'enfeebled' in V. (**7.672**), but a little weight is added to the warning by the second colon (theme and rather minimal variation, except in the case used). Self-contained spondees in both first and fourth feet (cf. **7.80**, **291**); a singular, slow, heavy rhythm (Williams).

cum dura . . . gente G. used of the populations of central Italy in general (cf. 1.339 for *genus* used of the warlike Libyans); the sing. collective (Görler, *EV* 2, 269f., Kraggerud, *ib.*, 4, 875f.). The adj. used thematically by V. in this sense (**7.747**).

proelia So the poet neatly sidesteps e.g. *proeliandum esse*; cf. **17 iter** (a far more radical instance of noun for verb).

49 et nunc The passage from past warning to present tragedy (cf. **7.3**).

ille quidem Preparing the contrast with **51 nos** (just so too at 12.234, where vd. Traina).

spe . . . inani Cf. G.2.285, *Aen.*10.627, 648 (already Cic. *Q. Rosc.*43); the adj. 26x. in *Aen.* and peculiarly expressive of V.'s outlook (cf. *EV* s.v., **7.593**); here in respect of the tragic irony in Ev.'s ignorance of his son's death and anxious piety in hope (note Griffin 110, Richardson on *Il.*22.437–515, Henry on *Aen.*10.839f., Colafrancesco, *EV* 4, 996f., Gransden, *VI*, 161), inevitably vain (note 1.352 *uana spe*), of his return.

captus Cf. Pacuv. *trag.*410 *nec tuendi capere satietas potest*, Enn. *trag.*222, Acc. *trag.*454, *TLL* 3.341. 45 (Bannier).

50 fors Like *nox, dius*, probably an old syncopation of a genitive of time: cf. LHS 85, NH on Hor.C.1.28.31, rather than *EV* 1, 438 (which does, however, consider the multiple forms *fors, forte, forsitan*).

uota facit First attested, Cato *Agr.*83. Cf. on **2 Aeneas** and note *Ev.* himself, **157f. nulli exaudita deorum/uota precesque meae**. This is the only case (*Diliberto, EV* 5*, 632) in *V.* in which the gods do *not* heed the vows prompted by human *pietas*.

cumulatque altaria donis Cf. 8.284 (= 12.215) *cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras*, Tib.2.5.6, Liv.8.33.20, *TLL* 4.1383.6 (Lommatzsch). *Ev.*'s offerings (cf. Bailey, 43ff., Latte, 45f.) have neither secured nor maintained divine goodwill and *Ev.*'s anxiety is paternal, not the result of explicit indications of divine disfavour. He does not know (cf. Feeney, 182) that his *pietas* is of no avail and the gods could have told him but have not done so (*O'Hara, cit.*).

51 nos *Ev.* is about to disappear (**57**) from our immediate gaze until the news of Pallas' death reaches him at **139ff.**, while *Aen.* returns to the preoccupation of line **3**: his four speeches (see also **96–8** and **108–19**) are intimately linked.

iuuenem exanimum Cf. **30** for the adj.. Here **R** has **exanimem**; cf. NW 2, 153f. for this heteroclisis (with Leumann, 389, 450): when mss. are confused (*Ribbeck, Proleg.*, 428) and usage flexible—though the poets seem in general slightly to prefer the second-declension forms—we are hardly obliged to normalise; *i.* also at **67**, 10.464, 12.598. *Puer*, though, at **42** and a contemporary of *Lausus* (10.434), himself *puer* at 10.825, *i.* at 10.793. *Marcellus* is likewise both (6.861, 875), while the case of *Asc.* is notoriously more complex (*Scarcia, cit.*, **42**).

nil . . . / 52 debentem Unclear, misunderstood or (so already *Con.*) subtly polyvalent? *Vivi enim superiorum sunt, mortui ad inferos pertinent* (*Serv.*); dodged by TCD. Part of the answer lies (*Henry, Williams*) in *V.*'s use of **caelestibus** (not to mention **ullis**): *Pallas* is not indebted or bound any more to the gods of this world (so *Serv.* and cf. *Soph.Ant.*559, *Ajax*, 589f.); this was how *Stat.Silv.*5.1.185f. (of the dying) and *Sil.*15.371f. understood *V.* (note too *Hor.AP* 63 *debemur morti nos nostraque*, where vd. Brink, and, copiously, Tosi, n° 519). *Heyne*, though, thought to find an answer in the context in *V.*: so at **50 uota facit** (not to mention **4**) vows for *Pallas*' life entail a debt to the gods. True enough, but the debt is *Ev.*'s, not *Pallas*'s, and is marginally if at all pertinent here, as *Henry* gleefully noted. He (cf. *Hightet*, 207) also cited *Soph.Ant.*1070ff.: an unburied corpse

belongs to the gods below and μέτεστιν οὔτε τοῖς ἄνω/θεοῖσιν; the notion is pertinent, but **nil . . . debentem** would be a strange way of putting it. However, his discussion alone concentrates on the use of *nil debere* (*uel sim.*) elsewhere: Pallas, *once dead, owes nothing more* (theme and variation) to any Olympian god for the gifts he had enjoyed in life: cf. Cic.*Leg.*2,7 *et tibi horum nihil deberi potest*, Luc.10.414f. *dat scilicet omnis/dextera quod debet superis*, Plin.*Pan.*30 *ut nihil imbribus caeloque deberet*; cf. Ter.*Eun.*861f., Hor.*C.*1.14.15f. *nisi uentis debes ludibrium* (with NH), Crinagoras, *GP*, 1922 (with GP), *OLD* s.v., §4 for further comparable uses of *debere*. Henry later (p. 159, n.) unfortunately seized on Ov.*Met.*14.3 to suggest that Pallas had received nothing from the gods and therefore owed them nothing; he had forgotten the force of **caelestibus** and his original meticulous exegesis, altogether in keeping with Serv.'s, holds good.

iam Cf. G.4.506, Aen.1.219, 2.447, 533 for this 'tragic' use: 'no more'.

caelestibus ullis Perforce the Olympians (and an old elevated word (Enn.*var.*, Pacuv., Acc.); see (Scaffai, *EV* 1, 601) 1.387 with *Od.*6.240; cf. 10.880 *nec diuum parcimus ulli* (though the use with neg., or similar, is not inherent, LHS, 195), 6.147, 239, 12.782.

52 uano . . . honore Cf. **23**. *Inani* remarks Serv.: cf. 6.213 *cineri ingrato* (with Norden's n., *CLE* 1135.5), 885f. *et fungar inani/munere* (note too Ov.*Met.*2.340f. (tears) *inania morti/munera*): V. denies posthumous existence, or at least perception, to Pallas, quite in keeping with the profound melancholy of the context, while **7.4** represents a far subtler position. Cf. epitaphic denials both of immortality (Lattimore, 74ff.) and of the value of mourning (*ib.*, 217ff., 228, 246f., B. Lier, *Philol.*63 (1904), 56ff., E. Galletier, *Étude sur la poésie funéraire romaine* (Paris 1922), 12ff.). Utterly different though the tone is here, we are not far distant in spirit from that rejection of the after-life (with its traditional honours and consolations) which underlies many expressions of gloomy hedonism in Petr. (cf. Smith on 44.5) and at Pompeii (cf. *GR* 36 (1989), 199f. with n. 47, K.M.D. Dunbabin, *JDAI* 101 (1986), 195, M. Gigante, *Civiltà delle forme letterarie . . .* (Napoli 1979), 104).

maesti Cf. **26**.

comitamur Cf. **61**, *OLD* s.v., §1b (cf. s.v. *comito*, §1b), Nep.*Att.*22.4 *comitantibus omnibus bonis*, Apul.*Met.*4.34 *et lacrimosa Psyche comitatur non nuptias, sed exequias suas*. The verb also used of *imagines* (Flower, 99, n. 45). Cf. **29–99**, S.G. MacCormack, *Art and ceremony in late antiquity*

(Berkeley 1981), 154f.: this princely funeral is tragic but also a great public, processional spectacle (cf. **147**).

53 infelix Cf. **85**, **175**, 9.477, 12.870, *EV* 2, 488, Alessio, 49.

nati funus crudele F. can indicate both the procession (*Hor.Epd.*8.11) and the funeral as a whole (*G.*4.256, etc.); here as often (cf. **57**, 6.874) indistinguishable. The phrase used at *Buc.*5.20 (the adj. in *Enn.Ann.*, *Lucr.*, *Cat.*), *G.*3.263, *Aen.*4.308 (cf. Lamacchia, *EV* 1, 944). The particular tragedy of parent(s) burying a child is very widely attested and has attracted ample discussion: along with Courtney's admirable n. on *Juv.*10.240, cf. Raabe, 15, n. 3, Lattimore, 187ff., Harrison on 10.442f., 493f., Powell on *Cic.Cato* 12, 68, Mayor on *Juv. cit.*, B. Lier, *Philol.*62 (1903), 456. Griffin, 123ff. is an essential preliminary. A line predictably popular in *CLE* (494.3, 971.5, 1148.8f., Hoogma, 330). We have not forgotten that this is exactly the fate that Ev. had prayed Jupiter that he might not live to endure (8.572ff.).

uidebis In V., future vision can foreshadow a spectacle of glory (**7.101**), or just as well of tragedy or terror (cf. **394**, 6.873 (Marcellus) and also e.g. 2.578, 579, 3.443, 6.155, 375); Evander has not only lost his son but will have to witness the funeral (cf. 4.617f. *uideatque indigna suorum/funera*, 6.163, 495, 12.149, 636 *fratris miseri letum ut crudele uideres*). Why edd. place an exclamation mark after this line is not clear; neither thought nor wording suggest particular excitement or agitation. No striking epiphonema, but a grim anticipation of his ally's anguish.

54 hi nostri reditus Nostri and **expectati** are both, naturally, to be understood with both nouns, just as the nouns themselves are to be understood in virtual hendiadys ('triumphal return'; imagined likewise by Livia, *Cons.Liv.*31, 128; for Hom., cf. **45f.**); **n.** is a particularly real plural, as *Aen.* laments lost hopes of a double victory (of **n.** Heyne writes *a nobis promissi; alias friget*; true enough, but oversimplified), for Trojans and Arcadians, for himself and Pallas, who have never actually fought shoulder to shoulder (but cf. 10.160f., with Harrison's n.). **R.** always in V. of *in patriam reditus* (10.436) after war (cf. 2.17, 118, Moroni, *EV* 4, 416). Note *Il.*18.238, 330 (vainly anticipated returns of Patroclus and Achilles).

expectatique triumphi A similar tone of longing, *G.*1.226, *Aen.*2.283, 5.104, 6.687, 8.38, *EV* 4, 980 (Schievenin). Cf. **44** for their martial hopes and ambitions: that the procession will now contain 'triumphal' elements (**29–99**; cf. Delvigo, **44**) only adds a further twist of bitterness to the question and **t.** does perhaps contain, as at *G.*1.504

some element of 'triumph' as against mere 'victory' (itself a perfectly acceptable sense, *OLD* s.v., §4). Mysteriously, Ribbeck treated **54** and **55** to **fides** as affirmatives, not questions; 1.253, 4.675f. (repeated), 6.346, 9.481, 491f. (repeated), 12.878 should have suggested that the rich combination of deixis, anaphora (sometimes), and predicative position with interrogation exercised strong rhetorical appeal. Certainly two questions.

55 haec mea magna fides? Cf. **45f.** It is now suggested that Dido told Aen. that he had betrayed not just her but Troy (S. Casali, *CQ* 49 (1999), 210 on 4.596). The charge of failed amatory *dextra fidesque* (597) carries rather more conviction on her lips (cf. *Companion*, 124ff.), but here Aen.'s self-questioning displays humanity not treachery, as Ev. himself generously recognises (**164ff.**). Such charges are to be evaluated in their rhetorical contexts, after all. The epithet (cf. 9.279) suggestive at once of Aen.'s high claim and of the consequent severity of any (self-)criticism.

at non A beaved father might wish to question Aen.'s *fides*, but no-one may doubt Pallas' courage; for this idiom (anticipation of an objection), cf. **7.363**.

Euandre Apostrophe of the absent father, within a speech to the son's corpse (**42**), as though Aen. were answering the question 'and did he die well?'. For the voc. form of the Gk. 'Evander', cf. 8.100, NW 1, 123f. on the oscillating declension of such names.

pudendis/56 uulneribus Cf. *Il.*13.289 (where vd. Janko), 24.214ff. (Hecuba of her son; vd. Macleod), *Tyrtaeus* 8(= 11West).17 (with Prato's n.), *Cat.*64.339 (with Ellis' n.), *Sall.**Jug.*85.29 (with Paul's n.), *Cat.*61.3 (with Vretska's n.), *Ov.**AA* 1.209 (with Hollis' n.), *Plin.**Nat.*7.101, *Plut.**Cat.**Mai.*1.7, *Ael.**VH* 12.21; cf. too the target of *CIL* 11.6721.7. Pallas had been killed by *aduersa uulnera*, in short; *a tergo inlatis* remarks Serv. of the adj. (so *Livy* (25.6.10) records the *Allia*, the Caudine Forks and *alias pudendas clades*).

pulsum Once a problem (surveyed, *EV* 4,9): Wakefield (so too Wagner, 'quum p. non satis Latinum sit') corrected to *fusum*; Heyne glossed 'πληγέντα, *percussum*', and was followed by Jahn (Leipzig 1825); Forbiger sat on the fence, while Con. wrote 'put to flight, so that **u.p.** will mean wounded while flying'. Henry (*pace EV*), SDan. and TCD refrain from comment. As **792f. uulnerere . . ./pulsa cadat** shows, V. did use the verb in the (very rare) sense of 'strike down' (cf. the (*moenia mundi*) *ui pulsa* of *Lucret.*5.372); likewise, though, in the

very common military use of 'drive from the field (or fight)': **366, 392, 653, 731, 790**; cf. *G.3.30, Aen.5.395, 10.143, OLD* s.v., §5 (Caes., Sall., Liv., Tac.). Con. rightly sensed that the immediately preceding wounds (not) in the back were necessarily relevant: Pallas did not expose his back in withdrawal (*si fugisset uulneratus a tergo* Serv.), nor, for that matter, was he struck down by a dishonourable wound. Decision is neither possible nor necessary.

aspicies Cf. **53 uidebis**: just as Ev. will have to face the sight of his son's corpse (cf. 2.538) and funeral, so also he will be in some sense comforted by a sight which proves the boy died bravely: for this consolatory theme, cf. *Cons.Liv.14ff., Sen.Cons.Marc.12.3, Men.Rhet.* p. 418.15ff., Loraux (**23**) index, s.v. courage, Lattimore, 241 (and cf. **24f.** for its rarity at Rome).

sospite . . . /57 . . . nato Cf. 8.470, *Hor.C.1.37.13* (Paul.exc.Fest. p. 389.6 glosses *saluus*); used(?) in an active sense by Enn. (*Ann.598*) and in the title Iuno Sospita.

dirum/57 . . . funus The adj. often carries a strong religious tone, of 'ill-omened, monstrous' (**7.324**), whence 'unnatural' (Zaffagno, *EV* 2, 94): so 4.563 (slaughter of guests) and here of a father desiring the end of a son dishonourably alive (note 12.924, Aen.'s spear brings *dirum exitium* to Tu.; 'abominevole', Traina. See too *Tib.1.10.4, Tafel, TLL 5.1.1273.51f.*); cf. n. on **53** to show up the horrid paradox of a father actually *wanting* a child's death (that Ev. had sent his son to war at Aen.'s side is said to make him another Creon, unwittingly guilty, Alessio, 49). The suggestion of *alii ap. SDan.* that the **funus** was Ev.'s is very silly: ruled out by **53**, and indeed by the whole context: *nequitia liberorum* is altogether irrelevant here. Note acute remarks by A. Traina, *Poeti latini* 2, 15. However, **sospite** and **nato** can only be understood together, and we supply from the context, without difficulty, 'for him' with **optabis**; *aliter*, Henry.

57 optabis obstabis R. Cf. 10.503 *Turno tempus erit . . . cum optauerit.* Cf. *TLL 9.2. 828.77* (Keudel).

nato . . . pater In balance (see, for names thus, **7.233**) round the central **funus**: cf. *G.3.128, Aen.1.665, 2.663, 6.820*; the nouns are often coupled in the *same* case. Note that **sospite** and **nato** are likewise separated, giving special prominence to the adj., and **pater** (subj.) is delayed to last word, becoming thereby virtually concessive **ei mihi** Cf. 2.274, 12.620, *EV* 2, 995; in both comedy (for men only) and high poetry (*Enn.Ann.442, Acc.trag.351*) 'per indicare un

dolore presente o previsto' (Hofmann-Ricottilli, 111). Note Highet, 155f., n. 103: the bucolic diaeresis to be taken as a further sign of high emotion.

quantum/58 praesidium . . . quantum Cf. *Buc.*5.16f. for the repetition (also Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.193f. and see Cat.88.4f.); the placing of the second pronoun is calculated to give the greatest prominence to the shared loss of Italy and Asc.. For **p.**, in a very similar context, cf. *Sen.Cons.Marc.*17.1; on this word, unpoetical but evocative (as at *Lucret.*3.897f., *Hor.C.*1.1.2), cf. the full note of NH on *Hor.cit.* and *TLL* 10.2.6.890.47 (Ramminger).

Ausonia At most, for V., central Italy; at least, the lands of Latins and Rutuli (cf. **7.623**).

tu . . . , Iule Just as **Ausonia** is separated from its verb, so the pronoun from the voc. name (not common: see 7.1 (not considered), 733, 8.643; with *uos*, cf. *G.*1.10, *Aen.***11.108**, 1.735, 10.430, 12.693). At the speech's climax, Asc., the survivor, is brought back (cf. 10.524) into direct analogy (the implicit parallelism is present throughout) with Pallas, the victim.

perdis *Septies* in V. (and, despite an interesting range of meanings, a fugitive from *EV*); cf. *Lucret.*3.357,8, *Ov.Her.*7.63, *Sen.Cons.Marc.*13.4 *solacia simul atque auxilia perdidit*, *CLE* 1176.8.

59 haec ubi defleuit Cf. the very frequent *haec ubi dicta*; the vb. (*flens dixit* remarks Simbeck, *TLL* 5.1.360.8) *ter* in *Aen.* and unforgettably Lucretian (*insatiabiliter defleuimus*, 3.907). A particular intensification here of the lexicon of grief (Ricottilli, 161, after Williams).

tolli Cf. **206** (removal of bodies from the field for burial) and *Cic.Verr.*2.5.142, *Liv.*3.48.7 *exsanguie corpus sublatum ostendant populo*, 3.57.4, 33.11.3, *Tac.Hist.*3.25: if not quite a technical term, certainly one sometimes used in regular prose of taking up for burial.

miserabile corpus Possibly self-quotation (of Daphnis) *sui corpus miserabile nati* (*Buc.*5.22), though not distinctively bucolic in tone (cf. here **42 miserande**, **63 misero**). Apparently not earlier in poetry (Rubenbauer, *TLL* 8.1109.39).

60 imperat Cf. **7.36**, **169**; enjambed in the first dactyl to suggest energetic command. The constr. with infin. is high poetic (cf. 3.465, 7.35,169, *Acc.trag.*385, *Caes.Strab. trag.*1, *trag.inc.*89, and *Lucret.*5.672): LHS 356 and Williams on 3 *cit.* are misleading.

toto . . . ex agmine The picked men *of the whole force* (i.e. all three national contingents): *ex agmine quater* in V. (note **757**); cf. too **331**

and the ambassadors **delectos ordine ab omni** at **7.152** (whence by echo-corruption **ordine** in **PR** here, against **M**).

lectos Cf. 8.179, 10.837, *EV* 3,171f. and note the *lecti iuvenes* of *Cat.*64.4; *simplex pro composito* for the Caesarian *electi/delecti* (on the *lecti* of *Serv. ad Aen.*6.861, cf. Flower, 100f. for the reality of such guards of honour). *Sall.* has the *simplex* as well, at *Hist. fr.* 3.98b, *Cat.*50.2. It seems not to have been remarked by readers of these lines that the historical Romans did take particular care over the funeral of an ambassador (*Plut. QR* 43) or former enemy (*Cuq.* 1406; cf. *Arce.* 25); cf. *Liv.*30.45.4, *VM* 5.1.1b (*Syphax*), *ib.* (*Perseus*): funerals at public expense. Also heroic/tragic courtesy: see Richardson on *Il.*24.582–90.

mittit Cf. **7.221**: the bald language of public business, prose and verse. We shall need to remember that the escort does not in fact leave until **92f.**

61 mille uiros Cf. **7.653**; a very small, perhaps even quite unconscious instance of epic, or formulaic repetition. Grief and respect here measured by quantity: state ceremonial does not change much over the millennia.

supremum . . . honorem Cf. **23, 25**; note that the phrase recurs at **76** (see too *Cons. Liv.*249) and cf. 3.68, 6.213 *cineri ingrato suprema ferebant*. Welcomed in *inscrr.*: cf. *CLE* 830, 1014.5f., Hoogma, 332. The *sedes* of **h.** is as in **52**; we are about to see that here too (**62**) there is the same sense of futility in these rituals. Sparrow (107) is exasperated by *V.*'s repetitions here (and his exasperation soon turns captious, **86, 88**); 'provisional draft' is not (*vd. infra*) the only explanation. **comitentur** Cf. **52**; the fact that *V.* makes no effort to avoid verbal repetition in these lines shows either a bard bored or rushed (for the synonyms always exist; doubters need only consult *Quicherat's* exemplary *Thesaurus Poeticus*, to see *V.* could as well have written e.g. *stipentur!*), a passage to be radically revised (for the slow pace and rough finish are undeniable) or a sense that such repetition helps convey a unity of tone within a sad, slow, heavy movement of the action. The subjunctives of purpose show that *V.*'s words here reflect *Aen.*'s thoughts and intentions.

62 intersintque Their presence adds to the 'consolatory effect' of the funeral ritual (cf. **23**); the vb. (*Szantyr, TLL* 7.1.2283.22) in Ciceronian prose and *V.* may here have preferred a visibly flat term for 'share in', by way of relief.

patris lacrimis Cf. **29** (Aen.), **41** (Aen.), **91** (the horse Aethon), **96** (Aen.), **150** (Ev.), **191** (funeral of *socii*). See **145f.**

solacia . . . / 63 exigua The noun (*quater* in Lucr.) rather less concrete than the *quiquid solamen humandi* of 10.493 (and markedly little joy s.v. *solor* in *EV*). Note the small tomb of the great deceased at *CLE* 1988.3 (with *ZPE* 61 (1985), 258, Lattimore, 228f. and cf. Mart.14.190.1); the different but comparable juxtaposed contrast here (cf. **122f.**) is frequently imitated on epitaphs of the late Empire; the one instance from *CLE* (654; = *ILS* 1264) is itself 385 AD (Hoogma, 331; Kemper (*TLL* 7.2.1743.20) adds the Christian *CLE* 1401.9 and cf. P. Cugusi, *Aspetti letterari dei CLE* (Bologna 1985), 180). We have already noted analogies for the tone of disbelief in the (sufficient) efficacy of the commonplace themes of consolation (cf. **52**). For the apposition, cf. the acc. of **76** and n. on **407**.

luctus/63 . . . ingentis For the contrast, cf. *G.2.412f. laudato ingentia rura/exiguum colito* and note Mart.*loc.cit.*; apparently not an epigraphic commonplace (except as an expression of the ‘tone of disbelief’ noted), at least independently of imitations of this passage. Play on **-lac- luc-** is unmistakable.

63 misero . . . patri The noun hints at the theme, already introduced, of father burying son (**53**), the adj. (though cf. too **42, 59**) used more sparingly than *maestus*; note **119, 156**.

debita Cf. distantly Venus to Vulcan, 8.379 *quamuis et Priami deberem plurima natis*, and perhaps surprisingly without epigraphic *Nachlass*, nor elucidated at *EV* 2, 1. The νόμος or γέρας of Greek epigrams on stone (Lattimore, 221f.).

64 haud segnes Litotes and here adverbial in function; cf. 3.513 *haud segnis strato surgit Palinurus*; cf. **736**. Cf. **2** for the balance with **molle feretrum**.

alii Formally, they are not members of the escort, who are under orders but have not yet set out (**60**). Cf. **7.624ff.** and E.A. Schmidt, *Hyperboreus* 3 (1997) 57ff.

cratis The reality of the object described is elusive; the scant literary evidence (Cuq, 1390, Marquardt, 354) is frustrating: Serv. tells us (*ad Aen.*6.222, after Varr.*LL* 5.166) that the bier, *feretrum* (*pars ingenti subiere feretro* 6.222, Gk. φέρ(ε)τρον), was called in Lat. *capulus*; the *feretra* of Sil.10.566ff., used to carry *imagines* remain enigmatic (Flower, 100), and descriptions of the λέχη used in imperial ceremonial (vd. Marquardt, *cit.*) tell us little about how V. might have

expected his readers to visualise this dignified improvisation in the field (cf. **67**). Comparison of Flower pls. 5 (tomb of the Haterii relief) and 6 (relief of Amiternum) suggests that the bed on which the corpse had lain in state (**29f.**) was actually carried on a kind of frame; F. (99) rightly suspects that the reclining figure on the Amiternum bier (cf. also Arce, 19ff., 28f.) may be an actor rather than the deceased. Here, though, the bier does not have to carry a solid couch (with two mattresses), plus a putative actor, and V.'s description even makes some practical sense in the narrative circumstances.

et molle feretrum What we have learned not to call hendiadys (**22**); **c.** is the material of the **m.f.** and the bier (for the word **f.**, cf. **crates ad init.**) is called **m.** because wicker can be pliant. **C.** (shield-frames: **7.633**) is used of a trestle for carrying manure (Cato *Agr.*10.3) and of this line Mynors (on *G.*1.166) writes of 'hurdles stout enough to carry a man's body'. The adj. suggestive of natural pliancy (cf. **7.390**, *Buc.*2.72 *mollique . . . detexere iunco*, 3.45(?) and Mynors on *G.*2.12, much preferable to *EV* 3, 560). Cf. further H.H. Bobart, *Basketwork through the ages* (Oxford 1936), 42ff., K.D. White, *Farm equipment of the Roman world* (Cambridge 1975), 56ff. (on 'hard basketry').

65 arbuteis . . . uirgis 'Arbutus-rods' writes Mynors, *cit.*; the *arbutus unedo*, or strawberry-tree is a particularly stout shrub (my own had grown stiffish and vigorous after a mere five years), eminently plausible as a fortunate discovery in the countryside and quite strong enough for the purpose assigned.

texunt At *G.*2.371 *texendae saepes* Mynors envisages the interweaving of stakes and rails; at *Buc.*10.71 baskets for soft cheese (which can therefore drain; cf. too *ib.*2.72, *G.*2.241). Note also *Vitr.*10.14.3 *circum tabulata conlocentur crates ex tenuibus virgis creberrime textae*, *Liv.*27.3.3, *Ov.F.*6.262. In *V.*, cf. also **326** (ships), 2.186 (Trojan horse), 8.625 (metal; cf. *Lucret.*6.1054).

uimine querno *V.* may suggest (cf. *G.*2.446f.) that the bier is 'woven' of young oak-shoots (*EV* 5*, 542), pliant and equally to hand, over a frame of arbutus-rods. *V.* prefers the loftier adj., *quernus*, to a gen. (cf. **7.1** and index s.v. adj. for genitive): the adj. at *G.*1.305.

66 exstructosque toros Cf. (a neat reworking here) 3.224 *exstruimusque toros* (for dinner; 5.388 is even more extemporised), *EV* 4, 1043, *TLL* 5.2.1938.45 (Kapp); *septies* in *Lucret.*6 and relished too by *V.* in various senses (here *stemendo parare*, *TLL*). Poetic plural to avoid synaloepha (*LHS*, 17, after Sabbadini). *T.* of the upper layer of a

bier also at 6.220; the visual material (vd. **64 cratis**) suggests that the senses *OLD* s.v., §4a ('bolster, palliasse') and §4b ('placed under a body to be cremated') are not sharply to be distinguished.

obtentu frondis O. used by Sall. (*Or.Lep.*24) in a transferred sense; cf. 1.160 *obiectu*, 677 *accitu*, 2.247 *iussu*, 7.344 *aduentu*, 592 *nutu*, 752 *missu* ('official', perhaps, in tone; cf. Leumann, *cit.*), 8.239, *impulsu*, NW 1, 751ff., LHS, 382f., Leumann, 355. Not 'supines' (*dictu*, *relatu*), but, often enough, as here, the extremely convenient omission of a verb by means of the use of a verbal noun with objective gen.. **F.** a common type of collective sing. (cf. 2.249, 4.148. 459, Cat.64.293). **inumbrant** Cf. Lucr.3.913 *inumbrant ora coronis*; V. twice uses *obumbrare* too, and also the *simplex* (e.g. 6.772). TCD is enchanted by this picture of shade playing over the corpse; possibly a hint that not all the components of the *feretrum* had been stripped of their leaves, possibly no more than a passing thought of the oaken *corona ciuica* P. might one day have won (Weinstock, 163ff.), possibly a recollection too of the dark leafage round the sides of Misenus' pyre (6.215; cf. 5.661).

67 hic Resumptive.

iuuenem Cf. **51**.

agresti . . . stramine Perfectly in keeping with the description of the improvised rustic bier and in anticipated contrast with the splendour of the Tyrian finery and 'triumphal' ritual that follows. 'Straw or the like laid down for bedding or similar purposes' (*OLD* s.v., §1a, *Ov.Her.*5.15); P. had been laid out in Aen.'s quarters (**29f.**) and (vd. **64 cratis**) it seems that here too the relative splendour of familiar civilian usage have been carefully avoided; the adj. (Pacuvian; cf. **7.679**) e.g. of the Trojans' improvised picnic at **7.111**. The studied theoxenic primitivism of Evander's palace and hospitality is maintained unaltered in his son's funeral.

sublimem . . . ponunt The proleptic use of the adj. noted, with a rich collection of comparanda (there are many fine variations of implication and a distinction if used in nom. or acc.) by Görler, *EV* 2, 270 (cf. **7.350f.**, **417**, **498**, **509**, **626**, **632**). Cf. *EV* 4, 1053 for V.'s use of the adj..

68–71 Even Homeric heroes are compared in death to fragile plants cut down (*Il.*8.306ff., 17.53ff. with *AR* 3.1396ff.); the trampled *ύάκινθος* of Sappho fr. 105c (epithalamium) represents a more literal deflowering (spelled out by Cat.62), though we have no idea what colour the plant conjured up to Sappho; thence Cat.11.21ff. [*amorem*] *qui illius*

culpa cecidit uelut prati/ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam/tactus aratro est and Cat.62.39ff. *ut flos [qui add. Goold] in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis/. . . [firmat sol, educat imber; cf. 71] . . . 43 tenui carptus defloruit ungui.* To this tradition V. reacts at the death of Euryalus, 9.435f. *purpureus ueluti cum flos succisus aratro/languescit moriens* (a passage recalled here, **69 languentis**). Colour cannot be invoked (Brenk, Edgeworth); the flowers are unidentifiable (Maggiulli); though maidens picking flowers (as here, **68**), in many mythological episodes, form a prelude to their own deflowering (cf. H.P. Foley, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Princeton 1993), 33f.), here it is a virgin's hand that kills/deflowers the virginal Pallas (Traina; the boy is unwed and hitherto an innocent like-wise in war), in, if you wish, the flower of his youth and beauty (La Cerda notes the flowers at Verginia's funeral, DH 11.39.6): that curiously flawed logic leaves the careful reader hesitant in the face of some recent assertions of the image's 'real meaning' here (Fowler, Gillis, Lyne, Putnam); the context of Sappho, fr. 105c is perhaps not the only missing element (**69**) in our understanding of V.'s antecedents. Cf. Hardie on 9.435, Clausen, *THP*, 96, Gillis, 77, Glei, 284, Gransden, *VI*, 117, Hügi, 106, n. 1, 132, Lyne, *WP*, 150ff., Putnam, 38, Williams, *TI*, 161, D.P. Fowler in *Homo viator* (ed. M. Whitby, etc., Bristol 1987), 188, R. Johnson, *Darkness visible* (Berkeley 1976), 59ff., F. Brenk, *CQ* 40 (1990), 218ff. = *id. Clothed in purple light* (Stuttgart 1999), 87ff., R.J. Edgeworth, *Philol.* 127 (1983), 146ff. (cf. Edgeworth, 15ff.), G. Maggiulli, *Incipient siluae* (Roma 1995), 314ff., 479f., A. Traina, *RFil.* 120 (1992), 495 = *Poeti latini* 4 (Bologna 1994), 156f.

68 qualem . . . florem *Q*, freely used without correlative *talis* to introduce a simile, but rarely in acc. (cf., though, 6.453); the specifying gen. is standard (cf. *florem . . . salicti/anethi*).

uirgineo . . . pollice The adj. nobler, appropriately (*semel* in Lucr., *bis* in Cat.), than gen. *uirginis* would have been (girls idly plucking flowers; *HHDem.* 6ff. (with Richardson's n.), Moschus, *Europa*, 63ff. (with Bühler's n.), Gow on Theocr. 18.40, Kroll on Cat. 62.43, Bömer on Ov. *F.* 4.437, Robert, 1, 758, n. 2 and Prop. 1.20.39 *decerpens tenero pueriliter [Hylas] ungui*); thumbs are irremediably droll to an English ear ('all thumbs', etc.), but a moment's consideration of (e.g.) the thumb in Ovid, reveals a nobler and more important digit. Atypically, *OLD* s.v. misses the complications (but see Kenney on Ov. *Her.* 17.266 and Castiglioni-Mariotti s.v.); you cannot write with a thumb alone (Ov. *cit.*), or pick a flower (here; the expert gardener's use of the thumbnail is sense but arcane and irrelevant), or tear hair

(*Ov.Am.3.6.71*) or strum a stringed instrument (*ib.2.4.27*), or spin thread (*Ov.Her.9.77*, etc.), or (at least not gracefully) wipe away tears (*Met.9.396*); either therefore collective sing. for ‘thumb and finger(s)’ or synecdoche for ‘hand’.

demessum *Cat.64.354* (originally agricultural, *Cato Orig. fr. 57*): used, that is, just this once, in a passage known intimately to V., and thus presumably a precise and specific borrowing.

69 mollis uiolae A flash of evocative self-quotation, *Buc.5.38 pro molli uiola*. Two flowers named; typical precision, and both unidentifiable (paired at *Theocr.10.28*! The *u.* refers to some member of the *crociferae* or *violaceae* (Maggiulli, 479f.); more profitable to note the connexion of the *uiola* with the cult of the dead (Bömer on *Ov.F.2.538f.*, Wissowa, 434, n. 3, Lattimore, 137, n. 346 and Courtney *Musa lapidaria* n. on n° 177.5 for the *Violaria*). The adj. clearly ‘tender, soft, delicate’ rather than ‘pliant’ (**64**); cf. *EV* 3, 560 and Martyn on *Buc., cit.*

languentis hyacinthi Maggiulli, 314ff. (cf. Clausen on *Buc.3.63*, Gow on *Theocr.10.28*) leads us towards the *liliaceae* in general, but no more precise identification is possible. For the associations of *h.*, cf. **68–71. L.** is even more plangent than the corresponding *m.*: at 9.436 (the *purpureus . . . flos*) *languescit moriens* (which might suggest a lost common antecedent even more than reworking); the inceptive in *Cat.* and *Lucr.*; *l.* itself at *Acc.trag.612*, *Cat.64.99*, and often in *Lucr.*. For *h.* at line-end, cf. **7.555** on **hymenaeos**; here note too the lengthening *in arsi* of the preceding syllable, cf. on **7.398 canit hymenaeos**.

70 cui . . . recessit So *Lucr.3.439 (anima)*, *Aen.3.311 (lux)*, 4.705 (*uita*). **neque . . . nec** Heyne, Con. and Paratore (so too *EV* 3, 994) display a passing suspicion that the structure of this line is not simple; elsewhere, silence. The vb. to be understood with both cola; **adhuc** and **dum** likewise, for the two temporal adverbs (which we soon realise are coupled in sense) and the (separated) allit. noun-pair (only attested here) impose unity of sense.

fulgor Cf. *G.4.98f. fulgore coruscant/ardentes auro*, *Lucr.5.785 (prata)*, *Hor.C.4.11.5*, *Ov.Met.4.398 (grapes)*, *TLL* 6.1.1516.62 (Rubenbauer); no doubt about the word’s floral application, but cf. also *Nep.Eum.1.4 fulgebat . . . iam in adulescentulo indoles uirtutis*, *Hor.C.3.2.18*: Pallas’ merits (and beauty) are still gleaming.

adhuc Cf. *1.547 neque adhuc crudelibus occubat umbris*.

sua forma The flower's, and, clearly, also the boy's; cf. **7.473** (Turnus), **649** (Lausus; 'in V., heroic pulchritude is rather more insistently pervasive').

71 non iam Cf. **7.523**. A strong paratactic contrast to the preceding line (cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 275 on the elusive and under-studied phenomenon of the unstated adversative).

mater . . . tellus Cf. **7.136f.**; adj. and noun conjoined under the influence of conventional *Terra mater*: cf. Lucr.5.1402 (of *terra*, *id.*1.251, 2.993, etc.), Varr.*RR* 1.1.5, *TLL* 8.442.84f. (Bulhart).

alit Cf. *G.*2.251, 4.563, *EV* 1, 116 (Del Chicca).

uirisque ministrat Theme and variation. Cf. 9.764 *Iuno uiris animumque ministrat*; note Cat.62.41 (**68–71**). Cf. the *uīres* given by the earth at *G.*2.286.

72–7 The two *uestes* worked by Dido have recently become an acute preoccupation of Virgilian specialists (rather like the text of **7.543**, and with a little more justification): see Lyne, Traina, Delvigo. Behind V., there is already an Homeric obscurity, recognised and not resolved in antiquity (Schol.T, *Il.*24.580, Schol.A, *ib.*588): at 24.580, there are δύο φάρεα and a χίτων set aside from the ransom for Hector, so that Achilles may wrap his victim's body (cf. 18.352f.); at 588, one of each, only. Vd. Andronikos, 8 and Macleod and Richardson *ad locc.* (one round Hector and one under him: Macleod, not quite persuasively; see Delvigo, 202, etc.). Here, Serv. suggests that one *uestis* was wrapped round the body, and one round the head; so long as we are content with typical parataxis and do not think to find in the text an explicit grammatical reference to 'and with the other' (Delvigo, 203 for selected attempts, very nasty), this interpretation has much to commend it (notably—vd. Traina—the two cloths used for Patr.'s body at 18.352f., *Il.*24.580, 588, *cit.* and the two *uestes* used for Misenus; cf. **72** and Henry here). Con. suggested that V. refers only to one *uestis*, which is also used to cover Pallas' head (exactly, one notes, as in the *cinctus Gabinus*, at least according to Cato, *Orig.* fr. 18: cf. **7.612**, Dubourdieu (**77**), 163ff.). In which case, what of the other *uestis*? Naturally, kept by Aen. as a memento (and protest against his destiny), even now that he has reached the Promised Land. So, notably, Lyne (and indeed Paratore). Now Delvigo (208), with the 'triumphal' aspects of the funeral in mind, thinks the learned reader might sense a reference to the *toga picta* and the *toga palmata* (on which, vd. Weinstock, 67, 271; we have just seen, though, a

notably closer and more precise antiquarian allusion and might also think of the funeral use of a *paludamentum*, as at DH 8.59.3, DC 76.15.3, with Marquardt, 347, 353, J.-C. Richard, *MEFR* 78(1966), 315). I am much happier with the emphasis she (207) and Lyne(189) give to Aen.'s cloak, made by Dido, at 4.262ff., and amply echoed here (75): retention of physical mementoes is in a sense superfluous (even, irrelevant), for the honour (and the love) are here present regardless (as TCD sensed, *tantae igitur feminae tantum munus*; cf. Delvigo, 204), nor do they compel us to embrace further Dido-Pallas analogies (so Putnam). Cf. Gillis, 77f., Lyne, *WP* 186ff., Moskalew, 182f., O'Hara, *DOP*, 103, Putnam, 38f., Quinn, 345, Delvigo, *cit.* (29–99), Traina, *cit.* (68–71), 158 = 496f., P. Heuzé, *REL* 63 (1985), 92f., W. Görler, *RhM* 129 (1986), 302, J.A.S. Evans in *Two worlds* (25), 150f., M. Wilhelm, *ib.*, 77, S.F. Wiltshire, *Public and private in Vergil's Aeneid* (Amherst 1989), 54.

72 tum Honour to the corpse itself follows as a natural climax.

geminas uestis Simply 'twin', or 'double' (cf. Traina (with *EV* 2, 649f.), rather than Lyne); there are no grounds for supposing that the 'twoness' of the robes is in any way special or significant here. We recall (of Misenus) *purpureasque super uestis, uelamina nota, / coniciunt* (6.221f.).

auroque ostroque Cf. Pease on 4.134 for this combination (and 7.277f.). The gold is of course stiffer than the cloth; slight zeugma, therefore (Görler). For *-que . . . -que* (both Homeric and Ennian), cf. 7.470 and Harrison on 10.91.

rigentis Cf. 1.648 *pallam signis auroque rigentem*, 8.621 *loricam ex aere rigentem*. Contrast *G.*3.363, *Aen.*5.405! Some kind of tactile contrast with *languentis* may be intended.

73 extulit Aeneas So e.g. of boxing-gloves, 5.424; the subject is postponed, to give due prominence and to permit a natural passage from Aen.'s use of his private store to the significant history of the *uestes*. Note *Cat.*61.8 *flammeum cape laetus*.

illi We are to be left in no doubt: embroidery from the queen's own hands, and made for Aeneas himself. Note the cloak woven for Euryalus by his mother, 10.817f. (with Wiltshire, 54f.); proper work too for epic queens (7.248).

laeta laborum The gen. expresses the adj.'s 'sphere of action'; cf. 1.441 *laetissimus umbrae*, *Sall.Hist.*2. fr. 83, and Görler, *EV* 2, 266, with ample discussion, Coleman in *ALLP*, 80; Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 83 well senses a trace of the root sense, 'fruitful in' (*G.*1.1, 1.101, 102)

at 1.441, which would be rather less easy here, though we do agree that the two passages are strictly analogous.

74 ipsa suis . . . manibus Cf. **7.103** for the attraction of the pronouns (and for the fem, in particular, see *G.1.103, Aen.12.660*).

quondam Just as at 4.307 *data dextera quondam*; Aen. had not forgotten in bk. 6 and still has not; Asc.'s horse was after all a *sui . . . monimentum et pignus amoris*. Nor (vd. 9.266) was this the only memento (Nisus never received his, Pallas' corpse is wrapped in another, but Moskalew (183) tries in vain to read doom into the horse ridden by Asc., 5.571f.).

Sidonia Dido Cf. 1.446, 613 (cf. 619f.), 9.266 (the ancient *crater* given to Aen. by *s.D.* and offered by Asc. to Nisus). Repetition after the manner of the Homeric epithet (cf. Moskalew, 83) and D.'s Phoenician origins (cf. *Tyria . . . urbe*, 1.340; the cities serve as poetic alternatives, *EV* 4, 837f.) not specially significant here.

75 fecerat So of (?another) cloak Dido made for Aen. (vd. **72-7**): 4.263f. *diues quae munera Dido/fecerat et tenui telas discreuerat auro*. Again unobtrusive parataxis (cf. **71**): she had made the cloak, and in the making of it had added gold thread: complex simultaneous actions.

tenui . . . auro Cf. 3.483 *picturatas auri subtemine uestes*, where Williams rightly notes that we cannot tell whether, in these passages, V. refers to embroidery (as at *Ov.Met.6.56*) or to gold thread in the weave (likelier only if we take **d.** quite literally, which would not be prudent in V.'s technological writing). The adj. common of thread (*Lucr.3.383, OLD s.v., §1a, 7.14*) and the noun synecdochic, 'material for object' (as often *pinus*; cf. **7.245**).

telas Possibly as at **7.14** in the quite rare sense of 'threads of the warp', but just as likely to refer more loosely to the cloth as a whole (*Cic.Lucullus* 95 of Penelope's web, *Hor.C.3.12.4*). Cf. *EV* 1, 342f. for a very selective account of woven artefacts in V. and vd. rather Alessio, 52f. or Wilhelm, *cit.*; for the technical side, cf. bibl. at **7.14 percurrens**.

discreuerat Sc. *aureo subtemine, uel sim.* (Graeber, *TLL* 5.1.1297.11); the verb *quater* in *Lucr.*.

76 harum unam Taking up **72 geminas**: so too (on which vd. Traina 159 = 497f., against Lyne, *WP*, 192ff.) 12.845 *geminiae pestes . . . Dirae . . . /853 harum unam* (12.273 and 490 are very similar).

iuueni . . . /77 induit Cf. *TLL* 7.1.1265.16 (Hofmann), *Cic.Tusc.2.20 cui cum Deianira sanguine Centauri tinctam tunicam induisset, Ov.Her.8.50, 21.90*.

supremum . . . honorem Not at all the same sense as when these words were used at **61**; there V. refers to the funeral, last honour paid to Pallas, here to the royal cloak, highest of the honours paid to Pallas at his funeral. Repetitive language does not exclude minute artistry; the two instances are just far enough apart not to fall under V.'s beloved close, conscious repetition with variation of sense (cf. Austin on 2.505 and **7.554**). The acc. 'in apposition to the sentence', LHS, 429f., Austin on 6.223 and cf. **62**.

maestus Thematic/atmospheric (**26**).

77 arsurasque comas Cf. Lausus' hair (10.832, where vd. Harrison: *c.* is impeccably poetic: Enn., Pacuv., etc.), *comptos de more*, as the climax to the description of his death. Cf. **200 ardentis . . . socios**; the use of the fut.partic. to convey tersely an imminent (usually) end or destiny (often tragic) has not received (e.g. at **7.129**) the attention it merits: cf. (e.g.) *G.*2.58, 68, 94, 3.263, 4.102, 458, *Aen.*2.194, 408, 511, 675, 3.158, 458, 4.308, 415, 519, 604, 6.790, 8.576, 9.400, 554, 643, 10.792, 881, **11.82, 741**, 12.55, 602. See **72–7** for the placing of the cloak.

obnubit *Caput obnubito* formulaic at *Cic.Rab.Perd.*13 (cf. Ogilvie on *Liv.*1.26.6 (an 'old law'), 4.12.11). A legendary action for veiling the head (traditional for the celebrant at a Roman cult-act) at 3.405 (cf. A. Dubourdieu in *Hommages Le Bonniec* (*Coll.Lat.*201, 1988), 165, D. Porte, *Les donneurs du sacré* (Paris 1989), 32f., Bömer on *Ov.F.*3.363, Schröder on *Cato, Orig.* fr. 18, Latte, 404, Wissowa, 417, n. 3, I.S. Ryberg, *Rites, passim*).

amictu *Duodecies* in V. (*deest* in *EV*); *quater* in *Cat.*64, *semel* in *Lucr.*; already *Laevius* fr. 24.

78 multaue . . . praemia Cf. 12.437 and common of booty in both prose and verse: see *TLL* 10.2.5.715.14f. (Massaro). *Praemium a praeda* writes Varro (*LL* 5.178; cf. O'Hara, 229); so synonymic (even perhaps etymologically playful) here and **79**; *Serv.* tries to distinguish the words, uselessly, *pace EV* 4, 245.

praeterea So V. passes (cf. 6.285) from the dressing of the corpse to the ordering of the ceremonial, with heavy alliteration of p.

Laurentis . . . pugnae The battle against Latinus' men and their allies, classified generally as *Laurentes*: cf. 6.891, **11.909**, *EV* 3, 141, *Carcopino*, 246; with the adj., cf. *Cic.Tusc.*1.110 *pugnae Leuctricae*, *Div.*1.75, 2.71, 97, *Off.*1.40, 3.113, *Flor.*1.45.3 *pugna Belgarum*. If the battle had been of particular importance and fought by universal accord on Laurentine territory (cf. *Cannensis pugna*, *Leuctrica pugna*),

then we might also have had to consider a local force for the adj.. Note though that Caes. has *Neruico proelio* (*Gall.*3.5.2) and Sil. *Dardana proelia*, 5.291, while with *bellum, triumphus* the ethnic adj. is standard. **79 aggerat** Cf. *G.*3.556, apparently a neologism (cf. Livy's simultaneous liking for analogous *aceruare; coaceruare*, Cic., etc.).

longo . . . ordine Cf. 2.766 (*pauidae . . . matres*), 6.482 (ghosts of the Dardanidae), 754 (introduction to *Heldenschau*), 8.722 (conquered peoples in Aug.'s triumph); inverted at 1.395, and reworked at **11.143** (cf. Lenaz, *EV* 3, 879), Sparrow, 71.

praedam Standard (Ennian) term for war booty of any kind (hunting trophies likewise); a feature massively present in the triumph, but also carried in funeral processions (so DH 8.59.3 (Coriolanus), including *μνήμας* of the cities he had captured; thus images of Pompey's conquests too, at Aug.'s funeral, DC 56.34.3. See too DC 74.4.5, Flower, 113, Marquardt, 354). Cf. E. Künzl, *Der röm. Triumph* (München 1988), 111f., Ehlers, PW 7A1. 502.66ff. (exemplary), Barini, 15 for the triumph, and Marquardt, 354, Nussbaum, 934 for the *funus*.

iubet . . . duci Terse, prosy language as Aeneas *imperator* returns to business (note again **83**): cf. Caes. *Gall.*2.5.1, 4.18.3, 36.2, 5.1.8, 7.89.3 etc.! **7.276** ends with the same two words, in a quite different sense **80 addit** Cf. 3.470 *addit equos additque duces*, 5.549f.. Note here the use of a superfluous verb to vary the structure of a list.

equos et tela Sall. *Jug.*43.3., Liv.30.11.4, and 38.25.14 do not establish the existence of a stock pairing in military prose. Note *Il.*23.171 (with Richardson, p. 187f.): four horses sacrificed on Patr.'s pyre.

quibus spoliauerat hostem Who is the subject? Serv. is unsure; Ladewig, Page, Con. (e.g.): 'Pallas' (cf. **172**); if so, then two unsignalled (but perhaps comprehensible) changes of subj. in two lines (and Aen.'s correct generosity is signalled). Cf. 12.297 *spoliantque calentia membra*; cf. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.*618. Abl. of the thing standard with such verbs (*orbare, nudare, exuere*: cf. LHS 105f.. Note 8.562 (Ev., when young *scutorumque incendi uictor aceruos*, Liv.1.37.5 [Tarquinius Priscus] *spoliis hostium . . . ingenti cumulo accensis*, though neither passage is funerary. More to the point, Manlius buried, *spoliis . . . contextum iuuenis corpus* (Liv.8.7.22, La Cerda), like Coriolanus (DH 8.59.3), and, in the triumph, Plut. *Aem. Paull.*32.5f., *Lucull.*37.3, 4 (arms), *ib.*4 (cataphracts and chariots of Mithridates), Ov. *Pont.*2.1.40 *armaque cum telis in strue mixta sua*, VM 2.8.7 *abstersos gladios*; in many accounts, the details subsumed under *praeda* (**79**). We may also remember the booty displayed on the doors of Latinus' palace (**7.183ff.**). Cf. **193**.

81 uinxerat . . . manus Cf. 1.295f. *centum uinctus aenis/post tergum nodis* (cf. *Plin.Nat.*35.93 of the same image, *restrictis ad terga manibus*). So of Achilles' intended victims, *Il.*21.30 δῆκε δ' ὀπίεω χεῖρας εὐτμήτοισιν ἰμάσι.

et Postponed in the Hellenistic manner: **7.761**, Norden, 402ff., Austin on 4.33, Harrison on 10.448.

post terga Rather surprisingly, the whole not a conventional expression: apart from poets indebted to V. cf. *Sen.Contr.*2.1.7, 9.2.10, *Plin.Nat.*28.45, *Suet.Vitell.*17.1.

quos Ellipse of *eorum* or (comparing 2.57 *manus iuuenem . . . post terga reuinctum*), *eos* (Quinn's 'small, fussy words', Görler, *EV* 2, 265); cf. **172** (with Wagner/Forbiger); vd. also Pease's helpful n. on 4.598, Clausen on *Buc.*2.71, Mynors on *G.*1.104, Munro on *Lucr.*1.883.

mitteret umbris Cf. *Acc.trag.*491 *mittis leto*, 8.563 *sub Tartara misi*, 9.785 *miserit Orco*, 12.513f. *neci . . . / . . . mittit*, 2.398 (with Austin's note), 9.527; variations on Hom.'s Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν; here rel.clause of purpose. See Lyne, *WP*, 106ff., **7.426**, **574** for epic killing and note the dative of goal, possibly itself a grecism, after e.g. *Hom.cit.* (Görler, *EV* 2, 266); the verb also used of offering sacrifices (Varro, *de vita fr.* 97 Rip., *Cic.Rep.*2.44, etc.), so equally applicable to the noun in apposition.

82 inferias At *G.*4.545 of funeral offerings to appease the shade of Orpheus (and note *Lucr.*3.52f. *et manibu' diuis/inferias mittunt*); at 9.215 Nisus envisages *i.* paid him after his death in battle; at 10.519, as here. The word correctly associated by Fest.p. 99.26 with *inferre*, though an association with *inferi* is also heard.

caeso . . . sanguine Of another human victim, cf. 2.116 *sanguine placastis uentos et uirgine caesa*. It is of course the victim who is killed; here, brachylogy, perhaps; at least a little more than simple adj. for gen.: **c.** (participle, after all) for *caesorum*, with which cf. **7.595**, Bell, 216 (comparing, *inter multa et uaria*, 4.34 *manis . . . sepultos*). Note Gk. αἷμα κυγγενέσ (Con.), 10.520 *captiuo sanguine* and **84 inimica . . . nomina**.

sparsurus . . . flammis Cf. *Enn.trag.*297 *saxa spargens tabo sanie et sanguine atro*; often used (with either the liquid or what is wetted as obj.) of *lustratio*, *purgatio* and the like (4.512, 635 (with Pease's n.), 6.230, 636, *EV* 4, 976); here, then, used with a macabre twist of sprinkling the flames of Pallas' pyre with a further libation of ritual bloodshed (an 'improvement' upon Hom., who only has, twice (18.336, 23.22), προπάροιθε πυρῆς). For Zwierlein (**290**), the fut.part. is a sure

mark of the interpolator (407, n. 6)! In the triumphal procession, defeated kings and princes were led in chains, often to be strangled later in the Mamertine prison (Barini, 15f., R. Cagnat, DS 5.1.489); note App.*Mithr.*578 (Pompey put to death none of his non-royal captives after the triumph over Mithr., ὡς ἕτεροι τῶν θριάμβου παραγόντων, Tac.*Ann.*2.41.2 *captiui* in Germanicus' triumph); we should also take note of Tert.*Spect.*12.2 (to propitiate the spirits of the dead) *captiuos uel mali status seruos mercati in exsequiis immolabant* (with Hopkins, 3f.; cf. Serv. *ad Aen.*12.606). 'Ritual slaughter': since no specific deity is honoured by the offering of these victims, nor are they killed by a priest, according to a set ritual, on a fixed date, and at a temple or altar, nor is the offering of their burned remains to a deity contemplated (for they are hardly fit food for hungry heroes), the term 'sacrifice' is, we have learned, best not used (cf. Georgoudi, 64ff. for the issue). Human sacrifice, correctly understood, is not Graeco-Roman usage (though a common enough feature of ancient literary accounts of ethnographic 'otherness'), while ritual killing is widely diffused in both societies [see (a) below], and is viewed only with occasional dismay: Cic.*Font.*31, and Liv.22.57.6 have been cited too often (while *Il.*23.176 κακὰ . . . ἔργα does not state the poet's position as unequivocally as might at first appear: cf. Richardson *ad loc.* and on 22.395); it is the very rarity of these texts, and their prim blindness to common, sanguinary usage (intended often to ensure, not to alienate, divine favour; vd. Eckstein) that is significant. At Rome, moreover, ritual slaughter slides rather frequently into customary, tolerated acts of widespread, asystematic blood-letting [see (b) below; vd. *supra* for the triumph]. Now that we have also learned that we do not really know what happened after the capture of Perugia in 42 BC (with the content of the story, cf. App.*Civ.*1.541f., Spartacus 'sacrificed' 300 prisoners of war in honour of his dead friend Crixus and note the similar allegations against Catiline, (Cic.*Cat.*1.6, 1.9, 2.6), Julius Caesar (Dio 43.24) and the Christians), it is no longer possible to associate Aeneas allegorically with another 'mass-murderer': not only Achilles, that is, but Octavian too [see (c) below]. Both Homer [see (d) below and *Companion, cit.*, Hughes, 49ff.] and Virgil seem not to hesitate to ascribe ritual slaughter to a bygone mythological past (and in Greek myth it is indeed extremely common, while here the formal Homeric borrowing is irrelevant to ethical evaluation), while Lactantius (*Inst.*5.10.1ff.) was as shocked as any humane modern reader [see (e) below; at 10 *cit.*

Serv. notes past cruelty replaced by humaner gladiatorial shows]. Roman readers of these lines (and of 10.517–20; Harrison, xxi^f is ill-put, but his criteria are selected with good sense) were not expected to approve, or applaud, but (*pace* Crane; cf. Mackie, 185: we are not told of the captives' actual death, but nothing induces us to think they were not killed) we do not have to torture the language to exculpate Aeneas, and before we condemn him without appeal as a brutal murderer (so e.g. Farron) [see (f) below], we would do well to read—however distasteful they may seem—some of the fuller recent accounts of Roman ritual slaughter (e.g. *rex Nemorensis* (cf. **7.764**) or *Gallus et Galla, Graecus et Graeca, uer sacrum*, death of a *bestiarius* in the cult of Jupiter Latiaris) and less clearly definable usages of institutionalised killing (e.g. after triumphs, or in captured cities, for which vd. Harris' collection of instances; cf. the *munus gladiatorium*, punishment of unchaste Vestals). I am much obliged to Profs. G. Piccaluga, Paola Ceccarelli and J.N. Bremmer for sage counsel in a field that invites overexcited response. (a) J.N. Bremmer, *HSCP* 87 (1983), 304f., and *Greek religion* (GRNSC 24, 1994), 40, A. Henrichs, *Entretiens Hardt* 27 (1980), 208ff., D. Hughes, *Human sacrifice in ancient Greece* (London 1991), P. Bonnechère, *Le sacrifice humain* (Kernos Suppl.3, 1994) (note 283ff. on prisoners of war), and now, with full critical survey of recent work, S. Georgoudi, *Arch.f. Religionsgesch.* 1 (1999), 61ff.. (b) Cf. Hopkins, 3f., C. Barini, *Triumphalia* (Torino 1952), 15f., C. Barton, *Sorrows of the ancient Romans* (Princeton 1996), 13ff., A.M. Eckstein, *AJAH* 7 (1982), 69ff., A. Futrell, *Blood in the arena* (Austin 1997), 182ff., W.V. Harris, *War and imperialism* (Oxford 1979), 263f., D. Porte, *RPh.*58 (1984), 233ff., F. Schwenn, *Die Menschenopfer . . .* (RVV 15.3, Giessen 1915), T. Wiedemann, *Emperors and gladiators* (London 1992), 53f.. (c) Alessio, 168ff., Gleis, 218f., Nisbet in Harrison, *OR*, 387, Renger, 64ff., S. Farron, *AC* 28 (1985), 21ff., E. Kraggerud, *SO* 62 (1987), 77ff.. (d) Andronikos, 26f., Richardson on *Il.*23.166–76. (e) A. Wlosok, *Res humanae—res divinae* (Heidelberg 1990), 440ff.. (f) *Companion*, 179f., Harrison on 10.517ff., Henry, E., 206, Mackie, 182ff., Saunders, 97ff., T. Crane, *CW* 67 (1973–4), 176f..

83 indutosque . . . truncos Cf. **5, 6**.

iubet Cf. **79**; repetitive but also thematically significant.

hostilibus armis After the relative complexity of **82 caeso sanguine**, a straightforward instance of adj. for gen. in the manner of high poetry: cf. **34** and Bell, 216 (see 3.407, 10.489; *inimicus* is notably more powerful).

84 ipsos ferre duces To honour Pallas, the leading men of the Trojan and allied armies will carry (cf. 6.222 and SDan. here) trophies in his funeral procession. Note that at Rome, sons, relatives and freed slaves carried the bier itself (Marquardt, 355; at *Il.*23.134 his ἑταῖροι carry Patroclus). Here, these portable equivalents to the trophy of Mez. (5–11) seem an elegant compromise between the trophy proper, as just described, and the familiar processional usage of V.'s own time. Thus vd. *Plin.Nat.* 33.151 (Pharnaces represented in Pompey's triumph), *Sil.*17.641ff. (image of Hannibal in flight), *App. Mithr.*573 (images of princes defeated by Pompey but not present), *Plut.Lucull.*37.4 (giant figure of Mithridates), *DC* 51.21.8 (figure of Cleopatra in Octavian's triumph). Mere chance, I suspect, that such figures seem not to be attested for funerals. While *Serv.* suggests that the **truncos** are the subj. of the infin., and themselves carry the **ipsos . . . duces** (cf. 16), Forbiger complains that the apparent ambiguity breaks the 'rules' of good Latin (cf. e.g. Madvig's grammar, §394).

inimicaque nomina Adj. for gen. again; the echo of *Cic. Dom.*100 (Frei, *TLL* 7.1.1627.83) is altogether fortuitous, but the attached names of Pallas' slaughtered foes are a studied and significant anachronism (cf. 6.74). For such labels in triumphs, cf. *Prop.*3.4.16, *Ov.Tr.*4.2.20, *Plin.Nat.*5.36, 33.54, *Plut.Lucull.*37.6, *Pomp.*45.2, *App.Mithr.*576, *Suet.Caes.*37.3 (*ueni, uidi, uici*). At Augustus' funeral, it was proposed (*Tac.Ann.*1.8.3) *ut legum latarum tituli, uictarum ab eo gentium uocabula anteferrentur*. Cf. *Cons.Liv.*462 (*tituli* in funeral), Ehlers, 503.13ff., Flower, 109, Nussbaum, 934.

figi Cf. *Tac.Ann.*3.57.3, *Fest.*p.204.4, *TLL* 6.1.713.60f. (Lackenbacher). The labels affixed, presumably, before the trophies were raised (hysteron-proteron).

85 ducitur Because incapacitated by grief and age.

infelix Cf. 53.

aeuo confectus Cf. Scarcia's useful list of personages weakened by age (*EV* 2, 397): 237 (Latinus; cf. 7.45f.), 2.435f., 509ff., 8.307. Note *Enn.Ann.*406 *longinqua dies confecerit aetas*.

Acoetes Cf. 30; Given the many triumphal analogies observed in these lines, it may be relevant to note the neglected *App.Lib.*298: the triumphator's family followed by his personal staff.

86 pectora . . . foedans pugnīs Cf. 37 for this gesture (and for gestures of mourning in general). *Vd. infra* for the repetition; note that the participle is clearly appropriate to **unguibus ora**; to **pectora**

pugnis it applies more by zeugma (cf. *Aen.*7, index s.v.).

nunc . . . nunc Lucretian (5.333, etc.) and common in V. (e.g. *G.*1.386, *Aen.*1.220f.); cf. LHS, 520.

unguibus ora Cf. 4.673 (*EV* 2, 445 is sufficient answer to Sparrow, 145ff. and Mynors' punctuation is unexceptionable), 12.871 *unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis* (cf. too 12.606); see Pease's very full note on 4, *cit.*; true to life, too, not mere poetic convention (*Leg.*XII *Tab.*10.4 and cf. Ricottilli, 23, Hopkins, 219, W. Kierdorf, *Laudatio funebris* (Meisenheim 1980), 100f. for c. 19 Sardinia, with E. De Martino, *Morte e pianto rituale* (Torino 1958) for further detail). See Edwards on *Il.*19.282ff. and Richardson on 24.718ff. for recurrent elements on Homeric mourning scenes; that Virgil should himself have employed a passing hint of the formulaic manner in recurrent scenes should be quite unsurprising (Sparrow, 79ff., Moskalew, 90ff.). Sparrow (107) objects that **90** ends with the same word; see however e.g. 2.314, 317 and my n. on **7.430!**

87 sternitur Of sprawling in indolence (Hor.C.1.1.22), sleep (*Aen.*3.509), supplication (*Liv.*25.37.9), death (*Lucr.*6.1223), advancing death (*Philoct.*, *Acc.trag.*557). So Achilles sprawls in grief, *Il.*18.26 (with Edwards' n. and Seymour, 475f.); cf. 22.414 (with Richardson's full n.), 24.165, *Eur.**Hec.*495, *Heracl.*619, *Andr.*1226, etc. and here either grief, or age (**85**), or both, may be suggested. Con. and Wagner (e.g.) are uneasy about this tersely touching picture of Acoetes led forward, yet breaking free to sprawl on the ground while Sparrow (**61**) is vexed because **85** begins **ducitur**; the same objection could as well be advanced against (e.g.) 6.101, 103 or **7.704, 5!**

et Again postponed (cf. **81**).

toto . . . corpore Explanatory abl.: cf. **7.30**, Görler, *EV* 2, 268. V. has *corpore toto ter, toto corpore semel* and *toto . . . corpore novies!*

proiectus Of sprawling in indolence (*Buc.*1.75), death (*Cat.*64.370, *Aen.*9.444), supplication (*Ov.**Am.*2.19.21). Like **s.**, an exile from *EV*.

terrae Dative; cf. **485 pronum sterne solo**, 10.555 *deturbat terrae* (at 6.652 do not therefore normalise to *terra*; at 12.130 **R**'s *telluri* is commendable); see Görler, *EV* 2, 266 (archaic); LHS, 146 propends for locative, but this is less in keeping with the particularly Virgilian extension of the use of dat..

88 ducunt Taking up **85 ducitur**; evident processional majesty and not subjected to Sparrow's critique.

et Postponed after initial verb in successive lines; we have to decide between an extended piece of 'sloppy and unrevised writing' on an

unparalleled scale, or adjust our criteria and consider this passage as a funeral march, appropriately slowed, with regular muffled drumbeats.

Rutulo . . . sanguine Cf. **7.318**; Pallas' funeral after all follows a substantial *aristeia* (10.362ff.).

perfusos . . . currus Note the captured horses at **80** (and cf. the chariot of Pallas' victim at 10.399f.), but Perret well notes that, between Acoetes and Aethon, Pallas' own chariot (though not mentioned in bk. 10) would be more appropriate, for which a poet. plural would be altogether normal. Cf. 2.221, 10.520 (ritual slaughter), *G.*2.510 (after *Cat.*64.399). The vb. also Lucretian, and the splattered chariots Homeric (*Il.*11.534ff., 20.499ff.).

89 post As temporal/local advb., cf. LHS, 242 and note the Virgilian instances listed separately in Merguet's *Lexicon*.

bellator equus The phrase used at *G.*2.145 (and cf. *Aen.*10.891, in gen.; note **700** for adj. use of nouns in *-tor*); there Mynors points out that the ἵππος πολεμικής of *Theocr.*15.51 was a racehorse (as Gow explains, fully), though the phrase may have attracted V. (and Harrison on 10. *cit.* notes also *Call.H.*6.101 πολεμήτιος); prose (vd. Mynors) has πολεμικήριος.

positis insignibus *Simplex* in the sense of *depositis*: cf. **309**, *G.*3.437, 4.238, *Aen.*1.291, 302, 10.52, etc., *EV* 4, 200 (Garuti). **I.** rather as at **7.659** (Ennian). For trappings (*phalerae*, as Serv. remarks), cf. **7.279f.** and, for the horse here appropriately without trappings, see **93**.

Aethon 'Brown' (?); Hector's horse so named at *Il.*8.185, and horses from Abydos and Arisbe are so described at 2.839.

90 it lacrimans The monosyllable so placed 15x by V.; a small word acquires thereby greater weight after Hom. βῆ. Cf. *stat lacrimans*, *G.*4.356; the participle extremely common in V. in agreement with the unexpressed subj. of vbs. (cf. Flury, *TLL* 7.2.845.33).

guttisque . . . grandibus For *g.* of tears, cf. *Acc.trag.*578, *Lucr.*1.349, *TLL* 6.2. 2371.37f. (Burckhardt). The same adj. used of *guttae* already at *G.*2.245 (case and sedes different).

umectat ora The vb. (of tears) at 1.465; here cf., clearly, *Lucr.*1.920 *lacrimis salsis umectent ora*. The motif of the weeping horse (cf. Mezentius' Rhaebus at 10.860) is Homeric (*Il.*17.426ff.) and the emotions of animals are recognised elsewhere among the wonders of the natural world (*Plin.Nat.*8.52, 157; cf. *Suet.Iul.*81.2, *Sen.Cons.Marc.*7.2, *Isid.Etym.*12.1.43). Cf. *infra* on the charger and the Roman funeral.

91 hastam . . . galeamque W.R. Barnes, in his minute examination

of the motif, (5–13), 67f., points out that we are told in bk. 10 (495ff.) that Tu. strips off the baldric, and it is the baldric that Tu. is wearing at 12.941ff., though we are left entirely ignorant of when Tu. donned it. ‘All the rest’, we realise here, must mean ‘everything apart from helmet [cf. 7.638] and spear’; Tu. is not necessarily wearing his new booty, but merely ‘has’ it, 92. V. avoids (apart from 7.664) the legionary *pilum* and his *hastae* are at times light enough to be carried in pairs (cf. Sandbach in Harrison, *OR*, 458, Wickert, 440ff., Saunders, 145ff., Malavolta, 118ff.).

alii . . . ferunt Not the **duces** of 84, nor those charged with Acoetes or Aethon; V. is quite partial to the indefinite pronoun thus in accounts of the multiple participants in a complex action (cf. 64). That the hero’s arms and charger follow his corpse is a detail closer to heroic, not Roman usage: Hector, Patroclus and Achilles (*Od.*24.64ff.) are cremated without their arms, of which the warrior is stripped in defeat (*Il.*7.77ff.). But Eetion (*Il.*6.418) and Elpenor (*Od.*11.74, 12.13) were buried armed. Cf. Seymour, 480, 594, Andronikos, 23. Note too the weapons and *dona militaria* thrown on to Caesar’s pyre, *App.Civ.*2.616, *Suet.Iul.*84.4, Weinstock, 355, Richard, *cit.* (72–7). SDan. remarks *militaris enim disciplinae fuit, ut equus usque ad sepulchrum duceretur*; this might be right, or simply extrapolation from V.’s text: certainly, my reading has yielded no Roman confirmation.

cetera Vd. *supra* (91).

Turnus/92 victor Cf. 397, 9.560, 12.383; of Pallas, cf. 44, 141, 10.463; of Aen., 4, 10.569; note *EV* 5*, 546f.

habet Vd. *supra* (91).

tum maesta phalanx The adj. recurrent and thematic (26); the noun *septies* in *Aen.*; it would be most surprising had Enn. not used it somewhere. V. draws freely on the military language of his own day (*EV* 1, 152), itself naturally part-Hellenised, as Plautus so clearly shows (T. Frank, *Life and literature . . .* (Berkeley 1930), 70ff.). Troops naturally took part in the triumph (as they had in the Homeric funeral, *Il.*23.128ff., with Richardson, p. 181f.): *Plut.Aem.Paull.*34.7, *Cic.Pis.*60, *Tib.*2.5.118, *DH* 2.34.2, etc., Ehlers, 509.35ff.; also, though, at least from the time of Sulla, in the *funus publicum* of *uiri militares* and later in those of members of the imperial house: *App.Civ.*1.495, *Serv. ad Aen.*6.861, with Flower, 100f., *Cons.Liv.*217, *Tac.Ann.*3.4.2.

Teucricque . . ./93 Tyrrhenique omnes . . . Arcades Cf. 12, 22, etc. for Aen. as the commander of an allied army; we should not sup-

pose that only the Arcadians had reversed arms (cf. **134**) nor should we ask why 'all' Tarchon's men took part (and not all the Arcades!); the two qualifiers are disposed as convenient. Page suggested that the thousand men of the escort (**61**) were accompanied by the whole army for the first part of the journey: possible but unnecessary.

sequuntur Just possibly etymologising: these contingents after all here take part in *exsequiae*: cf. *OLD* s.v. *exsequor*, §1.

93 uersis . . . armis For some manifestations of this widespread usage of reversal of dignities in the face of death, cf. *Cons.Liv.*141f., 177 *fractis . . . fascibus* (cf. 142 **euersos**), *Tac.Ann.*3.2 *incompta signa, uersi fasces*, *ib.*4 *sine insignibus magistratus*, *Stat.Theb.*6.214 **uersis insignibus**, *Suet.Aug.*100.2 *ponendos anulos aureos*, *SDan. ad Aen.***11.89**, *DC* 56.31.2, 72.21.3. Cf. Mommsen, *StR.*1₃, 440, Marquardt, 356, *Cuq.* *DS* 2.2, 1399, Flower, 102, Wesch-Klein, 88, and notably J. Scheid, *AION* (*Arch.Stor. Ant.*) 6 (1984), 126f.. I am reminded of photographs (kindly explained by my father!) of Edward VII's fox-terrier and charger in his funeral procession, the latter with the King-Emperor's boots reversed in the stirrups.

94 postquam . . . longe . . . praecesserat *TLL* 10.2.3.404.47f. (Somazzi, who compares *Hor.Serm.*1.9.42) assumes that the object is *Pallanta*, understood. No: the narrative here places Pallas at the head of the procession (**67**) just as Roman usage places the escort at the rear (Flower, 99, Weinstock, 349, Marquardt, 351ff., H.H. Scullard, *Festivals and ceremonies . . .* (London 1981), 220). The natural object is rather Aeneas, who has marshalled the whole procession and is about to play his part, though without actually leaving the camp. He is after all at war and has no time for ceremonial escort duties; it perhaps adds to his tragedy that he is limited to giving a last speech of farewell. The use of *postquam* with plpf. is extremely rare (*Prop.*4.9.63, *LHS*, 598, *EV* 3, 994). **L.** is emotionally effective (Aen. waits till the last moment before bidding farewell to Pallas), not practically (the speaker who needs his public gathered round him to be heard). Note that γ_1 reads **processerat**, favoured by many older editors, against the **prae-** of **MPR** (cf. 8.462 and 9.47).

omnis . . . comitum . . . ordo Socii at **2, 12**; here perhaps **c.** either because they had fought with Pallas or because they now accompany his corpse (*EV* has good articles on both near-synonyms). **O.:** cf. 6.482, 8.722, (2.766) and note (with n.) **7.152**. Cf. **93 omnes**; that use of *o.* which 'intensifies loss or absence' (**7.635**) might be relevant here too.

95 substitit Aeneas V. may suggest that Aen. had followed the procession some short distance out of the allied camp. Cf. 12.491 (*s.A.* again), 2.243, 739; good military language (*OLD* s.v., §3a, *novies* in Caes.), perhaps identifiably so.

gemituque . . . alto Cf. **37**; see **377**, 2.288 for *g.* integrated into a speech opening (note also *multa gemens*). *A.* 'loud' at Cat.42.18; here we naturally think of 'deep' (so 6.522, 10.63, of silence; cf. Gk. βαρύς); both *TLL* and *EV* peculiarly unhelpful.

haec addidit Cf. **7.451**.

96–8 A terse, soldierly, yet passionately felt farewell. V. draws with evocative deliberation upon two classic antecedents, Achilles to Patr. at *Il.*23.19 χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ Πάτροκλε, καὶ εἰν Ἀῖδαο δόμοισι and Cat. to his brother, 101.10 *atque in perpetuum, frater, aue atque uale*. Mackie, 187f., Hight, 207, Feeney in Harrison, *OR*, 183, Alessio, 56, Gransden *VI*, 165.

96 nos 'We the survivors' in studied counterpoise to **m.P.** at the end of the next line. Cf. *CLE* 1002.1.

alias . . . ad lacrimas Flury remarks (*TLL* 7.2.838.33f.) *ponitur pro eis quae lacrimas movent* (cf. Prop.4.1b.120): true, up to a point, were it not for Aen.'s real, wet tears (**41**), and Aethon's (**90**), not to mention Acoetes' more drastic grief (**86**).

hinc In both place and time, to future battlefields and funerals (so Serv.; Rieks, 113): an unrelieved vision.

eadem horrida At 4.298 *eadem impia Fama*, 6.116 *idem orans*, **11.336 idem infensus**, it looks as though the pronoun points to *Fama*, Anchises and Drances, all having been mentioned before in a similar role (cf. Giordano Rampioni, *EV* 4,313); here, therefore, we think of the same characterisation of war in a key passage such as **7.41 horrida bella**. SDan. is of course wrong to limit the expression to the great funeral of **182ff.**

belli/97 fata As individuals and nations had their own destinies, so too does war (Bailey, 218), war that is likewise often enough a domain of *fortuna* (4.603, *Enn. Ann.*188; cf. I. Kajanto, *God and fate in Livy* (Turku 1957), 78f., Bailey, 235ff., **7.560**): here, for instance, there is considerable overlap between the two concepts (*EV* 2, 476f., Bailey, 238ff.).

97 uocant Cf. *G.*4.496 (the call of death; Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 350), *Aen.*6.147, 10.472 (vd. Harrison); also 3.494 *nos alia ex aliis in fata uocamur*. Aen.'s destiny has changed, from endless wandering, to war and loss: hardly for the better, in tone or outlook.

salve aeternum . . . / 98 aeternumque uale Cf. 5.80. Not only (96–8) Catullan (and see Kroll *ad loc.*), but Varronian (*Logist.* p. 258f. Riese) and epigraphic (for this register in high poetry, cf. 7.1 and add J. Gomez Pallares in *Ovid. Welt u. Wirkung* 2 (Frankfurt 1998), 755ff.): cf. *CLE* 734.11, 2033.1, Hoogma, 332, *ILS* 8129 and 3.2, p. 947.

mihi Homer's χαῖρέ μοι (vd. 96–8).

maxime Palla The voc. thus used of Octavian (*G.*2.170), Jupiter (*Aen.*8.572), and Aeneas (8.470): *Aen.* uses the strongest expression of esteem open to him. For the voc. in -a, cf. NW 1, 446 (note common *Aenea*).

98 nec plura effatus Cf. 8.443, 12.896; in general, see 7.599.

ad altos / 99 . . . muros For the walls of the Trojans' camp, cf. 7.157, 9.805 *Teucrorum moenibus altis*, Carcopino, 363, n. 3.

99 tendebat 'Go', in *Acc.trag.*318, *Lucre.*4.325; dear to V. as a grand alternative to *ire*: *EV* 5*, 95.

gressumque . . . ferebat Theme and variation, arguably a little flaccid; for the phrase, cf. *Lucre.*4.681, *Aen.*2.753, 6.677, *TLL* 6.2.2329.7 (Burckhardt).

in castra Cf. 7.159, 522, Carcopino, 359.

100–21 The Latin embassy What might seem formally a routine exchange of ritual courtesies on the battlefield will become, in the two speeches (102–5, 108–119) and their narrative settings, both a reconsideration of the outbreak of war and an anticipation of its end. For the Homeric background, cf. 108–119. See Büchner 395.7ff., Quinn, 235, Knauer, 283f..

100 iamque Latins' envoys come into sight while *Aen.* is still returning to his quarters (cf. 7.160). A 'time-setting' formula (analogous to *est locus* and variations thereon, 7.483): Prof. Görler compares 12.391 and (but not of unexpected events) e.g. 184, 487.

oratores A distinctive Ennian archaism (7.153).

aderant Just so the Gauls on *Aen.*'s shield *per dumos aderant* (8.657); so too Hercules (8.203, 228) or Venus herself (8.609), not to mention (Görler) 7.577, 12.391.

ex urbe Latina Cf. 17 **murosque Latinos**, 9.367 *ex urbe Latina* (with Carcopino, 248). Latinus' city is neither explicitly named nor precisely located in V.'s text (cf. 7.153, 162, 169), perhaps deliberately.

101 uelati ramis oleae Cf. 7.154 **ramis uelatos Palladis**: they are holding *uelamenta* of olive-twigs, with fillets of wool attached (*Serv.*'s n. here is perfectly correct), proper to suppliants. Standard phrasing

here (vd. Kuhlmann, *TLL* 9.2.538.74, *quinquies* in Livy, 24.30.14, etc.). Far beyond *EV* 3, 839.

ueniamque rogantes The coupled participles, concrete and abstract, 'perfect' and present display extreme economy of means (cf. 8.120 *socia arma rogantis* and note the commoner use of *petens*, *quaerens*). The verb, (cf. **7.229**), unlike the noun, is not part of Livian diplomatic language; the noun (cf. Crifò, *EV*, s.v.), though, is closely associated with the idea of peace in both V. (here, cf. 4.50, 56f., **11.110f.**, **356ff.**) and in the language of political life (cf. Weinstock, 267ff., Z. Yavetz, *Julius Caesar and his public image* (Eng.tr., London 1983), 174ff.), in the distinct senses of *clementia* and (as Sen. puts it) *poenae merita remissio* (*Clem.*2.7.1; vd. Crifò, *cit.*). The conflict of values, aims and interests between Turnus and Latinus has surfaced again (**7.55ff.**, **421ff.**) and the Latin embassy, after full, formal peace had almost been established between Lat. and Aen. (**7.263**), can only beg comprehension and forgiveness for their foolish (though understandable) support for Tu. (Balk, 84ff., Schenk, 119f., Mackie, 188f., Alessio, 57f.; Williams' 'favour' is fanciful). Augustan *clementia*, indeed, for those who want to see it (cf. Binder, 280, Gleis, 222, Hardie (1998), 258ff., K. Galinsky, *Augustan culture* (Princeton 1996), 84f., M. Griffin, *Seneca* (Oxford repr. 1992), 144ff., P.A. Brunt, *Roman imperial themes* (Oxford 1990), 314ff., Woodman on Vell.2.100.4).

102 corpora Cf. **7.80** for V.'s sense of the horrors of the battlefield, aside from the deaths of the great heroes. So of course Hom. (Griffin, 137f.), and the historians no less (**182–224**). The scene is no less awful, or universal, for being in OO (Hight, 342f., *EV* 2, 105f., A. Laird, *Powers of expression* (Oxford 1999), 154), for it is not drily Caesarian, beginning as it does with (in Laird's terms, 'mimetic indirect discourse', 95) an emotive appeal (see next n.) to the bodies visible to speakers and audience.

per campos . . . iacebant Cf. Lucr.6.1265 *corpora . . . strata iacebant*, *Bell.Afr.*40.6 *horum corpora . . . caesa toto campo ac prostrata . . . iacebant*, *TLL* 7.1.7.70f. (Köstermann). Page is suspicious of the indicative (which is archaic usage, LHS, 548), and Gransden suggests that it is a 'comment by the poet': consider rather the sequence of ideas, for it is to the unburied bodies present on the field that the ambassadors first point, at once a fact, an abomination and a powerful argument; grammatically they belong indeed inside the relative clause but the

clause is itself, if you will, deictic more than subordinate. Cf. further Woodcock, 239ff.

ferro . . . fusa The part. at once 'struck down' (note the abl., cf. **665**, 9.592) and 'spread, scattered' (6.423, 9.722 and the more pastoral 1.214, etc.). See *TLL* 6.1.1569.76 (Robbert), *EV* 2.610.

103 redderet Conventional OO begins, without introductory verb; the vb. with a common sense of the prefix, 'put in the right, due place' (cf. *OLD* s.v., §1e, **594**, **7.134 reponite**), without any necessary implication of 'put back' (Serv. thinks the battlefield is all in victorious Trojan hands; perhaps true, but 'return' is hardly the main sense here): cf. 5.347 *si primi Salio reddentur honores* (he would have come first but for Nisus' foul play).

tumulo . . . terrae Cf. **7.6**. The phrase does not perforce indicate inhumation (cf. **2**, **22**); cf. Saunders, 127 for Virgilian *tumuli* that contain ashes (4.427, 5.31, etc.). *EV* 5*, 315 (Migliorati) well remarks that in these lines (bks. 10,11) V uses interchangeably of the same object *tumulus*, *terra*, *humus*, *agger*, *sepulcrum*. The gen. is thus not simply 'of material', but also in some sense a *genetivus inhaerentiae*. There is marked and affective antithesis between **per campos . . . fusa** and **tumulo . . . succedere**.

sineret Perhaps only here in V. of a commander's discretionary authority (**182–224**).

succedere *EV* (4, 1055, Valenti Pagnini) is perhaps right to associate this passage with the common use of *succedere* to indicate reaching a place of safety or refuge (e.g. **7.36**, **214**, **501**).

104 nullum cum uictis certamen *Esse* omitted; welcome brevity and variation. C. first in extant poetry in Cic. (**7.523**). The dying Mezentius generalises *per si qua est uictis uenia hostibus*, but the Latins ask a courtesy of war (**182–224**), not just for the dead, but on their own behalf: even the vanquished have kin and comrades who require honourable burial (10.842, 12.571, *EV* 5*, 546, Griffin, 116, Horsfall, *Companion*, 204).

aethere cassis Cf. the Lucretian (4.368 *et alibi*) *lumine cassus*; also Cic. *Arat.* 369 *cassum luminis* (see *EV* s.v., Garbugino). Cf. **7.281**, **768** for the Virgilian *aether*.

105 parceret Aen. is asked to spare the dead (already specified as the principal concern), in not abandoning them to the dogs and vultures (note 3.41 *parce sepulto!*), and the living (cf. 6.834 *tu parce*,

853 *parcere subiectis* with *SO* 68 (1993), 39), in allowing them to bury their dead in accordance with the Latin *patrius mos* (2).

hospitibus . . . socerisque The envoys' words may contain an echo of their king's, **7.264 si iungi hospitio properat sociusque uocari**; for **h.**, cf. also **7.202** and for **soceris** **7.96, 317, 579**. The two dominant motifs of the accord so nearly reached before Allecto's intervention. With **uocatis** cf. 4.172 *coniugium uocat*. Latinus had called the Trojans allies and kin, but the finalised accord to translate word into reality had never been reached.

quondam According to the timekeepers (*EV* 2, 238) only six days or so have elapsed since the outbreak of hostilities; to the Latins, and to the reader, it does seem much longer since there last was peace in Saturn's *regnum*.

uocatis Though the accord was never formalised (**101**), the participle never indicates for **V.** 'was called' as against 'really was'; though it is in fact Latinus, not Ilioncus, who talks of hospitality and intermarriage in their meeting in **7**, that is because they were his to offer, while **Il.** 'appears to ask little' (**7.213–248**).

106 quos . . . precantis So with neut. plur. object at e.g. **697**, *Hor.Serm.2.3.203, 7.36 tibi non referenda precati*, *Tib.2.6.17*; notably terse phrasing indicates that *uenia* is actually called for, irrespective of **Aen.**'s disposition.

bonus Aeneas Cf. 5.770, *Lucr.3.1025 bonus Ancus*, after *Enn. Ann.137*. Ancus is an exemplary 'good king' (Kenney *ad loc.*, Cairns, 6ff., Rawson, *RCS*, 174ff.) and **V.**'s Aeneas owes much to such theorising, becoming indeed a 'new kind of hero' (Mackie, 188, n. 1; note though *Hom. ἀγαθός*, Moskalew, 82); only twice though is he *bonus*, first, reassuring the Trojan *matres* and here impeccably *clemens in uictos* (TCD well notes that the epithet anticipates **Aen.**'s benevolent reply); **Aen.**'s reaction here goes beyond mere mercy to positive benevolence. At large, though, possibly both too much a catchword and an unwelcome competitor to the metrically equivalent *pius*.

haud aspernanda Introduced by *Cat.* (64.301) to high poetry; note litotes also with the *simplex sperno* at **7.261**.

107 prosequitur 'Accompanies with, reacts to' (cf. *OLD* s.v., §4); cf. *Cic.Brut.4 illius . . . mortis opportunitatem benevolentia potius quam misericordia prosequamur*; certainly not 'sends on their way' (Gransden); the Latins will listen immobile until **134**. That **Aen.**'s verbal (**uerbis**) reaction is placed firmly second (**insuper**) suggests that we should

understand **uenia** as expressed *non-uerbally*, i.e. by a gesture; cf. Ann Kuttner *Dynasty and empire in the age of Augustus* (Berkeley 1995), 91f., 99f., 167. Typically provocative and inspiring, her discussion rules out any one obvious visual signal to be thought of here.

uenia Cf. **1**; to be condemned as repetitive or (far better) championed as ring-composition or significant echo.

uerbis haec insuper addit Cf. 2.593 *roseoque haec insuper addidit ore*, 12.358 *atque haec insuper addit*, Moskalew 66, n. 82.

108–119 Aeneas' speech

Though *Il.* contains several truces, to permit burial of the dead or to set up single combat (another key motif in *Aen.* 11–12, first adumbrated here)—cf. *Il.* 3.250ff., 7.368ff., 385ff., Seymour, 113—it is *Il.* 7 that he clearly has in mind, separating as he does truce and Latin assembly (so the Trojans, *Il.* 7.345–80, Knauer, 283f.). *Aen.*'s respect for the enemy, and for the dead is closely in keeping with the human warmth and strong sense of religious propriety he has shown in his atypically frequent speeches thus far in the book. The warrior of 10 turns statesman in 11; from burial truce (naturally granted), he widens the issue to future peace and to the inexplicable outbreak of hostilities, when Latium had been on the very brink of formal peace (with ample distortion of the narrative 'facts' of bk. 7, **113f.**) and from the causes of war he reaches most naturally the issue of single combat between himself and Turnus (cf. **218f.**, **370ff.**, Schenk, 123ff.; indeed, once it is made explicit, all else is in some sense only retardatory!), which in turn implies, for his Latin hearers, the conflicting roles of Tu. and Lat. in the events of bk. 7, a conflict upon which Drances will seize with relish; cf. SDan. on **113**: *aut seditionem eorum aduersus regem inuocat*; it is rather, in terms of V.'s plot, the division between Latins and Tu. that underlies these lines; Lat. is essentially a tacit and innocent participant. As much therefore a crucial point in the story as has been claimed for **42–58**. For Lact. (**82**), *Aen.*'s generosity is inconsistent and meaningless in such proximity to the ritual slaughter of human victims. Schenk, 119f., Gleis, 223, Alessio, 57f., Hightet, 141, Mackie, 188f., Cairns, 73, 96, U. Scholz, *Herm.* 127 (1999), 155ff..

108 quaenam Cf. (and I include tmesis and archaic inversion of the elements) 2.373 (with Austin's n.), 3.338, 12.637, Clausen on *Buc.* 9.39, Mynors on *G.* 4.445f., LHS 584, n. 1, Leumann, 473; an occasional intensification of the simple interrogative (but note also

that here **q.** has been claimed as exclamatory, Mariotti, *Lezioni su Ennio*, 49, Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 385). The tone and content close (cf. Highet, 317, n. 49, Alessio, *cit.*) to Diomedes' at **252ff.** (note **114::278, 112::269**).

uos . . . / 109 implicuit Cf. *Lucr.* 6.1232 *implicitum morbo*, *Liv.* 26.24.16 *implicatum bello finitimo* (Leumann, 544 for the oscillation of conjugation), *TLL* 7.1.643.45f. (Rehm), *EV* 4, 142 (unhelpful). Cf. Livy's *bello inligari* (31.25.9, 32.21.11).

tanto . . . / 109 . . . bello Cf. 1.566, 2.718, 6.832, 12.559, perhaps after *Lucr.* 5.392 *tantum spirantes aequo certamine bellum*. A relative clause of consequence will follow.

fortuna indigna Allecto is beyond Aeneas' imagining (and knowledge); he offers the Latins an expression of bewilderment, that some ill-luck (which they as a people do not deserve; for the new expression, cf. *Just.* 27.1.5, *Tac. Ann.* 16.9.2, *TLL* 7.1.1189. 74 (Lausberg): Kajanto (**96**), 63ff., *EV* 2, 566) has driven them to war. And if not ill-luck, then fate, solidly behind the Trojans (**112**), Cf. Bailey, 227f., 236, 239 for these alternative explanations (so too **232f.**, 4.440, 651, 8.333ff., 511f., 574ff., 12.677 and see Williams, *TI*, 11).

Latini Cf. **7.260** for Virgilian usage of the voc. sing. and plur. of ethnic names.

109 nos fugiatis amicos The Trojans bore suppliants' *uelamenta* at **7.237**, along with splendid gifts and modest requests, to Latinus' entire satisfaction; Aen. discreetly and in his most statesmanlike mode (cf. R.G.M. Nisbet, in Harrison, *OR*, 388) represents Latin rejection of Trojan overtures (**101**), after Latinus himself has spoken to Ilioneus of the **uolus . . . amicos (7.265)** that await his king, as no more than an inexplicable rejection of friendship, and will be careful not to reproach the envoys with acts of disproportionate, if not entirely unprovoked, aggression.

110 pacem For this sense of 'truce' (initial object, with all due emphasis, cf. **133**, *Plin. Nat.* 7.109 *pacemque funeri dedit* (Lysander to the Athenians, in homage to the dead Sophocles). V. recalls Agamemnon, *Il.* 7.408ff. ἀμφὶ δὲ νεκροῖσιν κατακαίμεν οὐ τι μεγάριω/οὐ γάρ τις φειδῶ νεκρῶν κατατεθνηώτων/γίγνεται, ἔπει κε θάνωσι, πυρὸς μειλισσέμεν ὄκα.

me . . . / 111 oratis Cf. **414**, 10.80 *pacem orare manu*, predictably frequent in historical prose (e.g. *Sall. Jug.* 47.3, *Hist.* 2.87B); the double acc. very common (cf. 9.24), like the lengthening of **oratis** in *arsis* at strong pause.

exanimis Vd. **30**.

Martis sorte Cf. Harrison on 10.407f., Bailey, 115, n. 6 for this conventionally metonymic use of *Mars*; for *sors* as the chance of death in battle, cf. **165**, 2.555, 10.450, 12.54, 243: a partial synonym of **(108) fortuna**, and one which (so TCD) in some measure exculpates both sides. Two unremarkable words combined here alone and apparently not imitated.

peremptis Cf. **177**, Cic.*carm.*Hom.1.17, Lucr.3.886, 1089. V. only uses the past part., *septies* in *Aen.*, *semel* in *G.*; *perempta et interempta pro interfectis poni solet a poetis* remarks Fest.p.238.2f.; Lyne, *WP*, 106ff. and Axelson, 65ff. perhaps both underestimate the degree to which numerous occasional synonyms (as here; cf. e.g. *sternere*) may complicate the picture their statistics offer. After **exanimis**, an expansion of sense which might perhaps be justified as a representation of *Aen.*'s ample sense of sorrow at the sight of the too-numerous losses of his inexplicable adversaries.

111 equidem Cf. **7.311**; rather rarer as first word: *Aen.* presents an inclination (in implicit contrast to Latin aggression), which cannot however for the moment be realised (see **uellem**, *infra*), to grant not a truce but a real peace, far more than has been asked (cf. Anchises to Julius Caesar, 6.834f., Cairns, 96, Lyne, *FV*, 31, Clausen, *THP*, 91f.). Hitherto, though, the pace of events has been such that there had been no chance to make any such declaration.

et uiuis In terse opposition to the previous line, with perhaps the hint of a gesture to the envoys. Cf. the contrasts at 6.654f., 8.485.

concedere Echoed at Tac.*Hist.*2.45, a passage written with these lines much in mind.

uellem Expressive of regret for that which cannot be (Ernout-Thomas, 241, *EV* 5*, 616); cf. **303**, **584**, 6.436.

112 nec ueni 'Nor have I come'; 'insolito' remarks Görler, *EV* 2, 273 of the tense. While an impf. or plpf. would have been unsurprising in an unreal condition (LHS, 328, Woodcock, 156f., cf. Roby 2, 223, KS 2, 402f. Madvig, §348), some instances of pf. do occur in Plaut. (e.g. *Persa* 594; cf. Lindsay, *Synt. of Plaut.*, 61), and in historical prose (e.g. Liv.2.10.2, Tac.*Hist.*1.64). *Aen.*4.19 *potui* with *fuisset* in protasis serves to remind us that usage with modal verbs is different. Serv. avers that V. wished to avoid homoeoteleuton, but did not have V.'s actual and more tolerant usage at hand: cf. *Buc.*3.15, 6.50f., *Aen.*1.473, 2.292, 4.604f., 5.232ff., 6.361, 8.570f., **11.285f.**; **7.653f.** and 8.570f. are yet more singular. If variation in person and

conjugation had been admitted, these instances of parechesis just cited would have been far more numerous. Page here discerns two overlapping expressions of thought; the indic. is perhaps rather easier than he judged, but the observation does prompt a suspicion that V. here concentrates grammatical singularities as an expression of intense and confused thinking.

nisi fata . . . dedissent Precisely the argument used by Ilioneus to Latinus, **7.239f.** Standard phrasing. cf. 3.337, 4.225 (with 3.255).

locum sedemque S.: typical language of the Trojans, as wanderers destined to better things, **7.229.** Amplitude of expression again (cf., on a much grander scale, 6.638f. and vd. **110, 7.158**), perhaps to be explained this time by the importance of the theme of the destined goal.

113 nec bellum . . . gero Cf. **7.444**; Ennian and standard prose. Note 8.55 *hi bellum adsidue ducunt cum gente Latina*.

cum gente 'Conciliatory' remarks Nisbet (in Harrison, *OR*, 388); cf. 8.481, 489 for an entirely different opposition of *rex* (Mezentius!) and *ciues*; behind the comparable **539ff.** there may simply lurk a reworking of V.'s story of Mez. (*Athen.*66 (1988), 40f.). Curiously, neither recent commentators, nor Highet, Balk, Mackie or Alessio note that Aen. here displays a (formally ironic, but without harmful consequences) double misconception of the actual evolution of events as narrated by V.: it was after all Latinus who withdrew into his palace and refused to open the Gates of War (**7.585ff., 616ff.**); Williams refers to Latinus' 'reluctant acceptance of the war' in 7, quite inexplicably), while the Latins were ready enough to take up arms (from **7.520** on).

rex Cf. **7.174, 432, 556.**

nostra . . . / 114 hospitia Note that at 1.671f. *Iunonia . . . hospitia* (where vd. Austin) are inspired *by* J., while at 10.494f. *Aeneia . . . hospitia* are offered *to* Aen.; here, then, Aen. might refer either to a relationship they had proposed, or (less probably, we might think) to one they had been offered! In **7**, it is in fact Lat. who (conditionally; see next note) offers the Trojans *hospitium* (**202, 264**), but we are free to suspect that Aen. has forgotten, or prefers to misrepresent the actual course of events (*EV* 2, 861 eschews these niceties).

reliquit Mild irony of a rather different kind will strike those who recall **7.202 ne fugite hospitium** (Latinus to Aen.); we need to remember once again the need for a precise recollection of earlier events (in order to be able to assess the oratory!), above all that

Allecto's intervention had ruled out Aen.'s being able to satisfy Latinus' one condition (7.264–5), that the two kings meet face to face. *Hospitium* had therefore been offered, but not formally established.

114 Turni . . . armis Not in keeping with the narrative of 7, nor for that matter with what transpires from bks. 8–10. Since Lat. refused to open the Gates of War, nothing at all in the text suggests that he has left his palace or has been in contact with Turnus: ignorance or informed misrepresentation on Aen.'s part? We are no nearer knowing. References to *Laurentes* and *Latini* in the narrative of bks. 8–10 are scattered (8.537, 9.717, 10.77, 237, 311, 635; cf. **11.193 occisis . . . Latinis**): all, in theory, could refer in general to Aen.'s Italian enemies (Harrison on 10.635, Horsfall, *EV* 3, 141, *Athen.*78 (1990), 526), and we cannot define precisely the specifically Latin contribution to Turnus' war effort so far, in defiance of their king's neutrality.

potius Underlining the antitheses of *nostra* and *Turni*, of *hospitia* and *armis*.

se credit Cf. **153, 706f.**, *G.2.333*, *Aen.5.383*, 6.15, 10.289; familiar usage in prose. It would not be uncharacteristic of Aen. to misrepresent the facts (Hight, 287ff.; cf. *Companion*, 196, Hardie (1998), 246, D.C. Feeney in Harrison, *OR*, 185, S. Casali, *CQ* 49 (1999), 208ff., Heinze, 324ff.), but V. leaves us to wonder whether Aen. did not know Lat.'s role in the events of 7 (see **113 cum gente**) or prefers to attribute to him a false version.

115 aequius Cf. *Buc.5.4 tibi me est aequum parere*, *Aen.12.20f. tanto me impensius aequum est/consulere* ('more energetically just', for the expected *aequius*; so Traina). Note *Cat.68.141 aequum est*, *Lucret.5.226*, 1089 and *LHS*, 359 for the acc.+inf..

huic . . . morti Bell (217) wonders unhappily if *h.* might stand for *hac manu oblatae*: not impossible, but not here, for Aen. points to the corpse(s) lying before them (as Serv. correctly notes; *EV* 4, 314 compares 2.45 *haec* of the Trojan Horse, 294, 6.325, 789, 8.271, etc.; see **117**), though that does not mean that V. invites us to think of *m.* in a collective concrete sense, 'corpse', possible though that would be (*OLD* s.v., §5a).

Turnum . . . se opponere Cf. 2.127 *opponere morti*, *com.pall.inc.59*, *Cic.Balb.26*, *har.resp.60*, *TLL* 9.2.764.41 (Beikircher). See further **373–5**. Whether the repetition of Tu.'s name in the same *sedes* in consecutive lines might be significant is not clear (Wills, 390).

fuerat As against the more 'objective' *aequum fuit*, normal usage

where the literal-minded might expect the formally unreal *fuisse* (LHS, 328, KS 1, 173, Ernout-Thomas, 247). So too, as Page notes, with Gk. ἔδει, χρῆν. Aen. does not accuse Tu. of being spear-shy; it is not by his own will that he is for the moment removed from the action. **116 si . . . si . . . / 117 apparat** The vb. first in extant poetry apparently at Hor. *Epd.* 2.48; cf. also *Aen.* 9.147, 10.453. Aen. at last spreads the wings of his oratory in parallel cola (cf. 7.263f.; here underlined by assonance, **bell- . . . pell-**).

bellum finire Cf. Caes. *Civ.* 3.51.3, Liv. 28.40.1, Ov. *Met.* 15.747, *TLL* 2.1836.49 (B.A. Müller/Hey), 6.1.782.41f. (Bacherler).

manu Less of a 'fill-in' word than at **7.604**, more than at **7.621!**

pellere Teucros *Simplex pro composito*, exactly as at **7.217 pulsi regnis**. Aen. is careful to ascribe to his adversary a patriotic, not an erotic motivation, though the two coexist in the text (*Companion*, 209f.).

117 his . . . telis Deictic, exactly as at **115**; Aen. significantly points to the arms of the unburied dead.

mecum . . . concurrere Cf. Nep. *Eum.* 4.1 (noun), Liv. 5.38.3, Ov. *Met.* 13.87, *TLL* 4.110.37 (Burger). *Ter* in *G*, 22x in *Aen.* (+ *concursum quinques*). Ennian (*Ann.* 144); at **7.520** I failed to indicate what a great favourite the verb is with *V.*.

decuit *Septies* in *V.*, and, like *concurrere*, absent from *EV*, however important a term for expressing *V.*'s sense of proper (πρέπον) behaviour in an heroic epic (cf. 4.597, 5.384, 10.94, 613, 12.153, 797 and *EV* 2, 10ff. for some cognates). We have yet to wait (till 12.1ff.) for Tu. to recognise where right conduct lies.

118 uixet Cf. 1.201 *accestis*, 4.606 *exstinxem*, 682 *exstinxti*, 5.786 *traxe*, 6.57 *derexti* (where vd. Norden), Görler, *EV* 2, 264, NW 3, 500ff., Sommer, *Formenlehre* (1948), 590, Leumann, 598: in Enn. and Cat. (e.g.); colloquial (Lindsay, *Lat.Lang.*, 508; in *V.*, as Norden noted, only in speeches) but also archaic. 'It is very hard' remarks Page 'to analyse the strict grammar of these rhetorical passages'. In confirmation, he called *u.* a past jussive (as did Williams); this is improper terminology (cf. LHS, 336, Woodcock, 86f.) in reference to an unfulfilled wish (LHS 332f., Woodcock, 89), whose unexpressed subject is qualified by a generic relative: 'he would have survived, to whom [formally causal] the god or his own right hand had given life'.

cui uitam . . . dedisset 12.879 *quo uitam dedit aeternam?* 2.145, 9.704 (different sense; vd. Dingel); cf. Lucr. 3.971 *uitaque mancipio nulli datur*, and *TLL* 5.1.1684.57 (Rubenbauer); note also **162 animam ipse dedissem**.

deus aut sua dextra Cf. **108** n., **7.234 fata per Aeneae . . . dextramque potentem**; the antithesis is in itself familiar elsewhere (**179f.**, 4.696, 6.683, 9.260; cf. Williams, *TI*, 8, on 'fate as a synecdoche for the historical process', and, rather, Bailey, 227).

119 nunc ite et Cf. **24**.

miseris . . . ciuibus Cf. Cic.*Cat.*4.11 *miseros atque insepultos aceruos ciuium*, *Mil.*63, *Sall.Cat.*33, *Or.Lep.*17, [*Sall.*] *Rep.*2.4, *Buc.*1.71f., *Aen.*2.42, 5.671, **11.360**, *Liv.*7.41.1, *Luc.*6.102. The Latins are invited to bury their fellow-citizens (cf. Agamemnon, *Il.*7.410, quoted above, **110**), but V. may here also attribute to Aen. a sense that these poor corpses (Serv. well discerns *bonitas* in the epithet) are the Trojans' fellow-citizens too, but for the outbreak of a war whose origins he cannot understand. Quinn, 374, grasps that *c.* is interesting, without explaining quite how.

supponite . . . ignem The fire is lit under the corpses, yes (*OLD* s.v., §2a, *Prop.*2.13.31 *ubi suppositus cinerem me fecerit ardor*), but is also lit at the base of the pyre (cf. **7.463 suggeritur**, 6.223 *subiectam*, *Ov.Met.*2.810, 6.456, to confirm that Roman fires too were lit from the bottom; they still are. You may try from the top, in vain!) and both senses may be present here. The verb is hardly to be called a 'tecnicismo' (*EV* 4, 201).

120 dixerat Aeneas Cf. **7.212**; of Aen. also at 8.152, 10.530.

illi obstipuere silentes Cf. Cic.*carm.*Hom.1.23 *torpentes . . . obstipuitis* (the verb common in comedy and prose; a favourite with Prop., once in *G.* and 16x in *Aen.*). Here cf. 12.665 *obstipuit . . . confusus*. A moment of collective silence (and Quinn acutely notes that V. does not tell us quite what it was in Aen.'s speech that so amazed his audience, 235) after which (impf.: the Latins begin to look at each other) the scene for Drances' impact is set. Vd. *infra*, **inter se**.

121 conuersique Cf. Cic.*Cat.*4.1 *uideo . . . in me omnium uestrum ora atque oculos esse conuersos* (note too *Sall.Iug.*85.5, *Liv.*40.54.3) **11.746**, 12.705 *conuertere oculos*, 172 *illi ad surgentem conuersi lumina solem*. As at 3.48 (= 2.774), *obstipui steteruntque comae et uox faucibus haesit*, V. expands amply the sense of shared astonishment (*EV*, 4, 1047, L. Ricottilli, 5*, 9).

oculos . . . atque ora A stock pairing (which Henry strives doughtily to sunder), *Plaut.Poen.*1113, *Sall.Iug.*79.6, Cic. *supra*, *Verr.*2.2.81, 2.3.5, 2.4.148, *Mil.*42.7, *Liv.*5.42.5, 6.17.8, 22.5.5, 44.38.9 etc.. Curiously ignored by Heuzé.

inter se Cf. 5.766 *complexi inter se*, 6.160 *multa inter sese uario sermone*

serebant. The Latins turn to gaze at each other as something of the wider implications of Aen.'s speech begins to dawn on them (Ricottilli, 155, *ead.*, MD 28 (1992), 211, n. 72).

tenebant Cf. **7.249f. defixa . . . / . . . tenet ora**, 2.1 *intentique ora tenebant*, 8.520 *defixique ora tenebant*. **Oculos . . . atque ora** should be taken both as obj. after **t.**, and also as internal acc. after the participle (so already Page. One might talk of 'syntactical zeugma'): the analogies cited show that both roles will naturally have been heard.

122–32 Drances and his first speech

Pallas' body is on its way to his anxious but unknowing father; his death is as yet unavenged, his killer has been saved from risk for now (10.688) and Aen. has just reminded us that while Tu. is alive, his own *fides* is open to question (**55**). A nicely chosen moment to introduce a Latin enemy of Tu., to accept Aen.'s offer of a truce (and more). A perfectly proper reaction, even if it derives from old enmity (Quinn), met with unanimous approval by his fellow-citizens (**131**). We shall learn not to like Dr., but the manner of his entry is to be admired and the conventional terms of his eulogy of Aen. reveal an orator in whom good sense coexists with bad character (cf. Hardie (1998), 252ff.). The origin of the name is altogether unclear (La Penna, 283f.:138f.). An invented figure, clearly, endowed with a detailed biography (**336–41**; cf. La Penna, *cit.*, *Alambicco*, 68ff., GR 34 (1987), 49ff.) and deeply rooted in both Hom. (cf. **122, 336–42, 343–75**; not only Thersites, but also Polydamas: see Highet, 248ff., Knauer, 284, La Penna, *cit.*, Burke, M. Leigh, *PVS* 21 (1993), 89ff.) and late republican politics. The old fantasy that Dr. 'was' Cicero (*Ciceronis personae mirifice convenit*, Turnebus, *ap.* La Penna, 140; cf. *id.*, *Vergiliana*, 287f.) is still dubiously alive (Quinn, McDermott, Alessio), though it has been answered repeatedly and with great weight (vd. La Penna, *bis* and cf. Grilli, *EV* 1, 774f.; nothing need be added, while the notion that D. was, rather, Maecenas is cited for its very singularity, L.A. McKay, *CW* 45.9 (1951), 258f.). I shall be more concerned to illustrate the familiar language and themes of late Republican politics so amply discerned in V.'s picture: with La Penna's definition of him (notably at *Vergiliana*, 285ff.) as a typical *popularis* demagogue I have no disagreement. See Alessio, 58f., P.F. Burke, *TAPA* 108 (1978), 15ff., Calboli, *EV* 3, 870f., E. Fantham, *AJP* 120 (1999), 265, Highet, 141ff., 249ff., A. La Penna, in *Vergiliana*, 283ff. and *id.*, *EV* 2, 138ff., W.C. McDermott, *Vergilius* 26 (1980), 34ff., Quinn, 235, Scholz (**108–19**), 153ff.

122 tum Common both with and (e.g. **7.552**, 1.335, 3.102, 12.776) without vb. of speaking to introduce speech (*EV* 3, 995).

senior . . . Drances/123 . . . iuueni Turno A double opposition, of names and terms; cf. Worstbrock, 164ff., Harrison, *Aen.*10, 288ff., Smith on Tib.1.8.30, **7.233**; 10.65f. (balancing *Aenean . . . / . . . Latino* and *hostem regi*) is analogous. The difference in age is clearly a key element in their loathing; Tu. 'a young warrior, like Achilles' (on **7.435**) and Dr. an elderly, acid politician (cf. Hardie (1998), 266, n. 31, *EV* 2, 396; Fantham, 265 suggests Dr. saw him 'as a newcomer detracting from his own authority', but that goes beyond the text), perhaps chosen to speak on account of his years. Note Eyben (**36**), 56ff. for Catiline's appeal to the young (*Sall. Cat.*14, *passim*), and contempt for elderly and successful public men (*ib.*20.8): a contrast in outline familiar but not specifically recognisable to V.'s readers.

semperque Cf. **378** (of Drances), **732**, 4.569, **7.748**, used thus of permanent characteristics.

odiis et crimine Of *odia* Pease (on 4.623) remarked 'acts of hate'; that is sometimes true (1.668, 4., *cit.*, 5.786, 7.298), sometimes not (2.96, 12.398, 7.336): cf. *EV* 3, 820f. (Vinchisi). In the latter cases, intensification and metrical convenience may both be relevant factors. Though hate is a frequent element in the lexicon of late Republican politics (Hellegouarc'h, 191ff.), the coupling is singular. Of **c.**, SDan. remarks *aut qui eum odio et criminationibus persequeretur* while Serv. thinks that Dr.'s *crimen* was *inertia*, or that Tu.'s was having caused the deaths of so many. *EV* (1, 932, Thomas) well evades the whole problem by treating **c.** as sing. for plural, which may well also be the case at **7.577**. 10.851 is not relevant here ('crimes'—and clearly in the case of Mez., more than one!—rather than 'accusation'; cf., fully, Thome (*M.*), 127, against Harrison). If, then, Dr. is rendered odious by the number and character of the charges he brings, he is, in the language of the age, *criminosus*; note e.g. Cic.*Clu.*94 *ille autem acerbus, criminosus, popularis homo ac turbulentus*, and cf. Lily Ross Taylor, *Party politics in the age of Caesar* (Berkeley 1964), 98ff. on 'the political significance of the criminal trial'; add T.P. Wiseman, *New men in the Roman senate* (Oxford 1971), 119ff., E. Gruen, *The last generation of the Roman Republic* (Berkeley 1974), 260ff., D.F. Epstein, *Personal enmity in Roman politics* (Beckenham 1987).

123 infensus Cf. 12.232 *infensa Etruria Turno*, Liv.1.16.5, 2.39.6, Tac.*Hist.*5.1.2, *TLL* 7.1.1366.44f. (Lambertz). *Plus quam inimicus*, as Serv. remarks on 2.72. *Sexies* in Cic. and *ter* in Sall., then *undecies* in

Aen. So Thersites was ἔχθιστος to Achilles and Odysseus (*Il.*2.220) and **odiis et crimine** is a familiar, Republican, political reworking of the abuse he lavished on them (νεκείεσκε; not to mention shrill revilings of Agamemnon himself, 221f.). See Epstein, *cit.*, Brunt *Fall Rom. Rep.*, 366ff., P. Jal, *La guerre civile . . .* (Paris 1967), 37ff., Horsfall on *Nep.Att.*11.5 (with further refs.) for the role of personal feuds in public life and in its literary representation. V. is to return to the theme more amply at **220** (where vd. n.).

sic ore uicissim/124 orsa refert Cf. **7.435f. sic orsa uicissim/ore refert**, with full discussion of the remarkable **orsa** and some reference to the implications of re-using of Drances a speech formula applied first to Turnus.

124 o Cf. **7.360** for the affective force of **o**.

fama . . . armis Cf., for the balance of martial valour balanced by peaceful virtues, **7.235 siue fide seu quis bello est expertus et armis**, 1.544f. *quo iustior alter/nec pietate fuit nec bello maior et armis*, 6.403 *pietate insignis et armis*, Hardie (1998), 252f., Moskalew, 129. For *Aen.*'s *fama*, cf. 1.379 *fama super aethera notus*. His battlefield reputation emerged from the *Iliad* a little slender, occasionally defective, but still perceptible and almost respectable; V. works hard to re-create an authentic warrior hero (with ethical scruples added): the process is discussed at *RMM*, 12, *Vergilius* 32 (1986), 16f., *Alambicco*, 84f.

ingens, ingentior 'The only instances of the comparative or superlative of *ingens* before the third century' (Wills, 234); the figure is Catullan, and V. had used it unforgettably of Daphnis, *Buc.*5.43f. *hinc usque ad sidera notus* [so *Aen.* of *Aen.* at 1.379 *supra*]/*formosi pecoris custos, formosior ipse*. The adjectival polyptoton 'justifies' the exceptional comparative (Wills, Hardie (1998), 252). What does Aeneas look like? Cf. M. Griffith, *CPh* 80 (1985), 318. Here, though, cf., more specifically, 6.413, 8.367: Odysseus was a small hero; not Aeneas.

125 uir Troiane Cf. 10.598; for **Troiane**, cf. **7.260**. ἦρωε + voc. is good Hom. usage; likewise ἄνηρ/ἄνδρες with ethnic name: I suspect that V. has devised an honorific (both instances are obsequious/supplicatory) after Hom., without specific Roman resonances (as in the case of *Romane* or (voc.) *populus*).

quibus . . . laudibus Cf. 1.369, 9.142 for the form of the interrogation; in sing. cf. 4.271, 9.390, 399.

caelo te . . . aequem Cf. 4.89 *aequataque machina caelo*, 6.782 *animos aequabit Olympo*, Tac.*Ann.*4.34.4 *Catonem caelo aequauit*, *TLL* 1.1019.47 (von Mess).

The hyperbole, applied to fame (or Fame) is of a very common type: cf. *Il.*8.192, *Od.*8.74, *Lucret.*6.8, *Aen.*1.287, 379, 4.322f., admirably discussed by Hardie, *CI*, 275, 279f., 291f., 369: so much so that we can hardly charge Dr. with visible and reprehensible excess (cf. Hardie (1998), 253); Aen.'s deification is, however, irrelevant, for he did *not* (visibly, at least) ascend to the skies (*pace* Gransden, Hardie), but rather disappeared in battle: vd. Castagnoli, 65f.. The question, as Calboli notes, is of a type recommended by the handbooks, *Rhet. Her.* 3.12, *Men. Rhet.* p. 368.8f. (you derive the prooemia from the amplification).

126 iustitiaene . . . belline laborum Iustitiae Πωγ, Priscian, *infra*; **iustitia** MR, known to Serv.; **iustitiam** r; **laborum** Priscian, Serv. and **P** corrected; **laborem** Ray₁. For the textual 'issue', vd. *infra*. For the polarity, cf. **124**; Aen.'s sense of justice acclaimed also at 1.544 (cf. Hardie, *CI*, 255f., Hardie (1998), 253f., Austin on 1.603f. for *iustitia* and *pietas*), lending credence to Dr. here; his military credentials have just been discussed and for the phrase **b.l.**, cf. *Cic. Font.*43, *Liv.*30.32.10 *belli ac laboris*.

prius The first instance of disjunctive *-ne . . . -ne* in a direct question known to LHS, 465; through the adverb, after deliberative **mirer**, Dr. invites us to consider (Görler) whether to praise *iustitia* or *pietas* first.

mirer LHS, 83 unhelpfully compares the gen. after **280, memini** while Löfstedt, 2, 417 (so too Görler, *EV* 2, 266) sensibly thinks, after Serv. (who makes the same comment at **280**), of a Grecism (constr. with θαυμάζειν). Note too 1.215. R.G. Mayer discusses this passage admirably as an instance of the scribal tendency to eliminate challenging Grecisms (*ALLP*, 169; cf. R.G.G. Coleman, *ib.*, 80): Priscian spotted the Grecism for what it was (18.219), like Serv., who quoted acutely in support *Hor. C.* 3.30.11 *pauper aquae Daunus*; the gen. is not rare (cf. 10.441, NH on *Hor. C.*2.9.17, LHS, *cit.*). Cf. Serv. *ad Aen.*1.67, 2.111, 5.285, 6.313, **11.280**, 12.97, SDan. *ad Aen.*2.407, 8.217, 12.568. On the juxtaposition of two gens. of different type, cf. **384f.**

127 nos uero Compliments concluded, Drances declares in a single line that he and the other envoys (hardly a *pluralis maiestatis*) will report Aeneas' reply; it is what he then adds, *proprio motu*, as Drances, not as messenger, that is so crucial to the book's development. Only a very faint adversative (**7.519**).

haec . . . referemus Cf. **7.267**, *EV* 2, 498.

patriam . . . ad urbem Cf. (Arruns) **793 patrias . . . urbes** and note too **882 moenibus in patriis**, 2.278f. (walls of Troy), 9.738 (Ardea). Here clearly the walls of Latinus' city (cf. Carcopino, 289ff., *EV* 3.142, **7.160f.**).

grati Perhaps only here in V. in the simple sense 'grateful'; Aeneas' magnanimity is also, secondarily, a powerful political weapon.

128 et te . . . / 129 iungemus Cf. 10.105 *Ausonios coniungi foedere Teucros*, **7.238 uoluere adiungere gentes** (sc. the Trojans to themselves), and commonly the *simplex*, **7.264** (with **268**), 8.476f. *sed tibi ego ingentis populos . . . / iungere . . . paro*, 10.154. Dr. speaks as one very sure both of the discord between Tu. and Lat. and of the latter's desire for peace; the word can carry a purely local sense (e.g. 4.142) but the cases cited show that a strong political element must also be present, as **quaerat sibi foedera** makes yet clearer.

si qua . . . Fortuna So Palinurus to Aen.: *si qua uia est, si quam tibi diua creatrix ostendit* (6.367f.); on the force of *si qua* in V. (simply 'if any', with further implications dependent, if at all, upon the context), cf. **7.4**.

uiam dederit Cf. 10.49 *et quacumque uiam dederit Fortuna sequatur* (with Harrison's n.), 2.387f. *qua prima . . . fortuna salutis / monstrat iter*, 4.653 *quem dederat cursum Fortuna*, 5.22, 709, 12.405 *nulla uiam Fortuna regit*, 677. V. just may here have in mind the distinctively Stoic notion of adherence to the *path* laid down by fate/*fortune*, dear to V. (Cleanthes, *SVF* 1.527, *Sen.Dial.*1.5.4, 8; with *Aen.*8.133, cf. Cleanthes, *ib.*, tr. *ap.Sen.Ep.*107.11, *Epict.*1.12.5, 8, etc.); this is widely noticed (e.g. Bailey, 236, Boyancé, 46f., *EV* 4, 1030), but M.W. Edwards, *Phoen.*14 (1960), 151f. offers ample evidence and useful discussion

Latino / 129 . . . regi Cf. **7.45**, and *ib.***37, 642** for V.'s view of kingship in legendary Italy.

quaerat sibi foedera Turnus No surprise to find Dr. partial to the caustic use of the jussive at **346, 359** too (cf. **383f., 7.425** for the clearly analogous ironic imperative). Note too Numanus' *sibi . . . poscunt* of the Trojans' claim to Latin wives (9.600, cf. 5.342, 6.37, etc.: part of the unexplored lexicon of Virgilian sarcasm). Tu. had been fighting as yet unrewarded at Lat.'s side against Evander (**7.421, 3**); with the Trojans' arrival, Rutuli and Latins make common cause (**114**) against the invader, naturally enough, and fired moreover by Allecto, but against gods, fates and Latinus (**7.583ff.**, etc.). Dr., rich enough to count and old enough to evaluate, is led, not least by his

feud with Tu., to realise that the Latins are on the wrong side. It is time for Tu. to fight his own wars and find his own allies (an empty hope, as Diomedes will make very clear, **252ff.**). The language is only marginally Livian (cf. 30.13.9, 41.23.9); *petere* would have had more of an historical ring. The whole passage is ignored by Balk and Schenk alike, perhaps because Lat. and Tu. are not themselves present!

130 quin et 'Yes and even' (cf. Austin on 6.735, **7.750**).

fatalis Cf. **7.115**; cf. 4.355, 5.82 of the Trojans' goal. Walls, we remember, are essential to the Trojans' destiny as settlers, and the same applies to e.g. Antenor, Acestes, Dido (cf. *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 17f., 26).

murorum . . . moles In the sing. **moles** would probably refer to the mass of the walls as a whole (so the Trojan horse, *infra* and 2.32 or the new city of Carthage, 1.420); in the plur. (like *saxa*) it is rather more probably the alliterative building blocks (for city walls, not house walls, primarily, at least in V.; *murus* a defector from *EV*) to which V. refers (cf. 2.497, 9.712, Hor.C.3.1.34), hardly less massive for being more numerous.

attollere Cf. *immensam attollere molem* (2.185, of the Trojan horse, expanded by *caeloque educere*). The verb 30x in V., tragic for Non. (Pacuv. 42, 228), once in Sall.. Note the heroic building scene on a mid-c. 1 BC fresco from the Esquiline (Lavinium?, Alba? Rome? Heroic from the context and because the builders are so much larger than the blocks of stone. Cf. (e.g.) *L'archeologia in Roma capitale tra sterro e scavo* (Venezia 1983), 170). Not only Lucr. was fascinated by building operations (West, *Imagery*, 64ff.); cf. too Hor.C.3.1.33f. (and see the useful collection of material in J.F. D'Alton, *Horace and his age* (London 1917), 174ff.) and in V., note 1.421ff., 9.710ff., with G.2.155ff. and M. Coffey, *BICS* 8 (1961), 69f.. Not work for heroes, naturally, least of all for the handsome and dashing Turnus; there were others available (dead at **102**), as in Hom.'s world (Finley, *World of Odysseus*₂, 53ff.).

131 saxaque . . . Troiana Alliteration, repeated heavy -u-, and mild hyperbaton to elevate the navvies' efforts. The stones used to build a city (1.424), a temple (3.84), or the walls of Troy (2.608); we may think of the rocks used in the 'Cyclopean masonry' of so many Latin towns (cf. Sora, *EV* 5*, pl. xli); so may V. have done. The adj. represents a striking shift of application: *ad moenia Troiana aedificanda* or

perhaps *saxa Troianis donata ad moenia aedificanda*: far beyond mere prolepsis. There is also a latent paradox in rocks for Trojan walls heaved onto Latin shoulders.

subuectare umeris Cf. **473f. saxa sudesque/subuectant** and used of donkeys with loads of sticks, Plaut.*Asin.*341; *subuectio* in Caes.. A good many load-bearing shoulders in V.: e.g. 4.406, 599, 5.264.

iuuabit It will actually give pleasure to the Latins to heave rocks; cf. **7.628, 749** for some equally paradoxical delights.

132 dixerat haec Only here and at 5.84, as against the far commoner *dixerat* (**132, 7.212**).

unoque . . . ore Note hyperbaton, double significant juxtaposition of **omnes** between **uno** and **eadem** and the paradox of the unanimous crowd, shouting with a single voice (contrast e.g. Liv.1.8.1, *Aen.*1.149 with Hellegouarc'h, 136, C. Nicolet, *Le métier du citoyen* (Paris 1976), 388ff.). Compare 1.559f., 5.385f. *cuncti simul ore fremebant Dardanidae*, with *Il.*1.22, Moskalew, 96.

omnes eadem . . . fremebant Cf. Liv.3.38.10 *haec fremunt plebes* (and cf. A. Traina, *EV* 2, 590f.). Cf. *G.*3.244 *amor omnibus idem*, 4.184 *labor omnibus unus*, *Aen.*1.559 (after Ilioneus' anticipation of Dr.'s eulogy), 2.102, 3.60 *omnibus idem animus*, 435, 716, 5.616 *uox omnibus una*, **7.393** (= 4.581) *idem omnis simul ardor agit*, 10.182, 201, 12.282 *sic omnis amor unus habet*, 12.837 for V.'s very marked liking for juxtapositions of these words. Is Dr. cheered just by his fellow envoys, or by the Trojans too? Perhaps a question best not asked; what is important is the general approval with which Dr.'s words are received.

133–8 The funerals (i) For battlefield burials (and truces) in the Greek world, we are exceptionally well served (W.K. Pritchett, *The Greek state at war* 4 (Berkeley 1985), 94ff., from Homer (100ff.) on. Add Loraux (**23**), 17ff.). But while Roman historians are not short of battles, or corpses (and note that plague burials clearly interact with those on the field), modern scholarship seems altogether to eschew these repetitive but hardly insignificant scenes. With V.'s narrative, naturally, both Homeric antecedents and Roman usage are to be compared: cf., first (Pritchett, *cit.* apart), *Il.*7.375ff., Seymour, 113 and secondly, cf. *indutiae* for burial at Liv.23.46.5, 31.38.10, 33.11.3, 38.2.14; Goodyear unfortunately did not comment on Tac.*Ann.*1.22.2. For the horrors of the recent battlefield, cf. Cuq (**93**), 1400, n. 10, Woodman and Martin on Tac.*Ann.*4.73.2; searches for 'corpses' and '(un)buried' in the historians yield an abundance of further material, which clamours for analysis. I am most grateful to

Dr. C.S. Kraus and to Prof. A.J. Woodman for their company on this fruitless search.

133 bis senos . . . dies We are pretty much in the 'real world'; cf. **133–8** (and note also *EV* 2, 238 for those still interested in the—here at least elusive—time-scale of the narrative) and Liv.9.43.6, 24.27.4, 33.12.1, 36.27.3, 28.7, 40.25.4 for various truces of ca. a couple of weeks. *Duodecim* is not dactylic (and twice five times Virgil employs 'twice six'); no more is the paraphrased *quattuordecim*, but the avoidance of *ducenti*, *trecenti*, *triginta* in favour of equally metrical periphrases, suggests, as does the coexistence of *decem* with *bis quinos* and the like, that the issue is as much one of the 'feel' or associations of the numerals as it is of prosodic compatibility. *EV* 3, 782ff. (Zorzetti: an interesting article) is pardonably richer in material than in definitive conclusions.

pepigere A long-dead agricultural metaphor for 'fix' (cf. Paul.exc.Fest. p. 235.5ff.); so you fix *conubia* (Cat.62.28), *foedera* (*Aen.*10.902). Cf. too 8.143f. *his fretus non legatos neque prima per artem/temptamenta tui pepigi*. Here V. suppresses the conventional object (vd. Görler, *Vergilius* Suppl.2 (1982), 56ff., *ALLP*, 269ff., *Wü.Jhb.*8 (1982), 71ff. for some comparable phenomena; cf. what V. does with e.g. *referre*, *imbuere*, *torquere*, *flagrare*, *committere*, *subigere*) and substitutes the period settled for the truce itself. Con. and *EV* recoil from this audacity in confusion. It is likely that V. also has in mind here, as at 4.99 and 10.79f. the etymology of *pax* from *pango* (O'Hara, 152, 229, citing Sinius Capito, *GRF* fr. 10, p. 461).

pace sequestra In appearance a problem: TCD comments *sequestra pax est quae sic interponitur, ut non terminet, sed differat bellum*; so too Serv.'s second try '*pacem*' ergo '*sequestram*' *indutias dicit, id est pacem temporalem et mediam inter bellum praeteritum et futurum*. But he had started from the original legal metaphor (and *s.* is found in the legal sense from Cato and Plaut. on) *sequester est [aut SDan.] medius inter duos altercantes [aut SDan.] apud quem aliquid ad tempus seponitur*. Peace is thus represented as 'an intermediary or trustee in other transactions' (*OLD* s.v., §1c, both metaph. and fig.; note Apul.*Met.*9.15 *anus quaedam stupronum sequestra et adulterorum intermuntia!*); 'guarantor', therefore, or the like (*perperam*, *EV*).

134 per siluas . . . / 135 errauere Cf. 6.179 *itur in antiquam siluam* (and note also Dido, 6.451 *errabat silua in magna*); a purposeful wandering, to find, where possible, large trees suitable for immediate combustion. It is curious that so many students of the sequence of

tree-felling scenes (*Il.*23.117–20, *Enn. Ann.*175–9, *Aen.*6.179–82, etc.) have failed (unlike Skutsch on *Enn. cit.*, Quinn, 368, J.K. Newman, *Augustus and the new poetry* (*Coll. Lat.*88, Bruxelles 1967), 94f., Wigodsky, 56f. and the admirable E.A. Schmidt, *Hyperboreus* 3 (1997), 57ff.) to take this passage into account (e.g. Williams, *TORP*, 263ff., Austin on *Aen.*6., *cit.*, and on 2.626ff., P.J. Aicher, *CJ* 85 (1989/90), 218ff., S. Goldberg, *Epic in repub. Rome* (New York 1995), 83f.).

Teucri mixtique . . . Latini Cf. 4.145f. *mixtique altaria circum/ Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt*, 5.293 *Teucri mixtique Sicani*, *Liv.*21.52.5 *mille equites, Numidas plerosque mixtos quosdam et Gallos*.

impune *Acc. trag.*67, *bis* in *Cat.*. *Novies* in *V.*, missing in *EV*.

135 iugis The common so-called abl. of extension (cf. **7**, index s.v.; consultation of S. Malosti's exhaustive discussion in *Studi sulla lingua poetica latina* ed. A. Traina (Roma 1967), 19–101 is hampered by the absence of an index (but cf. **514**). At 2.631 Austin separates *iugis* from *auulsa*, not quite convincingly, and assigns it just the force it has here).

ferro . . . bipenni *Ad epitheton transtulit nomen proprium: nam bipennis per se plenum est et securim significat* Serv.; but cf. already *Varr. Men.*389 *ferens/ferream unero bipennem securem*. Cf. *biremis*, *bipes*, *bipatens* in *V.*; the material is as often used for the thing (cf. **7.245**), but the thing is then qualified by an adj., which in five other passages in *V.* is itself used (in a derived sense, *LHS*, 151ff.) as a noun with the same meaning of 'axe' (**7.510**, both warlike and rustic etc.; note in particular the felling scenes, *Enn. Ann.*175, *Aen.*2.627, 6.180, *infra*).

sonat Cf. 6.180 *sonat icta securibus ilex* (with F.X.M.J. Roiron, *Étude sur l'imagination auditive de Virgile* (Paris 1908, 557f.), after *Il.*23.119 *μεγάλα κτυπέουσai*. Both the ash and the axe in reality sound (cf., on *V.*'s oddities in this sphere, Görler, *EV* 2, 277, *id.*, *ALLP*, 282f., Horsfall, *SCI* 18 (1999), 47f.); *V.* has eliminated the (grammatically superfluous) *icta* of his earlier scene

alta . . . /136 fraxinus *Enn.*'s *arbusta per alta* (175) or *abies . . . alta* (177); here it might be that the tree's height adds to the noise of its fall; the *fraxinus* also *Ennian* (177), in the same *sedes*, but here the *Ennian fraxinu'* is elegantly avoided (cf. 6.181 *fraxineae*), with a pause at 1D, which does perhaps also imply the fall of the tree (cf. *G.*2.210, *Aen.*2.482, 12.686). The *fraxinus* (ash; cf. Maggiulli, *EV* 2, 586f., *ead.* (**67**), 299ff.) is particularly tall (though the epithet, of trees, has Homeric origins—e.g. *Il.*5.560: cf. Mantovanelli, *EV* 1, 121).

euertunt Enn. has *peruortunt* at 178 (the effortful molossus as here); cf. here *G.1.256 euertere pinum*, 2.208 *et nemora euertit*. While Enn. has three verbs of human action, then three applied to trees, followed by one of each in conclusion, V. has in *Aen.6* a ‘human’ verb at each end, and three ‘tree-verbs’ in the centre, while here the sequence is rather more complex and interwoven: **errauere**—**sonat**—**euertunt**—**cessant** (with two dependent cola).

actas ad sidera Cf. *G.2.363f. et dum se laetus ad auras/palmes agit* (where Mynors compares *Lucr.5.786f.* and *Pind.Nem.8.41f.*), **7.530**, Hardie, *CI*, 254ff., 291f., *TLL* 1.1377.39f. (Hey).

pinus Cf. the pines of **320**; their high resin context makes them particularly suitable for a pyre (cf. **7.397**, Maggiulli, *EV* 4, 114f., *ead.* (**67**), 402ff.). Enn. (177) had had *abies*, and note the funerary pitch-pine of 6.180.

137 robora Cf. *G.3.377f. congestaque robora totasque/aduoluere focis ulmos*; ‘oak’ in general (cf. *Il.23.118* δρῦς, Maggiulli, *EV* 4, 512f., Sargeant, *Trees, shrubs and plants*, 107f.). Enn. (176) and V. himself (6.180, 181) had named two precise varieties.

nec . . . / 138 nec Linking **scindere** and **uectare** and in litotes with **cessant**; the postponed **nec** is a neoteric mannerism (Ross, *Style and Tradition*, 67ff., Harrison on 10.448, **7.761**, *Companion*, 243), and (only) the first infinitive governs two tree-nouns, at beginning and end of the line (just as in **136**), themselves linked by **et**. An artistically slow-moving and complex structure.

cuneis V. turns again to Misenus: 6.181f. *et fissile robur/scinditur*. See **7.509**: the trees (all of them, one realises, in the end, not just the one type at a time that is specified; cf. Schmidt, 64f.) are not merely felled (**euertunt**), but then naturally sawn into lengths (omitted entirely) and split into quarters, for **cuneis . . . scindere** can bear no other sense. As narrative, therefore, wonderfully elliptical and economical, but perfectly clear, at least to a reader used to burning wood.

olentem . . . cedrum The identification of the tree is an old, irresolvable problem (**7.13**, **178**); Newman (95) remarks ‘it is the splitting that releases the scent’; true enough, but just as true of the antecedent sawing.

scindere Cf. **7.510**.

138 plaustris . . . gementibus The same verb of Charon’s bark under Aeneas’ weight (6.413). Cf. too the *stridentia plaustra* of *G.3.536*

(*sub pondere sonantibus* remarks Serv. here, heavily). Wagons have a respectable epic pedigree (Seymour, 681f., *Il.*24.178, etc.; cf. further K.D. White, *Greek and Roman technology* (London 1984), 127ff.; see too *G.*1.163 (with Mynors' n.), 2.206, 444, 3. 140, 362, *EV* 1, 679f. and for the creaking axle in general, Hollis on *Call.Hec.*74.26f.)

cessant Cf., in litotes, *Buc.*1.57f., *G.*1.485, *Aen.*1.672, 2.467f., **11.401**; traditional idiom (*Enn.trag.*376, *Cic.Arat.*415, *Cat.*68.56, *Lucr.*1.787, 2.1142, etc.).

uectare Cf. 6.391 (Charon's bark), where Austin senses that, as here, a heavy load is implied (cf. Lyne, *WP*, 57ff. on V.'s use of *porto*); at *Hor.Serm.*1.6.59 used of a *caballus*, so perhaps here a lexical level rather appropriate to heavy creaking carts.

ornos The manna-ash (Mynors on *G.*2.71, Sargeant, 93: notably common); the third successive line ends with a tree-name (cf. Maggiulli, *EV* 2, 586, *ead.* (67), 382ff.). Clearly (cf. **137 cuneis**) it is not only the *orni* that are so transported.

139–81 Evander's tragedy; see on **152–81** for his lament.

139 et iam Tree-felling has given Pallas' cortège time enough to reach Rome, as Evander's lament will give the battlefield pyres time to blaze and subside. V. moves unobtrusively between narrative sequences., in the interests of speed and variety. Cf. **7.572**, Quinn, 84ff., *EV* 3, 992f., 4, 874, G. Krokowski, *Quaestiones epicae* (Wrocław 1951), 25ff..

fama uolans At 3.121 and 8.554 *fama*, a story, 'flies' (both times, *f.* is the first word of a paragraph and the capital letters thereby accruing may have given the impression of a personification; this is a relatively common idiom, though (**7.104, 392**; the first with a capital F, the second without in Mynors! In Geymonat, F and F); boasts are equally winged (**381**, 10.584), as are mere words (*Hor.Ep.*1.18.71 Tosi, n° 93), not to mention closely comparable uses of *uolito* from *Enn.Var.*18 on. Given also the importance of rumour in the experience of V.'s world (cf. **7.549**), I very much doubt whether a feathered personification needs to be imposed so often upon the text, not least since **f./F.** is also explicitly busy at **141**. Naturally news travels faster (cf. **7.167**, not to mention 4.173ff.) than a procession.

tanti . . . luctus Cf. **38, 62**. Thematic continuity, of course, rather than precise echo.

praenuntia Cf. *Cic.Arat.*66, *Lucr.*5.737; *TLL* 10.2.5.741.63f. (Scotti) ponders whether the grief announced is present or future, as though *Fama* were not palpably (i) confirmation of that great grief once

anticipated (8.572ff.) as well as messenger both of (ii) that present (I. already twice used in bk.11, as we have just seen) and (iii) of that yet to come. Note 9.474 **nuntia fama ruit** (the d. of Euryalus). Eichhoff finely remarked (cf. Knauer, 283, n. 2) the importance of Cassandra at *Il.*24.697ff., for it is she that first sees from the citadel the return of her father with Hector's body.

140 Euandrum Euandrique Hector asks that his body be returned for cremation by Τρωῶες καὶ Τρώων ἄλοχοι (*Il.*7.79f. = 22.342f.), so possibly an allusive polyptoton here (Wills, 38, 258); more clearly to the point, (Wills, 37f.) Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες. Evander often enough evokes Priam; in this context of mourning (cf. *Il.*22.408ff.), it is the unusual and otiose repetition of the name (Wills, 38) that is said (seductively, but not with complete conviction) to alert the reader to the association.

domos et moenia Not a regular pairing (not in Cic. or Liv., either); in bk. 8, Rome has *domi* (98), and *muri* (98, 355) but not *moenia*.

replet Lucretian, cf. **7.502, 11.896**. **P** lapses into **reflet**. Corr. **P**1.

141 quae modo . . . ferebat Report (**44, 49, 54**) had (cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 272) given Ev. grounds for pride and hope, which render Pallas' return yet bitterer. **F**. commonly thus in V. (with the double acc. here, cf. 6.893, **7.208**; see too 1.15f., 605, 2.229f., **7.104f., 765, 8.287f., 9.154f., EV 2, 495). **M**: 'but lately' (as e.g. *Buc.*1.14).**

uictorem Latio Pallanta Report related to Latium that Pallas was victorious. Or in Latium? Hardly *against* Latium, fond though V. is of using nouns as verbs (**17, 7.467!**) We need to remember that Evander had fought a long war against the Latins (**7.421**; a generally forgotten sub-plot of the epic): that gives the false report an added poignancy, underlined by the *juxtapositio oppositorum* of the names (cf. **122f., 7.398, 709**, Harrison, p. 288).

142 Arcades Last mentioned collectively by Tu., 10.491; here, the Arcadian settlers (and non-combatants) who did not accompany Pallas to his death.

ad portas Cf. 8.338, 585. The cortège has been seen from the walls (cf. Cassandra at *Il.*24.699ff., Tac.*Ann.*3.1.3, the fleet bearing Germanicus' corpse seen arriving at Brundisium, *ex alto*), and there is a natural rush to the gates. Cf. the picture at Liv.7.30.22 (the whole population of Capua waiting at the gates) and the farewell scene at 9.309; above all, though, as Priam brings home Hector's body ἀγχοῦ δὲ ξύμβληντο πυλάων νεκρὸν ἄγοντι (*Il.*24.709). DServ. records that *multa . . . exemplaria* read *Arcades at portis*, possible (so Heyne, *non*

male, Görler) cf. G.4.185 *ruunt portis*, Liv.27.41.8. But it is no serious objection against the weight of the mss. that the Arcadians get in each other's way at the gate; the Latins do not, apparently, at 12.122 (cf. 2.266, 7.429), for the realities of march discipline tend not to suffocate epic combat!

ruere *Festinabant enim commoti insperato malo* (TCD). Cf. **236** (?), *EV* 4, 603 (Cavazza). See Harrison on 10.267, Maurach, 39f., *EV* 2, 271f. (Görler), 965f. (Pascucci) for V.'s use of the hist. infin..

de more uetusto De more undecies in *Aen.*; only here is *uetusto* added (as may *patrum* be; cf. **186**, *EV* 3, 604). It was Roman usage that children were buried by night (Marquardt, 343, Flower, 97, n. 31, citing notably SDan. here *ne funere immaturae subolis domus funestaretur*). Pallas is both *puer* and *iuuenis* (**51**), and old enough to fight; Britannicus died at 14 and was buried forthwith, by night, which Nero justified *ita maioribus institutum referens, subtrahere oculis acerba funera* (Tac.*Ann.*13.17.4; see SDan. *ad Aen.*3.64). Burial by night had been the original usage, and remained so, both for the poor and for all children. *Alii*, on our passage, were not convinced and turned to another ritual explanation, clearly analogous, though with some additional elements, rather as if there had been typical interweaving of ceremonial usage; (cf. **7.812**, **11.29–99**), in this case of *aduentus*: so Th.-H. 2.493.25, quoting Varr. (*de vit.* fr. 109Rip.) and Verr.Flacc. (and Tac.'s account of the return of Germanicus' ashes reads as a macabre parody): *si filius familias extra urbem* [here we are in the *urbs*, after all] *decessit, liberti amicique obuiam procedunt et sub noctem in urbem infertur, cereis facibusque praelucentibus*. Were it not for SDan.'s awesome bibliography, one would suspect common *ad hoc* invention, to explain the text; as it is, the analogy with an improvised line of torches across the fields is striking.

143 funereas . . . faces Used in a very different sense at **7.337** (torches of destruction). We shall soon discover (**182f.**; **144** comes near to telling us already) that the present scene has taken place (implicitly) by night. Funeral torches, however, were used at Rome in funerals both by night and by day (Marquardt, 344, n. 5, Tac.*Ann.*3.4.1; the other evidence cited is less conclusive); used, indeed, to light the pyre (Calp.Flacc.*Decl.*29). Cf. Courtney, *Musa Lapidaria*, 190.5. *Funus* from *funalia*, the rope torches used, so perhaps an etymological play here (O'Hara, 229f.); we may blench, but (e.g.) SDan. did not.

rapuere Cf. **7.510, 520** (of snatching up the nearest weapon to hand. See too *EV* 4, 400f.).

lucet uia So the Gauls *uirgatis lucent sagulis* (8.660), and (with no explicit source of light indicated) *rara per occultos lucebat semita callis* (9.383; cf. Prop.2.14.17). V. may have in mind AR 1, 1281 (Williams, *TORP*, 778) διαγλαύσσουσι δ' ἄταρποι, the paths that grow clear at dawn. The three disyllables at line-end become commoner in the later books: Harrison on 10.301f., Winbolt, 137f., *Companion*, 233.

longo/144 ordine flammaram Splendid multiple alliteration of l- and -l-. The phrase (**l.o.**, elsewhere not in enjambement; note also 'interlinear hiatus' of -o o-) is one that V.—markedly—likes: cf. 2.766, 6.482, 754, 8.722 (Sparrow, 71, Cavajoni, *EV* 3, 879). Hardly, though, formulaic; here, apart from the exceptional metrical effects (and the run-on molossus **f.** acquires particular force), vd. too the dependent gen., absent in the other instances.

late discriminat agros The advb. (cf. **7.104**) a discreet tool for lending Iliadic magnificence (or mere unmemorable hyperbole) to humble Latium; with preceding **longo**, V. hints too at *longe lateque*, Naev.*trag.*52, *Aen.*6.378. The verb is solidly prosy (then *semel* in Luc., *bis* in Stat.); note Cic.*Phil.*12.23 *Etruriam discriminat Cassia* [sc. *uia*]. It is the line of torches that momentarily elevates the word (not one of Lyne's memorable, brutal prosaisms), suggests the flickering line (sc. in the darkness, implicitly!), and lends memorable visual precision to the tragic ceremonial.

145 contra . . . ueniens The Trojans have come up river from their camp near the sea: that the Aventine largely cuts off the Arcadians' view (from the Palatine) of the cortège's arrival is quite immaterial.

turba Phrygum Cf. **7.813, 11.12, 34**, *EV* 5*, 317 (Strati). V. writes of a picked guard of honour (**60f.**); the noun is not itself suggestive of disorder, but the tone is curiously unceremonious, just as V. also selects the shortest term open to him for 'Trojan'. But it is not, here, the guard of honour that matters: above all, it is an Arcadian tragedy. We have also been told that Arcadians, Etruscans and Trojans all take part in the cortège (**92f.**); at this point an irrelevant detail.

plangentia . . ./146 agmina The lamentations are not unwarlike or unroman (**41**). There may, though, be some element of oxymoron (or at least paradox) in the application of **plangentia** to the military **agmina** in an heroic epic. The vb. as 'beat' in Lucr. and Cat.; as 'beat the breast', prose and elegy; here, as at *G.*1.334, in a weakened

sense of 'mourn'. **A.** is regularly used of any manner of column (**7.703**). Cf. 4.142 *agmina iungit*.

iungit PR γ , Mynors, Perret, Goold; **iungunt M**, Geymonat. At **466**, the subj. is **pars**, and the mss divide **firment MR γ_1 /, . . . capessant R γ_1** Mynors, Geymonat, Perret, Goold as against **firmet M $_1$ P γ / . . . capessat M $_1$ P γ** . Metrical considerations are immaterial in both passages and scribal usage is clearly variable. However, the two passages are not in fact comparable (KS 1, 22, LHS, 436f.), since **pars** denotes an unspecified large number and tends to be followed by a plural, while the defined (and indeed once numerically specified) **turba Phrygum** is normally followed by a sing. (cf. Mynors on G.4.461, against Ernout-Thomas, 140). It would be hard to defend the plural here on grounds of usage.

146 quae postquam The *matres* see (explicitly) the cortège meet the torch-bearers; that can tell them nothing, but it is the sounds that they see (synaesthesia of a sort; cf. **147**) that tells them everything. **matres . . ./147 uiderunt** Cf. **147** for these women. Are they watching from the gates? From the ramparts? The population of Pallanteum is depleted by a contingent on active service and by a substantial body of torch-bearers. By implication it is from their *clamores* that Ev. learns of his son's death; the sequence recalls strongly *Il.*22.447 (Andromache after Hector's death) $\kappa\omega\kappa\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\prime\eta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\iota\mu\omega\gamma\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\ \pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ (*Il.*22.447). Cf. Bonfanti, 170f., **11.475f.**

succedere tectis Cf. **7.36, 214, 501**: a verb V. likes to use of reaching a (haven or) goal.

147 maestam . . . urbem The thematic adj. (**26**) now referred to the whole population of the (proto-)city of Rome (cf. **26 Euandri . . . urbem**); the cause remains of course the same.

incidunt clamoribus Cf. 2.488, **11.878** for **c.** thus of female cries. (cf. *Acc.praet.*2, etc.). These Arcadian/Roman women stand in close correspondence to the lamenting **Iliades** of **35**. Cf. **215** and Zarker (**35**), 20, Bonfanti, 169f. For the vb., cf. 10.895 *clamore incendunt caelum Troesque Latiniq̄ue*. There Harrison defines the phrase as metalepsis of perceptions (or synaesthesia), the expression in both passages, that is, of sound in terms of light and heat. To his useful bibl. add Maurach, 45, 155, NH on *Hor.*C.2.13.24, 14.18. However, cf. **125, 187, 192**: V. is writing in the context of a familiar nexus of ideas, for the women's cries clearly reach the heavens and V. is particularly attached to the verb in transferred senses associated with rage, grief and passion (*EV* 2, 934, etc.; here cf. in particular Henry

on 9.500, Bell, 391, Hardie (1998), 251). The women of Pallanteum rouse the very heavens to grief and pity, therefore, with their cries of grief, just as the Trojans and Latins had done; one might sense an implicit divine audience or a passing hint of pathetic fallacy. Synaesthesia, however, does not quite convince me here, for the verb is no longer so very visibly fiery in its connotations.

148 at non . . . uis ulla *Nullus* is regularly broken up into its constituent elements (Leumann, 306), to permit (e.g.) (very) strong effects of hyperbaton (cf. *EV* 4, 316). Here, cf. *Buc.*6.49f. *at non tam turpis pecudum tamen ulla secuta/concubitus*; elsewhere the interval between neg. and pron. is shorter. The women of Pallanteum mourn, at a respectful distance, *but* as for Evander. . . . Contrast **85 ducitur** (of Pallas' tutor Acoetes). The short and sometimes rather pallid **uis** is sometimes strengthened (as Squillante Saccone well observes, *EV* 5*, 568); hence the further dissolution of *potest* into **potis est** with which cf. 1.664 *nate meae uires, mea magna potentia*.

Euandrum This is the moment inevitable and anticipated since 10.515, **11.26** (etc.).

potis est P. is adj. = 'master of, capable' (vd. e.g. EM); with or without *sum* used as alternatives to *posse* from the archaic period on (cf. Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 164; *quater* in V., an archaism/Ennianism on a solemn occasion).

tenere *Simplex pro composito*: for *retinere*, cf. 5.669, 8.498, 10.308. The scene recalls with intense evocative precision Priam, who has seen Achilles dragging his son's corpse round the walls: (*Il.*22.412f.): λαοί μὲν ῥα γέροντα μόγις ἔχον ἀσχαλόωντα, / ἔξελεθῆν μεμαῶτα πυλάων Δαρδανιάων. There Priam would have been going, very possibly, to his death. Here we may even begin to wonder just why Ev. has to be held back? His royal dignity? The state of the corpse? Cf. **201 neque auelli possunt**.

149 sed uenit in medios I.m. *octies* in *Aen.* (cf. **741**, Austin on 2.123). See *EV* 3, 452.

feretro . . . reposto For **f.**, cf. **64**. The verb in a peculiarly Virgilian sense of 'put in its proper place' (discussed in some detail at **7.134**). *Aen.* had done his best (**29ff.**); now, cf. rather *Il.*24.719ff. (οἱ δ' ἐπέειεάγαγον κλυτὰ δῶματα . . . they laid Hector out). For the common contracted ppp, cf. NW 3, 533f.

Pallanta . . . /150 procubuit super Cf. *Lucr.*5.1200 *nec procumbere humi prostratum et pandere palmas*, *Liv.*7.31.5, etc. A weighty compound very much to V.'s taste (19x; cf. 2.426, 5.481), but not to the *EV*'s.

Often followed by a preposition (*ad, in+acc./abl.*); so too here cf. 6.504 *procubuisse super confusae stragis aceruum*; here the preposition itself (not very common; cf. **7.344**) is, as often (because disyllabic), in anastrophe (vd. e.g. Williams on 5.370). The **Pallanta** of **M₁** (against Serv., **MPR**) is necessary to avoid an unacceptable sequence of unrelated abls. (without parallel in V., as is easily checked with **PHI**; contrast 10.692, a triumph of lucid order, between dat. and abl.); after **super**, the abl. would indeed be possible, could in theory be defended as *difficilior lectio*, but in practice could only be attributed to a puzzle-setter. not an epic poet; it has here spread through most of the transmission thanks to careless but comprehensible attraction. Serv. refers to *antiptosis*, the use of one case for another, and continues *posito Pallantis feretro*; he read *Pallante* (lemma; likewise TCD), did not realise that it would really not do and comments only that the plain sense would be given by the genitive! The scene is not only literary (e.g. *Soph.Aj.1181, Eur.Alc.181, Med.1205, Aen.4.686*), but unsurprisingly in keeping with the usages of ‘real life’ (*Plut.Agis 20.5, Petr.63.8, Bömer on Ov.F.4.540*).

atque haeret Cf. 8.559 *haeret inexplētus lacrimans* (Ev., at the departure of Aen. and Pallas): calculated tragic echo; even in a sense ring-composition.

lacrimansque gemensque Cf. 10.465, 505 (nouns, not verbs); the pairing, though, apparently an unicum and in recollection of *Il.9.612 ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀχεύων* or 22.409 *κωκυτῶ . . . καὶ οἰμωγῆ*. For the polysyndeton, cf. **7.470**.

151 et uia . . . uoci laxata . . . est Note the very concrete and literal 6.412 *laxatque foros* and cf. too *Aetna 109 [sc. terra] in tenuis laxata uias*. The verb *octies* in V., often of a more agreeable physical relaxation (e.g. 5.836, 9.225; see *EV 3, 159*). With **uia**, cf. 10.487 *una eademque uia sanguis animusque sequuntur* and note *Lucr.6.1148 ulceribus uocis uia saepta* (the *uocis uia*, obstructed, again). Note **uoci M₂P₁R**; **uocis P₂, uoces M₁**: no doubt as to what V. wrote.

uix tandem A coupling V. likes (cf. also 2.128, 3.309, 5.178); the voice’s alliterative way is widened by another *u-*.

dolore V. is sharply aware of the throat as a shared passage for voice and breath (which :: life); cf. **7.533f. udae/uocis iter**, 10.348 *uocem animamque rapit* (where vd. Harrison): here the breathless sobbing of grief (**dolore**; abl. not of cause but if anything of separation) subsides enough to yield passage (**uia laxata**) for breath and speech (**uoci**). Cf. *Liv.3.50.4 flens diu uocem non misit*. The variants for

M₂P uoci (**uoces M, uocis P₁R**) are not significant (the gen.a mere trivialisation).

152–181 Evander's lament No passionate outburst but a well-ordered speech addressed to his son, and then to the Trojan contingent (**176–181**), far more moving and dignified for its restraint. 'A carefully constructed representation of violent emotion' writes Hardie, appropriately (vd. Heinze, *cit.*), of the lament of Euryalus' mother at 9.481ff. The divisions of Ev.'s speech (cf. Rieks) are easily noted and need no listing; that its climax is a request (**mandata**) to Aen. for prompt vengeance upon Turnus is crucial to the moral development of the epic. That Quinn dismisses the whole, even the profoundly moving **171ff.**, as chill formal rhetoric is here registered as a singular lapse on the part of a sometimes acute critic. V. has read with intimate care the last laments on Hector (*Il.*24.692ff., Knauer, *cit.*: debts will be noted individually and I shall rate the importance of Andromache's grief at *Il.*22.437ff. more highly than K. does; after Fraenkel, Manton (*infra*, 5ff.) makes an ingenious case for the influence of Nestor's lament for Antilochus in the *Aethiopsis*. See, however, **252–93**. 'It is a noble speech' (Highet, 256). On 181, Paratore quite rightly remarks (after Heyne's *turbata oratio dolore loquentis*) on the number of 'strained', 'contorted' or 'difficult' constructions or connexions of thought in these lines; they are likely to be intended as a sign of the strain under which Ev. is speaking (cf. n. on **7.293–322**). Alessio, 63ff. (*male*), Clausen, *THP*, 100, Glei, 208, Heinze, 288, Highet, 155f., 255f., Knauer, 283, 343, Putnam, 18, Quinn, 236, Rieks, 115f., Schenk, 102f., Wlosok (**82**), 68, G.R. Manton, *AUMLA* 17(1962), 10. Here at least we have four excellent pages (*Utopia*, 97–100) of commentary by Traina (on **148–81**).

152 non haec . . . dederas promissa parenti V. takes up the language (cf. Moskalew, 110f.) of the undertaking that Aen. in his grief thinks he gave to Ev. to bring his son back alive: **45f. non haec Euandro de te promissa parenti/discedens dederam**. Two references to the same scene, perhaps (Moskalew, 110f.), though the rhetorical context of the earlier scene urges caution. Traina suggests a similar tone in the reproaches of Euryalus' mother over her son's corpse (9.482 *potuisti linquere solam* etc.). The variant **petenti** preserved by DServ. is truly deplorable, a palpable simplification (under the influence of 9.83?) in the interest of easier syntax.

o Palla Cf. **7.360** for V's use of the emotive *o*.

153 cautius Compare the paternal warnings of a stern enemy to

be fought, at **48**. Not a word used elsewhere of the Virgilian battlefield, though for *incautus* cf. 10.386, 812 (and *cautela* in combat is not simply to be dismissed as oxymoron).

ut uelles Here **dederas promissa** is no more than an evocative and metrically more tractable alternative to *promiseras*, as Williams quite fails to realise. After a verb of promising, this *ut* (as in very many analogous cases) is a viable alternative (rather rare in poetry) to acc.+inf.: cf. KS 2, 222ff., LHS, 646f., Ernout-Thomas, 301 but it may be (Bell, 284, Page, Pascoli) that we should supply e.g. *precanti*. It was never necessary to turn the line into a wish, having inserted a full stop after **parenti** (so many older editors; vd. Henry); the apparent difficulties are relatively trivial and should never have sown panic among so many commentators. The main verb is plpf. because we are to think of the promise as one Pallas had given to his father (i.e. before his departure); the impf. subj. here, in past sequence (cf. **796, 797**), is perfectly regular in reference to the future (KS 2,180f., Ernout-Thomas, 414f., LHS, 550f.), and **uelles** is a good deal more than 'weakened auxiliary' (Gransden), for it tells us that Pallas had told his father (when? we have no idea: cf. Lyne, *FV*, 160) that he would make the effort of will not to plunge deep into his first battle.

saeuo . . . Marti Cf. **7.608 saeui formidine Martis**.

te credere Cf. **114**, 5.383 *si nemo audet se credere pugnae*, *EV* 1.923, *TLL* 4.1132. 50f. (Lambertz).

154 haud ignarus eram Note *haud ignara ter* in *V.*, 8.627 *haud uatum ignarus* (and on litotes, cf. further **7**, index, s.v.). For *i.* with interrogative clause, cf. *Lucr.* 5.88 = 6.64, etc., *TLL* 7.1.274.40f. (Wicse).

quantum . . . / 155 . . . posset *EV* 4, 235 (Leotta) well notes instances of *possum* where the verb is equivalent to *polleo/ualeo* and the degree is indicated by an advb. or the like: cf. *Buc.* 3.28 *quid possit uterque*, *Aen.* 4.482 *si quid pia numina possunt*, 5.6 *notumque furens quid femina possit*, 9.446 *si quid mea carmina possunt*, **11.386 possit quid uiuida uirtus**.

noua gloria in armis Cf. *Liv.* 7.13.4 *abolere flagitii memoriam noua gloria*. **N.g.** is in itself unexceptionable—'the novelty of glory under arms'—but there may be a latent enallage too, apparently unrecognised, 'the glory of being apparelled in new arms' (for Pallas' baldric assumes after all notable importance). Nothing need exclude the presence of both senses. On 9.587 *SDan.* comments *hoc loco puerum ideo poeta fecit armari, quia legit in historia pueros de bellis gloriam reportasse: filium*

Marci Drusi. . . . Cf. R. Scarcia, *EV* 2, 396, *Aen.*9, ed. Hardie, p. 14ff., Eyben (36), 44f. For the ‘tragedy of youth’ in V., cf. 42; it does not need to be argued that in the *Aen.*, glory is fragile and dangerous. The prepositional phrase, **in armis**, (cf. 7.178, Traina on 12.107) is far commoner than we were allowed to believe at school.

155 et praedulce decus A favoured prefix (*EV* 1, 54, 4, 1064, 1076), probably a coinage (*EV* 2, 263, 3, 699; cf. *praedurus*, *praediues*, *praepinguis*), and *prae-* carries here strongly the implication of ‘too sweet’. In his balanced discussion of *decus*, Laurenti (*EV* 2, 11) opts amply (but reasonably) for ‘gloria, fama, onore, e poi bellezza morale, dignità, virtù’ (cf. 2.89f. (Sinon) *et nos aliquod nomenque decusque/gessimus*, 5.174, 10.507 (Pallas himself) *o dolor atque decus magnum*, 11.508 (Camilla is **decus Italiae**).

primo certamine Cf. 10.508 *haec te prima dies bello dedit, haec eadem aufert*. The rashness of youth also a recurrent theme in Roman military history (Eyben (36), 45ff.).

156 primitiae iuuenis miserae Cf. 16 for **p.** (ironically allusive); here, as often later (*OLD* s.v., §2a; cf. e.g. *Quint.decl.min.315 infelix exeuntium omen miseraeque primitiae!*) in a grim transferred sense of ‘first trial’ (10.508; cf. Lyne, *WP*, 159f.), necessarily, though, referring back to Mez.’s first-fruits and Aeneas’ trophy. Cf. 51 for Pallas as *iuuenis* and 63, 119 (with 42, 59) for the thematic adjective.

bellique propinqui SDan. is undecided whether **p.** signifies *quod ante maturam aetatem Pallantis uenerit* (i.e. ‘recent’) or *nimum uicini, quo Pallas mitti posset* and his indecision is inherited with interest by *EV* 4, 319. At 3.502f. *cognatas urbis olim populosque propinquos/Epiro Hesperiam* the sense of *p.* is both local and genealogical (cf. 2.86), and at 3.381 *Italiam, quam tu rere propinquam* clearly local. ‘Recent’ is a sense far less commonly classical than the (here clearly impossible) ‘imminent’ (cf. *OLD* s.v., §3, *passim*) and the notion that Ev. had risked sending his son to a local war (a war near at hand and against a neighbouring people, 8.569) is quite credible, even comprehensible and attractive.

157 dura rudimenta D. as in (e.g.) *duri certamina belli* (10.146, 12.73); not perhaps so much an ironical use of **r.** (*OLD* s.v., §1a) as paradoxical or even in oxymoron. The word is common in a military context (cf. *Liv.*21.3.4, *Vell.*2.129.2, *Plin.Pan.*14.1): war is hard, and Ev. had hoped in vain for a gentler first lesson, as though such were ever conceivable.

nulli . . . deorum Cf. **725 nullis hominum**, LHS, 56f.; for deaf divinities, cf. **50**.

exaudita Technical of a prayer heeded by a divinity (very common in the Psalms); cf. Liv.40.5.1, *OLD* s.v., §3; for *simplex audire* thus, cf. NH on Hor.C.1.2.27, Hickson, 114ff.

158 uota precesque meae Cf. 6.51 *cessas in uota precesque*, where vd. Norden. A stock phrase: cf. Liv.praef.13 *uotisque et precationibus deorum dearumque*, Hor.C.4.5.13 (where *uotis et precibus uocat* is surely—in the context sketched by Buchheit, 171, n. 92—to be seen as an echo of V.). Contrast the constr. at **4 uota deum**.

o sanctissima coniunx O (cf. **152**) and **tua** will stand in antithesis to **160 contra ego . . . mea**. Cf. 5.80 (*sancte parens*), 603 (*sancto . . . patri*); Boyancé (144ff.) offers an admirable assessment of the traces present in V. of the growth of a more explicit divinisation of the deceased (cf. Durry on ‘*Laud.Tur.*’ 2.69, Weinstock, 292f., 356, Beard-North-Price, 31, *EV* 4, 672f. and note *OLD* s.v., §3c, citing Cic. *Phil.*14.33; cf. too Tib.2.6.31) and the analogy of Anchises does suggest that Ev.’s nameless Samnite wife (8.510) is here spoken of in similar ‘heroised’ terms. A banal reference to her virtue (like that of the Vestals, Hor.C.1.2.27) would seem entirely out of place here.

159 felix morte tua Very properly cited by Ogilvie-Richmond in illustration of Tac.*Agr.*45.3 *felix . . . opportunitate mortis*; cf. too *CLE* 15 *exsituque onesto felixs*, Ov.*Met.*13.521 (Priam) *felix morte sua est*, Val.Max.5.3.2d *ne exitu quidem felicior*, *TLL* 6.1.445.53f. (Ammann). Compare also Cic. on the d. of Crassus the orator, *de orat.*3.7 *a dis . . . donata mors. non uidit . . .* The argument (to outlive one’s own children among the chief woes of prolonged life) is that of Juv.10.240ff. (cf. **53**); see too Eur.*HF* 323.

in hunc . . . dolorem Cf. **151**.

seruata Cf. 1.207, 546, 3.266, 10.616, 848f. *tuane haec per uulnera seruor/morte tua uiuens*, *EV* 4, 814.

160 contra ego ‘While I for my part’; for *contra* bearing this sense of reciprocity, cf. **7.267**. Her death being infinitely preferable to his life, doubly bereaved. We have not forgotten Ev.’s most moving statement that he will not be able to bear the loss of his son too, 8.574ff.

uiuendo Rarely is the reader so struck by the emotive majesty of a gerund (note both the molossus and the alliteration); compare, closely enough, 10.846 (Mez. to the dead Lausus) *tantane me tenuit uiuendi*, *nate, uoluptas. . .*

uici mea fata Cf. G.2.295 *multa uirum uoluens durando saecula uincit*.

Note already Lucr.1.202 *multaque uiuendo uitalia uincere saecla*, 3.948 *omnia si pergās uiuendo uincere saecla*, 1090 *licet quoduis uiuendo condere saecla*. See moreover Plaut.*Epid.*177 *quia licitumst eam tibi uiuendo uincere*. Here (and vd. Wigodsky, 12) SDan., quoting G.2 and Plaut. *citt.* remarks *ueteres enim 'uiuendo uincere' dicebant superuiuere*, adding that in the *togata* women who outlived their husbands were called *uictrices* (Ribbeck, *Com.*, p. 221). The idea and the metaphor Greek, as Henry notes. This all suggests that here **m.f.** should be taken in a loose sense of 'destined end or span [∴ *saecla* in the passages just quoted]': cf. 4.20, 678, 9.204, Bailey, 210, Hoogma, 333. However, Bailey, 211f. (cf. *EV* 2, 478) includes this line in his discussion of destiny avoided or postponed (cf. 6.882, with D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *HSCP* 90 (1986), 199ff., 10.624). But the context ('I have outlived my span') and the ample linguistic analogies suggest that something rather less than a paradox or theological inversion of the natural order is called for.

superstes/161 restarem The verb increases the force of **superstes** (cf. 2.142, *EV* 4, 1028); the adj. at *Acc.trag.*59; awkward in dactylic verse (except for nom., abl).

ut In anastrophe, as often; cf. LHS, 644, placing stress on the preceding word.

genitor Ev., as his father (strikingly postponed), could still have fought and died (cf. next n.), like Priam (or Mez!), and should also, in the 'normal course of events', have predeceased his son.

Troum socia arma Cf. 8.119f. *dicite lectos/Dardaniae uenisse duces socia arma rogantis*. Possibly an echo of Liv.1.2.3 *haud grauatim socia arma Rutulis iunxit*. We recall Ev.'s lament that his fighting years are over, 8.560ff. (as were Priam's!), as too Mezentius' wish, 10.854.

secutum A favoured clausula: cf. 3.54, 156, 6.612f. *arma secuti/impia*, 10.672.

162 obruerent . . . telis Cf. 2.410f. *telis/nostrorum obruimur*, 424, 5.692 (Aen. to Jupiter) *tuaeque hic obrue dextra*, 9.808f. *sic undique telis/obruitur*, 10.808 *sic obrutus undique telis*. At *WP* 96, Lyne suggests that at 10.808 *o.* takes up the metaphor of *nubes* and is followed by Harrison. The word can be used of wind and waves (1.69), but often carries a strong sense of physical smothering, crushing, burying (so G.2.24). So clearly here. The impf. is explicable whether as a past potential, quite tolerable as an archaism (KS 1, 179, LHS 334, Jocelyn on *Enn.trag.*215) or as a jussive, likewise archaic (KS 1, 187, LHS, 336, Görler, *EV* 2, 273, *Aen.*8.643).

Rutuli Old enemies (**141**), but here Ev. clearly refers to the recent battle.

animam ipse dedissem Cf. *G.4.204*, 8.564f. (three lives!), 10.854, *Ov.Met.8.504f.*, *Fast.1.380*, 4.666, 6.162, *TLL* 5.1.1684.72 (Rubenbauer). No clear Homeric equivalent or Latin source, so apparently a coinage. It is hard to classify all eight Augustan instances as (Harrison on 10, *cit.*) *simplex pro composito*; though *edere* (Harrison), and *reddere* (*G.3.495*, *Lucr.*) are indeed used in this sense, the *simplex* is so common in poetry as to have an independent existence as an alternative to the *compositum*.

163 atque haec pompa Still the procession which has brought Pallas' corpse back from the Trojan camp.

domum . . . referret Cf. (very different) *Buc.4.21f. ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae/ubera*, *Hor.Serm.1.6.114f.*

me, non Pallanta The underlined antithesis of personal pronoun in acc. followed directly by *non* and a contrasting noun strangely neither elsewhere in V., nor, for that matter, in Cat. or Hor.. Gransden compares Mez.'s wishes over Lausus, 10.853–4.

164 nec vos arguerim The pron. in some sense balancing **me . . . referret**. **A. quinques** in *Aen.* (cf. **384, 393**); the concentration in 11 a natural consequence of its rhetorical and political/polemical content. This moment of towering magnanimity on Ev.'s part (which reduces *Aen.*'s fit of self-accusation at **45ff.** to proportion and stands in willed implicit contrast to the Latins' railing against destiny, **217**; cf. W. Görler, *Wü.Jhb.2* (1976), 165), appropriately employing the standard perf. subjunctive of tentative assertion, needs to be read in the context of a neglected contrast between Latins and Arcadians: Latinus never quite did establish actual *hospitium* with the Trojans (**105**), while Ev. did (8.169 *ergo et quam petitis iuncta est mihi foedere dextra*, 10.517). Both the failed relationship and the successful, though, end in tragedy. Paratore's note is recommended to lovers of the bizarre.

Teucrici *Aen.* is not present, and his picked escort is in no way morally responsible for Pallas' death, but through **Teucrici**, Ev. addresses their absent king.

nec foedera nec . . . / 165 . . . dextras Cf. 8.169 *supra* (Pallas was sent off to *contubernium*, without formal instructions to *Aen.*, but committed to his supervision under the most explicit and emotional behests and wishes: 8.514ff., 572ff.). Note too **7.366** for the significance of the right hand.

quas/165 iunximus hospitio Cf. 3.83 (heroic/formulaic) and note **7.202, 264**.

sors ista So of Priam, 2.554f. *haec finis Priami fatorum, hic exitus illum/sorte tulit*; for *s.* as the lot or destiny of the individual, cf. 10.450, 501, *EV* 4, 950. **Ista** points to the corpse (Page), but could also (Wagner, *QV* xix.2, **537**) refer to that fate which Ev.'s hearers perceive afflicts him.

senectae/166 . . . nostrae **S.** probably substantivisation of *senecta aetas* (Leumann, 335; cf. also *EV*, 4, 769), and **V.** uses *senecta* or *senectus* (*novies* each) on grounds of metr. convenience (*EV*, *cit*; clearly right). For such postponement and hyperbaton of the pronom. adj., cf. (e.g.) *Buc.*9.22, *G.*2.40, *Aen.*4.658: not very common and here lending particular weight to the fact that it is upon Ev.'s old age that this hard lot has fallen (on 9.481f., similar language from Euryalus' mother, cf. Babcock (**25**), 47. We have seen that **V.** draws on the classic inclusion of predeceased children among the woes of age (**159**).

166 debita erat Cf. 3.184 *haec generi portendere debita nostro*, 4.275f., 6.714, **7.120 fatis mihi debita tellus**, 12.795 *deberi caelo*, *EV*, 2.1. **quod si** *Quinquies* in *Aen.*, LHS, 571. We pass to valour as consolation (cf. **27**) of the inevitable.

immatura . . . /167 mors Slight hyperbaton and the monosyllabic subject postponed and run over (whose effect is naturally moderated by the following **gnatum**), to place 'death' and 'son' in *juxtaposito oppositorum*, with interwoven word-order and four grinding successive consonants in **-rs gn-**. The phrase is both Catullan (96.5) and Lucretian (5.221) and **i.** is only here in **V.**; it is also the title of a useful short thesis by J. Ter Vrugt-Lenz (Groningen 1960), but the Virgilian deaths she considers are those (6.426ff.) in actual childhood. Cf. further Lattimore, 184ff..

manebat/167 . . . gnatum Cf. **181**; cf. Sommer, *Handbuch*, 234f., Leumann, 188, 614: **g-** not simply an archaic and poetic spelling (though that is what it must have been felt to be, Harrison on 10.470), but an independent linguistic development in its own right (so too *gnosco*). Cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 420 for the ms. evidence for the survival of this form. Cf. **7.319** for just this use of the verb.

caesis Volscorum milibus For the partic., cf. **7.595, 11.82**; cf. **11.63**, *EV* 3, 786 for the Homerising hyperbole (with which cf. the *ingentis Rutulorum linquis aceruos* of 10.509), beautifully taken off in a 'children's version of a soldiers' song', *SHA Aurel.*6.5 (cf. Horsfall,

Cultura della plebs romana (Barcelona 1996), 54); cf. **397**. Seven actual victims in the narrative; cf. Harrison on 10.362–438 and *EV* 3, 943. For *mille* with part.gen., cf. LHS, 57; no Volscian is mentioned in bk. 10 and they are presumably here used loosely for the allies of Tu. from southern Latium in general (cf. **7.805**). For the ethics of these lines, cf. Henry (E.), 152.

ante For advbl. use, cf. LHS, 223.

168 ducentem in Latium Teucros More auxesis as paternal pride leads Ev. to present his son as the principal hero of the Trojans' conquest of their new homeland. The names in calculated juxtaposition, as often (**7.233**, **709**, **11.141**).

cecidisse iuuabit So Andromache of Hector, ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλοὶ Ἀχαιῶν/Ἐκτορος ἐν παλάμῃσιν ὁδάξ ἔλον ἄσπετον οὔδακ (*Il.*24.737f.). **C.** the simplest metaphorical equivalent for 'die': Hom. πίπτειν (and note compounds *concidere*, *occidere*). See *EV* 1, 598 (Valenti Pagnini); *tacent* Axelson, Lyne. Cf. 10.509 *cum tamen ingentis Rutulorum linquis aceruos*, **131**; V. delights in these bitter or paradoxical joys and here attributes to Ev. the thought that it will be a 'pleasure' (cf. **27**, **166** for the 'valour as consolation' motif) to dwell on the glorious circumstances of his son's end; *EV* 3, 76 is a little too sure in claiming that Ev. 'unconsciously rejects' this (slender) consolation of memory. It is hard to explain the origin or defend the sense of **M's iuuaret** (**R iuuare**; unexceptionably **P iuuabit**), though Heyne tried, as though a timid present potential were what was wanted for this consolation (cf. rather Wagner).

169 quin ego 'Yes and', cf. **7.750**.

non alio digner te funere For the litotes, cf. *G.*2.132, 336 (with even more dramatic hyperbaton), 3.245, 531, 4.372; only *non aliter* elsewhere in *Aen.* Cf. **171 ad fin.** for the effect. **F.** at **3**, etc.; the verb in *tragici*, Lucr., Cat., Calvus (and first transitivised here, Flobert, *Verbes déponents*, 108, Wigodsky, 80, 102). **Dignem** DServ., followed by Sabbadini and now championed by Timpanaro, *Virgilianisti*, 120, as a refined archaism (which it would indeed be, Flobert, 108).

Palla Addressed as at **152**; the emotional impact of authorial apostrophe is generally recognised (Williams, *TI*, 183ff.); we recall that the speaker's use of the addressee's name (so too e.g. *nate*) can often have (as markedly here; cf. 6.456) an affective force (Highet, 135; omission of names can be equally significant).

170 quam . . . et quam . . . et quam Rare triple anaphora framing the line (cf. Wills 369, 429); given that the third **quam** introduces

a dicolon, the anaphora binds together two entire lines as Ev. passes from Aen. to his small force, to the ampler contingent of his generous neighbours. For *alius . . . quam*, cf. LHS, 595 and for the double monosyll. in the sixth foot, cf. **7.790**. For the successive disyllables, cf. **143**; the proclitic makes this line comparable).

pious Aeneas Cf. **7.5, 11.4**; as so often, *pietas* shown in the execution of funeral honours.

magni Phryges Hardly an oxymoron: 'Phrygian' is not always polite or neutral in V. (vd. **7.294, 358, 363, 430, 579**), though it often can be (1.468, 2.68, 191, 276, 344, 3.148, 4.140, 10.255, 702, **11.145, 403, 677**, etc.; an implication overlooked by *EV* 2, 593). Cf. 5.45 *Dardanidae magni*, 8.341 *Aeneadas magnos*, **266**: not at all conventional, therefore and to be taken as a particular courtesy.

171 Tyrrhenique duces Tyrrhenum exercitus omnis Cf. (with Moskalew, 87) **598 Etruscique duces equitumque exercitus omnis**, 5.602 *Troiaque nunc pueri, Troianum dicitur agmen*; Wills (39) curiously sees at **171** a reference to the Homeric ἀρχοὺς αὖ νηῶν ἐπέω νῆάς τε προπιάσας (naturally one can see similarities of disposition, but the case for an actual echo seems fanciful). More helpful is his remark (418) that there is something elegiac about the disposition of the repeated words in the verse and the repeated noun as so often does duty for a connective (**7.75**). The sequence 'leaders . . . army' is unsurprisingly Livian (1.1.9, 4.46.9, 27.49.8, 25.19.11) and the clausula **e.o.** frequent in V. (cf. 2.415, 5.824, **598 cit.**). The doubly bereaved Evander here reaches an altogether Homeric level of *magnitudo animi* in not only excusing the Trojans of any blame for Pallas' death but in thanking too all the contingents of his allies for the due military honours paid to his son, exactly as he himself as father would have wished.

172 magna tropaea Described in detail at **83–4**, but without the technical term, for which vd. **7**. I sense enallage, but cannot prove it: not simply large trophies, but trophies won against great warriors (for the gen. expressed, cf. **790**; the narrative 'facts' (**167**) are of course perfectly irrelevant). The ellipse (cf. **81**, Bell, 383, Forbiger) of *eorum* (antecedent to **quos**) may make the enallage a little likelier.

ferunt Cf. **84** (they are after all the same trophies, brought from the field of battle; TCD *comportans*); the subject is clearly inferred from the preceding line (which itself evokes earlier narrative detail). There is much evitable confusion in the commentaries.

dat . . . leto Cf. **197** for this whole group of periphrastic expressions for 'kill'; vd. here *Enn.trag.*283, *Pacuv.trag.*148, *Lucr.*5.1007, *Aen.*5.806, 12.328, *TLL* 7.2.1189.49 (Steinmann). Jocelyn on *Enn.cit.* notes acutely a sacral association (or actual origin): cf. *Varr.LL* 7.42, *Fest.p.*304.1ff. The use of the present for a past action is unsurprising: see Görler, *EV* 2, 272, **7.363**.

tua dextera Cf. **178, 385 tua dextra**; with *mea*, cf. 12.428, 436. **173 tu quoque . . . / 175 Turne . . .** The prodigious hyperbaton (two whole lines) casts the greatest possible emphasis on the name of Pallas' killer (for the strong pause after the voc. at 1tr., cf. Winbolt, 10). With **q.**, both linking Turnus wishfully to the parade of Pallas' victims and even looking forward to events after the end of 12, cf. the **tu quoque . . . Aeneia nutrix / . . . Caieta** of **7.1f.**

nunc stares Cf. **16 Mezentius hic est**. Here standing no longer like a warrior (5.414, etc.), but like some statue or monument (cf. 3.63., 6.22, *EV* 4, 1026).

immanis truncus Cf. **5 decisis undique ramis**; Tu.'s arms would be hung as Mezentius' have been. The adj. refers both to Tu.'s size (**7.784**; thus too to that of the tree-trunk his spoils would require) and to the monstrous spectacle such a trophy would constitute (*EV* 2, 924 (Grillo) well notes a number of cases—e.g. 6.11, 422—where this double sense is clearly present).

in armis Codd, Goold.; **aruis** Bentley, Mynors, to avoid (quite unnecessarily) the repetition of **armis** at line-end twice in three lines; the case is argued in detail at **7.430 (in arma codd.; in arua Bentley, Mynors)**. Standing under arms is exactly what the trophy does, and is intended to do, after all.

174 esset . . . si Not a most remarkable anastrophe (none quite so singular: cf. Williams on 3.25, 5.22, *KS* 2, 614f.); rather, the conjunction is postponed to the second of the parallel cola (cf. *LHS*, 835, Lunelli-Kroll, 35, n. 38) and is then treated quite normally as an enclitic (*LHS*, 399, Kroll, *Wiss.Synt.*, 93). See (with profit) both Leo *Ausgew. kl.Schr.*1, 116 and De Meo, *EV* 1, 219 on the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ in V., and in this passage.

par aetas Cf. *Plaut.Ba.*1108, *Caes.Gall.*7.39.1, *Ov.Met.*9.718, *TLL* 1.1131.56 (Kempf). For the importance of this motif, not only in bk.10 (431, 459), cf. 1.475, 12.149, 216, 218, *EV* 3, 966, Horsfall, *GR* 34 (1987), 52, Scarcia, *EV* 2, 396, A. Barchiesi, *La traccia del modello (Bibl.MD* 1, Pisa 1984), 59 *et passim*. Old editors (e.g. La Cerda) thought of Nestor, (*Il.*7.133, etc.), hence of Ev. too longing to be

able to fight Tu., but the connexion of thought with bk. 10 renders this notion quite impossible; Pallas was not yet a *match* for Tu..

et idem . . . robur Cf. 2.639 *solidaeque suo stant robore uires*, 8.518, **11.368** (again Tu.). A solid, massive, adult strength, naturally (cf. *EV* 4, 512f.).

ab annis Cf. 9.235 *neue haec nostris spectentur ab annis*; here **ab** suggests more 'deriving from' (see *OLD* s.v., §15a). Cf. 12.438, memorably, on mental growth.

175 sed But *Ev.* realises that it is the moment for action, not hypotheses.

infelix Cf. **53, 85**.

Teucros quid demoror armis The vb. at 3.481, 10.30 and 2.648 (*infra*); in Plautus, *ter* in Cic., and apparently introduced into high poetry by V.; the use + both acc. and abl. easy (*simplex* with acc. and *ab*, Liv.25.11.2). An element of paradox, perhaps: as *Ev.* hastens to return a thousand Trojans (and their allies) to Aeneas, for battle, that same Aeneas has made a truce with the Latins.

176 uadite The imper. *quater* in sing. in V.; the verb Ennian, Accian, Catullan, an old respectable synonym for *ire* (but more suggestive of rapid motion, according to *EV*).

haec regi . . . mandata referte Cf. **7.267 regi mea nunc mandata referte**; just how imperative they are is not inherent in the verb.

memores Cf. 6.377 *cape dicta memor*, 10.491 *memores mea dicta referte*. This line, in its three variations, is clearly 'epic/formulaic' in character.

177 quod 'The fact that' (Woodcock, 196ff., Ernout-Thomas, 295, etc.); cf. Merguet, 581 for comparable instances (the use explanatory of **causa** is exceptional, but quite easy).

uitam . . . inuisam So Euryalus' mother of her *inuisum . . . caput* at 9.496. Closer still, cf. Anchises 2.647f. *iam pridem inuisus diuis et inutilis annos/demoror*; *quinquies* in *G.*, 16x in *Aen.*; at Cat.62.58.

moror At 12.874f. Juturna says to her brother *qua tibi lucem/arte morer* (of prolonging a much-desired life); here (and TCD renders the whole phrase simply as *uiuo*) *Ev.* clings to his own life (in the sense of delaying that swift end—*Orcum moror*, in Hor.'s words (*C.*3.27.50)—which would be natural and much-desired after his latest bereavement), from the desire for vengeance. The sense is perfectly clear, less so the exact idiom, even if we take into account *Il.*18.90–2 (Achilles, without reason to live, unless he kills Hector).

Pallante perempto The clausula of 10.533; one of the many lesser synonyms for 'kill' (Axelson, 67); a recognised poeticism (Paul.exc.Fest.

p. 238.3): *novies* in Lucr., *quinquies* in Cic.poet.. Not provably, *pace* Harrison on 10.315, an archaism.

178 dextera causa tua est That strong right hand by which Ilioneus swears at **7.234**, and to whose bond of *hospitium* Ev. has just referred (**165**); cf. 4.314, 12.436, 939, etc.; the interwoven order lends strong emphasis to three successive words. **C.** simply as ‘motive’ is very common in V.; *EV* 1, 715; for Quint.’s remark (1.7.20) that V. spelt the word -ss-, cf. L. Gamberale in *Atti . . . Convegno . . . Georgiche* (1975) (Napoli 1977), 360, Horsfall, *Vergilius* 41 (1995), 57ff.: no proof that the identification of V.’s hand was certain or that the mss. in question were poetical.

Turnum . . . / 179 quam debere This declaration of Aen.’s double moral debt (different in its nature in each case) is an important element in the argument (present in bk. 12, alongside others) that he cannot escape from the duty (cf. 10.442f. *solī mihi Pallas / debetur*) of killing Turnus: cf. Wlosok (**82**), 425f., Renger, 98, Cairns, 103, Clausen, *THP*, 100 (and note too *Companion*, 212; *aliter*, Putnam, 172).

gnatoque patrique For **g.**, cf. **167** and for the lofty phrase, cf. 4.605, 6.116, and 10.525 with Harrison’s n..

179 uides In an intellectual sense (naturally); quite in order too, as Quint. remarks explicitly, 10.1.13; *intellegis* TCD (cf. Serv.*ad Aen.*3.584). Cf. **7.374**, 9.210, 10.652, **11.309**, 12.149. *EV* 5*, 536 (Maselli).

meritis . . . / 180 fortunaequē *Virtus tua* paraphrases Serv.; cf. Liv.2.27.2 *illi exprobrabant sua quisque belli merita cicatricesque acceptas*. **F.** clearly success on the field of battle: cf. **96f.** (also **196** for the intimately related idea of *felicitas*), Bailey, 235, Kajanto (**96**), 76.

uacat . . . tibi Cf. 3.123; the dative dependent on **uacat** is perspicuously distinct from those dependent on **locus**, though some editors have failed to separate them correctly.

hic . . . / 180 solus . . . locus Cf. 4.319 *si quis . . . locus*, 2.322; ‘room’ or ‘opportunity’ (*OLD* s.v., §14a).

non uitae gaudia quaero The verb equally of mental seeking at e.g. 2.105, 9.278; not automatically ‘joys of this life’ (not a stock phrase) and **u.** may well be (Traina and *EV* 2, 638) dat., ‘joy for this life’, balancing **gnato**. 6.278f. *mala mentis / gaudia* does not (*pace* Henry) advance the case for gen. here. After **q.**, the constr. changes from acc. to infin. (vd. Williams on 3.234f.; 6.614f. is harder and vd. Austin).

181 nec fas Cf. 9.208; a uniquely Virgilian expression and necessarily an abbreviation, appropriate to the poetic representation of speech (cf. Hofmann-Ricottilli, 163), of *nec fas tibi est*.

sed gnato . . . perferre Cf. 9.692; here (cf. **11.825 haec Turno mandata nouissima perfer**), the object is necessarily **gaudia**, easily supplied; Ev. in death will bring to his son the joy of knowing that he has been duly avenged. Note Sen. *Clem.* 1.21.1, Plin. *Ep.* 3.14.4, the *solacium* brought by *ultio*. Rather similarly, the Sibyl to Palinurus, 6.377ff. (*duri solacia casus*); cf. too Dido, *infra*. But the best comment if offered by *Epigr. Gr.* 491.8 ἄζμενος ἐκ ζῶᾱς εἰς προθανόντα μολῶν (cf. Soph. *Ant.* 867, 892f., Lattimore, 247ff. for death as re-union).

manis . . . sub imos Cf. 4.387 *haec manis ueniet mihi fama* [of the punishment Aen. will have to pay] *sub imos*; see too 3.565, 12.884, *EV* 3, 339 for **m.** as ‘underworld’.

182–202 The funerals (ii): Trojans and Etruscans V. works with three Homeric funerals in mind: above all, that of Patroclus (naturally) but also those after the burial truce of *Il.* 7 (421–36) and then after the return of Hector’s body (24.692–775), while for Misenu he had ‘used’ Patroclus’ and Elpenor’s (*Od.* 12.8–15) rituals (Knauer, 283, n. 2). Details Homeric (see more fully **203–24**), Apollonian and distinctively Roman will be identified *seriatim*; in several cases, funerary usage turns out to be ambiguous in character or definition (**188f.**, **189**) or to be not nearly as distinctively Roman as has been claimed (**193** (where vd. **80**), **197**). Quinn (*loc. cit.*) rightly notes changes of tempo; or rather, V. describes elements of the funerary ritual (and fortunately there are many, not least since the poet can draw on both epic and on Roman usage) with varying degrees of detail, limited only by his lack of freedom simply to repeat the obsequies of Misenu, and by the demands of the Latin funeral yet to come. That said, there is some rather awkward repetition of already-used verses (**192**, **197**), and some degree of inevitable overlap with Misenu, a passage finely worked-up and here, arguably, quarried, at times, a little vigorously. Cf. Alessio, 65ff. (*maiora uiribus audet*), Henry (E.), 23ff., Knauer, 283f., Quinn, 237.

182 Aurora Cf. **11.1**.

interea The dawn after that of v. **1**; Ev. has lamented his son and in the meanwhile, the sun had risen; the conventional sense of **i.**, ‘meanwhile’ (cf. **7.572**). is confirmed by the use of the plpf..

miseris mortalibus Serv. well refers to *Il.* 22.31 δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι;

the phr. used by Lucr. (5.944) and already by V. at *G.3.66*; cf. *mortalibus aegris*. Here the stock phrase entirely appropriate in the funerary context.

almam/183 . . . lucem Cf. *Buc.8.17*, *Aen.1.306*, 3.311, 5.64 (*diem mortalibus almm*; cf. Moskalew, 67), 8.455; a dawn kindly not just for mortals, but specially for juxtaposed *δεῖλοισι βροτοῖσι*, after days of battle, and a pause for heavy logging, with only the prospect of burying their comrades. A significant dawn (cf. **7.25**).

183 extulerat Cf. *Cat.62.29*, *Cic.Arat.114*, 351, 408, 460, *Aen.4.119*, 5.65, *TLL* 5.2. 147.5 (Bannier).

referens Cf. *G.1.458* (the sun) *cum referetque diem condetque relatum*.

opera atque labores Cf. 6.129; Oakley on *Liv.6.1.6* lists usefully sufficient instances of this stock coupling. Unelided *atque* is markedly more frequent in the later books of *Aen.*: cf. **7.304**, **473**. For dawn as the signal for toil, cf. *HHHerm.98*, West on Hes. *Erga* 573, Diggle on *Eur.Phaethon* 63–101, Kenney and Perutelli on *Moretum* 1, Hollis on *Call.Hec.74.23ff.*, Bömer on *Ov.Met.4.664ff.*, and McKeown on *Ov.Am.1.13.13*; heroes work no less hard than *miseri mortales*.

184 iam . . . iam Simply anaphoric (cf. **7.790**).

pater Aeneas Hom.'s kings are shepherds to their people, not fathers, while *Aen.*, like Augustus to his *patria*, is a father to the Trojans (cf. Binder, 14ff.; a shepherd only indirectly, cf. Harrison on 10.406). So too Evander (8.558); Anchises, too (cf. *EV* 3, 1017f. on the delicate line between Anch. as father of *Aen.* and of the Trojans). See Austin on 2.2, Moskalew, 82, Mackie, 103ff., 191ff., Cairns, 20 ('paternity' an element of the 'good king' stereotype), J. Hellegouarc'h in *Hommages* (77), 272f., *EV* 3, 1021, 4.96 (Traina: the overlap of *Aeneas pater* and *pius Aeneas*).

curuo in litore Cf. *Acc.trag.569*, *Cat.64.74*, *Aen.3.223*, 238, 643, 10.683, *TLL* 4.1550.82 (Schwering). *Perpetuum epitheton litorum est* remarks Serv. on 3.16. Which shore? Cf. **199**; that it was the sea-shore at *Il.7.334* is perfectly irrelevant here.

Tarchon Eponym of Tarquinii and for V. principal ruler of the Etruscans (cf. 10.290ff., **11.727ff.**; already known to Cato (*infra*), Strabo (5.2.2), and Lyc., on whom (1245ff.) cf. *CQ* 29 (1979), 380, S.R. West, *JHS* 104 (1984), 133. Thus presumably to, as it might be, Tim. as well. Cf. Harrison on 10.153f. and M. Cristofani, *EV* 5*, 39f.. For T. as founder of Cortona (only in Sil., *cit.* and clearly problematic), cf. Cristofani, *cit.*, Horsfall, *RMM*, 93, Spaltenstein on

Sil.8.473, P. Venini, *Mem.ist.Lomb.*36 (1978), 207. Also of Pisa (Cato fr. 45P) and Mantua (Verr.Flacc. fr. 2P).

185 constituere pyras Cf. **6**; see 6.217, 506 in a similarly funerary/commemorative context (the Greek noun apparently introduced to poetry by V.). A genuine plural, as **185f.** will make clear: 10.175–7 shows V. aware in the epic of the otherness of Etruscan usage. See further **2 sociis . . . humandis**. The issue is by no means ‘merely’ antiquarian: consider ‘unity of the epic world’, ‘foreshadowing of unity of Italy’ and ‘poetic variety (as between two successive burial scenes)’; such large issues turn on these small details.

corpora . . . /186 . . . tulere Cf. **593f.** and 8.584 (the body of Evander, who has fainted).

quisque In various forms, found directly before and after parts of *suus* 13x in V. (vd. Merguet). The reader who expects that the obj. of the awaited verb is complete at **suorum** (it so easily could be! Cf. Liv.22.7.5, 52.6) will be surprised by the enjambement, for the sense will not actually be completed until **patrum**. To divide **suorum** and **patrum** (so e.g. Williams, Gransden; far better, E. Henry, 125) is to play games with the Latin, above all since the verb in **186** eliminates any trace of pause at line-end and there is nothing visible to seduce us into supposing, as we listen, that **s.** is pronominal, not adjectival. In the many parallel expressions (*infra*) *suorum* is indeed missing (Page), but the postponement of **patrum** is decisive. Liv.25.17.5 (vd. **189**) *cum tripudiis Hispanorum motibusque armorum et corporum suae cuique genti adsuetis* might be cited in support. **suorum/186 more . . . patrum** Cf. Cat.101.7 *more parentum*, Aen.6.223 (*infra*), G.3.177 *more patrum*, 12.834 *sermonem . . . patrium moresque* (cf. 1.539f.), 2.715, 8.598 *religione patrum*; note Hor.C.4.15.29, Liv.3.68.12, 4.30.11, 14, 5.6.17. Cf. *EV* s.v. *mos* (Bianco), with ample bibliography, M. Tartari Chersoni, *Maia* 53 (2001), 21ff.. Here, in recognition of the Latin allies’ wide area of origin, V. allows for diversity in burial rites (cf. 8.723), expanding the conventional phrase.

subiectis Cf. **119**; compare in particular 6.223f. (pyre of Misenus) *subiectam more parentum/ auersi tenuere facem* (related scenes, after all). The vb. similarly at 2.37; note too Cic.Verr.2.1.69, Lucr.6.1285 (*subdebant*). *EV* 4.1051 is slightly misleading.

ignibus atris **A.** because both smoky and funerary; for the familiar paradox of ‘black flame’, cf. **7.456f. atro/lumine**.

187 conditur in tenebras The vb. unsatisfactory in *EV* (2, 117),

difficult in *TLL*, and perspicuous in *OLD*: cf. **7.33, 719** (with dat.), *G.*1.442 [sc. the sun] *conditus in nubem* 4.66 *sese in cunabula condent*, *Aen.*4.177 *caput inter nubila condit*. Here then ‘plunged, hidden in darkness’ (*OLD* s.v., §7a cites *Sen.NQ* 6.1.7 for an earthquake which *gentes totas . . . in altam uoraginem condit*).

altum . . . caelum The apparently slack and conventional epithet (cf. **7.141** *et saep.*) is in fact working hard: the dark smoke rises up to fill the very heights of the sky (extremely common hyperbole: Hardie, *CI*, 267ff.; cf. **124, 136**). Not even so far from reality; two days before writing this note, the smoke from a little enthusiastic stubble-burning rose dramatically and indeed sky-high over the plain, as one looked down from the ridge S. of Tivoli. Smoke, though, not clouds.

caligine Simply instrumental (or local) with **conditur** and explanatory of (and a little superfluous after!) **tenebras**? The word-order suggests not. Cf. rather Görler, *EV* 2, 268 (vd. too *Aen.* ed. Mackail, p. 514): for the abl. in explanation of an adjective. As the belly of the Trojan horse is *curuam compagibus*, *crateres* are *auro solidi*, etc., so here the sky is dark all the way to its heights: bold, but not intolerably so. For the whole picture, Setaioli well compares (*EV* 5*, 97) the equally ample 9.33f. *hic subitam nigro glomerari puluere nubem/prospiciunt Teucri ac tenebras insurgere campis* (and note 11.876f., *Furius Antias* fr. 2 ap. *Gell.*18.11 *omnia noctescunt* [cf. **11.824**] *tenebris caliginis atrae*).

188 ter . . . / 189 . . . ter The anaphora of *ter* common enough in *V.* (cf. Thomas on *G.*4.384f., Pease on 4.690) and links two descriptions of a single action! Note a triple lustration at the end of Misenus’ funeral (6.229), and the triple call to Deiphobus (6.506): the number is both ritual (Gow on *Theocr.*2.43, Bömer on *Ov.F.*2.573) and literary (**7.141**, Zorzetti, *EV* 3, 783, citing *Hom.*, *AR*, *Theocr.*). Cf., notably, *Il.*23.13, round Patroclus’ pyre three times and similarly *AR* 1.1059 (Cyzicus), 4.1535f. (Mopsus), Hügi, 101f.. Mysteriously absent from *Wills*.

circum Note how **accensus . . . rogos** corresponds to **ignem**, and **circum . . . / . . . decurrere** to **lustrauere**; but one *decursio* with arguably flaccid variation. Henry 1, 744ff. remains unsurpassed.

accensus . . . / 189 . . . rogos The plur. at *G.*4.477 = *Aen.*6.308 *impositique rogis iuuenes* is as here ‘real’; contrast (see G. Cavajoni, *EV* 4.514) the poet. plur. at 4.646. For the vb., cf. 5.4, *Liv.*26.13.18. *TLL* 1.274.27f. (Klotz).

cincti Cf. 2.749 *cingor fulgentibus armis*; in Lucr., Cat., Varr.Atac., but not at all distinctively ‘poetical’.

fulgentibus armis Vd. Austin’s admirable n. on *Aen.2, cit.*: here, not otiose either; armour specially shined out of respect for the dead. The expression Accian (*ter*), Pacuvian (*semel*), allegedly Ennian.

189 decurrere Cf. 4.153 for the form (shortened from *decucurr-*, as Priscian (2.533.2) notes: see NW 3, 353ff.). Rather atypically, as we have discovered, V. uses the technical language of ritual (cf. 7 index, s.v. ritual language): cf. Suet.*Claud.1.6 decurreret* (for Drusus), Liv.25.17.5 *armatum exercitum decucurrisse cum tripudiis* (for Gracchus; App.*Iber.317* confirms Liv.’s remark that Spanish troops followed much the same usage), Tac.*Ann.2.7.3 decucurrit* (after the *clades Variana*), *Tab.Heb.55–7* (with Richard, *cit.*); in Greek texts, cf. too (e.g.) DC 56.42.2, 74.5.5, 76.15.3, 77.16.7, App.*Civ.1.500*. See (28) Arce, 52, Wesch-Klein, 85, and in particular Richard (72–7), 313ff.. The ritual is somewhere between a mock battle and a cavalry ballet (i.e. comparable to the *lusus Troiae*, which was itself executed at funerals, DC 59.11.2, etc.). Richard (315) concludes ‘reste un ultime hommage rendu au chef des légions et à sa *felicitas* sur le théâtre des ses exploits’. But we should not forget (188f. **ter**) that the scene is equally Homeric, and Apollonian (vd. e.g. Hügi, 101, Cavajoni, *cit.*), however technically Roman the language.

maestum funeris ignem V. returns to a thematic/overworked adj. (cf. 26). Cf. 53: **f.** of the funeral as a whole here.

190 lustrauere Cf. 5.577f. *postquam omnem . . . consessum oculosque suorum/lustrauere in equis* (the *lusus Troiae* in honour of the dead Anchises; cf. on 189 **decurrere**), 6.229f. *idem ter socios pura circumtulit [purgavit Serv.]unda/lustravitque uiros*: the use of **l.** in place of **decurrere** suggests very clearly the purificatory sense of the *decursio*. Cf. EV 3, 287f..

in equis Cf. also 5.554, 7.285; the **equis** of 7.624 is indistinguishable.

ululatusque The familiar onomatopoea of ὀλολυγή, ὀλολυγμός, *et sim.*; cf. Cat.63.24. Vd. EV 5*, 364ff..

ore dedere Not a stock phrase (cf. 535 **ore dabat**), familiar though both its components are (**o.**: cf. 7.194; **d.**: cf. 7.560, 601).

191 spargitur . . . sparguntur Cf. *Il.23.15f.* δεύοντο ψάμαθοι, δεύοντο δὲ τεύχεα φωτῶν/δάκρυσι, where Richardson notes both the additional pathos in Hom.’s run-over tears and the beginning of a sequence of debts to Patr.’s funeral in the text here. For verb repetition with number-shift, cf. Wills, 290ff..

et The repetition is connection enough; the postponed **et** a decorative Hellenistic mannerism (**81**).

tellus lacrimis . . . arma Cf. 9.251 *amborum et uultum lacrimis atque ora rigabat*. See too 9.333f., 12.308, 12.721f. (and the implicit repetition at **11.8f.**): bedewing coupled objects with blood is clearly a closely comparable structure.

192 it caelo 'In V., *ire* is as strong as the work it is given to do' (**7.223**); see in general **7.637** and here cf. 4.665f. *it clamor ad alta/atria* (where vd. Pease), 5.451, 8.595, 9.664 *it clamor*. For the hyperbole, cf. Wigodsky, 48, **124, 136, 187**, 2.338, 5.451, 12.409. Regular dat. of goal instead of prepos. (Görler, *EV* 2, 266).

clamorque uirum clangorque tubarum So at 2.313 (where the verb is *exoritur*), where vd. Austin. Note too 1.87 *clamorque uirum stridorque rudentum*, Moskalew, 125. The alliterative nouns are not classified as a regular pair by Wölfflin. On the Homerising . . . **-que . . . -que**, cf. Harrison on 10.91. For the picture as a whole, cf. *Job* 39.25, and Achilles' war-cry compared to a trumpet (*Il.*18.219–21). The collective shout is a regular element of the Homeric battle (*Il.*4.436, etc., Seymour, 573), as of the Ennian (*Ann.* 545 *clamor ad caelum uoluendus per aethera uagit*) and Virgilian (9.504, 664, Malavolta, 171, *EV* 1, 808). But (cf. Moskalew, 125) strangely out of place as the *ululatus* still echoes. Onomatopoeic *clangor quater* in *Aen.*, after Gk. κλαγγή (note Liv.1.34.8 and Acc.*trag.*573 *crepitu clangente*). The trumpet like-wise Homeric (known to the poet, not his heroes), Ennian (*Ann.*126), legionary. and Virgilian (**7.628** for full details). Funerary too, as Serv. correctly suggests here, but the braying trump, in clashing alliteration, belongs, like the roar of heroes, in bk. 2, not here (so Moskalew, impeccably; his remarks confirmed by **197**).

193 hic Clearly temporal (cf. **7.141**) and signals a new, visible stage in the development of the scene.

alii . . ./195 . . . pars Rare: cf. KS 2, 72f., LHS, 429, Clausen on *Buc.*1.64f.; after **pars** there is easy omission of a verb (after **coniciunt**).

spolia Cf. **5–13**; their presence on the pyre apparently not Homeric usage (*Companion*, 204f., Seymour, 478), but altogether Roman (vd. **80 spoliauerat**).

occisis derepta Latinis For the (rather problematic) Latins, cf. **114**. The verb only here, at **811** and 10.312. Lyne renders with polemic vigour 'butcher' (*WP*, 107; cf., less partially, Axelson, 65ff.); the Latins at large, however, have not been subjected to that systematic and brutal violence which 'butcher' implies (cf., in the same

register, ‘carnage’); rather, they took up arms against the Trojans and some of them have indeed been killed. *OLD* sticks to the slightly (and appropriately) less lurid ‘slaughter’, but the vb. is strong, ‘colourful’ and very rare in V.. **D.**: cf. just so in *Hor.C.3.5.21*, 4.15.7; see *TLL* 5.2.632.55f. (Lommatzsch) and *EV* 4, 401 (unhelpful). Found with both dat. and abl. and the case of **o.L.** cannot be determined (cf. Ernout-Thomas, 70f.).

194 coniciunt So of Misenus’ clothes at 6.222, followed there too by a dat. ‘of goal’.

igni Cf. **189**; V. has both *pyra* and *rogus* to facilitate variation (Norden on 6.214f.; cf. **37**). For the dat. of goal, cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 266.

galeas Cf. **7.638**.

ensisque decoros Cf. **7.640**; for the adj., cf. the ampler 9.365 (elements of the *decor* of a helmet specified; note *Tac.Hist.1.57*) and also 2.392, 12.210. The adj. naturally with both nouns. Note *Liv.7.10.7 in armis habilibus magis quam decoris*. It has long been realised that the epithet is not ‘ornamental’: good equipment was cast on the pyre.

195 frenaque *Non faciunt meliorem equum aurei freni* (*Sen.Ep.41.6*), **7.278** (golden *monilia*), **279** (golden bits, called **frena**), *Apul.Socr.23* (*frena caelata*), *Claud. Carm.min.* 45, 46, and above all, *Il.4.141–7* (cheek-piece of stained ivory!) should be enough to make clear that *frena* (not simply ‘reins’/‘bit’, but also synecdochically for ‘harness’ in general, *Varr.RR* 2.7.12; at *Plin.Nat.7.202 frenos et strata* clearly enough indicates ‘harness and saddle’) should not be taken here simply as suggesting that Trojans and allies toss on the pyre some plain and well-worn bits or bridles! Heroes are great ‘swells’ after all.

feruentisque rotas Cf. *Hor.C.1.1.4*, *Ov.AA* 3.396; wheels with iron rims heated by friction (NH *ad loc.*) and here not just a stock epithet (cf. too *G.3.107 feruidus axis*), but a suggestion that the chariots are fresh from battle and surely too a conceit around ‘hot wheels’ and ‘flames’; indeed consideration of **200 ardentis socios** suggests that **f.** may likewise play, perceptibly enough, on ‘burning from speed’ and ‘burning in cremation’ (Williams, *TI*, 160 quite obscures the issue while Lyne, *WP*, 23 does not. Certainly, Quinn’s ‘being clever’, 237, n. 1 is untimely *superbia*). Note . . . **-que . . . -que . . . -que** (equally Homeric: cf. **192**). Probably ‘wheels’ are synecdochic for ‘chariots’ (*OLD* s.v., §1c).

munera nota Cf. **26**; the adj. used with a peculiarly Virgilian sense of the pathos acquired by long familiarity (vd. E. Kraggerud, *EV* 3, 766; cf. Williams, *TI*, 160), in the eyes of owners and comrades both:

cf., for example, the precisely analogous *uelamina nota* of 6.221 (where Serv. remarks *ipsi cara*), 4.648, **7.500**, 12.942.

196 ipsorum Cf. *ipsius* G.1.452 (the rainbow), *Aen.*1.114 (Aeneas), 8.484 (Mezentius): not their own, but those of the dead (KS 1, 630).

clipeos Cf. **7.639**.

non felicia tela Cf. **7.745**; perhaps to be thought of as an extension of the common *felicitas* of an army, a unit, a commander (*TLL* 6.1.442.39ff. (Ammann), H. Erkell, *Augustus, felicitas, fortuna* (Göteborg 1952), 54ff.).

197 multa boum circa . . . corpora We return now to the detail of the Homeric funeral (23.166ff.; cf. Richardson, p. 186f.). Cf. **7.535 corpora multa uirum circa** (where vd. my n.: in both passages standard epic periphrasis). See too above on **192**; we have therefore two briskly reworked lines so close together as to suggest haste or lack of revision, a suspicion confirmed by **204f.** Henry (E.), 25 senses a reference to the Suovetaurilia in these lines (cf. Alessio, 68, Gleis, 315, n. 29); sheep and oxen at *Il.*23.166, but clearly the addition of pigs does not work a miraculous conversion, for the Suovetaurilia is entirely devoid of funerary associations (Wissowa, 142, Scullard, *Festivals*, 18, etc.) and in the present context is an embarrassingly irrelevant association.

mactantur . . . Morti The verb of impeccably antiquity and dignity (**7.92**). 'Mors' no rarer a personification than Thanatos (cf. Pöschl, *EV* 4, 37): see NH on Hor.C.1.4.13, *OLD* s.v., §2, Lattimore, 153f. But Serv. does well to comment *aut 'in mortem'* [Con.'s *morte* is a misprint] *aut 'Morti' ipsi deae*; with the first suggestion, we might compare 12.464 *sternere morti* (if *m.* is dat., as it may very well be: cf. Traina *ad loc.* and Görler, *EV* 2, 266, remarking that there are 17 instances of this dat. in expressions for 'kill'), given V.'s many extensions of the dat. of goal (vd. Görler, *cit.*). In comparison, the personification is a little pallid (cf. Raabe, 143, n. 4), and the interpretation, which runs from Heinsius, via Paratore, to the *EV* (3, 593) of *morti* as an archaic abl. (formally just possible, Görler, *EV* 2, 263, NW 1, 364ff., Leumann, 435f.) is in keeping neither with Virgilian usage for periphrastic 'kill', nor with the dat. we would expect if **m.** simply meant 'sacrifice' (vd. *OLD* s.v., §3).

198 saetigerosque sues Cf. **7.17**; formulaic repetition, but in a context already richly repetitive.

raptasque Cf. 7.749 *et saep.*; though the slaughter of domestic animals, in hostile territory and in honour of the dead, is not quite the

same, morally, as mere banditry, V. does not set up a lexical distinction (see *EV* 4, 400f.)!

ex omnibus agris 'From all over the countryside'; cf. G.1.482 *campoque per omnis*, 4.221f., *Aen.*1.756 *omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus*, 4.386 *omnibus umbra locis adero*.

199 in flammam 'Onto the flames' or 'sulle fiamme' (Traina), when the same four words are used to open 12.214 (cf. Moskalew, 91).

iugulant Cic. refers to the squealing of a *sus*, *cum iugulatur* (*TD* 5.116); here too in the most literal sense, 'slit the throat'. Hom. δειροτομῆν.

pecudes Sheep (*Il.*23.166, *Aen.*5.736, 6.153, etc.; in *Enn.trag.*), rather than 'beasts' in general (cf. Wissowa, 413). Cf. NW 1, 845, *Isid.Etym.* 12.1.6.

tum Marked acceleration of the ritual with welcome omission of minutiae (e.g. sex and colour—necessarily black—of the victims), follows. Compare 6.214–35 (much detail that is present there is absent here) and contrast *Il.*23.163ff.

litore toto Cf. **7.157f.** (the bank of the Tiber, but very near the sea). For the phrasing, cf. **omnibus agris** above and *aequore toto* (12.501), **toto . . . ponto** (**7.300**); 'abl. of extension'.

200 ardentis . . . socios A studied double meaning: those allies who had until so recently been ardent in battle (cf. 1.423, 2.41, 316, 6.5, 9.198, etc.) are now dead and ablaze (cf. 5.637, **7.244**, 9.535) on their pyres: it is the regular use of *ardere* in the sense 'to be cremated' (*OLD* s.v., §1b, citing **77**; cf. *Juv.*10.253, Lyne, *WP*, 23f. and Austin's splendid n. on 2.312); that makes this 'tragic ambiguity' so neat. Cf. **195 feruentis**, in confirmation.

spectant This is public, even spectacular ritual: cf. **34.**, **39f.**, **52** (e.g.) with H. Flower there cited, for the highly visible, Roman aspects of Pallas' laying-out. Homer's world was no different in this respect (Seymour, 474ff.). **S.** is a savagely invasive change of point of view: the survivors actually watch the bodies of their comrades consumed by the flames. It is north European, protestant severity (or worse) that tends to embalm burial/grief in privacy/convention. Large Italian funerals are still very different: *experto crede*.

semustaque . . . /201 busta With marked paronomasia, **-ust . . . -ust** (O'Hara, 230 points to *Paul.exc. Fest.* p. 29.8 and senses here too a possibly eymological play on *bustum::bene ustum*, not to be excluded). This is the stage immediately before that reached at 6.226ff. (when the bones are collected; cf. *Il.*23.252ff.). On **b.**, *TLL* 2.2256.48 (Spelthahn) remarks *rogus deflagratus i.q. τύμβος*, comparing *Lucr.*3.906

horrifico cinefactum te prope busto. The adj. also at 3.578 (for the orthography/prosody, cf. Williams on 3.244, Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 881, Leumann, 488).

seruant Cf. **31**. 'Do not leave' may also be implied, but in comparison with 'keep mourning vigil over' is feeble and secondary.

201 neque . . . possunt Apparently only here with a pass. infin. in V..

auelli Cf. 4.616 (Aen. from the embrace of Iulus), 8.568f. (Evander from the embrace of Pallas). Cf. *Il.*24.713ff. (the Trojans would have lamented all day until sunset over Hector's corpse, had not Priam . . .), 23.154f.. While Gransden takes the vb. in a reflexive sense, the Homeric antecedents suggest that the comrades of the dead cannot be persuaded (real passive) to leave their vigil. La Cerda splendidly recalled Lucr.'s *insatiabiliter defleuimus* (3.907), going atypically not to the *res*, but to the very heart of the sense. The motif anticipated at **148**.

nox umida Cf. **210**, Lucr.6.864, *G.*1.290, *Aen.*2.8 *nox umida*, 3.589, 4.7, 351f., 5.738, 835. See *G.*3.337 and Mynors' note, Housman on *Manil.*4.501, Pease on *Cic.Div.*2.33 and *ND* 2.50, *EV* 4, 577 (Crevatin) and *ib.*5*, 386f. for the association of moon and dew. So *Il.*23.226ff.: the flames of Patroclus' pyre die down towards dawn.

donec Cf. Norden, 400ff. ('indifferente Worte am Versende'; good even by N.'s best standards).

202 inuertit Cf. *Enn. Ann.*27 *qui caelum uersat stellis fulgentibus aptum*, 145 *caelum prospexit stellis fulgentibus aptum*, 348 *hinc nox processit stellis ardentibus apta*, Lucr.5.1205 *stellisque micantibus aethera fixum*, 6.357 *stellis fulgentibus apta* [sc. *caeli domus*], Hom. simply ἀστερόεντα, Wigodsky, 43, Moskalew, 88. It was not the dim personification 'Night' (but see *Enn. Ann.*414) that was thought to make the sky revolve (vd. Aujac, *EV* 1, 384); rather the mode of expression is 'poetical' (cf. 3.510) and there is some element of hypallage, or inversion (Görler, *Vergilius, Suppl.*2 (1982), 62ff.), for the reader knows that 'night' is not the 'real' subject. The verb is clearly enough influenced by *Enn.* too: behind 2.250 *uertitur interea caelum*, there lies *Ann.*205 *uertitur interea caelum cum ingentibus signis*.

caelum . . . aptum See above; *Ennian*.

stellis ardentibus Cf. 4.482, 6.797: likewise *Ennian*: on *Ann.*348, Skutsch remarks that *Enn.* will hardly have wanted to use *fulgentibus* yet again and therefore used as less obvious word, which V. liked and took up. *Ardere* was also dear to *Cic.* (an author V. had after

all read with care): cf. *Arat.* 50, 87, 319, *TLL* 2.483.19 (Vollmer). **R** has **fulgentibus**; ‘non male’ remarks Mynors, but **MP ω** have found it easier to resist the echo (or leap of the eye from **ardentis**) and should rather be commended for retaining a type of word-repetition so little congenial to modern ears: we need have no sense that **200 ardentis** is too close (cf. Paschalis, 361); cf. **7.554**. Twenty lines after dawn, the stars are now once more blazing in the sky; the rites have so far taken up an entire day (cf. Quinn, 237): note the smoke by day (**187**) and the flames by night (**209**); at **210** we reach **tertia lux**, though the two days are not clearly distinguished in the narrative.

203–224 The funerals (iii): Latins

V. has for some time been employing elements from the narrative sequence of *Il.* 7 (**108–19**, Knauer, 283, n. 2, Gransden, 170f.); thus with **182–212** (with division at **202**), cf. the burial scene, 7.421–36 (first Trojans, then Achaeans, with division at 428–9). Virgil divides the truce (**100–38**:: *Il.* 7.381–420) from the burial by the return of Pallas’ corpse. The new burial-scene (necessarily shorter; further variation scarcely possible, further narrative retardation intolerable) proper ends at **212**, for it is to be followed closely by the reaction of Latinus’ people, crucial for emotional and narrative development (cf. Di Cesare, 202f., Alessio, 67f.).

203 nec minus et The transition (**n.m.**) is Lucretian (**7.572**); **et** ‘too’, after Arcadians and Trojans; cf. LHS 525.

miseri . . . Latini Cf. **42, 59, 63, 119, 156, 182**. The balance between inevitable, even tedious, repetition (cf. **215**, Gransden, 171, Hom. δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι) and formulaic pathos, not to mention V.’s sense of grief for both sides, is, as often in these lines, finely drawn.

diuersa in parte Cf. (with a weight absent from *alibi*) 9.691, 9.1 *diuersa . . . parte*, 8.433 (etc.) *parte alia*; here simultaneous action, geographically distanced (from Rome, to the left bank of the lower Tiber, near the coast): cf. Krokowski (**139**), 29f.

204 innumeras . . . pyras Cf. **185 constituere pyras** and **29–99** (with **2, 22, 103**) for the issue of heroic cremation and inhumation. The adj. is Lucretian (note the metrically handy equivalents *innumabilis*, *innumeralis*); Gk. ἀνήριθμος. Cf. **208**.

struxere The verb *bis* in trag. inc., *bis* in Lucr., *semel* in Cat. (poly-metra); the compounds more at home in high poetry. Note 6.215 *ingentem struxere pyram* and 4.680 *his etiam struxi manibus*.

corpora . . . / 205 multa uirum Cf. **7.535**: high epic periphrasis.

partim . . . / 205 . . . partim Lucretian (1.483f., etc.); cf. *TLL* 10.1.4.517.79f. (Zoppi). Repetition in the same sedes in successive lines unremarkable (cf. Wills, 422); cf. **7.554, 586, 653**. Vd. **2**: common soldiers are cremated or buried where they fall, while warriors of note and their kin are returned home for more elaborate burial. Alessio, 68 suggests that some of Latinus' men came from too far afield to be sent home to burial; that might also be true.

205 terrae infodiunt Introduced to high poetry by V. (*G.3.535*); Lucr. has *interfodiunt*, Cat.68 the *simplex*. The noun dative, and so archaic (cf. **87**, Görler, *EV* 2, 266).

auectaue Cf. Liv.5.51.9 *alia* (sc. *sacra*) **auecta in finitimas urbes amouimus ab hostium oculis**; Liv., and, shortly after, V. are both talking about a Latium remote in time when neighbouring settlements were within easy walking distance. The participle (proleptic and the whole verging upon hendiadys) neatly avoids another indicative (Görler, *EV* 2, 270).

206 finitimos . . . in agros Cf. *Caes.Gall.6.12.4*, *Liv.28.22.3*, *TLL* 6.1.800.6 (Bacherler).

tollunt Cf. *Caes.Civ.3.109.5 pro occiso sublatus*, *Liv.33.11.3 donec tollerentur ad sepulturam*. *EV* s.v. unhelpful.

urbique remittunt A sort of hendiadys (not quite the right word: cf. **22**): Latinus' city stands in the nearby country and the bodies are taken up for return; quite possibly (cf. **204**) to other cities for Lat.'s allies (so Serv.). The verb of return for burial, with different implications, at 10.828 (Turnus and Pallas' corpse). Older commentators anxiously and wrongly suppose V. to be writing here about burial within the *pomoerium*.

207 cetera A third category (cf. Fantham, 263), unexpected after **partim . . . partim**, and clearly less honoured both than (ii), those sent home for burial, and even than (i), those buried on the field (cf. *Il.7.336f.*, Hopkins (**29–99**), 208ff.: mass-cremation too costly for the Roman poor during e.g. epidemics), to whom we are shortly to return. After the battle of Forum Gallorum, Cic. remarks (*Phil.14.34*) *nec dispersis bustis humili sepultura crematos, sed contactos publicis operibus atque muneribus. Sine discrethone cunctos humari* writes Amm. (17.1.1). Note (cf. Saunders, 123, **204**) that the Latins both cremate and bury.

confusae . . . caedis Cf. 6.504 *confusae stragis aceruum* (*strages* is to sterno as *caedes* to *caedo*), **211, 384 infra**. Here a good, markedly alliterative, reworking of a fine phrase used of the last night of Troy. Henry thinks acutely of the Homeric *τύμβων . . . / ἄκριτον* of *Il.7.336f.*

(and cf. too both the ἐπιμίξις of 23.242 and Con.'s reference to 7.424 ἔνθα διαγνῶναι χαλεπῶς ἦν ἄνδρα ἕκαστον). The **-que**, as (e.g.) Forbiger, Williams remark, is (as often, KS 2, 13) epexegetic.

ingentem . . . aceruum Cf. Acc.*trag.*323 *atque aceruos alta in amni corpore expleui hostico*, 8.562 (Ev. at the sack of Praeneste) *scutorumque incendi uictor aceruos* (EV s.v. cites Caes.*Gall.*2.32.4; *cremare* is also the Livian verb, 8.7.22, etc.), 10.245 *ingentis Rutulae . . . caedis aceruos*, 509 *ingentis Rutulorum . . . aceruos*. Behind Acc. and V., *ter*, there might clearly have been Enn..

208 nec numero nec honore N.: 'insieme ordinato' renders Zorzetti (EV 3, 794), comparing G.2.284, **11.599** (**7.698** is trickier). V. is restating with notably elegant variation the **innumeras** of **203** (cf. *innumerabilis*, Vell.2.46.1); beyond (merely numerical) hyperbole (cf. **167**, **397**). Caes.*Gall.*6.13.1, often cited here, *aliquo sunt numero atque honore*, is not illuminating and 12.630 *nec numero inferior pugnae neque honore recedes* refers (Traina) to the number of Tu.'s victims. **H.** perhaps (though this is not certain) not so much the actual monument or burial-mound (**23**) as the sense of reverence or *pietas* (so e.g. Tac.*Agr.*46.2) felt for the dead (just the issue at **7.3**); at all events, not 'honour' in a general sense.

cremant Cf. 6.224 *congesta cremantur . . .*

tunc After the pyres (those of **204**, primarily) take light (cf. *Il.*23.212ff.), the whole countryside seems to blaze.

undique On a much larger, more disorderly scale than the dramatic, honorific single line of torches, **143f.** The lightweight adverb given substance by the following adjective.

uasti/209 . . . agri Divided to augment the spatial effect (Pinotti, EV 5*, 455); cf. 3.13 (Thrace) *uastis . . . campis*; the area required for the Latins' pyres reflects the scale of the carnage (cf. 1.471 *multa uastabat caede*); the adj. peculiarly evocative of the immeasurable and hideous (Pinotti, *cit.*; Gransden excludes 'vast' in favour of 'waste', forgetting **undique**).

certatim Exceptional triple alliteration of c; cf. **7.146**, **585**: the sense of 'in rivalry' (which is not to be paraphrased away) here suggests that each division of the Latin army competes to honour its men with a splendid pyre.

crebris . . . ignibus Cf. *Il.*1.52 πυραὶ νεκῶν καίοντο θαμειαί. At *Aen.*1.90 the same expression in a quite different sense.

conlucent The vb. Ciceronian, *Arat.*208; *quinquies* in V. (note *moenia . . . /conlucent flammis* 5.3f.); at 10.539 **M** writes *coll-*, but that is no

reason to normalise or modernise the orthography here, or elsewhere (cf. **7.8**, **181** for the issue of assimilation).

210 tertia lux Cf. 3.117 (and e.g. *crastina lux, ultima lux*), Cic.*Mil.*98 *centesima lux*, *TLL* 7.2.1911.76 (Ehlers). *Mos . . . erat* [*mos est/erat/fuerat* thus often in Serv.] *tertia die ossa crematorum legi* write SDan. (see Marquardt, 382 for some details, but SDan. may, I suspect, be offering a—typical—explanatory invention! Ps.Acr. on Hor.*Epod.* 17.48 misunderstands). Cf. also (e.g.) *Il.*23.252f. (bones of Patr.; vd. Richardson), [Tib]. 3.2.17ff., Suet.*Aug.*100.2.

gelidam . . . umbram For *g.* applied to sunless, dewy night, cf. *Buc.*8.14, *G.*1.287, Hor.*Epod.*2.2.169. The *gelidis a frigoris umbris* of Lucr.5.641 may have remained in V.'s memory; on *u.* = 'night', cf. the careful list at EV 5*, 381 (Negri Rosio). Cf. **201 nox umida caelo dimouerat** Cf. 3.589, 4.7 *umentemque Aurora polo dimouerat umbram* (Moskalew, 66f., Sparrow, 85ff.). The verb *bis* in Lucr.

211 maerentes Possibly at Enn.*Ann.*498. Cf. **26** for V.'s emotively thematic/inevitably repetitive/evidently unfinished concentration of *maestus* in these lines. After **210**, 'asyndetic parataxis' (Görler, *EV* 2, 275).

altum cinerem The adj. suggestive of the number of corpses. A faint echo at Ov.*F.*1.526.

confusa . . . /212 ossa Again (cf. **208f.**) a sense of the vast and disordered scale of the Latins' burial. Cf. 6.504 *confusae stragis aceruum*, **207 supra**. V. does not specify whether both the *pyrae* of **204** and the *aceruus* of **207** are involved; he is best not pressed on the detailed organisation.

ruebant/212 . . . focus Cf. *Od.*24.72 ἤωθεν δὴ τοι λέγομεν λεύκ' ὄστε', Serv. *de cineribus ruebant; focus* therefore::*pyris* (so SDan., Varr. fr. 158GRF, *ILS* 6082, Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.990.70ff., *OLD* s.v., §4c). TCD renders **ossa ruebant** (tolerably; vd. *infra*) as *ossa confusa congeriebant* but Serv. more felicitously as *de cineribus eruebant*. While 'they heaped up' (i.e. for burial) might be suggested by both **212** and Lucr.6.726, the sense of 'they levelled', which seems clearly enough correct here, in the more specific sense of 'the Latins raked down the mounds to extract the bones', is present at e.g. *G.*1.105 (cf. *OLD* s.v., §10). Some confusion here, predictably, among interpreters, well clarified by Cavazza, *EV* 4, 604.

212 tepidoque . . . aggere terrae *Hypallage, hoc est 'ossa tepida'* remarks Serv. ('enallage' is today to be preferred; cf. **7.549**), perhaps wrongly, for the mound or barrow (cf. **7.6** for *agger* thus) con-

sists of earth heated, even after three days (TCD) by the many pyres, though the bones (misplaced for anything but a markedly unconventional enallage) are naturally heated too. 9.455f. *tepidaque recentem/ caede locum* is another matter and stylistically far more choice! At *Ov.Her.*6.90 the *tepidis . . . rogis* are still warm; cf. the warm ash used to revive chilled bees at Varr. *RR* 3.16.37. V. here refers to the inhumation, without urns (cf. 6.228), of cremated bodies.

onerabant Cf. 3.485; *semel* in Lucr..

213 iam uero Cf. 12.704. See **7.78, 376, 519**; the particle is hardly adversative and the effect is if anything climactic.

in tectis Immediately given local precision by what follows, and a moment later a social level (as against the royal **tecta** of **7.193**). For the double local expression, cf. **7.409** (acc.).

praediuitis urbe Latini Cf. **100, 7.162**, 12.136f., 567, Carcopino, 247f.; Latinus' wealth is not unheroic (cf. **7.537**), is displayed in his splendid gifts to the Trojans (**7.274ff.**) and may be a reflection of the king's descent (**7.282**) from the dangerously rich Circe (**7.11**). The adj. itself (*epitheton incongruum* remarks Serv.!) perhaps occurs first at Liv.4.13.1 (Cic. has *perdiues*); only here in V.; cf. *EV* 1, 54 for his partiality for compounds in *prae-* (another follows, almost awkwardly, three words later!).

214 praecipuus fragor Cf. 5.228 (the crowd at the games). **P.** in Liv. of *pauor* (2.54.9), *inuidia* (3.54.3), *pernicitas* (9.16.13), *pauor* (10.26.14); a really exceptional *fragor* of mourning (cf. *OLD* s.v., §2b). Clearly not, *pace* TCD, to be distinguished from the following *luctus*. The homoeokatakrton, after **praediuitis**, not all that remarkable: cf. **78**, 4.464, 9.271f. (but only here are both words adjs., though cf. Lucr.2.1166f. and contrast the calculated effect at *Ov.Met.*11.65).

longi . . . luctus Cf. 2.26 *ergo omnis longo soluit se Teucra luctu* and see next n.. Serv. and TCD read **longe**, inexplicably (cf. Bell, 167).

pars maxima Cf. *G.*2.40, *Aen.*2.6, and Gallus fr. 2.3 *maxima Romanae pars eris historiae*. It is the lamentations in Lat.'s city that form the climax of the Latins' grief, first adumbrated as long ago as **119**.

215 hic . . . hic For geminated adverbial *hic* (not specially common), cf. 2.30, 6.479, Wills, 111.

matres miseraeque nurus The alliterative phr. (cf. **259**, 1.344, 9.216) links the mothers of the slain (not only Euryalus'; cf. **146, 891**, Wiltshire (**71**), 38ff., *Il.*6.408f., 22.431, Seymour, 476) with their markedly Homeric daughters-in-law (*Il.*24.166; cf. 22.65, *Aen.*2.501).

cara sororum/216 pectora maerentum The list reaches a more massive climactic element: the breast beaten (**37f.**) in repetitively insistent and particularly female mourning (**211**); also periphrastic for *sorores* (with particular reference, most appropriately, to their *pectora*, sentient and beaten): cf. **7.535, 650** for *corpora* thus; for *pectora*, cf. *OLD* s.v., §5; no evident analogies in either Gk. or Lat. (though cf. *Acc.trag.25 fera hominum pectora, Aen.2.347f.*). The adj. reminiscent of Hom. φίλα, but a good deal more actively affective, when applied to parts of the body (Pinotti, *EV* 1, 683); *id est [caros] fratres desiderantium* remarks SDan.; there is a hint of reciprocity, not an active sense in the adj. (cf. 1.646, *pace* Williams here). Sisters (cf. Silvia, Juturna, Wiltshire (**71**), 120) an apparently Virgilian addition to collective family mourning. The participle arguably repetitious after **211**.

puerique parentibus orbi The adj. tragic (Enn., 83, *Acc.*, 376) and in both *Cat.* (*bis*; 39, 66) and *Lucr.* (*bis*). The new alliterative phr. and the emotive grouping very much in the manner of 6.426–30 (cf. **28**, and, for emotive affinity, **53**). Cf. Lattimore, 187f.: here **parentibus** must refer specifically (and indeed exceptionally, *EV* 3, 972) to fathers just killed in battle; cf. *Il.6.408, 17.223f.* (with Edwards' n.) and above all 22.484ff., with 24.725f. (see Richardson's n.).

217 dirum . . . bellum Cf. **7.324, 11.56**; it seems not to have been remarked (and Traina, *EV* 2, 94, Buchheit, Grassmann-Fischer and I should all have done so) that this description of the war in Latium (uniquely here) is confirmation of its specifically, technically ill-omened character, as the narrative, **7.58–80**, had made abundantly clear. Görler, *Würz.Jhb.2* (1976), 165f. notes a sense of the destruction of hopes, goals and values comparable with that in Ev.'s lament, **164f.** **exsecrantur** Cf. 3.273, *Enn.trag.342*. 'To declare *sacer*, accursed' (as in the formula *sacer esto*, Fugier, *EV* 4, 630, *WH* s.v. *sacer*). Cf. *Hor.C.1.1.24f. bellaque matribus/detestata* (with NH).

Turnique hymenaeos Cf. **7.344, 398**: not so much a specific echo of the first passage as a thematic return to a complex of insinuations (on which see *Companion*, 209f., Renger, 21ff., Henry E., 127, Perret on **217**) concerning Tu.'s mixed motives markedly present in **7**. We are used to reading that Aen.'s projected union with Lavinia is little better than rape at spear-point (e.g. **7.363f.**); here Tu.'s union with her is blood-bathed, in the Latins' view (cf. Cairns, 158). Cf. Anderson (**304**), 27: Tu.'s conduct is that of a second Paris, whose lusts bring his people to the grave (so Hector, whose critique is taken up by Drances, **343–75**).

218 ipsum . . . ipsumque Cf. *Buc.*1.38f., 5.35, 62ff., 10.63, *G.*4.65, 114, *Aen.*2.617, 5.176, 767, 12.240. Nowhere else though, is there gemination of the same oblique form of the pronoun within so short a space, a clear sign of the vehement opposition or distancing between the fully specified subjects of *iubent* and Tu. (cf. *EV* 4, 313, Schenk, 120, n. 175). No comparable gemination of *ipsum* even in Cic., Sall. or Livy!

armis . . . ferro Cf. 10.10 *arma . . . ferrumque* ('theme and variation', Harrison), Liv.5.42.8 *arma . . . ferrumque in dextris*, *TLL* 6.1.585.70 (Pflugbeil). When V.'s repetitive style was less understood, **armis** was even misguidedly corrected (**animis** Wakefield, after Bryant).

iubent So of popular clamour, 2.37, 3.261, 8.498, 12.584.

decernere Ennian; cf. **7.525**.

219 regnum Italiae Not as Daunus' heir, but as Latinus', once T. is married to Lavinia. *Latini*, like *Laurentes*, is used often enough of all the peoples opposed to Aen. (cf. **7.151** (for 'Latinus', read, of course, 'Aeneas'), **469 tutari Italiam** (Tu. himself to his lieutenants), 8.147, *EV* 3, 142), so the exaggeration is precise enough to carry weight and sense in the mouths of Drances' future audience, while conveying an hyperbolic tone to V.'s readers!

primos . . . honores As heir to both Latinus and Daunus, as Lavinia's husband, as military leader of the 'coalition'. Cf. 5.347 *si primi Salio reddentur honores*.

sibi poscat Cf. 5.342, 6.589. V. has represented Tu. as well-born (**7.56, 474**), young (**7.420**) and handsome (**7.55, 472, 783**), warlike (**7.421, 423, 467, 474**), Lavinia's favoured suitor (**7.55**), Amata's favourite nephew (**7.56f.**), Latinus' self-interested principal ally (**7.421-3, 470**), and in consequence only too convinced of what is his due (**7.436ff.**). Subjunctive because in a subordinate rel. clause of explanation or cause after **iubent**.

220 ingrauat haec Cf. *TLL* 7.1.1566.9ff. (Hofmann-Ehlers), Serv. *maiolem inuidiam concitat* and SDan. continues *id est grauiora facit et onerat* (*Gloss.*4.101.2 *exaggerat*); perhaps a Virgilian coinage and just as at **124ff.** Drances seizes upon a point of view that will clearly be of (some) immediate wider appeal (to the mourners, rather than to Tu.'s partisans). However disagreeable his manner, he has solid 'evidence' in the text to justify his assertions. We should not forget that the notion of a duel between Aen. and Tu. has just been advanced by Aen. himself (**115ff.**) and by Evander (**177ff.**). Cf. **342 onerat**.

saeuus Drances Vicious or spiteful: cf. 1.458 *saeuum ambobus Achillem*,

not only Achilles vs. Priam, which indicates common cruelty to the Priamidae, but also Ach. vs. Agamemnon. 1.408 is then quoted by Sen.*Ep.*104.31, as Austin points out, in illustration of Cato's attitude to both Caesar and Pompey. Cf. too Caelius of Caes., Cic.*Att.*10.9a.1. *EV* 4, 644 mixes the choice analogy from bk. 1 with much irrelevant material. Cf. D.F. Epstein, *Personal enmity in Roman politics* (London 1987).

solum . . . / 221 . . . solum Very similar anaphora (here itself an echo of that in **218**) at 9.138f., 438f. (vd. Hardie, Dingel), 10.442, 12.466f. (vd. Traina). Cf. Wills, 81, 343, **11.442**. On this use of **s.**, shifting towards advbl. 'only, alone', cf. L. Lenaz, *EV* 4, 934.

uocari Sc. *in arma* (**7.694**) or the like. Possibly sc. 'by Aeneas' (Con.; 'by the Latins at large', TCD): that is Ev.'s view (**178ff.**) and Aen.'s own, and it is Drances who is speaking, Drances who has very recently heard Aen. express just that view (**115**; cf. **442**). The motif is of increasing importance.

221 testatur 'Affirms', 'declares' (3.487, 6.619, *OLD* s.v., §2b; *EV* 5*, 149 disappoints). Lucretian (1.858).

posci in certamina Cf. 12.467 *solum in certamina poscit*, **11.434**, and (*in proelia*) 8.614, 10.661, all in active. Note **poscit**, **219**; cf. **7.554** for this common type of casual repetition, natural to V. and disagreeable to many modern ears.

Turnum After the anaphoric *solum* and the paired infins., the climactic noun.

222 multa . . . sententia S. of course not only an opinion but that opinion expressed in an assembly, in this case informal and loud with *uaria dicta* on Tu.'s behalf. Cf. *multa prece* at Hor.*Ep.*1.13.18.

simul contra This preliminary airing of heated, simultaneous (the presence of **simul** between **multa** and **uariis** is very pretty!) and discordant (c.: cf. **7.552**) views expressed with notable economy (**223f.** state the various grounds on which Tu. might be favoured, after all); from **testatur** to **obumbrat** there is no verb, except that **sententia** does duty for one (cf. **17**, far more strikingly)!

uariis . . . dictis The explanatory abl. reinforces the sense of the subject, in particular of **multa** (cf. **7.30**). The phrase is apparently unknown in prose: 'a heated discussion followed'.

223 pro Turno As at **7.473f.**, V. notes Tu.'s many advantages, here by way of reminder of what has preceded and introduction (the Italians divided on which leader to support, Cairns, 103) to the violent debate of **296ff.**

magnum reginae nomen Cf. **7.56f.**; in Lat.'s city, it is quite clear who is meant. Cf. **7.412 magnum . . . nomen** ('a great name', sc. 'but no more'), Sall.*or.Lep.*2 *homines maxumi nominis*, Prop.3.1.24. Cf. **7.581** for the weight this redoubtable matriarch exercises.

obumbrat A likely coinage; *tuetur, defendit* (Serv.). Cf. the common metaphorical (and equally negative) force of *umbra*, Liv.7.30.18, 32.21.31, etc., *OLD* s.v., §3c.

224 multa . . . fama Twice taken up by Tac., *Ann.*13.15, 16.15); cf. **7.231f.** No doubt that Tu.'s warlike κλέος was solidly founded (cf. **219**).

uirum Cf. **7.296**: a good deal more warlike (and complimentary) than the avoided *eum*.

meritis . . . tropaeis As in **222**, the abl. reinforces and explains **multa**; Tu.'s many campaigns (cf. **7.421, 3**) have earned (cf. 5.70 *palman*, 355, *coronam* and *Buc.*3.22) him many trophies (cf. **5–13, 7, 83f., 172**), and hence *multa fama*; they include perforce Pallas' *balteus*, his death-warrant (so, well, Alessio, *cit.*).

sustentat *Sexies* in *Aen.*; common in political prose and *bis* in Lucr..

225–42. The return of the embassy to Diomedes.

In the *Aen.* so far (cf. de Grummond (**225–42**), Russi, 78ff., Papaioannou, 198ff., Wiltshire, 101f.), Diom. (k. of Argos, but Aetolian too through the association of Tydeus with Calydon; cf. **239, 243, 246, 308, 428**, *Apld.Bibl.*1.8.5f., Malkin, 240), has been present under three different guises: (i) as thief of the Palladium, along with Ulysses (Austin on 2.163, Henry E., 96); (ii) as colonist in Italy (8.9–16, 10.28f.; cf. **226**. See **246, 250** for the names of the town he founds); (iii) as one of the very greatest of the Greek warriors before Troy (1.97, 469ff. (not conventionally Homeric in content), 752, 2.197, 10.581, **11.255ff., 404**, 12.351. Neither earlier nor now does he take part directly in the action, yet is a major participant (note the capture of Rhesus' horses, the defeat of Aeneas himself (10.81, **11.282ff.**, 12.52) and the wounding of Venus, 4.228, 10.28, **11.277**). He reaches Italy from long before Tim. (*FGH* 566F53; cf. Lycus (*FGH*570F3) and Lyc. (594ff.), not to mention (probably) Nicander (cf. Papatomopoulos on *Ant.Lib.*37, with Russi, 81, Malkin, Bérard, *cit.*). But just how long is not clear: in Hom., Diom. returns safely to Calydon (*Od.*3.180f.; cf. [*Apld.*] *Epit.*6.1). Against the relegation of Mimnermus fr. 22 by West *inter dubia et spuria*, cf. Malkin, 237, not at all decisively; in Ibycus D. at least reaches the islands and is there worshipped (294PMG). There his men are changed into

birds in many accounts (cf. **271ff.**); the conventional location of this story in the Trèmiti group (hence *insulae Diomedae* in the standard works of reference) has received a rude shock from the publication of Diomedes' name on a sherd from Palagruša (Kirigin, Colonna; the island of P. prudently not identified on Talbert, map 20); *pace* Kirigin, 76f. and *viva voce*, Strab.6.3.9 (the decisive text for any precise localisation of the Diomedes-story) refers much more naturally to the Trèmiti islands and the cult of Diom. could very easily have spread thence to more than one archipelago. But it was Virgil who first recognised and exploited the dramatic possibilities in involving him in Aeneas' story on Italian soil (Heinze, 145), in the clothing of a 'good Greek', beside Evander. On Diomedes, cf. Harrison on 10.29, Alessio, 87ff., J. Bérard, *Colonisation* (1957) 368ff., Gleib, 194ff., W.W. De Grummond, *Phoen.*21 (1967), 40ff., della Corte, 212ff., B. Kirigin, etc., *Hesperia* 9 (1998), 63ff. (with G. Colonna, *Arch.Class.*50 (1998), 363ff.), Malkin, 234ff., S. Papaioannou, *Mnem.*53 (2000), 193ff., E. Paratore, *Arch.stor.pug.*6 (1953), 34ff., *EV* 2,77ff. (Russi); *id.*, *Athen.*64 (1986), 226ff., Wiltshire (**71**), 98ff. M.T. Zanco, *Rend.Acc.Linc.*20 (1965), 270ff. stretches our credulity. We shall see indications of V.'s debt to Lyc., Pacuv. and Varro (**275–7**, **259**, **257f.**). How much the bridge-passage, **225–42**, owes as a whole to Enn. (*Ann.*202 *orator sine pace redit regique refert rem*, cited by La Cerda. Probably Cineas' embassy to Pyrrhus) we cannot tell.

225 hos . . . motus Cf. Cic.*cons.*2.27 (portents) *bellum motusque monabant*; likewise prose. *TLL* 8.1537.4 (Wieland).

inter Typical anastrophe of disyllabic preposition (cf. **7.673**).

medio in flagrante tumultu Cf. Liv.31.11.10 *flagrante bello Italia*; the vb. metaphorical at Cat.68.73. For **f.** as adj., cf. **7.397**. The noun (Ennian, *Ann.*309) *semel* in *G*, 14x in *Aen.* (vd. *EV* s.v.), with varied implications ('in the midst of the blaze of outcry'; cf. **448**, **662**). With *in*, *medius* and a noun V.'s word-order oscillates (*in medio . . . agmine*, *conspectu in medio* and *quinqües* as here, underlining the centrality). Perhaps something in this picture of the ἀγορῆ . . . δεινὴ τετραρχυῖα of *Il.*7.345f.; though we have not yet reached the formal assembly, the whole Homeric passage is much in V.'s mind.

226 ecce Impeccable dramatic timing (the ambassadors had left at 8.9f.; V. has had this excellent card up his sleeve ever since, and reminded us of the threat at 10.26ff., where Venus finds it rhetorically convenient to represent Diom. as well disposed to Venulus' request), and V. draws visual attention to the *coup de théâtre* (Hofmann-

Ricottilli, 144f., *EV* 2, 995, and TCD, much to the point; cf. **7.286**): both readers and Latins see the embassy return wrapped in gloom. TCD compares, helpfully, 2.203, 526, 8.228.

super Cf. **7.462**. On top of the wave of hostility against Turnus and Drances' emergent role as 'leader of the opposition' (cf. Cairns, 103).

maesti . . . / 227 legati Their appearance betrays the failure of their mission; the adj. is just that so often used (cf. **26**) of the participants in the three funerals; for the noun, cf. **239. Magni** known to SDan., by echo-corruption from 8.9 *magni . . . Diomedis*. A reading obscurely attractive to Paratore.

magna . . . ab urbe Cf. **7.629**; the epithet conventional, but D.'s city is worthy of a hero of the very first rank.

Diomedis Cf. **225–42**.

227 responsa ferunt Cf. 9.369; a likely formulation for Ennian military-diplomatic narrative.

nihil . . . actum Before the report of Diom.'s speech, a summary in OO (ignored, Hight, 55; cf. Laird, 169 for such adjacent and overlapping techniques in V.; in some sense 'dependent' on **responsa**, Laird, 96ff.) both of the original embassy to Diom., just as there has in fact been once already (8.10–17, in OO), as also (**229–30**) of the forthcoming reply. The very first word removes any doubt or suspense, and is itself fully confirmed by Diom.'s initial reaction, **253–4**. The phrasing is striking, for *nihil agere* (cf. Hey, *TLL* 1.1381.22ff., at 1.52, *OLD* s.v. *ago*, §21d, in the sense of *nihil proficere* is common not only in Plaut., Ter., comic fr., Varr.*Men.*, Publil., Cic.*Epp.*, Hor.*Serm.* but also in 'standard prose' (e.g. Cic.*Cat.*1.8, 15, *Off.*2.4). As the opening of a reported speech (after *responsa ferunt*, perhaps OO proper, rather than 'free indirect discourse'), a colloquialism would be appropriate and indeed dramatic.

omnibus . . . / 228 . . . impensis Cf. Ov.*Met.*8.63 *impensaue sui . . . cruoris* (with Liv.37.53.12).

tantorum . . . operum Travel, gifts, pleas, made with urgency (see 8.10–17 for the sense of present threat) but entirely in vain (vd. TCD). Cf. *operum . . . laborem*, G.2.155.

nil . . . / 229 . . . ualuisse Cf. Willis, 464 for repetition of *nil/nihil* with variation of form (note *Buc.*2.6f., 8.103). The infin. close in sense to preceding **actum** (cf. 8.403, 12.798), but the unobtrusive variation from pass. to act. and consequently of construction avoids overly weighty effects prior to the opening of Diom.'s actual speech.

dona neque aurum Cf. **7.245ff.**, **274** for gifts and the heroic embassy. The expression an 'hendiadys'; the gifts are themselves of gold. Cf. *G.2.192* (with Mynors' n.), **7.142**, 9.707, Bell, 261.

nec magnas . . . preces Cf. *Cic.Att.11.15.2*, *Met.12.201*, *TLL* 8.130.62f. (Bulhart). All we have to go by is the summary, 8.10–17. TCD rightly notes that V. is at pains to make clear that Venulus had done all he possibly could.

alia arma . . . / 230 quaerenda We pass to the report of Diom.'s reply. A dry *adynaton*, for we remember **totamque sub arma coactam/Hesperiam** (**7.43f.**; cf. n. on **44 maior**). Tu., as Diom. well knows, has nowhere else to turn (**429** shows him wriggling on the hook). Cf. 2.99 *quaerere . . . arma*.

Latinis Cf. **114**, **129**. It is helpful to remember that the embassy was sent in the names of both Turnus and, apparently, Latinus (8.17; unauthorised (cf. Cairns, 68. Balk, 85 is uncomprehending), or else Lat. has already resumed, more or less actively and quite unexpectedly his throne and powers, after his very last effort, **7.616f.**; cf. **101**, **105**, **240**).

230 pacem . . . petendum **M**₂, Serv. here and *ad* 10.628, SDan. *ad* G.4.484, Rufinianus, *RLM* 57.22, *Gramm.Lat.*5.649.22 (the Bobbio excerpts of Macr.), Donatus on *Ter.Andr.*1.5.19, *Ad.*4.7.11, *Eun.*1.2.17; **petendam** **MPR** γ . The c. 9 mss are divided. The antiquity and authority of the *lectio difficilior* are apparent from its massive presence in the grammatical tradition (cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 207), and it is to be explained as a studied Lucretian archaism (gerund with direct object) at the climax of a (reported) speech. Cf. Munro and Bailey on *Lucr.*1.111 (with Bailey, 1, p. 103f.), KS 1, 734f., LHS, 373, Bennett 1, 446ff., *passim*, Fordyce on *Cat.*39.9, Roby 2, 164), J.H.W. Penney, *ALLP*, 260, *EV* 2, 717, Timpanaro, *Virgilianisti*, 127, E. Courtney, *BICS* 28 (1981), 28.

Troiano ab rege Only here is Aen. so called (*dux Troianus, bis*); cf. **7.342**, 12.75 for equivalents with *tyrannus*.

231 deficit Cf. *G.3.96* (illness or age), *Aen.*4.689 (the dying Dido), 12.255 (the eagle dropping the swan). Not a new Virgilian usage (cf. *Cic.Fin.*2.44). Lat. collapses at the first report of the failed mission; he knows by now he is on the wrong side, in terms of both human and divine justice, having ignored the omens and played false by Aeneas (cf. **113f.**!). He is therefore bound in the end to lose, at dear price (cf. **233**). That moment has come measurably nearer with Diom.'s reply (Schenk, 122f. and Balk, 85 much undervalue this scene).

ingenti luctu Cf. 6.868 *ingentem luctum* (at the d. of Marcellus), **11.62** (d. of Pallas). This great grief is both on his people's account (they have suffered heavily already, as can be seen all around) and his family's (Amata is after all pressing for the marriage of Lavinia to Tu.; Diom's defection renders yet more inevitable Tu.'s death).

rex ipse Latinus Formulaic; see **7.432**.

232 fatalem Aenean SDan. blunders, while Hey, *TLL* 6.1.332.50 unexceptionably paraphrases *fato missum*. Cf. 1.2, 257, 8.511f., **7.272**, Bailey, 228, Cairns, 193. The adj. in Cic. and Liv., here apparently first used in a striking but not surprising personal sense.

manifesto numine The adj. 14x. in Lucr.; note too Liv.1.7.9. N. classified by *EV* (3, 781) as 'volontà divina precisa e inderogabile' (cf. **7.584**, Bailey, 222, 228, *Aen.*1.674, 8.574, **11.901**).

ferri Cf. 2.34 *fata ferebant*, 2.94, 3.7, 4.110 and in particular 2.336f. *talibus Othryadae dictis et numine diuum/in flammis et in arma feror*

233 admonet Cf. *EV* 3, 563. *Semel* in *Buc.* and *G*; *octies* in *Aen.*; the 'admonitory' tone equally strong at 6.618ff. *Semel* in Lucr..

ira deum Impeccably Homeric in origin (*Il.*2.781ff., Janko on 16.384ff., *Od.*1.325–7, 5.284, Seymour, 411); more durable than the moralising criticism it aroused (Feeney, 6ff., W.J. Verdenius, *Homer, the educator of the Greeks* (Amsterdam 1970), 12ff.) and still a major motif in V. (1.4, with *Companion*, 103, 3.215, 4.178, 5.706f., 8.40, **11.443**, Bailey, 130ff.). A very large bibliography: vd. P. Considine, *Studies . . . Webster* 1 (Bristol 1986), 63f., W. Beck, *Lex. frühgriech. Epos* 15(1993), 187, R. Laurenti, *EV* 3, 21. The best summary of the question I know remains H. Kleinknecht, in (ed. G. Kittel, G. Friedrich) *Theol. Wörterb.z.n. Testament* 5 (1954), 382–92. Lat. has angered the gods by his neglect of portents and oracles and is appalled by the price he is having to pay.

tumulique . . . recentes Lat. sees the burial mounds of his people and allies, just (**r.**) raised (**203ff.**) and that by Aen.'s generosity (**100ff.**): the clinching argument, after Diom.'s response and Aen.'s evident enjoyment of divine favour. For **t.**, cf. **7.6**.

ante ora *Novies* in V.; possibly introduced to high poetry by V., though Enn.*trag.* has *ante oculos*.

234 ergo So the οὐνec' of *Il.*19.45. Cf. **7.467**.

concilium magnum The only debate on earth in *Aen.* (cf. Hight, 55ff., 326, Rieks, 193f., A. La Penna, *EV* 1, 870, Hardie (1998), 243, Quinn, 238ff.). 'A mere shouting match' Feeney in Harrison, *OR*, 184, memorably if a little unfairly (see Quinn, 238, Perret, 239:

an orderly and useful discussion would have ruined the resolution of the plot; instead we have a Thucydidean airing of irreconcilable positions). The *concilium* of 5.75 is not consultative; cf. Cairns, 58). V. makes use of both *Il.*7.345–80 (Trojan assembly; association of truce and burial with assembly; cf. **108–19, 203–24**) and, as will emerge (**376–444**), 18.243–313 (Trojans again); cf. Knauer, 285, Seymour, 575f.. The council in *Il.*2 is also relevant (Gransden, *VI*, 177) in as much as Thersites is relevant to Drances (cf. **122–32**). The adj. suggests a general assembly of the Latin elders ('hendiadys'; cf. **380 curia**), a lengthy debate and a topic of major importance. V. will emerge as markedly concerned with variation between speakers of style, tone, and pace, in the interests of credibility, of characterisation and of appeal to the reader.

primosque suorum Cf. **7.468**: Homeric and rare in V..

235 imperio Lat. was by no means an absolute ruler (**7.173, 540–640**), in the best scholarly tradition on Italic antiquities, but here acts rather in the Homeric manner (*Il.*1.54, 2.55, 9.12, etc., Seymour, 101ff.), where kings can summon both the elders and a general assembly.

accitos Varronian (*Ant.hum.*20.10 = Non.p.59.4) and Livian (3.38.13, etc.). The appropriate language of formal public business.

alta intra limina The palace of the Latin kings was their **curia** (**7.174**), and it is described with notable concentration upon its majesty (cf. **7.170–91** and, for **limen**, **7.579**). Regular anastrophe (**225**).

cogit Cf. 4.289 *sociosque ad litora cogunt* (which they are 295—delighted to do); 'convene' (*OLD* s.v., §4a, comparing Liv.1.48.5: Tarquin hurls Serv.Tullius down the steps and *ad cogendum senatum in curiam rediit*) is just right (cf. **304, 460**). Cf. Hom. ἦγεν (*Il.*9.89), συγκαλέσας (2.55) or καλεσσαμένω (*Od.*3.137).

236 olli A frequent archaism, transmitted by **MPR** (see Wigodsky, 30 for Serv.'s reactions to lexical archaisms); cf. **7.458**. Including Tu., as SDan. notes, last seen at Ardea (10.688), and returned to the scene of action κατὰ τὸ ριωπώμενον.

conuenere Cf. Lucr.3.725, *Aen.*1.708, 2.799, 4.417, 5.490. Typically expanded by what follows.

fluuntque First so here (Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.974.13f.); cf. 12.444. *Confluere* thus earlier in our surviving texts; cf. Hom. ἐπέχυντο (with Bell, 388). Note also 2.796 *adfluxisse*. **M**'s **ruunt** is by comparison uninteresting.

ad regia . . . / 237 tecta Cf. **7.668**.

plenis/237 . . . uiis Abl. of extension.; cf. Tac.*Ann.*3.4.1 *plena urbis itinera*, Cic.*Cat.*4.14.

237 sedet in mediis Cf. (again of Lat. in his own palace) **7.169 solio medius consedit auito**, 12.213, **149** *supra*.

maximus aevo iam senior, 7.46; cf. Ev. *obsitus aevo* (8.307). Note **85** *supra*.

238 primus sceptris Serv. *primus inter sceptriferos*; rather, **s.** is a poet. plur. and the phrase::*primus potestate* (Wagner, etc.; see *EV* 4, 699). Cf. **7.173** for the sceptre in Hom. and V..

haud laeta fronte Cf. 6.862 *sed frons laeta parum* (Marcellus; even more significant), Publil.G10. The litotes conveys (Henry, citing 2.396, 5.618, 8.627, 10.907) that Lat.'s brow is positively gloomy. Cf. *Physiogn.*17, 83 for further indications of the forehead's importance in the conveyance of character and sentiment.

239 atque hic Cf. **7.29** ('just then').

legatos . . . remissos Cf. **227, 296**, 8.143. *Legati* are predictably Ennian (*Ann.dub.*7; 'probably genuine', Skutsch). Note 9.635 *responsa remittunt* and 10.839 *multumque remittit*.

Aetola ex urbe So *Tyria/Sidonia urbs* for Carthage, *Oebalia arx* for Tarentum, *Graia urbs* for Arcadian Rome, **Argiua castra** as another synonym for Arpi, **Argiua iuventus** for the Tiburtines, *gens Lydia* for Aen.'s Etruscan allies, *Acrisioneii . . . coloni* found Ardea, Cumae has 'Euboean shores' (cf. Kroll, *Studien*, 268). The colonists retain the name of their motherland, for elegant variation and ethnographic continuity. Cf. further **225–42**.

240 quae referant Cf. **7.267, 11.176**.

fari iubet Lat. is back in full exercise of his regal authority (cf. Cairns, 74); that he now gives the ambassadors orders to make their formal report does not solve the question (**229f.**) of whether he too had had an active hand in sending them.

responsa . . ./241 . . . cuncta The ambassadors' commission was relatively complex (8.10–17) and in the present critical situation a full answer is essential.

reposcit 'Ask back', in that the ambassadors were entrusted with both Tu.'s message and Diom.'s reply. cf. 12.2 (of Tu.) *sua nunc promissa reposci*.

241 ordine . . . suo Cf. G.4.4f. *ordine . . ./ . . . dicam*, 537 *ordine dicam*, Aen.3.179 *ordine pando*, 6.723 *ordine singula pandit*; *o.* is the standard rhetoricians' term for 'sequence'. The importance of the occasion calls for pellucid exposition.

tum We might suspect a gesture by Lat., or by a herald, to bring the turbulent assembly to silent attention.

facta silentia linguis Cf. (before a libation) *tum facta silentia tectis*. The plur. **s.** is both grander and metrically indispensable (Licinia Ricottilli, *EV* 5*, 13, with full bibl.). **s.l.** is a sort of *iuxtapositiō oppositorum* (cf. *lingua* > < *factis*, Salvatore, *TLL* 7.2.1450.18ff.). **L.** is surely (Con., comparing Pers.4.7; add Enn.*trag.*11 *exsurge, praeco, fac populo audientiam*) dat.not (Con., hesitating) abl..

242 Venulus Note Tu.'s mother, Venilia (10.76); Ven. himself is charged with his mission, by Tu., at 8.9 and is killed by Tarchon at **11.757f.** There is no reason to suppose (cf. *Alambicco*, 73) that Ven. was anything other than an invented minor character. At **757**, Ven. fights among the warriors of Tibur (but is not himself specified as Tiburtine); at 8.9 Serv. suggests (improbably but not quite incredibly) that Ven., as an apparent Tiburtine, must have been in some sense of Argive origin and was therefore likely to appeal to the Aetolian/Argive Diomedes, while SDan. notes *hunc* [which could refer either to Diom. or to Ven.; cf. Castagnoli, 100] *alii Lavini imperasse olim tradunt* (cf. Horsfall, *RMM*, 3f.). SDan. probably confuses Lavinium and Lanuvium (App.*Civ.*2.74, Castagnoli, *cit.*). There is further unedifying and inaccurate speculative debate (Paratore on 8.9, *id.*, (1953), 39, della Corte, 223f.; cf. Bérard (**225–42**), 374, Malkin, 250 for the late date of Diom.'s northwards spread. On Daunus, cf. **7.732**). The name's etymology and associations are altogether unclear, though Venilia is an impeccably ancient Italic theonym and Ven. could simply be a secondary formation from her name (as the link with Tu. at 8.9 might encourage one to suspect).

dicto parens Cf. **7.433**, traditional and formulaic.

sic farier infit Distinguish (Skutsch on Enn.*Ann.*385) the simple archaic *infit* (Enn.*cit.*, *Aen.*5.708, 10.101, 860, **11.301**, 12.10, Liv.1.28.4) to introduce a speech and Plautine *infit* + vb. of speaking (*sexies*: e.g. *Rud.*51, 53; then Lucr.3.515, 5.1208). V. augments the force of the archaic idiom with the infin. in *-ier* (cf. Leumann, 581, **7.70**), perhaps to endow the occasion with due solemnity.

243–95 The speeches of Venulus and Diomedes

The scale of the Latin casualties convinces Lat. of Aen.'s divine support and the council summoned in consequence of this conviction opens with the news brought by Venulus that Diom. will not fight Aeneas again. Diom.'s own conviction that *pietas* is a key element in Aen.'s greatness as a warrior (**292**; contrast both Hector and, more

markedly, Greek transgressions, **258**) confirms the rightness of Lat.'s view. Diom.'s undeviatingly moderate speech is reported in OR by the Latin envoy Venulus, and is much the longest of the *Aen.*'s reported speeches (an eminence augmented if we leave the speeches reported by Aen. in bks. 2–3 out of consideration, Highet, 341). His dread of war rests upon long and victorious experience, while the Greeks' later sufferings derive largely from their *scelera* during siege and sack (**258**). The bulk of the speech, **255–277**, consists of a summary (*percursorio*, Highet) of specific *exempla*, the fates of seven heroes. Climactic is Diom. himself, who has suffered grievously for his wounding of Venus and will not now take up arms against Venus' son (perhaps implicit in the text of his argument). For rhetorical-polemical reasons, Aen.'s standing as a warrior has grown in Diom.'s recollection; here, in comparison to Homer's text, his martial prowess is transformed (vd. *infra*).

The seven *nostoi* present in Diom.'s speech are themselves necessarily, to some degree, a summary ultimately derived from the *Nostoi* (Highet, 56)—a text most likely known to V. from an epitome (as do indeed exist in prose and poetry: apart from Proclus, note both, in some sense, Lyc., *passim* (known to V., as Stephanie West (vd. *infra*) and I—see *Prudentia* 8 (1976), 86—would agree) and Varr. (*res hum.*3.6 Mirsch *ap.* PsProb. *ad Buc.*6.31; cf. **258**); the markedly obscure version of the Locrians in N.Africa in particular suggests the intermediacy of a learned prose source. Such poetic summaries of the content of poems, real or imaginary, are themselves an exercise dear to writers in the Alexandrian tradition (Highet, 56f., after Kroll, *Studien*, 240, n. 28, to whom add e.g. *Buc.*6.31ff., *G.*3.26ff., *Aen.*1.741ff.).

Diom.'s account of his encounter with Aen. before Troy (**282–292**) raises problems quite of its own. That encounter was not a myth, which might be recast almost at will, in the light of contextual necessity (cf. *Alambicco*, 77ff., Horsfall in *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft* (*Coll. Raurica* 3, 1993), 131ff.); rather, V. offers an elaborate, calculated 'misquotation' of Homer's sacred text (cf. *Alambicco*, 69f., *Companion*, 183, §(d), 188, *GR* 34 (1987), 53f.). In *Il.*5, Aen. is a negligible opponent for Diomedes (297–317; 431–53); now Diomedes returns to those same encounters in a tone of awed respect for his opponent's valour. Juno's dishonesty over facts and details is, like Turnus', a major element in V.'s characterisation (Highet, 285ff., **7.302**, *Companion*, 196), but here facts are rewritten in the interest of expressing a form of inner growth in Diom.: he has meditated upon his glory and

learned how little he has in the end won by it. His record as a hero now matters less than peace in Italy and to that end he rewrites 'what happened'. On the other hand (cf. *Vergilius* 32 (1986), 17), neither Juno (10.81f.), nor Turnus (12.52f.) nor Jupiter himself (4.228) are permitted so to forget the text of the *Iliad*. It is singular that this remarkable instance of rhetorical technique has attracted so very little attention: vd. Hardie (1998), 254, de Grummond (225–42), 42, Alessio, 89. The great warrior refuses the Latins' plea in sagely moderate, consistently uninsistent language (Puccioni, *cit.*, on the basis of a scattering of archaisms, 'poeticisms', and refined forms of expression hails the manner of Diom. as 'Asiatic!'). Contrast, above all, Drances and Turnus.

See, for Diom.'s speech, *Companion*, 187f., Alessio, 87ff., Gransden, 174ff., Hightet, 55ff., Knauer, 285, 319, Hardie (1998), 254ff., Fantham (122–32), 264, Gleit 195f., Schenk 120ff., de Grummond (225–42), 42, Papaioannou (*ib.*), 212ff., Puccioni 375f. = 144, Anderson (304), 27, S. West, *CQ* 33, 1983, 121, 135, and in M. Depew and D. Obbink, *Matrices of genre . . .* (Cambridge, Mass. 2000), 154–66.

243 uidimus Thematic and elusive: at **263 uidit** implies 'saw and rued', while at **270 uiderem**, the sense is rather 'saw as I longed to' (cf. Maselli, *EV* 5*, 535, Hardie (1998), 255f.. Here we are perhaps closer to 6.134f. *bis nigra uidere/Tartara*; Venulus has for a moment stepped out of *Aen.* into *Il.* and his reaction is still awestruck. In the *Il.*, Diom. far outranked Aen. as warrior (*pace* the nimble ingenuity of **282ff.**); to the Latins perforce a giant from another age and another world, the more so for the paradoxical gentleness of his response. Note not only the primacy of sight (Hardie, *cit.*, n. 46, *Apul.Flor.*2, etc. and vd. the rich collection of material, Tosi, n° 309) but Venulus characterised as concerned to prove his obedience to orders.

o ciues Cf. 9.36, 783, **11.459**, 12.572 (with appeals to simple *ciues* at 2.42, 5.196, 671); cf. Polverini's useful survey at *EV* 1, 807. The ambassadors' fellow citizens are about to be given appalling public news; a preemptive appeal, therefore, for solidarity.

Diomedem Argiuaque castra Cf. 5.671f. *castra/Argiium*, **7.372**, Kirk on *Il.*2.108 (for the polyvalence of the place-name A. in Hom.; cf. Seymour, 54), *EV* 1, 308, not to mention e.g. 2.27 *Dorica castra*. The paradox of 'good' Greeks, well-disposed to the Trojans (to the point of fighting, and dying, at Acneas' side) has already been adumbrated, 6.97, 8.127, Anderson (304), 27. **Diomedem** ω, D*Serv.*,

Emporius, *Rhet.lat.min.* 562.28. The tradition (with TCD) gives, by simple confusion of m and n, along with some confusion over the declension of Greek nouns, the unmetr. **Diomedem**, apart from f (and DServ., as an alternative), whose Greek acc. **Diomede** appealed to Ribbeck (but see Timpanaro, 157, NW, 1, 477. These accs. are not Latin) and Macr.5.17.19 who thinks in a moment of (not unparalleled) ablepsy that **-en** can be made to scan. Cf. Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 155ff. against Zetzl, *Latin textual criticism*, 105.

244 iter emensi Cf. **7.160**. Inversion of the logical order, on the grand scale, as Bell pointed out (271).

casus . . . omnis No more than formulaic coincidence with G.4.485 *casus euaserat omnis*; cf. too *Aen.*12.21 *omnis expendere casus*.

superauimus Cf. 3.368 *tantos possim superare labores*, 5.710 *superanda omnis fortuna*; common too in prose, *OLD* s.v., §5a.

245 contigimusque manum As suppliants; cf. **7.366**. Note too **7.266 dextram tetigisse tyranni**. This use of compound for simple not again, apparently, before *Ov.Am.*3.8.17. We might recall, more important, Priam, who kissed the hands δεινὰς ἀνδρῶνους, αἱ οἱ πολέας κτάνον υἷας (*Il.*24.479 (where vd. Richardson's n.); cf. *ib.*506). Con. acutely suggests the further similarity with Aesch.Ag.907 τὸν σὸν πόδ' . . . Ἰλίου πορθήτορα.

qua Exactly Hom.'s αἶ. Cf. the consolatory topos at 10.830f., **11.688f**.

nomen . . . haud leue . . ./telo cecidisse Camillae.

concidit Cf. *Hor.C.*3.16.11 and the *simplex* at 3.2f. *ceciditque superbum Ilium*. The form and force of Hom. κάππεσεν. Venulus may be thought to overstate Diom.'s role, but more striking instances of divergence from the literal truth of Homer will emerge shortly.

Ilia tellus Cf. 9.285 (where vd. Dingel); the adj tragic (Acc.610); three words with a marked and only in very small measure authentic Homeric air (cf. **7.631** and note Harrison on 10.335 *Iliacis campis*). Bell (174) is sure that **t.** is used for *urbs* (because, as Serv. is careful to point out, the Troad did not, strictly, fall!); why not, though, e.g.: πεδίον (though of course it was the city that was actually sacked)?

246 ille Not only one of the most ferocious of Argive heroes, but also, like Aeneas himself, a colonist. Cf. *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 21, Malkin, 234ff., Papaioannou, 208.

urbem Argyripam 7km. NNE of Foggia, ally of Rome against Pyrrhus, then sacked and held by the Carthaginians (217–213), called **A.** (also Argyrippa), *Arpi* (10.28, **11.250, 428**), or Argos Hippiion

(Strab.5.1.9, 6.3.9, etc. I.E.M. Edlund-Berry and A.M. Small in Talbert, s.v., Russi, *EV* 1, 333f.). **Cognomine** looks to point to the derivation of **A.** from Argos Hippiion (so Serv., citing the Homeric ἰππόβοτος, Schol.Lyc.592, Plin.*Nat.*3.104; cf. O'Hara, 230). Diom. the founder of **A.** from Lyc. 594 (so in Strab.6, *cit.* (Tim. therefore the likely common origin), Plin.*cit.*, Malkin, 244, Rehm, 35, Robert 2.3, 1491, n. 6). The 'colonial' use of the mother-city's name is very widely attested (cf. **7.157**, *Vergilius, cit.*, 18, with n. 78).

patriae . . . gentis The expression only here in V.; cf. **225–42** for his connexion with Argos. Tydeus had fled there, married Adrastus' daughter, and was buried there after the campaign against Thebes (*Apld.Bibl.*1.8.5f.).

cognomine Cf. **7.671**, and O'Hara, 75f., 'naming constructions as signposts'.

247 uictor Sc. against King Daunus' enemies, from Tim. on (Schol. Lyc.592, Lyc.617ff., Robert 2.3, 1491, Malkin, 243); that Daunus later killed Diom. is here irrelevant. Perplexed by the apparent topographical difficulty—*infra*—of **Gargani**, Russi (*Athen* 64 (1986), 226ff.) suggests that Diom. was victorious over the eponym of Mte. Gargano, a view which Serv. *ad Aen.*8.9 could be read as supporting. The disposition of palpably linked name and adj. here naturally excludes this interpretation (*pace* Russi, 230, eloquent testimony to the maleficent effects of the Italian school pronunciation of the hexameter). Cf. *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 21, n. 90 for military victory as an element in heroic colonisation. Note too that it is typically the victor's privilege to confer the name of the new settlement, as here: cf. 1.248, 277, 12.823, Sall.*Iug.*18.12, *ILS* 705.29, Wlosok, 39, n. 62, Buchheit, 143, n. 607 and *Vergilius, cit.*, 18 for the same element in colonisation stories.

Gargani . . . Iapygis Arpi is twenty miles outside the Gargano promontory, as though that sort of inexactitude (cf. **7**, p. 416f.) really mattered very much to V.; characteristic inaccuracy is moreover compounded by learned anachronism (cf. **7.730** for another, on a larger scale), in that V.'s use of the adj. 'Iapygian', used in the poet's time for Messapia or Calabria, had once been applied to all of the E. coast up to Gargano in both prose and poetic texts (*tacet* Russi, *EV* 2, 883!). Cf. Ps.Scyl.14f., Dion.Perieg.379, App.*Hannib.*191, Plb.3.88.3 (with Walbank's n.), Ant.Lib.31.2, Bérard (**225–42**), 426, A.M. Small, *Class.views* 5 (1986), 187.

condebat Having left Troy at much the same time as Aen., Diom. was even then engaged in founding Arpi (for the task's many elements, cf. *Vergilius, cit.*, 17f., 26). The verb is a key term, technical but also of primary thematic importance; cf. 1.5, **7.145**, *Vergilius, cit.*, 26.

agris Cf. *Vergilius, cit.*, 19 for the theme of land in the colonisation-stories used by V. (cf., for *agri* specifically, 3.141, **7.261**, **11.316**, 12.185). Note the less-than-compelling **aruis**, *dfhv*, Heinsius, Forbiger.

248 postquam Cf. **7.406** for this opening of a new section of the narrative. The formulaic line also at 1.520 (where Austin discusses the double omission of *esse* in subord. clause). Cf. Sparrow, 81 on V.'s 'epic repetitions' and note further **251**.

introgressi Congressi R, TCD, possibly because someone had remembered V.'s use of unelided *postquam* (cf. **7.406**). *Naev.trag.56 introcurimus*, *Enn.Ann.dub.7 introducuntur*; whether *introgredior* is an archaising coinage by V. or a real (but now unattested) archaism we cannot of course tell.

coram . . . fandi Cf. **7.193 ad sese** (and see *ib.168*). Contrast the warmth of Pallas' invitation, 8.122 and the formalities of Roman diplomatic usage (**7.168**).

data copia Cf. **378 copia fandi**, 9.484 *adfari extremum miserae data copia matri*, 720 *data copia pugnae*; note *dedit . . . copiam*, *Cat.64.366* (and cf. also *Sall.Cat.17.6*).

249 munera praeferimus The vb. of diplomatic olive branches at **7.237**; for gifts, cf. **228**, **7.155**.

nomen patriamque Not (cf. **7.197**; so too Evander of Hercules, *Liv.1.7.10 ubi nomen patremque ac patriam accepit*) in terms of the old heroic uncertainty about strangers' identity; here, the members of a diplomatic mission (some interesting remarks at *EV* 3, 869f.) present their credentials.

docemus Cf. **315**; occasionally in the language of a more conventional diplomacy, *Liv.39.31.4*, 47.3, *Bell.Afr.77.1*; of rhetorical demonstration in general, *Rhet.Her.2.46* (Bulhart, *TLL* 5.1.1711.22f.).

250 qui . . . quae More formally orderly than the diplomatic OO of **102–5**.

bellum intulerint A stock expression from public business, **7.604**. The Trojan 'invasion' (cf. **230**, 8.11–4) is naturally given due prominence. On the Trojans as aggressors, cf. **7.38f.**.

causa Cf. **7.197f. quae causa rates . . . / . . . uexit?**

attraxerit Not necessarily forceful or colourful (*OLD* s.v., §2a).

Arpos Cf. 246.

251 auditis Not a one-word abl.abs. (LHS, 141, Austin on 1.737), but (cf. closely **7.194 ingressis**) dat.; Diom. replies tranquilly to those who have been given audience.

ille haec . . . sic reddidit Cf. 6.672 *paucis ita reddidit*. Note also 10.530. Comparison of 4.222 and 6.854 points up how odd this (unparalleled) duplication of **haec . . . sic** is.

placido . . . ore Moskalew noted (128f.) that Ilioneus **placido sic pectore coepit** at 1.521; directly after, that is, 1.520 = **11.248**. Whence some fanciful speculations. Diomedes speaks with all the gentle grandeur of a great warrior in thoughtful retirement, Ilioneus with the good manners to be expected of Aeneas' adjutant, even in the face of typically Punic lack of hospitality towards strangers (cf. *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 21). On such introductory expressions and their importance for setting the tone of what follows, cf. **7.194 atque haec . . . placido . . . edidit ore**; add now M. Gioseffi in (ed. M.G.) *Ed io sarò tua guida* (Milano 2000), 190.

252 o Emotive, not casual; cf. **7.360**.

fortunatae gentes A real plural: Latins and Rutuli, at very least, already identified at **249**; the adj. is richly resonant, used of Elysium (6.639), of colonists arrived at their goal (1.437), of those who escape the confiscations (*Buc.*1.46, 51), of the ideal *agricola* (*G.*2.458, 493). Saturn's descendants, in his land, ought in some measure still to be enjoying a Golden Age (**7.46, 49, 180, 202f.**) and are about to cast it irreversibly away; the frequent destiny of *felices* and *fortunati* in V. (cf. 4.657; note *G.*2.458, with inherent failure to realise), and, iron., *Buc.*6.45f.). So too V. editorially (**7.46**; cf. Hardie (1998), 255).

Saturnia regna The phrase at *Buc.*4.6, 6.41; cf. *Saturnia tellus*, *G.*2.173, *Aen.*8.329, *Saturnia . . . arua*, 1.569. Cf. **7.46, 203 Saturni gentem**. Cf. Papaioannou, 209ff.

253 antiqui Cf. **7.38 Latio antiquo**.

Ausonii Southern central Italy: cf. **7.623**. The third member of a stately opening tricolon.

quae . . . fortuna The noun takes up the participle in the previous line; their natural good fortune reversed by the perverse ill-fortune (cf. **102**) that drives them to war (Bailey, 236; *tacet* Wills (but cf. *id.*, 327f. for comparable play between cognate participle and noun). The question foreshadows a negative answer to their request, already anticipated, **226, 238**, etc..

uos . . . quietos Cf. the *sedes . . . quietas* of 1.205 and Juno's protest

at 10.71 that the Trojans are busy *gentis agitare quietas*. The pre-Trojan peaceful state of Latium is a position sometimes adopted by V. in 7, as by his sources (7.46, 693); V. is entirely inconsistent on the point, neither by chance nor by sloth, for the ambiguity is profound and inherent.

254 sollicitat The verb, a run-over choriamb (cf. *Fabricium, exiguam*), in juxtaposed antithesis to the adj. and in alliteration with the next verb; the sense is typically rephrased and expanded. A notable re-use of Dido to Aen. at 4.379f. *scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos/sollicitat* (cf. G.2.418, 503 for the same tone of restless disturbance); neither significant allusion nor dry humour seem intended. The verb *quinquies* in Lucr..

suadetque Cf. 10.10 (vd. on **laccessere**, *infra*); the echo is noted neither by Harrison, nor by Moskalew, and for Diomedes to cite Jupiter himself (as in some measure he clearly does) on the fear which drove Trojans and Latins into unnecessary and prohibited warfare lends yet greater authority to his tone of profound disapproval.

ignota . . . bella *hoc deterius, quod lacesserent eos quorum uirtutem fatumque nescirent* TCD. Serv. takes the same view, for he remembers the Latins were also warriors, citing 7.187, while SDan. notes *aut 'ignota' quae ignorauerint, quasi non suscepturi, si scissent*. The two senses of the adj. are naturally both present and not mutually exclusive!

laccessere Cf. 5.429 *pugnam . . . lacessunt*, 10.10 *arma sequi ferrumque lacessere suasit* (note too TLL 7.2.832.74 (Pecere), Liv.44.4.2 *hostes leuis armatura erat, promptissimum genus ad lacessendum certamen*).

At the latter passage Harrison quotes with approval Housman on Luc.1.147 *temerando . . . ferro*: 'temerat ferrum qui sine iusta causa stringit; idem fere est f. 1.' But that would never do for 5.429, or for Liv.44, is doubtful at 10.10 and not mandatory here either: **255 uiolauimus** is altogether in keeping with Diom.'s tone of self-inculcation. 'Stir up, provoke' is a sense perfectly adequate in all four passages and entirely in keeping with the word's usage elsewhere (cf. OLD s.v., §3, well citing Liv.3.11.10 *ad lacessendam Caesonis temeritatem*); it also carries further the sense of restless bellicosity already latent in *sollicitat*.

255 quicumque The (Lucretian, Catullan) indefinite with first person vb. also at Hor.C.2.14.10 *quicumque terrae munere uescimur*. 'every one of us who' (cf. *Od.3.86-8*—and in particular the ὄκοι of 86—, 108 and note too Aesch.Ag.555ff.).

Iliacos . . . agros Cf. 1.97, 10.335 (*I. campi*); the adj., Harrison notes, is Callimachean and Catullan.

ferro uiolauimus The opposition of iron and warfare to the Golden age of Saturnian Latium is a motif dear to V. (**7.46**, 8.324–7, 9.609 with Horsfall in Harrison, *OR*, 307). Diom. anticipates the verb he will use of his own attack on Venus, **277 et Veneris uiolauī uulnere dextram**, though the lack of continuous emphasis present in the text should suggest that sacrilege is not to be elevated into a dominant theme of the whole (*pace* Papaioannou, 213), though it is clearly present, explicitly or by allusion, in several of the episodes narrated (cf. **258 scelerum poenas**, **259f.** and **243–95**, *Companion*, 187). He will offer no criticism of the Trojans' arrival in Latium, no parallelism between them and the Achaean armada (as has been suggested, with little success, by (e.g.) Turnus and R.G.M. Nisbet; cf. **7.38f.**, **436**, **469**, **11.116**, *Companion*, 210, n. 119); here, he uses strong language (see n. on **7.114**; 'while the verb can of course be used of sacrilegious acts . . . acts to which it is applied are not perforce sacrilegious'; so here) of the means employed by the cause in which he fought for ten years (*uiolationem illam, non debellationem regionum Troiae* TCD; rather a grand *razzia* than a formal and proper punishment; cf. Seymour, 592f., M.I. Finley, *World of Odysseus*₂ (Harmondsworth 1979), 63f. and indeed Homer's Achaeans had had their doubts, too: *Il.*9.327, 24.541f.. Cf. NH on Hor.C.2.4.11). Note **populauimus R**; credible, but not powerfully so against **MP**.

256 mitto ea Cited by Non.p.348.29 for the sense of *omittere*; comic, but also regular standard prose (*OLD* s.v., §5) and not therefore to be taken as *simplex pro composito*, *pace* *EV* 3, 553. The beginning of a paradoxical *praeteritio* of two verses ('let us leave the whole *Iliad* out of consideration'). A rare moment of concision from Nestor, to Telemachus, *Od.*3.107f. ἦδ' ὄσα καὶ περὶ ἄστῳ μέγα Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος/μαρνάμεθ'. Cf. **263** (V. looks to brevity and variety).

quae . . . exhausta Cf., for this passive use, 4.14 *bella exhausta*, 9.356 *poenarum exhaustum satis est*, 10.57 *exhausta pericula*, Liv.5.5.6 *cum tantum laboris exhaustum sit*, 33.39.6, *TLL* 5.2. 1411.51f. (Wackernagel).

muris . . . sub altis Cf. **98**; also 1.95 etc. *Troiae sub moenibus altis*. ὑπίπυλον (*Il.*16.698).

bellando Cf. Pacuv.*trag.*168, Fur.Bibac. fr. 14.2 and compare the **pugnando** of **7.182**.

257 quos . . . uiros Cf. **9**; almost 'heroes' (though, that is, both sense and grammar would permit omission, **u.** should be recognised as perceptibly more than a metrically convenient stopgap).

Simois . . . ille Cf. notably 1.100f. *ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis/scuta*

uirum galeasque et fortia corpora uoluit (after *Il.*12.22; cf. 21.307), 5.260f., 803; an essential element in both Homer's and Virgil's vision of the Troad (Seymour, 603, Bonamente, *EV* 4, 871f.), along with the Scamander/Xanthus. **Ille**, 'the famous' (cf. 1.617, 2.540, 4.215, **261**). Cf. Raabe, 80.

premat Nothing exactly similar in V., but note the ploughshare pressed down into the rich earth, *G.*2.203; cf. *ib.*356, *EV* 4, 255, *Ov.Met.*1.290 and cf., of drowning, 1.129, 246, *Ov.Met.*1.290. The tense is present used of past events still effective: Görler, *EV* 2, 272, **7.363**.

infanda . . . /258 supplicia Cf. **273f.**, **7.596f.**: there, the juxtaposition of crime and punishment is even clearer, while here **supplicia** and **poenas** are theme and variation and the conceptual 'hendiadys' operates between **supplicia** and **scelerum**. On tragic *i.*, cf. **7.583**. **per orbem** For the global dimensions of Troy's fame, and the fame of her fall, cf. **7.217ff.**, **222ff.** (in particular, **224**); for *o.* in the sense of 'globe', cf. **7.258**. The clausula *per orbem* common from *Buc.*8.9. Just possibly a secondary sense of 'through the Cycle' is present (Hardie (1998), 257).

258 scelerum poenas . . . omnes On Virgil and *poena*, cf. **7.766**; vd. also *scelerum poenas* of Catiline on Aen.'s shield, 8.668, while at 5.786, Juno drags the 'remnants of Troy' *poenam . . . per omnem*. Stylistic juxtaposition of punishment and crime is a common and ancient idiom, particularly in [Aesch.] *Prom.* (e.g. 112). To *alii ap. Serv.* is attributed '*sceleris omnis*' *legunt* (that is, *omnis*, with easy enallage; the penalties naturally presuppose the crimes); however, as TCD senses, the nom. is preferable, in the introduction to a catalogue of *exempla* of which the speaker himself is no small part. On Varro, *de gente* fr. 29 (= *HRR* fr. 17/fr. 776 Cardauns ap. Hagedahl), Fraccaro (185, ignored by Russi) suggests that V. here had in mind the material summarised by Augustine (*CD* 18.16), *Graeci uictores deletam Troiam relinquentes et ad propria remeantes diuersis et horrendis cladibus dilacerati atque contriti sunt*, not least because Varro was demonstrably interested in *nostoi*-stories. But the material summarised by Aug. has been commonplace since *Od.* and *Nostoi* and there is no particular reason here to favour Varro as a source, though we have seen (**243–95**) both that the use of some learned collector is highly likely and that Varro knew his *nostoi*.

expendimus Cf. **7.595 pendetis . . . poenas**, 10.669 *expendere poenas*; the compound vb. at *Acc.trag.*536.

259 uel Priamo Priam and Achilles weep each for their own (*Il.*24.507ff.); V.'s humanity has leaped the trenches (cf. already *Soph.Aj.*924f., *OT* 1295f., *Enn.Ann.*162). *Est autem Pacuuii* comments Serv., quoting (*trag.*391; cf. Wigodsky, 86f.) *Priamus si adesset, ipse etiam commiseresceret* (behind *Ter.Hec.*128f.). The idea of tragedy so awful that even your foes weep is unsurprisingly much to V.'s taste: cf. 2.7ff. *quis talia fando/Myrmidonum Dolopumue aut duri miles Vlixi/temperet a lacrimis?* Even in Juno's temple, even at Carthage (*sunt hic etiam*), there were *lacrimae rerum* in the representation of Troy's story (cf. Austin on 1.461f., *Companion*, 106f., with *Companion*, 328). Od.'s *nostos* was at least as hard as Aen.'s. and Priam was proverbial for the sorrows of his long life (Mayor on *Juv.*10.258, Wigodsky, *cit.*), though not particularly thanks to Diom.. For the conceit, cf. further, *Prop.*4.9.43f., Tarrant on *Sen.Ag.*521, Ricottilli, 191.

miseranda Act. at *Acc.trag.*195, depon., *ib.*353; gerundive as adj., *trag.inc.*198. This form in Hor. (*C.*2.3.24) and by V. rather preferred to *miseror* (31 vs. 20; cf. *EV* 3, 547, Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.*162).

manus Cf. **7.711**. Of Aen.'s followers at e.g. 6.5.

scit Strikingly, with an inanimate subj. (the sentient awareness displayed by places is comparable to the pathetic fallacy, cf. **7.722**, **759**, *Buc.*5.21) and in parataxis (the vengeful season/deity and the spot, alongside the Greeks' pitiable state).

triste Mineruae/260 sidus S. oscillates here, as at *G.*1.1f. (vd. Mynors), 73 and *Aen.*4.309f., somewhere between 'constellation', 'state of the heavens' and 'seasonal weather' (Montanari Caldini, *EV* 4,842). The adj. thus at *G.*4.235. But V.'s exact sense is not entirely simple: Pallas watches over Aries (*Manil.*2.438, with Housman's n. and Goold, xlv^f), and it has long been suspected that V. here refers to the stormy spring equinox (in Aries): cf. (e.g.) Serv. here, A. Le Boeuffe, *Les noms latins d'astres* (Paris 1977), 207, *EV* 1, 916, 4, 842. But Minerva's name cannot simply be an allusive date, for the storm sent by Athena to punish the returning Greeks is already Homeric (*Od.*3.130ff., 4.499ff.) and Cyclic (*Nostoi*; Proclus p. 67.18f. Davies *EGF*); in particular, Oilean Ajax dies for his violation of Cassandra and Athena's temple (*Aen.*1.39ff., 2.403, 414 with Austin's notes). For the details of the story, vd. Robert 2.3, 1450ff.. And yet **s.** really is not yet another synonym for *tempestas* or *hiemps*, nor is Minerva here solely the vengeful deity of myth (as *EV* 3, 533). We have learned elsewhere, though, that neither astrology nor the minutiae of mythological chronology are extraneous to V. (cf. *Alambicco*, 95, **7.560**,

Santini, *EV* 1, 915ff.); *Aen.* left the Troad in early summer (3.8; *aliter*, DH 1.63.1; the mass of speculation about the exact date of Troy's fall—cf. A.T. Grafton and N.M. Swerdlow, *CQ* 36 (1986), 212ff.—has no direct bearing on the date by which the returning Greeks might have reached Euboea). The mythological and chronological explanations must be left to enjoy a degree of coexistence.

260 Euboicae cautes The noun (spelled *cotibus*) at *Enn.Ann.*408; *octies* in *Aen.*, *deest* in *EV*; vd. 6.471 *Marpesia cautes*. Note the same passage between paired names from the general to the specific at (e.g.) 1.2f., 13f., 554, 569, 4.236.

ultor . . . Caphereus Now Kavο Doro (but to [Apld]. *Epit.*6.11 and Tzetzes the wonderfully sinister Xylophago!), the northern point of Euboea's south-eastern face. See J. Fossey, J. Morin, G. Reger in Talbert, s.v.. This is the Cyclic localisation (cf. **259**); in Hom., on the Cycladic rocks of Gyrae (*Od.*4.507; cf. Robert, 1452). The noun refers (so e.g. Con., misunderstood at *EV* 5*, 357) both to divine vengeance against the Greeks (as regards Minerva, therefore, in a sort of tension with **sidus**) and (Serv.) to the story of Nauplius, father of Palamedes, who, to avenge his son, hung out false lights to lure the Greeks to their ruin (cf. Austin on 2.82, *EV* 3, 929f. and above all Radt on Soph.frr. 425–438TGF); it is not clear (though it used to be thought so) how much of the story Soph. knew or used, but it was familiar in detail to Lyc..

261 militia . . . illa The noun (cf. **585**) 42x in Cic., *ter* in Caes., 34x in Sall., 132x in Liv., but also Ennian (*Ann.*436, *trag.*200) and Lucr.1.29. Cf. **257 ille**.

ex . . . ad The prepositions are successively temporal and local (contrast *G.*1.361f., *Aen.*8.415).

diuersum . . . litus Cf. Lucr.5.647, Cic. *de orat.*3.178, Ov.*Met.*5.419 *in partibus diuersas*; Con. rightly suspects a collective singular: not so much one shore (different only in not being Troy's) as several shores, all different (as we are about to be told) and different moreover from the shore each hero had left. Cf. the *diuerso ex hoste* of *G.*3.32.

abacti Cf. Hor.*Epd.*5.29, comedy and prose (*quinquies* in Cic., 14x in Liv.); V. perhaps assigns with intent to the distinguished warrior a flat and prosy word; the two distinct subjects follow. **adacti** **M**₂**n**, older edd..

262 Atrides . . . Menelaus Diom. closes the list himself, but opens with one of the Atridae and before himself sets the other. The patronymic at *Acc.trag.*14 and *bis* in *trag. inc.*.

Protei . . . columnas Perplexing but suggestive: it is Hercules' columns that come naturally to mind, spread across Spain, Gaul, Germany and Turkey (E. Norden, *Germanische Urgeschichte* (repr. Stuttgart 1959), 470f., who acutely refers to Strabo's discussion—1.2.30—of Homer's localisation of the island of Pharos). Proteus was associated with both island and lighthouse (Call. fr. 228.39Pf., Posidippus, *HE* 3100ff., *Alambicco*, 41, P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 1 (Oxford 1972), 17f.) and the imaginative passage from Hercules' columns to Proteus' via the fabled lighthouse becomes even less arduous when we recall the presence in Augustan Rome of Aristonicus of Alexandria, author of a work *περὶ τῆς Μενελάου πλάνης* (Strab.1.2.31, *Alambicco*, cit., F. Susemihl, *Gesch.griech.Lit. i.d. Alexandrinerzeit* 2, 214f.).

adusque Cf. **317** and **7.289**; apparently Catullan in origin.

263 exulat Run-on and climactic; a term often used of the Trojans (**7.359**), but also of Saturn, Mezentius, Metabus (*Vergilius* 35 (1989), 25f., *EV* 2, 447ff., J.-M. Claassen, *Displaced persons* (London 1999), 38ff.); the verb at *Acc.trag.*365, 682. For the orthography (Mynors' is not easily justified), cf. **7.359**. For the present to register a past event, cf. **7.363 penetrat**.

Aetnaeos . . . Cyclopas Cf. 3.570–691, *Od.*9.105–566, *EV* 1.778f. The adj. Lucretian (6.669; cf. **7.786**).

uidit Cf. **243**.

Vlixes Aen. sails the Mediterranean a few months after Ulysses (cf. 3.645); while V. draws without restriction on *Od.*, the person of Aen.'s fellow-wanderer, whose benevolence towards an equally homeless Trojan and his followers was unlikely to match Diomedes' (cf. 3.272f., 6.529), and whose adventures had been localised, with occasional scholarly agreement, on the same map that charted Aen.'s own, created substantial problems of narrative organisation; only twice (Scylla and Charybdis, Cyclopes) does V. undergo the same perils; cf. *Alambicco*, 69ff., **7.5–24**, *EV* 5*, 358ff.

264 regna Neoptolemi R. not common in V. with the ruler's name in gen.: cf. 2.22, 12.22, 567. N. reaches the Molossi as early as the *Nostoi* (Proclus p. 67.20ff.Davies). Virgil's account of his reign, down to his death at Delphi at Orestes' hands, is largely Euripidean in origin (with perhaps a touch of Pindar; cf. *Alambicco*, 45, n. 98 on the contamination of Priam's death and Neoptolemus'). See *EV* 4, 122f., [Apld]. *Epit.* 6.12ff. with Frazer's notes, Robert, 2.3, 1453ff., König, 52ff., M. Paschalis, *Philol.*130 (1986), 52f., A. Wlosok, *EV* 1, 166ff. Bell (335) suggests that we supply *euersos*; possible but not all necessary.

referam Cf. *G.*2.118, 3.12 (so a form of *praeteritio*, as **256 mitto**); the verb quite conventional (*OLD* s.v., §18), the manner formally rhetorical (*quid referam quinquies* in *Ov.Am.* alone). Diom.'s list of *exempla* is itself a kind of catalogue (inevitable in a summary of the *nostoi*; the survivors are themselves necessarily a brief and brutal selection from Homer's original catalogues! cf. **243–95**), requiring those very devices which are used to vary catalogues, or their close analogues (**7.733f.** (with p. 417), Harrison on 10.185f., *Macr.*5.15.15).

uersosque Penatis The partic. taken by *EV* 5*, 508 (Garuti) as *simplex* for *compositum euersos*; that will do if (see next n.) the partic., as also *pulsum*, 3.121, refers specifically to the subversion of Idom.'s home against him as narrated by (e.g.) [Apld]. *Epit.* (and known to Heracl.Pont. fr. 171 Wehrli and Lyc.1093f.). Or perhaps *simplex* for compound *auersos*, (cf. 4.106), given that Idomeneus was unable to remain in his native Crete and reached S. Italy (3.400f.)?

265 Idomenei Part of Nauplius' vengeance for the d. of Palamedes (**260**) was a journey made to induce the wives of the returning heroes to betray them (so Heracl.Pont., Lyc., [Apld]., *citt.*); Idom.'s wife took up with Leucus, who raised his dominions against him. Varro *res hum* 3.6Mirsch *ap.* PsProb. *ad Buc.*6.31 (3.2.337.1ff. Th.-H.) inserts a stay in Illyria before S.Italy; SDan.*ad Aen.*3.401, and Serv. here are in difficulty. Cf. Frazer, 2, 394ff. on [Apld]. *Epit.*6.10, Robert 2.3, 1497ff.

Libyco . . . litore Cf. 1.377 *Libycis . . . oris*.

habitantis Cf. **7.151** (intrans.).

Locros Oilean Ajax had died at Caphereus (**259f.**); his followers from Opuntian Locri settled at Epizephyrian Locri, in Bruttium, mod. Locri, on the SE coast of Calabria. Of the survivors of Caphereus (Lyc.877ff.), Guneus, according to [Apld]. *Epit.*6.15/15a, settled in Libya, by the river Cinyps (the Wadi Caam, E. of Lepcis Magna; cf. D.J. Mattingly in Talbert, map 35); Tac.*Hist.* fr. 8 Köstermann (*ap.*SDan. *ad Aen.*3.399) records that the Nasamonians were of Narycian origin (cf. 3.399, T.D. Barnes, *CPh.*72 (1977), 224f.). *Vt longinquitas doceatur exilii* remarks SDan., well, after offering five explanations of 'Libyan', an uncertainty which rather suggests that the learned point of V.'s ref. had long been lost. Cf. Robert 2.3, 1453, Bérard (**225–42**), 199ff.

266 ipse Agamemnon rounds off the list of Diom.'s fellow-sufferers. He is introduced with ponderous alliterative magniloquence (cf. **7.558**), not altogether without irony, perhaps, given the circumstances of his death. *Od.*3.254ff. suggests that Agam. returned swiftly home (as against *Od.*), but 4.514–20 (an interpolation; cf. S. West's admirable

note) at a more complex and stormier journey. V. makes no reference to Agam.'s journey (and we are left to extrapolate, if we wish, a contrast with Diom.'s slow and sad but safe arrival in Italy); he follows Aesch., not Hom. in making Clytaemestra, and not Aegisthus, the murderer, though **268** suggests at least complicity. Cf. Robert 2.3, 1294f., A.J.N.W. Prag, *The Oresteia* (Warminster 1985), 81. On the place of Agam.'s death (**267**), V. seems to innovate.

Mycenaeus . . . ductor Note Serv. *ad Aen.*2.14 *'ductores' sonantius est quam 'duces'*, just like *regnator, quod heroicum exigit carmen*; compare too *ductor Dardanius, Rhoeteius*. The noun at *Acc.trag.*522, *Lucr.*1.86. The lofty adjectival form **M.** Homeric (e.g. *Il.*15.638) but apparently first here in Latin. See Norden on 6.334, *EV* 2, 148 (de Nonno). *indignitatem et acerbitatem rerum multis modis ostendit* well remarks TCD.

magnorum . . . Achium The adj. also of Aeneadae, Dardanidae; cf. **177**, *EV* 3, 320. **A.** is the older, tragic form of *Achaei* (*bis* Pacuv., *quater* Enn., *bis* Acc., *semel* trag.inc.). Jocelyn (on Enn.*trag.*15) suggests that the Latins had called the Campanian Greeks (i.e. from the c.8) *Achiui*, adopting the Gk. digamma (so too *oliua, uinum, Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica* 1.2 (Roma 1993), 795; cf. Leumann, 64, 91, Sommer 102, 157). This argument from ethnic self-definition is clearly unconvincing (I am most grateful to Prof. Giuliano Bonfante for discussion); the form itself was literary in character, while the first Dorians in contact with Rome will indeed have used the digamma, but will certainly have called themselves, collectively, Hellenes. The word's presence in Latin might be used, alongside the Nestor cup, as evidence for the knowledge of Homeric epic (at a time when the digamma was still sensed) in the W.; it is much harder to visualise a c. 3/2 inventor of archaisms good enough to know the *u* was called for.

267 coniugis infandae *Nactus . . . interitum unde sperabat adfectum* as TCD well remarks. The adj. a little soon after **257**, we might feel, but our ears may be oversensitive to such repetition (cf. index, s.v.) or else the adj. itself may be of thematic importance.

prima inter limina Cf. 2.469 *primoque in limine*, 2.485, 6.427, **11.423** *in limine primo*. Serv. inexplicably claims that in Hom. Clyt. ran to meet Agam. at the beach, though 'Homer' could mean many things at Rome (cf.—e.g.—*Plin.Nat.*35.96, *Juv.*10.246, *Hyg.Astr.*2.22, *PsProb. ad G.*2.506, Serv. *ad Aen.*12.691). For the variant texts on Agam.'s murder, cf. Robert 2.3, 1294ff.). V.'s account is formally unparal-

leled and arguably a calculated novelty. On the associations of *limen* with regal state, cf. **7.343**.

dextra Cf. 1.334, 2.425, 10.830, 12.659, with vbs. of dying.

268 oppetiit Cf. *Enn.trag.*183 *mortem obpetam*; V. adopts the vb. absolutely, intransitivised, *quinquies*, as one of his many synonyms for 'die' (neglected by Axelson, 104f., Lyne, *WP*, 108ff.).

deuictam Asiam Cf. **7.24** for the Trojan war as a conflict between Asia and Europe. The compound apparently a Virgilian innovation; cf. 10.370 (a complete conquest; vd. Harrison *ad loc.* and on 809).

Deuicta Asia defshuv, 'melius' Serv.; the product of mere incomprehension.

subsedit An almost new metaphor, so little understood that Serv. preferred (*melius*) an abl. abs. with the vb. used absolutely, transitivised (cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 267) and was followed by numerous c.9 mss., while the **subsedit** of **MP**ωγ is replaced by **possedit** in **M₂Raγ₁**. But cf. *Luc.*5.226 *subsiedere regnum* (cited by Serv.), *Sil.*13.221 *subsidiere leonem*. Serv. adds *unde et subessores dicuntur, qui in insidiis tauros interimunt et hostium dolos subsessas uocamus*. *Manil.*5.303 is, *pace* Con., irrelevant. A hunting metaphor, then (cf. *Petr.*40.1; note the deplorable confusion at Quinn, 389), in the sense of 'lie in wait for the complete conqueror of Asia' (for V.'s marked partiality for economical ingenuity in his use of particls., cf. **7.117**): victory delivers the conqueror, upon his homecoming, into the adulterer's hands. VM twice writes of *subessores* of *alienorum matrimoniorum* (2.1.5, 7.2 (ext.).1; a Virgilian echo?). *Subessor* (Con.) indeed comes to be used in the sense of *adulter* (*Arnob.*4.23, 5.20). εφεδρ- compounds in Greek often carry a sense of 'sit in wait' (e.g. *Plat.Leg.*819b, *Call.H.*4.125 and more threateningly, *Hdt.*5.41, Cleomenes as a future king of Sparta, *Men.* fr. 663.2 Kock); Gk. metaphorical usage will have encouraged Latin, though the Lat. range is markedly smaller (and tends to hunting, not athletics).

adulter Used with equal appropriateness of Paris, 10.92. Naturally of both elsewhere too, later: cf. *EV* 1, 30, Vollmer, *TLL* 1.880.16.

269 inuidisse deos . . . ut Cf. **43** for the idea of divine envy in and before V.; with the constr., cf. (though these uses of *ut* and *ne*, as Görler rightly insists, range over varied and often conflicting senses)

43, *nei CLE* 54.3 (Sullan; cf. *Val.Fl.*3.306), *Liv.*26.40.5 *in inuidiam uertit ut*, *Sil.*11.606, *ut* after *inuidia*; so too φθονεῖν is sometimes used (in prose) with ὄτι. An old problem, of sorts: **i.** certainly cannot be

histor. infin. (unwelcome anyway in a context rhetorical, not narrative), for **deos** is acc. and the perfect tense too would not be in keeping with normal, and Virgilian, usage (Wagner, 516ff., Ernout-Thomas, 270). Note too (E.A. Hahn, *TAPA* 54 (1923), xviii) that **271 nunc etiam . . . sequuntur** requires that what precedes shall refer to the past. Heyne, tentatively, and others with greater conviction, have proposed an infinitive of exclamation, but that is hardly true to the sense and tone of the passage. Wagner thought that **266–8** was some kind of marginal jotting while Ribbeck placed **264f.** after **268**, which will never do, for the list of *exempla* thus ends with its two most obscure and least powerful instances. Courtney (**230**), 20 proposes a lacuna. Heyne, tentatively, and more recently E.A. Hahn (*supra*), a notably acute student of Virgilian syntax, thought that the infin depended on **referamus** (so, just as **266–8** elaborate **264–5**, **271–4** elaborate **269–70**; and here ‘in the past the gods begrudged . . . even now’). In an energetic flow of questions, to ask the reader to recall a main verb five lines back (with intervening **opetiit**, **subsedit**) might seem not at all easy (*durum* concluded both Heyne and Wagner), unless we suppose that **referam** serves as a general rhetorical introduction to *all* the following verbs, with the indicatives naturally enough (*ad sensum*, one might say) interrupting the infinitives. Note **7.733 nec tu . . . indictus abibis** for the tendency to vary syntactically catalogue-sequences (as the present passage in some sense is).

patriis . . . aris Cf. 3.332 *patriasque obruncat ad aras* (Orestes and Neoptolemus), in part-echo (cf. **264**) of 2.663 (Neopt., Polites and Priam). The scrupulous wanderer, returning homewards from Troy, likewise raised altars (e.g. 3.25, 279), but they lack the affective force of the homeland’s own.

redditus Cf. *G.4.486, Aen.5.178, 6.18, 545* (and cf. 10.684) for the verb so used of a person restored.

270 coniugium optatum Cf. 3.132 *muros optatae molior urbis, 6.203 sedibus optatis gemina super arbore sidunt, 7.303 optato conduntur Thybridis alueo*. Cf. also 1.570 *siue Erycis finis regemque optatis Acesten*, M. Bonjour, *Terre natale* (Paris 1975), 288 and the unerring imitator, 2.579. We naturally recall too Od.’s longing for Ithaca, *Od.5.203ff., 219f.* As at 3.296, 7.423, 433 (cf. Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.325.17ff.), V. finds the abstr. a useful replacement for the often unmetr. concrete (cf. Ferraro, *EV* 1, 380, with comparable usages of *comitatus, praesidium, custodia, concursus*, Lunelli-Kroll, 42f.). While Tim. and Lycus

(see **225–42**) narrate that Diom. was driven from Argos by his wife Aegialea, Ant.Lib.37 goes further (though he does not claim explicitly to be following Nicander, as Russi, *EV* 2, 81 usefully remarks, against the reigning hypothesis, in e.g. della Corte, 216 and Papatomopoulos *ad* Ant.Lib., *cit.*): Diom. was betrayed by his wife as punishment for his having wounded Aphrodite. A version (for which see too Serv. *ad Aen.*8.9, Robert 2.4, 1488f.) to which V. clearly makes no reference. Not from any lack of curiosity in the erotically unusual, though: against della Corte, 217, cf. 6.442ff.; V. had after all studied with Parthenius.

pulchram Calydon Cf. Gk, ἐκωννής, of Calydon at *Il.*9.531, 577, as Con. acutely suggests. Both **o.** and **p.** are to be taken in some degree with both nouns. Attempts to disentangle—whether in V. or elsewhere—Diom.’s two homelands, Calydon and Argos, come to no good end (*EV* 2, 81, della Corte, 218, Malkin, 240f.): it is best to suppose that V. uses **C.** in the sense of ‘home’ and it is seems unlikely that there is any implicit learned point in V.’s choice.

uiderem ‘should see as I longed to’; cf. **243**.

271 nunc etiam ‘Now, even’ as at *Buc.*2.8, *Aen.*4.356, 10.39.

horribili uisu Typically Virgilian flirtation with *Prodigiensil* (cf. **7.64, 78**). Cf. 2.212 *uisu exsanguis*, 5.90 *obstipuit uisu*; the adj. close to its literal, passive sense of ‘capable of being shuddered at’ (cf. *EV* 2, 857): in place of formal *-horrendum uisu!*—V. prefers a variation, describing the manner of the portents’ persecution; the abls. could be ‘explanatory’ (**7.30**), in description of **portenta**, or indeed be taken with both noun and verb.

portenta Cf. **7.58**. The birds portend that Venus’ anger at her wounding is not yet expiated; the metamorphosis itself is but a first instalment (Diom.’s death—**247**—is to follow). Cf. Bailey, 18, *EV* 4, 222.

sequuntur ‘Persecute’, rather as at **7.300**; cf. too 4.626. Possibly even *simplex* for *insequuntur* (much as at 1.241, 5.788, 8.147). The story of the the transformation of Diom.’s companions, conventionally, notes Serv., *after* their lord’s death (Papaioannou, 214), into birds (variously described. Clearly some kind of shearwater was meant by ‘*auis Diomedea*’; metamorphosed into ‘horrible flying creatures’ at Quinn, 239!) is attested at least from the c. 3 (and is absent from the summary of Ibycus, though the *socii* do reach the islands where they were (later) metamorphosed, **225–42**): cf. (e.g.) Lycon FGH 570F6 (apparently unknown to della Corte, 220), Lyc. (Lycon’s adopted

son!) 596ff., PsArist.*mir. ausc.* 79, Ant.Lib.*cit.*, Varro, *de gente, cit.* (258), Ov.*Met.* 14.483ff., Plin.*Nat.* 10.126f.. See Robert 2.4, 1490, Malkin, 237ff., Russi, *EV* 2, 81, Bérard (225–42), 371f., Papathomopoulos, *cit.* . . . For ornithological aspects, cf. Capponi, *EV* 5*, 349, W.W. Fowler, *CR* 32 (1918), 67f., D'A.W. Thompson, *ib.*, 92ff., J. André, *Les noms d'oiseaux* (Paris 1967), 39f.

272 socii ἑταῖροι; of Od., 3.617, 638, of Dido as refugee, 1.360, and very frequently of Aeneas, Évrard, *EV* 4, 912f.

amissi Cf. 1.217 (the Trojans lost in the storm), 5.614 (Anchises), 814, 867 (Palinurus).

petierunt aethera Cf. *G.* 3.358 (the Sun) *nec cum inuectus equis altum petit aethera* (and note the eagle of 9.564 *alta petens*); for birds charming the aether with their song, cf. 7.34. The metamorphosis of Io at 7.790 even better known and thus suited to even swifter and more allusive treatment (so too Circe's victims, 7.19f., Cycnus, 10.192. Note E. Fantham, *CPh.* 85 (1990), 102ff.).

pennis The first word that alerts the reader to the metamorphosis; not therefore otiose. And it just might be relevant (cf. Austin on 6.19) that Diom.'s *socii* in their time (e.g.) *petierunt aequora remis*.

273 fluminibusque Locative; contrast the abl. 'of extension' 7.34 **lucoque uolabant** (birds, again; see Malosti (135), 23, 91), where *l.* could be replaced by *per lucum* (on this elusive usage, cf. In particular 7.353). It is singular that V.—given the firm localisation of the story at the *insulae Diomedae* (225–42), even if they themselves are less securely identified than they were—should write of 'rivers'; his imagination may, like the narrative, be torn between mainland Apulia and the rocky islands of the next line (Capponi, *EV* 5*, 349). **uagantur** Cf. 4.68f. (Dido), or 6.886f. of Aen. and Anch. wandering among the souls yet unborn. The weak caesura and dactylic rhythm perhaps suggests the restless motion of the birds. The transformation into birds is in some way clearly associated with the representation of the souls of the dead as birds, or at least as winged (6.310ff., with Austin's notes; further bibl. at 7.699–702, 718–721).

aues Predicative, rendering explicit at last what was hinted by **pennis**.

heu Cf. 7.293, 594.

dira . . ./274 supplicia Diom.'s men are punished (cf. 258) for their leader's impiety and their monstrous transformation is described with an adj. typical of V.'s version of portent-language (7.20, of Circe's lair and other transformations).

meorum Objective (cf. LHS, 66), though *supplex* is not a vbl. noun; for *tui*, cf. (e.g.) 1.754, 6.868, 12.820, for *sui*, **234**, 6.681, 10.512, for *mei*, cf. 6.717, 10.853, 904.

274 scopulos . . . implent Cf. *Buc.*6.48, *G.*3.94, 4.515, *Aen.*2.769, 3.313, 5.341, 8.216, 9.480 of sound, a favourite and distinctive idiom. The noun can indicate both reefs (1.201, 4.383) and rocks (1.163, 166, 4.445); cf. *EV* 4, 733f..

lacrimosis uocibus The adj. at *CicArat.*442; for adjs. in *-osus*, cf. **7.387**, **566**. A choice of epithet commended by connoisseurs (*supra*) of the shearwater's call. The noun is both reminiscent of the human voices of Diom.'s *socii* and commonly used of a bird's call: *G.*1.410, *Lucr.*5.1081, *Arat.*1006 φωνῆς, etc., *EV* 5*, 634f. (Paterlini).

275 haec adeo Cf. **7.427**: 'it was just this that . . . '.

ex illo . . . / 276 tempore Cf. *Buc.*7.70, *G.*4.563; originally from [Theocr.] 8.92 κῆκ τοῦτω and twice already used by V. in moments of high poetry; not, that is, nearly as prosy in tone as it might appear; for following **cum**, cf. **304**.

mihi . . . speranda fuerunt Cf. 2.589f. *uidendam/ obtulit*, 3.329, 8.566 *sternendus erat*: a convenient occasional periphrasis to express past obligation or duty. For *sperare* in the sense of 'expect (the worst)', cf. 1.543, 4.292, 419, and note **11.49**, 8.580.

iam . . . 276 cum Not elsewhere in V. with a pf. in the determinative clause (cf. Woodcock, 189; the lack of an exact analogy is not disconcerting); cf. 10.503 *tempus erit cum . . . optauerit*.

276 ferro . . . / 277 appetii The vb. from *Pac.trag.*38, *Acc.trag.*160. So at *Il.*5.330ff., νηλέϊ χαλκῶ (330); Kirk on 339–42 notes that only in *Il.*5 is divine blood spilt (cf. 5.856ff., Griffin, 199f. on Apollo's warning to Diom., 5.440ff., and Kirk, p. 95f. on Athene's authorisation for the attack, 5.131 (only against Aphr., not Ares) here entirely passed over, to enhance Diom.'s guilt). Interestingly, there is (though Feeney, 182f. might seem to suggest otherwise) little direct criticism of Hom. for this scene: cf. Philo *de prov.*2.38ff., F. Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère . . .* (Paris 1956), 20f., so Diom.'s repentance is perhaps not to be taken as a reflection of that criticism (*pace* Feeney, *cit.*).

caelestia corpora Lofty adj. for gen. particularly on this occasion when Diom. is concerned to display his impious folly to the utmost; though Diom. in fact attacked two gods, not one in *Il.*5 (*supra*), there is no reference to the second episode here, extraneous as it is to the surviving accounts to the story of Diom.'s tragic nostos (*pace* TCD and Scaffai, *EV* 1, 601) and the plural is simply poetic.

demens The adj. (17x in V.) at *Enn.trag.*36, the noun (*quinquies* in V.) at *Acc.trag.*638. So Venus of opposition to Juno, 4.107, and V. of Misenus' folly in challenging the gods at trumpeting (so comparably 6.590 of Salmoneus). A notable omission from *EV*.

277 Veneris . . . dextram Severely and necessarily simplified from the matchless, near-erotic elaboration of detail at *Il.*5.335ff.. Schmit-Neuerburg, 342f. connects the specific choice of hand with the λύσις of an old Homer-problem, that of which of Aphr.'s hands Diom. wounded (*Plut.Mor.*739c–d). That would be admirable could one be sure V. did not simply want a spondaic alternative for *manum*!

uiolau i uulnere Marked alliteration (cf. 12.797 *mortalin decuit uiolari uolnere diuum*) perhaps expressive of Diom.'s dismay at his outrageous act. At **591, 848**, V. applies the verb to the wounding of the virgin Camilla; here, though, the same strongly emotive verb is applied to the rather less innocent Venus. After D. Gillis, *Eros and death in the Aeneid* (Roma 1980) and D. Fowler 'Vergil on killing virgins' (**67**), 185–98 (not to mention Heuzé, 177), we are more alert to the sexual dimension of wound-imagery; in the case of Venus herself, the point is perhaps that only by wounding her (contrast Anchises!) can a mortal outrage her body; the juxtaposition of 'violation' and 'hand', however, may tend to redimension our reactions, for the 'rape' led only to a cut hand.

278 ne . . . ne Cf. **7.96, 202** (archaic, but common because convenient); for the repetition of *ne* (a sign of urgent prohibition; the old hero pleads paradoxically with the suppliant envoy), cf. 6.832 *ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella*, 8.532, 12.72f., Wills, 120.

uero Hardly adversative; perhaps to be classified as 'climactic' (Fordyce on **7.78**), in that Diom. now passes from his misdeeds to conclusions for the present.

me . . . impellite The usage also of standard prose, *Cic.Sull.*36, *Sall.Cat.*40.1, *Liv.*40.5.6, 43.20.3, *TLL* 7.1.539.84f. (Hofmann).

ad talis . . . pugnans Separated for greater effect by **impellite**; the Diom. of *Il.*5 251ff. would not have been so respectful of Aen., but the later Diom. has learned judgement from suffering (well and briefly put by de Grummond (**225–42**), 40ff.). Beside the scorn of a Turnus or a Numanus Remulus (cf. **7.579**, Horsfall in Harrison, *OR*, 305ff.), he has learned that *such* wars, i.e., wars against *such* adversaries, are to be avoided at any cost.

279 nec . . . /280 . . . nec Not only has Diom. now no motive for fighting the Trojans, but he takes no pleasure in the recollection of

his former efforts against them. Diom. senses even Priam would pity him; against Aen. he will lift not a finger (cf. Anderson (304), 27).

mihi There is special point in the juxtaposition: this was the warrior who, according to Helenus, outdid even Achilles (*Il.*6.94–101, with Kirk's nn., Papaioannou, 195).

cum Teucris Cf. 1.47, *OLD* s.v. *cum*, §13b; this is the first sign (Evander is a quite different case; cf. the familiar paradox of 6.96f.) that the Achaeans themselves are shown to concur with Virgil's nearly convincing reevaluation of the Trojans' martial prowess (cf. 278, 7.295 (motif of victory of the defeated), *RFil.*117 (1989), 57ff., *Vergilius* 32 (1986), 17, *ib.*35 (1989), 23, *Alambicco*, 84f., *Companion*, 200).

ullum . . . bellum We are not very far from the spot which had moved Anch. to cry *bellum, o terra hospita, portas* (3.539). The paradox is double: the great warrior wants no war and the Greek has no quarrel with the Trojan.

post eruta/280 Pergama For the constr., cf. 7.314 (without preposition but closely comparable), KS 1, 789, LHS 243, 256, and esp. 393, Ernout-Thomas, 280, Woodcock, 75f., NH on Hor.*C.*1.37.13, 2.4.10, *Aen.*10.503f. *emptum . . . / . . . Pallanta*, 12.242f., Ov.*Met.*12. 422. For **P.**, cf. 7.322; the vb. very dear to V. (2.5, 612, 6.838, 12.569, etc.), and perhaps an epic flourish at Vell.1.13.1. Printed by Klotz, but not by Ribbeck, at *Acc.trag.*402R.

ueterum . . . malorum Cf. 6.527 (Helen at the sack of Troy, viewed by Deiph.) *et famam exstingui ueterum sic posse malorum*. Contrast the discreet optimism of Aen. at 1.203 (with Austin's n., Tosi n° 1619).

memini laetorue A particularly elegant 'hendiadys'; the complex idea of 'I remember with pleasure' split into its robust constituent parts (cf. *EV* 2, 221, 7.15, 751). The gen. after **1.** claimed by Serv. as a Grecism (cf. R.G. Mayer in *ALLP*, 165ff.); however, it is *memini* (common + gen.) that 'determines' the construction (cf. LHS, 83), and the apparent use (for it is no more than that) of *laetor* + gen. (to which there is no obvious Greek equivalent) is eased by **laeta laborum** (73), itself perfectly easy.

281 munera Cf. 228, 249. A detail that belongs also to the real world of historical embassies: cf. P. Willems, *Le sénat romain* 2 (Louvain 1883), 429f., R. Cagnat, *DS* 3.2, 1034, Gagé on Aug.*RG* 31, Citroni, *EV* 2, 130, *Aen.*8.721f. *dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis/postibus*.

patriis . . . ab oris Cf. 10.198 (elevating adj. for gen.); **o.** suggestive of 'distant regions' (Fo, *EV* 3, 864).

ad me Words which acquire their purpose in antithesis to **ad Aenean**.

portatis A vb. both colloquial and dear to V. (for reasons of variety, metre, alliteration; cf. the fine discussion by L. Lenaz, *EV* 4.223ff., and see too Lyne, *WP*, 57ff.); already in Liv.Andr. fr. 34 Mariotti, Calvus, fr. 14, 5x in Cat.64, 10x in Lucr. (numbers higher if compounds are admitted). ‘Part of his [V.’s] campaign to keep the narrative in touch with the realities of everyday life’ (Lyne, 59).

282 uertite ad Aenean Impeccably located by *OLD* s.v., at §16a ‘divert, transfer’; cf. e.g. Tac.*Hist.*1.65 *Galba reditus Lugdunensium . . . in fiscum uerterat*. There might even be a touch of humour in the dry businesslike word. Cf. Drances’ comment on what is lacking, **352** (Henry E., 33).

stetimus . . . contra ἀντέστημεν (Homeric, and in this sense, too), with the disyll. prepos. as often in antistrophe; cf. 5.414 *magnum Alciden contra stetit*, 10.359 *stant obnixa omnia contra*, *EV* 4, 1026f. (Bartalucci).

tela aspera Cf. Enn.*Ann.*384 *horrescit telis exercitus asper utrinque*. It is not that the weapons are in some way rough to the touch, or have rough edges/points (both notions obviously quite false to reality), but that, collectively, they bristle, like (e.g.) ears of corn. The adj can indeed be used of things (not man-made) spiky and jagged (e.g. Lucr.3.694, *Buc.*3.89, 10.49), but Luc.6.186 *crasso non asper sanguine mucro* is alone insufficient to establish ‘sharp’ as a regular, let alone an Augustan, sense (*EV* 1, 371 quite misses the difficulty). It just might be that the *asperitas* of the warrior (**7.647, 729**) is carried over to the weapon. Sadly, Paratore was persuaded by the word order that Diom. is identified with his weapons and that they are the subject of **stetimus**.

283 contulimusque manus Standard usage for ‘come to blows’: Cic.*Font.*12, Liv.9.5.10, Ov.*F.*1.569 *prima mouet . . . conlata proelia dextra* (with common *proelia conferre* also in mind; cf. Lyne, *WP*, 111f.).

experto credite A widespread proverbial formulation (**396**, Otto, 127, Tosi, n°393), apparently first attested in Cic. (*Top.*74, *Mil.*69); it is worth adding (a variation most appropriate to Diom.’s current mood) Hor.*Ep.*1.18.87 (Otto, *cit.*, Tosi, n° 396) *expertus metuit*. The anxieties and alternative explanations in TCD are superfluous. The acute and wary reader may wish to weigh Diom.’s experience against his exaggeration of Aen.’s merits (Hardie (1998), 255f.).

quantus Cf. 1.752 *quantus Achilles*, *ib.*719, 12.702f.. Cf. *Od.*14.491 οἶος κείνος ἔην. The use of pronom. adj. for advb. is typically Virgilian (Görler, *EV* 2, 270). Noted as ‘betont’ by Norden, *Aen.*6,

401 (overstated by Gransden): the pron. at line-end introduces a two-membered subord. clause in the next verse, thereby acquiring unusual force.

284 in clipeum adsurgat C. the round Homeric/hoplite shield (**7.639**). For the vb., cf. 9.348, 10.95, 797 (with Harrison's nn.); probably the Gk. ἐπάλμενος. Compare 9.749 *sublatum alte consurgit in ensem* (with Dingel's n.), 12.728f. *et corpore toto/alte sublatum consurgit Turnus in ensem; per litt.* Prof. Görler also compares Stat.*Ach.*1.485, Amm.Marc.16.12.24. Though the shield here is not an *ensis*, the hero's great shield counts likewise as a 'prolungamento del braccio' (Traina). Cf. too (Görler, *per litt.*) 5.426, 10.725, 856 and, less closely, 12.104 (= G.3.232).

quo turbine Strong t-alliteration, of the whirled spear (Cordier, *Alliteration*, 75, *EV* 5*, 321); while at 12.531 *ingentis turbine saxi* it is easy enough to imagine a stone flung with a spinning or whirling motion (cf. Austin on 6.594 of Jup.'s thunderbolt), 12.320 (the arrow that wounds Aen.) *incertum quo pulsa manu quo turbine adacta* is harder (the arrow does not spin) and may refer simply to the rush or force with which it was shot. Here, with the vb. to help, V. clearly refers (cf. **7.165**, **731**, 10.333 with Harrison's n.) to the use of an *amentum* or throwing-strap (a device quite ignored in *EV* s.v. *torqueo!*).

torqueat hastam At *Buc.*10.59f., *Aen.***11.773** of shooting arrows, but far more often of throwing spears (cf. Clausen on *Buc.*, *cit.*, *EV* 5*, 218), as e.g. at **606**, **676**. **7.741** is a very special case.

285 si duo . . . talis . . . / 286 . . . uiros A long protasis in complex, interwoven word-order, which makes Aen.'s—and Diom.'s—missing peers the dominant theme of the 7½ feet (contrast the effect of juxtaposition at 10.597 *te talem*), and raises **u.**, the closing noun, into marked prominence: 'heroes' (cf. **9**, etc.). The prosody of **duo** is standard for poetry, Leumann, 485. The ability to hold the Greeks at bay more conventionally Hector's (**289**) and the wish here was possibly inspired (La Cerda) by *Il.*2.371ff.

praeterea Cf. **7.71**; 27x in V., 20x in *Aen.*

Idaea . . . / 286 terra T. used both with noun in appos. (4.37, *EV* 5*, 135) and with adj. (3.170f., 4.349, **7.10** 'ennobling periphrasis'). For Ida, cf. **7.139**, **207**, **222**, *EV* 2.890ff. (Bonamente).

tulisset Cf. *Aen.*3.42f., 95. Decidedly more common of the vegetable world in V.; cf. *EV* 2, 496 (Zucchelli). Cf. Cic.*Pis.*8, Hor.*C.*1.12.42.

286 ultro At 2.193 Austin writes 'here of taking the offensive' (cf. Traina, *EV* 5*, 363; see too Harrison on 10.312).

Inachias . . . ad urbes 7.286, 372, 792: I. the first king of Argos and though in V. A. can refer to 'Greece', as it does at 2.95, 254, 326, 393, etc., *EV* 1, 308 (so in Hom. it can to 'the Peloponnese'; **7.372**, Kirk on *Il*.2.108), here, however, the poet. plur. *urbes* (cf. **7.207**) refers clearly enough to Argos alone, one of the bulwarks, like Mycenae (**7.222**), of the campaign against Troy. That Ardea was also a city of Inachus (**7.372**) may well be part of V.'s sense; cf. Schenk, 122, Buchheit, 113f.

uenisset . . . /287 Dardanus Cf. 2.117 *cum primum Iliacas, Danaï, uenistis ad oras*; cf. **514**. It is inconceivable that **D.** here refers in any way to Dardanus (cf. **7.207**), ancestor of the Trojans (*pace* Musti, *EV* 1, 998). **D.** is a perfectly regular adj. for 'Trojan' (cf. 2.618, 5.119, **7.219**) and V.'s 'Dardan' is here collective, like Byron's Assyrian (cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 269f., Kraggerud, *ib.*4, 876, §7, LHS, 13, Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.*170 and **7.260**, for the special case of collective ethnonyms in the voc.).

uersis . . . fatis For the destiny of Troy, cf. 2.34, 3.182, 5.725, Bailey, 210f., **7.293**. Compare too 5.466 *conuersa . . . numina*.

lugeret Graecia Cf. Cic. *Sest.*145 *lugenti patriae*, Liv.25.36.16 *Hispaniae . . . lugebant*, not to mention the *lugentes campi*. Had V. perhaps in mind Livy's contemporary fantasy of Alexander's invasion of Italy?

288 quidquid . . . cessatum est Cf. **7.553** for the archaic and military tone of the impersonal passive; **q.** is an advbl. accusative, limiting the extent of the verb, and the whole is not so much (Con.) a clause standing for an acc. of duration as a clause expressing in generalised terms the delay rendered specific in the next two lines. For the verb, cf. Serv. *tardatum* (no great victories, but at least the glory of delaying the sack) and compare 1.672, 3.430, 6.51, Hor. *C.*1.35.15, and notably *Enn. trag.*376 *Hector qui haud cessat obsidionem obducere*.

apud . . . moenia Cf. 5.261 *uictor apud rapidum Simoenta sub Ilio alto*, 12.331.

durae . . . Troiae The adj. applied often and with marked emphasis to the Italians (Horsfall in Harrison, *OR*, 306f., **7.747**) is now applied (and only here) to Troy herself by one of the greatest of the Greeks, part of a radical and systematic rehabilitation (cf. **279**).

289 Hectoris Aeneaeque Mentioned in the same breath by Hom. (*Il.*5.467, 6.77ff., 17.513 οἱ Τρώων εἰς ἄριστοι, 758), but not, in

the narrative, of anything like identical stature (Horsfall, *RMM*, 14). Virgil, however, as I have explained *passim* (*Alambicco*, 85, *Vergilius* 32 (1986), 17, *Companion*, 122) struggles discreetly to raise them to parity; cf. 3.343, 6.166, 12.440: Mackie and *EV* 2, 416 are rather unilluminating, but the gleam of Hector's Homeric, tragic grandeur (for Troy's dependence upon him, cf. Dingel on 9.155 *decimum quos* [*sc. Danaos*] *distulit Hector in annum*, Hardie, *CI*, 290f.) still plays about his appearances in *Aen.* We are about to see that Tu. had taken a very different view (290); wrongly, as he was to discover. Diom.'s tribute to *Aen.* is indeed hyperbolic (so Hardie, *cit.* and (1998), 254, acidly); but the point is not so much that Diom. is rewriting the record, a little unconvincingly, as that he has changed his mind, to the point of lauding the courage of one of his—as we know, if we pause to ponder coolly—less-than-first-rank adversaries.

manu Collective singular (cf. 2.189), possibly in origin military, like *miles*, *eques*, *hostis*, Löfstedt, *Synt.*, 1, 24ff., Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 876, §6.
uictoria Graium Cf. 1.68, 2.329 *uictorque Sinon* (cf. 2.95), 3.54 *uictriciaque arma*. On the poetic *Graius*, cf. Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.*357, Harrison on 10.720.

290 haesit *Retardata est* SDan. (standard Latin, *TLL* 6.2.2497.67f. (Bulhart), *OLD* s.v., §8c); Sen.Suas.2.20: Messalla *aiebat hic Vergilium debuisse desinere*. What followed was an *explementum* ('stuffing'). But Maecenas *hoc etiam priori comparabat* ('thought this as good as what goes before', Winterbottom). Cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 86, 111, H. Georgii, *Die ant. Äneiskritik* (Stuttgart 1891), 487, M. Geymonat in *Companion*, 296. Maec.'s good sense (cf. La Penna, *EV* 3, 414)—for Messalla had simply failed to recognise a typically Virgilian theme and variation—was entirely to the point. His intervention—cf. 1.12, 3.5—helps confirm that he was still active in literary circles and on Virgil's behalf (P. White, *CP* 86 (1991), 138), though doubtless depressed by the scurvy impercipience of the criticism *Aen.* attracted (cf. **7.464**). Note that Maec.*Symp.* (fr. 3 André = Serv. *ad Aen.*8.310) likewise attests social and intellectual contacts between Maec. and Messalla. The importance of Sen.'s words as an answer to Zwierlein's hypothesis of Montanus as large-scale interpolator of V. is well noted by Zetzel (*Vergilius* 46 (2000), 187): these lines were known to Virgil-scholars twenty years before, it is claimed, Montanus wrote them!

decimum . . . annum So Tu. of the Greeks **decimum quos distulit Hector in annum** (9.155); the echo (*deest* in Moskalew, and clearly

ignored by Messalla, *supra!*) is significant because a correction of the earlier passage is entailed, in that Diom. now includes Aen. at Hector's side.

uestigia rettulit *Retro acta est et repulsa* Serv. (citing 2.169; he could have added *G.1.200, Aen.1.281, 12.37* or *Lucr.5.86*); 'cause to revert', *OLD* s.v., §15.

291 ambo . . . ambo Cf. *Buc.7.4* (with Wills, 355); the anaphora is markedly uncommon, yet bucolic allusion would be untimely here. The valour and skill at arms of both are matched with all due weight, and underscored by very marked alliteration and assonance.

animis Cf. **18**.

insignes Cf. *Liv.6.24.10 insignes armis animisque*; if there is indebtedness, then *Liv.* is likely to be earlier, but the phrasing is altogether conventional and the passages might be independent. Cf. *G.3.182, Aen.12.788, TLL 2.103.75ff.* (Klotz), E. Wölfflin, *Ausgew.kl.Schr.* (Leipzig 1933), 254, Kraus and Oakley (who thinks of an Ennian original, not unreasonably, but not necessarily either) on *Liv.cit.* (with ample material from *Plaut., Cic., Hirt., Liv.*), Woodman on *Vell.2.115.1*.

praestantibus armis Exceptional (Ramminger, *TLL 10.2.6.910.29*); one wonders whether there might not be enallage (*insignes et praestantes*, a disguised pleonastic superlative for ἑξοχοί). Hardie (1998), 254 thinks that *Diom.* echoes *Drances (125f.)*, but both rather use (see previous n.) formal conventional language.

292 hic pietate prior Cf. **124, 238**. On *pietas* and *Aen.*, cf. **7.5, 11.4**. At 2.291, Hector uses legal language (cf. *satisdatio*) and directly after authorises Aeneas to carry off the Penates of Troy; for Thill (*ib.*, 417f., after *BAGB 1980, 36ff.*), he becomes a key (and unrecognised) link in the religious chain Troy-Hector-Aeneas-Rome, an hypothesis that would be more convincing did V. himself make anything at all of it, outside Hector's dream-appearance in bk. 2.

coeant in foedera Cf. **7.546 in amicitiam coeant**.

dextrae Cf. **164f.** and **7.366**.

293 qua datur Cf. *Lucr.2.302, EV 2, 115, TLL 5.1 1679.28f.* (Rubenbauer); *EV* correctly remarks that **d.** is only in appearance absolute, for *coire/coeant* is naturally supplied. For this (common) use, cf. too 6.688, **7.313, 11.789, 795, 798**.

ast Grand and archaic; cf. **7.308, 395**.

armis . . . arma Polypoton both of *arma* in general and of specific arms is a classic verbal expression of conflict and is very widely

attested; cf. *Enn. Ann.* 584, *Aen.* 4.629, 9.462, *Liv.* 4.28.5, 42.41.11. Cf. Wills, 193, 196.

concurrant Ennian; cf. **7.520**. See Wills, 200, who compares 8.692 *montis concurrere montibus altos*.

cauete The parataxis with **c.** is as old as *Naev. trag.* 39 (*caue sis*; cf. Poeschel, *TLL* 3.634.25f., LHS 336); with the plur. vb., it carries less of the spoken flavour of *caue* (Hofmann-Ricottilli, 148, 354). Cf. **513** for omitted subordination.

294 responsa . . . quae sint . . . regis A certain calculated prolixity, suited to the closing of a long, formal, diplomatic speech. In striking contrast, the tone of *haec . . . responsa remittunt*, 9.635 (the only other instance of the word within a speech in V.).

simul Both Diom.'s royal reply transmitted to a fellow-king (for the polyptoton, cf. 8.17, 9.327, 10.149, Wills, 213) and his opinion (as a veteran of exceptional distinction) on this new war.

rex optime Cf. **344, 353** (Drances of Latinus), 8.126f. *tum regem Aeneas . . . adfatur . . . / optime Graiugenum* (Ev.). Good kings, in the terminology of Philodemus and Cairns, linked (Cairns, 74, Wills, 213) by polyptoton.

295 audisti We should recall that this is the conclusion of Venulus' report of Diom.'s speech, but is difficult and arguably unnecessary to disentangle Diom.'s original conclusion and Venulus' own closing words: does **a.**, for example, refer exclusively to Lat. listening to Ven., or is Ven. listening to Diom. also envisaged?

quae sit . . . sententia Cf. **21**. Contrast the 'opinions' of **222** and **314**; here Diom. is speaking, through Venulus, in the fulness of his authority (cf. **7.611**) as hero and king. Cf. Hellegouarc'h, 117f..

magno . . . bello Cf. 1.263 *bellum ingens geret Italia*, 2.193, **7.80 populo magnum portendere bellum**. Ladewig, after *Sil.* 7.223, trivialises disagreeably **magni . . . belli**. The *communis opinio* of edd. is to say that **m . . . b.** is abl. ('of attendant circumstances'). No; dat. of purpose (suspected by Forbiger), dependent on noun as 3.305 *aras, causam lacrimis*; not all the instances cited at **KS** 1, 346 are relevant (so *Aen.* 10.270, *Cat.* 64.300), but some clearly are: so (e.g.) *Acc. trag.* 522 *Achiuis classibus ductor*, *Liv.* 9.18.5 *damna imperatoris uirtutibus*, *Tac. Ann.* 1.3.1 *subsidia dominationi* (vd. Goodyear), 24.2 *rector iuueni*. See too LHS, 95f., 99, **7.611 sententia pugnae**.

296 uix ea Cf. 2.692 *uix ea fatus erat senior subitoque . . .*; this use of *uix* is also found (cf. the useful remarks of Mastellone Iovane, *EV* 5*,

606) in parataxis (cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 275, *Aen.*2.172 *uix positum castris simulacrum; arsere . . . , et saep.*; vd. *EV*, *cit.*) or with *et* (cf.—e.g.—3.8f. *uix prima inceperat aestas/et pater Anchises . . . ,* 6.498f., perhaps after Gk. ἦδη . . . καί, Denniston, *Particles*, 293).

legati Cf. **239**. Paratore is worried about the plur., for only Venulus speaks, as though epic embassies were required to be labour-efficient. **uariusque . . ./297 . . . fremor** The noun at *trag.inc.*233 (cf. Traina, *EV* 2, 590); the adj. offers a reaction (not only) agitated and noisy—vd. the alliteration of r, long noted—but also) discordant; cf. 10.97 and notably **11.454f. clamor/dissensu uario magnus**. Alessio, 89 well cites *Liv.*6.6.17 *patres et de bello et de pace . . . fremunt* (cf. 3.38.10, 56.7, 7.6.10, etc., some clearly earlier than **11**). Fantham's case for the word's novelty, 264, n. 14, is thus perverse. Note the similar structure present at 6.54f. *gelidus Teucris per dura cucurrit/ossa tremor*, Moskalew, 97.

per ora . . ./297 . . . turbata Cf. **300 trepida ora quierunt** (cf. 6.800, 9.538 for the conjunction of **t.** and **t.**), and contrast **251 placido sic reddidit ore**. Diom. spoke with the sorrow of experience, in tranquil certainty, and his audience now reacts in shocked and noisy disquiet (cf. *EV* 5*, 318f.).

cucurrit Cf. *Enn.Ann.*486 *raucum* [adj. with *sonus*] *sonus aere cucurrit*. Cf. too 2.120, 12.66 (of sensations). *Deest* in *EV*.

297 Ausonidum Antipater of Thessalonica uses the form Αὔκων (*GP*, 89 with *GP*; cf. *ib.*, 413, oracle *ap.* *DS* 8.23.2); in post-Virgilian Gk./Lat. texts too (Harrison on 10.53f.). Whence the Virgilian coinage (seemingly) of an apparently patronymic form (though *EV* s.v. *Patronimici tacet*), *Ausonides*, as at 10.564, 12.121, an occasional synonym for 'Itali'. For the development of the various senses of 'Ausonia', cf. **7.623**.

297–9 Key to the scene-setting for Latinus' speech (*Companion*, 189; note in particular the thematic link with **7.586–90**. Lat. is once more beset by the storm (or rather, now, the flood or spate) of war and civil dissent, and this time his reaction is less passive). One of those few Virgilian similes for which no clear Homeric or Apollonian analogy exists: the comparison of *Il.*2.144–8 (cited in e.g. Ladewig, Knauer) is peculiarly feeble and unconvincing. We shall see in a moment that there are partly comparable scenes in *Lucret.* and *Aen.*2. The main point of comparison lies in the noise (*fremor*, **fremit**; cf. also **murmur**, **crepitantibus**); the simile is itself enclosed by a part-echo, **turbata**, **trepida**. But what is striking and unusual is that

the 2½-line simile illustrates only just over a line of text, **uarius-que . . . fremor**; for an extreme instance cf. **7.586–90**.

ceu . . . /298 cum Cf. **7.674**; Hom.'s ὦς δ' ὄτε.

saxa morantur Immobile, as at **628, 7.567, 590**, 2.308, 3.555, 5.124. Contrast the rocks in motion of 6.551 (infernal), 10.362f., G.3.254. Note the water breaking its barrier at 2.496ff. (cf. too the conflict at Lucr.1.285ff.).

298 rapidos amnis Cf. 6.550, **11.562**, and note 12.523. From here on, note the peculiarly strong alliteration of r. Note the lapse of **MP, rapidus**.

fit . . . murmur Cf. Pacuv.*trag.*417 *murmur maris*, Lucr.3.1032 *murmura ponti*, G.1.109 (with *EV* 3, 623). Compare (in V.) *fit sonitus, sonus, strepitus, gemitus*.

clauso gurgite G. 'a swirling mass of water': so *OLD* s.v., §1a; very much preferable to *EV* 2, 821, while Henry on 1.122f. is, as Roland Austin writes, 'torrential', at his best (though he is simply wrong to imply that *gurges* cannot in truth mean 'whirlpool'). Note e.g. 2.497, 6.296. The **saxa** and adjacent **ripae** create an almost closed pool in which the *rapidi amnes* swirl fiercely. Cf. Lucr.6.197 *magno indignantur murmure clausi*.

299 uicinae . . . ripae Cf. G.4.23 *uicina inuitet decedere ripa calori* (but *u.* indicates nearness to the hive). Here the sense is bound up closely with that of **c.g.** in the preceding line: it is the nearness of the banks that shuts in the *gurges*.

fremunt In close correspondence to **297 fremor**. With **f.** here, cf. 12.922, **7.590 saxa fremunt** (sea, not river). SDan. offers *antiqui aquae sonitus fremitus' dicebant*, citing Enn.*Ann.*515 (cf. Wigodsky, 40).

crepitantibus undis The first three letters noisily alliterative (Traina, *EV* 2, 591). The verb (Lucr., *bis*) used of hail, wind, flames, and very rarely of water (Ov.*Met.*11.604, Prop.2.32.15, Lambertz, *TLL* 4.1170.9ff.; cf., though, also *crepare*, used at Hor.*Epd.*16.48). **V.** of any water in movement (for rivers, cf. **7.436**).

300 ut primum Enn.*Ann.*212V is irrelevant; cf. Spuria 1Skutsch. Note though Cic.*carm.*Hom.1.6 *primum ut*, Volc.Sedig. fr. 4.2 *ut semel*, Lucr.1.406, 5.394, *cum semel*, 1.1030, 4.610, *ut semel*, 3.851 *semel cum*; *ut semel semel* in *G.* and *septies* in *Aen.*. See LHS, 636f. Hom. has ὄτε πρῶτον and ὀππότε πρῶτον.

placati animi Possibly, as at **296f.**, we are meant to think of Diom.'s tranquil dignity at **251**; Schmit-Neuerburg, 76 thinks of

1.142 *placat* and the following simile. Cf. *Acc.praet.*18, *Aen.*6.102, 9.740.

trepida ora Cf. **296f.** Cf. *Cat.*63.28 *linguis trepidantibus*, *Lucret.*3.834 *trepido concussa tumultu*, *Aen.*8.4f. *tumultu/. . . trepido*, *Hor.*C.3.27.17 *quanto trepidet tumultu*; apart from the alliteration, suggestive not of fear but of noisy excitement. As at **7.395 tremulis**, *Crevatin*, *EV* 5*, 264 is here too admirable.

quierunt The clausula used of the Sibyl, 6.102. Cf. too 1.303f. *quietum/. . . animum*. We may wish to think of the effect of the *uir pietatis grauis ac meritis* on the *ignobile uulgus* (1.151; cf. Scholz (**108–19**), 463) but there are no precise analogies. Cf. also **253 quietos**.

301 praefatus diuos Cf. **7.259** for the antiquarian detail (speeches begun ‘in the old days’ with an appeal to the gods); note too that it was likewise Lat. who had previously adhered to the ancient, pious usage. For the vb., cf. *Ov.*F.6.304, *TLL* 10.2.5.649.74 (Oesterle); the late inscriptional evidence is of limited interest (Latte, 206, n. 3).

solio . . . ab alto Cf. **7.169** for Lat.’s throne (implicit at **11.237**); the adj.

rex Cf. **113, 230, 231, 236ff.**; Lat. (as inexplicably minimised by Balk, 85) has been a silent but substantial presence in the narrative so far.

infit Cf. **242**.

302–35 Latinus’ speech Disappointingly little discussed and even then only in terms of paraphrase of content or comment upon the odd detail: cf. Hardie (1998), 255f., Fantham, 264, Highet, 57, 252, Knauer, 422, Balk, 86f., Puccioni 375 = 143, Alessio, 89f., Quinn, 240, *Companion*, 189. But this relative silence is in itself significant, for it is a predictable reaction to a studiously unexciting content and unassertive manner (Puccioni misleads). While Diom. is modest and calm, he remains majestic in expression, here Lat. tends to the prosy (cf. **304, 306, 310, 313, 335**; note also the lexicon of public affairs at **321f., 334** and the Caesarian business of war, **327–8**: such a concentration cannot be fortuitous!) and V. avoids stylistic ornament to the brink of drabness, far beyond the Lat. of bk. **7**. Lat. after all has now to try to convince his people to accept what he had himself set in motion as monarch in **7**; an unenviable task, couched in the dry, bleak tones of a man making the best of a lost situation. Feeney (in Harrison, *OR*, 184) is not quite right to say that Lat.’s proposals for peace ‘are buried in’ the exchange between Dr. and

Tu.; they precede and are overshadowed by the latter. Homeric models are elusive (Knauer, *cit.*); cf., though, **324**; Agamemnon's proposal of a peaceful solution to the Trojan war (2.114–141) may have struck Virgil (Highet, 210).

302 ante equidem In contrast to succeeding **tempore tali** (and pointed up by **e.**; cf. **7.311**), just as the two *infin.* and the two verbs are opposed. **A.** as *advb.* is perfectly common, LHS, 223, Merguet, Wetmore, *s.v.*

summa de re Equivalent to *res publica* according to Serv. and SDan. on 2.322 (where that is not (*vd. Austin*) the correct meaning); Nettleship there sketches the expression's archaic colour (cf. Plaut.*Merc.*986, Enn.*Ann.*97, 413, Acc.*trag.*206, *praetext.*14).

statuisse Cf. *G.*3.73; used thus with *infin.* (= 'decide'), a flat, businesslike, even *prosy* term, apparently absent in poetry before V..

Latini For the usage of ethnonyms in *voc.* (*sing.* and *plur.*), cf. **7.260**.

303 et uellem The optative use of the subjunctive here to express, as often, regret for something that has not happened (Ernout-Thomas, 241); cf. **111**. Lat. is thinking of the situation in **7** before Juno's intervention (TCD); but for Tu. (so Serv. on **302**), Lat. could still have been in a position to negotiate usefully, as before.

et fuerat melius Used as a single, modal verb, equivalent to e.g. *praestabat* (3.429), with which the *indic.* is standard in expressions of unreality (Ernout-Thomas, 246, 248, Woodcock, 156f., LHS, 327. The *plpf.* is quite rare thus; cf. too KS, 1, 173).

non tempore tali *T.t.* a Lucretian *clausula*, 2.147, 3.553, 6.1251, here expanded by **cum . . .**; cf. **276**, *G.*1.493, *Aen.*2.268, 10.11f., 503 (where Harrison points to the Hom. ἤμαρ ὄτρ'), and note also 2.268.

304 cogere Cf. **235**.

concilium Cf. **234f. concilium magnum . . . / . . . cogit, 460**, Liv.4.48.4, Gudeman, *TLL* 4.48.24; the alliterative phrase apparently not conventional, but cf. Lucr. 2.935 *concilio ante coacto*.

cum muros adsidet Obsidet M (lapsing into the obvious word); **ad- PR** (no cause to assimilate the prefix, **7.181**). The verb used thus historical, if not distinctively so (Sall.*Hist.*4.13; cf. Vollmer, *TLL* 2.878.67f.).

hostis Cf. **7.469**; we should remember Aen.'s speech at **17**: though the siege does not actually begin until **915**, Lat. senses anxiously (and as yet hyperbolically) that the Trojans are now—third time

round—going to turn besiegers (cf. W.S. Anderson, *TAPA* 88 (1957), 28), and his anxieties (thus to have used the present tense is admirable psychology) will prove entirely justified.

305 bellum importunum The adj. the contrary of *opportunus* (and so created, WH, EM; lit. ‘which does not carry to harbour’. Note the maritime Liv.Andr.*Od.* fr. 9.3 Mariotti, Plaut.*Trin.*399); cf. too ἄκαιρος. *OLD* is uneasy about the sense ‘coming at an unseasonable time’ (§1c). *G.*1.470 (where, however, Mynors well offers ‘appearing in the wrong time or place’ as the root meaning) and *Aen.*12.864 are not quite comparable (for their of ‘ill-omened’ is not present here); cf. rather Calp.Flacc. *decl.*31.8 *importuna sanitas*, which returns to show the speaker *matris adulterium*. Compare *TLL* 7.1.664. 61f. (Hey).

ciues The absence of a comma after **c.** in Mynors (1969; present, 1972!) is inadvertent, or so one hopes; Lat. addresses his subjects as fellow-citizens (cf. *Aen.*’s use of the wd. of the envoys’ fellow-citizens at **119** and note **243**). Similarly, Ascanius, 5.671.

cum gente deorum Lat. has long known of the ktistes Dardanus’ deification (**7.212**) and Ilioneus (**7.220**) tells the king of *Aen.*’s patri-linear descent from Jupiter; Venus hardly comes into it. Cf. 4.12 *genus esse deorum*; at 9.642 Asc. is *dis genite et geniture deos* and at 10.228, *Aen.* himself *deum gens*. The Trojans at large are then of divine stock by association; they have fought too as though they were all as well-born as their chief.

306 inuictisque uiris V. are ‘warriors’, **7.296**; the adj. Ennian, *Ann.* 181, 547 (and cf. too Hostius fr. 4.1).

gerimus ‘The colourless commonplaces of the business of war’, **7.540**, lent distinction by the long hyperbaton since **bellum**.

nulla . . . / 307 proelia Cf. *G.*3.292f. for the enjambement.

fatigant Cf. 1.316, *EV* 2,473: the Trojans are notoriously enduring (**7.295**) of their varied *labores* (cf. **7.117f.**), and have become positively proud of the superiority to mere toil (**11.402**; as tough as Latins, 9.599) and defeat (here acknowledged only with elegant qualification); in short (La Cerda) μάχης ἀκόρητοι (cf. *Il.*13.634, 639).

307 nec uicti By no means inconsistent with **inuictis**; not even when beaten do they desist from the fight; they are therefore in the long term truly invincible (cf. again **7.296**). Cf. Wills, 455f. for many cases of more-or-less playful repetition between positive and negative forms (‘oxymoron’).

possunt 'Bring themselves', 'resign themselves'; cf. *EV* 4, 235 (which compares, unhelpfully, **325**), and, with full bibl., **7.309**.

absistere ferro Cf. *Hor.Serm.*1.3.104 *absistere bello*, *TLL* 1.171.72f. (Vollmer); contrast the senses present in 620 *cedite*, with Horsfall in Harrison, *OR*, 307.

308 spem . . . / 309 ponite Even if not actually *simplex pro composito*, **p.** is used as though *deponite*: cf. *G.*4.238 *animas in uulnere ponunt*, *Aen.*6.611 *nec partem posuere suis*, 9.687 *posuere . . . uitam* (though the contrary sense of 'place hope' is also perfectly possible, elsewhere! Cf. 2.676, **11.411**); see J.W. Mackail, *CR* 34 (1920), 166, *EV* 4, 200. The grammarians sadly punctuated not after **ponite** but after **quisque**, creating thereby a notable prosodic anomaly, whence violent remedies from Burgess, Heyne, Mackail, and others, all of them entirely beside the point (vd. Wagner, Geymonat). Cf. rather Housman, *Coll.Pap.* 2, 567, 3, 1139f., 1142f., with M. Platnauer, *Latin elegiac verse* (Cambridge 1951), 62f.. *Lucr.*, *Hor.Serm.* or *Sen.trag.* (not to mention Grattius) are quite another matter, but in lofty hexameter poetry of high Augustan date (whence no regard for current diction) no open vowel short (or long) at word-end before *sp-* (for *z*, cf. 3.270, with Williams' n.) can be cited (cf., on the other hand, *Prop.*3.11.53, 4.1.41, 4.48; this had been usage in *Lucr.*—e.g. 5.47, 79—cf. Bailey 1, p. 126; summarised, W.S. Allen, *Accent and rhythm* (Cambridge 1973), 140). No exception here (vd. Housman, 567, elliptically): the strong pause, after enjambement, annuls the effect of following *sp-*. **si quam . . . habuistis** Lat. employs the typical formula of undecided assertion (cf. **7.4**, with bibl.); if the Latins had hoped at all (and it would have been folly to do so) . . . For *spem habere*, cf. *Ov.Her.*18.176, *Pont.*2.5.52, 4.14.61.

ascitis . . . armis The vb. Lucretian (*ter*). Cf. *TLL* 2.764.27f. (Hey).

Aetolum Cf. **225–42**: Diom.'s followers, like their prince, enjoy dual nationality.

309 spes sibi quisque Cf. Ter.'s *suo' quoique mos* (*Phorm.*454); V. avoids in general this terse lapidary manner of formulation but here Lat. is, exceptionally, hissing and laconic in his claim that while hopes (perforce slender) may be present in each of his hearers, all can however now see the depressing evidence of their eyes (cf. **102**, **233**). Not (as Mackail suggests) acc., sc. (e.g.) *fingat*.

sed . . . uidetis Cf. 3.250 (the appeal to the hearer's/hearers' own eyes (vd. TCD), commoner in sing., *uides*, in V.).

haec quam angusta There exists an almost total accord among commentators—or at least among those who deign to consider the words—to take these words as fem. sing., in agreement with **spes**. Perret, however, prefers (as I had myself suspected) neut. plur., **haec angusta** parallel to **cetera . . . perculsa** and thematically comparable to **304, 311**. *Spes angusta* seems not to be a standard description (Hey, *TLL* 2.63.59) and the issue is initially not perspicuous, though a first glimmer of sense appears when we realise that **haec** shows Lat. pointing; the recent battles have left Latin manpower straitened, **angusta** (cf. *res angusta domi!*). V. has indeed some striking changes of subject (**7.211, 241**), but does not write to set puzzles, no more than Hor. does. Explicit indications present in the text are provokingly abundant, but, it may have been thought, inconclusive (in that both **sed** and **cetera** point to changes of direction, the latter in evident contrast to **haec**). Perret understandably prints a comma at the end of **309** but the full stop in other edd. has no sacred authority; no more, though, does the colon after **310 ruina** in Perret (a comma in other edd.). The eye that faces (or ear that hears) this text for the first time (or pretends to; cf. my remarks in *Studi Tardoantichi* 9 (1990 [in fact, 2000!]), 18ff. for this method applied at Hor.C. 4.4.13ff.) will naturally pause after both **ponite** and (though not necessarily for as long) **quisque**; thereafter an honest perplexity may be forgiven, indeed commended. However, given the evident balance (and one well enough attested: cf. Lucr.1.402f., Ov.*Met.*13.957, *Trist.*4.3.27) of **haec** and **cetera** (reinforced as it is by the further balance **angusta::perculsa**), it is very much easier to supply *sint* with **haec quam angusta** and **omnia** could then just as naturally (if not rather more so) take up both **haec** and **cetera** as **cetera** alone. In that case, **haec . . . angusta** are perforce neut. plur..

310 cetera Lat. passes on to circumstances beyond his own immediate gaze (and thus to **sunt**, as against the previous OO). If **haec** be taken of **spes**, however, the passage to neut. plur. **cetera** is not altogether smooth, whereas if **omnia** takes up both **haec** and **cetera**, the anacoluthon is minimal, not least given the element of echo in **311 ante oculos**.

qua Possibly local (and remoter) in contrast to the immediate vicinity suggested by **haec**; alternatively, and much more probably, with **ruina**.

iaceant Sc. 'brought low'; so Cic.*Marc.*23 *omnia sunt excitanda tibi, C. Caesar, uni, quae iacere sentis belli ipsius impetu, quod necesse fuit, perculsa atque prostrata.*

rerum . . . ruina So Cic.*Flacc.*fr.Med.6 *privatarum rerum ruinas*, Liv.5.51.9, 26.41.12; the reader, unwarned, is unlikely to wish to link **cetera rerum** (thus e.g. Con., Görler, *EV* 2, 265), and thereby to eliminate thereby a familiar collocation. The terrible wreck alliteratively reinforced. Note e.g. 8.192 *ingentem . . . ruinam.*

perculsa Cf. 5.374; the vb. *ter* in Enn.*Ann.* and used by Cat., Lucr.. **311 ante oculos** A stock expression from Plaut. on: *decies* in Lucr., trag.inc.146 and again *decies* in V.. Lat. passes from what he can see as he speaks to the collective visual (and tactile) experience of his audience (cf. **309**, which is here taken up: yet another argument in favour of a complex grammatical structure in these vv.).

interque manus . . . uestras Hands coupled with eyes at 3.490. *Inter manus* more literal at 8.619 and 9.502; here equivalent to Gk. $\pi\rho\acute{o}$ $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ (so Serv., approved by Bulhart, *TLL* 8.364.49f.). Not, that is, sight alone, but the experience of touch (**inter manus** may be thought more explicitly tactile than the conventional *manu*), the touch of arms, wounds and bodies (cf. Hardie, *cit.*).

sunt omnia Cf. 10.515f. *in ipsis/omnia sunt oculis*, where Harrison compares Eur.*Or.*785 $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ $\tau\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\tau'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\delta\mu\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$.

312 nec quemquam incuso At least for the thoughtful reader, an anticipated contrast with the polemical Drances is powerfully present; certainly Lat. will not (at least explicitly) reproach Tu.. The vb.(common in com. and hist.) at Lucr.2.1169 and *sexies* in *Aen.*

potuit quae . . . / 313 esse Con. helpfully suggests that there were as many acts of *uirtus* as were possible; cf. next. n. for the idiom.

plurima uirtus Cf. 4.3 *multa uiri uirtus*, 2.429 *plurima . . . / . . . pietas*, LSJ s.v. $\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, §I2a; alternatively (Forbiger) **quae plurima**, but the sense is, in the context, markedly less convincing, for the complement hardly requires intensification, though the idiom itself would be tolerable: cf. **7.21, 200, 11.352.**

313 fuit The pf. neatly taking up the infin. (cf., in general, Wills, 307ff.), a sequence predictably attractive to Ov.: *AA* 1.616, *Her.*20.50, *Met.*2.278, *Pont.*2.1.44. Just possibly the pf. indicates both (so Görler) 'has been' and (cf. **7.413**, Serv. here) 'is no more', i.e., 'has run out'.

toto . . . corpore regni Cf. Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.1006.74, 1015.24; cf. *Rhet.**Her.*4.58, Cic.*Inv.*2.168 *corpus . . . ciuitatis*, *Mur.*51.8 *corpora . . . rei*

publicae, *Phil.*8.15, *Off.*1.85 *totum corpus rei publicae*. Very possibly, therefore, an expression recognisably from rhetorical prose. Conceivably (Paratore) a way of saying 'Tu. too has done his best', but hardly (*id.*) proof that Tu. is, therefore, implicitly present.

certatum est For the archaic-military flavour of the *impers.pass.*, cf. **7.553**. *Certamen* in poetry from Cic. (**7.523**), but the *vb.sexies* in *Enn.Ann.*.

314 nunc adeo Cf. 9.156 (with Dingel's n.), 12x in Plaut., *ter* in Ter.; *adeo* gives point ('just', 'right') to the preceding word (to **7.427**, add Hand 1, 146).

quae sit . . . sententia Cf. **7.611**, 2.35 *quorum melior sententia menti*; the noun (cf. **21**; 19x in *Aen.*, *quinqüies* in 11) not distinctively of public language and already *ter* in *Enn.*; notably useful to avoid subordination.

dubiae . . . menti Cf. *Lucr.*5.1211, *Aen.*4.55, *TLL* 8.725.7 (Hofmann), *EV* 2, 146; just possibly a recognisable Lucretian borrowing. The king recognises his people's collective indecision (cf. *EV* 3, 485, **222**, **225**) and now that he is once again (for the moment) firm in his own resolve will seek to impose his view; it is of the *mens* of his subjects (cf. 10.182 *mens omnibus una sequendi*, *G.*4.212, *Cic.Fam.*3.11.2, *Liv.*30.30.6, 37.17.6, Adorno, *EV* 3, 484, §b), not his own (contrast 2.35) that he speaks, for he displays no uncertainty, while they, after defeat and mass funerals resulting from a mistaken alliance, are naturally bewildered.

315 expediam Cf. **7.40**, a *vb.* dear to *Lucr.*.

et paucis . . . docebo Variation with more precise definition. Cf. 4.116 *paucis—aduerte—docebo* (with Pease's ample list), 10.16 *Iuppiter haec paucis, paucis, id est breuiter* as *Serv.* remarks on 8.154 *pauca refert*. The idiom is as old as Plaut. (*Amph.*1087 etc.); on 4.337 *pro re pauca loquar*, cf. D.C. Feeney in Harrison, *OR*, 171.

animos adhibete So *Lucil.*852 (but cf. already the ears of Plaut. *Cas.*475, *Pseud.*153, *Stich.*103). This type of parenthesis of clearly oral origin (LHS, 728f., Hofmann-Ricotilli, 262ff.; cf. too *EV* 3, 973f.); here therefore a natural, realistic element.

316 est . . . mihi Not simply 'I have' (cf. **7.730**) but at the same time the introduction of a small *ecphrasis* (**7.563**). A royal *τέμενος*, it has been suggested (Seymour, 237, Finley, *World of Odysseus*₂, 95), and if royal, then a gift Lat. can make to the Trojans without offending his people or the irritable sensibilities of his prospective son-in-law. **Est mihi nata**, Lat. had said (**7.268**), in a sequence

whose relationship to the present passage is not easy (cf. **324, 331**); the second offer (fleetingly anticipated, **7.262**, after Cato, *Orig.*, fr. 8, where vd. Schröder's notes) may imply that the first has lapsed, in practice and in the king's mind.

antiquus ager Cf. *Ov.F.3.581f. est . . . / . . . paruus ager*, the adj. used of Carthage (1.12), Troy, etc., and here suggestive, imprecisely, of long ownership and history, cultivation . . . (cf. **7.178 antiqua e cedro**). According to Hor.'s friend Trebatius, *de religionibus* 7 (cited by SDan. here), *a.a.* was on occasion correctly used in the sense of *ager Romanus* (cf. Mommsen, *StR.*3, 824), but that sense is clearly not mandatory here.

On the old 'topographical problem', see Perret (ed. Budé), 224ff., Carcopino, 404ff., Della Corte, 191ff., Reeker, 140, Tilly, 112ff. and, impeccably sensible, Rehm, 45f., Castagnoli *EV* 2, 508f.. Clearly, as Serv., and, earlier, Ael. Donatus (ap.Serv. *ad Aen.***11.316**, with a most bizarre, Campanian, localisation) had realised, V. bows here (as he had done at **7.262**) to the version known to Cato (*orig.* fr. 8P; vd. Schröder's notes), Sisenna (fr. 2P) and Livy (1.1.7ff.), in which Latinus offered the Trojans land (of specified size and even location). But we have learned to distance V. from the map, even if we need maps to see that V. is not to be placed on them, and note (i) the lack of pine-girt peaks in the Roman Campagna (**320**), (ii) a certain unease generated by the studied imprecision which derives from V.'s choice of names (Aurunci, Sicani), (iii) the distancing from topographical specificity which is a consequence of the verbal borrowing from *Aen.*7 and (iv) the problem of how Latinus seems free to make over to the Trojans land which would appear to belong rather to Turnus! The lines are therefore best taken as located firmly in the poet's fantasy and the protracted efforts of earlier exegetes (from Heyne, Bonstetten and Wagner onwards) are best consigned to oblivion.

Tusco . . . proximus amni Cf. **7.663 Tyrrhenoque . . . in flumine**, *EV* 5*, 156 for the Tiber as Etruscan. For **p.** in an ecphrasis (localisation by the specification of neighbouring landmarks), cf. 9.238.

317 longus in occasum The adj. qualified by a prepositional phrase, KS 1, 213ff., Munro on *Lucr.*2.51 (note 9.395 *longum in medio tempus*). For **i.o.**, cf. *Sen.NQ* 5.17.4, *Luc.*6.361 *purus in occasus*, *TLL* 9.2.339.83f. (Tessmer).

finis . . . Sicanos The link with Ficana is merely illusory (Carcopino, 404ff.); the Sicani of **7.795** (where vd. my n.), like those in the ancient list at *Plin.Nat.*3.68, may have survived the demise of their

settlement of origin or could be identical with those Siculi who were an *Urvolk* of Latium from Antiochus of Syracuse on (*FGH* 555F6). For *f.* thus as ‘territory’, cf. **7.469**.

super usque Cf. **7.289**, **11.262**; here, then, ‘right over’.

318 Aurunci An imprecisely located *Urvolk* of central Italy, **7.206**, **795**.

Rutulique I have no idea how Turnus’ subjects might be thought to till land of which the king of the Laurentes is made to claim that he disposes freely (though note the qualifications implied by *V.*, and discussed at **7.151**: *Lat.* is in some formal sense *Tu.*’s superior). Rehm (45) was equally perplexed.

serunt Very similar in force to **7.798 arant**. If we really need an obj., supply *agrum* from **316** (cf. *Buc.*1.72, *EV* 4, 795). Cf. **7.262** for the fertility of the area.

uomere . . . / 319 exercent Cf. **7.798 Rutulosque exercent uomere collis** (and *G.*2.356 *presso exercere solum sub uomere*); *V.*’s evident verbal source here (surely not a thematic echo, so much as a swift quarrying of handy material) is perplexingly ignored by Moskalew.

duros / 319 . . . collis Cf. **747 duris Aequicula glaebis**; the note there discusses the nexus of hard land, hard life, hard men (cf. too Horsfall in Harrison, *OR*, 306f., Gleit 278, n. 111).

319 horum asperrima Cf. *OLD*, §4a, *EV* 1, 371: the adj. is common enough in *V.* of landscape (*a. rura, nemora, silua*); the substantivised adj. with part.gen.(though ‘part.’ is not always a correct definition in the variations of this constr.) is an Ennian idiom, dear to *V.*; vd. *Lucr.*1.86 *prima uirorum*, *Aen.*8.727 *extremi . . . hominum* (Austin on 2.332, 6.633, Williams on 5.695, Anderson on *Liv.*9.3.1, Bailey, *Lucr.* 1, p. 91f., Görler, *EV* 2, 265, *KS* 1, 230, 425, *LHS*, 54f., Ernout-Thomas, 50, Kroll, *Wiss.Synt.*, 23f.). Geymonat’s apparatus reveals that earlier editors did not appreciate the idiom.

pascunt With the land itself as obj., cf. *OLD* s.v., §8, *ILS* 5946.40, *Tib.*2.3.42(where vd. Smith’s n.). Note *depascit*, *G.*1.112.

320 haec omnis regio Cf. *G.*4.532, *Aen.*6.325 for the double qualification; the noun (not prosy; 29x in *Lucr.*) as at 4.42, 6.886 (cf. *EV* 4, 422).

celsi . . . montis Cf. (e.g.) *Acc.trag.*177 *celsis montibus*, *Cic.progn.* fr. 3.5 *celso e uertice montis*, *Aen.*5.35 *celso . . . uertice montis*.

plaga pinea The noun (*Pacuv.*, *Lucr.*) of many varied senses; here, cf. *Cic.carm.*Soph. 1.40 *tartarea . . . plaga*. Cf. **7.589** for adjs. in *-eus*; *pineus* at *Cat.*64.10 and *quater* in *V.*.

321 cedat Cf. Non.p.250.48ff., paraphrasing *dari*; compare 12.17 *cedat Lauinia coniunx*.

amicitiae Teucrorum That is, *Teucris amicis* (cf. *OLD* s.v., §2b): cf. **270 coniugium** with n. there. At **7.264**, V. employs the technical language of ‘friendship’ in Roman public life (**hospitio, socius**); so too here, there is a concentration (if less striking and explicit) of the language of public business in the same sphere (note **foederis, socios, aequas . . . leges**). Cf. Hellegouarc’h, 41ff. (at 49f.), for a summary of the senses of national *amicitia* (‘friend’, like ‘ally’ was a word that in public language was used to mask ‘subject’, *uel sim.*), Mommsen, *StR*.3.1, 591ff., Brunt, *Fall Rom.rep.*, 17, 19 *et passim*, E. Badian, *Foreign clientelae* (Oxford 1958), 111, 114, W.V. Harris, *War and imperialism* (Oxford 1979), 135f., K.-H. Ziegler, *ANRW* 1.2, 88, F. de Martino, *Storia della costit. romana* 2 (Napoli 1973), 29ff., *EV* 1, 135.

foederis aequas/322 . . . leges Cf. [Sall]. *Rep.*2.3.2 *aequeis . . . legibus*, Liv.24.1.9 *ut foedus . . . aequis legibus feret*, 28.34.7 *mos uetustus erat Romanis, cum quo nec foedere nec aequis legibus iungeretur amicitia*, with the variations, Lucr.5.1149, *Aen.***7.203** (q.v.), 12.190, Liv.3.56.9, 61.6, 63.10, 67.9, 8.5.4, 34.57.10, Phaedr.1.2.1 (not, in short, a stock phrase of the business of public life, with a clear juridical sense). The *leges* of a *foedus* are in effect the ‘terms’; cf. G.1.510, *Aen.*4.618, 12.112 *pacis dicere leges*, Liv.23.33.9, *TLL* 7.2.1243. 84 (Hübner), *OLD* s.v. *lex*, §13; their *aequitas* indicates that they are both equally binding and fair in their requirements of both parties (*pari inter nos societate*, Serv., V. Pöschl *Grundwerte röm. Staatsgesinnung* (Berlin 1940), 62, C. Wirszubski, *Libertas* (Cambridge 1950), 10f., 13, Thome, 1 (**27**), 107f., Luraschi, *EV* 2, 548).

322 dicamus Vd. 12.112 *supra*, 5.486, *EV* 2, 46; see too, in various senses (but with ‘lay down terms’ as root meaning) Cic.*Verr.*3.19, Hor.*C.*3.3.58, Ov.*Her.*12.39.

sociosque Sc. *Teucros*; cf. **7.264**, *EV* 4, 914. Implicit here (cf. *EV, cit.*, Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 19ff.) is the proposal of a formal accord (cf. Liv.1.13.4 *regnum consociant*, *Aen.*8.56), far more solid than Dido’s *uultis et hic pariter mecum considerare regnis?* (1.572) and not yet so elaborated in detail as the final settlement in bk. 12 will be (*aeterna in foedera* 12.191).

in regna uocemus Cf. **7.256f. paribusque in regna uocari/auspiciis** (q.v.), **578 Teucros in regna uocari**.

323 considant Cf. 1.572 (*supra*), 3.162, 378, 4.349, 6.67, Liv.1.34.2 (common prose usage).

si tantus amor Cf. 2.10, and the closely comparable *si tanta cupido est* **7.263**, 6.133). Without *si*, 'a mannerism' (Austin on 2.10). For the lengthening in *arsi* (diastole) at weak caesura, cf. **7.174**.

moenia condant Cf. **7.145**, 12.361. Formulaic language used of a key theme (cf. *Vergilius, cit.*, 26; the link with 9.39, advocated by Wills, 438, seems whimsical).

324 sin 'Si au contraire', Ernout-Thomas, 385, whether or not derived from *si* + *-ne*, LHS, 669. Woldemar Görler most acutely suggests the influence of *Od.* 7.311–6: *Od.* is welcome to Nausicaa if he wishes to stay, but he may also wish to leave and in that case ship and oarsmen will be ready; see in particular 315 ἀέκοντα δέ c' οὔ τις ἐρύξει.

alios finis After the solution of the portent of the Tables, *Aen.* can no longer be *fnibus extorris*; the unbiased reader will take this argument as an indication of Lat.'s state of mind.

aliamque . . . gentem Theme and variation (hardly—Con.—zeugma); cf. 1.570, 3.496; at **7.259ff.**, Lat. was in no doubt that the Trojans would settle in Latium, but the pleasure of his wife's company and reasoning such as that offered at **7.359ff.** have led him to forget divine monitions (**7.96**) and Ilioneus' proper and correct assurances of the Trojans' intentions.

capessere Cf. 4.346 *Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes*, 5.703 *Italasne capesseret oras*, the desiderative of *capio*, *octies* in *Aen.*, *EV* 1, 654f.; Ennian (*Ann.*42).

325 est animus Cf. 3.60, 4.639, 10.715 and for V.'s use of the prolative infin., cf. Harrison on 10.90, *KS* 1, 668, Görler, *EV* 2, 271. **Est animus** is postponed, unusually for V.; prominent, consequently, and close to its formally dissimilar partner, **possunt**.

possuntque Not so much 'can'(in the sense of 'have rested enough', *uel sim.*) or (vd. **307**) 'bring themselves to' (in the sense of 'quit the delights of Ostia Lido') as (cf. Jackson, Page) 'are free to' (in the sense of 'are not impeded by the commands of destiny', cf. 12.804, 872. Henry thinks unconvincingly of the Trojans securing permission from Lat.).

solo . . . nostro Cf. 3.60 *scelerata excedere terra*, 4.306 *tacitusque mea decedere terra*, Lenaz, *EV* 4, 933.

decedere Cf. 4.306 (*supra*), 5.551, not to be distinguished from *simplex cessi* (6.460).

326 bis denas . . . nauis For the (frequent and convenient) use of distributive numerals, cf. **7.538**; the number is the original total of 1.381 (cf. the reductions, *ib.* 584f., 5.699f.), and after their metamorphosis in 9, the Trojans are ship-less.

Italo . . . robore Cf. **137**; Lat. permits himself to score a pretty point: not only does he offer to provide the Trojans with ships, but they will be stout, oak-built Italian ships, really rather better than Phrygian wanderers deserve, though not in keeping with the scant use of oak in actual shipbuilding: cf. Kenney on *Ov.Her.* 16.111f., Meiggs, *Trees and timber*, 118.

texamus Not so much an old metaphor as the survival, as applied to weaving, of a root which signified 'build, construct' (vd. Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.* 504), though it does look as though the Latin poets sensed a metaphor (cf. White, *Greek and Roman technology*, 146f. (with plates) for the realities of ribs): see *Enn.Ann.* 504, *Acc.trag.* 484, *Cat.* 64.10, *Aen.* 2.16, 112, 186, *Ov.Fast.* 1.506; note also *Enn.trag.* 44 and vd. Clausen, *THP*, 139, n. 34, *EV* 5*, 157f. (Giannattasio). Cf. *Aesch.Supp.* 134 λινορραφής, Austin on 6.414 (the language of simple, stitched boatbuilding); the 'woven ship' itself (and see too *EV* 3, 672 on how *Il.* 2.135 was taken of sewn ships at Rome: vd. *Varr.res hum.* 20 ap. Gell. 17.3.4, *Plin.Nat.* 24.65) is otherwise linguistically elusive in Greek and the fascinating, indeed mysterious toponym 'Rhapta' sadly turns out more of a broken reed; Miller, *Spice-trade*, 161ff. is not reliable.

327 seu pluris . . . ualent The vb. used as synonym of *possum*, under the detailed influence of the commoner verb (Vinchesi, *EV* 5*, 420f.). The Trojans have not been reinforced; is Lat. perhaps suggesting with faint scorn that they might need to take some of their Etruscan allies with them, if they really decide to leave?

completere SDan. remarks *proprie uerbum nauticum: nam graece πλήρωμα dicitur*; cf. V. of the Troj. horse, 2.20, *OLD* s.v., §6a, *Caes.Civ.* 1.56.3, 2.4.2. See also **7.332f.**, **422** for Serv.'s nn. on the use of technical language; on *nauticus sermo* in particular, see the notes on *G.* 2.44, 4.420, *Aen.* 1.244, 534, 3.275, 291, 5.1, 159, 9.97. Senis, *EV* 5*, 70 is notably unhelpful. Cf. *Companion*, 222.

iacet . . . ad undam For the *unda*, perforce the Tiber's and not the seashore, cf. **7.157**. With the vb., in the sense of *paratum iacere*, cf. *Colum.* 12.2.3, *Sen.Dial.* 12.10.5, *TLL* 7.1.20.30f. (Köstermann).

omnis . . . /328 materies Cf. (in the context of shipbuilding) *Caes.Gall.* 4.31.2, *Cic.Verr.* 2.5.47, *TLL* 8.451.8f. (Bömer).

328 ipsi . . . / 329 . . . nos Lat. graciously permits the Trojans, should they so wish, to lay down how many ships they want; the Latins will see to docks, hands and material (note the courteously balanced subjunctives). Cf. Drances at **131f.**, offering Latin manpower to build Trojan walls.

numerumque modumque Cf. Cic. *de orat.* 1.187, Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.59, 2.2.144, *Ars* 211. Guerrini (*EV* 3, 556) well cites Caes. *Gall.* 5.1.1f. *uti quam plurimas possent hieme naves aedificandas veteresque reficiendas curarent. earum modum formamque demonstrat.* Numerus is equally Caesarian in manner (5.40.6, 7.45.2, 81.1), though the pairing here should hardly be taken as characteristically soldierly.

carinis / 329 praecipiant Cf. (with different constr.) 9.40, *TLL* 10.2.3.447.37f. (Baumgartner), *OLD* s.v., §7a. The verb Lucretian, *ter*, not to mention *praecepta*.

329 aera, manus, naualia Bronze is widely attested in Virgilian shipbuilding, from *G.* 3.29 on (vd. *EV* 1, 42 and for the anachronism, F.H. Sandbach in Harrison, *OR*, 449f.); for **m.** in the (formally synecdochic) sense of ‘workforce’, ital. ‘manodopera’, cf. Hor. *C.* 4.11.9 *cuncta festinat manus*; **n.** at 4.593: it is pure chance that it was V. (if indeed it was!) and not Enn. to introduce (or so it appears) the word (= “docks”, not “naval stores”; vd. e.g. Perret, *OLD* s.v., §1a) to high poetry. Cf. 4.594, 9.37, asyndeton suggestive (vd. Austin on 2.358) of military urgency.

demus We might wish to think also of Dido’s offer of help at 1.571, 573, though in general analogies between Latin king and Punic queen are scanty.

330 praeterea Cf. **7.71**.

qui Relative of purpose; vd. e.g. ‘final’ in Sidgwick, index, 495, Ernout-Thomas, 336.

dicta ferant TCD explains *perferant*; cf. *TLL* 6.1.543.79 (Hey).

foedera firment Cf. 12.212, 316f., *TLL* 6.1.811.36f. (Lackenbacher); *EV* 2, 532: the alliterative phrase gives off an air of archaism, and the sharp ear will recall in particular Enn. *Ann.* 32 *foedusque feri bene firmum* (cf. Wigodsky, 121).

331 centum oratores Cf. **7.153 centum oratores**; borrowed here (but not discussed in Moskalew) perhaps as a mere matter of convenience, and not credibly in the interests of a closer connexion between this never-sent embassy and Ilioneus’ mission to Latinus in **7**, for we have seen (**324**) that Lat. has forgotten what he had been

told of the Trojans' destined goal. Here, moreover, what he proposes to the Trojans reads strangely after the offer of land and a bride for Aen. at **7.261ff.**, while the formal proposal of peace, on condition that Aen. present himself (**7.266**) should, on a logical and reasonable reading, render superfluous **11.330**, but, as things stand, suggests that V. did not have **7** firmly in mind while writing this passage of **11**. Given the verbal echoes of **7** at **318f.**, **331**, the apparently unrecognised thematic discrepancy sheds a good deal of (perhaps rather speculative) light on how V. worked.

prima de gente Contrast the less aristocratic, ceremonious, or simply numerous Trojans, **7.152 ordine ab omni**. V. is very partial to *de gente*, usually in this sedes. Here cf. the adjs. *suprema*, *egregia* used in qualification of *de gente* and e.g. *ductores Teucrum primi, primi duces, primi iuuenum*.

Latinos Note that 6.875 ends *de gente Latinos*. Adj. for gen. here: Lat. does not specify that the envoys are Latin, but rather that they are envoys of the Latins. See further **11.100**, **432**.

332 ire placet With acc. and inf. (not, that is, 'I have decided to' but 'it is my decision that'), LHS 358f.

pacisque . . . ramos Cf. **101**, **7.154** (with full discussion) for the olive-branches tied with wool fillets carried, in the Greek manner (explicitly, Liv.29.16.6) by suppliants; at 8.116 (where vd. Eden), V. writes of Aen. *paciferaeque manu ramum praetendit oliuae* and at 128 remarks of the same branch *uitta comptos . . . praetendere ramos*. When the suppliants' (as here, and at **101**) or legation's intent was peace (so also e.g. Liv.30.36.4), the olive-branch was carried too: the explicit association of the olive with peace is curiously elusive (but cf. Athena's benefaction to Attica, Call.*Iamb.*194.66, *Hecale* 70.11Hollis, etc.). V. himself, at G.2.425, writes *placitam Paci nutritor oliuam* (vd. Ps.Prob.); apparently, so formulated, a new notion (vd. Richter, *ad loc.*, G. Wissowa, Roscher 3.1722.7ff.), and one which was only now appearing in the (numismatic) iconography (Richter, *cit.*, E. Dinkler-von Schubert, *RAC* 8, 494f., Galinsky (**101**), 148, pl. 66). *EV* 3, 839 (Maggiulli) is deeply confused, and A.S. Pease, PW 17.2020.56ff., for once hardly authoritative.

manu praetendere Cf. 8.116, 128, *TLL* 10.2.7.980.1 (van Leijenhorst).

333 munera Cf. **228** Of greater symbolic force and more peaceful than those of **7.274ff.**

portantis A word humbler than *fero*, with some hint of the tone of spoken language, but not so much so as to be unsuitable in epic hexameters (vd. Lyne, *WP*, 57ff., **7.167**).

aurique eborisque For epic gold, cf. **7.278f.**; ivory (Homeric; Seymour, 304) for fine work on a scabbard at **11.11** and *passim* in epic ornament; see *EV* 2.160, Harrison on 10.136–8.

talenta A weight of gold in Hom. (Seymour 36, 288f.), of unclear definition; *sexies* in V. (*EV* 5*, 22f.).

334 sellam The throne divine and royal in Hom., but not exclusively or distinctively so (**7.210**, Seymour, 202). **S.** used of various kinds of chair; V. perhaps thinks of the *s. curulis*, for senior magistrates. He also uses *solium* (**7.169**); *thronus* not a word of high poetry. Standard Hellenistic diplomatic usage: note Syphax' present to Rome of a purple toga and an ivory *sella*, Liv.27.4.8; cf. *ib.*, 4.10, 8.9, 30.15.11, 31.11.11, 42.14.10.

regni . . . insignia nostri **I.** V. rather likes: cf. **7.657**, 2.389, 8.506, etc. (*EV* 2, 990); already at *Enn.Ann.*174. **s** The throne a symbol of Lat.'s rule; *aliter*, Henry E., 33. Not so much an offer of shared monarchy (vd. Perret) as a conventional gift (with, in this case, specific relevance) between sovereign powers.

trabemque Cf. **7.187, 612.**

335 consulite Cf. *Sall.Cat.*1.6, *Liv.*26.12.7, 32.21.1, *TLL* 4.579.84 (Burger), *EV* 1,879 (Antonio La Penna; admirable).

in medium Cf. *OLD* s.v., §4b, citing *Sall.Hist.*4.37, *Liv.*26.12.7; 'for the common good' (as La Penna, *cit.* notes, Henry's n. here is not quite sound. Note 16x in Cic.). The expression (cf. Gk. ἐν μέσῳ, ἐν κοινόν) hailed variously as prosy or legal by Puccioni (375/8 = 143/6); *Dig.* uses *in medium octies*, but not with *consulere*; both vb. and advb. indeed used in prose and here united they may offer a flavour of what Lyne (*WP*) well calls 'business' prose, but not sharply or distinctively so; how else might one say tersely 'take counsel *pro bono communi*'?

rebus . . . fessis For the adj., cf. **7.298**; note 3.145 *quam fessis finem rebus ferat*, *Tac.Ann.*15.50 *deligendumque qui fessis rebus succurreret* (surely echoing V. here and thus evidence for the age and status of **fessis**. After the **uestris** of **Πγ**, Sabbadini suggested **uersis**, deplorably.

succurrite Cf. *G.*1.500 *euerso . . . succurrere saeclo*, *Aen.*9.404 *nostro succurre labori* (the ind. obj. otherwise not abstract in V.). Lat. bids his envoys take common counsel with the Trojans and thereby come

(as indeed he had to some extent done himself in bk. 7!) to the rescue of their depressed circumstances.

336–375 Drances' portrait and speech

Cf. **122–32**: that rich portrait is now richly amplified; it is divided between Dr.'s two most important entries into the action (Horsfall, Fantham), and its completion motivates the violence of his speech, lending a, contemporary, political, even specifically Sallustian flavour to V.'s remarkable invention (cf. still the indispensable Heinze, 377f. for V.'s introductory notices and note Quinn, 308, Harrison, xxxii.; see also **7.532** on his closely comparable obituaries). See A. La Penna, in *Vergiliana*, 283ff. and *EV* 2, 139, Hardie (1998), 252, Fantham 265f., Heinze, 422, *Companion*, 189, *SCI* 21 (2002), 79ff.

336 tum Cf. **122**.

Drances Cf. **122–32**, **220** and *vd.* **336–75** for the manner of his introduction.

idem 'As before mentioned, the aforesaid' (so Serv., rightly); for this use of the pron. to express uniform identity, cf. *EV* 4, 313 (Giordano Rampioni), *G.4.36*, *Aen.3.448*, 6.229, 8.290, 10.732.

infensus Cf. **123**, **220**. Drances, as we see time and again, is depicted with the language and/or attitudes of late republican politics.

gloria Turni Cf. **7.473f.** for the basis of Tu.'s κλέος; not a recurrent element in V.'s representation of Tu. (*tacent* Schenk, Traina), but a natural consequence (both in epic and Roman terms) of his martial achievements. Cf. Pöschl (**321**), *passim* and D.C. Earl, *Polit. thought of Sall.* (Cambridge 1961), 7f. *et passim*, *id.*, *Moral and polit. Thought* (London 1967), 73f., on Sall., Cat. and *gloria*; in general, cf. Hellegouarc'h, 369ff. V.'s familiar questioning of *gloria* (**7.4**, **11.154**) is replaced here by Drances' comprehensibly hostile reaction to Tu.'s hitherto successful, Sallustian, intention *uirium opibus gloriam quaerere*; the concern with glory itself in general peculiarly and recognisably Sallustian (*Cat.3.2*, 3.5 . . . (and *vd. infra*); cf. Hellegouarc'h, *cit.* for the quality in Cic., Sall. and late-republican political life).

337 obliqua inuidia Note Sall.*Iug.55.3 Metellus . . . meminisse post gloriam inuidiam sequi*, with Paul's n., Tosi, n° 986, Hellegouarc'h, 196. The adj. hardly suggests the conventional fierce gaze of envy (K.M.D. Dunbabin, M. Dickie, *JbAC* 26 (1983), 10ff. at 17, with due attention to the *Physiognomoni*. Fantham, 265, n. 16 cites LSJ s.v. λοξός, §2: that is indeed lexically equivalent to *obliquus*, but is not the language

typically used of the gaze of the envious. Much rather, the adj. here refers primarily to the sidelong, devious effect (oblique, indeed!) that Tu.'s achievements have on the inner Dr.: his sound political arguments are corrupted by the indirect encroachment of personal factors. But Serv. and TCD both here refer, fairly enough (if not a sense provably present in the text), to Dr.'s spiteful, indirect implicit attacks, the offspring of the envy Tu. inspires, upon Tu. (cf. **122**). Cf. the rich collection of post-Virgilian instances of *obliquus*, *OLD* s.v., §6b (e.g. Tac.*Ann.*14.11, Suet.*Dom.*2.3).

stimulis . . . amaris Hendiadys, of a sort, and not so much redundant (Romano, *EV* 2, 1005) as highly complex in expression. The noun metaph. at **452, 728** as well; cf. 6.101, 9.718 *stimulos (acris) sub pectore uertit*, and the full discussion of **7.405 stimulis . . . Bacchi**. *EV* 4, 1023 is not satisfactory. The adj. is in enallage, for it 'is naturally' *inuidia* that is *amara* (so too e.g. *EV* 1, 124); cf. *OLD* s.v., §4, [Sall.] *Rep.*2.7.7 for bitter abstract qualities (though note too that the adj. is used of words, 10.368, and see 10.900); Drances is goaded by Tu.'s aura of success and himself goads back with insult and insinuation.

agitabat Naturally of real *stimuli*, too (cf. G.1.273 *agitator aselli*, 3.18, Lucr.2.601, etc.): Drances is (also) goaded within, after the manner of a refractory mount.

338 largus opum Cf. Hor.*C.*1.12.37f. *animaeque magnae/prodigum Paullum*, the adj. (*bis* in Cat., 17x Lucr.) with abl. (Plaut.*Asin.*290 *lingua* [abl.] *largior*) or gen. (*ib.*, 533). Cf. 1.14 *diues opum* (where vd. Austin), the latter a Grecism according to Diomedes (*Gramm.*1.312.19, Görler, *EV* 2, 266, R.G. Mayer, *ALLP*, 164, Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 85; cf. further, Delvigo, 35f.). Nothing necessarily wrong with wealth in the heroic world (**7.537**); less edifying the discussion (Heyne, Henry) of whether V. means 'rich' or 'generous'. Henry forgets that a socially agreeable virtue, such as the latter, would be quite out of place in V.'s portrait. Dr., after all, is a late-republican politician: cf. Sall.*Cat.*3.4 *audacia largitio avaritia vigebant*, to look no further. V. does not suggest that Dr. had bribed his way to influence at Lat.'s court, but rather that his weight depended atypically on word and pocket, not sword. Note marked alliteration of l., continued into the next line.

et lingua melior Cf. Plaut.*Asin.*, *supra*, and Ov.'s reworking, *Met.*9.29 *melior mihi dextera lingua*. Above all, cf. Sall.*Iug.*44.1 *lingua quam manu*

promptior. But the antithesis eloquence >< arms is very old and widespread (see La Cerda and vd. e.g. *Il.* 4.400, Janko on 13.726–9 and 16.627ff., 18.106, *Plut. Them.* 6.1, *Isocr.* 6.15, *Eur. HF* 229, *Sall. Or. Macri* 25, *Amm. Marc.* 17.9.3). The comparative shows ‘qu’une qualité existe à un degré relativement élevé’ (Ernout-Thomas, 167). ‘Like Plato, Virgil distrusted oratory’ (Highet, 283; cf. H. Hine in *Homo viator* (67), 175, Feeney in Harrison, *OR*, 180ff., Hardie (1998), 247f.). Behind Dr.’s lethal loquacity, we think naturally of Thersites, *Il.* 2.246 λιγυς . . . ἀγορητής (so of Priam, 1.248), but should also not forget Iris to Priam, *ib.*, 796 αἰεῖ τοι μῦθοι φίλοι ἄκριτοί εἰσι. Nothing unheroic about competence as a speaker: 3.214, 19.82. Unsurprisingly, cf. too *Cic. Cat.* (3.16): *consilio autem neque lingua neque manus deerat* and his regular use of disapproving *loquax*. The insult, though, is common and widespread in the late repub. repertory: Opelt, 164, *Companion*, 247f.; note *Cic. Fam.* 11.9.1 to Brutus, Lepidus a *homo uentotissimus*), *Cic. Mur.* 26, *Flacc.* 48, [*Sall.*] *Rep.* 2.3.6 *uirtus in lingua*, 2.9.2 and *Inv. Cic.* 5 *lingua uana*. For the motif, cf. further 378, 390. Note **linguae P₂** and SDan. *linguae melior ut* [1.441] *laetissimus umbrae*. *Sallustius* [*Hist.* 2. fr. 83] *frugum pabulique laetus ager*. The gen. simplifies and normalises after **opum** (though Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 84 also allows with typical caution for the possibility of an ancient conjecture made in order to create another rare genitive, or indeed, perhaps, for an authentic rare genitive, as at 1.441 *laetissimus umbrae*, favoured by Probus, conceivably at work here too!). *Sil.* 5.333 *m. fati*, and particularly 7.619 *m. dextrae* show either that *Sil.* knew the gen. here or that he realised *V.* tended to experiment widely in just this way and was therefore to be imitated.

sed (Rather) free with his money and a (too) good speaker; virtues, of a kind, but . . .

frigida bello/339 dextera Cf. 6.878f. *inuictaque bello/dextera*. A paradox (Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.926.14), expressed with extreme economy (for we are expected to know that courage, like related battle-rage, is hot, and reluctance, like the sluggard’s whole body, chill); cf. *G.* 2.484 (where vd. Thomas’ n.), 3.97 (respectively chill blood and lack of enthusiasm: see Onians, 46, n. 6, 120), while the blood during the blaze of a warrior’s χάρμη is naturally afire or at least heated: cf. Onians, 147 (an excellent account of the fire of anger; cf. further **Aen. 7**, pp. 306, 311), 157f., *Aen.* 9.693, 12.101f., 325 (the metaphor anchored in physiology; cf. West on *Hes. Erga* 360), Scarcia, *EV* 2,

397 and cf. too V.'s account of Tu.'s fire-breathing helmet, **7.787f.** . . . The hand in apposition, naturally, to the person (cf. 2.348, 10.698, 12.275, KS 1, 251, LHS, 44).

consiliis . . . non futtilis auctor The adj. at *Enn.trag.*262f. (vd. Jocelyn; Fantham, 265, n. 18 bizarrely calls it prosaic); probably from the same root as *fundo* (vd. WH, EM, *OLD*; note **fuit illis M!**); Scholz (**108–19**), 462, n. 24 well quotes Gell.1.15.1 *qui sunt leues et futtiles et inportuni locutores quique nullo rerum pondere innixi uerbis uuidis et lapsantibus diffluunt*. Cf. G.2.315 *nec tibi tam prudens quisquam persuadeat auctor*, *Aen.*5.418 *probat auctor Aestes*, *EV* 1, 393 (Hellegouarc'h). Naturally 'in their councils', though La Penna (*cit.*, **335**) ingeniously suggests also 'held a useful adviser on account of his *consilia*' (unlikely, not impossible). In short, a valued βουλευτής (cf. Seymour, 96ff.).

habitus Cf. G.2.16 *habitae Grais oracula quercus*, *Hor.Serm.*1.3.52, 85, *Prop.*3.13.62, *TLL* 6.3.2445.5 (Bulhart).

340 seditione potens Cf. Idomeneus of Ajax (*Il.*23.483) νεῖκος ἄριστε. The very antithesis of the *pietate grauem ac meritis . . . uirum*, who stands up for calm *magno in populo cum saepe coorta est/seditio*. Formed, possibly, on the analogy of *secessio* (*seditio*) and an association that places Dr. in well-defined and unenviable (to an Augustan reader) company: the followers of the Gracchi, of Marius, of Clodius (so vd. e.g. *Cic.Mil.*72, *Sall.Cat.*51.32, *Cic.Sest.*94); add, if you need, Saturninus and the followers of Antony (*Cic.Dom.*82, *D. Brut.* ap.*Cic.Fam.*11.19.2). Cf. Hellegouarc'h 135f., 531 (with full lists of material). Tu. is (**7.55**) **auis atausque potens**; there his power clearly derives from his ancestry; here civil discord may be the root of Dr.'s 'potentia' or the field in which it is displayed; just, that is, the grammatical ambiguity La Penna saw in **consiliis habitus non f.a.**. Cf. *TLL* 10.2.2.278.57 (Kuhlmann).

genus . . . superbum Cf. 6.123 *et mi genus ab Ioue summo*, **7.219 ab Ioue principium generis**; Traina well compares (*EV* 4, 1073) the *superbia nobilitatis* of *Sall.Iug.* 5.1 (on which, cf. Hellegouarc'h, 439ff.). Cf. **7.565** for the importance of a good pedigree to an epic hero; with Dr., contrast Tu. (**7.56, 371f.**, 10.76, Alessio, 91, Scholz (**108–19**), 462).

huic . . . /341 . . . dabat *Et bene segni homini paternam non dedit nobilitatem* SDan.. Note both subj. and obj. abstract., when V. could as well have written *mater nobilis*, concr. for abstr.; the obj. likewise expresses with neat economy *superbia ex genere*.

materna . . . / 341 nobilitas Abstr. for concrete as often, **270**, Kroll-Lunelli, 42f., *EV* 1, 378ff. Rarely alert to historical echoes, Gransden (p. 14) well (but incorrectly) cites T.P. Wiseman, *New Men* (Oxford 1971), 54 on the wives of *noui* 'rarely named . . . except for their nobility or notoriety'. N. once each in the fr. of Pacuv. and Acc.; epic adj. for gen.. Compare Stat.*Silu.*4.4.75 *stemma materno felix, uirtute paterna* (where Coleman confusingly introduces the topos of legitimate and therefore similar offspring, as at Hor.*C.*4.5.23; cf. rather *Companion*, 145).

incertum *Non ignobile sed penitus ignoratum* remarks Serv. unhelpfully; cf. Liv.1.4.2 *incertae stirpis*, 4.6.2: V. indicates rather his illegitimate origins (for to say that he was 'figlio di un uomo oscuro' (La Penna, *EV* 2, 139, followed by Fantham, 265, n. 19) is to underplay both the use of *incertus*, rather than (e.g.) *ignotus*, and the contrast between known (and noble) mother and the father (cf. previous n.) about whom there was only speculation. TCD seems, though not perspicuously, to favour bastardy as may comparison of Ov.*Met.*5.145 *matre Palaestina dubio genitore creatus*. For epic illegitimacy, cf. **7.723**, *EV* 3, 767; Drances at Rome would have borne the terse label *sp.f.*; vd. S. Dixon, *The Roman family* (Baltimore 1992) index s.v. children, illegitimate, S. Treggiari, *Roman marriage* (Oxford 1991), 317f.

de patre Cf. **15 de rege superbo**.

ferebat *EV* 2, 496 suggests both 'he drew, derived' (without analogies) and the analogy of *animus . . . ferebat* (10.548, 'exalted', though there the insertion of *caelo* alters the case). Rather, I suspect, in the sense of 'he told, proclaimed' (**141**, **7.765**, 9.155, *EV* 2, 495), or just possibly 'he gained, procured' (cf. 6.464, 9.249, **11.791**, *EV* 2, 495). The change of subj. (clearly to Dr. himself) is altogether unproblematic, though note **ferebant PR** (not at all bad); **ferebat MP**₂; just irregular enough to be perforce correct. To suppose that maternal dignity was also the subj. of **ferebat** strains our credulity (*pace* Fantham, 265, n. 19).

342 surgit et Cf. *Il.*1.101, Seymour, 108.

his onerat dictis The vb. only here to open a speech; common of heaping with abuse in the language of comedy and pub. life (*OLD* s.v., §6b). Cf. 3.358 *his uatem adgredior dictis*, 4.197, 9.24. *EV* 3, 855f. is unilluminating. The two members here present are clearly to be understood closely together. Forbiger usefully spells out '*onerat quia acerba, grauia sunt dicta*' (cf., with precise back-reference to Dr.'s

own previous appearance in the narrative, **220 ingrauat haec**) and the obj. of **o.** is clearly enough Dr.'s implicit audience (as indicated by the context and by **surgit**), rather than his first actual addressee, Latinus. Not Tu. (TCD, etc.), nor, with insufficient thought of the linking metaphor as guarantor of the sense, **iras** (Con., Ladewig, Hardie, 251).

aggerat iras Cf. 4.197 *incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras* (Moskalew, 65, Hardie, *cit.*). V. here takes the earlier phrase (that he applies to Dr. language used of Fama may prove significant) and well integrates it with an immediately preceding and closely comparable metaphor. As perplexed as SDan., Fantham (266) wonders whether the *irae* are Dr.'s or ('as many have interpreted it'; cf. at least Serv., but 'many' does seem unwarranted) Tu.'s., but, though V.'s Tu. is regularly irascible (**7.462**), the integrated whole of the phrase requires (easily enough; cf. Williams, Perret, Gransden, Fantham, 268) that Dr. be shown as swelling his audience's many grounds for anger (against Tu.), as seen already at **344f.** The context and tone of Dr.'s intervention at **220** seem to eliminate uncertainty here and the reference to some form of audience reaction is welcome (*pace* Fantham, 264, on its absence in the debate-scene).

343–75 Drances' speech

Dr. opens in an explicitly deliberative vein (**343f.**) but rapidly settles into an invective tone (cf. Fantham, 266): he is a markedly disagreeable character, both in explicit portrayal and in the manner of his speech; the reader's reaction of instinctive dislike, however, stands in subtle counterpoint with an inescapable sense that he expresses sane and reasonable views, as proponent of peace and of a solution of the struggle by means of single combat (Burke, 18, Hardie, 261, Fantham, *cit.*); so he had already done at **124ff.** Dr. addresses both Lat. and first implicitly, then explicitly (**362**) Tu., very much as his use of Ipl. (**358**, etc.) may (but need not) suggest that he comes to speak on behalf of (a part of) the Latins (**267**). Dr. can only assail Tu. clumsily enough with innuendo and vituperation; thus, from old loathing, he must inevitably drive Tu. towards further battle, not peace; readers convinced of Tu.'s virtues (as the 'generous young warrior') will find themselves naturally alienated by/from some of Dr.'s ultimately sane but immediately corrosive arguments (so Fantham, 268f.). Towards Lat., Dr. is barely respectful, but does not dissent from his policy: both king and politician propose in different ways the isolation of Tu. through a peaceful settlement with Aen. (Hight,

58f., Fantham, 266). Dr.'s language (*pace* Puccioni) is not markedly Asianic, nor rich in archaisms (vd. **345**, **365**); the strongly Sallustian tone of the character-sketch is not strongly maintained, but some details do remind the contemporary reader of the tone and language of recent political debate (**345**, **347**, **349**, **351**, **361**, **364**). The speech's Homeric antecedents are, at least on a wider view of the analogies, unexpectedly complex (Knauer, Burke, Gransden, *VI*): V.'s Thersites does not give Thersites' speech (but cf. **361**). Dr.'s proposal for the return of Lavinia corresponds closely with Antenor's for that of Helen (**355**); more unexpectedly we may think of Hector's abuse of Paris (*Il.*3.39–57, 6.326–31, though the contact in detail at **372** is unconvincing) and (after Burke) perhaps also of Polydamas, who advises caution to Hector (*Il.*12.211–29) and the Trojans (18.254–83). See Alessio, 91ff., Burke (**122–32**), 16f., Cairns, 73f., Fantham, 266ff., Gransden, *VI*, 177ff., *id.*, *Aen.*11, p. 14f., Hardie, 256ff., Heinze, 422, Highet, 58f., 248ff., Knauer, 284, Perret, p. 228f., Puccioni 376f. = 144f., Quinn, 241ff., Schenk, 124ff., Scholz (**108–19**), 460ff., Schweizer, 37ff., *Companion*, 189f.

343 rem nulli obscuram Cf. *G.*1.229 *haud obscura . . . signa*; as at **157**, *nemini* in synaloepha is avoided (*EV* 4, 316, LHS 204; *nemo* in general avoided in high poetry, Axelson, 76). Cf. *Buc.*9.38, *G.*3.4f., *Aen.*1.565, 2.91, **7.195**, 8.49 (I forbear to multiply instances) for such 'inverted obscurity'. Cf. Cic.'s *ut scitis/scitis omnes/scitis, iudices* for the unadorned form of the same appeal to common knowledge. 'Insincere . . . nor does Drances believe his own comment is unnecessary' remarks Fantham (267). But a specially frequent form of common-or-garden litotes (vd. indices to **7**, **11**, s.v.) is hardly to be evaluated for moral earnestness; rather, the speaker launches at once into the recognizable, elaborate formality of the experienced public speaker.

nostrae uocis Cf. 3.461 (Helenus referring to his own voice).

nec . . . egentem Cf. **27**.

344 consulis Cf. *Liv.*2.28.2 *rem . . . delatam consulere*, *Plaut.Men.*700 *consulam hanc rem amicos*, *Cic.Phil.*9.13, A. La Penna, *EV* 1, 878, *TLL* 4.577.54 (Burger). Whether this opening, with the object doubly qualified and verb enjambed is in truth 'discourteously abrupt' (Fantham, 267) may be doubted.

o bone rex Vd. Landgraf on *Cic.Sex.Rosc.*23 for the ironic use of *b.* in such expressions as *bone accusator*, *bone custos*, though here, before opening the attack, Dr. nods cursorily at his presiding monarch ('praises the king's wisdom directly' (Highet, 58) is hardly quite right),

without actual palpable irony (note that the satirists' friendly *o bone* is irrelevant: vd. Muecke on Hor.*Serm.*2.2.1); cf. *alii 'bone rex' exprobratione accipiunt* SDan.. Of course, the words can equally form no part in any assessment of Lat. as a theoretically commendable 'good king' (in the Cairnsian sense (see *id.*, 62ff., **7.153** and note Hor.'s *dux bone*); no comment, indeed in Cairns, in Balk, or in Pace's useful discussion of the models for Lat., *Rend.Ist.Lomb.*124 (1990), 285ff., while *EV* does little justice to Virgilian kingship. See further **353 optime regum.**

cuncti . . . fatentur Cf. 1.559, 3.100, 189, 5.385, **7.583f. cuncti . . . bellum/. . . poscunt** (where vd. n.; c. not a simple synonym for *omnes*), 10.96. Contrast **222**; there V. portrayed Tu. as a figure of contention while here Dr. at least represents his audience as in agreement (cf. again **362**).

se scire Cf. 12.794 *scis ipsa et scire fateris*; here the hissing alliteration (note **fortuna ferat** in the next v.) may suggest apparent outrage at the 'censorship' implied. The antithetic formulation of thought and expression is familiar enough: cf. e.g. Tac.*Hist.*1.1 (*ad fin.*) with the unfamiliar Plin.*Paneg.*76.2 *interrogatus censuit quisque quod placuit.* **345 quid . . . ferat** Cf. 2.34, 94 (both slightly different, as is 5.356 (where vd. Williams); note too *Buc.*5.34), *EV* 2, 494. 'Tend' with advbl.acc. rather than 'bring' with dir.obj., though that is but unprovable suspicion. Against **M₂PR ferat**, note **M petat**, not a valid sense and possibly a mis-heard result of following **pop-**.

fortuna . . . populi Cf. **7.294 fata Phrygum**; in the case of nations, their *fatum* and *fortuna* are virtually synonymous (Bailey, 213f.). Note Livy's frequent *fortuna populi Romani* (Kajanto (**96**), 65ff., Oakley on Liv.6.30.6; for the original Hellenistic city-tyche, cf. Kajanto, 15).

sed dicere mussant A choice expression (originally onomatop. 'mutter') to suggest the Latins' resentful semi-silence, possibly after Gk. μύζειν (vd. now Traina) and clearly Ennian in flavour: see *trag.*101, 372, *Ann.*168 *in occulto mussabant*, 327, 435, Lucr.6.1179, and *quinquies* in V., not to mention Sall.*Hist.*1.77.3, 3.48.8. The vb. suggests both wordless hesitation (*Ann.*327, Sk. on 435, Lucr.*cit.*, *Aen.*12.657f., 718f.) and equally wordless muttering (cf. *G.*4.188; *murmurare* Paul.exc.Fest.p.131.9, impeccably, as comparison of *G.*, *cit.* with *Aen.*6.709 shows), neither quite silent; a variety of constructions (so too e.g. *dubito*) from Enn. on. See *EV* 3, 644f. (Traina), Puccioni, 377 = 145, *TLL* 8.1708. 84f. (Halter). Cf. **348**, 6.722 etc. for *dicere* with the force of 'speak out'. Indeed V. has reported no 'prolonged

and fearful silence' (so Fantham, *cit.*), but just because it is Dr. who tells us that they are grumbling half-audibly, it does not mean that they are not doing so. They just might be!

346 det So Cic. likes *dat potestatem, licentiam*. The subj. is clearly Tu. (cf. *Il.*10.115); formally Dr. may still be addressing Lat.; in practice, **346-351** are namelessly (**348**) concerned with Tu. and Tu. alone. Contrast Highet, 58 and Fantham, 267 (cf. further **352, 354**).

libertatem fandi Note numerous comparable expressions with *orationis, uerborum, sermonis, dicendi*, etc.; vd. *TLL* 7.2.1314.31ff. (Kuhlmann). V. employs an abstr. verbal noun with dependent gerund to avoid subordination (cf. **44, 314**); *aperte fari, uel sim.* would have served likewise. We are ill-advised to suppose that V. is here talking about freedom of speech in the assembly (cf. Wirszubski (**321**), 18, R. MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman order* (Cambridge, Mass. 1966), 15f., with 298, n. 17, F. Millar, *The crowd in the late Republic* (Ann Arbor 1998), 46f., *EV* 3, 205); then an unfamiliar concept and readers would under Aug. normally expect Dr.'s 'right to speech' to depend rather from rank, wealth and standing. It was not though, whether in the Senate, or, clearly, in the Latins' assembly, a right to be exercised with fearless insouciance.

flatusque remittat Serv.: *aut ponat superbiam* [yes, clearly; cf. *OLD* s.v., *flatus*, §4]: *aut 'nostros flatus remittat', id est nobis respirare concedat* [! Cf. *TLL* 6.1.883.45ff. (Brandt); this second explanation is clearly absurd]. The extension of sense (cf. *spiritus*, 5.648 (and *OLD* s.v., §7d); also note Gk. τῦφος) seems Virgilian and was appreciated later; for the metaphor's nexus, cf. Petr.49.1 *efflauerat* ('blether', *OLD* s.v., §3!), **7.510 spirans immane** (with full discussion). The verb as at *G.*4.536 *irasque remittent*; cf. *OLD* s.v., §10a.

347 cuius ob Terse, a little complex, even mannered: both anastrophe of preposition and ellipse of the antecedent of **cuius** (that is, the subj. of **det, remittet**). Cf. **7.741, 11.81, 172**.

auspicium infaustum Compare **589 infausto . . . omine. A.** is roughly comparable in sense to **7.256f. paribus . . ./auspiciis**, 'a near-synonym for *imperium*' (where vd. note); Serv. comments well *inuidiose Turni auspiciis inputat quod tantus periit exercitus, ac si diceret: si malis tuis ominibus non egrederentur, possent forsitan superare uirtute*; an unlucky commander, then, and one could add that all Tu.'s campaign was in violation of the omens (**7.58ff.**); after all, we recall **217 dirum . . . bellum**. For **i.**, cf. **7.717**; the adj. too, that is, enters into the linguistic sphere of auspices and command.

moresque sinistros For **m.** thus in plur., cf. 6.683, 9.254, *EV* 3, 602. The adj. has lost its technical, augural sense (so rightly *EV* 4, 877), but V.'s choice still lies in the shadow of **a.i.** ('adverse . . . harmful, baleful', *OLD* s.v., §4a, citing e.g. Prop.3.3.9f. *pugnamque sinistram/Cannensem*, 4.1.150 *Cancric terga sinistra*). Oddly, Schenk (126) seems to take this line as referring in some way to Tu.'s desire for power and Lavinia; rather, Dr. should be noted as indulging in a little standard public *loidoria* of his opponent (cf. e.g. Cic.*Verr.*2.3.23 *Verris mores improbos impurosque nostis*) and we might wonder what, if anything, was behind it. Serv.'s 'disobedience to Latinus' is rather feeble.

348 dicam equidem Cf. 6.722 *dicam equidem, nec te, suspensum, nate, tenebo*. Parenthetic to suggest proleptically that Tu. will soon treat him as Od. treated Thersites, though however much Tu. might have liked to, Virgilian decorum probably forbade it (though see **408f.**, Hightet, 61, *Companion*, 189, n. 22). As it is, the insinuation (and Dr. will soon—**354**—hint that Lat. himself is exposed to pressure) may help create an impression of Dr. speaking out bravely under threat. Dr. does not name Tu. until **363** (and for Tu. and Aen., cf. **442**); so Dido does not name Aen. once she realises he is to leave her, nor Anch. Caesar and Pompey yet unborn (Hightet, 58, 125f., 135, Fantham, 267, *ead.*, in *The passions in Latin literature* ed. C. Gill, S. Morton Braund (Cambridge 1997), 197; cf. also 10.34f., Venus who does not name Juno) on nameless hate in V.; note too the context of wordlessness splendidly outlined by Feeney, *OR*, 180ff.

licet Far commoner than *quamquam*, *quamuis* in V.: note his love of parataxis in general and dislike of avoidable subordination (Görler, *EV* 2, 274f.), and, as Miss Hubbard remarks, his tendency to reserve the weightier *quamquam* for special effects, **415**, 2.12.; see *EV* 1, 875, 3, 211f.

arma . . . mortemque Not at all a conventional word-pair, but a sort of hendiadys (cf **7.15**) for 'violent death'. The individual threats, though, are well enough attested (*arma* Cic.*Fam.*11.3.3, Liv.5.36.5; *mortem*, 10.900, 12.760, *Rhet.Her.*4.65).

mihi . . . minetur Note very marked alliteration of m (whence the unnecessary pronoun).

349 lumina . . . ducum Cf. **197**, **7.535** for epic periphrases, but this use of **l.** seems (Ehlers, *TLL* 7.2.1821.28) to derive rather from Cic.'s eulogistic form of expression, as used of Pompey, *imperi populi Romani decus ac lumen* (*Phil.*2.54; cf. (e.g.) 5.39, 11.14, 24, *Sull.*5, *OLD*

s.v., §11a and Serv. well compares 2.281; for *lux/φάος* used similarly, cf. Jocelyn on Enn.*trag.*69) and the appearance of similarity with e.g. *corpore Turni, corpora uirum* is misleading to the eyes.

tot Cf. **384, 430, 677, 9.785, 10.470, 12.500** for this pathetic use of *tot* to bring home the scale of this tragic war. The reader will not have forgotten Dr.'s intervention when Aen. granted the Latins the truce for burial (**122ff.**).

cecidisse For 'fall' as a faintly coloured expression for 'die', cf. **7.766**; *simplex cado* (cf. *EV* 1, 598) at least Lucretian (3.969) thus.

totamque . . . / 350 . . . urbem Lat.'s nameless city (**7.151, 161**, Carcopino, 248); comparison of 12.594, *quae totam luctu concussit funditus urbem* (cf. 608) will suggest that V. here prefigures Am.'s death (as he does also Tu.'s, **231**); Moskalew, 172 concentrates on Dido to the exclusion of the less fascinating Dr.!

uidemus Cf. Venulus' **uidimus** at the outset of his speech, **243**. Note also Lat.'s appeal to testimony **ante oculos, 311** and likewise the deictic force of the indicative reference to the visible corpses, **102**. Cf. further **367f. sat funera fusi/uidimus**, Hardie, 255f.. V. lays singular, repeated emphasis on his characters' visual sense of omnipresent carnage and national disaster, above and beyond the divisions between 'sides' or factions.

350 consedissee . . . luctu For the vb. used thus, cf. Cic.*Att.*2.4.2, Sen.*Ep.*117.4, *TLL* 4.435.74 (Remme). The entire capital settles, sinks, subsides in mourning (vd. **38**), not yet for its royal family, but for too many of its soldiers and their leaders. So Pind.*Ol.*10.38 ἰζοικᾶν . . . πόλιω.

dum . . . temptat Cf. 10.87 *quid gravidam bellis urbem et corda aspera temptas?* (with Harrison's n.), 8.231, 12.361, *EV* 5*, 94; the sense is good business Latin usage (*OLD* s.v., §9a), but not distinctively military.

Troia . . . / 351 castra Little matter that we are not quite sure (cf. **7.157**) either what it was called (perhaps, Troia) and where it was (somewhere on the E.bank of the Tiber, near the sea). The Trojan city is also a camp (and vice versa): cf. **7.159**.

fugae fidens Cf. **7.290 fidere terrae**; here **R** has **fuga** (possible, though *EV* 2, 511 cites ambiguous instances: vd. rather e.g. 9.378 *nocti*), not to be followed against **MP**. The charge (paradoxical antithesis of trust and flight) will be answered with **391**.

pedibusque fugacibus istis. Note the contemptuous alliteration (cf. 12.52). Such alleged cowardice (cf. Tu. on Aen., in the markedly

Homeric 10.649 and already in Hom. see e.g. *Il.*1.225, 4.243, 8.94, 13.99ff., 16.422 with *Aen.*10.369) was of course the stuff of political obloquy: Opelt, 164, *Cic. Verr.*2.1.37, *Cat.*1.20, 22, *Phil.*2.88 and vd. further **391**. Cf. 9.791ff. (Tu.'s retreat from the Trojan camp), 10.633ff. (Tu.'s involuntary withdrawal from combat in 10); either episode, or both (Paratore misleads).

caelum Not simply Dr. using conventional hyperbole to damage Tu., but (note Hardie's admirable remarks, *CI*, 149 after Serv. on **351**) an authorial back reference (i.e., not one made deliberately by Dr.) to Lat.'s words at **305 bellum . . . cum gente deorum** and thus offering not only derision of Tu.'s efforts but a comparison with the Giants' impious assault on Olympus (cf. Hardie, 85–156 for the density of these references).

territat armis Cf. of the Dira and Fama, *territat urbes* (4.187, 12.852) and more closely the equally contemptuous Tolumnius at 12.261f. *quos improbus aduena bello/territat inualidas ut aues. . .*

352 unum etiam . . ./353 . . . unum Dr. has for now finished with Tu. and returns to Lat. (Highet, 58), though Tu. is hardly forgotten (**354**). At **302ff.** Lat. no longer offered Aen. his daughter (as at **7.268ff.**); now Dr. suggests he do so (once again), in Tu.'s presence. The violence of his reaction is explained in good measure by the open threat to his desired bride and expected royal inheritance (undervalued, Schenk, 124; for Tu.'s deeply confused motives, cf. **7.422f., 578f.**). Cf. 3.435 (an exceptionally rare gemination, as it happens, Wills, 74). **Etiam** lends force to the devious simplicity of Dr.'s proposal; it is the one and only additional gift that Tu. will never let Lat. concede (Hand 2, 550 'noch eins'; cf. *Pers.*6.58f. *adde etiam unum/unum etiam*).

donis istis Naturally, the presents of **316ff.**; those of **7.274ff.** are ancient history.

quae plurima Cf. **312, 7.21, 200**.

mitti Not the most precisely appropriate word to use of either round of giving; the first time, Ilioneus and his men carried them; now, the presents are in principle on offer and have not yet been sent. Conventional language; cf. 9.361.

353 Dardanidis A synonym of Homeric origin for *Troiani*, some 20x in *Aen.*, rarely used with special point (**7.195**; Serv. thinks that for V., Lat. even here is conscious of the distant Italian origins of the Trojans). Cf. *EV* 3, 1030.

dicique Lommatzsch preferred a sense of ‘promise’ (*TLL* 5.1.978.84f.): Virgilian (3.362, 10.547) but it seems rather difficult after **iubes** and ‘declare one’s intention of giving, designate’ (*OLD* s.v., §11, citing e.g. Ter.*HT* 942 *me mea omnia bona doti dixisse illi*; note 5.486 *praemia dicit*) is to be preferred (cf. too *EV* 2, 46 (Salemme): a sense of ‘establish, settle’). Serv. thought the distinction lay between presents sent and (ships, land) offered, but the issue depends rather on the sense of the main verb.

iubes Both times (352), Lat. orders the symbols of friendship to be sent and both times his orders are thwarted; Lat.’s weakness has been exaggerated (cf. 7, p. 354 for the neglected evidence) but here he apparently cannot impose his will upon his council; we are not told what decision is reached, but the narrative’s silence suggests that executive action does not follow (Balk, 87f. is insufficient).

optime regum Cf. 344 **o bone rex**; Aen. is *pater optimus* or *optimus armis*, Ev. *optime Graiugenum*; here Dr. echoes Venulus’ clearly respectful **rex optime**, 294, but readers will hardly suppose by now that Dr. is himself a loyal and respectful subject of Lat., far less that these words echo Greek writing on the ideal king as seemed not unlikely at 295.

354 adicias Cf. 12.837; to add naturally to what Dr. has just heard Lat. say he will offer Aen. (vd. 352 **donis**).

nec te . . . uincat Cf. *Buc.*10.69 *omnia uincit amor* (personal obj., abstr. subj.), *OLD* s.v., §8a.

ullius uiolentia The wily Dr. represents Lat. too as subject to (emotional, political) threat, much as he said earlier (346) that he felt himself to be, though rather more physically. Dr.’s insinuations of violence, though, are rather more than windy words, for his lightly veiled reference (*TCD suppresso nomine Turnum tetigit*) to Tu.’s *uiolentia* will shortly be taken up authorially (376 **exarsit uiolentia Turni**). Both Dr. and Lat. may feel threatened, even if they are not; Tu. is a man of violence (and emotion is physically visible, on V.’s physiological outlook) and **u.** is used only of him in *Aen.*; cf. 12.9 (authorial), 45 (Lat. speaks), Pascal (442), 253, Clausen, *THP*, 89, Schenk, 210f., A. Traina, *EV* 5*, 548f..

355 quin Markedly economical after preceding **nec** (KS 2, 262, etc.).

natam . . . /356 des pater Cf. 1.345, 7.433: not technical language. V. returns to the language, themes and texture of plot he had employed in 7 (cf. the full nn. on 7.421–3) and, as has long

been clear, a sharp touch of Helen (whom Antenor suggests should be returned at *Il.*7.350–2, Knauer, 284. Tu. as an implied Paris dogs Tu. as Hector/Achilles!), with, once more, strange results if we read minutely, for just as Lat. has lately made again just those offers (**322f.**, **331ff.**) he had made four books previously, with no sign of exasperation (**164**) at having to do so for the second time, so now Dr. suggests to Lat. exactly that course of action the king had actually taken at **7.268ff.** This is highly wrought, careful writing (perceptibly more so than Lat.'s speech was) and I sense that from excessive familiarity with **7 I** may tend to overvalue the re-use of material. But to the careful reader (and the computer's remorselessly overexact memory for parallels is here irrelevant) there is something really rather odd. Note **natam MP; gnatam R**, Geymonat. Vd. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 420, Sommer, 234f.: no good reason to impose on V.'s text such a degree of archaism. **Pater** is given strong prominence; it is as Lavinia's *father* that Lat. can marry here to Aeneas (cf. **7.407**, **433**).

egregio genero Cf. **7.257f. progeniem . . . / egregiam** (the adj. used of Lat. himself at **7.213**), **270 generos externis adfore ab oris**.

dignisque hymenaeis The word **h.** used of Tu. and Lavinia (**7.344**, **398**), of Lavinia and Aen. (**358**, **555**); the suitability of the Trojans has been restated frequently, founded upon various lines of argument (cf.—for example—**7.231**, **253ff.**). For **d.** used in a matrimonial context (common, not stock), cf. **7.389**. Not, of course, language likely to appeal to the noble Rutulian (Highet, 59).

356 et pacem hanc . . . iungas Cf. **7.155**, **266**, **285**, **339**, etc., **11.230**, **332**. Cf. Liv.1.1.6 *Latinum pacem cum Aenea . . . iunxisse*, *EV* 3, 63, 915. The peace Lat. now proposes shall be ratified by a permanently valid treaty (**321f.**; the theme central in 12; vd. *infra*). Note **iungas MP; firmes** (by echo-corruption from **330**) **M₂R**.

aeterno foedere Cf. *G.*1.60, *Aen.*12.190f. *paribus se legibus ambael/iniuictae gentes aeterna in foedera mittent*, 504 *aeterna gentis in pace futuras*, 7.546 *dic in amicitiam coeant et foedera iungant*, 10.105, **11.164**, **292**, **321f.**, **330**, 12.202, Turcan, *EV* 1, 43, Luraschi, *ib.*2, 547. The political solution sketched in bk. 12 will confirm how right the odious Drances is.

357 quod si The adversative particle marks a transition: Lat. should offer Lavinia to Aen.; *but if* he is frightened to do so (a return to the theme of **354**), then the Latins should make a direct plea to the (still unnamed) Tu..

tantus . . . terror The alliterative force reduced by separated *sedes*. Serv. is worried that **t.** is used in the sense of *metus* (*EV* 5*, 139), that which is inspired rather than that which inspires. But this distinction is quite false and the ‘passive’ sense is excellent usage: cf. Cat.64.338 *expers terroris Achilles*, Lucr.3.16 *animi terrores*, *OLD* s.v., §2a. **habet** Cf. *Buc.*7.40 *habet te cura*, *Aen.*4.581 *idem omnis simul ardor habet*, 12.282, Cf. *TLL* 6.3.2431.45 (Bulhart), *EV* 2, 826 (Bellandi).

mentes et pectora Cf. Naev.*BP* 57 *magnae metus* [fem.] *tumultus pectora possidit*. Not a regular or significant coupling of nouns.

358 ipsum . . . ab ipso Cf. **352f.**, the gemination of **unum**; gemination repeated after so short a space might suggest characterisation by oratorical mannerism; we may, that is, sense the speaker’s wagging finger, as ever more pointedly he refrains from addressing his target.

obtestemur Cf. **7.576**, a weighty verb, of suitable poetic dignity and antiquity.

ueniamque oremus Cf. **101 ueniamque rogantes** (and so *pacem, uitam, coniugium*). The subtle, spiteful politician needs to be followed with care: if Lat. is too scared of Tu.’s menace to offer Lav. to Aen., then we (both king and Latins, including the speaker, Tu.’s deadly enemy) must try supplication (‘pretends humility’ Fantham), that Tu. give up the bride due to him in the interests of saving the Latins from further slaughter, itself caused by Tu. (cf. Highet, 59, Fantham, 267; Schenk, 124 disappoints).

359 cedat V. just might be reworking in Dr.’s mouth, and about Tu., Juno’s words at **7.330ff. hunc mihi da proprium . . . laborem/. . . ne noster honos infractae cedat/fama loco**. The heroic temper (in the Sophoclean, Knoxian sense) of both is not made to yield, as Dr. well knows; cf. **321**, 12.17. Asper punctuated here (Tomsin, 67; cf. G.B. Townend, *PVS* 9 (1969–70), 84), while many edd. have preferred to make **ius proprium** the obj. of **cedat** with **regi** ind. obj. of the first verb and **patriae** of the second. Usage of *cedere* is indecisive, the few faint parallels and echoes likewise; rhythm and alliteration are neither of them decisively relevant. The division into parallel members *cedere regi* and *patriae remittere* creates a deceiving appearance of formal neatness, an instance of theme and variation which gains nothing, while pause after **cedat** creates variation of construction, increasing members and linked word-pair in the centre of the line. We are not absolutely compelled to pause after **cedat**, but to pause there is easy enough and indeed a light

pause at 1sp. is entirely acceptable, though commoner after enjambement (Winbolt, 16–8, helpful even by his high standards).

ius proprium The right to Lavinia as bride which Dr. feigns is Tu.'s own to exercise or surrender at pleasure. It is not therefore helpful (for here Dr. will perforce mislead) nor good Latin (cf. **7.331** on the idiom) to suggest (so Page, Williams) that the *ius* must be one held properly by king (indeed true, though here not relevant) and country (incomprehensible). Although Tu. is not represented objectively in the text as engaged to Lav. (**7.423**), he is himself represented as thinking he is thus blessed (**440**, 9.138, 10.79) and irrespective of formal engagements is anyway hardly the man to step down from marriage and future throne in favour of an ageing foreigner! The **i.p.** here therefore is (at least in Tu.'s view) Tu.'s own. **regi patriaeque** The country of king and speaker, and likewise addressee, though Lat. is only in some unclear sense also Tu.'s ruler (cf. **318**); the precise constitutional and diplomatic relationships between Latins and Rutuli V. mercifully leaves unclear. Some further discussion at **7.151**; that Tu.'s father has, 12.22, his own *regna* does not exclude some form of vassalage to Lat.; no more do the distinct origins of Rutuli and Latini. A curious question but today hardly deserving of ample enquiry.

remittat Cf. **346**; the vb. fifteen times in *Aen.*; used twice in the same sense in fifteen lines, both times, though, by Dr. of Tu. and thus likely to be characterisation rather than (**7.554**) oversight or plain lack of concern.

360 quid Cf. *EV* 2, 1000.

miseros . . . ciues Cf. **59, 63, 119, 156**: Dr.'s feeling for his fellow-citizens' (**119, 305**) sufferings not to be thought necessarily feigned for the occasion; the tone of sharing in popular grief for the battle-dead exactly right for his developed *popularis* character (cf. **121**).

in aperta pericula Cf. 9.663 *animasque in aperta pericula mittunt* (a pre-Virgilian phr. for Dingel). Both *EV* articles are alas themselves *operta pericula*.

361 proicis Cf. Cat.64.81f. *corpus . . . /proicere optauit*, *Aen.*6.435f. *lucemque perosi/proiecere animas*, *OLD* s.v., §9a ('abandon, expose'). We might also recall that the verb is (cf. *Lucr.*6.1155) standard of exposing corpses.

o Cf. **124, 152, 252**: typically at moments of emotional intensification.

Latio The alliance with Ardea has proved a disaster for the Laurentes and indeed for all the allies in other areas of Latium once listed in the Catalogue who have suffered in bks. 9 and 10 (cf. **359, 7.151**).

caput . . . et causa Roughly homonymous nouns (which can be taken as a sort of hendiadys in the sense of ‘first cause’; cf. Serv., *EV* 1, 715) beginning with *c* paired here; not a conventional alliterative noun-pair (cf. **192**, **7.114**, **160**, **284**, **460**), though cf. 12.572 *caput . . . summa*, 600 *se causam clamat crimenque caputque malorum*, but perhaps suggestive of current political language, *Bell.Hisp.*33.3 *totius seditionis*, [*familiae et libertinorum*], *caput*, *OLD* s.v. *caput*, §13, Opelt, 163. Notice also Thersites of Agam., ἀρχὸν ἔόντα κακῶν for the Greeks (*Il.*2.234).

horum . . . malorum Cf. *his . . . malis*, 4.549, 6.365, 512.

362 nulla salus bello **Nulla salus bello?** asks Tu., indignant (**399**); *s.* a word dear to V. and employed with marked variation of constr. (abl. abs., prepos., infin. . . .); cf. the *salus . . . una* of 2.354 (Cairns, 74 sees improbably a reference to the motif of the good king as saviour). The sequence at caesura is typical opposition by juxtaposition, Harrison, *Aen.*10, 288f., **7**, index s.v. juxtaposition.

pacem . . . /363 simul pacis Cf. 4.99, 10.79f. for etymologising extensions of this polyptoton; the expression neat, even mannered, polyptoton with asyndeton (cf. **7.75** for anaphora so used), and *s.* to reinforce (i.e. as though *et simul*; cf. e.g. **222**) the paradox of the double-barrelled impossible plea (Quinn, 242 reads it rather as heartfelt).

te poscimus Cf. **7.340**, **11.453** (of demanding arms). Dr., in appealing to Tu., of all people, for peace, reaches new levels of irony (*EV* 4, 230 confuses; *tacet* Schenk).

omnes The speaker claims to be voicing the view of the entire assembly, as he did at **344**; perhaps another calculated mannerism, at **358**.

363 Turne Dr. at last names his foe (cf. **384**) after speaking for twenty lines; V. underlines the occasion with alliteration, polyptoton and a favourite pause (cf. **359**); perforce, the third person of **359** is at last abandoned.

solum Lavinia and the marriage a key element in V.’s plotting (cf. **7.58**, **422ff.**) and here seen as such by Dr.; he now asks not only for peace, despised by Tu. and inimical to the leverage he has exerted upon Lat. (**7.421**, **3**) but for Tu. to surrender his claim to Lavinia, whereby peace can once more be achieved. Long practice has refined Dr.’s ability to wound and insult.

inviolabile pignus Cf. 3.611 and the adj. is Lucretian (5.305); TCD claims enallage and indeed inviolable peace is easy enough notion, but inevitably today we sense the presence of Lavinia, herself

inuiolata, lurking in the adj, as though Tu. would ever surrender his untouched maiden bride to an unknown foreign claimant.

364 primus ego Cf. *G.3.10*; out of all (**362**) present, Dr. first, despite the *inimicitia*, will plead: the effect of *inuisum* thrown forward. **inuisum** *Inimicus* Serv., SDan., TCD; in, therefore, virtually an active sense (Stiewe, *TLL* 7.2.198.80f., whence *EV* 2, 1006); compare e.g. *inuisus hostis*, *Ov.Tr.1.9.24*, *Luc.1.9*. Cf. **123, 220** for the role of personal hatreds in late Republican public life and *vd.* (e.g.) *Sall.Cat.17.7* with Hellegouarc'h, 198 (and n. 10) for *i.* in the language employed. Henry's eloquence is lavished in favour of the sense 'detestatus', in vain.

quem tu tibi Not a common polyptoton in V. (cf. Wills, 241 and contrast 5.840), but neat in the present confrontational context.

figis But cf. authorially **122f., 336**: the attentive reader knows that Dr. is protesting too much. It is bizarre that Mazzoli (*EV* 2, 527) should suppose Tu. answers these words at **406f. pauidum contra mea iurgia fingit/artificis scelus**. The answer there is clearly to **346, 357** and the echo is verbal, and evidently not thematic.

et esse Tu. will in fact (*vd. supra*, **346, 354**) look back beyond Dr. to Sinon on Ulysses, 2.124f.; cf. Hardie, 258.

365 nil moror Cf. 5.400 *nil dona moror*; note **227 nihil . . . actum**; here too unsurprisingly the idiom belongs to spoken Latin (*Plaut.As.643, Aul. 169, etc., Ter.Eun.184, OLD s.v., §4b*) and here stands as a recognisable colloquialism (LHS, 356 calls it an archaism; not a helpful definition).

en Cf. **7.452**; as clear an indication as one could wish that Dr. here employs a gesture of supplication (cf. **245, 7.119, 129, 374, 450**).

supplex uenio Cf. 8.145 *supplex . . . ueni*, 382 *supplex uenio*, 365 *ueni non asper*, 10.881 *uenio moriturus*. Homeric (*Il.18.457*), but not closely so, in formulation.

miserere tuorum The verb used by Enn. (*trag. and Ann.*), Lucr.; the form strikingly *semel* in *Buc.*, 12x in *Aen.* (cf. *miserescite, EV* 3, 547). Cf. Saces to Tu., 12.653 *in te suprema salus, miserere tuorum* (Dr. can hardly expect Tu. to show pity; in 12, the plea's tone is changed: Highet, 59). Note Amata's use of **tuorum** in addressing Lat. (**7.365**), 4.342, 6.868, 12.947 (with *Companion*, 212, n. 136): V.'s affective use of the pronominal adj. is undervalued, though here the precise reference is hardly clear (all Latins? Laurentes? Rutuli? all those serving under him? *Non intereant reliqui* remarks TCD, unexceptionably).

366 pone animos Cf. **346 flatusque remittat**, 1.302f. *ponuntque ferocia . . . / corda*, *EV* 4, 200. **A.** used in the sense of θυμός, proud spirit (*EV* 1, 176). Note the allit. expression (**p . . . p**) perhaps of contempt or disgust (followed by **f . . . f**).

et pulsus abi Defeat and withdrawal, for Tu., in public and not at a god's behest? Just, of course, what we know, as does Dr., that Tu.'s *animi* will never let him do, fatally for him and for the Latins. Cf. the use of **i** (**7.425f.**), ἄπελθε. The very notion that he might be thought *pulsus* will prove exceptionally offensive to Tu. (**392ff.**). Labate, ap.Fantham, 273, n. 38 points to the defeated bull of *G.3.225* who *uictus abit*, in anticipation of Tu.'s association with the fighting bull, 12.103ff.. Were the echo a little sharper, the links would carry greater weight.

sat funera fusi The advb. understood with both vb. and adj. (and for schoolroom distinctions, vd. *EV* 4, 684); cf. also 4.617f. *uideatque indigna suorum / funera*, and with **fusi** cf. 2.421 ('rout', as already in Acc., elogia; the vb.'s stronger sense, 9.592, **11.665**, would have deprived even Dr. of speech). A recurrent motif, **207, 372**.

367 uidimus As noted (**349**) V. lays strong and repeated emphasis upon his characters' sense of the visual evidence for their plight in these lines. We might remember Hector's reproaches to Paris, *Il.6.327* λαοὶ μὲν φθινύθουσι.

ingentis . . . agros Dr. shares with his public a feeling that the war in Latium has already far overrun its bounds (cf. **7.520, 549, 551, 7**, p. 415); after Venulus' failure, Latins and allies can hardly sense any longer that this expansion had been much to their advantage, even in the face of a foe from abroad. **Et** postponed; cf. **7.761**.

desolauimus *Factum fuerat desertum* writes TCD here while on 1.52, SDan. notes that *ueteres* wrote *uasto* for *desolato*; cf. too Colum.1.3.11 *quos hostis profugiendo desolasset agros*, Tafel, *TLL* 5.1.734.26f.. Note the variation of sense at **870**. Apparently a Virgilian novelty for standard *uasto*.

368 aut, si . . . si . . . / 369 . . . et si If Tu. will not back down in the face of general slaughter, then, if (a), (b) and (c), Tu. must himself go and fight; the conditions are of 2, 4 and 5 words, three parallel increasing members. Dr.'s vitriol is suavely, formally cast. The third **si** in synaloepha (so *undecies* in V.); vd. Gransden on **166**.

fama mouet Cf. 4.170 *neque enim specie famaue mouetur* (cf. 221, 323), Cic.*Off.*2.32 *vehementer autem amor multitudinis commouetur ipsa fama et*

opinionē liberalitatis. Even the princely hero Tu. is not quite above public opinion, suggests Dr. (though Tu. does not respond), in the face of an open suggestion (disagreeably put, but close enough to the accepted facts) that too many have been killed in furtherance of his marital and dynastic plans.

tantum . . . robur Cf. Ev. to Tu., **174**, though Tu. has no monopoly of the quality, there clearly physical and here necessarily of spirit (*OLD* s.v., §10).

pectore Cf. **7.356** **necdum animus toto percepit pectore flammam**.

369 concipis Cf. 4.501f. *nec tantos mente furores/concipit*, 474, *EV* 1, 654. In a mental sense, hitherto comic and prose.

adeo εἴ γε, Hand 1, 146, Wagner, *QV* xxvi. Dr. sinks his rhetoric into the easily vulnerable target of Tu.'s motives.

dotalis regia Cf. 9.737 *non haec dotalis regia Amatae* (Pandarus speaks; the Latin Dr. thus significantly and visibly takes up a Trojan's taunts). Cf. **7.423f.** for other characters' (neglected) perception of Tu.'s domestic ambitions in the poem.

cordi est Cf. **7.326**; on the aphaeresis, cf. **7.311**.

370 aude atque In keeping with a general tendency to parataxis (Görler, *EV* 2, 274, **7.7**), V. replaces the expected hypotaxis of the infin. (the common construction after *audeo*) with another imperative (and *audere* abs. is frequent enough; vd. **503**). Cf. Worstbrock, 130ff., Calboli, *EV* 3, 14ff. Tu.'s *audacia* is a central element of characterisation: cf. bibl., **7.475**.

aduersum . . . in hostem The adj. to be taken with **h.**, or with **pectus** or impartially with both? Sense and *sedes* indecisive, while parallels for both applications exist (cf. 9.347 *pectore in aduerso*, 442f., 10.571 *aduersaque pectora*, 12.950 *aduerso sub pectore*, *Buc.*10.45 *aduersos . . . hostis*, 12.266, 456, 461 *aduersos telum contorsit in hostis*, **11.389 imus in aduersos**); though normally *aduersus* refers to the subject's adversary (as in the phrase *in aduersos*, 10.734, etc.), vd. **11.742 aduersum se turbidus infert**. But the relative rarity of this (logical but faintly perverse) phrasing ought perhaps primarily to suggest that Tu. should charge the facing foe (cf. **374**).

fidens Cf. 5.398; elsewhere V. specifies the object of trust (common of warriors, 2.61, etc.): here alliterative and not far different in sense from e.g. *audacter*.

fer pectus Cf. 1.189, 3.490, 678, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.542.63, *EV* 2, 493 (and not far from 8.199 *magna se mole ferebat*); Tu.'s *pectus* to be under-

stood both as his upper body and as the seat of his courage (Onians, 170). The phrase not obviously Greek, as one might incline to believe.

371 scilicet Suggesting with (some, or much) bitterness (or irony) here (as often) a grotesquely improper motivation (or explanation): cf. 4.379 *scilicet is superis labor est*, 6.526 *scilicet id magnum sperans fore munus amanti*, 2.577, **11.387**. The particle 14x in Plaut., 24x in Ter., but not distinctively colloquial: *quinquies* in Hor.*C.*, 14x elsewhere in Hor., 162x in Cic., of which 82 in *Epp.*; cf. LHS, 837, Hofmann-Ricottilli, 121.

vt This destructuring of heroic intentions is as old as Hom., and in the heroes' own mouths, Griffin, 99ff.

Turno contingat Now that Dr. can face using Tu.'s name, here in contrast to **nos** he refers to Tu. in the third person, and by name, as he turns away from his specific addressee to his wider audience in pungent antithesis (from **scilicet** to **373 campis**; Fantham, 269 oddly suggests the appeal to the Latins continues to **374**), suggestive perhaps of vigorous and contemptuous gesturing. Cf. 1.95f., 9.267f. for **c.** (from Enn.*trag.*307) similarly used impersonally, with a touch of grandeur that confirms the ironical force of the name (cf. the caustic use of **Drance** in reply, **384**).

regia coniunx Of Lavinia (and Aeneas) at 2.783; of Amata at **7.56**; just possibly calculated repetition (Moskalew, 84).

372 nos The pronoun, contrasted with **Turno**, indicates a parallel member to be read in asyndetic opposition. Dr. as speaker identifies himself with his unburied compatriots; the living will indeed join the dead if Tu. has his way.

animae uiles 'Of little account'; cf. Cat.72.6 (a sense well-attested in prose); the nameless spear-fodder (**7.80, 11.2, 102**) for once acquires a voice through its tribune. Had there been a precise, literal Gk. antecedent (as there is for the line's other two adjs.), it could well have contained ἄτιμος. Knauer, 59, n. 1 claims unpersuasively that V. had in mind *Il.*3.56, the Trojans *δειδήμονες* ('fearful').

inhumata infletaque Cf. *Od.*11.54 ἄκλαυτον καὶ ἄθαπτον (vd. too Soph.*Ant.*29); the pairing of negative compounds is rare enough to be distinctive: 6.325 *inops inhumataque turba* (in TCD), 9.287f., 10.794 (with Harrison's n., *Lucr.*2.1104), 12.131f. *Inhumatus* is in Pacuv. (*trag.*103) and *Lucr.* (6.1215). Cf. *EV* 3, 590.

turba Cf. the *omnis . . . turba* of 6.325, and *ib.*306 *matres atque uiri, defunctaque corpora uita*. **373**, as Strati well notes (*EV* 5*, 318), renders polemical the pathetic, Homeric echo from bk. 6 (the unburied viewed

literally and on earth by Dr., while their souls are simultaneously present through the vision of, and echo from, bk. 6).

373 sternamur campis V. is markedly attached to passive forms of the vb. (5 forms, and 11x out of 35 instances from the present stem; *deest* in *EV*); note the quest for synonyms for 'die' (cf. **110**); with *campis*, cf. *humi*.

etiam tu In loaded contrast with **372 nos**.

si qua tibi vis Cf. **7.4**, 4.327 *si qua mihi* . . .; for the range of *uis*, see *EV* 5*, 568ff. (Squillante Saccone); V. enjoys the effects to be obtained by the audacious handling of a high-power monosyllable: cf. 1.271, 10.898, 12.93. At l-end (for monosyll. line end, cf. **7.592**; specific effects not always to be detected) also at 4.132, 10.864 (so in *Enn. Ann.* 229 *Vestina uirum uis*). *Tibi* iambic (the original pronunciation, less common after the application of *Iambenkürzung*, Leumann, 462) at *Buc.* 5.79, 9.57, *G.* 1.176, 4.354, 498, *Aen.* 3.412, 6.373, 10.86, etc. (and *mihi* likewise iambic: *Buc.* 10.1, *G.* 2.485, *Aen.* 1.8, 4.327, 6.343, 10.773, **11.586**, etc.; some notes give the impression that this prosody is rare or unusual).

374 si Geminated as at **368f.**; Fantham's 'repeated, nagging *si*-clauses' (269). Dr. not only disputes Tu.'s courage (so Fantham), but questions, if not—quite—his paternity, then his inability to live up to Daunus' standards (cf. **7.653**, **736**). Cf. *Companion*, 145, Corbeill (**384**), 77, n. 72.

patrii . . . Martis Cf. 2.491 *instat ui patria Pyrrhus*; for the metonymy, cf. **7.111** and Tu.'s imminent answer, **389**.

quid . . . habes A strong suggestion that Tu. has (cf. *EV* 2, 826) little or none of old Daunus' valour, which had, we shall learn, once been considerable (12.22, 90, 736; cf. Evander's heroic past, 8.561ff., though here such 'facts' matter little!).

illum aspice Cf. 6.788, 8.190, *EV* 1, 372; Tu. is invited not to look with his mind's eye, though *aspice* can mean that (Romano, *EV*, *cit.*, citing e.g. 1.526, 8.385; *Aen.* has made his challenge, in Dr.'s hearing (*infra*), but is now not present), but to go and meet *Aen.*, face to face.

contra Cf. **7.374 contra stare uidet**. Hom. ἄντην, sc. (e.g.) εἰς τ-δέειν, ἐκέδρακον; cf. *Plaut. Cas.* 938f. *nec meam ut uxorem aspiciam/ contra oculis* (and note also **282**, *Diom.* had faced Aeneas).

375 qui vocat Sc. **te**, the easiest of ellipses; **v.** (*deest*, *EV*) often enough employed in the sense of 'challenge' (cf. *G.* 3.194, *Aen.* 6.172, *OLD* s.v., §5a). For Günther (44f.), **371–5** have a tone sharper than

the rest of Dr.'s speech and lose him some of our goodwill. An attempt, therefore at altering the tone? Aeneas' challenge, made in Dr.'s presence, **115**, is the point of departure for Dr.'s brusquer invitation here, in turn to be answered by Tu. at **442**. The theme of single combat has indeed been introduced twice already (vd. also **218f.**); the third reference to it, to lead directly into Tu.'s reaction (**442**), is a fine, complex piece of forward plotting and 'sharpened tone' is perhaps not explanation enough.

The presence of a sharpened insertion (**371–5**) at the end of Dr.'s speech would indeed be a neat way to account for the next insertion too, **383–91**. But Tu.'s reference (**383f.**) to Dr.'s insinuation of cowardice is a reply not only to the conclusion under discussion (**372f.**) but also to the earlier **350f.**, while the reference (**384**) to Dr.'s charge that he is an expensive commander is even more clearly not to the insertion but to another earlier passage of Dr.'s accusation, **365–7**. Tu.'s reply (cf. *Companion*, 244) begins as a response not so much to Dr.'s speech as to V.'s portrait of the politician. Having altered Dr.'s conclusion, V. decides to sharpen Tu.'s opening, but this time primarily *ad hominem* and not *ad uerba*.

376–444 Turnus' speech See first Heyne at his best: *ceterum in hac Turni oratione, multo etiam magis quam in altera Drancis, saeculi sui genium artibus rhetoricis imbuti declaravit Maro. nec quicquam in Graecis, multo minus in Homero, reperiri arbitror, quod ad artem declamatoriam propius spectet. sed habebat Euripidem . . .* [though precise analogies do not seem to have been proposed]. Tu.'s targets are spread wide but the speech's articulation is markedly orderly (Heinze: cf. **410**, the passage from Dr. to Lat.) and it displays a consistently studied deployment of particles (so already Heinze; cf. Highet, 59f.) and pronouns in particular (vd. comm. for details). Tu.'s loathing of Dr. may be reflected in the speaker's more agitated manner (vd. index, s.v. gesture) and arguably in more disorderly expression, **406**; but note that Tu. quotes Dr. back at him, repeatedly and quite fairly (Highet, 60; vd. his index, s.v. 'quotation'). But we should also observe the two personal outbursts in the 'orderly' second part: **415–8, 443f.**; contrast stock moral reflections, **425f.** The tripartite division of the more deliberative **410–44** (contrast *refutatio/confutatio* and/or *inuectiva* against Drances) has often been noted—e.g. Highet, 310f.—and the internal subdivisions are signalled at **419 sin et** and **434 quod si**. The military manner Tu. adopts rarely, **379, 385, 395**; more often, though, he draws on the standard topics of insult, as Dr. too had

done: cf. **378, 383, 390, 392, 399**, in rich counterpoint with the 'facts' and personalities of the Trojan war and of recent battles. There are two principal Homeric antecedents: given the element of Antenor proposing the return of Helen to Paris, *Il.*7.350ff., Tu.'s reaction must recall Paris' 7.357-64; given the presence of Polydamas behind Dr., note Hector's response behind Tu.'s (whence further point to **magnum . . . Achillen, 438**); in particular, cf. behind the exemplary **392-5**, vd. Hector's 18.293-6; further, with **438**, cf. 18.307f. (Tu. and Hector will both face their foes, however the battles may turn out). Vd. also Fantham, 270ff., Grandsen, comm., p. 34, VI, 181ff., Hardie, 248, Heinze, 426, Highet, 59ff., 210ff., Knauer, 284f., 343, Pascal (**442**), 252f., Quinn, 243f., Renger, 88, Schenk, 129ff., Schmit-Neuerburg, 208f.. *Companion* 244ff. offers a detailed stylistic comm. on **378-91**, here variously reduced, amplified, corrected and sometimes repeated.

376 talibus . . . dictis Cf. **7.445 talibus Allecto dictis exarsit in iras, 249, 284, 373**.

exarsit Cf. **7.445**, *cit.*, *TLL* 5.2.1181.42 (Burckhardt). From *Cat.*64.93 *imis exarsit tota medullis*; the vb. *quinquies* in *Aen.*. Elsewhere and thematically Tu.'s emotions are associated—as here—with fire-imagery (**7.456ff., 462ff., 577f., 785**).

uiolentia Turni Cf. **354**; distinctive and thematic in its association with Tu. For the type of phrasing, cf.—almost—**7.650 corpore Turni**: here T. is presented as the very expression of *uiolentia*.

377 dat gemitum Cf. **7.567 dat sonitum**: an archaic type of composite phrase; cf. 1.485 *ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo*, 9.709 *dat tellus gemitum*. **G.** once each in *trag.* of Enn., Pacuv., Acc. and once too in *Acc.praet.*; *quinquies* in Lucr..

rumpit Cf. 2.129, 3.246, 4.553 *rumpere questus* (cf. *Soph.Trach.*852, 919); the phrase's origins amply discussed (Cavazza, *EV* 4, 601 in labyrinthine): cf. *Eur.Supp.*710 ἔρρηξεν αὐδὴν (so also in *Hdt., AP*). Compare, clearly, *silentium rumpere* (Lucr., Hor., *Aen.*10.63f., Licinia Ricottilli, *EV* 5*, 13); silence, though, is hardly antiphrastic, but a natural development, given that here, and in bks. 2 (Calchas speaks after ten days), 3, *citt.*, the speakers break not only silence, but (e.g.) expectation, and the pressing bounds of tension, secrecy or manners that have hitherto kept sealed breast or throat. Unnecessary to identify the phrase's precise origin; the metaphor's area of origin is clear enough (and may well have passed from Gk. tragedy into the diction of Enn./Pacuv.).

has . . . uoces Interestingly, a form of expression limited to the end of the poem: cf. the variations, **534, 840**, 12.318 *has inter uoces*.

imo pectore Cf. **377**, 1.371 *imoque trahens a pectore uocem*, 485 *ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo*, 2.288 *sed grauius gemitus imo de pectore ducens*, 6.55, **11.840**; cf. Onians, 40 for the *pectus* as seat of the organs of consciousness and Mackie, 28, Fantham, 271, n. 32 for the phrase's association with strong emotion.

378 larga . . . copia fandi The adj. given very marked emphasis by initial position, by the use of *quidem*, by delayed prosthesis and by hyperbaton. *Est* as often omitted (Görler, *EV* 2, 274, Harrison on 10.106). The adj. not in itself contemptuous, but clearly so in conjunction with the delayed **c.f.**, and after its application to Dr.'s largesse at **338**. As Hardie notes, the charge of prolixity introduces the longest speech of the debate! **C.f.** Cf. **248**, 1.520 *postquam introgressi et coram data copia fandi*, 9.484, 720; here V. turns the sense of the phrase by the addition of an adj., providing not so much a poetic equivalent of *copia dicendi, uerborum* as the clear but not exactly paralleled sense 'great store of speech' (Conway on 1, *cit.*). Note *G.3.308 largi copia lactis*, 2.390 (with Citroni Marchetti, *EV* 3, 124). Compare Thersites' ἔπεα . . . ἄκοσμά τε πολλά τε (*Il.2.213*). For loquacity, epic and political and for the opposition words-sword, cf. **338** and note again the importance of Polydamas (**343-75**), to Hector a man of words (*Il.12. 249*). At 12.644 *nec Drancis dicta refellam?* Dr.'s insults still exercise their capacity to wound.

quidem Cf. **49**, 3.628, LHS, 486; not specially common after an adj. in V..

semper Cf. **122**.

Drance, tibi For the form of the voc., cf. NW 1, 447f.; Dr.'s very name, so rich in consonants, will surely not, given his nature, have sounded pleasant; here delayed by enjambement and prominent in the verse, directly preceding the pronoun: cf. 1.65 *Aeole, namque tibi*, *Buc.8.93*. The present accumulation of effects seems not exactly paralleled.

379 tum cum Spitting alliteration of t and p; the conjunctions elsewhere separated in V. (and Cat.); here perhaps juxtaposed to show urgency ('at just the moment when').

bella manus poscunt Cf. (Tu. again) **7.444 bella uiri pacemque gerent quis bella gerenda**. For **m.** in this (almost concrete) sense, cf. **16, 289**; for the vb., cf. 6.37 (and note the common military use with concrete objs., 9.12, 524, etc.). Tu. displays *imperatoria breuitas*.

patribusque uocatis Cf. **7.176** for the quite common use of **p.** of the elders/senators of a non-Roman people; **u.** both a t.t. of Rom. usage (Mommsen, *StR* 3.2, 915, n. 4) and easily open to epic extension (cf. **7.246f.**).

380 primus ades Climax, signalled by pause at 1½. *Adesse* often used with advb. adj: cf. 2.182 *improuisi aderunt*, **7.506**, 9.49, 10.443, Görler, *EV* 2, 270. Tu. uses caustically of Dr. language more often applied to the warrior first in the fight: **7.577**, 9.38, 49, 696.

sed non replenda est Repetition with variation of the theme of **379**. Vd. again paired monosyllables; perhaps a staccato effect despite proclisis. Buildings etc. filled with sound/words: cf. **7.502 atque imploranti similis tectum omne replebat**, *Lucr.*5.992 and note *Buc.*6.48 *implerunt falsis mugitibus agros*, *G.*3.94, 4.461, 515, *Aen.*2.769. **curia** Cf. **234**, **7.174** for *c.* used of the assembly-buildings of non-Roman societies.

uerbis Contrast **bella**, in contemptuous soldierly antithesis.

381 quae . . . magna uolant Cf. 10.547 *dixerat ille aliquid magnum* with Harrison's n. and Timpanaro, *Nuovi contr.*, 276 (a sense of 'big' already present in Gk.). The adj. here clearly predicative (for the sense, cf. *Hor.C.*4.6.1f. *magnae/uindicem linguae*, *Prop.*2.25.31, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.136.2f.). Such flight is traditional: cf. *Enn.Ann.*409, *Var.*18, *Aen.*10.584 *dicta uolant Ligeri*. The metaphor is familiar in Pindar (D. Steiner, *Crown of Song* (London 1986), 107); cf. **7.699**.

tuto tibi The adj. (cf. 1.243, 8.323 *latuisset tutus*, *EV* 5*, 309) used predicatively in the sense of 'in safety'. *Tibi* (cf. *Ligeri*, *supra*) is not 'ethic' (*uel sim.*), but surely a quite early instance of dat. of agent (vd. Bennett 2, 170, Ernout-Thomas, 75, LHS, 97, Housman on *Luc.*2.554). *Serv.* toys with the idea that **t.** might be advb., a measure of his uncertain grasp of idiom.

distinet Used differently by *Lucr.* (5.203); here, though, distinctively military language (9x in *Caes.*; cf. 19x in *Liv.*, 6x *Tac.*; see e.g. *Caes.Gall.*7.59.6 *tum legiones a praesidio atque impedimentis interclusas maximum flumen distinebat*); vd. index s.v. military language (and *Aen.*7, s.v. *id.*), though one might have expected this register used more often to characterise Tu. (as it does *Aen.*, *Companion*, 245, Lyne, *WP*, 125, etc.). Note **distinet P**; **detinet M** (quite without charms, in comparison).

hostem Tu. anticipates the close siege of Latinus' city: cf. **900 metum iam ad moenia ferri**; not *yet*, but not inconceivable; we

may remember Lat. at **304** (the city now under siege; not quite true then either); in Tu.'s view, not the time for Dr. to speak, but Tu. himself speaks far longer and **378–83** answers nothing in Dr.'s speech! **M** and Prisc. (*GL* 2.394.11, 14; vd. M. De Nonno, *EV* 4, 281) read **hostes**.

382 agger murorum an *agger* is strictly the mound at the base of the wall (10.24, 9.43 *tutos seruarent aggere muros*, Vollmer, *TLL* 1.1307.64) but usage is often laxer (cf. Serv. on 10.24) and here we have most probably another instance of *genitiuus inhaerentiae*: cf. **103**, *Aen.* 7, index s.v., *Companion*, 228. **Agger** nry₂, Priscian (*ib.*, 15), TCD; **aggere** **MPR**: an excellent instance of the occasional virtues of the Carolingian mss., while the capital codices are misled by the singular usage. **moerorum P**; **murorum P₂R**. The archaism (cf. *Enn. Ann.* 418, Leumann, 65; known to the grammatical tradition, Serv. *ad Aen.* 10.24, Quint. 8.3.25 (whose 'Virgilian mss.' were themselves not all that he believed, **397**) printed by e.g. Geymonat, Ribbeck, Perret. Cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 439 for ms. usage: at 10.24 **moerorum PV₁**; **murorum MP₂R**; **mororum V**; at 10.144 *aggere murorum*, note **moerorum M**; **murorum P₂R**; **meorum P**, Courtney (**230**), 24. There are no other instances authorised by the capital mss. of the -oe- spelling. Harrison on 10.24 suggests that the archaic spelling in a stock phrase should be retained, but we may suspect that **P** here is, like part of the tradition at 10.24, and 144, influenced by the grammarians' doctrine (cf. perhaps **7.464**) and the -oe- spelling is hardly to be admitted to the text, here or elsewhere.

nec inundant sanguine fossae Cf. 10.24 *inundant sanguine fossae* **MR**; *fossas* **PV**, Serv., TCD. There Harrison, who rightly prints *fossae* in the text, quotes, after G.B. Conte, *RFil.* 111 (1983), 150ff., *Il.* 12.430f. πάντη δὴ πύργοι καὶ ἐπάλξιες αἵματι φωτῶν/ἐρράδατ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν and 4.451 (= 8.65) ῥέε δ' αἵματι γαῖα for Hom. locutions which make an intrans. vb. both in 10 and here (for the two cases cannot be dissociated, though Highet, 60 makes heavy weather of Tu. 'quoting' Venus) far likelier (cf. Conte, *cit.*, 151ff.). Recognised as a typical Virgilian intransitivisation by Görler, *EV* 2, 246, as the different sense at 12.280f. *hinc densi rursus inundant/Troes* . . . confirms (as Conte remarks, analogy with the other intrans. compounds, *abundo*, *exundo*, *redundo* will have facilitated intrans. *inundo*); **V**. also uses the vb. of the container, not, as hitherto, of the liquid. The nom. is far better supported and Prisc. (*cit.*, 12ff. with de Nonno, *cit.*) was misled

into thinking V. had written **fossas** here by the more widely attested acc. at 10.24. There is ellipse of a particle to indicate ‘yet’; the expression is terse yet gory.

383 proinde In V. only here and at **400**; Naev. *trag.*63, 21x in Lucr. and common enough in prose (*septies*, Sall., 13x. Caes.), KS 1, 201, LHS 283, 515. Underscores the iron. imperative (**7.425**; cf. too **11.24**, **119**, Pease on 4.381). For the synzesis, cf. *EV* 4, 879 (Sebastiano Timpanaro).

tona Cf. Cic.*Orat.*29, after Gk. βροντᾶν (and note transitively at 4.510).

eloquio First here (the *Inv. in Sall.* is no rival; cf. *Companion*, 248); a metrically handy substitute for *eloquentia*, *elocutio*: cf. Lunelli-Leumann, 161f., *TLL* 5.2.412.53f. (Kapp-Meyer).

solitum tibi *Est* omitted; note the parenthesis, here used as typical of spoken language (note Squillante Saccone’s useful list, *EV* 3, 973f. and Hofmann-Ricottilli, 262ff.). With this use of the neut. participle, cf. 5.6 *notumque furens quid femina possit* (with Williams’ n.), *G.*3.348 *ante expectatum*, Ernout-Thomas, 281, LHS, 153f., KS 1, 228f.

meque . . . / 384 . . . tu Tu. thrusts himself forwards in the sentence and the pronouns are as starkly opposed (cf. **505f.**, 12.810, *Buc.*3.25 (cited by Serv. here), 5.4, etc.) as the speakers. Tu. reaches (at last) the substance of his attempt at rebuttal.

timoris The rawest of insults to the hero, not least when his record (**351**) is not, and at that in some measure thanks to his own imperfection as warrior, flawless. But even a flawed hero can stand up effectively to verbal charge and counter-charge with a Dr.: not only does Dr. just talk when his city is in danger (**380–2**), but cannot usefully raise his hand in its defence (**384–91**).

384 argue Cf. *Cat.*64.322, Hey, *TLL* 2.552.36.

Drance The addressee’s name used as calculated insult; a phenomenon unnamed (cf. Lausberg, *Lit.Rhet.*1, 377ff.) but nevertheless vigorously alive: cf. 10.649 *quo fugis, Aenea*, **11.363 Turne**, Cic.*Cat.*1.13, 20; see A. Corbeill, *Controlling laughter* (Princeton 1996), 81 on the scathing use of *Magnus*, *Crassus*.

quando Heavily ironical, since used of the consequence of something that Dr. has clearly *not* done.

tot Instant concentrated hyperbole: cf. **7.198**, **228**, **421**, **11.349**.

stragis aceruos / 385 Teucrorum A. a well-used word of good ancestry (10.245, 509, *Acc.trag.*323, *Cat.*64.359. More problematic,

s.: cf. Lucr.1.288 *dat...stragem*, G.3.247, 556 *cateruatim dat stragem* (note too 9.526, 784, 12.454), 6.504 *confusae stragis aceruum* (with the closely related *caedis a.*, 10.245, **11.207**; note Cat.64.359 *caesis...corporum aceruis*). Abstr., therefore, or concrete? Hardly even to be decided in the light of following *Teucrorum*: the doubled genitive of the same type avoided, we are told, by poets except for the late Prop. (LHS, 65f., Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*, 223; note Bennett 2, 81), but note 2.553 *haec finis Priami fatorum*, where Henry delights and informs, while coupled gens. of *different* types are unremarkable in prose and unrecognised in verse; cf. KS 1, 416f. and *Aen.*1.350f. *securus amorum/germanae* (with 10.326), **11.126 iustitiaene prius mirer belline laborum?** Heaps, therefore, of (possess.) slaughter (abstr.) of Trojans (obj.gen.) or of (possess.) slaughtered bodies (concr.) of Trojans? The strongly physical **aceruos** and the correct etym. link sensed with *stemere* (Varr.*LL* 5.187) do markedly suggest the latter. Baffi, *EV* 4, 1033, hardly illuminates. Note that Quint.9.2.49 cites with **caedis**, after 10.245, **11.207**.

tua dextra Cf. **7.474** for the warrior's right hand (cf. NW 2, 9f. for the commoner form used here); cf. **735** again of failure. Puccioni, 379f. = 147f. draws attention to the *inrisio* (cf. Serv. on **384**)/*ironia* found comparably in trag.inc.61ff.; attributed to Acc.*Armorum iudicium* (Ajax mocking Ulysses' victories); cf. though Wigodsky, 95f..

dedit Alliterative (note the paired play of dentals, over four words), and (*supra*) a standard vb., from Lucr. on (Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1686.16f.), with *stragem*.

passimque 17x in V.; a discreet supplement (ironic and not) to the lexicon of epic hyperbole; cf. 2.364f. *sternuntur inertia passim/corpora*.

tropaeis Cf. **5–13** and **224** (the support for Tu. generated by his **meritis...tropaeis**): Tu.'s irony reaches the limits.

386 insignis An Ennian vb., only *bis* in V.: cf. **7.790**.

agros Cf. **144, 206, 367**: the fields of Latium become battlefields.

possit quid Rather unusually for V. subjunc. dependent on subjunc. (an unrecognised instance: cf. Norden, *Aen.*6, 379, n. 1, Görler, *EV* 2, 274). Dependent clause before main vb., and here verb thrown before both subject and obj., both for sharpened emphasis and to avoid spondaic fourth foot (Austin on l.1).

uiuida uirtus The adj. distinctively Lucretian (1.72, 178; cf. *Aen.*10.609), cognate with *uiuo* not directly with *uirtus* (cognate of *uir*), *pace* Harrison on 10, *cit.*; it is, though, likely that some sort of parechesis was sensed within the alliterative expression.

387 experiare licet Ironical invitation; paratactic subjunc. as at *Buc.*9.64, *Aen.*6. 400ff. (cf. *EV* 3, 211 and more generally, *Companion*, 231, with bibl.). **E.** Ennian and tragic; cf. **7.434 Turnum experiatur in armis**, and *Enn. Ann.*187 *uirtute experiamur*.

nec longe Vd. the useful survey by Zaffagno, *EV* 3, 247; the enemy at the gates, **381f.** (note the repetition of **hostes**) and still very much present to the reader's imagination.

scilicet Often found as here with an ironic tinge, **371**, 4.379, 6.526, 12.570, *EV* 4, 724.

388 quaerendi nobis As often, *sunt* omitted; advb. and gerundive enclose the phrase; the latter helps markedly a swift, dense turn of phrase, without unwelcome syntactical elaboration. The vb. similarly at **231** (*EV* s.v. peculiarly unhelpful). **N.** is a real plural; Tu. invites Dr. to fight alongside him, in the second of two roughly parallel invitations (both caesura to caesura and the conclusion of just three words (cf. 4.629); note two molossi in the line).

circumstant . . . muros Cf. *Enn. trag.*27, *Lucr.*3.469, etc.. *Muri* of Lat.'s city: cf. **7.153 moenia regis**.

undique Cf. **208**; Tu. overstates the situation (cf. **17**) and Lat.'s city is not, to view the 'facts' objectively, yet under siege, but neither he, nor Lat. (**304**), are prepared not to play the 'enemy at the gates' card. Like **385 passim**, a term of implicit hyperbole (cf. **7.520, 551**).

389 imus Pres. for fut. (cf. *Liv.*27.26.10 *'quin imus' inquit ipsi cum equitibus paucis exploratum?*, *Plaut. Capt.*479, *Cas.*854, 977, *Mer.*100, 582, *Rud.*266, Lindsay, *Syntax of Plautus*, 58, Bennett, 1, 18ff., Görler, *EV* 2, 272, with KS 1, 119f., LHS 357f., Horsfall on **7.470**; *Companion*, 247 is forced), according to a frequent idiom of spoken Latin (and stylistically appropriate here, therefore): cf. 12.13 *congregior*, 9.21 (with Hardie, Dingel). See too Väänänen, *Intr. Lat. Vulg.*2, §141; after all, Trimalchio *foras cenat*. *Imus* for *eamus* though would not be unvirgilian (so Page): cf. (e.g.) Page's n. here, Fordyce on **7.359**, Harrison on 10.675, Görler, *EV* 2, 273 on this very colloquial use of indic. for subj.. Like *imus in aduersos?* (e.g. Page; a question mark visible in **P**), though, it is probably an unnecessary complication. The conventional comparison of Hom. ἄλλ' ἴομεν is not very helpful, given the difference of mood.

in aduersos As both noun and adj. a useful synonym for 'enemy' (cf. 6.831, 9.588, 10.571, 12.266). In this sense, a usage of histor.

prose, but perhaps not distinctively so: *OLD* cites *Bell.Afr.*82.4 *pectore aduerso* (cf. *Bell.Alex.*8.4), *Sall.*7*jug.*97.5 (cf. 59.3).

quid cessas? Because Tu., presumably by gesture, has indicated that Dr. was to take **imus** as an actual invitation to march. For the vb., cf. *Enn.trag.*194, *Aen.*6.51f. ‘*cessas in uota precesque, / Tros*’, *ait*, ‘*Aenea, cessas*’? One or more *interrogatiunculae* a familiar orator’s technique: *Cic.Cat.*1.20, *Aen.*4.272, 369, 6.52, **392** *infra*.

an tibi . . . / 391 . . . erit A suppressed question’s presence is perhaps to be suspected: why hesitate? (will you never march?) will you always just talk and run?

Mauors Not the authentic archaic form of *Mars* (as *EV* 1, 288 rather suggests): see Wissowa, *RKR*, 142. A poeticism to *Paul.exc.Fest.p.*131.27 (vd. *Enn.Ann.*99). Dr. had concluded (**374**) **si patrii quid Martis habes** and Tu. is swift to answer in kind; **M.** is used metonymically in both passages (cf. Bailey, 113f., **11.152 ut saeuo uelles te credere Marti**, 12.124, 790, etc.).

390 uentosa in lingua For adjs. in *-osus*, cf. *Companion*, 247, **7.566** (**u.** used literally at *Cat.*64.59) and cf. too **708 uentosa . . . gloria**. Tu. returns to a familiar theme, **338, 378**. For the patterning ABBA of nouns and adjectives, cf. Kroll-Lunelli, 63, Wilkinson, 216f..

pedibusque fugacibus Cf. [*Sall.*] *Rep.*2.9.2 *pedes fugaces* (and note the similar parallelism cited at **338**), [*Sall.*] in *Cic.*5 *pedes fugaces*, [*Cic.*] in *Sall.*10 *pedes fugaces*, Rutilius Lupus (late Augustan) 1.18 (citing a fragment of Lycurgus, fr. 6 Conomis) *pedes ad fugam*. An old problem of relationships (upon which I am grateful to Robin Nisbet for a written opinion): cf. R.G.M. Nisbet, *JRS* 48 (1958), 31, A. La Penna in *Vergiliana*, 287 and in *EV* 2, 139, R. Syme, *Sallust*, 348f. Rut. Lupus used Lyc. and influenced the Sallustian corpus (so already Ruhnken’s comm.), while V. (so Nisbet, *per litt.*) used the old, Homeric tradition of invective (vd. **351**). Homer was a convenient and distinguished forerunner of recent *loidoria*, a register with which we have repeatedly seen V. was familiar, while the rhetorical schools that gave us [*Sall.*] and [*Cic.*] were also intimately acquainted with the text of V. (see e.g. *EV* 4, 765f.). The adj. at *G.*3.539, in *Liv.*5 (28.8), and dear to *Hor.C.* (*quater* in 2, *semel* in 3, 4 and *Serm.*2); very recently introduced to high literature, perhaps by V. himself.

istis With, conceivably, a gesture of infinite contempt at his adversary’s feet. Or else a specific reference to Dr.’s own reference to Tu.’s *flight* (**351**).

391 semper Cf. **122, 378**: Dr. is not, whether in V.'s view, or in Tu.'s, going to change his spots; Cf. *Companion*, 118ff.. Cf. **375** for discussion of the hemistich.

M₂ fills the line out with *nequiquam armis terrebimus hostem*; cf. Sparrow, 46f., M. Geymonat in *Companion*, 296, n. 10.

392 pulsus ego? . . . pulsum Line-framing repetition is rather common (Wills, 429): cf. **170, 358**. Tu. casts Dr.'s very words back in his teeth: **366 pone animos et pulsus abi** (just as **399::362**, Serv., TCD *huic obiecto ita respondit*, Wills, 343, Highet, 60, 78). The polypoton (Wills, 231) binds Tu.'s questions and binds also his restatement of his record (**pulsus**) to his rebuttal of Dr.'s charge (**pulsum**). The pronoun thus placed conveys with singular force Tu.'s disgust at the very idea that he might have been defeated; by comparison, Mez.'s use at *idem ego, nate, tuum maculaui crimine nomen* (10.851) seems almost faint.

aut quisquam merito Cf. **502 Turne, sui merito si qua est fiducia forti**, G.2.40, TLL 8.824.7 (Bulhart). After *quisquam* (cf. *EV* 4, 317), the implication is strongly that no such slander (Page compares 10.34, 65 for *q.* in questions expecting a neg. answer) can ever be made, with justice.

foedissime Nowhere else in V. applied to a human subject: cf. (e.g.) Highet, 60, Fantham, 273, n. 35, *EV* 2, 546. But cf. *Sall.Cat.*19.2, *Cic.Pis.*31, *Phil.*13.35: applied, therefore, though not often, to adversaries in the language of late-republican insult.

393 arguet The vb. already used by Tu. at **384**; here, cf. 9.281f. *me nulla dies tam fortibus ausis/dissimilem arguerit*. The fallacy of Tu.'s argument was already clear to Serv.: *hoc uult intellegi, non posse dici merito pulsum eum, qui insequendo [hostem DServ.] bella deseruit, aperte autem hoc dicit: potest merito credi quod pulsus sit is, cuius tot extant tropaea?* [*et rerum commemoratione falsum probat* DServ., ignored by Fantham, 272f., a too-loyal supporter of Tu.].

Iliaco . . ./394 sanguine The adj. 24x in *Aen.*; a useful synonym for 'Trojan', and *pace* Zaffagno, *EV* 5*, 292f. not one that refers always to Ilium, citadel of Troy: here, clearly not, for a start! Note the run-over dactyl, to give gore more weight and the close thematic links with 6.87 *et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno*: as Norden demonstrates, majestically (vd. also Austin *ad loc.*, *Alambicco*, 82f., **7.98**), the Sibyl there adopts recognisably the oracular manner (for the Tiber running with blood, cf. also 6.87 *cit.*, 8.538ff., 12.36,

Buchheit, 179f., Horsfall, *EV* 5*, 156); here, therefore, V. allows Tu. to look into the future and thunder that no-one will ever gaze upon his defeat. Echo, therefore, to deeply ironic effect, for the careful reader. In particular, the blood is oracular stock-in-trade: cf. *orac. ap.Zos.2.6* (= Phlegon Trall.*FHG* 3, 617), v. 11 αἵματι δὲ πλήσει ποταμούς, *Orac.Sib.5.201*, 372, *Carm.Marc.ap.Liv.* 25.12.6.

tumidum . . . Thybrim The adj. variation upon the Sibyl's *spumantem*, *cit.*; the adj. elsewhere of e.g. the sea or the spirit, swollen with storm (**7.810**) or emotion (e.g. *Aen.6.49*, *EV* 5*, 312f.). The Tiber a river of strong oracular associations, far beyond the Sibyl of 6.87: vd. *orac. ap.Zos.2.6* (= Phleg.Trall., *FHG* 3, 611), v. 5, *Orac.Sib.5.170*, Lucian, *Alex.27*, *EV* 5*, 157, with bibl. (Horsfall), Norden, *cit.*

qui . . . / 394 . . . uidebit V.'s relentless emphasis on direct experience continues (cf. **396**), Hardie (1998), 256, **349**, **367f.**; but we may also suspect a continuation of the Sibylline mode of utterance: cf. 6.87 *cerno* and note the visionary 2.624.

crescere In bald narrative as at *Caes.Gall.7.55.10* (cf. *G.1.326*), and here as variation upon the Sibyl's *spumantem*. Possibly, with **c.**, the adj. is predicative (Görler). *Sic fortis Etruria creuit*.

394 Euandri So Ev. has himself enjoined the death of Tu. upon *Aen.* and the Trojans (**178f.**); here Tu., having—fatally—killed Pallas, makes the limited, verifiable, yet sanguinary and odious claim that he has wiped out the royal house of Pallanteum.

totam . . . / 395 . . . domum So Amata will plead to Tu. himself *in te omnis domus inclinata recumbit* (12.59). Cf. also 2.652, **7.348**, **407**.

cum stirpe Contrast the unquenchable *stirps* of the Trojan royal house, 3.94, 4.622, **7.293**, etc.; apparently V. recalls (*tacent* Briggs, Moskalew) *G.2.209f. antiquasque domos cum stirpibus imis/eruit*, no less tragic, if on a smaller scale. Cf. *cum stabulis armenta*, 2.499, 'stalls and all' (Austin).

395 procubuisse *-*cumbo* compounds formed after those of *cubo*, with nasal infix (Leumann, 533, WH s.v.); *procum-* *ter* in *Lucr.*, *Cat.64.389*. 19x in V. (*procubo semel. deest* in *EV!*), the weightiest of synonyms for 'fall'.

exutos . . . armis The vb. (old: vd. **7.431**) used, like *induo* (**7.19f.**, **640**, **668**), with refined variety of construction (cf. *EV* 2, 951f., *Hor.Epd.17.15*): here the vb. has come quite easily to mean 'deprive', 'strip' (cf. Tietze, *TLL* 5.2.2120.10, 8.567 *exuit armis*) Con. acutely

noted that the expression is distinctively military: cf. *Gall.*3.6.2, 5.51.4, 7.14.8, 42.6, *Sall. Jug.*88.4, *Hist.*3 fr. 101, *Liv.*3.42.5, 4.59.7, 5.19.8, 21.61.9, etc..

Arcadas Tu. generalises (he is not himself present when the Arcadians suffer heavy losses, 10.429); it is Pallas of whom he thinks still, understandably enough, after his ref. to **cum stirpe**. He glories hyperbolically in his victory, rich in spoils (cf. *Companion*, 176, 205, **5–13 supra**), over a single, young adversary (cf. *GR* 34(1987), 53) and all unwittingly (cf. **179f.**; these instances of foreshadowing have attracted remarkably little attention) anticipates thereby both his own death and the fatal role of the *balteus*.

396 haud ita Cf. 9.201, 208 *non ita* . . . (where vd. Dingel's useful n.), *G.*4.210, *Aen.*2.496 *non sic* (vd. Austin), *Hor. Epist.*1.20.5 *non ita*. **7.363** is altogether different. The idiom is neither common, nor Homeric in origin. Tu. moves back to the previous series of victories. **me experti** Cf. **7.235, 434 at tandem Turnum experiatur in armis**.

Bitias et Pandarus ingens Cf. **9.672 Pandarus et Bitias Idaeo Alcanore creti**, on whom (9.672–755) vd. Hardie, 256f., and *id.*, *CI*, 149: Virgilian brothers, developed after the Lapiths Peripoetes and Leonteus (*Il.*12.127–94), with other accretions and associations. Tu. is not forgetful of his major successes (*GR, cit.*). Serv. and TCD remind us that Bitias too was **ingens**, given the Virgilian disposition of adjs..

397 et quos The third (and, we might suspect, last) substantial battle-exemplum from the current campaign that it is open to Tu. to cite, as he does in the manner of Hector in his reply to Polydamas, *Il.*18.293f. (Knauer, 285). Cf. **7.726, 740** for this neat and economical turn of phrase.

mille die Accelerated hyperbole, in that 'a thousand slain' is an unusually ample bag for a single warrior, while 'a thousand in a day' is extending the known limits of the battle-vaunt: *mille bibat qui mille occidit* runs a 'children's song' 'cited' at *SHA Aurel.*6.5 (vd. **167**); commentators here recall *Hor. Serm.*2.1.4 *mille die uersus*. Neither PHI nor *EV* s.v. *numerali* (Zorzetti; the material well assembled) yield comparable data and Schenk 133, n. 199 well contrasts *Aen.*'s melancholy modesty, 8.538ff..

uictor Cf. **92** (Tu.).

sub Tartara misi Cf. 4.243, 6.543, 8.563, 9. 496, 12.14 (with variations); a 'formulaic' phrase, 'epic repetition', as Sparrow rightly calls

such recurrent expressions, here after Hom. πολλὰς ψυχὰς ἄϊδι προΐαψεν. For the Lucretian neut.plur. form (almost a metrical necessity in oblique cases), vd. NW 1, 723. **P** has **missi**; so **P** against **MR** at **430**, **P** again at *Buc.*2.59, Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 445, Leumann, 181; **P** is thus clearly attracted sometimes by an archaic spelling (cf. **418**, **427**, **436**; at **418**, Paratore protests with vigour against the suggestibility of editors) and cf. **178** for Quint. 1.7.20 on V.'s alleged usage in writing *cassus*, *caussa*.

398 inclusus muris The vb. (cf. 9.727, 729) perhaps raised by V. (21x, but excluded from *EV*) to high poetry; previously, cf. poet. *interclu-* (see **7.534**). The *muri* those of the Trojan camp-city: cf. **7.157**, Carcopino, 365, n. 5.

hostilique aggere For the *agger* of the Trojan camp, cf. **7.159**; adj. not only loftier than gen., but metrically inescapable; cf. **83**.

saeptus Cf. 9.551, 783f., where Mnestheus reminds the Trojans that Tu. is but *unus homo, et uestris, o ciues, undique saeptus/aggeribus*, 12.750: the echo a nice piece of battle-rhetoric, for Tu. can be proud of his victories within the wall and close escape, 9.756–818, which had briefly seemed to offer the Trojans a chance of eliminating him. Cf. *EV* 4, 643 (Tartari Chersonesi). The vb. *ter* in *Enn.trag.*, *bis* in *inc.trag.*.

399 nulla salus bello? Cf. Dr. at **362 nulla salus bello, pacem te poscimus omnes**, Hight, 60f.. Tu. turns from the defence of his performance in the field to the issue of peace (Hight, 60). Obscurely, Paratore prints a question mark at **392** and argues against it here; the situations are directly comparable, and two question marks do seem called for (cf. too **442**).

capiti . . ./400 Dardanio Cf. 4.640 *Dardaniique rogam capitis* (at least as much hatred as here, notes Page, acutely); 4.354 *capitisque iniuria cari*, 493 *dulce caput*, 613 *infandum caput*; 10.638f. *clipeumque iugasque/diuini adsimulat capitis* is less emotive. See *TLL* 3.405.44 (Maurenbrecher). For the history of such synecdochic periphrases, cf. **7.650**, Harrison on 10 *cit.*, Pease on 4.354, NH on Hor.C.1.24.2. The head, as often in Gk. (with both *κάρα* and *κεφαλή*), for the whole person; in such constrs. the gen. had been used (e.g. Cat.68.120, Calv. fr. 3), but an adj. form was conventional and loftier.

cane talia The imper. with caustic tone and in the sense of 'fore-tell' (Poeschel, *TLL* 3.271.52f., Zaffagno, *EV* 1, 648f.): cf. 9.621 *talia iactantem dictis et dira canentem*, **7.398 Turnique canit hymenaeos**. The idea dear to some commentators, that Tu. attributes to Dr. a

tedious, conventional *carmen*, is not persuasive; SDan. more subtly sees in **c.** the hint of a vatic or mantic tone (cf. 3.559), appropriate to the ill-omened character of **nulla salus bello**. Note the calculated harsh alliteration of **c.** With **talìa**, cf. 10.583, 599, 651 *talìa uociferans*.

demens Hector's $\nu\eta\pi\tau\epsilon$ to Polydamas at Il.18.295. Cf. (of Tu.himself) **7.461 amens** (contrast Traina 5*, 326 and Horsfall *ad loc.*, *Companion*, 159 with Schenk, 189ff. *EV* 2, 554 is unilluminating); but the accusation of folly cast at Dr. by 'Tu. is at a lesser level, that of 'madness' as a compliment often exchanged between opposing politicians (Opelt, 242f., Buchheit, 102f., 105, 118, R.G.M. Nisbet ed. *Cic.Pis.*, p. 196, Hellegouarc'h 136 on the *furor* of *Aen.*1.150, *Cic.Cat.*1.1, 2.19, *Pis.*46f., *Phil.*11.37; *ament- bis* in Sall., *dement- sexies*).

400 rebusque tuis SDan. notes *simul eum* [Dr.] *Aeneae iungendo uult latenter ostendere proditorem*. Even better, **rebus**: almost a zeugma as ind. obj. to **cane**, *Aen.* first, that is, and then in addition not so much Dr. himself as his *res*: Dr.'s words will be balm to *Aen.*, notes Perret, and for his own affairs. Cf. 9.278 *nulla meis sine te quaeretur gloria rebus*.

proinde Cf. **383**.

omnia Cf. **311 ante oculos interque manus sunt omnia uestras. magno/401 . . . metu** Cf. Liv.26.46.6 *turbatis defensoribus metu*, *TLL* 8.909.4 (Bulhart). Verb and infinitive extend the hyperbaton: Tu. jeers heavily at Dr. for his alarmism. The synaloepha of an iambic word *in arsi* (perhaps here and in 6, *infra* expressive of strong feeling) is very rare in V. (misstated, Courtney (**230**), 14). The facts are not available by reference to Soubiran, *L'Élision . . .* (Paris 1966), 440f., but see Munro on Lucr.4.741 (contrasting *id.* on 3.904), and my n. on **7.464**: compare 6.52 *neque enim ante dehiscunt*.

401 ne cessa 'Do go on': cf. **7.96** for the form of prohibition and **11.138** for the common litotes with *cessare* (also used often interrogatively—'are you *stopping?*', e.g. at 6.51f.).

turbare Cf. 6.800, 8.222f., 9.538, *EV* 5*, 318f. (Strati) for the verb's association with fear.

extollere *Laudare* TCD; a verb dear to Lucr. (*quinquies* including 3.1) and (perhaps surprisingly) only here in V.; note though (so W. Görler) *tollere* as *simplex pro composito*, *Buc.*5.51, *Aen.*3.158.

uiris In close and pointed antithesis to **bis uictae**: cf. 2.170, 9.717, 10.203 for the *uires* of a people.

402 gentis bis uictae As TCD remarks, to lose both looks like carelessness, *bis uictos dicit, ut ostenderet in illis nullam esse uirtutem; qui enim semel uincitur . . .* and so on. Cf. 9.599, 635 **bis capti Phryges**; cf. **7.372, 672, 723, 794**, *Companion*, index s.v. 're-run' theme for V.'s idea of the war in Italy as a thematic continuation of that before Troy (and note **7.295**: the Trojans remain indestructible). The Trojans have been defeated by both Greeks and Tu., but e.g. Serv., Heyne, Paratore and Gransden here suppose regrettably a ref. to Heracles' capture of Troy: Numanus Remulus' arithmetic was quite correct and his situation outside the Trojans' new city-camp left room for no doubt as to the sense (9, *supra*); 2.642f. is, *pace* Heyne, perfectly irrelevant: when Anch. said to Aen. *satis una superque uidimus excidia* it is an old man's memory (rather than Aen.'s) and the Trojans have not yet had to undergo their siege in Hesperia, which alters the numeration. V. makes play, therefore, with more than one mythological sequence.

contra Advbl., the other facet of Dr.'s policy, philopergamene and on the other hand defeatist, dangerous playing down of his own side's strength in time of war.

premere 'Disparage', *OLD* s.v., §23 (cf. *EV* 4.255); cf. Hor.*Ep.* 1.19.36 *laudet ametque domi, premat extra limen*, Liv.22.12.12 *premodoque superiorem, quae pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus creuit, sese extollebat*. We may suspect a *simplex pro composito* for *deprimere*, in the sense of (*OLD* s.v., §4b) Cic.*Inv.* 1.22 *aduersariorum causam per contemptum deprimemus*.

arma Latini Latinus' cause in the field (cf. 6.612f. *arma secuti/impia*, 3.156, 10.672 or Ov.'s *neutra arma secutum*), on which Dr. had commented **362 nulla salus bello**. Serv. remarks that **Latini** is spoken *inuidiose*; *mea* after all was meant.

403 nunc et The warrior can wield irony too (cf. Fantham, 270); so Tu. now suggests as a scornful hypothesis that even the followers of Achilles are frightened of the Trojans. We may rather recall that Tu. has himself claimed the mantle of Ach. (9.742), that Diom. has openly refused to fight (and the Latin council knows that in his view it would be folly to do so) and the Latins (or at least Dr. and his faction) are indeed afraid of the Trojans (see Anderson, 28, n. 15).

Myrmidonum proceres Tu. clothes Ach.'s followers in the grand-est language, to render their fear yet more unlikely: **p.** at *Acc.trag.* 325 (and cf. *Plaut.Bacch.* 1053. The form—cf. *proci, Luceres*, WH, EM s.v.

apparently archaic). The Myrmidons at *Enn.trag.*162, *Acc.trag.*4ff.; Achilles' own followers from *Il.*1.180 on.

Phrygia arma An oxymoron very well suited to Tu.'s tone; the Phrygians were eunuchs to their detractors (**7.363**; add now Erskine (**777**), 74), and their warlike prowess consequently a matter for (inappropriate) mirth.

tremescunt First in V. as a transitive vb. (cf. 3.648, Traina, *EV* 5*, 262); *semel* in Lucr.. Cf. **7** index, s.v. transitivity.

[**404 nunc et Tydides et Larisaeus Achilles**] Long suspected or deleted (Ribbeck after Klouček; cf. L. Castiglioni, *Acme* 1 (1948), 60f.: *Decisa forficibus* (Milano 1954), 141f., R.D. Williams, *CPh.*61 (1966), 185, Hight, 61, n. 20), Courtney (**230**), 18; Mynors' apparatus does not indicate that there are real difficulties here, recognised by serious critics! Cf. 2.197 *quos neque Tydides et Larisaeus Achilles*, presumably inserted here with minimum alteration as a comment (and later an expansion) by a reader inspired by *Myrmidonum proceres*; Paratore pleads unavailingly for authenticity, but only because the repetition is not precise. Simple genesis apart, the argument likewise tells against **404**: Achilles is long dead and his current reaction of fear to Aen.'s valour is not easily understood, while (**428**) Tu. knows perfectly well that Diom. has turned down the Latins' call for help: moved by respect, not terror, we may recall (and do not have to suppose that Tu. did not know likewise). Castiglioni wished only to delete Diom. (!) and his captious arguments were sufficiently answered by Williams, 186, n. 1. No (at least, no rational) defence of this line has been offered, but it is printed by Geymonat and Mynors. Though Williams rightly deletes, he claims unfortunately that Tu. here thinks of his father Daunus' Daunian homeland and cannot refer to Diom. because the Aufidus is not mentioned at **246ff.** and anyway flows well S. of Diom.'s homeland. Daunus, for V., is not provably 'Daunian' and need have no necessary connexion with the area (cf. **7.733–43**, *Athen.*66 (1988), 40), while **246ff.** does not offer a precise gazetteer of the region, and while the Aufidus does in fact flow through the famed *Diomedis campi* near Cannae (Liv.25.12.5, 7, Malkin, 244). The line of thought here is elliptical but hardly contorted: Tu. claims the evident absurdity or paradox that the Myrmidons now fear Aeneas and [not only does Diom. decline to fight his own old foe, which is true and fair enough but] the Aufidus [in some sense the chief river of Diom.'s new land] retraces its course [sc. in dismay; as absurd as the panic-stricken Myrmidons].

405 amnis . . . Aufidus Mod. Òfanto; rises W. of S. Angelo dei Lombardi and flows 165km. into the Adriatic NW of Barletta. It might add to the phrase's force that the A. was famed for its violence, Hor.C.3.30.10, 4.14.25ff., V. Sirago in *Itinerari virgiliani* (Milano 1981), 144, *EV* 3, 827f. For the name of the river in appos., cf. 5.634, 8.64, 9.124, *et saep.*

Hadriacas . . . undas For the phr., cf. 1.596 *Libycis . . . undis*, 3.696 *Siculis . . . undis*, For the form, cf. Prop.3.21.17, Ov.F.4.501, [Ov.] *Hal.125* (Ἀδριακός, Antiphilus, GP, *GP* 916; for the termination, cf. the common *Iliacus* and *Pelusiacus*, *Olympiacus*, *Hellespontiacus*), while Cat.4.6 has *Hadriatici* (cf. Leumann, 339, Plb.2.16.7, etc., PW 1.417.33ff.) and 36.15 *Hadriae* (cf. PsScymn.390, Dion.Perieg.380, Scyl.Perieg.14, 27; so already Hecat., *FGH* 1F90; cf. PW 1.417.16ff.), and Hor.C.1.16.4 *Hadrianum* (cf. Eur.*Hipp.*736 with Barrett's n., Ps.Scymn.369, PW 1.417.26ff.). Cf. Russi, *EV* 2, 828f., with further bibl.; Antiphilus escaped both Partsch, PW 1.417.29f. and Fedeli on Prop.3.21.17, but not LSJ!

retro fugit Cf. **627**, 4.489 *uertere sidera retro*, Ov.*Trist.*1.8.1f. *labentur ab aequare retro/flumina*. The unmistakable formulation of an *adynaton*: cf. NH on 1.29.10, (with further bibl.; cf. too *EV* 1,31f.), Pease on *Aen.*4, *cit.* and on Cic.*Div.*1.78, Otto, 139, Smith on Tib.1.2.44, 4.65f.. For water flowing the wrong way, cf. too Hor.C.1.2.13f. *uidimus flauum Tiberim retortis/litore Etrusco uiolenter undis* with NH.

406 uel cum Marking a clear change of direction in Tu.'s violent, but not disorderly speech (though after **uel cum**, there is no formal main verb!); note, though, that Tu. here addresses the assembly (the subject is 'he'), then turns to Dr. (**408-9**), then speaks to Latinus: for Gransden (introd., *cit.*) a representation of near-incoherence; improbably, given how very clearly the turns and twists are signalled. What the archaism here which attracted Quint. (9.3.14) actually was remains quite uncertain (vd. Con., Serpa, *EV* 3, 65). Szantyr, 501f. thinks *this* (*uel* to exemplify or specify) was the archaism (but Apul. is no safe guide to V.'s stylistic registers!), without good reason (so too e.g. Ladewig); vd. Highet, 61f., n. 21.

se pauidum . . . fingit The presence of **formidine** in the next v. suggests an absence of precise distinction between the near-synonyms (cf. *EV* 3, 1037). For **fingit**, Quint.9.3.14 writes **iactat**.

contra mea iurgia Cf. **317** for the use of a prepos. phrase to qualify an adj.. The **i.** to be understood as the threatened violence to which Dr. refers at **348, 354**; moreover, **fingit** (cf. Mazzoli, *EV* 2,

527) takes up Dr.'s use of the same word against Tu. in a different context, at **364 inuisum quem tu tibi fingis**. Woldemar Görler draws my attention to the extreme rarity of *contra* after adjs. expressing fear (Cic.*Fin.*1.29 *timidiores contra*). Cf. KS 1, 541.

407 artificis scelus For Nettleship (e.g.) equivalent to *artifex sceleratus* (cf. *scelus uiri, flagitium hominis*, LHS, 56, Bell, 219, Hofmann-Ricottilli, 220, Svennung, *Anredeformen*, 114, Hightet, 62 with further bibl.; Williams, 186, n. 2 notes that such abstr. expressions are first much used in epic well after V.); the phr., however, first used at 2.124f. *et mihi iam multi crudele canebant/artificis scelus*. If V. repeats himself, in form and substance, an accus. in apposition to the sentence (KS 1, 247f., LHS, 429, Austin on 6.223, Fordyce on 8.683, Dingel on 9.52, Harrison on 10.310f., suggesting a perceived Grecism). However, re-use in an altered sense would be ingenious and attractive, and the colloquialism would suit the context (vd. Svennung, *cit.*).

formidine Cf. **7.608**.

crimen Of menacing behaviour, we recall; Dr. himself has been represented as *criminosus* (**122**).

acerbat Apparently a Virgilian invention (Roby 1, 369f. for vbs. formed thus from adjs.) and apparently for Serv. defective (in that *acerbo* did not exist).

408 numquam With due emphasis; if Tu. was menacing Dr. before, he will not admit it now; in other words, irrelevant to our doubts about Dr.'s sense of peril at **348, 354**. Cf. Hofmann-Ricottilli, 209: the use of *numquam* as a reinforced *non* is markedly colloquial (so Görler).

animam talem Conceivably turning Dr.'s ref. to **nos animae uiles** (**373**), though here the sense is 'life' (cf. 6.436 *proiecere animas*, 8.564ff.) and there 'beings' (Isnardi Parente, *EV* 1, 171f.).

dextra hac Clearly deictic; Tu. presumably shows his audience a sword in his hand to justify his suggestion that Dr. now flinches; at **348, 354** Dr. may (or may not) have been justified in claiming that he was speaking under threat, but now the threat is unveiled (cf. Hightet, 61, Fantham, 270).

absiste moueri The phr. used at at 6.399 (the Sibyl to Aen.), where vd. Austin's n.; add Görler, *EV* 2, 271 on the use of infin. after vbs. expressing desire, hesitation and the like (note **7.393**). The parenthesis, of many types, dear to V., to convey the supple movement of actual speech (cf. **315**).

409 amittes Of the *anima* from Plaut. on; cf. Lucr.3.768, 6.1234, *TLL* 1.1924.31ff. (B.A. Müller). V. has also e.g. *dare, ponere, reddere* with *anima*; vd. E.A. Hahn, *TAPA* 92 (1961), 201, n. 42. Cf. **883**.

habitet tecum The vb. common enough in Cic. of (c.g.) *uolputates, lepos, gloria* (*OLD* s.v., §3b). Cf. 4.29 *ille habeat secum* [sc. *amores*] *seruetque sepulcro*, and the various forms of *secum uersare, uolutare*. **A.** the breath of the living, the soul of the dead (Onians, 168ff.), but though Acc. wrote neatly *sapimus animo, fruimur anima* (*trag.*296), V.'s usage is not altogether consistent and the temptation to eliminate apparent anomalies by emendation is strong (cf. Onians, 171, n. 5 'if we ought not [t]here to read *animus*'; vd. too Isnardi Parente, 172); here, for Onians, **t.a** refers to 'the characteristics of the conscious self', and elsewhere in V. (**7.356**, Onians, 170, n. 3) 'the *animus* is thus referred to the chest'. But Tu. surely refers not to Dr.'s character but to his vital spirit, a poor thing if it sinks to noisy protest in the face of mere words (cf. 12.229f., 648f., Isnardi Parente, 172). This sense of *anima* is quite licit (*infra*), though not ancient (Onians, 171).

sit pectore in isto 'Hospes comesque corporis', as 'Hadrian' wrote of the *anima*; Serv. notes the sense of 'mean soul in mean frame' present in Tu.'s insults. For the association of the **a.** with blood and the breast, cf. 2.532, 9.349 (with Hardie's n.), 10.601, Isnardi Parente, *cit.*. Synaloepha of a short vowel at 5tr. is common enough (of -e, 99x, Norden, 455; -a much rarer).

410 nunc Another carefully signalled change of direction (cf. **406**), as Tu. turns from Dr. to Lat.; the bold young warrior makes sufficient answer after all to *two* preceding speakers.

ad te . . . et tua Cf. Wills, 242, 265f. for the common polyptoton of pron. and pronom. adj. (cf. 1.666, 2.283, 429, 661, 3.156, 4.27, 434, 492, 5.846, 6.115, 691, etc.).

magna . . . consulta Serv. comments '*consultum*' uero *res ipsa de qua quis consulitur*, but no clear parallel has been cited, though La Penna argues (*EV* 1, 879) that Tac.*Hist.*4.65.4 *delectus e propinquis consulta responsaque ut internuntius numinis portabat* is an echo of this passage and a guide to its sense. That echo will appear very faint to many. Tu. refers back perforce to Lat.'s **sententia** of **314** and La Penna seems hindered by a desire to find the answer in Serv.'s n., when it lies rather in V.'s tendency in the Council to colour the text with identifiable histor. or polit. language. Compare rather, therefore, Sall.*Hist.*3 fr. 88 *facta consultaque eius* (the plans of Alexander; cf.

Cic.*Leg.*1.62, Vell.2.79.1), Liv.10.39.10f. *nuntius . . . nocte rediit approbare collegam consulta referens*, Tac.*Ann.*1.40 *mollibus consultis peccatum*, 6.6 *saeuitia libidine malis consultis animus dilaceretur*, *Hist.*2.4 *magnisque consultis adnuere deam* (where one might wish to claim a Virgilian echo!). Tu. refers, and probably with respectful language, to Lat.'s mighty judgements or decisions. **Magna PR; magne M** (and TCD) drawn by the following **pater**.

pater Cf. **344, 353**: Dr.'s tone was problematic, but here Tu. addresses Lat. with every appearance of proper respect (cf. **184**); of his matrimonial hopes from Lat.'s household, not a word, for this is not the time for the fierce ironies of *Aen.*'s domestic plot.

reuertor Both act. and depon. forms in Lucr.; so too in V. (note *reuertens*; see Flobert, 417f., *EV* 5*, 510).

411 si . . ./412 si Cf. **307ff.**: after Diom.'s refusal of assistance, Lat. laments his side's manpower shortages (so here, **411–2**), but Tu. protests that they do *have* non-Latin allies of note (if Lat. is truly not convinced that his native forces will suffice), whence the first hint since the Catalogue of Camilla's role. However, the rhetorical pattern is singular and significant (so W. Görler, *per litteras*, in detail): **411–4** is clearly an exaggeration ('to the point of absurdity'), while **419–23** becomes thereby 'all the more plausible'; this is a far closer parallel to 10.31–3 than those cited by Harrison, *ad loc.* We are presented with alternatives, but only in appearance; upon reflection, only **419–23** merits consideration.

nullam . . . spem Cf. Cat.64.186 *nulla spes*, 2.137 *nec . . . spes ulla*, 803 *nec spes . . . ulla*, 9.131, 10.121 *nec spes ulla*. Dr. had said the same, unconditionally, **362 nulla salus bello** (cf. Fantham, 271); cf. too Lat., **332 pacisque manu praetendere ramos**.

nostris . . . armis 'Cause'; cf. **114, 161, 308, 402**. Serv. notes that **n.** can refer to Tu.'s prowess or to the Latins'.

ultra With a neg., cf. 10.663 *haud ultra*; thus 'no further', 'no more' (cf. 6.869, Pasqualetti, *EV* 5*, 362). Unfair, for Tu. does not allow that Lat. had in fact never believed in or openly supported the Latins' cause.

ponis Cf. **308** for the opposing meanings of *spem ponere*.

412 tam deserti sumus Cf. *exspes expers desertus uagus* (*Acc.trag.*415), *desertos opis expertis* (Lucr.6.1241). Here 'alone': Tu. challenges the view that after Diom.'s refusal, the Latins stand alone, a theme to be amplified at **419ff.** So already Serv. and SDan.. The word, unlike *insero*, deserted by *EV*.

et semel agmine uerso 'After just one defeat' (with general reference to bks. 9, 10; cf. **392 pulsus ego?**), with marked opposition between **semel** and **funditus**. **Semel**: the Trojans (cf. **7.295**) seem—insults apart—to have thrived on defeat after defeat, and now Tu. suggests that the Latins too must learn *non capti potuisse capi*. **A.u.** also at **684**; cf. too 9.800 *agmina uertit* (with Dingel's n.), *OLD* s.v., §9b, *EV* 5*, 508. Uses of *uertere* are in general influenced by τρέπειν, but not, it seems, specifically here, nor is the expression one of military prose (but cf. *Caes.Civ.*2.34.3 *conuersa acies*; possibly therefore *simplex pro composito* here).

413 funditus *Ter* in V.; cf. *radicitus*, from the roots and also e.g. *stirpitus*; cf. Leumann, 500. As from *Acc.trag.*22.

occidimus 'We are ruined', a sense commoner in comedy and prose (but cf. *Lucr.*2.790 of a principle that ceases to be active) and here given more dignity by the adverb. Note 12.828 *occidit occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia*, with *trag.inc.*69: cities fall, and so, as here, do causes; as 'die', however, the word's history is more elevated (**7.766**).

neque habet . . . regressum Cf. [*Aen.*] 2.584 *neque habet uictoria laudem*, *Hor.Serm.*2.3.265f. *quae res nec modum habet neque consilium* (after *Ter.Eun.*57f.), *Ov.Trist.*2.1.108 *nec ueniam laeso numine casus habet*, and, in various analogous senses, *OLD* s.v., §§16–9: an economical, striking, almost unique expression. Cf. *EV* 1, 379 (Ferraro) for V.'s occasional (but not rare) use of abstracts in *-us*, commoner in Ciceronian prose; of **r.**, *Liv.*24.26.15 has the similar transferred sense **regressus ab ira**.

Fortuna Not in the same sense as at **252** (close to 'luck', τύχη), nor comparable to **108** ('luck' but paired with a theological explanation), nor to the *casus* of (e.g.) 9.211; rather, what Bailey, 236ff. calls 'intermediate' (where 'chance' is inclining towards 'fate'), as at (e.g.) 10.435f. *sed quis Fortuna negarat/in patriam reditus*, 4.653, 5.604.

414 oremus pacem Cf. 10.80 *pacem orare manu*, *Sall.Iug.*47.3, *Hist.fr.* 2.87 (p. 95.10f.). Contrast Lat. (**321**, **332**), and Dr. (**356**), for whom peace would be a triumph, not the fruit of despair and defeat.

dextras . . . inertis Vd. **101** for the hand in supplication; naturally, the right hand (cf. **164**, **7.266**, **366**, Pease on 4.314). The adj. indicates that the Latins' right hands will in that case not have been used to good effect, to wield, that is, the sword in victorious defence (cf. **7.474**, **11.178**, **339**).

tendamus *Inermes cum infulis*, as *Caes.* put it (*Civ.*2.11.4). Cf. 10.823 *dextramque tetendit* (not supplication but sympathy; vd. Harrison and

cf. **11.672 dextram . . . tendit inermem**), 12.311 *dextram tendebat inermem*, 12.930f. *dextramque precantem/protendens*; ‘formulaic’, therefore, but in two senses.

415 quamquam o si TCD takes a stand against the *multi* who *totum iungunt, et quod generaliter optavit et quod coepit signare per species* because *dictionis natura non patitur*. Serv. too holds that **415** is exclam., not protasis (for which Con., in virtual isolation, opts); note also variously Heyne **quamquam, o, si . . .**, Ribbeck (so too Page, Ladewig, Pascoli) **quamquam o, si . . .**, Forbiger **quamquam, o si . . .** and Perret’s solution of parenthetic **o si . . . adesset**. Contrast Mynors, Geymonat and Goold-Fairclough, who do not punctuate! Cf. 5.195 *quamquam o- . . .* (aposiopesis; cf. Licinia Ricottilli, *EV* 1, 227f.), 8.560 *o mihi praeteritos referat si Iuppiter annos* (with ellipse of a clause of purpose); 6.194f. *este duces, o, si qua via est, cursumque per auras/dirigite* is not analogous, because *o* is taken easily and naturally with the imperatives after the parenthetic condition. Here, then, *quamquam* is simply, as often, adversative (*OLD* s.v., §3c, Ernout-Thomas, 354), while **o si** introduces a wish (cf. *EV* 2, 995), followed by **sin . . . sin** (**419, 421**, as seems not to have been noticed in the wearisome discussions cited!). There is no ellipse of an apodosis: 1plur. precedes and **416–7** are generalising; here therefore, sc. *nostrae* or *nobis*; Tu. thus expresses the wish that the Latins’ leaders might display enough courage to console defeat and—maybe—induce welcome death. The various punctuations offered are a tribute to learned ingenuity and are best judged, individually and collectively, superfluous.

solitae . . . uirtutis The quality of a *uir* (**27**): the idea is notably concentrated in Tu.’s words: cf. **386, 441, 444**, Laurenti, *EV* 5*, 565, Fantham, 273. For **s.**, contrast **383**; here; cf. too **7.357**, 8.389 *solitam flammam*.

quicquam The pron. indefinite in interrogative (**392**), negative (**872, 7.703**) and, as here, dubitative remarks (pron., where *ullus* is adj., but the distinction is not universal). Marked nasal assonance after **quamquam**.

adesset ‘Be present to assist’; cf. 2.522 *si ipse meus nunc adforet Hector*, 4.578, Gk. παρείη (so at *Il.*22.20).

416 ille . . . ante alios . . ./417 . . . qui The interwoven order and exactly paired subjects lend particular dignity to Tu.’s wish; for **ante alios**, cf. **7.55**.

mihi ‘In my view’, ethic.

fortunatusque laborum The partic. (or, effectively, adj.) notoriously dear to Cic. in *cons.* and a word V. too clearly liked (12x; note

particularly 6.639 *fortunatorum nemorum*). For the gen. (creating a sort of miniaturised makarismos), vd. next n.; *labores* on the battle field cf. **126**, **7.481**.

417 egregiusque animi Cf. Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.289.48f., *Sall.Hist.* 1. fr. 148 *egregius militiae*. Cf. **126**: it is specifically **f. 1** that is noted by Serv. as a Grecism, but the two cases are indistinguishable. A gen. of sphere (**73**, **7.559**, Görler, *EV* 2, 266, a specially rich and helpful list); such gens. after adjs. are in fact old and common (*Enn.trag.* 52f. with Jocelyn's n., Bennett 2, 82ff.), so it is curious that the grammarians made so much fuss about them.

ne . . . uideret Cf. **159–61** (and 1.93ff., with Mackie, 17ff., Harrison on 10.60–2) for the thought that death itself is to be preferred to certain sights and experiences (and note **43f. inuidit Fortuna mihi, ne regna uideres/nostra**). Pöschl (109) compares Liv.10.31.13, the Samnite general to whom no hope remains: a splendid passage, but not exactly comparable. Görler suggests rather App.Claudius Caecus fr. 11 Malc. (a decision he had preferred neither to hear nor to see!).

quid tale Cf. 9.207 *nil tale* (with Dingel's n.).

418 procubuit moriens For the vb., cf. **150**, **395**; an expansion of Hom. (*infra*).

humum . . . ore momordit Cf. **668f. cruentam/mandit humum** (with A. Traina, *Vortit barbare*, 107, *EV* 3, 337), and Plin.*Nat.* 8.52, clearly enough after **418**, *creditum est a moriente [sc. leone] humum morderi lacrimamque leto dari*. Plainly after Hom. ὀδᾶξ ἔλον οὐδακ (*Il.* 11.749 *et passim*) and yet more clearly (because relevant to *both* halves of V.'s line, as Knauer alone seems to have noted) *Il.* 2.418 πρηνέεσ ἐν κονίησι οὐδαξ λαζοίατο γαῖαν. Cf. *EV* 3, 595, A. Traina, *Poeti latini* 1, 57 (note that V. and Matius (fr. 6 *ille hietans herbam moribundo ftenitf ore*) both avoid *mordicus*). Cf. further NH on Hor.*C.* 2.7.12. With **ore** thus cf. the common pleonastic use of *manu*. AR 3.1393f. is not necessarily relevant (vd. Hunter). Note that **P**₂ has **memordit**, read by Geymonat and approved by Timpanaro (*Contributi*, 124, n. 14): the forms surveyed by Gell.6.9 belong to comedy, mime and *satura*, not to high poetry (cf. NW 3, 348ff.); the reading does rather look like an archaising tinkering of the c. 2AD promoted to the Virgil mss. (cf. **397** for **P** again in this vein). SDan. and TCD saw here a reference specifically to Mez., but that seems far too limited for V.'s studiously general means of expression.

semel 'Once and for all' (*OLD* s.v., §3); cf. NH on Hor.*C.* 1.24.16, 4.7.21ff., *Epist.* 1.18.71 *et semel emissum uolat irreuocabile uerbum*, Prop. 4.11.3f.; so too Gk. ἄπαξ; see Fraenkel on Aesch.*Agam.* 1018.

Semel M₂ω; semul P; simul MR: V. clearly wrote **semel** (*difficilior*); Geymonat prints **semul** (an occasional spelling of the indefensible *simul*, NW 2, 588).

419 sin Taking up the **si** of **415**. Enough of death, sought to avoid the sight of defeat: Tu. had considered the pursuit of peace a failure of morale (**410–4**) and now, as was to be expected of his years and character, turns to an altogether brighter view of the situation. Balanced by **sin**, **421**.

et opes The sinews of war, as it is trivially said, or so it might seem, but *opes* can (8.685, 10.154, 609) refer to troops as well as food, arms (1.571, 2.799, 8.171), pay. Theme, therefore, and variation. Cf. *EV* 3, 860f., with care.

nobis Possessive with as often ellipse of *sunt*; contrast **Troianis**, **421**. **et . . . intacta iuuentus** For the n., cf. **7.162**, **672** (with n.), **812**; on **i**., SDan. comments *non quae non pugnavit, sed de qua adhuc delectus habendus est*; this is a good deal too specific (so, rightly, *EV* 5*, 30), given that the word is not technical. The sense is perforce that the Latins may yet have forces ('the class of 1817', '1920', '1948'!) untouched (cf. 10.504 *intactum Pallanta*, Liv.1.25.11 *intactum ferro corpus*) by casualties.

adhuc Despite the change of mood, Tu. knows the damage another battle against the Trojans might wreak (cf. 10.855, 12.36).

420 auxilioque A theme to which Tu. will return at **428**; neither the final dat. (LHS, 98) nor **a**. itself distinctively military, though.

urbes Italiae populi que Cf. 10.41 *Italum . . . urbes*, 1.263, 3.458. Tu.'s rhetoric might seem to raise a problem: the cities and tribes of Italy had gone to battle, duly listed, at **7.641ff.**, including specifically Messapus and Camilla. In the combats of bks. 9–10, Tu.'s loyal Italian allies had indeed suffered casualties (cf. 9.411ff., 10.310ff., 360, etc.) and Tu. does not in fact have to hand fresh reinforcements, in the sense that an Aetolian army from Arpi would have been fresh. We note the legitimate exaggeration of the wartime orator, and Tu.'s recurrent tendency to stray from the facts (*Companion* 196, with n. 25).

supersunt Cf. 5.225, 8.399; fresh reinforcements 'are available', like the panegyrists of *Buc.*6.6.

421 sin A further contrasting possibility after **419**; cf. KS 2, 432. **et Troianis** Ind. obj., with variation of constr. after parallel **nobis**, **419**. Tu. here allows that the Trojans may have enjoyed some success, dearly bought, and no cause for Italian despair.

cum multo . . . / 422 sanguine Cf. 2.532, 551, 662, 5.736, 6.87. The Homeric litotes οὐκ ἀναμωτί (*Il.*17.363). As Tu. reaches towards higher sentiments and language, the number of enjambed lines increases.

gloria uenit Cf. Sall. *Jug.*8.2 *ultra illi et gloriam et regnum uenturum*. Cf. **538, 733**, 5.344, 1.348 and *G.*1.37 for **u.** with abstr. subjects. The price of glory is as usual too high (**154, 7.4**).

422 sunt illis sua funera Hom. writes (*Il.*17.363) οὐδ' οἱ γὰρ ἀναμωτί γε μάχοντο, while here we are expected to supply mentally (helped by preceding **et Troianis**) a 'too' after the pronoun (the lack was felt; note **suntque R**). Tu.'s line of argument is well chosen, for his hearers have only just finished burying their dead (cf. **225ff.**), as have Trojans (**2**) and Arcadians (**29ff.**), too (vd. *EV* 3, 600). Cf. 3.469 *sunt et sua dona parenti*. Serv. records *legitur et 'illi'*, which suggests in origin haplography, rather than singular incomprehension.

parque . . . / 423 tempestas Vd. *OLD* s.v. *par*, §7c, 'equal in effect (on different persons, in different places, etc.)', comparing e.g. Prop.3.9.38 *nec semper proelia clade pari*. For **t.** as the storm of war, cf. **7.223**.

per omnis Trojans and Latins alike; the sentiment perfectly Homeric (cf. Griffin, 33, 90ff., C.W. Macleod, ed. *Il.*24, pp. 5, 13, etc., R. Lattimore, *Themes*, 250ff.; note the duals of 24.509f. and see Harrison on 10.467ff.).

423 cur . . . / 424 . . . cur For the repetition, cf. 10.34f. (and *Lucr.*5.220, 6.398f., 409f., *Hor.*C.1.8.2ff., 3.1.45ff., 19.18ff., 4.1.33ff., 10.7f.); for geminated questions in general, cf. Wills, 85ff.

indecores Cf. **7.231 non erimus regno indecores**; for Tu.'s view of *decorum* in battle, cf. 12.679, with Schenk, 389, Harrison on 10.681f., and note too *Laurenti*, *EV* 2, 11, **11.155** (Pallas in battle).

in limine primo The phr. literally at 2.485, the noun of both life and death in *Lucr.* (3.681, 6.1157; of death, *Cat.*68.4), of life at *Aen.*6.427 (*in limine primo*, again: see Austin's n.) and of death at **7.598** (where vd. n.); *OLD* s.v., §4: 'threshold, verge' (10.355 is local and thus less notable). The transferred senses neglected by *EV* s.v..

424 deficiamus? Cf. **231 deficit**.

ante tubam Cf. **7.628** for the **t.**; the phr. not elsewhere (thus *PHI*, but see too *Juv.*1.169 *ante tubas*, where vd. Mayor; Gk. πρὶν λόγῃς θιγείν, *Eur.**Bacch.*304), but a neat and agreeable, synecdochic or metonymic, way of rendering *ante proelium commissum*; cf. *ab ouo usque*

ad mala. A type of brachylogic use of the preposition richly illuminated by Bell, 174f., NH on Hor.C.1.18.5 *post uina*, LHS, 243, Hand 1, 368, Housman on Luc.5.473. In variations upon the Ciceronian *silent leges inter arma*, Luc. (1.227) writes baldly *leges bello siluere*, while Val.Max. (5.2.8) offers *inter armorum strepitum* . . . (Tosi, n° 1223). Note the Latins of **7.628**, delighting in the sound of the *tuba*.

tremor occupat artus? From **7.446** (but not in Moskalew): the human, physiological symptom is produced by the symbol of war; a doubly figured expression for 'afraid before the fight'.

425 multa . . . / 426 . . . multos Cf. 2.397f., 4.3, 9.724f., 10.839, 12.328f., **7.236, 296**; variation of gender in anaphora rather undervalued by Wills.

dies 5.783 *quam nec longa dies pietas nec mitigat ulla*, 6.745 *donec longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe* confirm that in V. *dies* can indicate 'lapse of time' (as in Lucr. 1.233, Hor.C.3.6.45); the combination *multa d.*, though, is quite another matter (vd. Brink on Hor.*Ars* 293; before *Ars*, = 'afternoon!'); the adj., though, is here clearly (so explicitly Con.) in anaphora and therefore perforce acc.plur. (as *EV* 5*, 91 (Moretti) and 538 (Maselli) really should have noticed, *bis!*). There will be an impressive wait for the vb, but with **rettulit in melius** the thought will be closed and the change of direction at **426**, 2½ will be entirely unambiguous. Schenk (51f.) notes analogy of sentiment with Iris, 9.6ff. (7 *uoluenda dies en attulit ultro*). **425–7** recall Enn.*Ann.*258 *multa dies in bello conficit unus* with 259f. *et rursus multae fortunae forte recumbunt: haud quaquam quemquam semper fortuna secuta est* (vd. Williams, *TORP*, 694 and Skutsch *ad loc.*, who remarks that the whole context and sense in Enn. is the converse of V.'s; Wigodsky, 56 is unhelpful).

uarii . . . aeui Cf. the combination of (substantivised) adjs. at 4.569 *uarium et mutabile semper*. Compare here *G.*1.51, 2.9, *Aen.*10.160 *euentus belli uarios*, 12.43 *res bello uarias*. **Variusque** **M₂P₂**, Macr.6.2.16, Non.p.380.40: it is easy enough to see how one nom. could have attracted the other adj. out of the gen. (not least if **mutabilis** had thereafter been read as gen., for doubling the adjs. on a single noun was hardly to be contemplated: see **7.625**. Ribbeck's **uariusque** in the text is incomprehensible!).

labor mutabilis The adj. might seem introduced to poetry by V. (cf. *supra*), but Lucr. already has *immutabilis, ter*, which makes 'priority' a doubtful issue; the poetic neg. form equally seems to undercut Lyne's suggestion (*WP*, 50f.) that **m.** has a rather dry, scientific

tone. That Tu. (even Tu.!) is in an ‘uncharacteristically philosophizing mood’ is entirely true (and to such a mood a nearly-Lucretian word would be perfectly appropriate)! The underlying ideas about time and change here very old and altogether conventional: cf., for example, West on Hes.*Erga* 825, Gow on Theocr.4.41, NH on Hor.C.2.11.9ff., Smith on Tib.2.6.19f., Otto, pp. 96, 113, Tosi, n° 775, 778. Page’s idea, that **m.** is active, is not unVirgilian (Page and Harrison on 10.481), but the passive sense is altogether in keeping with the context (cf. NH on Hor.C.1.3.22).

426 rettulit in melius Cf. 1.281 *consilia in melius referet*, G.1.200 *in peius ruere ac retro relapsa referri*, *OLD* s.v., §15, *EV* 2, 498.

alterna reuisens For the plur. thus, cf. *Buc.*3.59 *amant alterna Camenae*, *Plin.Nat.* 11.138 *supercilia homini et pariter et alterna mobilia*; ‘normal Latin for ‘turn and turn about’ (Mynors on G.1.71). Here the sense is just that of *Fortuna* at Hor.C.3.29.52, *nunc mihi nunc alii benigna* (or for that matter of the spurious $\acute{o} \dots \acute{o}$ of Eur.*Hel.*713f.; note too *Il.*6.339 $\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta \delta' \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\beta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$). Tu. in the gnomic vein. The vb. has a sense, roughly, of ‘returns to’; cf. 3.318 (Aen. to Androm.) *quae digna satis Fortuna reuisit*, *EV* 5*, 538; dear, perhaps recognisably so, to *Lucr.* (*sexies*). Con. (against Heyne) and Ladewig (as Henry had done in passing, between thunderbolts) acutely ask whether **alterna** should not be nom., in agreement with **Fortuna** (cf. *Aen.*3, Hor.C., *cit.*) and Page seems to suggest the same in his translation.

427 lusit . . . Fortuna Cf. ‘Bias’ ap.*Cic.Parad.*1.9 *bona the ludibria Fortunae* (cf. too *Secundus*, *Sent.*7, 17, but the idea seems substantially absent from class. and Hellen. Gk. texts), *Aen.* 6.75 *uolant rapidis ludibria uentis* (cf. Hor.C.1.14.15f.), Hor.C.2.1.3 *ludumque Fortunae* (with NH), 3.29.49f., *Liv.*30.30.5, 45.41.9, *Ov.Pont.*4.3.49, *Sen.Contr.*exc.5.1.1, *Sen.Cons.Polyb.*16.2, *Tranq.An.*11.5, *Epist.*74.7, *Luc.*8.710, *Petr.*13.1 *lusum Fortunae*, *Plin.Nat.*14.42 *naturae lusu* (cf. 11.123), *Mart.*8.32.3, *Plin.Epist.*4.11.2, *Iuv.*3.40 *quotiens uoluit Fortuna iocari* (cf. 6.608), *Amm.Marc.* 14.11.29, *Anth.Lat.*415.65. Rather different are the precise *Plat.Plt.*288c and *Leg.*803c $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon \tau\iota \pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\gamma\mu\iota\omicron \nu\iota\omicron \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota \mu\epsilon\mu\eta\chi\alpha\upsilon\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$ (with H.D. Rankin, *Eranos* 60 (1962), 127ff.).

lussit P again; cf. **397**.

in solido . . . locauit Cf. 4.374 *regni demens in parte locauit*, 12.145. The neut. used as an adj. at G.2.79, 231 (cf., in general, LHS, 154). For *EV* 4, 927 a metaphor from swimming. But cf. *Sen.Const.*2.5.4 [*sapiens*] *bona sua in solido habet*, *Vitr.*1.5.1 *fundamenta . . . uti fodiantur . . . ad solidum et in solido* (see too *ib.*3.4.1), *Flor.*1.18.9 (First Punic War)

coactique hostes quasi in solido decernere ('on dry land'); note also Liv.44.5.6, Col. 4.30.4, Tac.*Ann.*4.62 and other comparable instances in *OLD* s.v., §6a. Montanari (*EV, cit.*) seems thus rather out of his depth and the context (cf. the strikingly comparable *Matt.*7.24f.) is (cf. Vitr., *supra*) pretty clearly to be sought in building.

rursus Cf. G.3.484, *Aen.*4.534, 6.449, 751, 793, etc., *OLD* s.v., §2 'once again'; we recall **413 nec habet fortuna regressum**.

428 non erit auxilio nobis Cf. **419f.**; Tu. repeats himself: (**419f.**) given reinforcements, we can make a fight of it. Though (**428**) we shall be without Diom., we *do* have reinforcements. Note that here V. offers an elegant instance of a paratactic, implicit, concessive clause: 'though' is superfluous, to be extrapolated from **at**, and a subjunctive is cheerfully excluded (cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 274f., *Companion*, 231). A rhetorical *concessio* (Görler, *per litt.*); vd. *infra*, **429 at** and cf. **7.313 esto**.

Aetolus et Arpi Contrast **287**, where **Dardanus** is not personal but collective; here Diom. is 'the Aetolian' much as Ilioneus is 'Trojan' at **7.260** (cf. **11.125**). Here Diom. and his city are juxtaposed: king and citadel (see **246**) together will (not!) send reinforcements. Cf. 1.338 *Punica regna uides, Tyrios et Agenoris urbem*, 8.341 *Aeneadas magnos et nobile Pallanteum*. See **7.796** for the issue of these (and similar) juxtapositions.

429 at . . . erit Though the Argive Apulians will be missing, *yet . . .*; **erit** swiftly answers **non erit**. Cf. **7.313ff. non dabitur regnis—esto—prohibere Latinis . . . at trahere atque . . . at licet . . .**, 10.43ff., 12.821ff., G.2.461ff. and cf. my n. on **7.315f.** Both here and at **420** Serv. senses in Tu. a touch of contempt for the Greek from the South, as against real Italian warriors; one innuendo too many, I suspect.

Messapus Cf. **7.691–705** and my remarks in *EV* s.v.; M. was repeatedly involved in the action of bk. 9, and briefly in that of 10, so he is an improbable source of fresh reinforcements. His name points to (anc.) Messapia, and V.'s toponyms to (mod.) Tuscia.

felixque Unlike Diom., perhaps (Serv), not that Tolumnius himself survives long (12.460); the adj. here thus foreshadows another tragedy in 12 (Heinze, 230, n. 3, O'Hara, *DOP*, 87).

Tolumnius The name, to the Rom. reader, of a king of Veii, stripped of the *spolia opima* by A. Cornelius Cossus (Liv.4.17–20, Saunders (1940), 543f., *EV* 3, 852; Cossus is present in the *Heldenschau* at 6.841, and V.'s interest in the *spolia opima* is unquestioned, *Companion*,

148, n. 24, *Anc.Soc.* (Macquarie) 12 (1982), 14); it should never have worried enquirers that in the *Aen.*, the Etruscans fought with Aen., not Tu, and to suggest that he must therefore have been a companion of Mez. is to ignore the main lines of the poet's insouciant scissors-and-paste onomastics (cf. del Chicca, *EV* 5*, 208, Horsfall, *Athen.66* (1988), 38). An augur at 12.258, 460, briefly of moment in the action.

et quos/430 . . . duces Antecedent within rel. clause (cf. **7.409**, *et saep.*). Cf. **7.310**, **790** for double monosyll. at line-end; not rare, nor abrupt when the first is proclitic (vd. Norden, 448), nor, *pace* Williams, specially significant here.

430 tot populi Cf. **7.725** for the widely flexibly *populus* and **11.349**, **384** for undervalued **tot**.

misere Cf. **7.727**; at *Athen.78* (1990), 524 or on **7.611/617** I should have cited this passage as further confirmation of V.'s widespread awareness of the Italic usage whereby the tribal council (here, councils) of elders decided on war and the sending of warriors. For **P missere** here, cf. **397**.

nec . . . sequetur Cf. 6.756f. *Dardanium prolem quae deinde sequatur/gloria*, 12.153.

parua . . ./431 gloria With the litotes cf. *Buc.3.54 res est non parua*, *G.4.106 nec magnus prohibere labor* (though Heinsius corrected to **tarda**, after Serv. and *G.2.52 haud tarda sequetur!*). To glory's baleful aspect in *Aen.* and to Tu.'s predictable concern with it, no further reference is required (vd. **336**).

delectos Cf. *Aen.2.18* (the picked Greeks in the Troj. horse, on whom vd. Austin; but compare also closely *Liv.5.21.10*, the *delecti milites* in the *cuniculus* at Veii), 3.58, 4.130, **7.152**, 8.499, 9.162, 226. Both the lang. of public business (cf. *Liv.1.40.5*, 2.11.8, 15.2, 20.5, 26.3, 33.7, etc., usually but not always in ref. to picked troops, though no reason to suppose an allusion to any formal process of selection), but also close to Hom. ἐξάρητος, ἀριστης and likewise to the Argonauts: behind *Enn.trag.212 delecti uiri* (Argonauts), *Cat.64.4 lecti iuuenes, Argiuae robora pubis*, *Buc.4.35 delectos heroas* (not to mention *Lucr.1.86 ductores Danaum delecti, prima uirorum*), there lay (vd. Austin, Ussani on 2.18 and Jocelyn on *Enn.cit.*) *Od.4.272f. πάντες ἀριστοί/ Ἀργείων*, *AR* 3.347f., *Theocr.13.17f.*, *Apld.Bibl.1.9.16*. Standard heroic procedure, whatever the specific place and time.

Latio et Laurentibus agris Cf. **7.151** for the delicate question of how, roughly, V. understood the extent of these two toponyms, not

least when juxtaposed (and vd. more fully *Athen.*78 (1990), 526f. = *Aion* Sez.ling.13 (1991), 24f., *EV* 3, 141f.). The clausula is, perhaps unexpectedly, unique.

432 est et Volscorum egregia de gente Camilla Cf. 7.803 hos super aduenit Volsca de gente Camilla. For the adj., cf. 1.444f. *sic nam fore bello/egregiam et uictu facilem per saecula gentem*, **7.257f. huic progeniem uirtute futuram/egregiam et totam quae uiribus occupet orbem.**

433 agmen agens equitum et florentis aere cateruas Cf. (exactly) **7.804.** The strongly marked two-line repetition has attracted desultory interest (e.g. Sparrow, 108, Moskalew, 89). Sparrow remarks impercipiently that the couplet is 'weakly introduced' (**est et**): the verb is in visibly significant anaphora after **428, 429 erit**: thus 'there is *also* . . .'. If the variation of tense is itself noteworthy, it may be meant to indicate that C. is in some way closer to hand, as she is also clearly climactic. The formulaic repetition is not mere decoration (Moskalew). Camilla had been brought to the reader's notice in the Catalogue (**7.803–17**), with strong adumbrations of gloom from the first. Thereafter she has been held quite clear of the events narrated, until now, when, just before her re-appearance in the action (**498**), she returns to our notice as an ally (at last!) of Tu. hitherto untouched by battle (cf. Brill, 35; C.'s unobtrusive entry, though, is markedly neglected, even by La Penna, 249). The repetition (which just might have been somehow polished up during 'final revision') has the solid narrative function of signalling C.'s role in the action as a major ally of Tu.. Vd. *supra*, **336–75** for the double introduction of Drances; the introduction of Nisus and Euryalus in bks. 5 and 9 is not really comparable (cf. Heinze, 454).

434 quod si Cf. 7.310.

me solum An evanescent moment of awareness of the truth: everything depends on him alone, for could he renounce Lavinia and the Latin throne, the war would end at once!

Teucri Tu. plays a strong card, clumsily: Aen. has indeed suggested single combat (**117**, in Dr.'s presence), but so too have Evander (**177**, as the reader knows) and Drances (**370**), while Lat. has implicitly rejected the plan as inadequate to the situation (**310ff.**). Characters (and, we may feel, the reasonably impartial reader) share a sense that he ought long since to have defended his aspirations by the sword.

in certamina poscunt Cf. **221 posci in certamina Turnum**, 12.467 *solum in certamina poscit*, 8.614 *in proelia poscere Turnum*, 10.661 *absentem in proelia poscit* (always, therefore, with reference to Tu.); compare too 9.524 *scalas in moenia poscit*, *TLL* 10.2.2.78.25 (Scheible-Flury).

435 idque placet 'And if the single combat is approved sc., by you, the Latin council'; *EV*'s paraphrase, 'officialmente deliberato' (4, 129) is not in keeping with the studiedly tempestuous character of the scene.

tantumque . . . obsto Cf. *Cic. Sex. Rosc.* 145, *Caec.* 24, 31, *Cat.* 1.11, 3.17, *Phil.* 12.21, *QF* 1.2.5 (for the same first-person use of the vb.; I cite all the instances in *Cic.*, *ex. grat.*). A sardonic bow to the popular will, as expressed to some degree by Dr.; naturally, the foremost hope of the heroic warrior, but one subject repeatedly to retardation in V.'s narrative (cf. **108–19**). That retardation, though, leads the bright light of Tu.'s valour to burn more fitfully than has perhaps been realised (vd. next n. and see Schenk, Hightet, 210ff., Traina, *EV* 5*, 327ff. for Tu. in the narrative, *Companion*, 210). Curiously, Quinn, *cit.*, is convinced that Tu. is less than enthusiastic about the possibility of facing Aen. in single combat.

bonis communibus Cf. *Lucr.* 5.958 *commune bonum*, *TLL* 3.1972.28 (Banner). For a singular moment, the brave young hero takes into account the popular wish and the common good, that the war should be ended by single combat. From bk. 7 on, he has not sought it, and not even at 10.649f. (to the phantom Aen.) does he say 'let us stand and fight'. V. has distanced Tu. from the motif of single combat; we may wonder therefore whether 'a profoundly Homeric ethos' (Fantham, 273) is a quite appropriate definition of Tu.'s tone, as he discovers only now that one more fight will give him Lavinia and the Latin throne. *Tanta spes*, in truth!

436 non adeo A. lends weight to the preceding word, 'really not' (**7.427**).

has . . . manus 4.680 (Dido of her own hands; 8.426 (where vd. Fordyce) is different and difficult) confirms that Tu. refers deictically to his own hands (cf. **311**).

exosa The intensive form *quater* in V., who also has *perosus*, *bis*; *NW* 3, 121, Williams on 5.687 and notably Norden on 6.435 *perosi*, who suggests (credibly, not definitively) that **ex-** was coined by V. on the model of *per-* (*Livy* 3, *ter*, Augustus *ep.* fr. xvii Malc.). For **P exossa**, cf. **397**.

Victoria Here clearly enough personified (cf. Weinstock, 91ff. for a perspicuous account); the noun *septies* and oddly therefore held ‘extraneous to V.’s lexical predilections’ (EV 5*, 547).

fugit Cf. Plaut.*Bacch.*36, *Buc.*9.54 *uox quoque Moerim/iam fugit ipsa*, also of Fortuna, both trans. and intrans. ([Sen.] *Herc.Oet.*227, *Ov.Tr.*5.14.30), *OLD* s.v., §9b.

437 vt . . . recusem The vb. lent weight by distance (a notably intertwined word-order) and position; 13x in V., EV 4, 414.

tanta . . . pro spe P. Colafrancesco well points out (EV 4, 996; absent from Schenk, Traina, EV 5*, 327) well points to the significant presence of waves of *spes* in V.’s characterisation of the unstable, ambitious, youthful Tu. (cf. 10.648, **11.491**, 12.325).

quicquam . . . temptare Cf. *G.*4.328 *omnia temptanti*, EV 5*, 94; for the pron., cf. **415**.

438 ibo . . . contra Cf. 9.291f. *audentior ibo/in casus omnis*. Contrast variously 6.95 *sed contra audentior ito*, 10.448 *talibus et dictis it contra dicta tyranni*. Hector had said ἀλλὰ μάλ’ ἄντην/εἰρήσομαι (*Il.*18.307f., Knauer, 285).

animis Cf. **18**. Page, well, ‘animose’; ‘will bravely go’; the verb is thus neatly qualified twice, though the abl. here is unusual, unparalleled, even audacious.

uel . . . praestet *Id est melior illo sum* Serv., quoting Cic.*Deiot.*12 (cf. Prisc.3.371.17, *uirtute praeueniat*, TCD), but Ramminger, *TLL* 10.2.6.907.53ff., correctly observes that the vb. could as well mean ‘play the part of’. *Praestare* + acc. in the former sense is indeed common enough in repub./Aug. prose but seems not to be pre-Silver poet. idiom (cf. *OLD* s.v., §2b), while with the latter, cf. (at least in the sense of ‘show oneself as’) Hor.*Epist.*1.7.24 *dignum praestabo me*, *Ov.Trist.* 4.10.104, *Pont.*1.6.53, though Henry points out that at least here there is no pronoun; hardly decisive, given the range of usage visible at *OLD* s.v., §6c. Either meaning would be tolerable here, but the argument from verse usage seems strong enough against the grammarians’ view.

magnum . . . Achillem For the adj., cf. *Buc.*4.36, *G.*3.91. If we recall that Ach. had drubbed Aen. thoroughly (*Il.*20.158ff.), then either Tu. forgets the fact, or Aen., on the poet’s suggestion, has improved (cf. *Companion*, 200 with n. 51); ironical hints by Tu. at Aen.’s ‘prowess’ would be inappropriate here, but of course Tu. may unconsciously anticipate his own end by the reference (cf. Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and repet.*, 58, n. 130, Henry E., 127, Traina, *Poeti latini*,

5, 108). From the Latin Achilles (i.e. Tu.) of 6.89 (cf. *Companion*, 165) on, the figure of Ach. acquires major significance on Ital. soil, as an element in characterisation and rhetoric (cf. *Companion*, 165, 182, n. 26 with bibl.): note in particular 9.742 (Tu.'s claim to be an Ach. to Evander's Priam), 10.581 (Liger hopes to do better than Ach. and Diom., and actually kill Aen.; cf. 12.545). Cf. Anderson (304), 28, Traina, *Poeti latini*, 3, 150.

439 factaque Volcani manibus Cf. 9.95 *mortaline manu factae*. Tu. had already (9.148) claimed that *he* did not need arms made by Vulcan to face Aen. (ever more the real heir to Ach.); yet more incautiously, he now declares he will face Aen., though (vd. Anderson, *cit.*) Aen. wears—as we know (and as Tu. clearly enough does not)—divinely-made armour. In bk. 12, Tu. too will turn out to have a sword—unused—of divine origin, 12.89ff.; vd. D.A. West, *GR* 21 (1974), 28f.

paria . . . arma Cf. 6.184 *paribusque accingitur armis*, **710 tradit equum comiti paribusque resistit in armis**. Tu. will discover dramatically the results of facing divinely-made armour (12.739, West, *cit.*); the odds against Tu. are heightened too much for many readers (cf. *Companion*, 210).

induat/440 ille licet Cf. 9.180, 366 for the relatively uncommon transitive use of the vb. with direct obj. (*EV* 2, 951). The concessive (*ter* in V.; vd. *EV* infra) postponed to the end of the clause (easy enough for *licet*; vd. *EV* 3, 993), to augment its force. **Induit P**, after 9.180, 11.6; Sabbadini, quoting 12.801 *ne te tantus edit dolor*, was attracted, but *edit* is an optative form (NW 3,309, Leumann, 573f.) and other instances of the indic., more striking and less misleading, might have been cited (Görler, *EV* 2, 273); the new frontiers of the Virgilian indicative are not to be drawn thus.

uobis soceroque Latino It is to the assembly of the Lat. warriors and to their king (present and earlier addressed, **410**, but here subordinated to his larger public) that Tu. offers his life, not to the gods; Tu. speaks, and not here alone (cf. 9.138, 10.79, **7.422**, where vd. n.), of the marriage to Lavinia as already a thing promised and settled.

animam hanc . . ./442 deuoui Cf. **372**, 2.118f. *sanguine quaerendi reditus animaque litandum/Argolica*, 10.529, and, with O'Hara, *DOP*, 82, 12.234, 648, *EV* 1, 172 (Isnardi Parente). With **hanc**, cf. **436 has**. The verb has been much discussed of late: cf. Schenk, 143f., 184f., *EV* 5*, 331 (Traina), 632 (Diliberto), Renger, 87ff., O'Hara, *DOP*,

82ff., C.B. Pascal, *TAPA* 120 (1990), 251ff. (admirable), Wlosok, *Res humanae* . . . (82), 366, 427, F.V. Hickson, *Roman prayer language* (Stuttgart 1993), 94, M. Leigh, *PVS* 21 (1993), 89ff., Thomas in Stahl, 284f., Fantham, 272, 277, W.S.M. Nicoll, *CQ* 51 (2001), 190ff.. In 340BC, at Vesperis, P. Decius Mus ‘devoted’ himself in battle against the Latins (Liv.8.6–11 (vd. 8.9.8 *deuoueo*); see above all the very full discussion, with ample bibl., by Oakley on Liv.8.8.19–11.1. Vd. also T.J. Cornell, *The beginnings of Rome* (London 1995), 297f., 348, Beard-North-Price, 35, Skutsch, Ennius, pp. 353–5. A similar *deuotio* was attributed both to his son, also P. Decius Mus, at Sentinum in 295BC (Liv.10.26–30; 10.28.12 *deuotus*; vd. Acc.*praet.*15), and to his homonymous grandson, in 279 (vd. *MRR*); unsurprisingly, the family is present in the *Heldenschau*, 6.824 (cf. Leigh, Horsfall (429), 12f.). The facts (if any; after Oakley’s *mise-à-point*, little remains) and close historical analysis of the texts are here irrelevant; less so, the place of *deuotio* (for Livy, a ritual suggestively enriched with antiquarian embroidery; vd. Skutsch, 354 on Liv.8.9.6ff.) alongside e.g. the self-sacrifice of M^o. Curtius in 362BC (Liv.7.6.3f.) and the analogous stories of Genucius Cipus and Aelius (T.P. Wiseman, *Remus* (Cambridge 1995), 109), not to mention that of Q. Caedicius (Cato, *Orig.* fr. 83P *ego hanc tibi et rei p. animam do*, Oakley, 483f., Hightet, 63, Renger, 88, Barton, *infra*, 43f., A. Futrell, *Blood in the arena* (Austin 2000), 191ff.), in a wider circle of self-sacrificial acts into which Tu.’s proposal clearly does in some sense fit. Moreover, before assigning to Tu. the explicit performance of an almost-historical Roman ritual, it is as well to consider V.’s usage in employing undisguised, unaltered technical religious language (cf. *Alambicco*, 115 and index s.v. religione, *Vergilius* 45 (1999), 121ff., 7, index, s.v. religious language; 7.64ff. is most illuminating): it is the scene or episode, not the precisely used technical language that he normally expects to be recognised: to use **deuoui** as a ‘signal’ to an act of *deuotio* would be singular, if not positively atypical. To be able to clothe Tu. visibly in the selfless devotion of the early Republican hero (cf. Barton (82), 43) would be a notable step, but the volatile, excitable tone (cf. Pascal, 253: Tu. here is indeed willing to fight alone—for his own ends, not for Latins against invaders), the ensuing conditional formulation (as well noted by Page) and the polemical moment are not appropriate to solemn self-sacrifice, in expiation of the (443) **ira deorum** (where vd. n.). Tu.’s precise meaning is hardly clear, and comparison of 12.234 (Juturna speaks) *ille quidem ad superos, quorum se deuouet aris* (vd.

Nicoll, O'Hara) and 1.712 (Dido) *pesti deuota futurae* do not (vd. Diliberto, Pascal, Renger) guarantee a formally self-sacrificial sense here. Nor did it to Cic.: cf. Nisbet, appx.vii on Cic.*Dom.*145 *meque atque meum caput . . . deuoui*; see further, Quint.5.6.2 on the oath and *OLD* s.v., §2a. Tu. does, though, offer to stand and fight alone against Aeneas; the needs of plot, of course, will not let him do so in truth until the last scene.

441 Turnus ego For the marked pathos of the speaker's use of his/her own name, cf. **7.361, 401**. The o of *ego decies* in synaloepha in V..

haud . . . secundus 'Second' at *Buc.*2.38, *Aen.*5.258; vd. *EV* 4, 746, *OLD* s.v., §11b. A standard Homeric claim to preeminence (*Il.*4.405, etc.; note Liv.23.10.7 *nulli Campanorum secundus*), here augmented by litotes.

ulli ueterum Gk. τῆν + adj. in gen.; the adj. suggestive (cf. **7.254**) of any venerable predecessor: here, then, Daunus, or the Argive forbears, or the heroes of Latium (**7.177, 182**). We might wonder (cf. 3.182, *EV* 5*, 525) even whether Achilles and the heroes of the late war were excluded. Thomas (*cit.*, 285) sees a deviant focalisation: the *ueteres* not only as seen by Tu., but also as viewed by V.'s readers, i.e., naturally, the Decii. No harm at all in that, or in multiple meanings as such; but it may seem harder here to the careful reader to ignore V.'s well-established techniques in the (non-) use of religious language.

uirtute Tu.'s favoured quality, once again; cf. **386, 415, 444**.

442 solum . . . uocat? Taking up Dr.'s **illum aspice contra/qui uocat (374f.)**, which in turn reflects what Aen. has said in Dr.'s hearing (**117**). Cf. **221** (Drances; cf. Wills, 343), **363**, 10.442, 12.16 for **s.** and the duel of Aen. and Tu.. A question mark is called for. **Aeneas** Tu. has referred (10.494f.) to *Aeneia . . . hospitia*; only here does he actually mention his chief foe by name (contrast **399f. Dardanio capiti**), which may again suggest (**348**) the famed technique of expressing loathing by anonymous reference (some special point, therefore, in the periphrasis of **399f.**?).

et uocet Cf. the comparable mood-shifts discussed at Wills, 304ff. Tu. calls all unwitting and tragically enough for his last fatal battle. Hector, at *Il.*18.305–9 had declared that he would face Ach. if he has stirred; the *siue . . . siue* of **443f.** might then derive from the ἦ κε . . . ἦ κε of 18.308.

oro Very common with parataxis from Ter. on. (cf. 6.76 (e.g.), *EV*

3, 890, **513**). The two disylls. at l.-end, with preceding proclitic, a good deal less noticeable (*pace* Williams) than **143**.

443 nec Drances potius Two lines of dense and compressed expression, by way of *epiphonema*, though there is no doubt of the sense (vd. TCD); Serv. (who then reveals his mind is not clear) *obscure quidem dictus, sed facilis et qui de usu numquam recedat*; Heyne *sententiae forte nimis acutae ad nostrum sensum*. Tu. cannot bring himself to end with the duel, but must return once more to Dr.; this is admirable characterisation.

siue haec est/444 . . . siue est The outlook is perforce unclear: Tu. allows for glorious victory, or for the wreck of the Latin cause (cf. Hector, *Il.*18.308 ἢ κε φέρῃσι μέγα κράτος ἢ κε φεροίμην). He therefore does not offer his life unconditionally: his own he is indeed prepared to risk, but his chief concern is (so Serv., well, *abeat, nec bonis rebus nec malis intersit*) that, whatever happens, Dr. shall receive no credit.

ira deorum Cf. **233**; not a developed explanatory motif in *Aen.*

444 morte luat The vb. old, solemn, relig. in tone (*Acc. trag.*, *EV* 3, 281f.). Compare Opis (**849**) on the hand that killed Camilla: **morte luat merita**. Tu. will not stand for Dr. sharing the effects of divine *invidia*, *si periturus sum iracundia deorum* (Serv.). The obj. is clearly sc. *iram*; cf. *noxam, homicidium luere*, *OLD* s.v., §2a, Beikircher *TLL* 7.2. 1843.78f., and the choice of verb conveys an agitated hint of expiation behind the not-quite-*deuotio* which Tu. offers: cf. VM 1.7.3 (the first *deuotio*), Liv.10.28.13 (the second), and Liv.1.26.12, 5.18.8, 8.28.8. See Pascal (**442**); O'Hara, *DOP*, 82 misleads.

uirtus et gloria Tu.'s principal concern is **u.**: vd. **415**, **441**; less so, **g.**: vd. **336**, **431**. The missing verb, or connexion of thought, is mildly troublesome for the fussy reader: sc. 'is a question of *uirtus* and *gloria*', *uel sim.*

tollat For Tu.'s view of Dr.'s martial prowess, vd. **389f.**. A low, venomous, personal note on which to end. 'Let him not carry off': cf. Serv. *consequatur*, Bell, 248, *OLD* s.v., §10c, 5.390f. *tolli/dona*, *Ov.Am.*2.2.27, *Aug.Epist.*vi Malc. (the princeps' winnings at dice).

445–6 Perret provocatively prints these two lines as the last lines of the preceding paragraph: a bad idea, but useful if it leads us to follow V.'s sequence better: Margaret Hubbard draws attention to the structural/organisational analogy of *Il.*12.1ff.: 11.848 closes with three aorists as Eurypylos' wound responded to treatment, while 12.1ff. opens with a μέν . . . δέ sequence, with imperfects in both halves,

exactly as here. Only at **447** do we turn to Knauer: the messenger's arrival recalls *Il.*2.786ff. (which looks forward): so Knauer, 284f. (cf. **447–97**). TCD comments admirably here *reprehensio est Latinorum et Aeneae maxima praedicatio. tempore enim quo dubia . . . , id est incerta . . . cum deberet celeriter statui quid omnibus recte conduceret, illi trahebant non tractatibus publicis, sed privatis iurgiis tempus . . . castra Aeneas mouebat. non parietes castrorum sed exercitus copias, non iam passim aut confuse sed structa acie atque ordinibus ita ac si hostis adesset ex more compositas*. See **469–70**. **445 illi . . . inter se** Cf. 8.639, 10.358 and *quater illi inter sese* (which is Ennian: *Ann.*251; see Harrison on 10.146, Lyne on *Ciris* 536).

haec . . . agebant In the sense of 'debate', both trans. and intrans. (*OLD* s.v., §40); in this sense (*deest* in *OLD*) Ennian (*Ann.*569 *magnis de rebus agentes*, where vd. Skutsch, noting this passage).

dubiis de rebus Cf. 6.196 *tuque in dubiis ne defice rebus*, where vd. Norden's ample note: *re dubia/rebus dubiis* is found in Plaut., *Acc. trag.* (38, 359), and Sall. (*Cat.*10.2, *Iug.*14.5): a traditional if not positively archaic flavour, then.

446 certantes Sexies in *Enn. Ann.*: an intense concentration of archaic/specifically Ennian language, not, *pace* Norden, *cit.*, on account of the peculiarly Ennian debate preceding, but to introduce the cavalry-battle after a long ritual and political sequence. Note the Trojans who shout foolishly after Hector's speech, *Il.*18.310f..

castra . . . aciemque In military prose, note the conventional passage from *castra* to *acies* (*Caes. Gall.*1.50.1, 2.8.4, 5, etc.); the nouns positively antithetical at *Liv.*7.15.2. Bell, 308 is confident that by hendiadys V. can be taken as conveying movement from camp into line.

Aeneas . . . mouebat *Castra mouere* standard in military prose (*OLD* s.v., *moueo*, §5b; 18x in *Caes.*), in the sense, though, of breaking camp; *acies m.* occasional in milit. narrative: *Sall. Iug.*53.1, *Liv.*2.46.7, 34.46.12 (and with compounds): an element of zeugma (Bell, 308, who wrongly suggests that Aen. here draws up an *acies*: premature). Aeneas *imperator* returns to the field (in that sense, *castris* indeed *motis*, though here no explicit breaking of camp), as he has intended from **17ff.** (thus for the attentive reader, the suspense is only now closed) and the approach of the Trojan and allied forces at once provokes alarm, even panic, unsurprisingly, given the Latins' state of discord (cf. Henry E., 27, Nisbet in Harrison, *OR*, 388, Feeney, *ib.*, 184f.). The line handles simultaneous action paratactically, asyndetically and of course without particles; cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 275.

447–97 The arrival of urgent news to close a long discussion is a sequence familiar from *Il.2.*; at 788ff., the Trojans are in assembly and Iris comes with news of the Greeks' advance; the assembly breaks up at Hector's bidding, ἐπὶ τεύχεα δ' ἐκκεύοντο (2.808; cf. **453**). Cf. Knauer, 284f.

447 nuntius Cf. **7.437**, for the abstr. sense, 'message' (as against 'messenger', **7.167**): so probably here (cf. *EV* 3, 799), for it is likelier that the news spreads round the palace than that a messenger in person scampers all through the royal apartments, etc., etc.. We will remember Iris, who tells the Trojans of the Argive advance while they are still assembled for discussion (*Il.2.786ff.*, Highet, 64, Knauer, 285).

ingenti . . . tumultu For **i.** of sound, cf. **7.65**; **t.:** cf. **225**.

per regia tecta Interwoven word-order: the news passes swiftly *through* the palace. For **r.t.**, cf. **7.668**.

448 ecce Attached directly to a verb, the pair given dramatic prominence by delayed, enjambed placing: cf. (but less delayed) *Buc.2.45f. tibi lilia plenis/ecce ferunt calathis, Aen.5.323f. quo deinde sub ipso/ ecce uolat.*

ruit Cf. 9.474 *nuntia Fama ruit*, 12.621 *ruit . . . clamor*, where Traina oddly remarks that *r.* is not applied elsewhere to abstracts of sound (but what else is a message? Note too the *uoces* of 6.44); possibly the news 'breaks' like a storm, of which the vb. is common.

magnis . . . terroribus T. as at **7.58** metonymically of causes of terror. The adj. (cf. **400**) a little flaccid and stock. Note *Lucr.6.596 ancipiti trepidant igitur terrore per urbis.*

urbem . . . implet Cf. **7.475 Rutulos animis audacibus implet**, *TLL* 7.1.632.1f. (Labhardt).

449 instructos acie . . . Teucros 'Drawn up in line of battle', translates West, correctly; a most unusual way to undertake a march, let alone one over notably (or so it is claimed by the poet) mountainous terrain (**513f.**) and still (**511ff.**) far from over; its tenuous links with the ground as mapped are immaterial. The message decoded may be understood as saying that the Trojans are 'already prepared for battle' (but also note Homer's Achaeans advancing on Troy, 2.801, a passage in V.'s mind: **445–6**; so too the Trojans rush to arms, 2.808 with which cf. **453ff.**). The phrase is, perhaps surprisingly, not conventionally military (*TLL* 7.1.2011.38, von Kamptz), but rather a small variation upon standard *aciem instruere*. Note V. careless of repeating the noun within 3 vv..

Tiberino a flumine Cf. **7.663 Tyrreno . . . in flumine**, 6.714 *Lethaei ad fluminis*, 749 *Lethaeum ad fluuium*, 10.833 *Tiberini ad fluminis undam*, *TLL* 6.1.958.74 (Bacherler). The adjectival form Ennian (cf. **7.797**).

450 Tyrrenamque manum Not Evander's vengeful followers but Tarchon's men (**504**), themselves also present in the scene of mourning at **184**. The phrase used at **7.43**, correctly classified by Moskalew as formulaic (87); also of obvious metrical convenience and useful in the development of drumming t-alliteration.

totis . . . campis Cf. **7.793f. clipeataque totis/agmina densentur campis**; an abl. of extension': vd. Malosti (**135**), 49f., citing *Enn. Ann.* 267, 344, *Aen.* 1.97, etc..

descendere That which, climbing from their camp near the Tiber mouth towards the volcanic valleys (cf. **7.801**) near Pratica di Mare (90 m. above sea level!) they could hardly in the 'real world' have done (cf. Della Corte, 247, Carcopino, 292ff., Rehm, 80).

451 extemplo Cf. **7.276**.

turbati animi Cf. **296f. per ora/Ausonidum turbata**. Schenk rightly compares (127, n. 188) **215–7**.

concussaue . . . /452 pectora 'Arouse . . ., stir up, excite' (*OLD* s.v., §5; *EV* not aroused to action): cf. 5.700 *casu concussus acerbo*, 869 *casuque animum concussus amici*, 8.3, 9.498 *hoc fletu concussi animi*, 12.594: the vb. vigorous and various in application (cf. **7.409**); prior to V., note use of *percutio*. *Res pro persona* remarked Gudeman, *TLL* 4.121.27f.; for *animus* and breast, cf. **409**.

uulgi Cf. 12.223 *uulgi variare labantia corda*, 1.149 (simile) *saeuitque animis ignobile uulgius*, 2.39, and note Wiltshire (**71**), 56ff., for some remarks on group-feelings in V..

452 et arrectae . . . irae Cf. *G.* 3.105 *cum spes adrectae iuuenum*, *Aen.* 1.579 *his animum arrecti dictis*, 5.138 *laudumque arrecta cupido*, as against the literal *arrectaeque horrore comae*; the extension of sense already in Sall. (*Cat.* 39.3, *Hist.* 1.77.8). Plur. *irae* dear to V. (**7.15**, etc.); each member of the *uulgius* is, separately, enraged.

stimulis haud mollibus The litotes long to V.'s taste (*G.* 3.41, etc.); the sharp goads here in a less suggestive and polyvalent context than at **7.405**; cf. rather the **stimulis . . . amaris** of **11.337**.

453 arma . . . arma Cf. **7.460 arma amens fremit, arma . . . requirit**. Here too it is the *iuuenes* round Turnus who clamour (with ancient repetition) for arms: recollection of the earlier scene (for

Hom., cf. **447–97**) and its consequences can only inspire a sense of endless waste and it is natural for the poet to draw heavily on the language of Tu.'s first arousal to arms; 'too heavily', the modern reader might conclude, cursed with electronic and bibliographical aids!

manu SDan. notes well *nam praeter uocem, gestum etiam flagitantis expressit, nec est superfluum 'manu' ut quidam uolunt.*

trepidi Cf. **300**.

poscunt Cf. 12.326 (Tu.) *poscit equos atque arma simul*, 82 (Tu.) *poscit equos.*

fremit Cf. **7.460**, *cit.*; **fre-** takes up **tre-** (cf. Traina, *Poeti latini*, 3, 138).

iuuentus Cf. **7.672**.

454 flent Cf. **29** for heroic tears; a male group reaction, as at 6.177 and often.

maesti . . . patres The key adj. sounds again (last at **226**); *patres* of the Latins, primarily (cf. **447–8**): cf. **7.176**, **611**, **11.379**. The tone precisely that of the Latin embassy, **100ff.** The division is now not only for and against Drances but (cf. **156**) between warriors and elders (cf. *EV* 2, 396f.).

mussantque The remarkable idiom of **345** soon repeated; cf. *Il.*4.20 Athena and Hera ἐπέμυξαν.

hic Temporal, clearly (cf. **7.141**).

undique Cf. **7.520**: an easy, unobtrusive means of magnifying the scale and impact of the action.

clamor/455 . . . magnus Cf. *G.*3.375, 4.76, *Aen.*2.58, 128, 5.207, 341, 6.175, 9.791, 10.799. *EV* 3, 320f. offers a useful list of **m.** applied to sounds.

dissensu uario Cf. **296 uarius . . . fremor** (and again V. makes explicit Latin discord and Trojan discipline, reversing Hom., Griffin, 4, Schmit-Neuerburg, 79, Cairns, 103; 1.148ff. may also occur to the reader here), 10.97 *adsensu uario*, 6.160 *multa inter sese uario sermone serebant*; the noun apparently a Virgilian invention: cf. Hey, *TLL* 5.1.1455.71f. and *EV* 1, 379 for abstracts among likely Virgilian neologisms.

se tollit Cf. **7.529** for the expression's origins (Cat., Lucr. and note *Enn.*Ann.428 *tollitur in caelum clamor*, 545 *clamor ad caelum uoluendus*), *G.*2.47 *quae se tollunt in luminis oras*, *Aen.*2.699 (Anch. about to pray) *se tollit ad auras*, 5.369 *magnoque uirum se murmure tollit*, 6.202, 10.892, 12.114.

in auras Cf. Skutsch on Enn.'s *in caelum, cit.*, n. on **7.466 ad auras**, Hardie, *CI*, 241ff. for this familiar, traditional (Homeric in origin) hyperbole. **M** strays into **ad**.

456–8 The reader is routinely referred to *Il.*2.459–63; here, in a fully-worked up double simile, we may have another glimpse of V.'s methods of work, for though editors here refer to the similarity with **7.699–702** + **703–6**, there the first simile is later, denser, incomplete and adds nothing to the second. The present simile(s) appear(s) to draw on both elements of the earlier pair: note **699 cycni**, **705 raucarum** and with **stagna**, cf. **702 palus**. Here then the second simile draws on V.'s own earlier work (a useful chronological bonus), while the first is bald to the verge of tedium.

456 haud secus atque . . . cum forte Cf. **cum forte**, **7.494** (*quinquies* in V.), **h.s.** (or *non secus*) with *ac/atque septies* in V. (*haud secus* alone *ter*): *haud secus* archaic/colloquial for Harrison on 10.272 (which it is), but also prose (Cic., Sall., Nep., LHS 248, 674).

alto in luco Cf. **7.82f.**, **95**. Note the birds in the Tiber woods, **7.33f.**

cateruae/457 . . . auium Cf. Lucr.6.1092 *pecudumque cateruis*; Nardo, *EV* 1, 705 compares the use of *turba* of birds, 12.248.

consedere Cf. *G.*4.65 *ipsae consistent medicatis sedibus* (cf. Cic.*Div.*1.73, 78), *Aen.*3.245, 5.841.

piscosoue amne The adj. apparently first at Hor.*Serm.*1.5.97 *Bari moenia piscosi*; cf. *Aen.*4.255, Ov.*F.*3.581. For **amnis**, cf. **7.464**; for adjs. in *-osus*, cf. **7.566**. The forms lofty; the fish themselves, closer to Hom. ἰχθυόειε (e.g. *Il.*20.392) than to the Sunday afternoons of the poet's infancy.

Padusae For the defining gen., cf. **7.697**. *Padusa* used by Valgius, frag.3.1 Courtney, which could be earlier than *Aen.*; the **P.**, however, may also yield a metapoetic play, for there Volusius was born, and there the renown of his *Annales* died, famously wrapped around *scombri*; Cat. uses the form *Padua* (95.7; cf. Plb.2.16.11 Παδόα) and V.'s variation of form renders the reference likelier. The name refers to the southernmost arm of the Po Delta (Serv., Plin.*Nat.*3.117ff.), once called *Messanicus* and transformed by the *Fossa Augusta* into a water link (cf. Strab.5.1.11) between the Po basin and Ravenna. Cf. Walbank on Plb., *cit.*, Bosio in *EV* 3, 920f.; on the *Barrington Atlas* pl. 40, **P.** has mysteriously been applied to the whole hinterland of Ravenna, not in keeping with the ancient texts.

458 dant sonitum Cf. **7.567**.

rauci . . . cycni Cf. **7.699** for the distinction between mute and whooper swans. Eng. 'raucous' is an unwelcome distraction: cf. rather n. on **7.705**. A.G. McKay, *Vergil's Italy* (Bath 1971), 67 refers rather perplexingly (but with clear reference to this passage) to 'the raucous sounds of sea-birds at the mouths of the Po, where the fishing fleets ply their trade'.

per stagna loquacia Serv. remarks on the evident hypallage (cf. Plepelits, *TLL* 7.2.1655.10f.; 'enallage', though is better used); cf. the *nidisque loquacibus* of 12.475 (so Juv.5.142f.), *G.4.17 nidis immitibus*. Cf. *EV* 1, 53 for adjs. in *-ax*.

459 immo *Septies* in V.; not quite simple 'but', as at *Buc.7.41*, *Aen.9.98*; here Tu. corrects the Latins' tendency to talk and peace (vd. Page), but is in too much hurry to suggest a precise alternative. Cf. LHS 492, Hand 3, 218ff. at 224, *OLD* s.v., §g ('introducing a command or exhortation to do something different', which is in fact here absent!). Here given marked prominence in isolation before the verb.

ait . . . Turnus Classified by Hightet among 'taunts, threats, challenges' (318; cf. 116f.); cf. Schenk, 145, Hightet 217 ('call to arms'; cf. the preceding **fremit**, **453**).

o ciues Cf. **243**, *Enn. Ann.* 385 (not Roman), *Rhet. Her.* 4.66, 'Ennius', *Var.* 15 (cf. O. Skutsch, *LCM* 10 (1985), 146); not a common collocation (*quinquies* in *Aen.*), in the face of *Quirites*. Tu.'s manner will change when he emerges from the palace (**463-7**); for now, he addresses his (future) subjects, still undecided in council (cf. **7.611**, **616**), unconvinced even by his own words; in *ciues*, there may therefore be an edge of reproach.

arrepto tempore The vb. *bis* in Lucr. and much to V.'s taste (*septies* in *Aen.*; cf. *EV* 4.401).

460 cogite concilium Not for the first time, Tu. unleashes his irony against mere words and worries, the weapons of the non-heroic: cf. **7.435ff.**; cf. **234f.**, **304** (the phrase Livian, and Livy 4.48.5 is earlier than *Aen.* 11). That the Rutuli in general are here said to have met in assembly might suggest once more the old popular right to decide on issues of peace and war (**7**, p. 354).

pacem laudate Cf. Tu. himself, equally ironic at **414**! Note Allecto's sarcastic reference to peace in her words to Tu., **7.426**. Cf. Schenk, 145, Cairns, 74.

sedentes As listeners in the *concilium*: cf. 10.409 *ille sedens . . . flammam despectat ouantis*, 12.15 *sedeant spectentque Latini*, Spallone, *EV* 4, 749,

citing *Il.*3.68. But cf. also [Sall.] in *Cic.*4.7 *aliud stans, aliud sedens de re publica sentis*, Otto, 330, and the old paradox of *Romanus sedendo uincit*, Tosi, n° 1578: in Turnus' view, defeat stares the Latins in their seats, and energetic, tangentially proverbial, allusion to their untimely indolence (with perhaps a thought of Iris to Priam, *Il.*2.796 αἰεὶ τοὶ μῦθοι φίλοι ἄκριτοὶ εἰσι) would be good characterisation. Cf. Dem. *Olynth.*2.23 καθήμεθα οὐδὲν ποιούντες, Liv.3.68.8 *sedemus desides . . . praesenti pace laeti*.

461 illi . . . ruunt The Trojans rush, in the mean time (contrast **sedentes**), both literally and in the confidence of their manifest destiny (*uel sim.*), for the noun too can of course indicate both a metaphorical kingdom and its literal expression: cf. 9.182 *pariterque in bella ruebant*, **11.886 inque arma ruentum**, Cavazza, *EV* 4, 605. **Ruant** Heinsius, Bentley after ω, but the permissive subj. is most unwelcome, for it is the Trojans' energy that Tu. expects will at last spur his men to swift action.

armis Abl. 'of means': 'by force of arms'; cf. e.g. **7.553**, **11.351**. See **7.38f.** for the view—modern and not present in any unforced reading of *Aen.*—of Trojans as violent invaders.

in regna So 6.84f. *in regna Lauini/Dardanidae uenient*, **7.256**, **278**.

nec plura locutus Cf. **7.599**.

462 corripuit sese Cf. Lucr.3.163 *corripere ex somno corpus* (so *Aen.*3.176, 4.572), 925, 4.998 *corpus de terra corripere* (puppies getting up), *Aen.*6.472 *corripuit sese*. While *EV* 4, 401 bizarrely alleges a sense of 'raggiungere', 'reach', *OLD* s.v., §4d unexceptionably renders 'to rouse oneself, arise or hurry off'.

tectis . . . altis Cf. **7.413**.

citus extulit The adj., originally a participle, and thus often used adverbially: cf. Liv. Andr. *Od.*frag.14Mariotti, Skutsch on *Enn.**Ann.*18, Lucr.1.385, etc., Cat.63.30, Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 2, 369, *EV* 1, 781, *TLL* 3.1209.60 (Hey). The vb. (sc. **sese**) in Acc. (*trag.*592); cf. 12.441 *portis sese extulit ingens*. Cf. *Il.*7.1 (Hector) πυλέων ἐξέεκυτο.

463–7 On leaving Lat.'s palace, Tu. passes from discussion to command and resumes speech in a very different vein (Highet, 217; Schenk, 145 *tacet*), appropriate to a new post-Homeric battlefield (**464**, Nisbet in Harrison, *OR*, 386); cf. **517–9** in the same vein. *Aen.*, 12.565–73 is rather different (cf. Highet, 307f. for speeches of command in the battle-scenes).

463 tu, Voluse Volesus is a praenomen in the *gens Valeria*: cf. Leumann, 179, 289, Liv.1.58.6, and note too in the Satricum inscription

POPLOSIO VALESIOSIO (cf. J.N. Bremmer, *ZPE* 47 (1982), 133ff. and Cornell (441f.), 144f. with further bibl.); of special, ancient interest to historians of Latin (App.Claudius Caecus, test. IGRF, Niedermann, *Phonétique*, 128): 'Volusus' is therefore of altogether suitable associations (cf. Poucet, 294ff.), for a Latin leader in *Aen.* Not clear, though, whether he is Rutulian or Volscian (his command extends over both, apparently: cf. **464 et Rutulos**) even after some expense of ink: cf. Fo, *EV* 5*, 624, Montenegro Duque, 81f., Saunders, 88, Della Corte 252.

armari Cf. **7.429f. armari pubem . . . / . . . para**; cf. ὀπλιζέσθαι. **Volscorum . . manipulis** Under Camilla's command, **432**: her entry into the action now imminent. **M. quater** in V.; the word part of V.'s widespread application of contemporary military language (200 legionaries) to the heroic world (Horsfall, *EV* 1, 152); the word appropriate to infantry (**498**). **Maniplos P**, printed by Ribbeck, to avoid *-is* at four successive line-ends; 3.235 and 10.258 have dat. with *edicere* and it seems that ancient ears were less sharp than Ribbeck's. V. uses the original form, without anaptyxis (WH, Lindsay, *Lat.lang.*, 174ff., Sommer, 140f., Leumann, 102. So too *saeclum*, *periculum*, *uincla*).

edice Cf. 3.235, 10.258; in this sense not technical. Note the survival of ancient *dice*, Leumann, 93. The long form endures irregularly (usage before cons./vowels not consistent): note *metri gratia* Cat.36.16 *face*, Ov.AA 2.445 *recalface*. See NW 3, 304ff.. Cf. too **duc**, two words later: V. aims at variation in a spate of short sharp words. **464 duc** Cf. 1.490, 5.550; so e.g. *legionem nonam subsidio ducit*: Tu. gives orders to his subordinates in the appropriate business language (Lyne, *WP*, 9f.).

ait Cf. **459**; a structural, more than a verbal repetition, apparently avoided elsewhere (but cf. **11.24–9**).

et Rutulos Tu. uses Volusus to convey his orders to Volsci and (his own) Rutuli, not to mention Messapus' troops. Cf., in the same vein, Tu. to Camilla, **518–21**; note Seymour, 572f., 575f., for a less developed chain of command, while V.'s readers are after all well used to e.g. Labienus. V. also narrates an unHomeric, complex (Highet, 217) war of movement, one, strangely, unconvincing and unroman to Nisbet (Harrison, *OR*, 388); note, though, Caesar alongside Cunctator.

equitem If taken as suggesting that Volusus was therefore to give orders to infantry, the result would be to classify the Volsci as foot-

soldiers, which they are not, or at least not all of them (vd. **498**)! This use of *e.* in the collective (LHS, 13f., **7.729**) sense of ‘the cavalry’ in Enn. (*Ann.*431); cf. **517**, 10.239, Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.710.49, *OLD* s.v., §2b: distinctively military, Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 876, §6. Note **equitem MP**, grammarians, **equites P₂R**; unsurprising that scribes should be unnerved by the collective.

Messapus His role as Tu.’s chief subordinate discussed, *EV* 3, 495 (cf. n. on **7.691–705**): in 11, vd. also **429**, **518**, **520**. V.’s construction sways between jussive + nom. and imperative + voc. (LHS, 24, after Svennung, *Anredeformen*, 220, 270, who compares, in Hom., *Il.*2.382, *Od.*15.440ff.).

in armis Cf. **7.434**, **11.454**.

465 et cum fratre Actually, Coras has two brothers, Catillus and Tiburtus, **519**, **7.671**. For the phrasing, cf. **604** and 1.292 *Remo cum fratre Quirinus*.

Coras Cf. **7.672**.

latis . . . campis Cf. Enn.*Sat.*11 *lati campi*, Varr.*RR* 1.6.3, Sall. *Hist.*3.98D13, Virg.*G.*1.492, *Aen.*6.887, *TLL* 3.218.29 (Hey).

diffundite Cf. **7.708**, *TLL* 5.1.1109.79f. (Rubenbauer); the vb. 11x in Lucr. and 6x in V. (cf. **7.522**): a strong metaphor of a flood of troops which deserved *EV*’s attention.

466 pars Cf. **7.624**.

aditus urbis Cf. Caes.*Civ.*2.16.2 *totam urbem qua sit aditus ab terra*, Liv.10.43.5 *urbis aditu*, 32.17.5.

firment Cf. Caes.*Gall.*6.29.3 (*confirmare* is a favourite verb), Liv.4.27.7 **pars militum portarum stationes firmit**, 5.43.2 *ad omnes aditus stationibus firmatis*, *TLL* 6.1.809.72 (Bacherler); V. is not quoting Liv., but writes in the approved and familiar manner of military narrative (cf. **aditus urbis** too). The plur. is normal (not mandatory) in poetry of V.’s date, Cat.64.256, etc., KS 1, 23, LHS 436, 5.108 *pars et certare parati*, 119f., 6.660, n. on **7.624**. Contrast **7.624 parat**. Note **firment MR**, **firmet M,P**; **capessant R**, **capessat MP**, TCD: Ribbeck, Sabbadini and Geymonat print the timorous (and almost difficult, though cf. 5.108, **7**, *cit.*) sing., while we have learned rather to acknowledge **R**’s occasional flashes of virtue.

turrisque capessant The desiderative Ennian (*Ann.*42) and V. lays aside the lexical flavour of military history so marked in the l. hitherto; cf. *Aen.*3.234f. *sociis tunc arma capessant/edico*.

467 cetera . . . manus Tu.’s orders in fact neatly articulated: troops not hitherto designated to follow his direct command! The sing.,

cetera, is usual with collective nouns (*OLD* s.v., §1b) but the sing. with non-specific collective nouns is not common (cf. **7.614 cetera pubes**, 5.74, 134, 573, 9.368, 12.606; note e.g. *Sall.Cat.*43.1, 59.5, [*Sall.*] *Rep.*1.2.4, LHS, 436f.) and has been called archaizing/literary (*EV* 4, 316, after La Penna).

qua iusso Markedly archaic (as Serv. notes; so already *Sen.Epist.*58.4)/ colloq. (suitable here, therefore) fut. (perf.) form of *iubeo*: cf. *Cato Agr.*14.1, *TLL* 7.2.575. 43 (Kuhlmann); so too *faxo*, 9.154 (where vd. Dingel), 12.316, Görler, *EV* 2, 264; too rare in V. to be significantly limited to later books (so Dingel). See Leumann, 621ff. (who seems to overstate the actual rarity of such forms in class. texts), Roby 1, 197ff., NW 3, 506ff. at 511, Lindsay, *Latin language*, 465f., Lunelli-Leumann, 156, Ernout. *Morphologie*, 258f.. Strong allit. of m adds to a strongly-coloured end-of-paragraph.

mecum . . . inferat arma Cf. **7.604 inferre . . . bellum**; also *octies* in the first decade of Livy (which clearly enough predates **11**; cf. *SCI* 21 (2002), 79) alone and thus perhaps Ennian.

468 ilicet Cf. **7.583**.

in muros Cf. **475** for the sequence of events; for the Latins' city walls, cf. **7.161**, **11.17**.

tota . . . urbe Cf. 2.439, 4.68f., 401, 592; here the abl. indicates from where the Latins rushed to their walls (cf. 2.421).

discurritur Cf. *Bell.Alex.*31.2, *Liv.*5.21.6, 31.24.7 *ad portas, ad muros*, 44.13.3 *ad portas ac moenia*, *TLL* 5.1.1366. 52f. (Rubenbauer). The precise, prosy, uncommon term particularly appropriate; for the archaic/military associations of the impers. passive, cf. **7.554**.

469 concilium . . . / 470 deserit Cf. 9.694 (sc. Turnus) *deserit inceptum*. We might have thought, after the apparent closing signature of **445**, that we would hear no more of the 'mere shouting match', wrongly. The idea expanded by alliterative **differt** (variation, after theme is stated in run-over word), and the alliteration of dentals then further developed, very strongly, in **470**.

ipse pater . . . Latinus Cf. **7.92 pater ipse . . . Latinus**. For the syll. lengthened at caes., cf. (e.g.) Austin on 1.308.

magna incepta Cf. **7.259**, 9.694 *supra*. **Magna** by no means merely ornamental; it had been his intention after all to welcome them, and not for the first time, into his kingdom with ample generosity (**302ff.**; there may be ring-composition here with **303f. non tempore tali / cogere concilium**); twice, then, his great (and good) intentions slip

away from his grasp, though in **7** he struggled longer than is usually recognised (cf. **113**, **229** *supra*). Here his grieving self-reproach in critical contrast with Tu.'s virile certainties.

470 tristi . . . tempore Cf. **303**, *cit.*, Hor.C.2.7.1 *tempus in ultimum*. **turbatus** Cf. **3** *turbataque funere mens est*, **451 turbati animi**, 3.314 *raris turbatus uocibus*, 2.67, 8.4, 29, 12.599, etc..

differt Cf. 6.569, 9.155: possibly a sense adopted into high poetry by V. (cf. Caes., Liv.5).

471 multaue A familiar Grecism, πολλά, alongside more orthodox *multum*: vd. Serv. (*id est Graeca figura*, Mayer in *ALLP*, 161ff., LHS, 37, Kroll, *Studien*, 249, Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 2, 412, Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.*48).

se incusat So with causal relative at Caes.*Gall.*2.15.5; the vb. Lucretian (2.1169): *TLL* 7.1.1100.1ff. (Bulhart).

qui non acceperit Cf. **7.233 excepisse**; the vb. can have strong thematic and emotive force (as at 1.290); so here Lat. now reproaches himself, (*vd. infra*) without reason, we might feel.

ultra In **7**, Lat. had offered gifts, land, and daughter, so either we retreat to the cavil that Lat. spoke after Ilioneus made his request/plea, or once more we sense that **7** and **11** are somehow unco-ordinated (cf. **331**, **352f.**). Mynors is attracted (why?) by **ante** for **ultra**, in some c.9 mss. when the v. is repeated, 12.613; Geymonat's apparatus misleads.

472 Dardanium Aenean Cf. **7.422**: V. does not allude specifically to the origin of Aen. at Corythus, for that, on a narrow reading, could suggest that he was, though part-Italian, not in fact an *externus uir* (**7.68f.**); here just a lofty, epic synonym for 'Trojan'.

generumque ascuerit Cf. Liv.21.2.4 *gener . . . adscitus*, *TLL* 2.765.11f. (Hey). Cf. **308** (the vb. Lucretian, but widely used in 'business' prose).

urbi Aen. was to have inherited Lat.'s throne; Tu. was fighting at Lat.'s side in the hope of inheriting (cf. **7.421**, **3**) that same throne; Lavinia was markedly more than a mere bride (cf. **352f.**)! However, *urbi* is not altogether felicitous as a synonym for *regno*, *uel sim.*; indeed, it is not so used (no more are *moenia*) in **7**). That may be why Mynors draws attention to the repetition of **471–2** at 12.612–3, where some c.9 mss. give the last words of the lines as **ante**, **ultra**: the latter gives a good climax and the awkward 'city' is well avoided.

473 praefodiunt . . . portas Cf. Serv. *id est ante portas fossas facere*, SDan. adds *hoc enim est quod supra dixit* [**466**] *pars aditus urbis firmit*:

perhaps, though the earlier passage could as well refer to barricades, *chevaux-de-frise* (note **saxa sudesque 473**) and the like. The vb. first here (but perhaps technical): cf. *TLL* 10.2.5.649.17f. (Wieland).

alii . . . aut V. interweaves individuals and groups, men and women, thoughts and actions, warlike preparations and cult ceremonies. Tu. opens and closes the scene (cf. Schenk, 145); in the middle, a wider humanity and a panorama complex but economical.

saxa sudesque An established alliterative noun-pair (**192, 291**, comm.7, index s.v.): cf. Wölfflin, 274, citing Liv. 23.37.3, *Pan.Lat.*9.2.4; add Liv.27.28.12. The former for use as missiles (cf. 9.569f.) or barriers, the latter likewise either as weapons (**7.506**, *Caes.Gall.*2.29.4) or as some form of obstacle (*Caes.Gall.*5.18.3, 40.6, *Civ.*1.27.3, TCD).

474 subuectant Cf. **131**; note that *subuehere*, *semel* in *Caes.*, is a favourite with Livy (14x).

bello dat signum . . . cruentum Cf. **7.519f. qua bucina signum/dira dedit** (both Ennian and Caesarian; note *Civ.*3.90.3 *studio pugnae ardentibus tuba signum dedit*). It is of course the war that is bloody (the adj. Ennian, **7.501**), enallage tinged with synaesthesia, a blood-stained trumpet-blast.

rauca . . ./475 bucina The terminology of these instruments remains a thorny problem (**7.501**); the adj. conventional: cf. **7.615**.

475 tum Is this rush to the walls that of **468**? There the Latins did not yet know of their king's second fit of despair, nor had the trumpet yet called the men away to action. At **468**, the rush is a natural consequence of the news of **446**; all rush to the walls to see if the Trojans are yet in sight (in comparable contexts, note the Veientes, 5.21.6 *in muros pro se quisque armati discurrunt*, 6.28.3, with Kraus' and Oakley's nn., 31.24.7, 44.13.3, *Caes.Civ.*3.105.4) Now, the warriors are gone, and the non-combatants man the walls, from various motives (the sequence simplified, Schenk, 127). A familiar scene too, and one essentially distinct: one could start from the non-combatants of *Il.*18.514 (with Edwards' n., citing 8.517ff., and the *teichoskopia*, 3.145ff., Bonfanti, 170), or Liv.5.18.11 *concursumque in muros est*, 37.5.1. Note also (e.g.) *Plut.Mor.*245B, E, *Caes.Civ.*3.9.6. For the realities, cf. D. Schaps, *CPh.*77 (1982), 193ff., F. Graf, *ZPE* 55 (1984), 245ff., N. Loraux, *Pallas* 32 (1985), 7ff., E. Kearns in *The Greek City* ed. O. Murray, S. Price (Oxford 1990), 338ff., W.D. Barry, *GRBS* 37 (1996), 55ff..

muros . . . cinxere Cf. 10.122 *et rara muros cinxere corona* (where

Harrison cites Liv.7.27.7), Caes.*Gall.*7.72.2 *nec facile totum opus corona militum cingeretur*; the vb. both of besiegers (3.52, 9.160, 10.119) and defenders (**7.161**) and found in enough other poliorcetic contexts (e.g. Caes.*Gall.*1.38.4, 5.42.2, 6.35.9 *ut ne murus quidem cingi possit*, 7.69.5) to suggest that V. again deploys a stout line of terms familiar from military texts.

uaria . . . corona The noun likewise standard for a ring of attackers or defenders: Cic.*Phil.* 2.112, Caes.*Gall.*7.72.2 (*supra*), *Bell.Afr.*70.3, *Bell.Hisp.*13.7, cf. *TLL* 4.986.61 (Gudeman); Cat.*Agr.*6.3 shows how early *corona* is used in transferred senses, and that should suggest caution in hailing it here as a military 'technical term'. The adj. refers simply to the mixed composition (cf. 8.723) of the ring.

476 matronae puerique A pairing of pitiable and defenceless categories, such as are so often found in scenes of supplication or captivity (cf. 2.797f.); the unmetrical *coniuges ac liberi* stock language in Livy: see Oakley on 8.37.9, Caes.*Gall.*7.14.10, Sall.*Hist.*1.77.19. Their presence, to defend, not to watch, developed with greater intensity, **877f.**

uocat . . . omnis Cf. 2.668 *uocat lux ultima uictos*, 9.320 *ipsa uocat res*, *OLD* s.v., §2b (the vb. with abstr. subj. from Cic; καλέω common thus likewise); *tacet EV*.

labor ultimus While the *labor extremus* of 3.714 (Anch.'s death) was Aen.'s last *labor*, this burden or suffering, in the face of an oncoming enemy promises to be *ultimus* (so e.g. 2.446, 668 *supra*) for many of the noncombatants too. As Timpanaro remarks (*Contributi*, 31, n. 28), these words support the interpretation he offers of **ilico** as 'it's all up'.

477 nec non A litotes frequent in verse from V. (LHS, 778f., Hand 4, 112); in prose and drama unevenly adopted. For **nec non et**, cf. **7.521**.

ad templum . . . ad Complex hendiadys, indicating both deity and location of the temple. Given the circumstances, the ritual acts are not only Homeric but clearly recognisable as the sort of thing Roman maidens/matrons had done in a crisis (so already La Cerda): cf. Liv.27.37, Beard-North-Price 1, 82 and still W. Warde Fowler, *Religious experience*, 314ff.; App.*Hannib.*115 is rather more dramatic.

summasque . . . Palladis arces Cf. **7.70**; the phrasing epic-conventional: 2.41, 166, 615, 6.519, 12.654f., 698. Analogies with the dramatically-illustrated cult of Minerva at Lavinium (*Enea nel Lazio*, 187ff.; the literary testimonia are silent) should not excite unduly,

for Lat.'s city is not Lavinium, Horsfall, *EV* 3.142, and the choice of deity, as Serv. well knew, was Homeric (*Il.*6.269ff.; Hecuba and the matrons (6.287, 296) to make offerings (6.293) to Athena, ἐν πόλει ἄκρη, 6.297; with the passage already employed, *Aen.*1.479ff. *interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant*, cf. *Il.*6.311 ἀνένευε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη), like so many details of the *arx Laurens* (*EV* 3, 142, *GR* 32 (1985), 203). Juno's temple juxtaposes Diomedes and supplication to Minerva, while here Diom. has lately lamented his sufferings: if this conjunction appeals, and should it be thought capable of leading further, cf. Gransden, *VI*, 184f.. See F. Castagnoli, *Topografia antica* 2, 879ff., Carcopino, 323, Della Corte, 252, Henry E., 90ff.. The reminiscences of bk. 1 and *Il.*6 should probably be taken as suggesting that the local Minerva will be no kinder than the Trojan Athena (Knauer, 287f., Moskalaw, 169f., O'Hara, *DOP*, 38, n. 60, Gransden, *VI*, 184, Bonfanti, 168ff., **485**). **P.** simply interchangeable with *Minerua*: cf. **7.154**.

478 subuehitur The *pilentum* (8.666, *uel sim*) is assumed (*EV* 5*, 470); cf. 5.721 *bigis subuecta*. The vb. Lucretian (5.515) and used in the full sense of 'carry up to'.

magna . . . caterua Cf. **433, 456**; V. has the word in the forefront of his subconscious. Note 1.497, 4.136 *magna . . . stipante caterua*. Did we assume the presence of e.g. *stipata*, 'understood', then (Gransden) the abl. might be instrumental on the analogy of e.g. 2.580 *Phrygiis comitata ministris* (cf. Austin on 1.312). The abls. might be of 'attendant circumstances' (LHS, 116, KS 1, 410f., Bennett 2, 301ff.), but just as easily, even without the vb., abl. abs. (LHS, 138f.); at *Cic.Fam.* 10.3.2 *omnia consecutus es virtute duce, comite fortuna* the nouns have marked verbal force.

matrum Cf. **7.357**; the account in Zarker (**35**), 20 is not quite correct, for the *matronae* on the walls are *not* clearly the same as the *matres* in the cortège. Note the scene, 8.666.

regina Amata and her companions have returned from the forest and reacquired their equilibrium; indeed, of their Bacchic frenzy, not a trace (Fantham in Stahl, 145). The queen is not named (?to augment discontinuity) and here she is no maenad, but a Latin Hecuba, pious, dignified and anonymous (cf. Fantham, 147).

479 dona ferens So too 1.679, 8.609; note also *dona* with *feram, ferentis, ferunt*: formulaic, therefore, δῶρα φέρων, and in particular note 6.293 Hecuba φέρε δῶρον Ἀθήνη. Cf. Cairns, 175.

iuxtaque comes As at **7.649 filius huic iuxta Lausus**, ellipse of *it* (cf. KS 2, 551f.). Cf. **33 comes**.

Lauinia uirgo Cf. **7.72**: the epithet is again crucial, for L.'s potential marriage has now for the second time unleashed open war; she attends Minerva at her mother's side, a dutiful, intact, domestic Helen (for the paradox, Lacey, *EV* 3, 148, Moskalew, 169f.; vd. Cairns 158, 163).

480 causa mali tanti Cf. 4.169f. *ille dies primus leti primusque malorum/causa fuit*, 6.93 *causa mali tanti*, 12.600 *se causam clamat crimenque caputque malorum*, Liv.5.11.6. Note **7.481f. quae prima laborum/causa fuit**, 553 **stant belli causae**; V. offers varied, conflicting accounts of the *causae* of war, lust and even gender conflict included (so of Lavinia, 6. *cit.*, Knauer, 287, 347 citing *Il.*22.116, of Helen, ἡ τ' ἔπλετο νεϊκεος ἀρχή), after the manner of recent historians (vd. further, *Companion*, 155ff.); ancient texts and recent discussions strangely ignored or simplified by J.P. Sullivan in *Two worlds* (**25**), 69, A. Keith, *Engendering Rome* (Cambridge 2000), 72ff. and D. Nelis, *Vergilius* 46 (2000), 193f.. It is not open to the modern readers so to reduce the patterns of explanation offered by the poet.

oculos . . . decoros L.'s eyes may indeed be 'comely' (thus they are classified, *OLD* s.v., §1; cf. 4.589), but because they are cast down, they are also 'seemly, decent' (*ib.*, §4) in the control L. exercises over them, with the epithet in some degree of enallage, from L. herself to her eyes. The retained acc. is standard, **7.74, 571**. Hiatus at caes. unremarkable, **7.178**, though **R** and TCD **malis tantis** may have been an effort to avoid it.

deiecta Cf. 3.320 *deiecit uultum*, 6.862 *deiecto . . . uultu*; for eyes cast down in maidenly modesty (her blush, 12.64ff., is apparently more notorious; Call. fr. 80.11 combines blush and lowered eyes); cf. *HHAphr.*155f. (with Richardson on *HH. Dem.*194), Theocr.2.112, Musaeus 160 (with Kost's n.), AR 3.1022f., *Ov.Her.* 11. 35 (with Knox's n.), *Am.*1.8.37 and 2.4.11 (with McKeown's nn.), 3.6.67, *Fasti* 2.756 (with Bömer's n.), *Sen.Ep.Mor.*11.7, *Tro.*1137f. (with Fantham's note), F. Muecke, *BICS* 31 (1984), 109 with n. 48, L. Ricotilli, *MD* 28 (1992), 30, n. 69.

481 succedunt matres Cf. **7.501**, *EV* 4, 1055: simply 'approach', without any hint of 'from below' as in **subuehitur**.

templum Closing a tiny ring, from **477 templum**, before their speech.

ture uaporant The vb. Lucretian (5.1131), an experiment here raised to wider fame by V.; cf. 1.417, 8.106: incense (Bömer on Ov.F.1.339, J. Innes Miller, *Spice trade of the Roman empire* (Oxford 1969), 102ff.), very widely used in Rom. funerary and public ritual (Ryberg, *Rites of the state religion*, index, s.v., S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer* (Christiania 1915), 198ff, at 204f., M. Besnier, DS s.v. *tus*, 552f., A.V. Siebert, *Instrumenta sacra* (Berlin 1999), 95), particularly in the offering of wine and incense, *ture ac uino facere* (Ov.F.2.631, 636, Henzen, *Act.fratr.Aru.*, index s.v., Wissowa 412, *et passim*). V. is as usual careful to avoid the technical (even in religion; vd. **7**, index s.v. 'religious language') and the quotidian: the *matres*' offering fills the temple with the odour of *tus*.

482 maestas . . . uoces Cf. 2.280 *maestas expromere uoces*; the adj. was (tediously, even) thematic in the funerals (cf. **26, 38**).

alto . . . de limine Cf. **235 alta intra limina**.

fundunt Of speech in Plaut., Ter., Cato; note Cat.64.125 *fudisse . . . u.*, Cic.*Arat.frr.*3.9, 4.2 *fundere uoces*, *TLL* 6.1.1566.56 (Robbert).

483–5 A short group-prayer (cf. 8.293ff., Highet, 314f.), strongly Homeric (vd. **484 frange**; called in its entirety and 'uerbum ad uerbum' Homeric by Serv.!), and not coloured by Lat. *Gebetstil*; it is, inevitably Tu., not Aen., who will be laid low (cf. **477**).

483 armipotens Cf. Acc.*trag.*127, Lucr.1.33, possibly Ennian and clearly lofty and archaic in tone; *quinquies* in V. (*EV* 1, 861; Clausen, *VA*, 114) and apparently not after a Gk. model. Cf. **8 bellipotens. praeses belli MPR; praesens M₁P₁**, Macr.5.3.10, grammarians, a *legunt*-variant in DServ.; the adj. undeniably important in kletic contexts, but the gen. excludes it. Blundell, *TLL* 10.2.6.875.33f. here compares Cic.*Verr.*2.5.185 *illorum custodem ac praesidem*. Gk. κρείουσα.

Tritonia uirgo Cf. 2.171, 226, 615, 5.704 (after Lucr., Cat.), Gk. Τριτογένεια; the Gk. epithet's etymology much discussed and variously explained (cf SDan. and Austin on 2.171, Kirk on *Il.*4.513–6, West on Hes.*Theog.*895, O'Hara 29, 32, Henry, E., 101, though, *pace* Serv., τρεῖν is not present in the text here). To V. an impressive epic fossil.

484 frange Old of weapons (in Hom. ῥήγνυμι of shields and armour): Enn.*Ann.*395, *trag.*165, Hostius fr. 1, *Aen.*9.413, 12.8, *TLL* 6.1.1241.66 (Bacherler). V. is very close to *Il.*6 again: Theano, priestess of Athena prays (306f.) ἄξον δὴ ἔγχοσ Διομήδεος ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτὸν/πρηνέα δὸς πεσέειν Σκαιῶν προπάροιθε *πυλάων*. Quinn (348), helped by some overtranslation, here discerns a 'tone of aggressive hatred of the enemy'.

manu Here, as at **7.455**, hardly pleonastic at all.

telum Generic as at **7.508**.

Phrygii praedonis The very language that their queen had used: **7.362, 363**; to the bibl. earlier offered, add Erskine (**777**), 73f., for the tragic origin of this way of speaking of the Trojans.

et ipsum Break the brigand's weapon and himself lay low. 'Ubi ad eum reditur, qui primas agit in aliqua re partes', Wagner, *QV* xviii2e. Cf. **636**.

485 pronum sterne After **Phr- . . . pr-**, in spitting supplication; cf. 5.331ff. *pronus . . . / concidit*. Not related to Gk. *πρηνής* (WH). For the vb., cf. **7.426**.

solo The blood-soaked soil of the battlefield is equally *terra, humus*, or (cf. 12.532, 569) *solum* for V. (Lenaz, *EV* 4, 933).

portisque . . . sub altis High (12.133), like the walls themselves (12.705, 745, Carcopino, 290); cf. Homeric *ὑπίπυλον*, Seymour, 116. An even more satisfactory end, under the very eyes of the spectators upon the walls. No word, though, from the goddess (Henry E., 103, M. Wilhelm, in *Two worlds* (**25**), 79), as at the visibly comparable 1.479ff. (O'Hara, *DOP*, 38, *auersa*, 482; **477**) and for all his beauty, Tu. is no answer to the prayer.

effunde At 10.574, 893, 12.380, 532 the victim fights from a chariot, at 12.276, on foot (vd. 271 *constiterant*); the distinction ignored by Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.222.64f.. Here, then, both eventualities are perhaps contemplated; cf. closely the use of *sternere*. *EV* 2, 609 (Tremoli) disappoints. The sense of 'lay out' confirmed by Lucr.3.113 *effusumque iacet sine sensu corpus*, from which V. may have worked back to the present use.

486 cingitur . . . in proelia Cf. **536 cingitur armis**; so already Plaut.*Amph.*308, *TLL* 3.1063.13f. (Bannier). Cf. **7.335 armare in proelia fratres**.

ipse . . . Turnus His long speech had ended, **444**; speech he denounces at **459ff.**, as he rushes from the palace, and arming is now a natural progression. The sequence from Allecto's thrust torch to Tu.'s orders group (**7.456ff.**) is closely comparable (cf. Schenk, 212). Hyperbaton lends weight to Tu.'s return to battle.

furens Formulaic/thematic not of battle-rage (9.691; cf. **7.464**) alone; Tu.'s *furore* slides often enough into a state of wider and wilder irrationality (Traina, *EV* 5*, 326, *Companion*, 200, 213, **7.465**). Love of Lavinia for Serv.; the speeches of Lat. and Drances for TCD; limited, not incorrect!

certatim Cf. **209**; here, *instanti properatione* TCD, *festinanter* SDan., unsatisfactorily (so too Mackail, ‘little more than ‘eagerly’’). Tu. hardly competes (basic to the word’s sense and hardly to be diluted) to appear more smartly kitted-out than the other Latins; rather, he arms in competition, or rivalry, with Aeneas (cf. 12.116, etc.). Cf. **491** for Tu.’s excitement; Kühn (**487–91**), 33 compares Achilles’ excitement at his new armour, *Il.*18. 367f.

487–91 Tu.’s re-entry into the action entails a subtle use of some of the conventions of an arming-scene (cf. Edwards on *Il.*19.356–424) and is elaborated by one of the *Aen.*’s more complex and detailed similes. Association with Paris has already been used to blacken Aen. (**7.318, 363**), but Tu. is increasingly criticised in the same terms (**217, 343–75, 355f., 367, 376–444**); so here, we think already of *Il.*6 at **477, 479** (vain offering to Minerva/Athena), etc. and of a local Helen (**480**). So at *Il.*6.503ff. Paris finally prepares for combat and descends gleaming from the citadel (**490**). The simile will lead us to contemplate the perils of unbridled sexuality in Tu. after the manner of Homer’s Paris. See Heinze 259, n. 25, Knauer 286ff., Schenk, 211f., D.A. West, in Harrison, *OR*, 440, Schmit-Neuerburg, 181ff. and the fine remarks of W. Kühn, *Gymn.*64 (1957), 30ff.

487 iamque adeo *Quater* in *Aen.* and *semel*, the forger. Used when ‘ein durch das Vorhergehende vorbereiteter Umstand eintritt’ (Leo, *Ausgew.kl.Schr.* 2, 52, Austin on 2.567, rendering ‘at this very moment’). Tu. is already part-armed and V. will continue to diverge from the linear simplicity of an Homeric arming-scene (Kühn, 32).

rutulum thoraca Cf. **9, 7.633**. As at 8.430, codd. perplexed by this word: **rutulum R**, Gell.2.6.22, Macr.5.10.11, 6.7.18, SDan. *ad Aen.*10.314; **rutulum MP**, Wagner, though he realised that the ethnic adj. was hard to justify (what was so special about Rutulian greaves?), and Edgeworth well remarks (161) that we actually expect a visual epithet from other descriptions of Tu. arming; so here: a gleaming red (André, 85–8), of bronze, **aënis** (cf. perhaps Val.Fl.7.620), though more often (Luc.9.364, etc., André, 87) of gold.

indutus Cf. **7.640 lorica induitur**.

aënis/488 . . . squamis Cf. **7.633, 639**: anachronistic armour of small plates or scales stitched to a leather backing (so too 9.707 (Serv. on 704 thinks of chainmail), **11.770** and possibly the perplexing **trilicem** of **7.639**). Technological variation upon Hom. χαλκεοθώραξ. Cf. Saunders, 182, Wickert, 301, Malavolta, 139, Sandbach, 457, Ugenti, *EV* 4, 1005f.; no necessary debt to Acc.*trag.*517 *eius serpentis*

squamae squalido auro et purpura/prae-textae. The metal chosen standard in V. for defensive armour (**7.733**). Note G.4.93 (a bee) *rutilis clarus squamis*.

horrebat The evident bristling of spear- or sword-points etc. long since transferred (in Gk. and Lat.) to the warrior or warriors themselves. in whatever sense (**7.525f.**). Cf. the serpent of **754 arrec-tisque horret squamis**, *TLL* 6.3.2976.79f. (Ehlers).

surasque Calves respectable in high poetry, Cat.64.129, Cic.*Arat.*399, Hor.C.2.4.21. Cf. **7.634** for greaves.

incluserat auro Cf. 'Liv.Andr.' ap.Ter.Maur.1935 (vd. Mariotti, 49f., n. 81), 12.430 (Aeneas) *suras incluserat auro*, Rehm, *TLL* 7.1.952.32. For the use of gold in descriptions of armour, epic and historical, cf. **7.278f.**, **634**, **639**, **790**. Tu. is already armed (plpf., twice).

489 tempora Cf. 5.416, 8.684, 9.418, etc. (already used by Cat.).

nudus adhuc At G.1.299 *nudus ara . . .*, without coat, **11.642f.**, without helmet or cuirass, 1.320 without stockings/gaiters; also of a sword unsheathed, 12.306; often used with acc. of respect (e.g. 1.320). Tu. is not *yet* fully armed (cf. stages in a metamorphosis, **7.790**). The detail's sense was not entirely clear (nor is it): to cheer his men and because he is about to speak to Camilla (SDan.); to charm Lavinia (Serv. on **486**). Cf. 5.673f. (Kühn; Asc. needed to be recognised); Aen. does not take his helmet off to embrace Asc. (12.434) though Hector eventually did (*Il.*6.472). West draws our attention to the stallion's mane; Tu. has no helmet and we may therefore view his hair, at one remove.

laterique In descriptions of arming, standard: cf. 2.393 *laterique Argiuum accommodat ensem*, 8.459 *lateri atque umeris Tegeaeum subligat ensem*, 12.432 *habilis lateri clipeus*, *EV* 3, 141. In an anatom. sense, cf. *Enn.Ann.*410, 565.

accinxerat ensem Cf. 2.671 *ferro accingor*; the vb. used by Lucr., Varr.*Atac.*.

490 fulgebatque The arming seems complete (plpfs.) and Tu. gleams as (impf.) he gallops; the gold we have just seen on Tu.'s greaves. So Paris is described at *Il.*6.513 as *τεύχεσι παμφαίνων*. The transference of the armour's shine to its wearer is common: cf. **7.804**, 5.562, 6.826, etc., and V. assigns the main vb. to the gleam, not the (more 'important') motion.

alta . . . arce So Lat.'s palace **urbe . . . summa**, **7.171**. The misleading charms that the identification of Lavinium (Pratica) as Lat.'s city (cf. *EV* s.v. *Laurentes*) once exercised never took account of the

importance in V.'s mental image of the citadel of Ilium (note Laoc. at 2.41 *summa decurrit ab arce*), while modern travellers were unduly swayed by the impressive mass of the Borghese palace at Pratica di Mare (cf. *GR* 32 (1985), 203 with n. 38).

decurrens κατὰ Περγάμου ἄκρης, *Il.*6.512. Cf. Laocoon, *supra*.

aureus Cf. **incluserat auro**; so already 9.269f. *quibus ibat in armis/ aureus*: the gold transferred (enallage) from the greaves to the hero.

491 exsultatque animis Hom.'s horse is κυδιόων (6.509; cf. 510 ἀγλαίηφι πεπορθώσ); cf. 2.386 *successu exsultans animisque* (a good n. by Austin). The vb. *quinqüies* in Lucr. (and not just of literal leaping). We might recall the waters leaping in comparison with Tu.'s rage, **7.461** (Schenk, 212), but the case that *exsultare* should be taken generally as a near-synonym to *furere*, indicative of reprehensible, overbearing excitement is hardly persuasive.

spe Cf. n. on **18**. Inevitably, a vain expectation (Duckworth, *Fore-shadowing*, 21).

iam Before the battle, Tu. is already (cf. *G.*1.42) buoyed up.

praecipit hostem. Serv. here comments quite correctly *mente praecoccupat hostis aduentum*, comparing 6.105 *omnia praecipit*, which is there recognisably Stoic philosophical language (cf. **18 animis et spe praesumite bellum**): clearly that is not the case at Caes. *Civ.*3.87.3 *uictoriam praecipiebant* or in all the passages cited by Oakley on Liv.7.26.8 *euentum . . . utraque acies animis praeeperat* (cf. too Baumgartner, *TLL* 10.2.452.83f.), nor is it here.

492–7 A simile that deserves a monograph (Knauer, 286, n. 1). See Kirk on *Il.*6.506–11, Janko on 15.263–8, Hunter on AR 3.1259–62, Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.*535–9, W.W. Briggs, *Narrative and simile . . .* (*Mnem. Suppl.*58, Leiden 1980), 47, S.M. Goldberg, *Epic in republican Rome* (New York 1995), 86f., M. von Albrecht, *Herm.*97 (1969), 333ff., L.R. Kepple, *AJP* 91 (1976), 345f., Anderson (**304**), 28, Schlunk, 26ff. (most helpful), West, *cit.* (**487–91**), Gleib, 224, Henry *VP*, 103f., Knauer, 286, Pöschl, 118, Schenk, 215, Schmit-Neuerburg, 182ff., Wigodsky, 58, Williams, *TI*, 82–3, *TORP*, 695f., 732f.. V. has in mind

(1) ὡς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτῃν,

δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θεῖη πεδίσιο κροαίνων,

εἰωθὼς λούεσθαι ἑύρρεϊος ποταμοῖο,

κυδιόων· ὑψοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται

ᾧμοῖς ἀΐσσονται· ὁ δ' ἀγλαίηφι πεπορθώσ

ρίμφα ἐ γούνα φέρει μετὰ τ' ἤθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων *Il.*6.506–11 = 15.263–8

(2) ὡς δ' ὄτ' ἀρήϊος ἵππος, ἐελδόμενος πολέμοιο,
 σκαρθμῶ ἐπιχρεμέθων κρούει πέδον, αὐτὰρ ὑπερθε
 κυδιῶν ὀρθοΐσιν ἐπ' οὔασιν ἀυχέν' ἀείρει AR 3.1259–61

(3) et tum, sicut equos qui de praesepibus fartus
 vincla suis magnis animis abrumpit et inde
 fert sese campi per caerula laetaque prata
 celso pectore; saepe iubam quassat simul altam,
 spiritus ex anima calida spumas agit albas Enn.*Ann.*535–9

(4) tum cursibus auras
 tum uocet, ac per aperta uolans ceu liber habenis
 aequora uix summa uestigia ponat harena Verg.*G.*3.193–5

Archilochus took Hom.'s κροαίνων to mean ἐπιθυμῶν (fr. 272 West; cf. Schol.A *ad loc.*, Schlunk, 27–30), wrongly, on a modern scholarly view, though that view is irrelevant. Hom.'s ἀγλαΐῃφι may be considered ornamental detail or most precisely to the point: the stallion revelling in his beauty (thus arguably truer to Paris in *Il.*6 than to Hector in bk. 15; cf. Schol.A on 15.265, Schlunk, 28f., Janko and Kirk, *citt.*). It is the gender of ἵππων at the close of Hom.'s simile that seems to have escaped discussion; the details noted seem to suggest it should be (or was at least sometimes taken to be—*infra*—, though hardly by AR: note ἐελδόμενος πολέμοιο) fem.; V. writes **equarum** and the stallion's excitement may thus be thought to derive principally not so much from freedom, pastures new or the chance of a swim as from sexual excitement and the sense of approaching satisfaction (cf. 487–91; V. is of course profoundly tactful in suggesting the theme. Serv. reads the simile much as I do. *Tacent* Schenk, Traina, *EV* s.v. *Turno*, but old Henry saw the issue opening and was appalled). To Xenophon, it was obvious, as La Cerda noted (*Eq.*10.4): ὅταν λυθεῖς θέῃ παρ' ἵππους, μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν παρὰ θηλείας, τότε αἶρεϊ τὸν ἀυχένα ἀνωτάτω καὶ κυρτοῖ μάλιστα τὴν κεφαλὴν γοργούμενος (which at least shows that Xen. read *Il.*6.511 as I too would wish to; note J.K. Anderson, *Xenophon* (London 1984), 189f.). Tu. is patriot, and eager suitor too (*Companion*, 209f.); here the simile's Homeric associations with Paris weigh more heavily than do those with Hector (cf. Knauer on *Il.*6 and *Aen.*11 in general, Williams, *TI*; *aliter*, Anderson). *Aen.* sheds Paris as Tu. dons that charming, damning and fatal mantle. The stallion is **tandem liber**, just as in Hom. the tether is broken, and here that detail is (vd. West) directly relevant to Tu., in as much as he is at last released from council

into the simpler heroic world of war and love. Further affinities and divergences of detail I note below.

492 qualis ubi *Septies* in *Aen.* (and cf. the closely comparable *qualis . . . cum*, **659**); formally, there is ellipse of *est*, and the double hyperbaton, **ubi . . . fugit** and **qualis . . . equus**, is normal. In Hom. οἶον ὄτε (*Il.*14.295), the correlative is advbl., but the combination there may have suggested the majestic *qualis ubi* to V. (cf. Conway on 1.430f.). **abruptis . . . uinclis** Noun and verb Ennian (*Ann.*536) closely (note the compound vbs.) after Hom. δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας, *Il.*6.507. Note too *G.*3.194 *liber habenis*.

fugit praeseptia The manger (poet.plur.) is Ennian, *de praeseptibu' fartus* (*Ann.*535), suggested by Hom. τῆρας, while the vb. is a sharp departure from antecedents: for V., the stallion is actually escaping (cf. *G.*3.142) from food and barred doors (*uel sim.*). Note the suggestion (Schlunk, 26f.) that exegesis of the hapax ἀκοςτήσας as deriving from ἄχος, distress (Schol.A on 6.506–11) just might have conveyed to V. the change of emphasis from feeding to escape.

493 tandem liber The stallion's prolonged desire for liberty (and not only from a balanced diet) is perhaps suggested by Enn.'s reference to his stallion's μεγαθυμία (*Ann.*536) and V.'s own *liber habenis*, *G.*3.194. Implicit, we might say, in *Il.*6.506–7. Williams (R.D.) claims the stallion had been wild before capture and training, but even (part-) trained horses can escape gladly enough and the suggestion is by no means mandatory. Advb. qualifying adj. is common enough (LHS, 171, KS 1, 793f.; cf. *late regem*) and it would reduce the force of the adj. (for **t.i.** is a first step in the stallion's break) to take the advb. 'correctly' with **potitus**.

equus The gender here is not, as will emerge, common. On **P's ecus**, cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 392, but Quint.1.7.26 (with Sommer, 162f.) shows that **equus** is the only acceptable orthography in an Augustan literary text.

campoque . . . aperto Hom.'s πεδίοιο (*Il.*6.507), AR's πέδον (3.1260), while the adj. (cf. *G.*2.280, *Aen.*9.25, 12.450) reinforces V.'s **liber**: the stallion is not only free, but ranging free.

potitus The second stage, to reach an open stretch of plain; cf. 1.172, 3.278, etc..

494 ille Not simply pleonastic. W. Görler notes (i) a frequent use of *ille* thus in unfolding a simile: cf. **809**, 10.707f., 12.5f. and note Fordyce on **7.787** ('resumptive') and (ii) another idiom whereby *ille* takes up the subj. of the simile (cf. **7.380**, with discussion).

in pastus armentaque Very close to Hom.'s ἤθεα καὶ νόμον ἵππων (*Il.*6.511; 'haunts and pasture') and eschewing Enn.'s *campi per . . . prata* (gen. *inhaerentiae*): **a.** of horses and oxen (Isid.*Etym.*12.1.8); note *G.*3.129 (vd. Mynors), **11.571 armentalis equae mammis**. *Pastus* used by Host.frag.2. Here quasi-synonyms coupled for what might be called hendiadys, 'where the herds of mares gaze'.

tendit When intr., not inherently a strong synonym for 'go'; a vb. indicating clearly haste and urgency would have verged upon the vulgar and explicit.

equarum Vd. **492–7** for the significance of the fem. form (Lucretian, 3.764; cf. Leumann, 283).

495 adsuetus The second alternative, perhaps less significant, but developed at greater length: cf. **7.487** for **a.** of animal habits (deer swimming).

aquae . . . flumine noto The domestic(ated) stallion used to regular washing (cf. **7.491 limina nota**, **500 nota . . . tecta**, *G.*1.363, 4.266; partic. and adj. make the same point). Jackson's 'water of his familiar stream' atypically inverts the Latin; Götte's 'im vertrauten Strom des Wassers' (so too Perret) may, if only a little, strain classical Latin usage (so PHI, *bis*): cf. *Mart.*12.31.2 *riguae ductile flumen aquae* (note too *Hor.Ars.*17 *aquae . . . ambitus*, sc. *per amoenos . . . agros*, *Aen.*6.714 *fluminis undas*); see **7.586** for licit and illicit combinations of such common physical terms: it was not obviously and naturally open to V. to write of a *flumen aquae* (a gen. *inhaerentiae*), though it looks as if it may just about have been so in practice and with *flumen* understood in a precise etym. sense the phrase does become easier. Other commentaries/versions appear to find the expression undeserving of comment/accurate translation. But SDan. had not and proposes either the perhaps very faintly awkward 'stream of water' or *adsuetus aquae*. Indeed (and e.g. Henry is convinced); but if so, then **perfundi** must likewise depend on **adsuetus** (in some way prolative; cf. **7.591** and perhaps tolerable here). But 'Strom des Wassers' will yet, I sense, answer, though Madvig's **aqua** will console the disconcerted.

perfundi Cf. *G.*2.147 (bulls) *perfusi flumine sacro* (with **7.489** (where agricultural usage is collected), **663**, *Buc.*3.97). Closely (though V.'s vb. is markedly stronger) after *Il.*6.508 εἰωθῶς λούεσθαι ἔυρρεῖος ποτάμοιο (cf. 23.282).

496 emicat The dactylic main verb run on, for speed (cf. 12.327); an old metaphor (Plaut.*Aul.*626, *Lucr.*2.195, 4.1050; cf. Heinze on

Lucr.3.289 for the literal sense), *octiens* in *Aen.* (cf. *EV* 3, 518). After Enn.'s *fert sese*, forceful and timely.

arrectisque . . . ceruicibus The vb. dear to V. (but not to *EV*), of necks, ears, scales, hair, eyes, breast, spirits; note 5.426 *in digitos . . . arrectus*. Cf. AR's ἀρχέν' αἶρει (3.1261); note Enn.'s **celso pectore** (*Ann.*538). The developing description is swiftly paratactic.

fremit Cf. *G.*1.12, 3.85 (??; vd. Mynors, vs. Barchiesi, ed. *G.* (Milano 1980), Traina, *cit.*), *Aen.*12.82, **7.638** (unlikely), *Hor.*C.4.14.23, **11.599, 607 fremitus** (after *Lucr.*5.1076), 12.82. See A. Traina, *EV* 2, 590f.. AR's ἐπιχρεμέθων (3.1260).

alte Sixth-foot advb. not common (*Cupaiuolo*, *EV* 1, 439); after **arrectis**, postposition for emphasis (Ernout-Thomas, 162, Marouzeau, *TSL*, 329f.), but the advb. perhaps (?also; cf. Bell, 294) to be understood with **luxurians**; Serv. excludes (unwisely) the latter sense and likewise (more reasonably) **fremit . . . alte**. Note the *iubam . . . altam* of Enn.*Ann.*538.

497 luxurians TCD remarks very well that **1.** and **fremit ad animum . . . pertinet**, the neck and mane *ad corpus: hoc erat . . . placere sibi omni parte membrorum*. The vb. of immoderate plant growth (*G.*1.191), thence of phys. development (*luxuriat . . . toris*, *G.*3.81, of the *animosum pectus* of a pedigree stallion; well, Rosati, *EV* 3, 293) and as here of a mental state, 'to behave skittishly, frisk, gambol, or sim.' (*OLD* s.v., §2). Perhaps more modesty and fun than in the κιδιώων of Hom./AR, as in the choice of **ludunt**.

luduntque iubae Homeric and Ennian, predictably omitted by AR. Cf. *Ov.Met.*2.246 *ludit Maeandros in undis*, 8.162f., *Prop.*2.25.27. Hom.'s ἀἴσσονται and Enn.'s *quassat* here lack V.'s mobile charm. Vd. Lyne on *Ciris* 144 *in corpore ludere uestem*, Plepelits, *TLL* 7.2.1771.46f..

per colla, per armos Cf. 2.358, 527, 664, 10.597 for comparable gemination of *per*. Cf. too 12.722 *colla armosque lauant*, *Ov.Met.*2.854; the forequarters of any animal. Here note the expansion (as against AR's preference for ears because unhomeric) of Hom.'s ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται/ὠμοῖς ἀἴσσονται (*Il.*6.509f.).

498–535 C.'s entry into the action has been amply prepared (cf. Brill, 35): cf. **432, 463**. She had burst upon *Aen.* in great splendour (**7.803–17**) and now meets the equally resplendent Tu.; the latter admires in heroic fellowship, but no quickening of hearts on either side can be suggested.

498 obuia cui Tersely (for **c.** of course refers to Tu., not the stallion), and perhaps in antithesis (note **occurrit** to follow shortly) both

tactical and stylistic; cf. 1.314 *cui mater media sese tulit obuia silua*, 10.770, *EV* 5*, 527.

Volscorum Note **432**, **463** and in detail **7.803**. Keith notes an apparent difficulty: the Volsci send both the more familiar cavalry (*infra*) and, it is said (Saunders, 88), infantry: 9.505f. (possibly Rutulians or in general Latins disguised under a near-synonym; vd. Dingel) and **11.463 maniplos**, if the word does perforce suggests infantry (but it need not always do so: see *Sil.*4.314, *Apul. Met.*9.9). If there were Volscian infantry, it would presumably be male (Saunders, 88 points to 9.505–6). C.'s immediate following is female: **500**, **655ff.**; QS lists twelve $\delta\mu\omega\delta\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ by name, 1.33ff. and **tota cohors**, **500** may suggest a small personal *escort* just as well as the sort of number *cohort* usually conveys. Just as female and equally mounted may be, *pace* Keith, the entire *agmen equitum/cateruae* of **7.804**, not to mention the imminent **acies**. Cf. Wickert, 462, Malavolta, 155, la Penna, 223f., Heinze, 196f.. It may be that the reader of V. should not be concerned with such questions though if C.'s following in the field were female and in the saddle, that would be worth knowing.

acie comitante Cf. **898 deletas Volscorum acies**. *Acies* can be used of cavalry: cf. (e.g.) *Caes. Gall.*2.9.2, *Liv.* 4.19.5, 8.39.1, 22.28.11, *Vell.*2.112.5, *Tac. Hist.*4.71. So perhaps identical with the **cohors** of **500** and not necessarily of male infantry.

Camilla For the name, cf. **7.803**.

499 occurrit Cf. 1.682; *quater* in *Lucr.* and very common in business prose. 17x in *Aen.*; note **503**, **528**: a word to suit the tone of the moment.

portisque . . . sub ipsis Cf. **473**, **485** for the gates of Lat.'s city; for all Tu.'s haste now, Cam. sweeps up to the very gates. It had been to Lat.'s city that Camilla arrived amid general admiration at **7.803–17**. **regina** Metabus had fled his realm (**539ff.**; cf. Horsfall 1988, 41) while his daughter is now queen (and not by marriage!) of the Volsci (cf. Penthesilea, Artemisia, Hellenistic queens); no narrative explanation is offered and this silence has, oddly enough, we may think, troubled even serious scholars (cf. **535–96**).

ab equo . . . /500 desiluit The vb. in comedy, prose (note *Liv.*2.10.11, 2.20.10 *desiliunt ex equis*, prior to *Aen.*11) and upwardly mobile (cf. *Hor.*C.3.13.16); note *Il.*5.494 $\epsilon\acute{\xi}$ $\omicron\chi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$. . . $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\tau\omicron$ $\chi\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon$, 11.94 $\epsilon\acute{\xi}$ $\iota\pi\pi\omega\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, 423, 17.480.

quam . . . imitata Cf. *Buc.*5.73 *saltantis Satyros imitabitur Alpheisiboeus*, *EV* 2, 923.

tota cohors Typical Virgilian employment of current military terminology (cf. **phalanx**, **92**, **maniplis**, **463**); the noun applied to Maenads, Giants, Satyrs (OLD s.v., §6) and here suggestive not so much of 'squadron (sc. of cavalry)' as of 'personal suite, escort' (Liv.2.20.5, Hor.*Epist.*1.8.14); not necessarily her whole force.

relictis/501 . . . equis R. of metaphorical reins at **7.600**; also of *classis* (5.612) and (faintly different) of shores, harbours, lands; the Homeric chariot is parked at a convenient distance from combat, Seymour, 674ff.

ad terram defluxit Macr. noted (6.4.10) V.'s echo of M. Furius Bibaculus' *Annales Bell.Gall.* (frag.8): *deuictus uolnere habenas/misit equi lapsusque in humum defluxit*; note too Liv.2.20.3 *Romanus labentibus super corpus armis ad terram defluxit*. Whence (so Courtney, plausibly) perhaps an Ennian original (cf. Wigodsky, 100: the hint that V.'s choice of word may anticipate a fatal wound—cf. **828 ad terram non sponte fluens**—is persuasive). In Gk., cf. e.g. Plut.'s ἀπορρύντες εἰς γῆν (*Eum.*7). SDan. lists (and the observation is excellent) four marks of courtesy, *equo desilire, caput aperire, uia decedere, adsurgere* (cf. too TCD *ut honorificam sese monstraret*); here cf. Kroll, *Kultur cic.Zeit*, 185f., A.B. Miller, *Roman etiquette*, diss. Philadelphia 1914, 11f., Brill, 36, and note Sall.*Hist.*5.20, Liv.24.44.10, VM 2.2.4b, 5.2.9, 8.5.6, Plut.*Mor.*196A, Gell.2.2.13, citing Quadrig. fr. 57P. Such details (each anchored to select anecdotes) were of prime importance, and directly recognisable, to any educated ancient reader (Kroll, Miller, Horsfall, *La villa sabina di Orazio* (Venosa 1993), 92ff); cf. her arrival at the original muster in the form of a contemporary *aduentus* (**7.812**). C. acknowledges Tu. as her C.-in-C. and gender courtesies are irrelevant.

tum Singular alliteration (from **terram** to **Turne**); dramatic moment rather than specific effect; **t.** not otherwise part of the formula and here clearly added for effect.

talia fatur Cf. **7.330**.

502–6 Camilla's speech The first of C.'s four brief speeches: cf. Highet, 331 (well classified under 'persuasions', 314, for she is not (*ib.*, 305) in any position to give orders). After the marked courtesy she shows at **501**, she may be urgent, even impetuous (**502**, **503**), but neither Tu.'s respectful reaction, nor the content of her speech quite permit her to be called hotheaded and unreflective (so Brill, 37; better Raabe, 121, n.*; see **503 promitto**).

502 Turne The initial voc. visibly abrupt and urgent (cf. **7.421 Turne**).

sui . . . fiducia Cf. Hom.'s ἀλκὴ πεποιθῶς, 1.132 *generis . . . fiducia uestri*, 2.162 *coepti fiducia belli*, 8.395f. *fiducia . . . / . . . mei*, 9.142 *medii fiducia ualli*. Vd. *TLL* 6.1.699.39f. (Fraenkel). The dat. (**forti**) here possessive; contrast 10.152; *EV* 2, 511 misleading.

merito Cf. **392**.

si qua est Cf. **7.4**, **11.373**.

forti Cf. **7.151**; note *ILS* 1.2 *fortis uir sapiensque*. 'Good' courage, durable, vigorous and thoughtful, a Stoic cardinal virtue, indeed (Dyck on *Cic. Off.* 1.62; Gk. ἀνδρεία) and the adj. most closely corresponding to *uirtus*; ignored by *EV*, Schenk, Mackie, etc., but cf. Hellegouarc'h, 247f., Tosi, n° 851, Traina, *Poeti latini* 4, 54ff!

503 audeo et Paratactic (Görler, *EV* 2, 275, and thus perhaps here suggestive of spoken language) for some form of 'bold promise' (prompt association with Tu.'s *audacia* (**7.475**) not mandatory, though cf. Schenk, 248, n. 123): cf. **376 aude atque aduersum fidens fer pectus in hostem**. We recall 1.493 *audetque uiris occurrere uirgo*; cf. too **808 nec telis occurrere uirginis audet**. For the synaloepha of cretic word in first foot, cf. Austin on 1.599, 2.625, 667, 6.64, Norden, *Aen.* 6, p. 456; rare enough to draw attention to C.'s excited manner.

Aeneadam Cf. **7.616**.

promitto The only promise so explicit in *Aen.* (cf. 2.96 *promisi*). Readers mindful of Tu.'s 'reprehensible *audacia*' (**370**, and vd. **7.475**) may suspect that C. too is culpably overenthusiastic (so Brill, 37), for C. appears explicitly to discover only at **513ff.** that Trojan infantry and Etr. cavalry are divided. However, Tu.'s plan is no more than grateful expansion (cf. **504 solaque**) of C.'s initial, tactically correct, if underweighted, offer and the Volscians' commander is hardly to be faulted for quick instincts and a good eye. The nom. and inf. less singular because of *audeo*: cf. 4.306, 12.568, LHS, 364, Görler, *EV* 2, 272.

occurrere Contrast the friendly sense, **499**: here a standard use of business language: cf. *OLD* s.v., §5a, *Caes. Gall.* 2.24.1 *aduersis hostibus occurrebant*.

turmae Cf. **518 turmaeque Latinae**, **599**: a small unit of Roman cavalry, growing slowly from an initial 30 men (*Kl.P* s.v., *Varr. LL* 5.91; 36, *Varro ap. Serv.* here), to give some idea of how V. and his readers visualised the sense (cf. Saunders 136, n. 13). *Novies* in *Aen.*, between bks. 5, 10 and 11; no help in the discussion of **498**; it might seem here that C. thinks there is some Trojan cavalry, though very

little; there will prove not to be (504), apart, apparently, from isolated individuals (690, 768, Heinze, 197).

504 solaque A prominent emphasis modified by Tu., 517–8; Con. would have preferred *me solam*, but this use of nom. + inf. is rather a learned Grecism, familiar enough in Virgilian usage (cf. 4.305f., 5.372f., 12.568; vd. *supra* on **promitto**). One might think of Telamonian Ajax, ready to fight Hector καὶ οἶος, *Il.*13.79.

Tyrrenos equites Cf. 450, 512, 517; note the Etr. cavalry of 10.238 (where vd. Harrison, Wagner, *QV* xl), 11.598 (etc.; vd. Heinze, 197) and see Wickert, 459, Malavolta, 154 (incomplete), *EV* 2, 345ff., 7.804. The introduction of a cavalry battle is a long-recognised innovation and Aen.'s Arcadian/Etruscan allies are necessary to establish some sort of credible numerical parity (Heinze, *cit.*, Horsfall, *GR* 34 (1987), 49).

ire obuia Cf. 438 **ibo animis contra**, 10.453f. *ire/comminus*, Prop.2.19.22, 10.770 *obuius ire*, *OLD* s.v. *eo*, §7b.

contra Pleonastic, after **obvia**; anastrophe of disyll. prepos. standard, 7.673 and cf. 510 for indifferent wd. at l.-end.

505 me sine A neat antithesis with **tu**, imminent; specific expansion of the preceding 1pers. verbs and no culpable symptom of female excitement. Cf. though 12.316 *me sinite*, 25, 680 *sine me*. Distinguish colloqu., paratactic *sine*.

prima . . . pericula belli Principal, for TCD (*primas belli partes*); or in extension of the thought of **temptare**, to essay the first dangers. The fighting of bks. 9–10 has not been between cavalry (cf. **equites**, 504) and thus C. has been held back with honour intact. *Pericula belli* at Cic.*Div.*1.99, Liv.2.24.2, *belli pericula*, Cic.*Verr.*2.5.2, *Mur.*30, so the expression's tone perhaps unexpectedly but distinctly prosy (so PHI).

temptare So of *proelia* (2.334, etc.), *terras . . . repostas* (3.364), *aditus* (4.293), *laborem* (5.499), *omnia* (G.4.328), *fugam* (12.484). Trag. and Lucr. (18x; also *pertempto*).

506 tu pedes Despite recent comparison to a stallion; V.'s **decurrens** reminds us that Tu. was infantry. Like *eques*, often appositional (cf. 6.880, 7.666, 10.453, 6.858).

ad muros Near the walls: Aen. will invest, not besiege Lat.'s city, thus permitting elements both of the drama of a siege and of the excitement of open combat. C. knows that a mobile defence is required. For Lat.'s walls, cf. 17. *Moenia* and *murus* are often juxtaposed (2.234, 6.549, 9.196, 782, 12.706), but are not always close

synonyms (vd., well, Fo, *EV* 3, 557). *Moenia* can indicate the buildings within *muri* (cf. Serv., SDan., TCD on 2.234), but here theme and variation is most probable.

subsiste ‘Halt’: cf. 2.739. So in Caes., *Civ.*1.11.4, 79.2, 80.1, 2.41.3, 42.5; cf. *OLD* s.v., §5a. Impeccably military if not distinctively so.

et moenia serua Cf. 9.43, 161 (*muros*), 2.450 (*fores*), 6.402, 575 (*limen*), 556 (*uestibulum*), *EV* 4, 814, for the sense of ‘guard, watch over’ (**7.2** is more tutelary than protective).

507 Turnus ad haec Cf. 9.207, 12.631: in V. a rare formula of reply, but common in Cic., with/without vb.: *Quinct.*55, *Verr.*2.3.205, etc., *OLD* s.v. *ad*, §E.29a.; not however Plaut./Ter..

oculos . . . fixus Cf. **7.249f.** for the fixed gaze; given 12.70 *figitque in uirgine uultus*, this is a true retained acc. (cf. R. Thomas, *Vergilius* 38 (1992), 136, Lackenbacher, *TLL* 6.1.718.59f.) after a vb. specially appropriate to C. (**691 Buten . . . fixit**).

horrenda in uirgine *Quae sine reuerentia uideri non posset*, TCD; ‘horrenda’ autem pro ‘admirabilis’; *alioqui hostibus horrenda* SDan., *admirandum*, Agroecius, *Gramm.* 7.120.22. We should compare closely V.’s **horrenda** of Juno on her descent to Earth, **7.323**. Perhaps ‘awesome’; Heyne acutely compares ἔκπαιγλος. Paschalis suggests ‘bristling’ (364), of the hypothetical animal-skin she wears; we might as well suppose that she is ill-groomed and would do well not to look for explanations so absent from the text. **Virgo** at **7.806**; like Lavinia (**479**), like the disguised huntress of 1.327 (cf. 315, 336), and like Penthesilea (1.493).

508–19 Turnus’ reply Cf. **463–7**; here, again, a brief speech of command, courteous, even highly complimentary though it is. Remarkably, ignored by students of C. and Tu. alike (but cf. **519**): perhaps conceived antithetically to the verbose and headstrong Tu. of the Latins’ council, **378–444**, to suggest a commander at his best in the field.

508 o Emotive and commoner with nouns than with names, **7.360**.

decus Italiae Fine traditional phrasing: cf. Cic. *Flacc.*75 *decus patriae*, *carm.*Hom.8.1 *o decus Argolicum . . . Vlixes*, after Hom. μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν (*Od.*12.184, *et passim* of both *Od.* and Nestor), [Sall.] *Rep.*2.13.1 *Caesar decus praesidiumque nobis*, Hor. *C.*1.1.2 (Maec. as *dulce decus meum*; vd. NH), Sen. *Contr.*exc.9.2.1 *cetera imperii decora*, and **657**, C.’s *comites*, the **Italides**, chosen as **decus** to her.

uirgo Cf. **507**; though so near, I hear little or no effect of polyptoton and the repetition might even be ‘accidental’, and unheard (cf. **7.554**).

quas . . . / 509 quasue Cf. *Buc.*4.32, *G.*1.53, *Aen.*4.598f., 8.149 for repetition of the interrog./rel. pronoun to accompany variation of the vb..

dicere grates Tu. passes swiftly from courteous thanks to practical, concrete requital (cf. *EV* 2, 791). The phrase not paralleled (no more is it as *grates dicere*: so PHI; the expansion of the range of possible vbs. beyond *agere* and *habere*, though, is Virgilian).

509 referre Cf. *Ov.Pont.*2.11.25 *referant grates*, J.B. Hofmann, *TLL* 6.3.2204.57, 63. Gk. χάριν ἀμείβειν.

parem The speaker's polite 'deliberative' subjunc. (Bennett, 178ff. (and on the recognition of superiority in the person addressed, vd. 179), KS, 1, 181, LHS, 338), which would entail a large amount (?too large) of formal oratorical prolixity (perhaps to be supported as subtle characterisation of the bold Tu. meeting—as so rarely—an equal): cf. *Cic.Flacc.*51, *Inv.*1.25, [*Cic.*] *In Sall.*21: 'how should I make ready to thank . . .'.

sed nunc 'But as it is', a strong break with hypothetical discourse, 4.345 *sed nunc Italiam*. . . .

est omnia quando / 510 . . . supra A remarkable double dislocation of word-order (such as do occur: vd. **7.692**): with double anastrophe, **supra** governs **omnia** (imprecise yet telling; cf. **7.309**, *Sall.Iug.*64.2 *super fortunam animum*) and **est** depends on **quando**, while **est . . . supra**, to be understood together (cf. *Ov.F.*1.605 *nec gradus est supra Fabios cognominis ullus*, *OLD* s.v. *supra*, §7), are divided by a hyperbaton (cf. Lunelli-Kroll, 33ff.) which lasts the entire sentence. The prepos. fourth word after the noun, in the following line (**7**, index, s.v. *anastrophe*), and as last wd. of the sentence; the conj. in *anastrophe* likewise (cf. **7.71**), and at line-end: cf. 6.50 *adflata est numine quando*, with *q.* fourth wd. and at l.-end (vd. Austin *ad loc.*, Norden, *Aen.*6, p. 401); at 10.366 *q.* sixth wd. and at l.-end (vd. Harrison: the conj. *could* in theory be corrupt). Here, nothing in isolation at all intolerable but the accumulation of singularities holds the ear, drawing particular attention to **est**, **omnia** and **supra**.

510 iste animus C.'s courage or spirit, θυμός, 9.717, 764, etc.. The pron. not 'merely emphatic' (Gransden); vd. e.g. *OLD* s.v., §A1 '(in direct address) That which you have'.

mecum Tu. gladly accepts C.'s cooperation in the field; no scruples or prejudices of gender for him, in a crisis.

partire laborem Van Leijenhorst (*TLL* 10.1.4.524.27f.) notes the echo (not yet in Hoogma, but cf. Chevallier, *Épigraphie et littérature*,

46 with n. 243) of *Inscr.Alger.2.4724* (collaboration in the *labor of fontis renouandi*). The vb. in *trag.*, *Lucr.* but not specially ‘poetic’. The *labor* of war: cf. **126**.

511 Aeneas The intention of **17** becomes the news of **448–9**; here taken up and expanded; Tu. summarises rumour and information with swift pellucid soldierly brevity and studious avoidance of OO (note the paratactic *ut*-clause and the parataxis of the indir. command **quaterent**).

ut . . . fidem . . . reportant ‘A piece of evidence for a statement, proof, confirmation’ (*OLD* s.v., §4a); cf. 10.792 with Harrison’s n. (*uetustas* brings not evidence, but instead credibility; cf. 4.12, while 9.79 is unclear), *Sall.Iug.29.4 fidei causa* (‘as proof’), *Prop.4.6.60 est nostri sanguinis ista fides*. The vb. so used 2.115, 9.193, **7.167 nuntius . . . reportat**.

fama For **f.**, cf. **7.392**; cf. n. on **7.549 rumoribus** for the importance of rumour in *Aen.*, Caesar and the civil wars.

missique . . . /512 exploratores The vb. at *Enn.Ann.242*; the massive noun, typically *Bell.Gall.*, likely to have been in *Ann.* too. The participle *missus* a hundred times in *Caes.*, though not of scouts (but cf. e.g. *Gall.1.21.4*, 2.17.1, 6.10.3); thus tersely V. suggests that the Latins had not just talked. The coupling of scouts and rumour apparently not a convention of Roman military narrative, but abstract obj. and one abstract subj. provide a neat structure and perhaps some modernity of tone.

equitum leuia . . . arma Cf. *TLL* 2.592.7 (Bickel), Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.528* (not merely *explorant*, but *quatit*; cf. **513**): *leuia arma* military language for ‘light forces’ (*Caes.*, *Liv. leuis armaturae*, *Liv. leuium armorum auxilia*; but V. departs faintly from prose usage: note *Liv.28.13.10 ab excursionibus equitum leuisque armaturae*, 22.12, 31.36.1, 38.2, 42.4, 43.2, 33.5.1, 8.12, etc.; cavalry and light troops are distinct, whereas here the cavalry is itself referred to as *leuia arma* (cf. *Bell.*, 158), both echo and alteration of prose usage, in periphrastic phrasing (cf. **7**, index s.v. periphrases, and note e.g. **650 corpore Turni**, **633 umbonum cratis**).

improbis So the augur Tolumnius, 12.261 *improbis aduena* (cf. the eagle, 12.250); perhaps as often ‘greedy’ (*G.1.119*, 388, 3.431, *EV* 2, 930, Harrison on 10.727 and above all Mynors on *G.1.146*); not, that is, merely *χρόλιος* in general, but going far beyond his rights in presuming to claim Lavinia’s hand.

513 praemisit Cf. *Caes.Gall.2.11.3 confirmata re ab exploratoribus omnem*

equitatum . . . *praemisit*, 2.19.1, 4.24.1, 7.48.1, *Civ.*1.78.4, 2.40.2, 3.75.3, of cavalry sent forward.

quaterent campos Cf. perhaps the Ennian hoof of **875** (*EV* 4, 367), though a less literal sense may be contemplated (Page notes the issue), as at 9.608 *quatit oppida bello* (against the tangible *fundamenta quatit* of 2.611, *Tac.Hist.*4.28, *OLD* s.v., §3). What LHS call ‘konjunktionslose Nebensätze’ (530; cf., for these largely jussive subjuncts., *Companion*, 231, n. 67, *EV* 2, 274, Norden, *Aen.*6, p. 378ff., with insufficiently specific discussion): cf. 4.24 *optem* + 2 subjuncts., 3.36 *uenerabar*, 10.525 *precor*, 6.76 *oro* (cf. **11.442**), 9.154 *faxo*, **11.293 caute**, 1.645 *praemittit* + 2 subjuncts., just as here (but *mitto* + subjunct. is late for LHS, *cit.*), 4.288f. *uocat* + 2 subjuncts., 8.506f. *misit mandatque insignia* + 2 subjuncts. (vd. Eden), 3.235f. *edico* (cf. 10.258), 10.53f. *iubeto* (cf. *Buc.*5.15), 5.163 *sine* (cf. *ib.*7.17, 2.669f., *Buc.*9.43), 3.456f. *poscas* + 2 subjuncts. (cf. 5.59f.), 5.551 *dic* + 2 subjuncts. (cf. 4.635; my n. on **7.546** was restrictive), 12.438 *facito* + 2 subjuncts., 9.40 *praeceperat* (but *sic* alters the case), 3.129 *hortantur*, 10.443 *cuperem*. It would be easy to extend this list, with—e.g.—impersonals such as *licet*, *Buc.*9.64, *neesse Aen.*3.478. Cf. Sidgwick, 2, 494 (here a little enlarged and updated, with gratitude). For the tense (impf.), cf. **688. ipse** Returning to the principal subj. after brief subordination.

ardua montis So 8.221. For this common (partitive) gen. dependent on neut. plur. substantivised adj., cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 265 (admirable, like Austin’s n. on 2.332): after Hom., and in Enn. and Lucr.: the significant tone of the ekphrasis, **522ff.**, anticipated from here on.

514 per deserta Cf. **7.404**, in the same part of the world. Note *G.*3.291 *Parnasi deserta per ardua*. TCD comments *ipse montis per deserta et ardua*, whence an apparent problem (vd. Wagner, Forbiger, *Con.*, without edification): **superans** could (vd. *OLD* s.v.) be intransitivised, but need not be, for **ardua montis** will serve well as obj., if not governed by **per**. *Ardua per deserta* would not be unvirgilian (cf. *Buc.*6.31 *magnum per inane*, again with anastrophe, **7.562**) and to expand *ardua per deserta* into *ardua montis per deserta* might be no more than a moment of easy inventivity. Otherwise, **superans** has **ardua montis** as obj. and the action is qualified both by **per deserta** and by **iugo**, not excessive for so audacious a tactic. Evidence for rational choice seems lacking and though the ‘mere’ translation remains uncertain, the sense of the whole is not left in serious doubt.

iugo The abl. ‘of extension’ (cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 268), commoner with plur. *iugis*: cf. **135**, 4.147 *ipse iugis Cythni graditur*, *G.*3.292 *iuuat ire iugis*

and Malosti (135), 23ff. on 3.125 *bacchatamque iugis Naxon*. So here 'on (or 'over') the ridge' (cf. 905).

superans Cf. G.3.270 *superant montis*, 317, Aen.6.676 *hoc superate iugum*, 9.314 and. e.g. Liv.6.2.11.

aduentat ad urbem Cf. 7.69; Aen. is not yet actually over the ridge (11.904ff.). Curiously, Rehm (53; cf. Wickert, 458, G. Boissier, *Nouvelles promenades archéologiques*, (Paris 1907), 339ff.), impeccably sound on the conventional character of 522–9, seeks to explain Aen.'s tactics in terms of the real and familiar terrain around Pratica di Mare, though V. edges away from the map as and when possible!

515 furta . . . belli Cf. Sall.*Hist.*1.frag.112 *gentis ad furta belli peridoneae*, 9.150 (the wooden horse), 350 (Euryalus' nocturnal slaughter), 10.735 *haud furto melior*, Liv.9.31.12 *furto insidiarum*, OLD s.v., §3b, Wheeler (*infra*), 66. In the same lexical nexus as *insidiae*, *fraus* and *dolus*. While it may be 'lawful' for a Roman to deceive the enemy (J.C. Abbot, *Vergilius* 46 (2000), 64f., after E.L. Wheeler, *Stratagem and the vocabulary of military trickery*, *Mnem.*Suppl.108, Leiden 1988), though the deceit will require some verbal cosmetics (*calliditas* or the like), Romans noisily declared a preference for open combat (Liv.1.53.4 *minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo*, Liv.25.24.3 *non furtim, sed ui aperta gerebatur res*, 42.47.4f., Tac.*Ann.*2.88.1, S. Farron, *Vergil's Aeneid. A poem of grief and love* (*Mnem.* Suppl.122, Leiden 1993), 4ff.) and opponents' reluctance to agree (e.g. Caes.*Civ.*2.14.1, attacks during siesta-time, Varr. ap.SDan. *ad* 11.306, use of Troj. horse), could be used in mitigation of defeat, (H. Bruckmann, *Die röm. Niederlagen* (Bochum 1936), Horsfall, *PBSR* 50 (1982), 50). Here Tu. is not reduced to the level of Carthaginian perfidy by the statagem he openly announces to C., but the language used reminds us that an ambush is not open combat.

paro Tu.'s tactical response perfectly sensible; he will abandon the ambush at the news (896ff.) of Camilla's death. SDan. comments (511) on the *oconomia* that both Aen. and Tu. are thus drawn offstage, for otherwise it would have been *indecens* for the *fortitudo* of C. so to shine; *indecens* at very least would have been a combat of Aen. and C. and more generally C. is freer to shine in the absence of Aen. and Tu..

conuexo in tramite siluae Cf. 7.29 for the afforestation of V.'s Italy. With *c.* ('deuexus, concauus, deperssus' *TLL*), cf. 1.310 *in conuexo nemorum sub rupe cauata*, 607f. *dum montibus umbrae/lustrabunt conuexa*, Plin. *Nat.*5.38, *uallis . . . conuexa*, Iust.2.10.24 *conuexa uallium*, *TLL* 4.872.3f.

(Lommatzsch). **T.** from *trans* + *meare* (probably): *transuersa in agris itinera*, Isid.*Etym.*15.16.10. *Semel* in Lucr., Cic., Sall., Liv.5.16.5 *per agrum . . . obliquis tramitibus*. A deep byway through the woods. See **522–9**.

516 ut biuias . . . fauces The adj. first here and rare (Ihm, *TLL* 2.2025.43f.); the n. in Varro, *LL* and *RR*, but presumably far older. The noun (Ital. ‘gola’) precise, even technical for a narrow pass or gorge: cf. Acc.*trag.*435 *in salti faucibus*, Isid.*Etym.*14.8.26 *fauces sunt aditus angustorum locorum inter arduos montes, loca angusta et breuia, dicta a faucium similitudine* (so too Serv. here). The word, though also in military and geographical texts: *bis* in Mela, 20x in Plin.3–6, *ter* Caes., *bis* Sall., over 60x in Liv. (I include maritime uses).

armato . . . milite Cf., exactly, 2.20, with Austin’s excellent n. on the collective sing.; add Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 875f.; Enn.’s Trojan horse had been *gravidus armatis* (*trag.*72). The synaloepha of o and o (cf. **503**) is not very common, 11x in 7–12 (*aliquando optantibus, telo obuius, caelo ostenduntur, ergo omnis, longo ordine, ultro occurramus, clipeo obiecto, pro Latio obtestor, uno ore Latinos*).

obsidam Cf. 2.332 *obsedere alii telis angusta uiarum* (*obsido* and *obsideo* are not formally to be distinguished), 441 *obsessum . . . limen*, Liv. 29.32.4 *faucibus utrimque obsessis*, 31.40.3 *obsessas fauces*. Cf. *TLL* 9.2.222.20 (Lossau). In Cat.64.345 (*moenia* of Troy), but also regular in narr. prose.

517 tu C.’s speech had been tidily organised (**505–6**); so too Tu.: **517 tu . . . / 518 tecum . . . / 519 . . . tu**; we simply do not know how Enn. had articulated the complexities of Hellenistic warfare but comprehensible order tries the reader less than imprecise impressionism (as Livy sometimes forgot).

Tyrrhenum equitem Cf. **504** and note **516** for the collective sing. **conlatis . . . signis** So Caes.*Gall.*2.25.1, 7.2.2, *Civ.*1.71.3, Liv.2.26.6, 64.5, etc.: the standard ‘technical’ language of military narrative, prose or verse (cf. Lyne, *WP*, 111).

excipe ‘Per insidias capere’, Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1264.68, comparing *Buc.*3.17f. *caprum/excipere insidiis*, 3.332 *excipit incautum*, 9.763, 12.507 (cf. *EV* 1, 654), a sense also familiar in Cic. (metaph.), Sall. and Caes..

518 tecum . . . erit Cf. 10.864 *ultor eris mecum*. Serv. acutely notes the honour Tu. does C., in saying that Messapus ‘will serve with you’; cf. **519 et tu**.

acer Messapus Cf. **429, 464**; his zeal also perceptible at 12.290. For the epithet, cf. **7.672**.

turmaeque Latinae Cf. **503**. Unlikely that V. assigns to C. three

distinct bodies of reinforcements (Messapus' men from Tuscia, Latins proper and followers of Tiburtus from Tivoli); rather one body of cavalry, with two named commanders, 'Latins', viewed generally (Horsfall, *EV* 3, 141), of varied origins (cf. Malavolta, 154f., *EV* 2, 345f.).

519 Tiburtique manus Cf. **7.671** (his brothers are already in the field, **465**); **m.** of cavalry at e.g. 9.396. Scribes were troubled by the name's correct form (vd. Geymonat, **7.671**); no room, though, for doubt.

ducis . . . curam The gen. is subjective (*TLL* 4.1467.14, Gudeman, *OLD* s.v., §9). So twice with *caedes*, 2.526, 9.342; possibly at 9.294 (vd. Dingel, Hardie), 10.824 (vd. Harrison, Traina, *Utopia*, 96; clearly not at 1.462 (Traina, 64). Not a common use; we should of course exclude that Tu. is inviting C. to take care of him (objective!).

et tu C. will exercise command (so Heyne, well) over all the cavalry, Latin leaders and men included; so too Dido ruled, after the manner of a Hellenistic queen (*Companion*, 133f.; cf. S.B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, whores . . .* (New York 1975), 121ff.). Noticed by W.P. Basson, *Acta Class.* 29 (1986), 59, almost alone. Cf. **518 tecum**.

concipe Cf. Stat.*Silu.* 5.2.127 *castrorum concipe curas*, *OLD* s.v., §10, *TLL* 4.58. 21 (Burger); from *furores . . . concipit* (4.502, still compatible with Cic.'s usage) to the more 'inventive' *curam concipere* is not a large step.

520 sic ait ὡς φάτο; cf. **29** (with **inlacrimans**); without partic., 11x at speech-end.

et paribus . . . dictis Avoiding naturally, and neatly, any repetition of content; the adj. often of weapons, but also of auspices (**7.256**), age (**11.174**), laws (12.190), *curae* (6.159); cf. *EV* 3, 966.

Messapum in proelia . . . / 521 hortatur Cf. **518**; V. does not tell us how Tu. persuaded Messapus to take orders from Camilla. With **h.**, cf. Luc. 7.370 *hortari in proelia matres*, *TLL* 6.3.3010.74f. (Ehlers), *OLD* s.v., §2 *ad fin.* (with *in*, then, an invention, but not audacious).

sociosque duces Adj. for gen.; only here does Tu. (or Lat.) have Italian *socii*, allies (as against *socii*, ἑταῖροι); contrast Aeneas, Evander. This virtual silence (cf. Évrard, *EV* 4, 912) just might be significant.

et pergit in hostem Cf. Liv. 9.20.9 *in Lucanos perrectum*, Tac. *Ann.* 12.16.2, *TLL* 10.1.1429.54 (Holmes): hostile intent is by no means inherent in the word (tragedy, comedy, prose). **H.** collective singular (**289**, **464**, **516**).

522–9 The site for the ambush It has been clear since La Cerda and Henry (more recently, vd. Rehm (*infra*), and Mackail, *ad loc.*) that V. describes a landscape-type: cf. in particular Livy's Caudine Forks, 9.2.7, a passage V. could well have in mind here (cf. *PBSR cit., infra*), *Aen.*5.287, 8.597ff., **7.567ff.**, esp. here at **523**. It is perfectly useless to try to localise in an actual landscape of no particular interest to the poet, whom we should never try to accuse of trying to describe an actual spot, known to him from agreeable weekends at his friends' *villae suburbanae*. V. appears to be talking about mountains; the hills round Lavinium reach three hundred feet. Cf. Rehm, 79f., Della Corte, 249ff., Reeker, 67, Blonk, 42, B. Tilly, *Camilla* (Cambridge 1961), 104, Horsfall, *PBSR* 50 (1982), 50, *GR* 32 (1985), 200, Carcopino, 294. For the typical ekphrastic description, amplifying rather formally **515–6**, cf. **7.563–71**.

522 est Cf. **7.563 est locus Italiae medio**.

curuo anfractu Used once by Lucr. (1.718), but Acc. has neut. *anfractum* (*trag.*336); otherwise prose. The tortuous bends (for the adj. amplifies the noun) are apparently those of the two 'passes', *fauces* (**515**), enough alone to discourage cartographic enquiry, at least round Lavinium. I say *two fauces*, though the noun is plural, for an army has both to enter and to leave the *ualles* (cf. Caudium, after all).

ualles Cf. **7.565**. For the form, cf. NW 1, 285.

accommoda A Virgilian expansion of *commodus*, then *quinquies* in Stat..

fraudi Cf. Liv.1.53.5 *minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo* (cf. **515**), Cato, *Orig.* frag. 83 (p. 75.4P), Liv.9.2.9 *cum fraus hostilis apparuisset* (Caudine Forks). Cf. Wheeler (**515**), 65.

523 armorumque dolis Cf. 9.517f. *armorum . . . /tegmina*, Cat.23.10 *dolos ueneni*, 11 *casus periculorum*: perhaps to be called defining (or descriptive) genitives (cf. Sidgwick, index s.v.; Woodcock, 53f. is helpful). Cf. Wheeler (**515**), 60.

quam densis frondibus atrum/524 urget utrimque latus. So at **7.565–6**, with **latus nemoris**, perhaps a richer, fuller phrase than bald **latus**. The repetition noted without comment, Moskalew, 95: to a sulphureous pond and a narrow defile (*uel sim.*) are assigned the same traits (and for such types or categories of landscape, cf. Blonk, and, more acutely, Rehm). Neither description-by-type nor repetition, though, is enough to discourage those seriously concerned to identify the spot.

524 tenuis . . . semita Through, presumably, one or both of the **fauces** (for there is prolonged theme-and-variation); twice (4, 763, 5*, 110), *EV* suggests a sense of 'poco battuta' for the path (*se-*,

‘apart’ + *meo*). This is idly fanciful, for the adj. (cf. Vell.2.3.4, *Aetna* 109, not to mention e.g. *tenuis . . . auena*) indicates simply ‘narrow’, entirely appropriate of a track or path in hilly terrain (cf. Cic.*Leg.Agr.* 2.96); the critical implications of the narrower path (Call.*Aet.frag.*1.28) are for once not significant (as indeed at **7.14**) and Hdt.7.217 is reminder enough of the literal sense (the narrowest point of the path round Thermopylae).

quo . . . ducit Note *Buc.*9.1. *qua uia ducit*, *Aen.*1.401 *quo te uia ducit*, 6.43 (and note the echo-corruption at 9.383). Cf. *TLL* 5.1.2159.35ff. (Hey).

525 angustae . . . fauces Cf. **516**; a.:so Liv. of Caudium, *saltus duo alti, angusti siluosique*. App.*Samn.*4.4 has στενότητων. Note Liv.28.5.8 (narrow gullet of Thermopylae), 31.40.2 (peninsula of Macedonian Celetrum), Col.3.18.6 (trenching-fork), Plin.*Nat.*9.29 (lagoons in Narbonensian Gaul), Curt.7.4.4 (Cilician Gates), *PBSR* 50 (1982), 51, etc..

ferunt Repeating **ducit**; cf. 6.295 *uia . . . fert* (on which Non.p.303.16 offers *dirigere, ducere*) and note 8.212 *signa ferebant*. Vd. *EV* 2, 495 (Zucchelli). Like **ducit**, also standard prose usage. Further *angustiae* listed at *PBSR, cit.*, 50.

aditusque maligni *EV* 3, 336 ventures to assert that here and at *G.*2.179 *difficiles primum terrae collesque maligni* the adj. loses its character of ‘noxious’, to indicate scarcity and thinness (cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 6.270 *nam ‘malignum’ est proprie ‘angustum’*). As Thomas remarks, 2.180 explains the sense: a shallow, heavy soil, full of stones; ‘noxious’ is the least a gardener would call *that*, while here the terrain for a future ambush is admirably so described. The adj. comes to have a less baleful sense (*OLD* s.v., §2b, Hey, *TLL* 8.183.76f., Sen.*Nat.*3.27.10, etc.) but is not here to be translated simply as ‘narrow’!

526 hanc super Taking up **522 est . . . ualles**; cf. n. on **7.565 hunc**. Note also the **lucus** of **7.29**, taken up by **30 hunc inter**. The **ualles** is not alone sufficient for the ambush; in this double tactical ephrasid the **planities** is also necessary

in speculis Cf. 3.239, 10.454 (::σκοπή), **7.511**: ‘not clearly a t.t. of military prose’.

summoque in uertice montis Cf. **7.674 uertice montis ab alto**.

527 planities ignota Cf. Hirtius, *Gall.*8.14.4 *summam planitiem iugi*, Liv.9.31.15, 27.18.6 *suberat et altera inferior summissa fastigio planities*; such meadows in the high mountains are called corries, north of Hadrian’s Wall. SDan. comments *uel infrequentata, uel ‘ignota’*; Serv. continues *scilicet Aeneae*. Note **530 nota . . . regione uiarum**: unknown

therefore to the Trojans and perhaps also invisible from the *ualles* (Con.).

iacet Cf. **7.801 qua Sturae iacet atra palus.**

tutique receptus MP; recessus M,R, 'male' as Serv. rightly remarks (though Geymonat still prints it). **Receptus** an elegant extension of the milit.t.t. for 'retreat' (*receptui canere*, etc.) to a place for safe withdrawal. For the adj. ('that gives safety') cf. *Buc.*2.40 *tuta . . . ualle reperti*, *G.4.*421 *deprensus olim statio tutissima nautis*, etc., Mosci Sassi, *EV* 5*, 309.

528 seu . . . / 529 siue Two aspects of the single notion, 'ambush', *EV* 2, 106 after e.g. *KS* 2,434f..

dextra laeuaque So at least from *Q.Cic.poet.*15, *Lucr.*4.276.

uelis For the 'depersonalised' use of second person, thus as 'one', cf. *LHS*, 419, *Aen.*6.817 *uis*. On the long *i* (a welcome confirmation of the prosody), cf. Leumann, 526, *NW* 3, 618.

occurrere pugnae The vb. very common in Livy; with *proelio*, 10.43.9, and at *Tac.Hist.*3.16.2 (cf. Oomes, *TLL* 9.2.394.45f.). *Tu.* will thus be able to check *Aen.*'s advance, or could as well descend on the other side, into the next valley.

529 instare iugis Cf. 10.196 the Centaurus *instat aquae*; Wagner 'consistere'; better Arusianus (late c.4, Maggiulli, *EV* 1, 362f.), *Gramm.*7.483.10 'imminere': threat is more evident in 10; here, implicit in the menacing position to be taken up. **I.** are as often mountain ridges (1.498, 6.256, etc.).

grandia . . . saxa Cf. *Acc.trag.*438, *G.4.*26. The phr. from *Lucr.*1.288f. *uoluitque sub undis/grandia saxa* (Wigodsky, 134).

uoluere So of *saxa* in ambush, or defence of walls, *Liv.*42.15.9, *Curt.*8.11.13, *Sall.Iug.*57.5, 9.512 and note the use of *saxis obrui* in describing Alexander at the Caspian Gates, *Curt.*3.4.11; that is also just how the Caudine Forks are visualised in modern popular art, *PBSR*, *cit.*.

530 huc Reversion to the structure of the double (**526, 530**) ekphrasis: cf. **hic 7.568.**

iuuenis Cf. **7.435.**

fertur Cf. **7.381.**

nota regione uiarum So **7.215, regione uiae.** Cf. 9.245 for this idea of familiarity with the terrain; this, though, is *Tu.*'s homeland, or very near it and familiarity acquires an affective force (cf. **7.491**).

531 arripuitque locum Cf. 3.477 *hanc* (sc. *tellurem*) *arripe uelis*, 10.298: a sense first in *V.*, Dittmann, *TLL* 2.643.27f., *EV* 4, 401.

et siluis . . . iniquis SDan. well *intelligendum* 'hosti': uel inaequalibus, and at 5.203 *spatioque subit Sergestus iniquo*, Serv. glosses *angusto*, quoting this passage; cf. too *CGL*.4.464.33 *angusto et pernicioso*, *TLL* 7.1.1642.1 (Szantyr). The adj. standard milit. prose for 'unfavourable' (of a position), but to the occupier. *EV* 2, 978f. recognises the complexity without offering any illumination. The woods are standard in such scenes: cf. Liv.9.2.7, again, 38.40.6, *PBSR*, *cit.*, 49f..

insedit Cf. Liv.35.30.11 *excepti ab insidente hoste*, and Serv. here comments *proprie: nam 'insidere' est dolose aliquem exspectare* (the origin of *insidiae*, he continues), whence Isid.*Etym.*10.151. Cf. *TLL* 7.1.1886.29ff. (Wolf). So perhaps used etymologically, to convey 'go into ambush'.

532 uelocem . . . Opim Speed attributed to Camilla too (**760**), as to Arethusa (*G*.4.344). Diana's messenger constitutes as dense a piece of Virgilian erudition as one could wish. *Peritissimus antiquitatis* here remarks DServ. of his poet (cf. *Alambicco*, 43, n. 85); he, Serv. and Macr.5.22.3ff. offer rich scraps on information on V.'s sources, which render a modern anthropological reading of O. and her name (Köves-Z.) superfluous. Cf. Brill, 40, n. 3, La Penna, 228, Arrigoni, 102, Capdeville, 305, n. 7, 336, n. 123, G. Radke, *EV* 3, 856f. (useful), Köves-Zulauf, 258, Horsfall, *Athen.*, *cit.*, 36. The name O., for one of Diana's companions (**655**), is as dense in complex literary and religious associations as Camilla's own (**7.803**, *Athen.*, *cit.*, 38f.): for Call. (*H*.3.204, with schol.; see La Penna, 228) and Alexander Aetolus (fr. 4.5 Powell), a cult-title of Artemis at Ephesus (for Troezen and Sparta, cf. Preller-Robert, 1, 299, n. 2, Gruppe, 241, n. 9) which V. transfers from the goddess herself to a companion (cf. Macr.5.22.4, SDan. here: so presumably the current scholarly explanation); cf. the Hyperborean Oupis (the orthogr. variation may, or may not, be significant) who comes to Delos to help raise Apollo and Diana (Call.*H*.4.292; cf. Euphor. fr. 103 Powell, Call.*H*.3.240, the attendant Amazons at Ephesus); at **858** O. is **Threissa**; so too Oupis at Tzetz. *ad Lyc.* 936). Given the central role of Callimachus, to argue further for an association with Gk. ὄπις is, however attractive in terms of O.'s eventual role, rather too far-fetched (Paschalis, 369. after T.T. Duke, *Vergilius* 23 (1977), 38, n. 23).

interea Cf. **7.572**; no grounds for decision between sequence and simultaneity.

superis in sedibus Cf. **7.768**; cf. *sideream in sedem, aeria . . . sede*, *EV* 4, 750 (Spallone).

533 unam ex Cf. **780**, KS 1, 425f., LHS 57.

uirginibus sociis Cf. **272** (the **s.** of Diomedes). So Opis (**536**), Larina (**655**), of course Camilla (**507**, etc.), Penthesilea (1.493), and see *EV* 5*, 561. With these followers of Diana, cf. the Amazons in her rites at Ephesus and the bearers of gifts to Delos, just discussed (**532**); just such a band (of initiates, Capdeville, 318ff.: a good deal likelier in a Greek than in an Italian context) V. will now transfer from goddess to heroine (cf. Arrigoni, 62, Capdeville, 336). **Sacris sociaque R.**

sacraque caterua Cf. **478**; a narrative explanation to follow shortly, **582ff.** Cf. *Aetna* 580 *sacer in bellum numerus* (with Goodyear's n.; probably Leonidas' 300); here sacred to Diana (cf. **591**). Hendiadys, though not spare and challenging.

534 compellabat Cf. *Enn. Ann.* 43 *compellabat . . . uoce*, *Aen.* 5.161.

et has tristis . . . uoces Cf. **377, 840**, 4.304 (though TCD *also* hears **tristis** (nom.) **Latonia!** Note too **tristi R**, Heinsius, Bentley, but not a Virgilian idiom). The whole speech-introduction altogether traditional if not exactly formulaic. The adj. (cf. 2.115, 10.612) renews our sense (**433**) of C.'s coming fate in battle. Cf. **320 haec omnis regio**, 12.62, 296, etc.: the normal wd.-order.

Latonia Cf. **557**, the adj. *quater* in V.. Matronymic (**7.364**) and typical 'allusive' mythol. reference (**7.409, 479**) for Diana, daughter of Leto: the form Doric, like many Gk. names in Latin, Leumann, 75f.. So *Cat.* 34.5 (and perhaps a Latin invention, not a 'genuine' Grecism).

535 ore dabat Cf. **190 ululatusque ore dedere.**

535–96 "Where is there, in the so much, and so unjustly, preferred first six books of the *Aeneis*, an episode which so charms the reader?" (Henry, 4, 219). The narrative Diana's speech contains has raised a number of formal problems (Brill, 43ff.; W. Suerbaum, *Wurz. Jhb.* 6a (1980), 139ff. offers extended doxography, which here therefore is eschewed gratefully and almost entirely), mostly not to be taken very seriously (cf. La Penna, 234f.): (1) Diana refers to herself in the third person (and so might the narrative have been composed for insertion in the poet's voice? E.g.—so Williams, *TI*, 285, incautiously, after (ultimately) Peerlkamp)—when C. appeared in the Catalogue). But this use of the third-person is scarcely unusual: cf. Suerbaum, 146f., and my n., **7.401** and it is hard to think of a Virgil really prepared to create (as of course he did not) gross imbalance at the end of the Catalogue. (2) *abruptus est et uituperabilis transitus* Serv. *ad Aen.* 11.532 (Heyne approved—cf. further Appx. I** to bk. 9—but Wagner did not; *alii alia*): C. is introduced as **cara mihi ante alias**

and goes to war **nequiquam**; striking enough in the mouth of a goddess to call for explanation in detail; V.'s concern to *explain* is narrative's richest source in *Aen.* (cf. *GR* 38 (1991), 203ff.). Büchner (396.49ff.) indeed found **537 neque enim** (q.v.) abrupt (which palpably it is not after statement that she is **cara mihi ante alias**). Others complain that D.'s exposition is justifiable but prolix (Suerbaum, 145, Highet, 108). V. mercifully knows when he has the bit between his teeth. (3) To Heinze (416 with n.) and Büchner (*cit.*), V.'s treatment is not motivated as *ethopoia* and is out of keeping with the poet's usual technique of rooting carefully such a narrative insert in speech (he contrasts in particular Evander; cf. further, Suerbaum, 151). Heinze also objected to the discrepancy between these lines and C. as depicted elsewhere (here a little rustic 'epyllion' (215, with n., elsewhere a magnificent warrior queen; cf. Suerbaum, 146). Diana narrates from the heart and will act accordingly, though C. she cannot save: her love for C. arises directly from C.'s story, which must therefore be told. The passage from C.'s exciting childhood to regal role in war is left unclear: to be filled by imagination, not anthropology, perhaps: a leap there is, but not one that disconcerts. (4) Suerbaum (149ff.; cf. Klingner, 586 and Highet, 107ff. on Virgil's narrative speeches in general) is concerned that, despite the familiar signs of the narrator's subjective involvement (**535 crudele**, **536 o, nequiquam**, **537 Dianae**; cf. Suerbaum, 150), it is the involvement of the narrator-poet, not the patroness-deity that strikes the reader familiar with V.'s techniques. All that did not worry e.g. Brill (43, 48, etc.) or La Penna (*cit.*). Günther, 54, n. 143 (cf. further, Suerbaum, 142) cautiously considers composition separately from the surrounding episode; that just might be, but many of the objections raised to Diana's speech will turn out to have been trivial and captious (e.g. the supposed conflict between C.-huntress and C.-warrior, not discussed further here).

My 1988 discussion of Camilla (*Athen.66* (1988), 31–51), as a great, learned, literary invention is summarised at **7.803–17** (and so is now taken as read; only directly relevant details will be repeated here). Various disagreements of interpretation with the learned and ingenious Giampiera Arrigoni discussed in 1988 I do not restate, but the poet's varied models for the constituent elements of C.'s story are of course analysed in some detail below; the mares' milk of **571** on reconsideration, emerges as perhaps the most suggestive of them all. In an appendix to the commentary (465ff.), I discuss C. and the

Amazons, and offer some thoughts on C. as cavalry commander, while here, in conclusion, I summarise those other female figures with whom C. has most persuasively been compared:

- (i) Amazons proper (**660**): if not Harpalyce (**539**), then Penthesilea (p. 465) and Hippolyte (**661**). Cf. Arrigoni, *EV* 1, 630, *Camilla*, 18, Brill, 3ff., Capdeville, 319ff., La Penna, 222ff.
- (ii) Other devotees of Artemis/Diana, such as Eur.'s Hippolytus (cf. **569, 582, 586, 590**, etc.) and indeed Callim.'s Opis (**532**). On a literary level, I incline to think Cat.'s Attis too was important (**557f., 582**). Cf. La Penna, 228ff. (esp. 232f.). Note too Cyrene (Pind.*Pyth.*9.17ff.), echoed at **7.805**, for her dislike of the loom; also an eager huntress of wild beasts.
- (iii) Heroic female figures of early Roman legend, notably Cloelia (Arrigoni, *EV* 1, 630, *Camilla*, 72, n. 155, Alessio, 123f., Capdeville, 316, n. 51). Cf. Capdeville, 316f. (*contra*, e.g. Brill, 13ff.) against attempts to insert heroic virgins into the legendary world of central Italy.

For ease of reference, my earlier bibl. is here repeated, along with various relevant addenda, even though some recent discussions do scant justice to the dense subtleties of V.'s portrayal: A. La Penna, *Maia* 40 (1988), 221ff., G. Arrigoni, *Camilla* (Milano 1982), with some doubts expressed at *CR* 34 (1984), 61f., *ead.*, *EV* s.v., *Riv.Stor.It.* 96 (1984), 887ff., T. Köves-Zulauf, *Gymn.*85 (1978), 182ff., 408ff. = *Kl.Schr.* (Heidelberg 1988), 253ff. (I cite from the latter), with some doubts expressed at *CR* 41 (1991), 121f., Bonfanti, 178ff., G. Capdeville, *MEFR(A)* 104(1992), 303ff., Alessio, 109ff., H.J. Schweizer, *Vergil u. Italien* (Aarau 1967), 53ff., A. Brill, *Die Gestalt der Camilla bei Vergil*, diss. Heidelberg 1972, Kühn, 150f., M.P. Wilhelm, *Vergilius* 33 (1987), 46ff., J.P. Sullivan in *Two worlds* (**25**), 64ff., B.F. McManus, *Classics and feminism* (New York 1997), 104ff., S. Georgia Nugent in *Reading Vergil's Aeneid* ed. C. Perkell (Norman 1999), 260ff., E. Oliensis in Martindale, 307ff., Keith (**480**), 28ff.

535 graditur . . . Camilla The vb. used by Pacuv. (*trag.*47); possibly sensed to be archaic by V. (11x; compounds commoner: cf. *EV* 2, 787f.) and a useful occasional, grander synonym for 'go'.

bellum ad crudele Cf. 8.146 *crudeli . . . bello*, Liv.3.9.12 *crudeli . . . bello*. A wider diffusion and perhaps also a neoteric origin might have been expected, for this—in fact—typically Ciceronian expression (*Cat.*3.25, *Pis.*84, *Phil.*3.3, 14.35, *Att.*9.6.7, 10.2; *TLL* 4.1226.84 (?Hoppe)

selects)! Serv. comments impeccably *uno uerbo exitum rei docuit* (cf. TCD *futuri certaminis aduersa monstrauit*); there have in fact already been other anticipations of Camilla's end: cf. **502–7**, *passim*, where she had burst upon the narrative with an insouciance reminiscent of Pallas'.

536 o uirgo O. typically emotive (**7.360**); **u.** equally appropriate to Diana herself or indeed to C.; the virgin companions of Diana we have just encountered in the story of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus (**532**, Capdeville, 317, 338).

nostris . . . armis C. is variously armed: cf. **650**, **hastilia**, **651**, axe, **711**, sword, **7.817 myrtum** (spear) and see Capdeville, 318ff., Malavolta, 158 and notably Arrigoni, 38. But *nostris* to Diana are the first, and notably the bow and arrow of **7.816** (q.v.), weapons appropriate to the huntress-goddess: see **652 sonat arcus et arma Dianae**.

nequiquam A matchless laconic encapsulation of Virgilian foreboding and pessimism (cf. **7.652**, Duckworth, 9). Artemis had not been able to save Hippolytus (Hor.C. 4.7.25f.); from Hom. on, the gods, even when concerned to help, were powerless in the face of death, even that of their own offspring (Griffin, 188ff.); Diana's inability to help her beloved servant (and her awareness thereof), derive from a long and tragic tradition (Zeus-Sarpedon, Thetis-Achilles, etc.). We may also recall Tu., *natus et ipse dea*, 6.90.

cingitur So recently of Tu., **486**.

537 cara mihi Cf. 4.634 *cara mihi nutrix*, 5.724f. *nate mihi uita . . . / care magis*.

ante alias Cf. *Buc.*3.78 *Phyllida amo ante alias*; a common form of expression (cf. **416**, **821**, in either masc. or fem., and with or without superl. (cf. Moskalew, 103, **7.55**). La Penna (233) well compares Eur.*Hipp.*1333 ἄνδρα πάντων φίλτατον βροτῶν. Cf. **7.343** on Amata.

neque enim Cf. **7.581** ('really not'), Hand 2, 389f.. Not the abrupt transition which Paratore claims Heinze saw here (for *VeT*, 146, read 416): the connexion of thought is very close and the narrative is in some sense 'aetiological' (**535–96**).

nouus iste . . . / 538 . . . amor The old-established *amor* which you (Opis) well understand; this use of *iste* in speech, to express something the speaker supposes to be perceived (*vel sim.*) by the hearer(s), is discussed by Wagner, *QV* xix.2 (cf. **165**). Such passages are an extension or elaboration of the familiar, more simply deictic usage at e.g. 2.521, 708. Cf. 10.325 *Clytium . . . noua gaudia* (*EV* 3, 768, §1); cf. **7.769** (Diana's equally chaste *amor* for Hippolytus; contrast 12.392).

Dianae Cf. **535–96** (1) for Diana's use of her own name; note 2.778, 784 for a grouping more striking than **537–582** (but add the **Triuia** of **566**); an expression of marked pathos on the speaker's part (**7.401**). **Cara mihi** naturally suggests the gen. here is subjective, but the rest of the phrase could as well refer (also) to C.'s feeling for her protectress.

538 uenit Cf. of *rabies* (G.3.496), *cupido* (G.1.37), *lues*, *ignauia*, *uirtus*, *furor*, *EV* 5*, 488; a common usage, *OLD* s.v., §15b.

subitaque . . . dulcedine The noun (? distinctively) Lucretian, 3.896 *et tacita pectus dulcedine tangent, bis* in *G.*, *TLL* 5.1.2183.52 (Lackenbacher). Suddenness has long been recognised as a conventional element in the literary representation of the emotions, **7.446 subitus tremor**; here then the sense is that of a slow-growing, deeply-held emotion. A long variation upon the theme *amor . . . uenit*.

animus . . . mouit Cf. G.3.521 (and note many comparable uses: **368**, **7.252**, **356**, *Fo*, *EV* 3, 608). Note 4.395, 6.889 for similar expressions of love stirring the spirits and Hom.'s θυμὸν ὀρίνας (*Od.*14.361).

539 pulsus . . . regno Cf. **7.217 pulsi regnis**. See **7.37**, **642**: monarchy in such a context is epic/heroic not correct/antiquarian.

ob inuidiam Cf. **337** (likewise *inuidia* in public life). It is M.'s *uires superbae* that arouse *inuidia*: typically, 'hendiadys' (better, 'one idea broken up into component parts'). Mezentius had been *pulsus ob inuidiam solio sceptrisque paternis* (10.852).

uirisque superbas Cf. *animamque superbam* (6.817), applied to Brutus, not Tarquin (vd. Austin, Traina, *EV* 4, 1073); note also Drances' **genus . . . superbum** (**340**), 8.118, 613. Numanus Remulus is (9.596) *tumidusque nouo praecordia regno*; Tu. is thrice called *superbus*, and most significantly note of Mez. 8.481f. *rex deinde superbo/imperio et saeuis tenuit Mezentius armis*, directly before his subjects' revolt (489ff.); also **rege superbo** at **15**. The observation that Metabus' conduct is calqued upon Mezentius' (which is strikingly rooted in aetiological legend) is easily made (cf. Schweizer, 60f., Thome (*M.*), 239, Brill, 44, Horsfall 1988, 40f., Claassen (**263**), 38) and from it derives a reasonable and useful presupposition that further elements in C.'s story will prove learned inventions. *Pace* La Penna, 227 (etc.), the 'significant detail' of a *seditio ciuium* (*Hyg.Fab.*193.3) against Harpalycus the Thracian (father of Harpalyce, a sister-in-arms of Camilla) is perforce irrelevant, deriving as it does from V.'s account here! Cf. Horsfall 1988, 47, after G. Knaack, *RhM* 49(1894), 526ff.; also (with cautious good

sense) Capdeville, 331, n. 106 and see too, variously, Brill, 4f., J.L. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea* (Oxford 1999), 447f., Arrigoni, 16ff., M. Brucia, *CQ* 51 (2001), 306f., G. Tissol, *HSCP* 94 (1992), 268, n. 12. But Hyg.'s dexterity (or rather that of whoever 'Hyg.'s source was here) in anchoring his embroidery upon V.'s warrior maidens (for Hyg. does not crudely repeat V.) to the *nostos* of Neoptolemus does not prove that N. was an integral element in an 'original version' of Harpalyce and V.'s story of the latter (*Aen.*1.316f.), *pace* Lightfoot, presupposes no learned recognition in V.'s reader, for Thrace implies Amazons and the name **Harpalyce** will have suggested the violent **Harpyia** and snatching (O'Hara, 139, Paschalis, 64f.): already more nudging of the educated reader than V. normally concedes. Harpalyce was a suggestively common mythological name (Brucia, *cit.*), but she is still not to be elevated (*pace* Brill, La Penna, as cited, etc.) into one of V.'s actual models for Camilla, nor is she any great loss, for Amazons and the like, of reputable mythographic ancestry, are not in short supply (465ff.).

540 Priuerno Priverno, from 1928; med. and early mod. Piperno, 20 m. N. of Terracina, 6 m. E. of Sezze; the present hilltop site adopted on rebuilding after the Saracen sack of the former Roman colony, two miles N.. The town originally Volscian. Vd. M. Cancellieri, *EV* 4, 282f., *ead.*, *Enea nel Lazio*, 78f. (to her I am indebted for a visit as delightful as it was instructive), Capdeville, 306, 317 (the Volscian inhabitants ferocious enemies of Rome in the annalistic tradition), Oakley on Liv.7.15.11. No trace of P. (as Brill, 14 unwittingly notes) among those towns whose origins were listed by Varro (7, p. 417ff.), as later excerpted by Virgil, Verrius Flaccus and Pliny; that will have made the town more attractive to V.: an important Volscian settlement free of associations was evidently suitable as 'home' for a Virgilian invention (cf. Horsfall 1988, 46). The case for C. as an 'authentic Volscian heroine' never merited serious attention (Capdeville, 318, etc., La Penna, 227, Horsfall 1988, 43f., against Arrigoni, 68, etc.). Hankerings for such heroines remain (Fantham, *BMCR* 4 Mar. 2001), but critical study of the whole body of evidence for such tales points another way.

antiqua . . . urbe Cf. **253, 316, 851**; note Carthage (1.12, punning), Troy (1.375; cf. 2.363), Tyre (4.670), Calydon (**7.306**) so distinguished. **Metabus** *Nomen sumptum de historia* remarks Serv. *ad Aen.*11.540, and the name is indeed familiar as that of the founder of Metapontum (Antiochus, *FGH* 555F12, Strab.6.1.15, etc., Horsfall 1988, 40), but V.

employs Daunus and Oebalus with equal freedom, far from their older mythological associations (*ib.*, *Alambicco*, 127, **7.733–43**). No link between Metapontum and Privernum but a practical need for some fine-sounding names for minor figures ('omonimia casuale', La Penna, 226, n. 14). It was long thought that Cato (*Orig.* fr. 62) had written of Metabus as ruler of Privernum *ap. Serv. ad Aen.* **11.567**), but a little patience reveals that Serv.'s n. refers rather to Cato's claim that the Etruscans had dominated the coastal plain (**7.803**; add Cornell (**441f.**), 156, *EV* 5*, 617): V.'s view of the Volsci reflects distantly c. 6BC circumstances, while Serv. seems (so, rightly, Cornell) to place the dubious notion of 'Etr. rule in southern Latium' in the age of Metabus. The correct reading of Cato fr. 62 has been slow to spread: Cancellieri, *cit.*, 78f. led the way and vd. now Horsfall 1988, 40, n. 64, **7.803–17**, La Penna, 250, n., Capdeville, 315, n. 43, Chassignet on Cato *Orig.* fr. 13, ed. Budé). T.T. Duke, *Vergilius* 23 (1977), 34ff. does not illuminate Metabus at all.

cum excederet Leumann (*TLL* 5.2.1205.56) compares *Cic. Ep. ad Brut.* 1.15.5, *Liv.* 2. 37.8 *urbe excederent Volsci*. A vb. very dear to Caes. and Livy.

541 infantem C. is given prominence by marked hyperbaton, and the choice of word lends pathos to her dramatic flight. *Pathos ab aetate* indeed (cf. **42**). See *Macr.* 4.4.3f., *Serv.* on **7.531**, **11.42**, 12.277. C. will still be **infans** at **573**, but note **uirgo 565** (Capdeville, 309, n. 16). 'Das Baby' (Suerbaum, 150). V.'s swift, impressionistic story, from babe to heroine, yields curious results if subjected to minute analysis; here, therefore, avoided.

fugiens Cf. of Mez. (8.492f.) *ille inter caedem Rutulorum elapsus in agros/ confugere*. The IE motif of the exposure of the royal child (G. Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes* (Meisenheim 1964), 154f.; cf. Horsfall 1988, 42, Arrigoni, 18, J.N. Bremmer in *RMM*, 30, 32f.) is here followed partly, not precisely (so, well, Binder, Capdeville, 312), for C. is raised in the wild, indeed (and on the milk of wild beasts, etc.), but by her human *father*. The motif often lends itself to romantic, dramatic explanation (Romulus and Remus!) and upbringing at the hands of a fallen tyrant father pushes romance and drama quite far. **media inter proelia belli** Cf. *Ov. Tr.* 2.71 *Gigantei . . . proelia belli*, *TLL* 10.2.11. 1654.64 (Marchionni): an experimental combination of nouns. The adj. as at **7.296 medias acies**; cf. (exactly as here) 12.337, 346; formally tautologous after **inter** (Traina).

542 sustulit *EV* (5*, 207) classifies this passage along with 9.201ff. *me genitor . . . / . . . / sublatum erudiit*, but we would do far better to compare the literal act of 1.692 *foetum gremio dea tollit* (sc. Ascanius), 2.635 *quem tollite in altum* (sc. Anchises). Both senses might be present.

exsilio comitem The spelling *exs-* reflects the (false) etym. from *solum* (cf. *Cic.Parad.*4.2.31, *Fest.* p. 478.10f., etc., EM, WH), but mere error is hardly reason enough to correct the way the word was heard and understood. Cf. *Liv.*6.3.4 *comes exilii* (with Kraus, Oakley); Woodman on *Vell.*2.100.5 shows that the gen. is standard in hist. prose (so too Barchiesi, *EV* 1, 853, though without noting the change here). V. prefers the dat. (here perhaps rather than abl.) because more active in the sense of the whole, ‘picking up his child as a companion *for . . .*’ (cf. **7.351**, **11.295**; just possibly he recalls the regular use of Gk. ὀπηδός with dat. in the sense of ‘accompanying’, adj. and just possibly the etym. of **comes** (*cum-ire*) is still heard.

matrisque . . . / 543 nomine Casmillae Cf. 1.277 *suo de nomine*, 533 *ducis de nomine*, **7.671 fratris . . . cognomine**, 8.54 *proavi de nomine*, **11.246 patriae cognomine gentis**, O’Hara, 75, n. 330. O’Hara has explained in admirable detail how metonomastic play is so often ‘signalled’ in V.’s text (on **nomine** as an ‘etymological signpost’, 75ff., on explicit metonomasia, 88ff. and for such ‘signalled’ metonomasias, note **7.3**, **412**, **607**, **671**, **777**, **11.246**). C.’s own name contained, we saw, echoes religious, Callimachean, Etruscan (**7.803**); the form Casmilla derives naturally from this same body of Callimachean (fr. 723Pf.) and antiquarian/Varronian (*LL* 7.34; cf. **7**, *cit.*) tinkering. Given the existence of a form *Cas/Cad-milos/-a*, we should expect the *a* of *Camilla* to be long, which it is not (Leumann, 205, Capdeville, 327ff., in modification of P.Flobert, *Mélanges . . . Heurgon* (*Coll.EFR* 27, 1976), 302ff., Arrigoni, 79f., Timpanaro, *Contributi*, 108ff.). Cf. *Casmenae* and the short *a* of *Camenae*; the prosody of proper names includes a fair number of other lengthenings and shortenings which do not quite follow the rules (Leumann, 115) and there is no prosodic proof of the name’s Etr. origins. Cf. further La Penna, 231f., Horsfall 1988, 38f.

uocauit For ‘naming verbs’ cf. O’Hara 73, n. 329, 75, n. 330, 88, n. 343; note e.g. 1.109 *saxa uocant Itali*, 3.133, 8.322.

mutata parte Cf. **7.777 uersoque ubi nomine**, O’Hara, 88, n. 343 and cf. R. Thomas, *HSCP* 86 (1982), 81ff. (:: *Reading Virgil and his texts* (Ann Arbor 1999), 305ff.) on *G.*3.148 *uocantes*.

Camillam Vd. **Casmillae**, *supra*.

544 ipse No nurses; he named his daughter and alone, in person, carried her off.

sinu prae se portans Alliteration at the outset of a sequence of sound-plays (note **546 u . . . V**. and the slow start of **545**). For the vb., cf. **333**; the whole elaborated with practical intelligence. This was a way of carrying various burdens; not indeed infants alone: cf. **744 gremium ante suum**, Lucil. 166M <h>*i prae se portant* <in>*gentes munere pisces*. Ovid (*Met.*6.338 *inque suo portasse sinu, duo numina, natos*, of Latona) takes V.'s phrasing and applies it to a more peaceful, motherly context (cf. *ib.*6.359, 9.388f., 13.450, *F.*2.469, 3.218, S. Dixon, *The Roman mother* (London 1988), 106 with pl. 7). Metabus—presumably, as a Volscian prince (?), mounted (**564** is no proof, but this detail of carrying methods might well be decisive)—adopts very sensibly a posture not exclusively maternal (cf. **7.518**); quite naturally, indeed, if mounted, for *das Baby* rests on the horse's withers and M.'s arms are left free. C. is thus carried *diligentius*, comments TCD than if *nutrices* were present, *quibus mos est infantes tergo gestare*: that is perfectly right too (as comparison with (e.g.) gypsy, Highland or African usage confirms), but refers perforce to *nutrices* in movement (the distinction escapes TCD): carrying on the back in a shawl or cloth leaves the hands free, places the burden where the body is best able to carry it, and lets the child sleep with head supported against the carrier's back.

iuga longa The noun V. has just used, **514, 529**; 6.411 has *iuga longa* in an entirely different sense.

petebat Cf. **272, 7.343, 362**. Cf. 8.492, *elapsus* of Mez..

545 solorum nemorum Cf. **569 solis . . . montibus**, Cat.64.184, *EV* 4, 934 (Lenaz). Cf. **7.776 solus ubi in siluis**; we are not surprised to find analogies between votaries of Diana, of whatever gender. The ridges are in some sense part of the woods (cf. **7.586**, and **7.580** for **n**).

tela . . . saeua S. often enough applied to weapons themselves (**7.664**) but perhaps here simply transferred from the Volsci to their arms.

undique . . . premebant Interwoven order might suggest the multiple onslaught of insurgent spears! The use of **p**. extended from pursuers/attackers to their weapons: cf. **880**, 2.530, 10.347, *EV* 4, 255. The advb. often used by V. to add drama and density to the action (cf. **454**, e.g.).

546 circumfuso . . . milite Cf. 2.383 *inruimus densis et circumfundimur armis*, Liv. 4.46.6; the vb. common (notably in a middle sense) in Cic. and Caes., perhaps raised to high poetry by V.. **M.**: cf. **516. uolitabant** A vb. dear to V., used because the pursuers ‘battevano zona per zona la campagna in scorribande [raids] implacabili’, as *EV* 5*, 612 engagingly paraphrases? Or because they are cavalry (12.126, 328)? The simple vb., like the image of flight, used often of horses (vd., well, *EV, cit.*).

Volsci Cf. the righteous *Etruria* of 8.494, risen against Mez.. C. is no native Volscian heroine, we are agreed (Horsfall 1988, 43, Capdeville, 313ff., La Penna, 227). Why then does V. make her Volscian at all? Capdeville (331, n. 105) notes a triumph won by Camillus himself over the Volsci (Liv.6.2.2), but I remain as sceptical as I was in 1988 (p. 38, recanting previous imprudences) about any earlier, recognisable, integral link between such a Virgilian hero(ine) and the territory assigned him (her) by the poet.

547 ecce Diana/Virgil draws attention to the next moment of drama (cf. **448, 7.706**).

fugae medio Cf. **7.59, 563, 566**. Suerbaum (150, n. 45) is troubled by the presence of *e.*, uniquely, in a speech and not in narrative. But is that not the point? That C.’s passage over the Amasenus represents Diana’s acquisition of her most loyal devotee; narrative, therefore, serves to account for D.’s peculiar and almost untimely devotion to a mortal woman. This passage absent from the discussion, *EV* 2, 42. From old Privernum, across the Amasenus, into hills and forests is, in reality, half an hour’s walk; V.’s mental vision is mercifully elsewhere.

summis . . . /548 . . . ripis Reinforced at once by the adj. **abundans**; Forbiger championed the claims of dative (‘swollen up to’) as against the natural abl. (Nettleship well quoted Lucr.2.362 (*flumina summis labentia ripis*), perhaps to be called ‘abl. of extension’.

Amasenus Discussed in some detail at **7.685**.

abundans Cf. Acc.trag.297 *abundantem . . . annem*, Lucr.1.282 *flumine abundantanti* (with *imbribus* following).

548 spumabat Cf. **7.465 spumis exuberat amnis**, 12.524 *spumosi amnes*. The vb. itself is Ennian (*trag.*118, *Ann.*378).

tantus . . . imber The n. common in V., after Enn. and Lucr. (contrast the rare *pluuia*). Clouds before rain, before flood in cool prose: both inversion and parataxis here.

se nubibus . . . /549 ruperat Cf. *G.*1.445f. *inter nubila sese/diversi rumpunt radii* (where Thomas notes *Arat. Phaen.*830 *εχιζόμεναι*; whence a Virgilian idiom. Commentators refer to common Gk. *ἐρράγη*), *G.*3.428 *dum amnes ulli rumpuntur fontibus*, 4.368 *et caput unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus*. Cf. Cavazza, *EV* 4, 600. The abl. (cf. **7.699** for Virgilian clouds) clearly of separation.

ille innare parans Whether or not mounted. *Innare* a great favourite with *V.* (*nouies*); previously at *Cic. ND* 2.100; cf. *Hor. C.*3.17.7. **P.** often little more than a way of expressing a future at the level of intention in the dependent verb: **7.605, 624**.

infantis amore Cf. **541**, here, though, as viewed by Metabus; *V.* heightens the drama by a concentration of strongly affective language. *C.* enters the action garbed in love, divine (**538**) and human. Note the love of Creusa and *Aen.* for *Asc.*, 2.789.

550 tardatur Cf. 5.453 *at non tardatus casu neque territus heros*, 12.746f. *tardata sagitta/. . . genua*; note Varius Rufus fr. 4.5 *non amnes illam* [the hound] . . . *tardant*.

caroque oneri *V.* returns to paternal emotion viewed through divine eyes: the situation recalls *Aen.*2.729 (*Asc.* and *Anch.*) *comitique onerique timentem* (note *φόρπον*, *Call. Aet.* fr. 7.31); the adj used by *V.* with a notable concentration upon family relationships (*Pinotti, EV* 1, 683); cf. 4.354 *capitis . . . cari*.

timet Cf. 2.729, *cit.*, *OLD* s.v., §1b.

omnia secum/551 uersanti Cf. 1.657f. *noua pectore uersat/consilia*, 4.563, *EV* 5*, 509, *OLD* s.v., §8. *Aeneas/Hercules* (4.285f. = 8.20f.) *animum nunc huc celerem nunc diuidit illuc/in partis que rapit uarias perque omnia uersat*.

subito uix Apparently problematic (such doubled advbs. (cf. **610**) as *iam tandem, uix tandem* are easier, not to mention *uix adeo* and the pairings listed, *LHS*, 799f.); *Serv.* takes **subito** with **uersanti** (and so perforce **uix** with **sedet**) but the spurious ingenuity (with *distinctio* at caesura) of such ‘solutions’ is unwelcome. Gransden’s ‘oxymoron’ points in the right direction: the solution came to Metabus ‘in a flash’, but ‘the resolution was arrived at with reluctance’ (so *Page*), for obvious reasons.

haec sententia sedit ‘Settles’ (‘si fissa’), from *sido*, *Spallone, EV* 4, 750, after *Con.* (**idque sedet, 7.367** is slightly different); note the *potior sententia* of 4.287 (cf. 2.35) and *Il.*2.5 *ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή*.

552 telum immane The adj. suggests perhaps both size and ferocity; cf. the *saxa* of 8.225f., 10.196, 12.904, the boxing-gauntlets of

5.401 and Aen.'s *telum*, 12.442. Note the epic mannerism of anomalous missiles (large, or, alternatively, arcane; so **7.730**): cf. Hector, *Il.*6.319, Achilles, 16.140ff., Seymour, 664ff., the **sparus** of Ornytus (**682**) or the *phalarica* of Aen.9.705, the 'spear' *rudem nodis et cortice crudo* of 9.743f. (Malavolta, 118ff., Wickert, 438ff., Horsfall 1988, 41). Perhaps unexpectedly, a hunting-spear, as will emerge (**558f.**). **MP inmane**; a frequent spelling in the codd. (Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 431), after the possibly etym. link with *manes* (Fest.p.132.6, etc.), which—if this is how the word was actually heard—should arguably be printed.

manu ualida χερὶ πᾶχείῃ, as Harrison notes at 10.320 *ualidae* . . . *manus*.

forte Properly fortuitous here; the solution would not have been open had he chanced to hold a pair of light hunting-spears.

gerebat Ferebat, M₂; cf. **141, 341** at l.-end, but not of weapons and without appeal. Trag.inc.50 confirms **g**, used of *telum*.

553 bellator A warrior king, predictably (which sharpens the acquired elements of maternal care); the noun (from Plaut.; *EV* 1, 482) *bis* in Livy's first pentad, *quater* in the second; in V., *septies*, *bellatrix*, *bis*. Probably of Ennian origin; for nouns in *-tor*, cf. on **7.648 contemptor**.

solidum Used of precious metals (2.765 *auro solidi*, 9.357), bronze (9.809), marble (6.69), or ivory (*G.*3.26). Note too (of grafting) *G.*2.78f. *et alte finditur in solidum cuneis via*, into the 'meat' of the tree. Perhaps 'stiff'.

nodis Familiar detail in descriptions of rustic weaponry, **7.517 stiptibus . . . grauidi nodis**, with n., *EV* 3, 748.

robore cocto More of the same: the oak shaft, knotty (and therefore less likely to split) and tempered in the fire: cf. **894, 7.506**

torre . . . obusto, 524 sudibusue praeustis. Serv. started with an infelicitous interpretation *aut antiquam hastam fuisse significat: nam multi temporis aliquid coctum uocatur* (whence *OLD* s.v. *coquo*, §2c, *EV* 1, 883. *Dig.*32.1.55.7 *alia ligna cocta* indeed refers to seasoned wood (for it is specified that it does not smoke!), but here the recurrent realistic-antiquarian motif of fire-tempered weapons leaves the sense in no doubt.

554 huic . . . / 555 implicat The situation is unusual and unsurprisingly there seems no precise parallel for the vb. (itself Catullan, 61.35) used thus; cf., though, 2.552, 724. If Tib. can write *sertis* [abl., clearly] *implicuisse comas*, then V. here takes the prefix, used with dat., as indicating, clearly enough but unconventionally, that Camilla is 'wound to' the spear-shaft (there is anacoluthon after **cocto**, possibly

to indicate haste, Brill, 46), but more likely (so W. Görler) to give the vast spear itself all possible prominence (LHS, 729, Serv. here notes *Probus de hoc loco ἀπίθανον πλάσμα*; this criticism, not necessarily genuine Probus, is fully discussed at 1988, 49f.. Some further considerations, Horsfall in *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft* (*Coll.Raurica* 3, Stuttgart 1993), 131, Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 119f., E. Fantham, *Phoen.*85 (1990), 102.

natam . . . clausam The hyperbata may suggest the way C. is enfolded in cork and then bound to the shaft. C.: cf. 1.311, 6.139, 10.377. Possibly *simplex* for *compositum inclusam* (cf. 2.45 (!), 12.430).

libro et siluestri subere Hendidadys: the bark of the wild cork-tree; **l.** is the standard term for 'bark' and the adj. refers often to things or creatures not cultivated or undomesticated (*G.*2.51, *Aen.*8.348, etc.). The use of cork (*quercus suber* or its spongy outer bark, *OLD* s.v., **7.742**) has led to singular complications: in a comparable story, Pontius Cominius (Plut.*Cam.*25.2, Liv.5.46.8) uses cork to swim a message across the Tiber (cf. Alessio, 117 (confused), Capdeville, 333). This was standard usage at Rome: Capdeville, 333, n. 112, after J. Gagé, *MEFR(A)* 91(1979), 556, cites Hor.*Serm.*1.4.120 *nabis sine cortice* (vd. Ps.Acro); note too Plaut.*Aul.*595 (rush 'boats'), and (e.g.) Caes. *Civ.*1.48.7 (bladders). V. does not recall, specifically, the story of Cominius (Capdeville, 334); rather, he has Metabus take an obvious precaution against mishap: if his cast falls short, C. will float, like any child learning more conventionally to swim! Cf. also Brill, 6f., 46f., Arrigoni, 88f., La Penna, 235. Discussion of this scenc has also long included the story told by Plut. of the infant Pyrrhus (*Pyrrh.*2), for whom an emergency bridge was built in response to a message sent tied to as spear: cf. Capdeville, 332ff., Horsfall 1988, 41, Arrigoni, 88, n. 203, G. Knaack, *RhM* 49 (1894), 530f.). Does V. have this story in mind, and does C.'s passage over water hold any religious significance? Or might he have in mind rather Tu.'s spear-cast, 9.52 (cf. *Lat.*33 (1974), 80ff.), and its analogies with fetal ritual? After several decades of uncertainty, I am more sure than ever of the impossibility of offering a rational answer, but my sense is that Pyrrhus is rather less crucial than is generally supposed.

555 habilem The adj. is Ennian (*Ann.*239). Here the sense is not entirely clear; TCD, after noting the risks of imbalance, paraphrases flatly *bene compositam et prudenter aptatam*; Nettleship on 12.432 (cf. Bellandi, *EV* 2, 827) suggests enallage (i.e., to be understood with *hastae*; present in some sense, however we take **h.**), while Con. here

favours, ingeniously enough, proleptic *ita ut habilis sit* (again, in some sense inescapable). **H.** is expanded by **mediae . . . hastae**: she (and hence the spear) is manageable (so TCD) *because* attached to the middle.

mediae . . . hastae Cf. 12.926 *per medium . . . femur*, OLD s.v., §2 (*m.* used by Ov.*Met.* 12.484, for the edge of a sword as against the point).

circumligat *Quater* in Cato *Agr.*.

556 quam . . . librans A sense first in V. (cf. Harrison on 10.421), after Hom. ἀμπεπαλῶν, as Soverini points out in a helpful discussion (*EV* 3, 207f.). Note paronomasia with **554 libro**.

dextra ingenti Cf. **552 manu ualida**; here the expression apparently not conventional, but cf. 5.487 *ingentique manu*.

ita ad aethera fatur So too, 10.459, where vd. Harrison's full note.

557 alma First word of a plea, as at 10.252; the adj. applied to Diana, **7.774** (cf. too 10.215). Cf. Bömer and Fantham on Ov.*F.4.1*; here too, the reader has not remarked any pointers to Diana as the deity in fact addressed here (rather than some more conventionally nurturing deity), except perhaps obliquely, in the associations of Opis' name (**532**) and in the helpless affection expressed by Diana herself (**535ff.**). The associations of Artemis with rivers might be significant (Brill, 46, n. 3, NH on Hor.C.1.21.5). Highet, oddly, does not include this prayer, within Diana's speech, in his list (341) of 'speeches within speeches'.

tibi . . ./558 . . . uoueo Cf. 10.774 *uoueo* (Mez., blasphemously, where Serv. *consecro et dico*; cf. Highet, 120, Hickson, 97f.), 12.769 *uotas suspendere uestes*, *EV* 5*, 630.

hanc . . ./558 . . . famulam F. predicative; the n. (cf. **34**) at Cat.63.90 of Attis. We note the recurrent notion of the faithful votary/assistant present in the etym. of Camilla (**7.803**), and in the story of Opis (**532**), not to mention that of Hippolytus/Virbius (**7.769**). Indeed, **f.** here may be an etymological gloss on the word *camilla*, in the sense of 'female assistant at religious functions'; so already Serv., rightly unmoved by the inconsistency with **542**; note too that for Staius Tullianus (obscure; Kaster, *Guardians*, 436, n° 270) the Etruscans called Mercury Camillus *because* in Etr. the word *camillus* meant *praeminister deorum*, Macr.3.8.6, Serv. on **558**. See n. on **7.803**, Horsfall 1988, 38, La Penna, 231ff., Arrigoni, 80ff.; cf. Köves-Zulauf, 289ff., Capdeville, 329 and Dowden (**655**), 130, 196 for the goddess' young

attendants in Greek contexts. V.'s development of such 'learned' etymologising seems to constitute an origin for several elements in the story Diana here tells. Implicit of course is the pact (cf. **566**): if C. is saved, she will be vowed to Diana (cf. **2ff.**, **560 tuam**, Arrigoni, 93, n. 212). Note the story of Gaius and Julia Drusilla, an account clearly enough modelled on V.'s (*Mineruae gremio imposuit alendamque et instituendam commendauit*, Suet.*Cal.*25.4, J.P. Hallett, *Fathers and daughters* (Princeton 1984), 307).

nemorum cultrix C. at Cat.64.300 (cf. 63.72 *siluicultrix*); then *Aen.*3.111 (*colo* and derivatives absent from *EV*); at G.1.14, *cultor nemorum* is of course used in a quite different sense. Cf. **7.775** for Diana and woodland, *nemora*.

Latonia uirgo Diana talking of herself one more time, but since she speaks as though citing Metabus, hardly to be included in discussion of the problem (**535–96**, §1). For **L.**, cf. **534**; for **u.**, cf. **508**; Nisus, a keen hunter (9.245) prays to *nemorum Latonia custos* (9.405); here not so much a reminiscence of 9 as a visible trace of the nexus of analogies between Virbius, Nisus/Euryalus and Camilla, as the world of woods and hunting is brought into direct contact with the realities of war (cf. Hardie, *Aen.*9, p. 16, with n. 24, Arrigoni, 94).

558 ipse pater *Quia auctoramenti potestatem nisi patres non habent* Serv., rightly (cf. Jane Gardner, *Women in Roman law . . .* (London 1986), 6 and Arrigoni, 93, n. 212, amply). Whence **ipse**: as a Roman father, Metabus—importance further augmented by postposition—was within his rights!

tua prima . . . / 559 tela tenens Faintly tricky: writing *tua supplex tela tenens*, Serv. seems to suggest that V. could have used **t.s.** to mean 'your suppliant', like Gk. *còc ikétηc* (vd. Paratore and, better, Arrigoni, 91, n. 207). Unsurprisingly, PHI confirms that this is not tolerable Latin. Cf. rather **535 nostris . . . armis**. The infant C. unwitting clings to a large hunting-spear (as we now learn) and it is thus from the very first (cf. **7.354**, **540** for **p.** thus) that she clings to the arms D. herself uses in the chase. Did one wonder whether **t.p.** might also suggest that C. was **tua**, Diana's own, from the first, and for the same reason, little or no harm would be done. An acute, delicate n. in Page.

per auras Cf. **7.543**.

559 supplex Vicariously, thanks to her father's appeal (**s.** of disputed origin: vd. WH, EM); it is the infant C.'s plea, though, that

is thus heeded and, surviving her flight, she is, however unwitting, bound to the service of Diana.

hostem fugit The vb. of Metabus, **540**; **h.** of M.'s and C.'s own fellow-citizens (cf. Dido of *Aen.*, 4.424, 549). Compare Mezentius' *ciues*, finally exasperated, at 8.489.

accipe Diana thus receives a votary into her service, as the land over the river receives a future huntress. D. does not lend herself, alas, to the sort of cosmological play that Juno permits (**7.287**). 1.290 and **7.211** of receiving into heaven are comparable (cf. *G.1.28*); see too Kirk on *Il.2.420* of a deity 'receiving' an offering, LSJ s.v. δέχομαι, §2b. Note in particular *Liv.2.10.11* (to the deified Tiber) *hunc militem* [Horatius] *propitio flumine accipias*. Not 'standard Latin prayer-language'; here then, a literary formulation.

testor Cf. **7.593**, *EV* 5*, 149, simply as synonym for *precor*.

560 diua Cf. **7.41**.

tuam Cf. *Hor.C.3.4.21f.* **uester**, *Camenae*, **uester** in *arduus/tollor Sabinos*, *Ov.Met.14.378*, *Apul.Met.5.7.6*. This is also Greek hymnic idiom, *Call.H.4.219* *ἡ μὲν ἐγὼ, ἡ δὲ πάντα*.

quae . . . committitur Cf. *Lucr.5.782* *incertis . . . committere uentis* (a clear, calculated echo), [Tib.] 3.7.196, *Aen.10.69* *uitam committere uentis*.

nunc M. had already reached the river-bank at **547**; cf. *G.1.42*, 2.2, 3.294, *Aen.6.187* for this use of *nunc* in prayers and appeals to denote the precise, critical moment.

dubiis . . . auris Cf. *Lucr.5 supra*, *Cic.Verr.2.3.227*, **d.** also of sea and waves, *OLD* s.v., §3. As Harrison remarks on *10.cit.*, 'to commit oneself or indeed anything to the uncertainty of the winds is traditionally rash' and the material variously collected (e.g. NH on *Hor.C.1.26.2*, Otto s.v. *uentus*, §1) to this end suggests that **a.** here refers to breezes rather than the air itself. Note **558 per auras**; this sort of repet. at line-end does not trouble V. (**7.430**; cf. too Roiron (**135**), 275, uncaring of the issue of *sedes*).

561 dixit et *Semel* in *G.* and 15x in *Aen.* at speech end.

adducto . . . lacerto The noun refers to effortful use of the biceps (vd. *infra*). Cf. 5.141 *adductis spumant freta uersa lacertis*, 9.402 *adducto torquet hastile lacerto* (neglected by Sparrow and Moskalew; non-significant re-use of wording essential to describe a mighty cast; the vb. precisely of the flexing of the elbow to bring the spear down to the shoulder).

contortum Cf. **7.164f.** **lacertis/contorquent**; the vb. implies use of a throwing-strap. The 'whirl' that Page attributes to M. is

appropriate to a sling, not (or not without unwelcome comedy) to a heavy spear, in perilous straits.

hastile Ennian (*Ann.*392Sk.); the shaft, strictly, but often of the whole spear, 13x in V., including transferred senses. Malavolta rightly draws attention (119) to the striking range of terms V. applies to this single weapon (**552, 555, 561, 563, 565**).

562 immittit So Lucr. 4.715 and prose (Caes.) before V. (Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.471.37); only here, though, in all V., of a missile weapon. *Tacet EV*.

sonuere undae Cf. *Il.*21.10 ὄχθαι δ' ἀμφὶ περὶ μεγάλ' ἴαχον (in echo; Knauer and Roiron, *infra*, ignore), **7.701f. sonat amnis et Asia longe/pulsa palus** (to massed bird-cries), *G.*3.554f. *mugitibus amnes/arentesque sonant ripae*. Burmann here conjectured (and cf. **801, 863f.**) **aurae (MPR undae)**, but, Hom. and the two Virgilian analogues apart (and they are sufficient guarantee of the transmitted text), the spear's passing is good, vigorous hyperbole. Cf. Roiron (**135**), 18ff., 274ff., 527 (prolix, misguided, and finely observed championship of Burmann). Con. well notes the analogy between the swift and noisy passage of the river (of pathetic fallacy there might also be a hint), and that of the spear. For the *-ere* ending, cf. *EV* 4, 22f., **7.760**.

rapidum . . . annem Cf. **298**.

super Disyll. as at **143, 170**: in this sedes, 13x with disyll. or longer wd. preceding (Norden, 447f.), though I hear no precise effect in this dramatic context.

563 infelix . . . Camilla An epithet profoundly associated with Dido and used of Amata (vd. **7.376**); here the tragic outcome of her successful flight and consequent devotion to Diana is anticipated (while of Ev., **175**, it is less thematically significant); 'uso più generico e irrilevante' comments *EV* (2, 488), infelicitously.

fugit Mannered, almost humorous, for of course C. does nothing; it is as a mere package that she 'escapes'. The vb. associates her with her father, **541, 547**.

in Suspicions of a faint sense of drollery continue: C. is in some sense 'on board' the spear; cf. Hor.'s *equitare in harundine longa* (*Serm.*2.3.248).

iaculo stridente I. a pallid generic term for a missile weapon, used a dozen times in *Aen.* (Malavolta, 119; cf. Dingel on 9.178); V. is both strangely tolerant of repetition (**560**; note too the lists collected by Roiron (**135**), 649ff.) and restless in pursuit of variation (**561**).

Cf. *TLL* 7.1.76.35f. (Wiese): the word standard in prose from Sisenna. In poetry, Hor.*C.*1.8.12 (perhaps earlier than *Aen.*9–12), so a recent, if not a Virgilian, importation to poetry. The adj./partic. and vb. 15x thus in V. of weapons (**7.531**, A. Traina, *EV* 4, 1035; cf. *Enn.Ann.*355, 356Sk., Roiron, 526; Hom. prefers the clang to the whistle of arms, though vd. *Il.*16.361 with Janko's n.). In counterpoint to the noise of the river (**562**).

564 at Metabus The time for prayer is over, as V.'s attention returns to the near bank of the Amasenus.

magna . . . caterua The noun (vd. **7.804**, of C.'s followers) 15x in *Aen.*, *sexies* between **433** and **682**; a neat illustration of unfinished revision or (for we cannot be sure that our ears are more 'correct') the poet's lack of any sense that this sort of lexical tic was something that had to be eliminated.

propius Cf. 2.706, 8.556, etc. with a natural sense of approaching menace.

iam urgente *EV* 5*, 402 apparently classes the subject as 'inanimate'; cf. rather the imminent violence of 5.442, 10.373 (Pallas, not Athena, as *EV*, *cit.*!), 12.748.

565 dat sese fluuio For the reflexive, cf. *Nep.Att.*6.1, *Cic.Att.*7.23.2 *ne me dem . . . fugae*, *OLD* s.v., §§20, 21. Mostly prose and comedy (note too Hor.*Serm.*1.2.41 *hic se praecipitem tecto dedit*), perhaps recognisably; but cf. also *Cat.*66.84 *se impuro dedit adulterio*, *Lucr.*1.1113 *hac se turba foras dabit omnis materiai*. Heroes swim (Palinurus, Odysseus).

hastam . . . / 566 . . . uellit Cf. 10.889, **11.724** (and in a wide range of analogous senses); the vb. (*conuellit*) *Cat.*64.40 and compounds *quinquies* in *Lucr.*. The last of V.'s synonyms for 'spear' deployed (**561**).

P tollit by echo of *G.*4.273.

cum uirgine No drollery (cf. **563**) now; C. is firmly attached and thus returns with the spear to her father's grasp.

uictor In the sense of *compos uoti* as Sinon at 2.329 (Cresci Marrone, *EV* 5*, 547; *OLD* atypically simplifies here), with some hint of athletic success (the weighted spear has covered the distance) too. For TCD, M. has beaten his foes; just possibly an additional sense

566 gramineo . . . de caespite For **g.** (a Virgilian coinage), cf. **7.106**; **c.** 'turf', *quater* in V. (and a detailed explanation in TCD); also Hor.*C.*1.19.13 (earlier than **11**), but only by chance absent from earlier poetic texts and not to be hailed as a recent promotion.

donum A clear ambivalence, C.'s presence on the bank is a gift of the goddess (cf. *EV* 2, 132, *G.*4.520, *Aen.*6.871, 8.181) and thereby

she becomes an offering to the goddess (cf. 6.408, 632). Citroni (*EV* 2, 131) oversimplifies here and misunderstands 8.284 (offerings to the gods, primarily, as the narrative sequence requires) while O. Schönberger, *AuA* 12 (1966), 183, n. 14 recognises the ambiguity, as does Suerbaum in the course of his ample doxography, 147, n. 34. Let us not neglect four pages of James Henry, under full sail. **Triuia** Cf. **7.774**. A difficulty to some, in that Diana thus speaks of herself under one of her other titles (cf. Suerbaum, 147f.; thought something of a problem from DScrv. on (cf. Georgii, *Ant.Äneiskritik*, 502f., Suerbaum, 148). But not only may Diana with propriety speak of herself, in epic usage (*supra*), employing alternative titles to vary the actual terminology employed, but Schönberger (*cit.*, 182, n. 11; cf. Capdeville, 308, n. 15, Bonfanti, 189, n. 23) suggests subtly that V.'s language reflects M.'s thought.

567 non . . . tectis . . . non moenibus Two symbols of urban settlement in Virgil's 'primitive Italy', **7.127, 145, 157**; cf. also **7.812**. Hailed (Wills, 281, n. 20) as an echo, along with **581f.**, of Cat.62.42ff., 53ff., but even less convincingly than at **7.236**. For the quite rare **non . . . non**, cf. **7.269**; *nullae* is broken down into *non . . . ullae* to permit the neat gemination of the negative (so well, Cavalca, *EV* 4, 316). **illum** Unlike Mez.; M. remains an outcast, in the wild: C. will emerge (how?) as a leader of the Volsci, but her education is hardly what the manuals recommend for princes.

ullae . . . urbes The tiny settlements V. attributes to heroic Italy (**7.104**).

568 accipere Cf. (e.g.), with a local subj. thus, 2.70, 3.96, 708, **7.211**. Note 1.600 *urbe, domo socias*.

neque ipse V. varies subject and focus with elegance. Mynors prints **neque . . . dedisset** as a parenthesis, leaving **569**, after a comma at the end of **568**, linked to what precedes by postponed **et** (cf. **7.761**). The conventional comma after **accipere** with (semi-) colon at the end of **568** leaves **et . . . exegit** rather awkwardly connected with what precedes.

manus . . . dedisset A standard expression (no close Gk. equivalent) of military surrender, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1. 1668.25, *OLD* s.v. *manus*, §9d, Munro on Lucr. 2.1043, Mankin on Hor. *Epd.* 17.1. The precise, original sense (naturally ritual or ceremonial) of such expressions is not always quite clear (no more here than at **7.235, 366**): certainly, the defeated lay down their arms and in supplication clasp the victors' knees (Onians, 181, 185, *Aen.* 3.607, 10.523, J. Gould,

JHS 93 (1973), 74ff. at 76, Richardson on *Il.*24.477–9). Alternatively, *manus* could refer to the force or strength (cf. Onians, 494, *OLD* s.v., §8) of the vanquished, laid down or offered to the victors in the moment of surrender. I am not sure that decision is possible or desirable. For M., to come in from the wild had come to count as an actual surrender (vd. Perret).

feritate Prose wd. promoted for the occasion; V.'s fondness for the abstr. noun as the subj. of a vb. of action (**357**, **424**, **476**, Ferraro, *EV* 1, 381, Marouzeau, *Quelques aspects*, 115f.) is here as quite often inverted with the abstr. as agent (2.596, 690, 4.175, 599 etc.). Abl. of cause rather than circumstances; economical rather than (Williams) abrupt.

569 pastorum exegit . . . aeuum Cf. **7.776f. aeuum/exigeret**, a Lucretian phrase, with hints of Enn.. Not for the first time (cf. **536**, **537**, **557f.**) V. elaborates points of contact between his versions of Hippolytus and C.. Greater specificity is achieved at 10.235 by parataxis, *et dedit esse deas aeuumque agitare sub undis*, while Enn. (*Ann.*110Sk.) had used prepositional phrases; note too the *securum aeuom* of the gods and *Lucr.*4.1235 *sterili Venere exigat aeuom*; *G.*3.476f. *regna/pastorum* led Con. to think of *montibus pastorum*, unnecessarily. Here V. expands in his own way, to refer to the life of shepherds (vd. Serv., TCD; both right but hardly definitive). This rustic interlude (cf. **541 fugiens**) offers wonderful opportunities for pastoral/romantic elaboration (cf. *Liv.*1.4, Capdeville, 312, Horsfall 1988, 42). We should by now have learned that it would be too easy, and misguided, to reduce C.'s existence to a polarity between pastoral infancy and death in brutal war (W. Wimmel, *Collectanea* (Stuttgart 1987), 235, M.C.J. Putnam, *Virgil's Aeneid* (Chapel Hill 1995), 125ff.; cf. Brill, 27f., Schönberger, 181, Schweizer, 55, Suerbaum, 146, n. 31): La Penna rightly notes (235, n. 33) how the princely C. carries a 'pastoral' spear (**7.817**), evoking her childhood among *pastores*, who are not of porcelain, but armed, hardy peasants (n. on **7.817**).

solis . . . montibus Lonelier—for all that he has C. for *comes* (**542**)—than Romulus and Remus and here again reminiscent of Hipp. (**7.776 solus ubi in siluis Italis**; cf. too Cyrene, *Pind.**Pyth.*9.34); the theme already present at **545** (cf. Blonk, 69); M. thus isolated by the vices that drove him into exile (cf. Feeney in Harrison, *OR*, 181f., *EV* 4, 934; we remember, of Mez. (8.491), *obtruncant socios*).

570 hic In detailed expansion, with the details that follow, of 'lonely mountains'.

natam . . . / . . . / 572 nutribat The vb. (and in the same shortened form of the impf.) at **7.484** (so too of Romulus' wolf, *Ov.F.2.415*, *Prop.4.4.54*); here V. develops the promising paradox (**541**, **544**) of the mothering father (cf. the more 'normal' 5.645 *natorum regia nutrix*); note the (entirely unparadoxical) role of Tyrrhus and his sons in feeding the pet stag (**7.485**). The hyperbaton points up the conjunction of absent mother, 'wild' milk (in human settlements a foster-mother could have been found) and threatening surroundings. V. does not suggest that C.'s mother died bearing her, but that is clearly the first, and hardly the worst idea that might occur, did one wonder what the story might suggest.

in dumis Scrub, brush, thickets, *G.4.130*, 2.180, 3.315, *Aen.4.526*, 8.348, 594, 9.393. Taken up, **843 nec tibi desertae in dumis coluisse Dianam**. Typical in such cases (though not always) of the bristling, hostile, menacing countryside (Blonk, 60f.).

interque horrentia lustra TCD *cum sint lustra in quibus ferae cubitant merito metuenda, adiecit horrentia, ut illa ostenderet ferarum fuisse maiorum!* Cf. *G.2.471 lustra ferarum* (the noun, Varius, fr. 4.2), *Aen.3.646f.* (*pace* Berres, 227, n. 115, no necessary connexion with this passage), 4.151, *EV* 3, 288; Paul.exc.Fest. explains (107.12f.L) *significat lacunas lutosas, quae sunt in silvis aprorum cubilia*. But the noun does not lean inherently to the wallow, any more than **horrentia** does to the bristly brute. Cf. rather, of plants, etc., (with nn. on **7.525f.**, **713**), 1.165, 311, 3.230.

571 armentalis equae Not quite what the thorny thickets had led us to expect, but thematically appropriate both to the mounted Metabus and to his horsewoman daughter. Given the stock idea of character imbibed with milk (*Plin.Nat.8.61*, *Colum.7.12.12*, H.D. Jocelyn, *PCPS* 17 (1971), 52, Pease on *Aen.4.366f.*), V. might very well here be playing upon a link between C.'s early nourishment and later prowess on horseback. **571** is occupied by a single complex expression (the teats of the mares in the wild herds yield milk), perhaps best not called hendiadys (though SDan. uses the term here—cf. Calboli, *EV* 2, 220 and Görler, *ib.*, 276). See **494** for 'hendiadys' and for **a.** of horses. The adj. form, a Virgilian innovation (perhaps after ἀγελαία) contrast the Lucretian/Varronian *armentarius*, 'herdsman', at *G.3.344*). Also see **494** for **equarum**.

mammis *Bis* in Lucr. (and *semel mammosa*); also *G.3.310*, *Aen.1.492* (Penthesilca).

lacte ferino The adj. required for balance with the verse's first two

words; used at Lucr.5.1418, *Aen.*1.215. The mares' milk drinkers of the Steppes are known to the Mediterranean world from Hom. and Hes. on (Janko on *Il.*13.4) and passed into geographical/ethnographic writing (Hippocr.*Airs* 18, Strab.7.3.3 (after Posid.), 7.3.6, 12.3.27, Dion.Perieg.309, Colum.7.2.2, Herzog-Hauser, PW 15.1569.41ff. and B.D. Shaw, *Anc.Soc.*13–14 (1982–3), 5ff.). Might the associations of the Amazons (clearly enough eaters of raw flesh, Aesch.*Suppl.*287 (see Friis Johansen's comm.) etc., Arrigoni, 18, n. 9) with Thrace (539, appx.p.465; vd. J. Blok, *The early Amazons* (*Mnem.Suppl.*120, 1995), 410ff.) have influenced V.'s choice of milk here? The mare is attested, once, among the wide range of creatures that provide milk for children in exposure-stories (Alope, *Hyg.fab.*187.5 (after Eur., ultimately), Binder (541), 137f.; Harpalyce (539) is no welcome analogy, *pace* Binder, 155, n. 4). C.'s is not an exposure-story (541) proper and may display an interaction of Homeric/ethnographic mares' milk-drinking with the mythographic/dramatic exposure motif. Cf. Liv.22.29. 13, of Hannibal, *nullae eum urbes accipiunt, nulla moenia; nihil usquam sui uidet, in diem rapto uiuit.* 2.51, 5.818, often cited, are irrelevant: you may indeed be able to call a horse *ferus* in Lat. (so *ueteres dicebant*, TCD); here, though, V. specifically writes of *wild* horses.

572 teneris . . . labris Cf. **578**, in double contrast (vd. the equally tactile **570 horrentia**; Suerbaum, 150, Brill, 49) with the life C. is already leading; the adj. similarly, Lucr.3.447, Hor.*Epist.*2.1.126 *os tenerum pueri balbumque* (where vd Brink's n.), *OLD* s.v, §2a. Livius' *nefrendem* (*cit.*) is by comparison uncouth.

immulgens ubera The vb. from Liv.Andr.*trag.*38 (after Aesch. *Cho.*896ff.; vd. S. Mariotti, *Livio Andronico*₂ (Urbino 1986), 40f., Wigodsky, 18); *pace EV* 3, 614, by no means in the same sense here, in appearance a Livian echo, indeed, but not visibly archaic, *pace* Puccioni, 148. Cf. 8.631, the she-wolf's *ubera*. The exile M. has no suitable nursery tableware: inappropriate anyway to context and to epic dignity. As TCD sagely remarks *nisi ipse per se labris puellae uber equae seruata moderatione mulsisset, alimonia ad eam peruenire non posset*. Note the singular echo at Plin.*Nat.*11.232, who thinks it *fabulosum* that screech-owls *ubera . . . infantium labris immulgere*.

573 utque For a summary of the relative frequency of temporal conjunctions in V., cf. *EV* 1, 874.

pedum . . . uestigia After **7.689f. uestigia nuda sinistri/instituere pedis** ('they instituted naked the stepping part of the left leg', Henry). The repetition ignored, apparently, by both Moskalew and Sparrow:

V. here lightly and gratefully reworks three words from a very different (ethnographic) context; the aoristic/gnomic perfect **instituere** is replaced by a straightforward plpf. (M. armed his daughter as soon as she *had* learned to walk) of a near-homophone verb while the sing. **pedis**, there learned and allusive, here becomes a more orthodox plur..

primis . . . plantis 5.566 *uestigia primi/alba pedis* refers to the tip or front of the foot (cf. Fordyce on Cat.2.3), while here the adj. indicates the first occasions on which the *plantae* were used (cf. **7.61, 554**) and the noun, the sole of the foot, now first used by C. (cf. Plaut.Cas.845 *mea uxorcula . . . institit plantam/quasi luca bos*, though the precise sense, in the context, is not clear); the alliteration might suggest a step heavier than C.'s. The abl. indicates the *means* by which C. 'planted the stepping part of her feet' (*uel sim.*).

infans Cf. **549**. Note the toddler Ascanius (*paruus*, and marginally older), walking beside Aen. *non passibus aequis* (2.724).

574 institerat Cf. my n. on **7.690**; cf. Lucr.1.406 *institerunt uestigia certa*, *TLL* 7.1.1922.51f. (Kröner).

iaculo . . . acuto The noun (generic; suited to both hunting and war) at **563**; the adj. Ennian and Lucretian, while the sharp edge is sung from Hom. on (*Il.*1.190, *et saep.*, and cf. **7.627**).

palmas Possibly balancing in some way, or even echoing **plantas**. *OLD* remarks that the sense of *p.* is a good deal wider than that of 'palm': "the front part of the hand from the wrist to the fingertips". Not therefore synecdoche, so much as the use of a virtual synonym.

armauit Cf. 9.115 *neue armate manus*, where Dingel points to instances in Cic. and Sall. (add *Iug.*107.1, to make three), though he rightly hesitates to claim the expression as a recognisable prosaism (*deest*, I note, in Caes., Liv.). Serv. oddly reads **onerauit**.

575 spiculaque Cf. **7.186**: here, as at **7.497**, arrow (-heads); with the bow to come, V. describes the quiver on C.'s shoulder (note archery in hunting, 1.187, **7.497**); cf. Malavolta, 129f., Wickert, 447f., Saunders, 153ff.; typically Amazonian (Arrigoni, 38, n. 58, 5.311, **7.816**, the adult C.'s quiver).

ex umero Cf. *G.*2.389; *Aen.*5.489 *ab*, *Aen.*1.318 *umeris . . . suspenderit arcum*, Liv.27. 28.12 *suspensa humeris, ut inter pacatos, gerentes arma*, Pompon.trag.8 *pendeat ex umeris dulcis chelys*, 1.500f., 4.149, 5.558, 10.169, **11.652, 774, 844, 874**; the language used of a sword-belt (12.941, etc.) is predictably similar. Of a statue of Diana at Segesta,

Cic. had written (*Verr.*2.4.74) *sagittae pendebant ab umero, sinistra manu retinebat arcum.*

paruae Possibly concessive, 'small though she was' (cf. 2.724; a child-sized bow is here presupposed: cf. **578**) and perhaps also to indicate a temporal progression after **573f.**

suspendit Cf. further *Ov.Met.*2.419, 440 (bow hung up for storage).
et arcum Cf. **654.**

576 pro . . . pro Cf. 2.183, 535, 12.48, 820.

crinali auro Cf. **7.403 crinalis uittas.** Contrast the problematic golden hairpin of **7.815**; thoughtless inconsistency or contrast between ethnographic effeminacy, C. 'marked by her garb as a harbinger of doom for the Italian cause' (bk.7) and (here) 'Camilla unornamented and austerely heroic' (B.W. Boyd, *AJP* 113 (1992), 221; cf. Suerbaum, 146)? But the adult C. is touched by a (female! **782**) desire for ornament, which may justify one gleaming hairpin, in contrast (a contrast never explained in narrative detail!) to the austerity of her childhood, in the wild and in exile. Con. wonders how a tigerskin could have taken the place of a hairpin, without looking forward to **pallae!**

longae . . . pallae Normal outdoor clothing for Roman women, of varied fabrics (knots and fringes, likewise), worn over the *stola* and over one or both shoulders (and over the head too, if so desired), not status- or function-limited (contrast *stola*; the *palla* worn by brides, *inter alias*); its length engagingly significant at *Ov.Met.*2.672. Cf. Marquardt-Mau, 576f., *Kl.P.* s.v., H. Bender in (ed. J.L. Sebesta, Larissa Bonfante), *The world of Roman costume* (Madison 1994), 150, Zäch, *TLL* 10.1.1.120.49ff.

tegmine Cf. **7.632, 666, 742**; with the dependent gen. ('of definition'), cf. the Lucretian *tegmine caeli* 1.988, 2.662, Cic.'s *tegmine saxi* (*carm. Hom.*1.19) and V.'s own *tegmine fagi.*

577 tigridis Odder than Tu.'s Thracian horse (9.49) or Evander's Libyan bearskin (8.368, Kroll, *Studien*, 182), odder too than Dido's Caucasian tigers (Horsfall, *EV* 1, 153), for tigers, introduced to Mediterranean awareness only by Alexander's campaigns, and to Rome in 19BC (*DC* 54.9.8), had never roamed Ciociaria (not an obvious hunting trophy, therefore; the Strymonian crane of **580** is far easier) and the wandering Metabus was in no position to acquire or display imported luxuries. A tigerskin perhaps also a little large for the child Camilla; Agamemnon and Diomedes wore lionskins (Seymour, 158f.); so too Aventinus/Hercules (**7.666**); Ev. tossed them over his

furniture (8.177). Here then really quite difficult. Brill (50) remarks blandly that the wearing of skins was a sign of the primitive state of Italy: true enough (7.688), but the specific detail is singular!

exuuiæ Cf. 5–13, 7 **exuuias**.

per dorsum ἀμφ' ὤμοις; only here.

a uertice ἀπὸ κρατός; cf. Harrison on 10.270 *ardet . . . a uertice flamma*.

pendent So of trophies, ex-votos, etc. *Buc.*7.24, 7.184. Apparently not a word regularly used of clothing (vd. 575 **ex umero** for small burdens), so here perhaps appropriate to **exuuiæ**.

578 tela . . . puerilia 5.557f. (spears and bows carried by the *puerile agmen*), *Juv.*15.59f. (the *acies* of boys), *Sil.*11.393 *arcu puerili*, *VF* 1.269 *puerilia tela*, *Tac.Hist.*4.61.4 (Civilis's son alleged to have shot at live prisoners *sagittis iaculisque puerilibus*), *Sen.Ep.*36.7 *si in Parthia natus esset, arcum infans statim tenderet; si in Germania, protinus puer tenerum hastile vibraret* (with M. Dickie, *PLLS* 51985), 193. Note the bootees of *Suet.Calig.*9.1. To 'play' soldiers/gladiators predictably appealed to the Roman boy (*SHA Gallien.* 4.3, *Aurel.*6.4, Balsdon, *Life and leisure*, 91f.; for Greece, vd. G. Lafaye, *DS* 3.2.1358ff.); if improvisation provided the kit required for 'mere' play, then a boy's first taste of the hunt (Asc.!) or first exercises with the javelin called for less-than-adult arms. For 'boy', read 'girl', as required!

manu . . . tenera For the adj., cf. 572, Gk. ἀπαλός.

iam tum Used of an even shorter time-span, 10.533, *G.*1.45, 2.405, as against the great leaps indicated, e.g. at 7.643.

torsit Cf. 7.165 **contorquent**, 731 **flagello** for the use of the unhomeric (Malavolta, 119) throwing-strap, whose employment seems to be implied when *torqueo* and compounds are used (altogether ignored, however, at *EV* 5*, 218, who turns, imprecisely, to 'brandishing').

579 fundam The sling of vast antiquity and undiminished effectiveness, from King David to *Veget.*1.16; cf. 7.686.

tereti . . . habena Cf. 9.586f. *stridentem fundam . . . / ipse ter adducta circum caput egit habena*; cf. too the entirely different *G.*2.392 *et quocumque deus circum caput egit honestum* (perhaps then a purely verbal echo, stripped of sense in context). In 9, V. echoed/altered the tmesis of *G.* and here re-employs the vigorous phrasing of 9, for the same act. Cf. the **habena** used to drive the top, 7.380. For **t.**, *OLD* s.v., ζc offers 'rounded into a bulge': not so at *Hor.C.*1.1.28 (vd. NH), at

Cat.64.65 (*strophium*), 'smooth' is unproblematic and on Ov.F.2.320 (*zona*) vd. Bömer.

circum caput Vd. *supra*.

egit Cf. 9.587 (*supra*), 706, **11.645, 804** and cf. the arrow of **7.408.580 Strymoniamque gruem** 'Strymonian grouse', to Saunders, 157! But *grus grus*, the common crane, is the least problematic of birds to identify (D'A. Wentworth Thompson, *Glossary of Greek birds* (Oxford 1936), 68ff., J. André, *Les noms d'oiseaux* (Paris 1967), 89, Capponi, *EV* 5*.349 and *Ornithologia latina* (Genova 1979), 279ff., J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek life* (London 1977), 83ff., Mynors *infra*), which the Italian bird guide I have to hand assures me M. and C. could indeed have brought down. The S. is mod. Struma/Strimo, 'entering the sea between Athos and Kavalla' (Horsfall, *Herm.*102 (1974), 503, n. 1; cf. Fo, *EV* 4, 1036f.). The crane is migratory (between E. Africa and N. Europe) and was widely known to be so: cf. *Il.*3.3ff., Hes.*Erga* 448 (with West's n.), *G.*1.374f. (with Mynors' n.), *Aen.*10.264ff., *Plin.Nat.*10.58ff., *Ael.NA* 2.1 (their ἤθη in Thrace), Thompson, *cit.*, and in particular V. Dasen, *Dwarfs in ancient Egypt and Greece* (Oxford 1993), 177. V. had fixed on the Strymon (a natural enough stopping-place; vd. Mynors on *G.*1.120 and cf. Courtney on *Juv.*13.167) at *G.*1.120 (the adj. already at *Call.H.*4.26), 10.265: migrating birds never ceased to fascinate the poets, V. included (Hom., *cit.*, *Arat.Phaen.*1094ff., *Aen.*6. 310ff., **7.699–702**, with nn.) and Strymon, *bis*, like the *Asia . . . palus* of **7.701f.** (after the swans and cranes of *Il.*2.459ff.), is typical geographical specificity, perhaps (though not necessarily) after an 'unknown source'; V. quotes himself, as so often and in so doing might seem once more to widen, surprisingly and perplexingly, the world-picture of father and daughter, unless of course the epithet be thought to lead the reader more to *G.*, and thence to Hom.'s migration-similes, than to Thrace, itself a home (**539, 571**) of the Amazons. Page was unwise to claim the epithet as conventional, but agreeably cited 'Whitstable oysters' by way of comparison.

album . . . olorem Cf. **7.699 niuei . . . cycni; olor** apparently the old, Latin word, displaced by the Greek loan-word, André (**580**), 111f., Capponi (*supra*, 1979), 359; André, *Couleurs*, 360 shows that the epithet here was so pallid as rarely to be imitated.

deiecit Cf. 5.542 (dove), Varr.*Atac.* fr. 11 *deiectum fulmine*.

581 multae . . . matres Cf. Cat.62.42 *multae illum pueri*, **multae**

optauere puellae (cf. Wills, 280f., Wigodsky, 127, **567**). Note too the situation (devoid of verbal, as against thematic, echoes) at **7.56f. quem regia coniunx/adiungi generum miro properabat amore**. Notably, Tissol (**539**), 263ff. points to *Call.Aet.*67.9f. (noting Cydippe's association with Artemis; vd. further D'Alessio, n. on fr. 67.4, 8) πολλὰ Κυδίππην ὀλίγην ἔτι μητέρες υἱοῖς/ἔδνηστιν κεραῶν ἤτεον ἀντι βοῶν. But he is ill-advised to describe as unusual the enthusiastic role of a mother in matchmaking for a son (264; *aliter*, 266, n. 10): vd. Dixon (**544**), 177ff., Treggiari (**340f.**), 138, *ead.* in (ed. D.I. Kertzer, R.P. Saller) *The family in Italy* (New Haven 1991), 91ff. ('Matchmaking in ancient Rome'); twice, V. draws an entirely familiar and realistic situation. Roman mothers and aunts (**7.56f.**) took a vigorous interest in the activity.

illam . . . /582 optauere nurum The vb. Catullan, as we have just seen; *EV* 3, 862 compares **7.273 opto**.

frustra Cf. **7.589** on the commoner *nequiquam* (vd. also **536 supra**).

Tyrrhena per oppida Cf. *G.2.176 Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen*. See **540** for the problem of ancient views of an Etr. occupation of southern Latium, in which Cato and DServ. (on **567**) believed. But such views have no place in **11** (vd. Brill, 51, Rehm, 30), for the area's ethnic map is clear enough from **7.647ff.**, and on that map there is no room for Etruscans South of the Tiber. The interaction of the stories of Mez. and C. may again be faintly sensed here, for the Etr. Mezentius fled to Tu., while this line seems to suggest that Metabus and his daughter fled North to Etruria, or at least that C.'s beauty made her a desirable object of matchmaking on both banks of the Tuscan stream. Tissol's suggestion that V. alludes to the more socially active role of the Etr. woman (266, n. 10; cf. already Brill, 51, n. 2) depends on an underestimate of female matchmaking at Rome (*supra*) and on a widespread misapprehension of the Romans' reading of the Etr. world (**7.206–10**). Duke (**540**), 35 speculates frenziedly; cf. rather Arrigoni, 67. How the **matres** (those of **7.813** were not in any way *Etrusca per oppida*) learned of C.'s beauty, if not of her unavailability, is unclear (Schönberger, 184, n. 71).

582 sola . . . Diana Cf. *in solo Volcente* (9.439), *nec solos tangit Atridas* (9.138), *solum posci in certamina Turnum* (**11.220**, where vd. n.). The exclusive devotion of Hippolytus to Artemis, or of Ion to Apollo (cf. Attis to the Magna Mater) was a distinctive, new religious mental-

ity in Eur.'s time (Bremmer (82, 1994), 92), which developed strongly in the Hellenistic period (note for instance Dionysus and his female votaries, 186 BC: Beard-North-Price, 92ff.); for some explanation of the development towards *Tu solus sanctus*, *Tu solus Dominus . . .*, cf. Norden, *Agn.Theos*, 155, n. 1, 246, H. Versnel, *Ter unus* (Leiden 1990), 214. For Diana's self-reference, vd. 537.

contenta Cf. 7.737, *EV* 5*, 102; the extension of personal satisfaction to a single deity at least worthy of note, if not actually surprising, but not linguistically so (cf. Plaut.*Merc.*824f. *uxor contenta est, quae bona est, uno viro:/qui minus vir una uxore contentus siet?*).

583 aeternum . . . amorem Cf. 538 her *amor* of Diana); quite apart from M.'s dedication of his daughter to Diana, C. herself will devote herself undeviatingly to the goddess (Turcan, *EV* 1, 43). Note Vulcan's eternal, Lucretian love for Venus (8.394, *Lucr.*1.34) and contrast Juno's *aeternum vulnus* (1.36).

telorum et uirginitatis Massive and memorable pairing (only an *et* short of a 4-word line), concrete and abstr., and thus mildly in syllepsis (Calboli, *EV* 5*, 658). A hint that C.'s love for the hunt (and thus potentially for war) is quite on a level with her devotion to Diana (a devotion of which the hunt is, though, an essential element). *Liv.*1.20.3 had recently used the (*Catullan:* 62.62) noun of the Vestals; also 12.141, 878.

584 intemerata While *temerare*, *temeratus* Norden (on 6.840) argues soberly to be old words which happen not to be attested before V., the negative form appears an authentic neologism (also at 2.143, 3.178; vd. *EV* 5*, 78). Lexical variation preferred to polyptoton (of some kind) in pursuit of weighty emphasis.

colit Cf. *Tib.*2.4.52 *illius est nobis lege colendus amor*, *Cic.Fam.*6.12.2 *meo perpetuo erga te amore culto*, *TLL* 3.1676.53 (Sigwart).

uellem . . . fuisset Subjunc. thus in parataxis common after vbs. expressing permission, desire, *KS* 2, 228f., Görler, *EV* 2, 273; after *uelim*, *nolim*, *malim*, etc. indeed 'ganz gewöhnlich' (*KS, cit., ib.,* 1, 713, *LHS*, 530, *Buc.*3.28f.).

haud correpta *Sc. cupidine talis pugnae*, *TLL* 4.1043.14ff. (Lambertz); ignored, *EV* 4, 401. Cf. Lyne on *Ciris* 130 *nouo correpta furore* (so *Prop.*1.3.13). V. had used the vb. of illness, *G.*3.472. Note the common *arma corripere*.

585 militia tali *Enn.trag.*200, *Ann.*436 with Skutsch's n., *trag.inc.*208; *tali* is immediately explained. The words to be understood with both

correpta and **lacessere**; punctuation here (suggested by Paratore) is not welcome. The difficulty alleged in the (loosely-written, prolix) sequence **correpta . . . conata** escapes me.

conata lacessere Teucros So Opis laments the dead C., **842 Teucros conata lacessere bello**; cf. 12.186, *EV* 3, 93. *Semel* in *Cat.*; *Lucr.* 12x. C. often enough as here of vain effort, 2.792, 4.688, 6.32, 9.398, etc..

586 cara mihi Cf. **537** (ring composition), as she remains (cf. La Penna, 230) even after going to war, to her goddess' regret, *maiora uiribus ausa* (cf. **154f.** for the beloved motif). We have already seen C. undervalue, in her own words, the Trojan threat (**503**). C. has been blamed for her godless presumption in opposing the Trojans (Brill, 52, 84f., etc.), but solemn talk of 'Schuld' is unwelcome (but contrast Schönberger, 186), and that is very clearly not the right explanation of her tragic and untimely end. Nor was Arrigoni (102) quite right to say that C. went to war 'contro il volere di Diana'; D. wished otherwise, but could not forbid.

comitumque . . . mearum Cf. **533** (of Opis) **unam ex uirginibus sociis sacraque caterua**. C. herself has *comites*, **655**, **805**. Neptune (5.822) and Cybele (10.220) have *comites*, and for Diana's vd. further, **533**. Diana's various followers (Arrigoni, 101f., La Penna, 233) have been familiar from Hes.*Eoëae* fr. 72MW; cf. *Eur.Hipp.*1092f., *Call.H.*3.185, 189ff., *Ov.Met.*11.415. Some remain virgin, others not; some acquire immortality, others not (La Penna, 233f.).

foret So too *fores*, *forent*, for V. (as in *Lucr.*, *Cat.*, late repub. prose, NW 3, 606ff.) an occasional archaic alternative for *essem* (Ernout-Thomas, 246, Leumann, 524, Sommer, 531, Ernout, *Morphologie*, 282f.); from the same root, **fore** (**7.79**).

nunc But for her *fata acerba*, C. would even now be in service alongside Opis, as one of Diana's minions. Her will (to fight) and doom (to die young) coincide and to them Diana has no answer.

una Cf. **7.710**; reinforcing **comitum**.

587 uerum age Cf. 12.832, 'ma su' (Traina), 'but come'. Not a conventional pairing.

quandoquidem Cf. **7.547**. Highet observes glumly (305) that the speech contains both a story and a command: indeed; the former is full justification for the latter!

fatis . . . acerbis Cf. *Cat.*68.1 *fortuna casuque oppressus acerbo* (note *Aen.*5.700 *casu concussus acerbo*). Also of the *fata* which lead to civil war (*Hor.Epd.*7.17) and of C.'s wound, **823**. Once more (cf. **28**) cf.

Serv. *ad Aen.*6.429 *translatio a pomis*, ‘unripe’, Gk. ἄωρος. C.’s *fata* are *acerba*, then, because, by enallage, she is too young (vd. **160 mea fata**); so of course Pallas, etc. (**166 immatura**). With Diana’s reluctant acceptance of the outcome, cf. Hercules’ at 10.464ff.; contrast of course Juno, 12.149 (so W. Görler, *per litteras*).

urgetur Cf. 10.745f. (= 12.309f.) *olli dura quies oculos et ferreus urget/ somnus*. Note too the *poenae* by which sinners are oppressed, 6.560f.. For the orthogr. *urg-*, as against *urgu-*, cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 448f..

588 labere Taken up, **595 lapsa**; cf. 1.394, 4.223, *EV* 3, 84.

nympha Note the nymph Egeria (**7.775**) associated with Diana and Nemi; often in V. of deities far from ‘water-nymphs’ (probably the etymological sense::*lympha*): cf. *EV* 3, 732.

polo *Decies* in *Aen.*; *deest* in *EV*. Gk. πόλος, in *Acc.trag.*, Lucr., Cic.*Arat.*: the pole (-star), the sky, the heavens.

finis . . . Latinos Cf. 8.602, **11.317 finis . . . Sicanos**; L. in the sense used at **108**, ‘Latin’, ‘allied’.

inuise Paratactic; the vb. of an inspecting deity at *Cat.*64.384, *Aen.*4.144; cf. *EV* 5*, 537f..

589 tristis . . . pugna Cf. 5.411, **7.325, 545** (t. used of *bellum*), **617** and **11.534** (in general characterisation of this speech): C.’s imminent end and the tone of what follows (very) heavily established in advance.

infausto . . . omine Cf. **7.583 contra omina bellum, 11.347 auspicium infaustum** (where Tu. is more clearly both unlucky and defiant of the gods’ will): the very fact of C. having taken up arms against Aen. must by now indicate to Diana that her dear C. will be one of the sacrifices expected of the losing side. Nothing else in the scene suggests that C. has done/is doing something to attract divine displeasure. No word in Serv. and TCD comments much as I do.

committitur Cf. **7.542 primae commisit funera pugnae**. Here pres. for fut..

590 haec cape Bow, quiver, arrows, economically listed, as TCD remarks. Cf. 10.242 *clipeum cape*, 3.488, etc.. λάβε thus, *Il.*15.229, etc..

ultricem . . . sagittam The adj. *quinquies* in *Aen.*, and *semel* in the parodist. For *ultor*, vd. **260**. The masc. is tragic (*Acc.*, *bis*), and I would suppose the fem. to be too. Vengeance is thus anticipated (cf. Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and suspense*, 16), alongside death: La Penna (242ff.) writes well both of the threat against Adonis, famously fulfilled, that Artemis makes in Eur.*Hipp.* to avenge the death of her devoted

Hipp. (1420ff.) and of the element of Ate or Poine that will enter into Opis' role; it is also worth mentioning that the Furies were regularly armed with arrows, Aesch. *Choeph.*286, etc., Gruppe, 1071, n. 1. **pharetra** Cf. **649, 7.816**.

deprome Obvious phrasing, but perhaps specifically echoed in the moment of vengeance, **858f. sagittam/deprompsit pharetra**. The verb had lately been used by a friend, *deprome quadrimum Sabina*. . . . Note too 5.501 *depromunt tela pharetris*: a recent promotion to high poetry, perhaps; whose, it is not clear.

591 hac Diana perhaps takes (or at least points to) the arrow Opis has drawn: C.'s sacrilegious (Brill, 53, 86) killer would anyway be most unlikely to escape; Diana does not therefore shorten that killer's life, but promises herself the grim satisfaction of being instrumental in his death.

quicumque Followed by fut. perf. indic., cf. Austin on 2.77, Madvig, *Gramm.Lat.*, §340, n. 2, LHS 322f., *EV* 4, 316.

sacrum . . . corpus Because once dedicated to Diana by Metabus; cf. her temple's *sacra . . . fastigia* (9.408) or the priest Chloreus (**768**), **sacer Cybello**; Fugier, *EV* 4, 629, Schönberger, 184 and, well, Arrigoni, 93, n. 212. La Penna refers at length to the sacred persons of Roman magistrates (242f.), in a leap of association that seems hard to follow.

uiolarit uulnere In some sense, death, for C., will be her deflowering: the idea is ancient, and often attested, not some idle new critical fancy (cf. **68–71, 277 Veneris uiolauit uulnere dextram**, Nelis, 321): compare too 12.67 *uiolauerit* in the simile that describes Lavinia's blush, 797 *mortalin decuit uiolari uulnere diuum* (the body is Aen.'s), *OLD* s.v., §2a. If C.'s untouched body is *sacrum*, then its wounding (as was that of Venus) is violation; adj. and vb. belong to the same sphere; so C. Papirius Carbo Arvina cites M. Drusus: *tu dicere solebas sacram esse rem publicam; quicumque eam uiolauisset*. . . (*ORF*, p. 304).

592 Tros Italusque Cf. 12.704f. for the same antithetical pair, much more loosely (so too e.g. **7.318**, 1.574, 10.108) and note 8.513, 12.189 with *Teucris*. Here the collective ethnic sings (**287**; cf. *EV* 5*, 291 for *Tros*) and the juxtaposition of opposed nouns (Harrison, 288) lend bite to the antithesis.

mihi . . . det sanguine poenas Cf. **720 poenas inimico ex sanguine**, 2.72, 366, 9.422f., 10.617 *pio det sanguine poenas*, 669, **7.595 pendetis sanguine poenas, 766 explerit sanguine poenas**; Ennian phrasing (*Ann.*95, Wigodsky, 54). V. returned to the theme,

849, morte luet merita, 12.949 (cf. Wlosok, *Res humanae* . . . (82), 427).

pariter Cf. 8.545 *Euandrus pariter, pariter Troiana iuuentus*, 10.347, 756. Trojans, Arcadians and Etruscans will pay alike; **p.** is detached from the ethnic adjs. but clearly refers to the pair, and thus gains force by separation.

593 post ego As advb.—*post/poste*—in Enn. and indeed like *ante* in all Lat. from the first, LHS, 242. **Ego**: vd. **595**. Homer's narrative of Sarpedon's corpse is compared (Knauer, 301, n. 1, 310, n. 1, Schlunk, 12ff.): Zeus sends Apollo (just where has he been hitherto?) to rescue his son's body, which will be returned to Lycia (*Il.*16.673). The fitness of Apollo for this role was disputed by Zenodotus (Schol.T on 16.667, Janko on 16.666–83): V., who had Pallas' companions return the body for burial (10.505ff.; Sarpedon an integral element of Pallas), will avoid (contrast Zeus, *cit.*) the grimmer details of tending the corpse and Opis' suitability is fully explained; she will be to hand and will echo Diana's words (**841–7**), though the actual return of the body is, economically, not narrated (contrast *Il.*16.677ff.).

nube caua So Lucr.6.176, 272, *Aen.*1.516, 5.810 (*Aen.* saved by Posidon on the battlefield), 10.636, *EV* 3, 773. The tactical use of cloud in Homeric warfare delightfully surveyed by Sir John Hackett, *Reflections upon epic warfare* (London 1971), 4f. 'Hollow', though, not directly Homeric in origin and in V. suitability for concealment, not meteorological theory, as in Lucr., justifies the epithet. Cf. *TLL* 3.716.52 (Hoppe).

miserandae Cf. **42, 259**.

corpus et arma Cf. **641 ingentem corpore et armis** (in inverted sequence, **634**), 12.472, 642 *Teucri potiuntur corpore et armis*. Cf. Liv.2.50.9, 59.8, 7.10.10, 21.5.14, 22.5.4, 23.27.7, 30.34.10. An Ennian origin for the pairing seems not unlikely.

594 inspoliata Serv. hedges bets: *aut indetracta, aut ipsius inspoliatae*. The adj. at [Sall.] *Rep.*1.2.7, which might (or more likely might not!) be earlier than V. and might (not) reflect earlier prose usage! But V. was notably partial to negated adjs. and coined a fair number (bibl. at **7.11**). *EV* 4, 1002f. is unsatisfactory; the stripping of a warrior's corpse is discussed, **91, Companion**, 203ff.

feram tumulo A single idea broken down into two parts; the mound (cf. **103**) is to be in C.'s *patria*, though whether that is Privernum or Metabus' elusive adopted country is not at all clear; cf. **59, 204f., 206 urbique remittunt** for the idea of the body returned home

for burial. Tombs are a regular feature of the epic landscape: Horsfall 1988, 42f., **7.1–4**; note in particular that of Sarpedon, *Il.*16.457. Here then, an Homeric motif, but one entirely in harmony with—equally—AR and Varro.

patriaque reponam The suggestion that the story of C. might have been bound up with a tomb venerated as hers was not happy (Cf. **594**; La Penna, 242, Horsfall 1988, 43, Capdeville, 314 against Arrigoni, 63, etc.). The vb. (cf. **7.134**) suggests ‘put (sc. back in its rightful place’; of the dead, cf. 6.220 *tum membra toro defleta reponunt*, 655); perhaps the dat. later understood as loc. (LHS, 150).

595 dixit, at illa Cf. **709**, *Il.*8.409 ὡς ἔφατ’, ὄρτο δὲ Ἴρις. Note too 10.482 *dixerat; at clipeum*. . . V. slips elegantly from Diana to her minion, who will return to Olympus at **867**; on earth, she will be **custos** of Diana, **836**, and despite the **ego** of **593** it is Opis who will act of her mistress’s behalf. Jup. has laid down that *fata uiam inuenient* (10.113); for now, direct intervention by lesser Olympians is excluded (Feeney, 144f.); similarly, Hercules was not able to intervene on Pallas’ behalf (10.464–72). Alessio is convinced of a close analogy with Allecto, **7.561**, but the precise relevant detail escapes me.

leuis At *G.*3.274, mares on heat seek the *leuis auras*, for impregnation *per os* (cf. *Plin.Nat.*8.166, *Riv.Fil.*119 (1991), 215); *leuis* in anti-thesis to heavy bodies, and their desires (Pasqualetti, *EV* 3, 198). Cf. *G.*1.406 *leuem . . . aethera*, *Aen.*6.702 (*uenti*). But here, TCD was less sure, *leuem dixit remota segnitia properantem ad ea implenda . . .* (cf. Koster, *TLL* 7.2.1203.37f., 1204.39, *EV*, *cit.*); cf. 12.489 *leuis cursu*, 5.819 *leuis uolat*. Camilla raises a comparable problem: at **7.806f. sed proelia uirgo/dura pati, d.** was attractively hard + infin., and avoids the pallid *proelia . . . dura*. But choice here is trickier, for adj. at caesura and noun at line-end are not *sedes* so standard at least in V. as to override all other considerations; the adj. used adverbially to qualify **delapsa** would be most Virgilian, and the contrast with **insonuit** is also attractive: on balance, then, the nom. is slightly preferable. **caeli . . . per auras** Cf. **7.543 caeli conuersa per auras** (Timpnaro, *Virgilianisti*, 56ff. does not persuade me that this is not what V. wrote), **768 superas caeli uenisse sub auras**.

delapsa So M (cf. **588 labere**); PR write **demissa**, after 10.73. Cf. 5.722 *caelo facies delapsa parentis*, **7.620 caelo delapsa**.

596 insonuit ‘Went whirring on her way’ writes whimsically Williams. Movement, or weapons? V. does not specify, but cf. **7.451** (whip; cf. 5.579), **515** (land sounds to Allecto’s trumpet-call; cf. 2.53).

V. writes with *Il.*1.46f. in mind, even if Hom. does not positively determine the sense of the Latin: Apollo descends from Olympus, bow and quiver on his shoulders, ἔκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' οἱσποὶ ἐπ' ὤμων χωομένοιο/αὐτοῦ κινηθέντος.

nigro . . . turbine Cf. *Cat.*68.63 *uelut in nigro iactatis turbine nautis*, Aen.'s spear, 12.923 *atri turbinis instar* (and Aen., 10.603f. *turbinis atri/more furens*), *G.*1.320 *turbine nigro*, *Aen.*3.572f. *nubem/turbine fumantem piceo* (with R. Strati's rich discussion, *EV* 5*, 320); the sense is of a rapacious whirling of wind(s). Note Hom.'s κελαινῆ/ἔρεμνῆ λαίλαπι. The colour is typically emotive (cf. Edgeworth, 30f., André, 57), as Serv. remarks here, *quia ad maerorem luctumque descendit*.

circumdata . . . corpus Cf. 12.416 *obsuro faciem circumdata nimbo*, and for the retained acc., cf. n. on 7.74. The vb. *ter* in Lucr..

597–647 On 608, Serv. remarks *et Enniana est omnis haec ambitiosa descriptio*. Discussion falters (Wigodsky, 59f., Skutsch on *Ann.*550). *Enn. cit.* reads *atque atque accedit muros Romana iuuentus*, roughly comparable with 597; the image in 601f. is compared with *Ann.*384, but is much older and more widely diffused. See rather *Alambicco*, 80, with n. 15: such remarks in Serv. are themselves 'formulaic' and often enough prove to some degree inaccurate; Vahlen (on *Ann.*537V) suspected that the imitation ran from 597 at least to 608, but Serv.'s *modus operandi* suggests that even this inference is not necessarily legitimate. In the following narrative, there are Homeric touches and sequences, naturally, but no detailed allusion or reworking, while the elusive (and inconclusive) issue of the text's relationship to the Epic Cycle is discussed in Appx. I; 661 **curru** remains awkward. Again, there is language and detail strongly reminiscent of recent military narrative (618, 619, 632; vd. index s.v. military language), but no clear indebtedness to one author, campaign, or battle. See Raabe 208f., 224, Brill 60ff.; Gransden, *VI*, 186ff. avoids detailed engagement with this part of bk. 11.

597 at . . . interea Cf. 5.779f. *at Venus interea Neptunum exercita curis/adloquitur*. Not a stock transition; despite doubts raised over the range of i. (7.572), it does look as though events on earth have advanced during D.'s exposition, and to them the narrator returns.

manus . . . Troiana While Aen. advances over the mountains and Tu. will move to ambush him (511ff., 904ff.), the **equitum leuia . . . arma** (512) have been sent ahead and now enter the action, in the principals' carefully-motivated absence; cf. 34. Not, let us remember, an abundance of Trojan cavalry on borrowed mounts (503), a

notion out of keeping with the narrative detail (*pace* Ladewig) but rather all the cavalry that rode in the Trojan cause, both native Trojan and allied. Heyne introduced Trojan infantry, infelicitously. Cf. **34 famulumque manus Troianaque turba**; colourless phrasing: **7.711, 730, 795, 11.519**.

muris . . . propinquat Cf. **621**, 2.730, 9.371; the vb. both Lucretian and Caesarian, a plain, standard term.

598 Etruscique duces Cf. **171, 835 Tyrrenique duces**. We think above all of the cavalry of **504** and the line is perhaps to be taken as a single sense-unit. **Etrurique M₂**, Serv.; Sabbadini actually prints this unparalleled adj. and his reasons are unsurprisingly unedifying.

equitumque exercitus omnis Cf. **171**, 12.123. *TLL* 5.2.711.40 (Rehm) and 5.2.1396.64f. (Müller/Hey) suggest that there is no precise analogy for this 'army of cavalry' (though *e.* for 'real legionaries', as against *auxilia*, cavalry, etc., is common enough!); note Liv.29.22.2 for a *naualis exercitus*.

599 compositi numero in . . . Cf. the difficult **7.698 aequati numero**; here the vb. is (not distinctively) military; often used by Tac. with *per*; note also not so much *Hist.*1.87.6 *reliquos caesorum* ['the survivors of the massacre'] *in numeros legionis composuerat* ('organised into the units of a legion'; cf. *Hist.*1.6.2, *Agr.*18.2), as *Ann.*2.80.1 *auxilia Cilicum . . . in numerum legionis composuerat* ('numerically equivalent to a legion': Furneaux, Goodyear); no other close *comparanda*. Here, 'their number organised into squadrons' will perhaps not be far off in sense and 'feel'.

turmas Cf. **503, 518, 620**; a small unit of Rom. cavalry.

fremit Cf. **496**.

aequore toto Cf. 1.29, 5.456, 12.501; note too 1.128 *toto . . . aequore*. Abl. of extension (cf. **135** and Malosti, 80).

600 insultans Cf. **7.581** (the vb. in Enn. *trag.*, Cat.64.169, Lucr.), *nouies* in V.

sonipes Cf. **638**; *ter* in *Aen.*; 'profumo di arcaismo' (Colonna, *EV* 1, 865, after Cordier): cf. **7.277 alipedes**. S. Catullan (63.41), in Lucilius and quite likely to have been both archaic Lat., and perhaps a Greek compound too (cf. *καναχίπους*; vd. Colonna's full discussion). Collective singular; cf. **48**.

pressis . . . habenis Cf. 1.63 *et premere et laxas sciret dare iussus habenas*. 'Tirare' (*EV* 4, 255) is rather high-handed; compare e.g. *G.*2.203 *presso . . . sub uomere*, *Aen.*10. 346f. *hasta/sub mentum grauiter pressa* and

other instances usefully gathered by *EV, cit.*, which confirm *OLD*'s sound 'to press down the reins (so as to draw them tight)' (§3b).

pugnat Perhaps *simplex* for *repugnat*, used in prose (often) and e.g. at Prop.2.5.20 with dat. of 'ind. obj.' (but cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 266 for the complexities of this very Virgilian extension of usage). Otherwise, another instance of *pugnare* + dat. (for the Grecism, cf. KS 1, 319, LHS, 87, Traina on 12.60, Mayer, *ALLP*, 168, *Aen.*1.493, 4.38, 12.149). Noun and partic. could be also taken as abl. abs., but that, given choice, is gratuitously flat, and reduces the direct role of the **sonipes** in the action. Cf. [Aesch.] *Prom.*1010 πρὸς ἠνίακ μάχη.

601 huc . . . et huc Cf. **855**, 9.57 *huc turbidus atque huc*, 12.558, 743.

conuersus Cf. **141**, **7.543**. **R obuersus**, against **MP**.

tum The transition from the Trojans' arrival to the almost immediate onset of combat.

late Cf. **7.525f. atraque late/horrescit strictis seges ensibus** (with full discussion).

ferreus . . . /602 . . . ager Embracing verb and abl.; note the more literal, yet grimmer, *ferrea texti/telorum seges* of 3.45f. Here the Apollonian 'crop' is reduced to the flatter 'field', though there may be a further threat in the idea that the ensemble of soil and crop is in its entirety breaking into an iron harvest. In any case, missed by the reapers of *EV*.

hastis/602 horret V. reworks with a welcome degree of skilful variation (enough to elude Moskalew) the brilliant earlier line, and he will do so once more, 12.663f. *strictisque seges mucronibus horret/ferrea*.

campique . . . ardent This time the bristling spear-tips alone are not enough, and—transferred subject (cf. **7.447** and now W. Görler, *ALLP*, 277, n. 14 for the stylistic results of 'conflation of images')—the plains themselves (cf.—e.g.—**513**) blaze, with the weapons' gleam (with the hint that the plains themselves burn to fight); cf. **209**, where **crebris conlucent ignibus agri** and **7.623**, where all Ausonia now **ardet** with the blaze of war.

armis sublimibus S. (trag., Lucr.) 'raised high' of objects or persons, **67**, 6.357, 12.133 etc., *EV* 4, 1053 (Cavajoni). Compare Mez.'s use of *tela*, when mounted (10.882ff., Malavolta, 158).

603 nec non Cf. **7.521**, **11.477**.

Messapus Active in xi from **429**; with Catillus and Coras, **464–5**. **contra** Advbl. as **504**.

celerisque Latini In the ample sense of 'all the allies from Latium', as shown by the choice of leaders. Cf. **114**. In the adj., Serv. senses

an allusion to the Romulean *celerēs* (on whom vd. Palmer, *Archaic community*, 29ff.): that could be true, but the adj. here seems most appropriate to conventional cavalry (so already *Enn. Ann.* 599).

604 cum fratre Coras Formulaic; cf. **465**.

uirginis ala Camillae C., directly her story is told, enters the action; so Tu. had disposed (**517ff.**): along with Messapus, Tiburtus, brother of Catillus and Coras, and the **turmae Latinae**. C. is of course *extravergine* (**583**, etc.). **A. quater** in xi of a unit of cavalry, in keeping with V.'s usage of using Roman unit-terms, Horsfall, *EV* 1, 152, Malavolta, 170ff.. The *ala* conventionally a *numerus* containing 16 *turmae*, *OCD* s.v..

605 aduersi Cf. **370**, **389**, **612**.

campo Note at *G.3.353 aut herbae campo apparent*, not significant!

apparent On the field of battle, 2.422, 10.579.

hastasque Cf. **555**, **565**; 'vague, incomplete and sometimes contradictory' comments Malavolta, *cit.*, fairly enough, upon V.'s account of cavalry arms and armour.

reductis/606 . . . dextris Cf. 5.478f. *durosque reducta librauit dextra . . . caestus*, 10.552, 12.307. A glance at the Alexander-mosaic will show that a bent arm is in no way incompatible with a spear-point extended far in front of the horse's head.

606 protendunt longe The vb. of Dares (5.377) loosening up, *brachia protendens*; from *Cat.* 64.127, *semel G.*, *ter Aen.*. The advb. as at **94**, **387**, but V. is not writing of long or substantial weapons.

spicula Cf. **575**, the lightest of missiles.

uibrant Cf. 10.484 *uibranti cuspis . . . ictu*, or (trans. as here) 8.524 *uibratus . . . fulgor*. See *EV* 5*, 529. Show, to inspire fear and to flex the arm (cf. **quatit** **767**, 9.521, 12.94), not preliminaries to actual use. Hom. ἀμπεπαλῶν or indeed κείοντο.

607 aduentusque uirum A good deal less formal than Camilla's *aduentus* at **7.803**; the noun *Lucr.* 1.7 (*quater* in all, *ter* in *Cat.*; cf. *NH* on *Hor.* *C.1.* 23.5).

fremitus . . . equorum F. of horses at *Lucr.* 5.1076, but cf. already *Enn. Ann.* 179. Cf. **496**, **599**. Men balance horses, arrival and din are—with elegance—mutually supplementary. Not so much zeugma (Williams) as a compound expression ('noisy arrival').

ardescit Cf. *Tac. Hist.* 5.18 *ardescente pugna*; the vb. is Lucretian (*sexies*); cf. 1.713, 8.623 (*EV* not fired to action). There is singular synaesthesia: the noisy arrival of men and horses takes fire; steeds and warriors

are fired by the moment and the din. Ribbeck (*Prol.*, 86), unappreciative, thought the line interpolated and idle hands have tried to remove the synaesthesia by emendation (vd. Geymonat). Cf. **602 ardet**; casual repetition or significant restatement of imagery? The attentive reader of this commentary will by now know my verdict. **608 iamque** Cf. **100**; so with plpf., the dramatic moment precisely defined: both sides had now halted within weapon range (for the parataxis, cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 275).

intra iactum teli Cf. Liv.8.7.1 *teli iactu* (abl. of distance; cf. Oakley, *ad loc.*; not elsewhere in L.); not a phrase current in Caes. (and corpus), Sall., Liv., or Tac.; however, in Curtius *intra/extra teli iactum* is common (perhaps as a handy epicism!); the phrase here cannot be claimed to have a definite military flavour. Cf. μέχρι λίθου καὶ ἄκοντίου βολῆς, Thuc.5.65.2.

progressus The vb. *ter* in Lucr., *semel*, *Acc.trag.*, 60x in Caes., *bis*, Sall., *bis*, HRR: a definite sense therefore of a vb. most familiar in histor. prose.

uterque The sing. collective ('military', perhaps, Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 876); V. could perfectly well have used plur. (cf. *Enn.Ann.*185, LHS, 200f.), but preferred variation of number.

609 substiterat The vb. at **95**, **506**: *octies* in Caes., just over 50x in Liv.; contrast *Acc.trag.*372, alone in high poetry. So here to be taken as distinctively military in tone. **Substiterat M₂P**, TCD, **constiterant M**, **substituerant R**, **constiterat** Wagner.

subito . . . clamore Cf. 2.692 *subitoque fragore*, 9.397. The synaloepha perhaps increases the shout's effect. *Subito* [advb.] *clamor* in Caes. and Liv. (*semel*, each) proves nothing.

erumpunt *Sexies* in V.; *deest* in *EV*. *Bis* in *trag.*, *novies* in Lucr., *quinquies* in Caes. (very partial to *eruptio*), *bis* in Sall., vb. and noun very frequent in Liv.: standard therefore for 'break, burst out'.

furentisque/610 . . . equos Cf. 12.332f.; *proleptice* comments Rubenbauer (*TLL* 6.1.1628.1; cf. 5.2.1445.74), well comparing 1.659f. *donisque furentem/incendat reginam*. Wagner, however, in accord with TCD (*hortabantur equos iam furentis*), cited Cic.*de orat.*2.186 on phrases such as *currentem incitare* (*procliuitas*, said Erasmus; cf. Tosi, n° 480), without dulling the evidently greater charms of real prolepsis (despite Con.'s 'it matters little'). However, V. has just told us that the horses are excited (**600**), and prolepsis proper is only acceptable if we allow a forgetful author. On the hypermetric synaloepha, cf. **7.160**, **470**.

610 exhortantur Cf. **7.472**, *quater* in V. and apparently a coinage. **fundunt** ῥέον, intrans. at *Il.*12.159; much closer, though without snow, 5.618 ἐπὶ δούρατ' ἔχευαν. Enn. and Lucr. poured light, V., tears, blood, words, flames, liquids, etc.; here cf. *Prop.*4.10.42.

simul undique Advbs. doubled (cf. **551**): *simul undique* *Liv.*9.14.9 (surely earlier than V. here), 30.3.3, 36.10.7.

tela/611 crebra Twice Hom. (*infra*) refers to weapons as *frequent* as snowflakes (*Il.*12.158, 278+287; cf. *Il.*11.576, and (nearly right) *EV* 1, 922).

niuis ritu R. so *Pac.trag.*393, *Lucr.*1.1102, 4.1265 (cf. 6.1155) and thus only here in V.; perhaps an Ennianism (or at least an archaism) to mark the dramatic opening of this phase in the war. The snow we have seen is Homeric: 12.156 νιφάδες δ' ὡς πίπτον ἔραζε... 158 ταρφείας, 278 ὡς τε νιφάδες χιόνος πίπτωσι θαμειαί (cf. 287). Note *Pacuv.praet.*4 *niuit sagittis, plumbo et saxis grandinat.*

caelumque obtexitur *Quasi texendo operire*, Paschoud, *TLL* 9.2.282.78f.; *ob-* only here in V. (apparently a coinage), who often uses *prae-*, *Buc.*7.12, etc., of a less overarching cover. Cf. *Buc.*9.42 *lentae texunt umbracula uites*; the further implicit image of weapons dense as the threads of weft and warp is remarkable.

umbra Cf. 12.578 *obumbrant aethera telis*; Knauer compares *Il.*17.368 (you would say there was no sun or moon) ἠέρι γὰρ κατέχοντο μάχη, but the Homeric battlefield was clouded with dust (23.365f.; vd. my n. on **7.625**. One could go on to historical battle pictures, from e.g. *Liv.*4.33.8) rather than shaded by weapons. Cf. preferably (as Negri Rosio carefully notes, *EV* 5*, 382, §13; so too Traina on 12, *cit.*. But this was observed long since) the *in umbra pugnabimus* of Cic.'s Spartans (*Tusc.*1.101, after *Hdt.*7.226, Tosi 558, n° 1241). V.'s battle-imagery contains other such likely historical references: cf. **7.338 concute** and vd. Goold on 12.34.

612 continuo Cf. **7.68**.

aduersis.../613...hastis Altogether colourless spears (**555, 561**), lent some impact, however, by hyperbaton; with the adj. thus, cf. **605**, 10.571 *aduersaque pectora*, 579 *aduersa...hasta*. **Aduersis P**, well, against the **aduersi** of **MRP**₁.

Tyrrenus Paratore rightly insists that here (alone) T. is the name of a hero (so too e.g. *EV* s.v. *Aconteo*, Montenegro Duque, 187f.); to any reader of even modest erudition, he is traditionally (and therefore perforce here too!) the brother/father of Tarchon (**184**, etc.): cf. *Lyc.Alex.*1248f., *Cato Orig.* fr. 45P, etc. (vd. e.g. Cristofani, *EV*

5*, 39f.). The only odd problem is why he is not active elsewhere. Not identical with the onomastically related Tyrrhus of **7.485**.

acer Aconteus Hardly the Callimachean Acontius of *Ov.Her.20/21* (vd. Kenney, introd., 15) or the Acontes, son of Lycaon at *Apld. Bibl.3.8.1*. The name suggests Gk. 'javelin', ἀκόντιον and **616** looks like a gloss: cf. Saunders (1940), 553f., Paschalis, 365, O'Hara, 231. The adj. entirely conventional, **7.672**.

613 conixi Cf. *Acc.praet.23 cornibus conitier* (of a ram), *Cic.Arat.* (a favourite), *Lucr.* and the partic. *septies* in *Aen.* to apply a sense of 'with notable physical effort' to the main verb. *Deest* in *EV*'s discussion of the compounds of *nitor*!

incurrunt *Quinquies* in *V.*, from 2.409. This is good milit. prose for 'charge' (0 *Caes.*, 4 *Sall.*, 25 *Liv.*, 3 *Tac.*); *semel* in *Lucr.* (1.287), *incursio* *Acc.* and here therefore surely distinctive.

primique 'The first to' (**7.647 et saep.**).

ruinam/614 dant Cf. 2.310 (*domus*) *dedit ampla ruinam* (12.453 is different); the expression Lucretian (2.1145, 5.347). A useful discussion in *EV* 4, 598 (Baldini Moscadi); Page is hardly right to say that *r.d.* is simply equivalent to *ruere*; literally, rather, 'wrought downfall' (cf. *Lucr.5.1329 (apri) dabant equitum . . . ruinas, 684*). **Ruina P₂**, Ribbeck. **sonitu ingenti** So *Acc.trag.392*, *Lucr.6.151, 442, G.2.306*, Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.1539.78.

Sonitu R; sonitum MP; ingenti MR; ingentem P. Dant of course acceptable with either obj. (cf. **458**). But **sonitu** is of visibly less importance and should therefore stand in abl.; Ribbeck achieves a nice interlocking word-order, but doubtful sense.

perfractaque The vb. also at 10.279, where Harrison adduces both *Hom. διαρραίω* and *Caes. (ter; note Liv. ter)*. The partic. is hardly proleptic for the action it describes is identical with that of the main verb (TCD summarises economically with the single *conlisis inter se pectoribus*).

quadrupedantum Cf. 8.596, where Fordyce drily notes that here *V.* may well be using the Ennian verb (*trag.169*), 'to gallop, lifting all four feet at once', as a handy equivalent for *quadrupes*. The weight of ms. evidence here and at 8.596 is in favour of **quadru-** (**R quadri-**, against **MP quadru-**; at 8.596 **PR** against **M**, *Diom.*, Ribbeck, *Proleg.450*). Cf. **7.500 quadrupes**, where the case against **quadri-** is, along with the character of the formation (a Kenning), explained. The line-end unique (words of this length otherwise names): Norden, 440.

615 pectora pectoribus So Enn. and Furius Bibaculus, before 10.361 *pede pes*; similarly (Wills, 194ff. 'battle polyptoton') δόρυ δουρί (Hom.), *pila . . . pilis* (Enn.); Wills well refers to 'dense and balanced fighting' (198, of 10.359ff.). Cf. **293, 632**. La Cerda referred to the clash (of Brutus and Arruns) described by Liv.2.6.8f., but mutual spearing, through their shields, is rather different.

rumpunt With *spiramenta animae* (9.580), 10.337 *thoraca simul cum pectore*, or *loricam* (12.376) as obj., merely violent; here, with the polyptoton, the refinement of (armoured) breast crashing destructively against breast.

excussus Aconteus Cf. **640**, Liv.8.7.10, Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1310.40. 1.115, 6.353 of a steersman. Cf. **7.299** for this well-loved (by the poet, not the *EV*) verb. V. may suggest (cf. *Buc.*10.55ff., O'Hara, 231) an etymology Aconteus-ἄκων.

616 fulminis Cf. 9.706 of the *contorta phalarica, fulminis acta modo*; cf. too 5.319 *fulminis ocior alis*.

in morem Cf. **7.159**, *octies* and introducing a very brief comparison at 8.88 and *G.*1.245, 2.250. We have just seen **611 niuis ritu**.

aut Equivalent to paired similes in this miniaturised form (which is ignored in *EV* s.v. *Similitudini* and by R. Rieks, *ANRW* 2.31.2, 1011ff.). Cf. 6.471 *quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes*.

tormento Cf. Lucr.6.329 *ut ualidis quae de tormentis missa feruntur*. **T.** is a non-specific term for engines used to discharge missiles: 36x in Caes. and corpus, so very much present to the Augustan imagination. Cf. M. Coffey, *BICS* 8 (1961), 69, Horsfall, *EV* 1, 153 for V.'s delight in anachronistic elements in his similes; Coffey well draws attention to the frequency of details of modern warfare (note in particular 5.439, 12.921 (with Hardie, *CI*, 178, n. 61) for the weighty drama of siege operations; on the latest technology, cf. Fraser, *Ptol.Alex.*1, 428ff., Green, *Alexander to Actium*, 474ff., T.N. Howe, I. Rowland on Vitr.10.10-11, D. Baatz, *Der neue Pauly* s.v. *Katapult*).

ponderis Cf. the boulders cast into the sea at 9.711. The mass of the warrior perhaps suggested by V.'s avoidance of the obvious *lapis/saxum*.

acti Cf. **579**.

617 praecipitat Cf. Pacuv.*trag.*414 (hail), Valer.*Aedit.frag.*2.4 (*imber*), Lucr.6.292 (*imber*); intrans. older than trans. (both in V.). A dozen times in V. (6.351 of a steersman, *flumina* 4.251); *deest* in *EV*.

longe So the clash really was violent; more than a fill-in (cf. **94, 606**).

uitam dispergit in auras The clausula *undecies* in V., variously (note 2.791 *recessit in auras*, 5.740 *ceu fumus in auras*, after G.4.499); cf. 455. The verb *septies* in V. (*ne semel quidem* in EV) and *decies* in Lucr.; note in particular 3.544 *dispersa per auras* (the *anima*; cf. Onians, 171ff.), which V. does appear to have specifically in mind here. At 795 verb and clausula will be reworked, stylishly.

618 extemplo Cf. 276.

turbatae acies Cf. 869, 9.538, Sall.*Iug.*59.3 *perturbare aciem*, with simplex Liv.2. 31.2, 7.7.7, 22.29.1, 27.12.15, 18.16, 34.17.3, 37.42.3. A perspicuous instance of technical military phrasing, not recognised, EV 5*, 318.

uersique Latini Cf. 629, 9.686, 756, 10.512, 573, 12.462f.; while *terga uertere* is impeccably Caesarian/Livian (Caes.*Civ.*3.51.2, *se u.*), the use of the verb to mean ‘rout’ appears to be Virgilian (*OLD* s.v., §9b); it would have been atypical for V. to pair two military expressions.

619 reiciunt parmas P. the shield of cavalry and lightly armed infantry (10.800, 817, etc.) in V. (and generically for ‘shield’); no longer in military use at Rome (Malavolta, 133f., 158, Wickert, 295, Saunders, 170). The use (primarily heroic/archaic; pre-ῥαυον) of a shoulder-strap (which the verb indicates), when the shield was not held in defence to the front, is familiar from *Il.*2.388 on (see *ib.*, 11.545, Cic.*de orat.*2.294 *ne reiecto quidem scuto fugere* and cf. Seymour, 634, P.Foucart, DS 1, 665f.. Note too 11, 630. For the (archaic) long -e- in the prefix **re-** (as though from *rejjicio*), cf. G.3.389 (as against synizesis, *Buc.*3.96), 10.473 (vd. Harrison), Leumann, 128f..

equos ad moenia uertunt ‘To direct backwards’ (*OLD* s.v., §9a; **uersi** in a different sense in the previous line; hailed by Wills 249 as a reversal-pattern; 695, though, will be an infinitely clearer instance). Cf. 871 **equis auersi ad moenia tendunt**, 1.472 *auertit equos in castra*, Hor.*C.*1.19.11 *uersis . . . equis* (Parthians). Latinus’ walls: cf. 7.161. La Cerda compares Sall.*Iug.*59.3 *uti equestri proelio solet, sequi, dein cedere*, Tac.*Ann.*6.35 *modo equestris proelii more frontis et tergi vices*; cf. Walbank on Plb.10.23.2.

620 Troes agunt Cf. 8.118, 10.540, 11.629, 734; *OLD* s.v., §15ab: also military prose, but an entirely standard expression.

princeps Cf. 1.488, 5.833, 10.166; V.’s terms for ‘leader’ well discussed, Hellegouarc’h, EV 4, 276.

turmas inducit T: cf. 503, 518; the vb. *novies* in V.; note *Buc.*5.30 *Daphnis thiasos inducere Bacchi* and cf. Liv.1.37.5, 10.33.2: military prose but a standard word.

Asilas Let us call him Asilas (c); cf. (a) 9.571 *Corynaeum sternit Asilas*, (b) 10.175 *tertius ille hominum diuumque interpres Asilas*, (d) 12.127 *et genus Assaraci Mnestheus et fortis Asilas* (DServ. comments *Etruscum nomen*), (e) 12.550 *et Messapus equum domitor et fortis Asilas*. Note too Sil.8.444f.: Pelasgians in Picenum led by Asus, whence the river-name Asis and the *populi* . . . *Asili*; not securely relevant here. See Saunders, 72, n. 27, Montenegro Duque, 147ff., Dingel on 9.571, *EV* 1, 369f. A pretty problem of onomastics: the Etr. Asilas (b) is unexceptionable; cf. Etr. *usil*, sun. Our Asilas (c) is palpably Trojan and since Asilas (a) enters the narrative too soon to be Etruscan (so e.g. Saunders), he is perforce Trojan and thus identical with Asilas (c). Asilas (d) is clearly enough identical with (b), for at 12.127, a balance Trojan-Etr. is evidently desirable (cf. Traina *ad loc.*). So too Asilas (e), probably: V. has just written *omnesque Latini, omnes Dardanidae, Mnestheus acerque Serestus et Messapus equum domitor* in neat balance, ABB_1B_2A ; *fortis Asilas* is part of the immediately following *Tuscorum* . . . *phalanx* and only the concluding *Euandri* . . . *Arcades alae* are not rendered specific. Cf. *GR* 34 (1987), 51ff.: this certain instance of homonymy confirms a suspicion that these names did not much interest the poet!

621 iamque Cf. **100**, **487**, **608**. The to and fro motion of the battle articulated with notable care; the **-que** looks forward to **rursusque**.

propinquabant portis Cf. 2.730 *iamque propinquabam portis* (a repetition fortuitous/formulaic; hard to use the vb, otherwise); the vb. Lucretian (5.630), but also Caesarian (*adp*- yet more so). The gates of Lat.'s city also at 12.584 (note **466**, **aditus**); we are more used to its *moenia* (Carcopino, 248ff.).

rursusque Latini The first time was at **609**.

622 clamorem tollunt *Tollunt clamorem*, Lucr.4.1014. Cf. **878**, 10.262. Battle-cries: cf. **192**.

mollia colla Cf. *G*.3.204 *mollis* . . . *collo*; the Latins turn their horses' heads, 'supple, flexible, because well-schooled' (Mynors on *G*, *cit.*); the *mollia crura* of the colt, *G*.3.76 are Ennian (*Ann*.570), and also Xenophontean (ὕψα, Pinotti, *EV* 3, 561).

reflectunt *Quinquies* in *Aen.*; cf. Cat.45.10 *leuiter caput reflectens*, Cic.*Arat*.frag.9.5 *a tereti ceruice reflexum, bis* in Lucr., *Aen*.8.633 *tereti ceruice reflexa*. Did V. mean to refer to the lovely, smooth necks of Camilla's companions, which they turn, he would have used the same words, and I am not sure that the girls are entirely excluded.

623 hi fugiunt The Trojans' retreat barely narrated, save in the simile.

penitusque . . . referuntur For the advb., cf. **7.374**; vd. 12.495 *currumque referri*. *Signa referre* is good military language; here (cf. **7.286 sese referebat**) V. neatly uses his dearly-loved middle-passive (Zucchelli, *EV* 2, 492ff. at 498; note *G.1.200*, *Aen.2.169*).

datis . . . habenis Cf. 1.63 *et laxas sciret dare iussus habenas*. So too *G.3.107 proni dant lora*, *Aen.1.156 curruque uolans dat lora secundo*, *OLD* s.v. *do*, §19e.

624–8 The passages quoted as having influenced V. here (*Il.9.4–7*, 11.305–8, 14.16–9) prove oddly irrelevant, once it is realised that V. is not (cf. **626 sinu perfundit**) repeating the motif of surge against rocks (cf. **7.586–90**; Briggs (**492–7**), 90 misreads notably). But it seems not to have been remarked that V. had himself recently described in detail the movement of water up and down a foreshore, 10.287–307, and a couple of similarities will emerge.

624 qualis ubi Cf. **492**.

alterno . . . gurgite At *Pun.3.55* Sil. writes of the Atlantic tides *mox reneat gurgis tractoque relabitur aestu*; here though clearly of the waves advancing and retreating on a beach. A. Marchetta claims bewilderingly (*EV* 2, 821) a 'precisa connotazione di violenza' here; at 10.559 *gurgite mersum* Harrison writes of the eddy which pulls the body under, well, against Marchetta (water that pulls the body down the beach!); **g.** indicates water in vigorous, potentially dangerous motion and here it swirls both ways over the sand. The adj. of Charybdis, alternately sucking and spewing at 3.422f. *fluctus . . . / . . . alternos* and Prop. writes (2.12.7) *alterna quoniam iactamur in unda* of the lover's alternation of emotions.

procurrens . . . pontus It is the forwards-rushing sea that will now remain the subj. for five vv.; *OLD*, §1c cites attractive figurative instances of onrushing wealth (*Sen.Ep.101.4*) and empire (*Flor.1.13.1*).

P.: **7.9, 300.**

625 nunc . . . / 627 nunc Meticulous articulation, likewise of the movements of both sides' cavalry. One might also recall the ἄλλοτε . . . ἄλλοτε of Hephaestus' bellows (*Il.18.472*)! Cf. 4.74, 77 for even greater distance between the members.

ruit ad terram Note the shorewards motion, *G.3.238f. [fluctus] utque uolutus/ad terras immane sonat per saxa* and the more violent 12.451–5. The vb. more common of violent storms (*G.1.324*, 3.470, *Aen.5.695*, etc.; *EV* 4, 604), which seem not to be suggested here. **Terras M**

(and some older edd.); ‘land’ > <‘sea’ = *terra*, sing.; ‘lands’ > <‘seas’ = *terrae*, naturally (*EV* 5*, 135). Here a single beach is quite sufficient. **scopulosque** Cf. **7.589**; V. here envisages a shore of sand and rocks. The s-alliteration perhaps to convey water hissing over sand. **superiacit unda M**, Serv.; **superlicit P**, **suberigit R** (known to Sil., 15.155, where vd. Delz); note **undam PR**. Unfortunately, Sabbadini printed **superiicit**, for which Geymonat adduced Hor.*infra.*, in support; altogether unwelcome. Serv. comments *super scopulos undam iacit: nam more suo dedit uerbo detractam nomini praepositionem*. Cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 267, LHS, 33, **7.581**: the verb (Liv.10.30.5 might be earlier, and Hor.C.1.2.11 *superiecto* clearly is) ‘transitivised’, as V. often does with compound vbs. to avoid prepositions: cf. 6.229 *socios . . . circumtulit unda*, 12.174 *pateris altaria libant* to avoid the conventional *in altaria*. **626 spumeus** Cf. **7.589 spumea . . . saxa**. Run on here to suggest that last line of foam at the very top of the beach.

extremam . . . harenam At Hor.*Epist.* 1.1.6 long taken in this sense (‘at the very edge’), but vd. Mayer *ad loc.* Note *G.3.542 litore in extremo*; bodies as flotsam.

sinu perfundit ‘Swelling curve’ (Fairclough-Goold); *curuatione et flexu undarum* Serv. and so too Mynors on *G.3.238*. But the difficulty is already implied in Heyne here: for the wave to swell up to the top edge of the shore, you need the violence of a storm, otherwise absent from a long simile, which suggests rhythmic regularity, not force. The (unparalleled; *EV* 4, 889) sense of **s.** is, however, clear enough (Henry, in grand form, Page, Perret and particularly Pascoli; more surprisingly, TCD too): the curve is horizontal, flat upon the sand, not vertical, through the air, though readers who have not watched, hypnotised, the regular curving play of thin sheets of seawater over sand will disbelieve me (and *EV* 4, 466 offers a fine concentration of misunderstandings). **P.**: cf. 3.397 *proxima quae nostri perfunditur aequoris aestu*, Holmes, *TLL* 10.1.9.1420.64.

627 rapidus So often of Virgilian rivers, from *Buc.* 1.65 (*EV* 4, 401); here, initiating a new alliteration (note too **resorbens/saxa**), **r.** suggests adverbially the speed with which the *sinus* withdraws across the sand (cf. Wills, 438, n. 7, Hardie on 9.261f. on the sequence of rare-re-re-, continued in **630**).

retro Contrast **405**. With **fugit**, which emerges after **atque** has introduced the second qualifier, **aestu . . . saxa**.

aestu reuoluta Cf. 3.557 *exsultantque uada atque aestu miscentur harenae*. Note 10.307 *retrahitque pedes*. *Reuoluit* used at *Culex* 243 of Sisyphus’

stone. The **saxa** perforce small enough to be rolled up and down the beach.

resorbens/628 saxa Cf. Lucr.6.695 *frangit fluctus aestumque resorbet* (the sea at the base of Etna); clearly enough present here, much altered. The vb. *bis* in Lucr. and here alone in V. (*simplex* at 3.422).

7.27 repente resedit is different; here V. uses conventional *re*-compounds in successive words, of the force of the withdrawing sea (10.288f. *recursus/languentis pelagi*), though hardly its melancholy long withdrawing roar; cf. **240**, G.4.225 *resoluta referri*, 9.539, 635, 794.

fugit Cf. Sen.*Suas.*1.2 (the Ocean) *litora modo saeuiente fluctu inquieta, modo fugiente deserta*, *TLL* 6.1.1482.77f. (Rubenbauer).

litusque . . . relinquit Note the very different 2.28 *litusque relictum* and cf. 1.517, 3.10, 300, 5.611f. for V.'s more usual shores left by human agents.

uado labente Cf. 10.307 *unda relabens*, Tac.*Ann.*14.32 *dilabente aestu*.

Vada are 'shallows' in general (**7.198**), but here in the pellucid *ad hoc* sense of 'thin sheet of water withdrawing over sand'. So too, well, *EV* 5*, 416 (Cipriano, after surveying the feverish splashings of various editors and translators). Contrast the inwards-moving surge 10.292 *crescenti adlabitur aestu*.

629 bis . . . /630 bis V. repeats *bis* eight times; cf. in particular 9.799f.. At **618–20**; the Trojans and allies advance; at **621–2** they withdraw and the Latins advance. The second pair of movements might be suggested by the simile; it is certainly not narrated, though the third will be, in a moment.

Tusci Rutulos For V.'s used of opposed (in every sense) names, cf. **592**.

egere ad moenia Cf. **621**; a natural fixed point in the coordination of these movements. The vb. too used of the Trojans at **620**; V. uses this repetition to create a continuous, wave-like alternation of movement.

uersos Cf. **618**.

630 reiecti armis Cf. **619**; further repetition. *Vi et armis* a prose author might have written; cf. **461**.

respectant V. returns to the remarkable *re*-sequence of **627–8**. Cf. 2.564, 5.3, 5.168 for the verb (used by Cat. and Lucr.) in various similar contexts. The parallelism imposed by **bis . . . bis** makes it quite clear that it is now the retreating *Tusci* who look back at Latinus' walls and at the Latin cavalry in pursuit, as the Latins had looked back at the pursuing Trojans, **622 reflectunt**.

terga tegentes Perhaps surprisingly not an expression of narrative prose. The new alliteration carries over into the next line.

631 tertia . . . in proelia *Bell.Afr.*61.8 confirms that *proelia* can perfectly well indicate 'skirmishes' (and note *Suet.Aug.*13 for the *duplex proelium* of Philippi); here the noun is clearly used of the third phase of a battle, exceptionally but with no chance of confusion. 3.37 began likewise *tertia sed postquam . . .* (*Aen.* tries to uproot the bush on Polydorus' grave); conventional *Dreihheit* in prodigy-narratives: B. Grassmann-Fischer, *Die Prodigien in Vergils Aeneis* (München 1966), 92, n. 2, citing e.g. *G.4.385*, *Val. Max.* 1.6.ext.1; cf. too J.N. Bremmer in *RMM*, 105ff., *Ov.F.4.315* (with Bömer on 2.573): no link between passages, no special, supernatural sense of *Dreihheit* here, but a sense that only with the third clash did the fight seriously begin, perhaps because (cf. **totas**) only now were all the available cavalry actually present.

sed postquam See previous n.; the delayed **sed** throws **tertia** into marked relief.

congressi In *Acc.*, *Lucr.* and *Caes.*, and followed by widely varying constructions. Note 1.475 *congressus Achilli*, *Caes.Gall.*7.65.2 *cum finitimis proelio congressi*, *Liv.* 4.10.4 *ad proelium congressi*.

totas/632 . . . acies Cf. 10.309, 12.548.

implicuere inter se Cf. **555**, **752**; thus with *inter se* of fingers, *Tac.Ann.*12.47. More to the point, this is good military language, but not commonly so: cf. *Sall.Iug.*59.3 *implicare ac perturbare aciem*, *Caes. Gall.*7.73.4 *ordines coniuncti inter se atque implicati*, perhaps not enough to impose a distinctive tone here. Note comparable uses of *συμπλέκω*.

legitque uirum uir For the monosyll. at line-end, cf. **7.592**. The antecedents of the polyptoton (cf. **615** and see LHS, 177 for the reciprocal sense) are interesting; not only *Enn.* (vd. Skutsch on *Ann.*584), *Furius Bibaculus* frag.10 *pressatur pede pes mucro mucrone, uiro uir*, and *V.* himself (10.361), after *Hom.* (*Il.*15.328, 16.306 *ἔνθα δ' ἀνήρ ἔλεν ἄνδρα*; though the vb. here means 'killed', it can of course also mean 'chose'; cf. too 4.472 *ἀνήρ δ' ἄνδρ' ἔδνοπάλιζεν*), but here (cf. *Wills*, 195, admirably) a further near-humorous allusion to antiquarian tradition about an Italic/Etruscan method of recruitment employed under a *lex sacrata*: cf. *Liv.*9.39.5 *cum uir uirum legisset* (Etruscan), 10.38.12 (Samnite; cf. *E.T. Salmon*, *Samnium*, 146, *C. Saulnier*, *L'armée et la guerre chez les peuples Samnites* (Paris 1983), 90ff.), *Tac.Hist.*1.18.2 *more militari, quo uir uirum legeret*, language then applied to *lectiones* of the Senate, *Suet.Aug.*35.1, 54.1 (and cf. *Tac. Hist.*1.18; see *Mommsen*, *StR.*2, 413ff.). *V.*'s language seems to allude

precisely to this usage, yet what he describes is far different, whence the possibility of some mild learned drollery. These lines, **631–5**, fill the role of *Il.*4.446–51 = 8.60–5, gory general images of battle: *necessario poeta confugit ad generalitatem, ne et sibi prolixitatis moram et legentibus taedium quaereret* in the description of so large and complex a battle (TCD, **646**).

633 tum uero Cf. **7.376, 519**. If I disentangle correctly a torrential series of connectives, then only **g.m.** are without verb; **arma, corpora** and **equi** are all subjects of **uoluuntur**; if this studied disorder has a flaw, it lies in a certain sameness of matter between the ends of **633** and **634**.

gemitus morientum, and 10.674 *gemitumque cadentum*, 6.873. Cf. *Il.*4.450f. ἔνθα δ' ἄμ' οἰμωγή τε καὶ εὐχωλή πέλεν ἀνδρῶν/ὄλλύντων τε καὶ ὄλλυμένων, and less closely *Od.*22.308f..

sanguine in alto Distinguish *alto a sanguine*, 4.230, etc.; Hom. splashed gore about in abundance (e.g. *Il.*10.298, *Od.*22.309), but V. seems to have no direct source. More frequent, *multo sanguine* (cf. **421**).

634 armaque corporaque Unparalleled pairing, but presumably suggested by Hom.'s ἀν νέκυας διὰ τ' ἔντεα (10.298), for we have seen V. here interested in general Homeric battlefield descriptions (**633**). For the rhythm, cf. **7.555 talia coniugia et**.

permixti caede uirorum. Cf. Lucr. 5.1313 *permixta caede*; L. is very partial to the verb (13x); 6x in V.. Cf. **7.348**; *EV* 3, 541 unsatisfactory. For **c.**, the context requires a strongly, violently concrete sense; not just blood (*EV* 1, 600, citing e.g. 1.471, 4.21. Note *Cat.*64.368) but the sense of 'corpses', present to e.g. *Tac.*Ann.6.24 *domum . . . omnem caedibus compleuisset*, is already apparent enough in V.; cf. **207**. 'Human bodies' (in contrast to the horses', imminent) will not be far off.

635 semianimes . . . equi The adj. Ennian (cf. *Ann.*484 (= *Varr.*Atac. frag. 2), *Aen.*10.404, with Harrison's n. on 395f., *Salvadore*, *EV* 4, 762); the **i** treated as consonantal.

uoluuntur Possibly passive (the act. being 12.329 *semineces uohuit multos*), but much more probably (cf. *Traina*, *EV* 5*, 625) middle, as **640 uoluitur ille excussus humi**, 9.414, 433, 10.590.

pugna aspera surgit The same three words end the line, 9.667 (vd. *Dingel*), 12.124f. *aspera Martis/pugna* (vd. *Traina*). Both here and in 9, the words conclude a sequence of general details of battle; it is idle to claim that 9.667 is earlier, when the words are both Homeric and formulaic. *Traina* claims the adj. suggests Hom. δριμεῖα μάχη

(*Il.*15.696), but **surgit** (cf. 4.43 *bella Tyro surgentia*) recalls ὄρωρει and in particular we think of πόλεμος δ' ἄλιαστος ὄρωρεν (2.797); the epithet here is trimmed, reduced, moderated. West (Harrison, *OR*, 442) notes well how **sanguine in alto** and **surgit** suggest that the sea is now not just spreading over the sand.

636 Orsilochus The name of a Trojan also in Hom. (8.274; also a Greek, 5.542); shortly to be killed by Camilla (**690, 694**). *EV* 3, 892 records with proper caution some odd astronomical etymologising, too arcane indeed for Paschalis and O'Hara! But Orsilochus, huntress of bears, as a title of Artemis, should perhaps give us pause (*Amm.Marc.*22.8.34).

Remuli . . . / 637 . . . equo Cf. **629**: the adversaries' names juxtaposed and Remulus is lent further interest by the long hyperbaton, sharpened in turn by the inserted **quando ipsum**. The (dead) Numanus Remulus of 9.593, 633, probably. Not the (dead) Tiburtine Remulus of 9.363. If we think of Numa/Numitor (not to mention Remus), that would be in keeping with the associations of V.'s choice of names for many of the Latin heroes, Saunders (**429**), 543f.. Orsilochus will not try to hamstring (*succidere* or *suffodere*) his adversary's mount, but wounds from a distance. So too real warriors (e.g. Aeneas, 10.891, *Liv.*8.7.10 (where vd. Oakley), 26.4.8; note too John Keegan's accounts of infantry vs. cavalry at Agincourt and Waterloo in his now classic *Face of battle*); here explicitly a sign of fear. Note that *Liv.*8, *cit. spiculum inter aures equi fixit. ad cuius uolneris sensum cum equus prioribus pedibus erectis magna ui caput quateret, excussit equitem* is likely to be earlier than **11**. There might however have been Ennius (cf. *Ann.*538 *celso pectore*) between Hom. (**638**) and Livy!

quando ipsum Cf. 10.798 (Aen.'s sword and *ipsum* distinguished), 8.490 (Mezentius' *domus* and *ipsum*), **484** (Aen.'s spear and **ipsum**).

horrebat Cf. *Cat.*14.26, *Aen.*2.12; **h.** + infin., though inherited, perfectly in keeping with V.'s tendency to use vbs. expressing desire, hesitation with infin. (Görler, *EV* 2, 271).

adire Cf. 5.379.

637 hastam intorsit Cf. **284, 561, 578**.

ferrumque . . . reliquit The tip synecdochic for the whole *hasta*, Lunelli-Kroll, 38f., Harrison on 10.156f.; cf. 4.71, 12.50 *et saep.*. Cf. 4.71 *liquit*, of the Cretan huntsman, *G.*4.237 (bees). Implied is that the missiles have been cast strongly enough not to be shaken out.

sub aure Appreciated by Ov., *Met.*8.382.

638 quo . . . ictu Cf. Cic.*caerm.*Soph.1.14, **7.756**, 10.484; Rubenbauer (*TLL* 7.1.770.77f.) considers whether the abl. is simply one of cause ('rages because of the blow') or whether it refers metonymically to the part struck (as possibly at **7.756**). No clear answer seems possible, nor does the question seem of prime moment.

sonipes Cf. **600**.

furit arduus Cf. **arduus . . . furit** of excited cavalry at **7.624f.** (cf. 9.53); the high neck of the fine horse (*G.*2.145, 3.79) is hardly to the point, for the precise sense of 'high' is given in **alta** and **arrecto**, to come, imminently. Note *Il.*8.85 ἀλγῆσας ἀνέπαλτο of one of Nestor's horses hit on the forehead by Paris' arrow.

altaque iactat/639 . . . crura Cf. *Lucr.*4.991 hounds at night *iactant crura tamen*. *TLL* 7.1.52.19 (Hofmann). *Liv.*'s *pedibus erectis* confirms that **alta** here is proleptic: cf. 5.255 *sublimem . . . rapuit* and Sidgwick's index, s.v..

639 uulneris impatiens I. here alone in V. and a likely coinage; cf. *Hom.*'s ἀλγῆσας and *Liv.*'s *ad cuius uulneris sensum*. *Hor.*'s *patiens pulueris atque solis* naturally comes to mind.

arrecto pectore Cf. 10.892f. *tollit se arrectum quadripes et calcibus auras/uerberat*. The vb. in *Enn.trag.*, *Sall.*, *Liv.* (cf. **496**, **a. ceruicibus**). The picture not only (*supra*) *Ennian* (*celso p.*) and *Livian* (V. has *sublato p.* of serpents); rearing horses are familiar on the Parthenon frieze and the 'Alexander sarcophagus'. Cf. Harrison on 10.892.

640 uoluitur . . . humi Perhaps suggested by *Il.*8.86 κλιυδόμενος περὶ χαλκῶ. We may recall the grieving Acoetes rolling on the ground, **87**.

ille excussus Cf. *Liv.*8.7.10, *cit.*; the vb. 22x in *Aen.* (*bis* in *Lucr.*), but *deest* in *EV*.

Catillus Cf. **7.672**.

Iollan A rare name: in a genealogy of Hylas, Gruppe, 967, n. 3 (absent from Saunders' list of Argonautic names in *Aen.*, (1940), 539); also a figure in *Buc.*2 and 3, though the recycling of a pastoral figure as yet another single-use hero (so apparently *EV* 3, 4) seems a most uneconomical waste of emotive associations.

641 ingentem . . . ingentem Knauer acutely implies a debt to *Hom.* μέγας μεγαλωστί; cf. 5.118 *ingentemque Gyas ingenti mole Chimaeram*, 10.842 *ingentem atque ingenti uulnere uictum*, 12.640 *oppetere ingentem atque ingenti uulnere uictum*. *Tacet* Wills; cf. Traina, *Poeti latini* 4, 197ff. for various ways in which *Hom.* and V. employ repetition in the stylistic

expansion of heroic size. Note above all **124**; we also recall, for the abl. **7.483 cornibus ingens**.

animis Cf. **291**.

corpore et armis Cf. only **634 armaque corporaque**; apparently V. reworks first Hom., then himself and decides that he will not use the results again! 'Shoulders' at **644** no guide to what happens here. On 4.11 *quam forti pectore et armis* there has been much discussion of shoulders and weapons, but the case there, as Austin recognises, is different. Here, though, Henry accuses V. of ambiguity, but does not cite the relevant phrase of Hom.!

642 deicit Brings down (so too **665**, Hor.C.1.2.15); much to V.'s taste (27x; *tacet EV*). Used here perhaps on account of a definite flavour of military prose: Cael.Ant.frag.44, 28x in Caesar, 14x in the corpus, Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.395.78.

Herminium A rare enough name: the association is clearly with strong Herminius (of Titian blood was he); V. uses Horatius' defence of the bridge against Lars Porsenna (and indeed Herminius survived to fight at Lake Regillus) for a name from early Roman history used hardly of a Trojan (so Saunders (1940), 544) but rather of an Etruscan, for that clearly is what the name's origin is (after Gk. Hermes, probably): cf. Schulze, 173, *EV* 2, 370, Montenegro Duque, 156ff.

nudo . . . uertice Taken up by the **n. umeri** of the next line (cf. Wills, 229, n. 18). Cf. **489 tempora nudus adhuc**, Homeric *γυμνός*. H.'s unusual build would not alone seem of ethnographic origin (a detail on which V. plays, **7.167f.**), but H.'s name might also have been heard as Germanic (Arminius!) and the absence of armour is indeed attributed to Gauls and Germans (Caes.*Gall.*1.25.4, 6.21.5, Tac.*Germ.*6.2, 24.1: (?partial) nudity in battle). For H.'s hair, too, vd. *infra*. Not any strange link between Etruscans and Germans but a change of tone (colour, even!) to the ethnographic. *EV* 3, 775f. (Nicastri) peculiarly unhelpful; contrast Melanchthon ap.Con.! For v., cf. **577**.

cui This neat and lucid means ('his') of articulating the narrative again in **644**, **huic**; cf. **7.785**.

fulua/643 caesaries Serv. *ad Aen.*1.590 offers a false popular etymology for the wd. (from Plaut. on, Cat.66.8 of a single lock); its origins quite unclear (EM, WH): *quinquies* in V., *semel* in Hor., *octies*, Ov.. The colour points again, did one wish it, to the northern barbarians: Juv.13.165 (where vd. Mayor).

nudique umeri Cf. the athletes' *nudatos . . . umeros*, 5.135. It is not enough, given the ethnographic tone, to say (so e.g. Paratore) that H. was without a shield, impeccable Latin though such a sense would be. **nec uulnera terrent** Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 2.59 (the Decii) *his leuabat omnem uulnerum metum nobilitas mortis et gloria* (and contrast Prop. 3.11.6 *uulneribus didicit miles habere metum*). So Herminius, confident in size and strength alone; the Hom. hero is naturally, humanely afraid (**21**) but H. fears neither wounds nor (often concomitant; Seymour, 618) death; this death in battle will indeed be (**647**) **pulchram**. **Nec** connects [**sunt**] to **terrent**, intrans. to active; a subtle shifting of ground.

644 tantus . . . patet *Tantum patebat in uulnera, id est in hostilia tela totus patebat*, Serv. (cf. **44**); Kruse (*TLL* 10.1.5.661.27) well compares Veget. 1.11 *ne qua parte ipse pateret ad plagam*. Cf. 2.661 *patet isti ianua leto*. **in arma** Contrast 12.491 (Aen.) *se collegit in arma*.

latos . . . per armos Cic. writes of Orion *umeris et lato pectore fulgens*, *Arat.* 368 (and so too in V., **679**, 2.721, 5.376, 9.725). Cf. **497** for the noun, quite properly used of the human form, despite 'school rules'. Not so much etymologising as evident paronomasia; cf. O'Hara, 232.

huic Cf. **642 cui**.

hasta . . . /645 acta Cf. **579**, **7.498**; compare 9.706 (*phalarica*) *fulminis acta modo*, **804 infra**.

tremit 2.175 and 12.94 are of a weapon brandished (or just possibly proleptic, Traina, *EV* 5*, 262); here cf. rather 2.52 *stetit illa tremens* (Laocoon's spear on impact).

duplicatque uirum . . . dolore Cf. Naev. *trag.* 43 *iam ibi nos duplicat aduenientis . . . timos pauos* (also Lucr., but prose too), 12.927 *duplicato poplite*, Ov. *Met.* 6.293; possibly sensed as archaic. Note **7.291 stetit acri fixa dolore**. **D.** possibly after Hom. (*Il.* 13.618) ἰδνῶθη.

transfixa Note 1.44 *transfixo pectore*, both histor. and poetic: Caes. (4x), Liv. 1–10 (10x), Cic. *Marius* frag. 3.3. The verb (as Prof. Görler remarks) naturally used of the person is applied rather (a sort of shift of the object, Görler, *EV* 2, 269) to the weapon (cf. 10.479 *ferro praefixum robur acuto*).

646 funditur . . . ubique **V.** very well suited to occasional service in the lexicon of V.'s hyperbole (but alongside *late*, *passim* only *quiquies* in *Aen.*). **F.:** cf. (so from Acc. *praet.* 4) 5.330 (*sanguis*) *fusus*, 12.690f. *fuso/sanguine terra madet*.

ater . . . cruor Cf. 4.687 (plur.), 9.333: **c.** of blood no longer contained in the body (*EV* 1, 945ff.); the Homeric μέλαν αἷμα enriched

with the grim tinge that clings to *ater* (cf. Edgeworth, 83, André, 48). Note *Enn.trag.297 tabo sanie et sanguine atro*.

dant funera Cf. 8.571, 12.383, *TLL* 6.1.1604.65f. (Vollmer); cf. *stragem d. G.3.247*; *EV* 2, 116 (de Rosalia) well notes the *simplex pro composito*: cf. 10.602 *edebat funera*.

ferro/647 certantes Cf. *Cic.Tusc.2.65 itaque barbari quidam et inmanes ferro decertare acerrume possunt, aegrotare viriliter non queunt*; given *Enn.*'s fondness for the verb, the phrase had perhaps once been his.

pulchramque . . . mortem The rest of the line borrowed by V. from *G.4.218* (where Thomas well compares *G.4.204*); note also 9.401 *pulchram properet per uulnera mortem*. Sparrow remarks with atypical moderation and acumen 'a good example of repetition which, though exact and not trivial, may well have been unconscious, and due to the similarity of the situations described . . .' (108). The *pulchra mors* has received a good deal of attention (*EV* 3, 590 (Serra Zanetti), Raabe, 207f., Arrigoni, 57, n. 112, L. Alfonsi, *Lat.22* (1963), 85f., Loraux (23), 100, and *ead.*, *Ktéma* 2 (1977), 105ff.). Cf. too Lattimore, 237ff.); it is unfortunate that Alfonsi drew particular attention to *Soph.Ant.* and Plato, for the idea's real *patria* is in Tyrtaeus, and thereabouts: cf. Loraux (1977) and Degani-Burzacchini *Lirici greci* (Firenze 1977) on 10.1ff. West *τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλόν*. . . Here, the adj. is virtually calqued.

petunt per uulnera A motive perfectly comprehensible in the case of the communistic bees or the bereft warrior-lover Nisus (cf. Gleib, 208). Heroes in the Hom. tradition do not normally or naturally go to seek out either wounds or death; indeed, they would rather not—in general—fight at all (Griffin, 92). V.'s Italian warriors are not perceptibly fighting in the spirit of Leonidas or the Decii, and in the present context, the unavoidable sense of 'seek', 'seek to find' (*EV* 4, 51f.) seems curiously out of place: an anomalous sentiment, therefore and apparently a self-borrowing that verges on the hasty and awkward. Note the death-wish of the Latin *matres*, 895.

648 at A transition or change of focus, from general combat to Camilla (cf. Wagner, *QV* xxxvii.2a, 655).

medias inter caedes Cf. 8.492, 709, 11.729 *inter caedes/caedem*, here with anastrophe of disyll. preposition (7.673, etc.); for the noun, cf. 634.

exsultat Cf. 491. A paradoxical juxtaposition of joy and blood.

Amazon Thus V. draws explicit attention to the most evident and significant of C.'s mythol. antecedents (cf. 535–96): for this style of

identification, cf. 4.215 *et nunc ille Paris . . .*, 9.742 *inuentum Priamo narrabis Achillem*, Prop.2.25.10 and vd. **7.323–40** *sub fin.* for *Furia*. See Otto, p. 402, Griffin, *Latin poets . . .*, 192f., and *OLD* s.v. (e.g.) *Nestor*, *Penelope*, *Helena*.

649 unum . . . latus Cf. the side exposed to blows at 5.434. The rationalising explanation dictated that Amazons kept the right shoulder undraped to have that arm free for action; so the monuments (Devambez, *infra*; occasional representations of the left shoulder bared, too). For TCD a *signum audaciae* and (well noted, this) an anticipation of the manner of C.'s death (**803**; cf. Arrigoni, 37f.). Readers who hear $\mu\tilde{\alpha}\zeta\alpha$ here, and an implicit etymology are in good company (O'Hara, 292) and indeed should not fear for their fading rationality.

exserta Cf. *Caes.Gall.*7.50.2 *dextris umeris exsertis* and used at **803** as it has been of Penthesilea at 1.492; the acc. retained: cf. **35, 480, 507, 596**.

pugnae Dat. of purpose; cf. **611**.

pharetrata Camilla Cf. **590, 7.816**; the adj. at *G.*4.290; probably a Virgilian coinage. Cf. **803**, 1.492. The Amazons' exposed right breast, like the detail of the removal of a breast (from Hellanicus and *Airs, Waters . . .*; vd. Capdeville, *infra*) is familiar: cf. Prop.4.3.43 (Hippolyte), *Call.H.*3.214 (Artemis' companions); in art from ca. 460. The origins of this element are to be sought through Paus.5.16.3 (right breast exposed when the girls run at the Elean Heraea); Serwint ingeniously suggests that they wear a male *exomis*, just the sort of 'cross-dressing' familiar in various initiation rituals. Cf. Bremmer (**82**, 1994), 70, n. 8, Arrigoni, 37f., La Penna, 229, Capdeville, 320, n. 65, Brill, 62, Devambez, LIMC 1.1 637, *et passim*, and notably N. Serwint, *AJA* 97 (1993), 403ff.

650 et nunc . . . / 651 nunc Cf. **86**.

lenta . . . hastilia L: cf. **7.164**: 'light enough to be whippy'; for **h.**, cf. **561**. Cf. **536** for the range of arms attributed to C..

manu spargens For the vb., cf. **7.687**; **m.** a regular 'filler' (cf. **484, 505**).

denset For the vb., cf. **7.794** (Serv.: 2nd. conj. forms are preferable; mss. often as here oscillate. Cf. Sommer, 506f., NW 3, 289f., Leumann, 543ff.); compare **7.673 densa inter tela** (where vd. Traina, *EV* 2, 25—we should perhaps think of Hom. βέλεα πυκνά).

651 ualidam . . . bipennem Cf. **135**; the adj. quite ingenious, for a young woman can credibly enough wield even a stout axe. Cf.

10.401, 815, 12.93; the stout axe returns at **656, 693**. See **7.510, 624**; not, however, so much Italic or rustic, as traditionally a weapon of the Amazons, in art and literature: so Hor.C.4.4.20 *Amazonia securi* (Fraenkel, 428ff. is mandatory); Arrigoni, 39, n. 61 (a rich discussion of the Amazons' passage from single-edged—*ἀγάρις*, *securis* to two-edged, *πέλεκυς*, *bipennis*) refers to Plin.Nat.7.201 for Camilla's invention of the axe. In Beaujeu's ed., Pisaeus invents the axe (Why should he? There is no independent reason) and Penthesilea the *pilum* (! Whyever should she? Again, no independent reason); Margaret Hubbard kindly draws my attention to the virtues of Mayhoff's neat solution to the textual problem in Plin, *cit.*, printed in Rackham's old Loeb. Cf. Capdeville, 321.

dextra rapit After **manu**, the sense is presumably that when C. runs out of light spears, she seizes an axe: note **7.510 rapta . . . securi**.

indefessa A hapax in V. and a coinage, probably (Gk. ἀπόνητος); for **fessa**, cf. **7.298** and for Virgilian double prefixes, note e.g. *imperditus*, *irreparabilis*, *irremeabilis*, *imperterritus*, EV 4, 1064, Fordyce on 7.11.

652 aureus . . . arcus Cf. Chloereus' **774**; perforce inlaid with gold (Saunders, 155, Malavolta, 126); the **arma D.** could also be *aurea* but it is harder to imagine inlaid arrows! Quivers are another matter, **658**. Cf. **7.634**, etc. for the issue of inlay, not to mention the reality, not always that far different from epic display, of luxury items, dedications, parade-ground pieces, etc.. The young heroine is not, from the very first (**7.812ff.**) devoid of (fatal) vanity.

ex umero We recall C.'s infancy, **575**. Note Diana's *pharetra* on her shoulder, 1.500f..

sonat Cf. 4.149 *tela sonant umeris*, 9.660 *pharetramque fuga sensere sonantem* (dissimilar 5.521, 9.631); cf. *Il.*1.46 *ἔκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' ὅς τοι ἐπ' ὤμων*, Brill, 63, Roiron, 281.

arma Dianae Cf. **590**; Artemis/Diana as *the* archer-goddess (naturally so, given her home in the wild and her patronage of the hunt, Preller-Robert 1, 316): cf. Hom. *ιοχέαιρα*, *Hom.Hymn* 27.5, Call.*H.*3.2, Gruppe, 1284, n. 1; the arrows a gift of Vulcan, Hyg.140; cf. Barrett on Eur.*Hipp.*166–8.

653 illa etiam The abilities and attributes of C., as she stands on the brink of entering combat, are yet again reviewed (to the point of superfluity, or at least risking untidiness, after **7.803ff.**, **432f.**, **508f.**, **535ff.**): she can *even* . . .

si quando 12x in *Aen.*, LHS, 607; ‘whenever’, ‘at some time’ (from Ter. on; note Cat.84.1).

in tergum Not military language; cf. *a tergo, post tergum* (both Caesarian and Virgilian).

pulsa recessit Cf. *Rhet.Her.*4.61 *pulsa recedunt*; **p.** in the general sense ‘defeated’ as at **56, 790**.

654 spicula . . . fugientia Striking enallage; the arrows, not the heroine, flee! Serv. *pro ipsa fugiens*’. Cf. LHS, 160.

conuerso . . . arcu Cf. 1.81 *conuersa cuspide*, save that here, of course, it is bow and archer that are turned, **11.713 conuersis . . . habenis**. It has often been suggested (e.g. Saunders, 154, Wickert, 462, comparing *G.*3.31, Perret) that we are meant to think of Parthians, but (Malavolta, 127 and, much more fully, Arrigoni, 38, Capdeville, 322, n. 70) that is to ignore the whole long and rich iconography of Amazons firing to the rear (so e.g. Tilly, pl. 2; attributed to the Libyan Amazons, DS 3.54.3, after Dion. Scytobrachion), in pursuit of rather dubious ‘contemporary meaning’.

derigit Cf. **7.497**.

655 at Transitional as at **648**; Wagner *QV* xxxvii.2a.

circum Adverbial; cf. **7.32**.

lectae comites Cf. **60, 632**; **c.:** cf. **33, 94, 479, 498**. These companions are the epic face of the age-groups of initiates which regularly surrounded Artemis in any poetry reflecting Greek religious usage: cf. Bremmer, 69f. (with further bibl.), La Penna, 233, Arrigoni, 42, K. Dowden, *Death and the maiden* (London 1989), 80ff., A. Brelich, *Paides e parthenoi* (Roma 1969), 157ff., P. Brulé, *La fille d’Athènes* (Paris 1987), 289ff.

Larinaque The name suggests Larinum in the territory of the Frentani, mod. Larino, inland and to the west of the Gargano promontory. Cf. Saunders (1940), 547, n. 36 for Italian town-names used for characters. Serv.: *nomina haec nobilissimarum sunt Italiae feminarum*.

uirgo Cf. **508, 536, 557**, etc.; she could hardly be otherwise in that company.

656 Tullaque Cf. 6.814, 8.644 Tullus (Hostilius), Saunders (1940), 543.

aeratam . . . securim Cf. **651**; **a.:** cf. **703, 743**. Bronze already in Hom. very rare for an offensive weapon. Prisc.7.53 cites this passage for the spelling **securem** (so TCD and cf. NW 1, 302), but, apart from γ , our mss. here give **-im**.

quatiens Cf. 6.587 *lampada quassans* and *quatio/quasso* frequently of spears, etc..

Tarpeia Named for the traitress Tarpeia of Liv.1.11, eponym of the Tarpeian rock: cf. Saunders, *cit.*. Her fame and daring outweigh any stain.

657 Italides Cf. *Pierides, Sicelides, Libethrides, Proetides, Naidēs, Atlantides, Mareotides, Oceanitides, Eumenides*; in the *Aen.*, though, this Greek fem. ending is generally eschewed (but see 1.490 *Amazonidum*). Cf. NW 1, 483. The initial *i* long is common (and often as here necessary): 7.643, Austin on 1.2. The form is, perhaps surprisingly, attested in Gk, Thallus, GP, GP 3429.

quas ipsa . . . sibi The position of *i*. and the juxtaposition suggestive of special affinity, Harrison, 288. Cf. G.2.22, 500, *Aen.*2.5, 502, 12.83.

decus Cf. 508.

dia Camilla Gk. δῖα; used, Enn.*Ann.*19, 60 (where vd. Skutsch), 106. Enn. under Gk. influence had taken up an old adj., of religious character ('of the sky'; vd. Skutsch, *cit.*); the archaism enjoyed a limited but distinguished history (Hostius, *frag.*4.1, *Acc. trag.*417, as corrected by Ribbeck, *Lucr.*1.22, etc., Varr.*LL* 7.34 at Samothrace, *casmilus* was a *dios quidam administer* to the *dii magni*). Cf. Arrigoni, 42, n. 72, Brill, 63, n. 2.

658 delegit Cf. 431.

pacisque . . . bellique Cf. 7.444.

bonas . . . ministras Bonas My; bonae R, Serv., TCD. The gen. creates unwanted moralising and unwelcome imbalance (yet it still appeals to Deschamps, *EV* 1, 525): an old reading, but clearly not what V. wrote. For *b.* thus, cf. 9.572 *hic iaculo bonus*, Cato *Agr. praef.*2 *bonum agricolam*, Hor.*Ep.*1.14.3. **M.**: cf. 1.705; the use of gen. (best defined as simply objective) nicely illustrated by Cat. 27.1 *minister uetuli puer Falerni*; Hor.*C.*4.4.1 *ministerium fulminis* is not the same.

659–663 Ring composition after **648 exsultat Amazon** (and reminiscent too of the ecphrastic Penthesilea of 1.490ff.). V. raises Italian heroines to international standards, conceivably hints at a source (cf. *Alambicco*, 103ff.), did we know what that source might be (vd. Appx. I), and lends traditional grandeur to what follows. Both Hippolyte and Penthesilea are doomed and their presence may also serve as yet another anticipation of C.'s end. Mythological similes are both Homeric and common enough in V. (**7.674**). Cf. Brill, 7ff., Capdeville, 319 and notably Arrigoni, 41f..

659 quales . . . cum Cf. G.4.413, *Aen.*3.679, **624 qualis ubi**; antecedent of *q.* as normally suppressed (cf. Conway on 1.430f., *OLD* s.v., §B5c), after Hom. use of οἷος.

Threiciae . . . / 660 . . . Amazones There located from *Aethiopsis* on (see too Pind.*Ol.* 8.46f., Appx. I *ad init.*, Gruppe, 680, *EV* 5*, 224, Blok (571), 83ff., S.G. Pembroke, *JWCI* 30 (1967), 2ff.; cf. 539, 571). The Amazons' localisation follows Greek horizons and the needs of ethnographic speculation; 'superseded' localisations, however, survive as literary reminiscences. When Prop.4.4.71f. juxtaposes Thermodon and Strymon, Fedeli cries 'errore', unhelpfully (for such learned names, not to be read for precision, cf. rather, R.G. Mayer, *GR* 33 (1986), 47ff. and still Kroll, *Studien*, 268ff.).

flumina Thermodontis For *f.* thus of a single river, cf. *Buc.*6.64, *G.*4.278, *Aen.*9.104, 585, 12.331, 518, etc., with *EV* 4, 149f., 7.445. The T. (*pace* Serv.) a small river of Pontus, mod. Terme Çay, entering the Black Sea just W. of Themiskyra. Often attested as a haunt of the Amazons: [Aesch.] *Prom.* 725 (with J.D.P. Bolton, *Aristaeus of Proconnesus* (Oxford 1962), 50ff.), *Hdt.*4.110ff., *Sall.Hist.*3.frag.73, etc., Arrigoni, 44, n. 76, *EV* 1, 128, Capdeville, 319, n. 61.

660 pulsant The hooves of massed cavalry pound in the self-contained first-foot spondee, following directly after a spondaic line-end (Arrigoni, 44f.; on l.-end, vd. 7.631)! A sort of ellipse might suggest that actually the banks or valley of the T. were trodden (cf. 7.33); Perret (in numerous and venerable company) thought of horses on the ice, but might have forgotten Henry's (thunderous) objections! P. of horses, *Lucr.*5.252; of lighter feet, the fifth word of *Enn.Ann.*, but no trace in *EV*.

pictis . . . armis Of *scuta*, 7.796 (with full discussion), of *arma* in general, 8.588, 12.281. For painted quivers, cf. *Sen.Agam.*217, *VF* 5.609, Arrigoni, 41, n. 70.

bellantur Cf. *Pacuv.trag.*168, *Fur.Bibac.* frag. 14.2; also *Caes.* and *Cic.*. Perhaps deponent from V. (Flobert, 212).

661 seu . . . seu cum Cf. 6.880f. *seu cum . . . / seu*. The sequence is fortunately not perfectly regular and balanced.

circum Hippolyten H. was traditionally the queen of the Amazons whose belt Heracles was obliged to win (*AR* 2, 777ff., *Apld.Bibl.*2.5.9; not named at *Eur.HF* 408ff.). See Arrigoni, *EV* 3, 19, Preller-Robert 2, 462ff.. Alternatively, the sister of Penthesilea, whom P. killed in error, [*Apld.*] *Epit.*5.2, *QS* 1.21ff.. Distinction between the homonyms is scarcely possible once confident reconstructions of what was in Arctinus are eschewed (cf. Appx. I).

se . . . / 662 . . . refert Cf. 7.286 **sese referebat ab Argis**. It has been pointed out that Penthes. was traditionally killed by Achilles (Arrigoni, 45f.); that would indeed create a problem, were her return

here (not, after all, specifically from Troy, nor explicitly posthumous) in any way defined or specific (cf. *EV* 4, 19).

Martia . . . / 662 Penthesilea Cf. 1.490f., *furens* at her appearance on the walls of Juno's temple; C. is thus identified with both the Amazons in general and with their queen in particular (cf. further, Appx. I). The only time V. uses the adj. (cf. **7.182**) of an individual; P. was the daughter of Ares, [Apld.] *Epit.*5.1.

curru Anomalous and unexplained, for the Amazons above all ride. Cf. Arrigoni, 36, n. 54, 41, 45 who is rightly concerned by this detail (cf. Heinze, 198). Note too Vian on QS 1.166, *id*, *Recherches* (Appx. I, n. 59), 23f..

662 magnoque . . . tumultu Cf. **447**; used to indicate clamour of many different kinds, *EV* 5*, 313f.. D.Serv. refers ineptly to the *ueteres*' reference to *uocem quae redditur initio proelii* (cf. on 4.168, *EV* 5*, 365). That cannot be, for here we are at the end of the (perforce victorious) combat. Arrigoni, 46, n. 90 is admirable.

ululante La Penna (222) refers to 'la musica sinistra degli ululati', but the reference to return, to dance and necessarily to a positive outcome of the battle (these Amazons are neither dead nor enslaved!) suggests that 'sinistra' gives quite the wrong tone, however cacophonous their cries may have been (and the strong sound-play is not precise in effect: cf. Tartari Chersoni, well, in *EV*, *cit.*). It is the actual *tumultus* that howls, by a not-exactly-paralleled transference: cf. Cic.*Orator* 27 *ululanti uoce more Asiatico canere*. For *u.* as a cry of victory, cf. Caes.*Gall.*5.37.3, Liv.43.10.5, Tac.*Hist.*4.18.3; the word corresponds to Gk. ὀλολυγή + ἀλαλ(αγ)ή.

663 feminea . . . agmina Epicizing echo of 1.490 *lunatis agmina peltis*. Cf. the *coetus* of lady hunters, Ov.*AA* 1.253! The noun can indicate line, column, or any massed body!

exsultant Cf. **648** (possibly an echo from narrative into simile, Wills, 348, if the distance is not too great). Arrigoni (47; Gransden misunderstands) sees a reference to a warlike dance (cf. Call.*H.*3.240f.; pre-war. See the ample discussion, Paola Ceccarelli, *La pirrica nell' antichità* (Pisa 1998), 135f.); whether the context is martial or sacral (it could be either/both!) is not clear. Dark tones of *hybris* have been seen in V.'s language of 'exultation' (Brill, 61, Schenk, 213, n. 53 after W.-H. Friedrich, *Philol.*94 (1941), 147, n. 14); naturally at 10.813 *exsultat demens* that element is present, but whether Aen.'s *laetitia exsultans* (12.700) is equally boding and critical might fairly be doubted.

Many of the Volscian Amazons will die, but that hardly detracts from the blameless delight they take upon entering battle.

lunatis . . . peltis Cf. **7.732, 743**. The **p.** is traditionally Thracian (Hdt.7.75.1), and, given the Amazons' associations with Thrace (**539, 571**), the attribution to Amazons is predictable. Cf. Saunders, 171, Capdeville, 321, Malavolta, 134 and see—e.g.—*EV* 1, 128 for the artistic tradition. On **7.732** I may have been wrong to suggest that the epithet implied the (hypothetical) existence of other types of *pelta*, not luniform (the adj. already at e.g. *Bell.Afr.* 80.2); thus **656 aera-tam** (here = *aeream*, clearly enough; contrast 10.171) hardly indicates a variety in the armoury. Stat.*Theb.*5.145 advances to a *lunatum agmen*.

664–835 Neither Raabe, 235ff. nor Gleis, 352ff. nor Brill, 68ff. do justice to the variations of pace and structure in C.'s *aristeia*: (1) eight minor victims in swift succession, **664–677**; (2) Ornytus, **677–689**; (3) Butes, **690–3**, paired with (and distinguished from) Orsilochus, **694–8**; (4) the son of Aunus, **699–724**; (5) Tarchon vs. Venulus, **725–758**; (6) Arruns vs. Camilla (part I), **758–767**; (6) Camilla and Chloreus, **768–782**; (7) Arruns and Camilla (part II), **783–835**. Note (5), not involving Camilla (and (6) withdraws Arruns from the narrative, only for him to reappear to sinister effect at **783f.**); similes at climaxes of (4) and (5) and at Camilla's death, (7); speeches in (2), (4; two, indeed), (5), (7; Arruns and C. herself speak). Note the recurrent motif of ethnic insult in (4), (5) and (6).

664 quem . . . quem Cf. *Il.*5.703 ἐνθα τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ' ὑστατον ἐξενάριξαν . . .; At 16.692 with ἐξενάριξας (and apostrophe as here; cf. **7.1**); 16.692 indeed ends with an anticipation of Patroclus' death, which was likelier to be relevant to C.'s own imminent end, were not the 'whom first, whom last' question so common, as Brill self-defeatingly points out (65, n. 1: he adds 8.273, 11.299): anaphora, polar adjs. and the apostrophe of course collectively raise the emotive force.

telo Occasionally used (cf. **689**, 1.99, 9.496, 10.425, etc.) when V. prefers for once a non-specific weapon; not Homeric!

primum . . . postremum Taken up, **666**, cf. 9.27f.; the polarity 15x in Cic. (+ *Rhet.Her. ter*), Sall.*Iug.*45.2, 46.7, Novius, *Atell.* 3f. (Ribbeck, *Com.*, 254), Lucr.5.905 (the Chimaera), 6.368, Hor.*Epist.* 1.6.48, Livy *saepius*, etc.. But in origin, Homeric, as we have just seen (*Il.*16.692, 5.703, 8.273).

aspera uirgo So too Allecto, **7.505**, Mez., **647**, the Saticuli **729**: we might think of the points of C.'s weapons and the bristles of her tigerskin, but above all, she is rough of character or nature, in a harsh sense (cf. too Schenk, 252, n. 131). Some oxymoron with the noun (**655**, etc.).

665 deicis Cf. *G.3.422*, *10.753 deicit Herminium*, **11.842**; to judge from *TLL* 5.1.395. 78 (Gudeman), this is the idiom of historical prose: *Cael.Antip.frag.44P*, *Caes.Gall.* 2.27.4, 4.12.2, *Civ.*1.46.1, *Bell.Alex.* 1.2. How else, though, might Enn. have phrased the act? The vb. also at *Lucr.*5.1125.

aut quot The anaphora of **quem** extended alliteratively (and elegantly) by **quot**. Note 12.32f. *qui . . . quae . . . / . . . quantos*

humi . . . fundis Cf. 9.592 *fortemque manu fudisse Numanum*, *Prop.*4.10.8. Contrast **366** and 6.423 *fusus humi*; the locative used as at **640 excusus humi**. One of V.'s more recherché synonyms for 'kill'.

morientia corpora Cf. **418**, **633**, Zanetti, *EV* 3, 595. The phrase apparently an invention.

666 Eunaem Euneum c (Carolingian), Serv., Ribbeck (cf. too *Stat.Theb.*6.433, 464 for a dactylic Euneos); Hom. (*Il.*7.468) has Εὐνηος who might be in V.'s mind, but is insufficient to alter the orthography of **MyR**. Paratore objects that no Eunaeus is attested elsewhere, as though that mattered.

Clytio . . . patre Originally derived from κλυτός. V. likes the name (cf. also 9.774, 10.129, 325), which is Homeric (a brother of Priam, no less, *Il.*3.147, etc.). How many distinct Clytî there are in V. is not clear (10.325 is to be excluded): cf. *EV* 2, 423f. and Scarsi, *ib.*1, 827. More interesting the grammar: cf. 3.614 *genitore Adamasto*, 10.205 *patre Benaco* and 183 *Caerete domo* (cf. 141), *Hor.Epist.*1.7.54 *quo sit patre*, with my n. (Venosa 1993); on 205 Harrison compares the common abl. 'of origin' in phrases such as *atauis edite regibus*, but here it is the absence of *editus*, *uel sim.*, that strikes (so *Cic.Phil.*2.26 *hi igitur his maioribus . . .*). The abl. might be abs. rather than 'of origin'; note 10.704 where Harrison rightly calls Bentley's correction *genitore Amyco* absolute (and idiomatic, too, which is, however, less appropriate to a rare, economical turn). Von Kamptz (*TLL* 10.1.5.670.34f.) well suspects [an extension of the] *abl. qualitatis*.

primum Taking up **664**.

cuius . . . / 667 aduersi Cf. **370**, **389**, **605**, **612**; the adj. perhaps attracted from a dat. ('of disadvantage') into the gen. of the preceding relative, with notable economy.

apertum/667 . . . pectus Cf. **748 partis rimatur apertas**; the sense 'exposed' markedly common in military prose (*OLD* s.v., §8b, citing Caes., Liv.; note Hor.*Serm.*1.3.59), though hardly to be called technical; Eng. 'exposed' similarly shifting in character. Hom. γύμνω. **longa . . . abiete A.** more commonly of a ship; on this type of synecdoche, cf. Harrison on 10.206, Lunelli-Kroll, 39, Maurach, 83, Clausen on *Buc.*4.38. The i consonantal (Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 881). The adj. distantly reminiscent of Hom. δολιχο-; cf. 9.229, 12.386, 510; apparently V. tends to limit these epithets of size to the armoury of major heroes (Worstbrock, 197, Brill, 65).

transuerberat At Cic.*carm.*Aesch.2.9; *ter* in *Aen.*: 'characterizes the violent penetration of a quivering spear' (Harrison on 10.336).

668 sanguinis . . . riuos αἵματός τε φοινίου ῥοός writes Eur. (*Suppl.*690); a post-Homeric area of metaphor: cf. Fraenkel on Aesch.*Agam.*209, D. Steiner, *Crown of song* (London 1986), 95ff. Cf. 5.200 (sweat), 8.445 (metal, after Lucr.), *G.*1.132 (wine), not to mention *Buc.*3.111 (poetry). Cf. too Hor.*C.*2.19.11. Contrast rivers full of blood (vd. Dingel on 9.456). *EV* dries up.

ille uomens Cf. 10.349 *crassum uomit ore cruorem*, *G.*3.516 *uomit ore cruorem*. The vb. in Enn. and Lucr.. But above all note *Il.*16.162 ἐρευγόμενοι φόνον αἵματος.

cadit Cf. **168, 349**, *EV* 1, 598 (Valenti Pagnini).

atque Unelided as often in 7–12; cf. **7.317**.

cruentam/669 . . . humum Cf. Sall.*Iug.*101.11 *humus infecta sanguine*, Tac.*Agr.*37.3 *cruenta humus*. Note too the bloody dust of *Il.*13.393, 16.486.

669 mandit ὀδᾶξ ἔλεν; cf. **418**.

moriensque Cf. **418**.

suo se in uulnere Cf. 12.640 and *G.*4.66 *intima more suo sese in cunabula condent*. Compare too *G.*2.47, 219, 402, 5.279 *seque in sua membra plicantem*, 10.412. V. employs alliteration, polyptoton (cf. Wills, 264ff.) and interlocking word-order with simple words to achieve singular and powerful effects. The precise sense of **in uulnere** is left mercifully unspecified. The nastiest of Virgilian wounds, for Quinn, 349; cf. Harrison on 10.395f. and *id.*, *PVS* 19 (1988), 54ff.. We may wonder whether Alexandrian surgery might account for actual advances (detailed, technical) in nastiness upon Homer (Fraser, *Ptol.Alex.*1, 363f.).

uersat Cf. Cat.50.12 of writhing in the torments of love.

670 tum We advance to the second phase of C.'s aristeia.

Lirim Not already one of the **Phrygii . . . uiri** of **677**, as Paratore suggests, not least on account of the name, evidently evocative of the river Liris (cf. Galaesus, Umbro, Ufens), which rises in the Apennines just W. of Avezzano, flows roughly S. as far as Ceprano and then SE (becoming mod. Garigliano S. of Cassino) to enter the sea near Minturnae. L. is therefore necessarily a follower of Evander, or an Etruscan (cf. *EV* 3, 233, Saunders (1940), 545—too keen on Etruscan rule in the South; cf. rather **540**—, Montenegro Duque, 163ff.).

Pagasumque Named in Boio, frag.1.2Powell, a son of the Hyperbo-reans; his name evokes that of Pagasae, starting-point of the Argonauts (Garbugino, *EV* 3, 927). A possible Trojan, as are several other heroes with Argonautic associations (Saunders (1940), 538f., with 539, n. 5).

super ‘Moreover’; cf. **226**.

quorum alter . . . / 671 . . . alter Cf. *G.4.339f.*, *Aen.5.298f.*, 6.893ff. A rare alternative to *hic . . . ille*, but not one of Axelson’s avoided pronouns. More closely paired were the two sons of Antimachus, killed by Agamemnon, *Il.11.143ff.*

habenas/671 . . . dum colligit The vb. often of gathering garments, etc.: cf. **776**, 1.320 *nodo . . . sinus collecta fluentis*, *EV* 3, 171. Not specialised or technical here, apparently.

671 suffosso . . . equo M, ‘alii’ ap. Serv.; **suffuso M₁ γR**, Serv., TCD. **Suffuso** would seem to suggest the horse sprawled on the ground; so indeed *fusus*, *effusus* (10.893), and arguably a refinement upon a regular idiom, but just as likely to have been an early mis-reading of vowels. **Suffosso**, we have seen (**636**), is a correct, even technical term for hamstringing (cf. *Caes.Gall.4.12.2*, *Liv.42.59.3*, etc.), which would be peculiarly welcome here. The *suffusio*, or swelling of the feet, to which Vegetius refers in the *Mulomedicina* (1.38, etc.), is altogether irrelevant (*pace* some older comms.); technical allusions are welcome in Virgilian narrative, but sore feet are unduly unheroic.

reuolutus Cf. 4.691 *reuoluta toro*, 5.336 *spissa reuolutus harena*; no bearing on the textual problem, for the partic. makes good sense with either reading.

672 dum subit Here, cf. ‘comes up to help’ (Harrison on 10.338f.), a dozen times in battle-narrative, of friends and foes (*EV* 2, 323); also in histor. prose (*Liv.28.13.8*).

ac dextram . . . inermem Formulaic but not accessibly discussed as such: cf. 1.487 *tendentemque manus Priamum . . . inermis*, 12.311 *dextram tendebat inermem*, 734 *dextram . . . inermem*. But it is **414 dextras**

tendamus inertis that is likely to be freshest in V.'s mind. Pagasus has perhaps sheathed his sword (*uel sim.*) to help (cf. 10.338, 424f.) his comrade. γ₁ (and Ribbeck) has *inertem* here; *EV* 2, 952 seems to think this a serious editorial option!).

labenti Cf. **818**, 2.695, 10.540, 12.356: not quite a synonym (the depon. has useful forms, of course) for *cadere*, for *labi* ('collapse') is a word more evocative of limbs that give way, muscles that at last fail; here, though, it looks as though Liris is still slipping from his mount.

tendit Common in gestures of prayer/supplication: cf. **414**. So already *Enn.Ann.*49. Here, though, the gesture has an entirely different sense, but is as fruitless as many of the prayers listed earlier.

673 praecipites pariterque Homer paired adv. and adj.—κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστί—but without (formally unnecessary) connective and with polyptoton (Wills, 239f.) the effect is very different (neither the many commentators who cite Hom., nor Wagner, *QV* xxxiv.2 seem to realise quite how different): compare *G.*2.290 *altior ac penitus*, *Aen.*5.447 *gravis grauiusque*, 10.734 *obuius aduersoque*. **7.357 mollius ac solito . . . de more** too is faintly different. Williams, *cit.* claims (not persuasively) that the second term receives added force from the superfluous connective.

ruunt Cf. **805**, 10.338, 756, etc., Cavazza, *EV* 4, 603. *Lucr.*5.307 (buildings) reflects older usage; the extension to humans may be Virgilian.

his addit The aristeia gathers pace as V. passes to victim 4, with a name-line imminent. Cf. **7.548 hoc etiam his addam**.

Amastrum Similar names among the women of the Persian royal family are surely irrelevant; likewise Paphlagonian Amastris and the Sicilian toponym Amastra (*Sil.*14.267) are not easily connected with *Aen.*'s allies. It is most unusual for V. to spring a detail so obscure upon his readers. W. Lorrain, *Nomina virgiliana propria* (London 1822) offers 'a friend of Aeneas', s.v.. Just possibly, Paphlagonia is ultimately the answer, for Am. is mentioned by *Cat.*4.13 and the town, under the name of Sesamos, appears in both Hom. (*Il.*2.853) and AR (2.941). Schol. on the latter passage confirms that V. could easily have discovered the new name beside the old in an AR scholium (cf. too *Strab.*12.3.10f.). Saunders (**429**), 539, n. 5 notes the metonomasia.

674 Hippotaden Twice (*Od.*10.2, 36) used as the patronymic of Aeolus; the story of A. and Hippotes is notably complex (cf. Preller-Robert 1, 630f., *Der neue Pauly* s.v.). It is not clear why V. should have recalled this Odyssean genealogy here.

sequiturque Cf. **695**, 12.306, 775, *et saep.*; *EV* unsatisfactory.

incumbens . . . hasta The vb. 28x in *V.* (*deest* in *EV*). *Decies* in *Liv.* (from 3.16), *semel* in *Caes.*, *semel* *Sall.*. Some 40x in *Cic.* (note the identity of perf. forms of *incubare* and *incumbere*, so figures are necessarily uncertain). A word of standard prose, raised by *V.* and perhaps increasingly favoured by *Liv.* under *V.*'s influence (then 17x in *Tac.*). Only at **676** will *C.* turn to the Amazon's favourite weapon.

eminus Cf. **7.732**. Almost an oxymoron, if used of thrusting (as **incumbens** strongly suggests); contrast 10.645f., throwing *eminus*.

675 Tereaque King of Thrace in the story of Philomela, etc.; the whole line long recognised as Thracian in tone (see e.g. Saunders (1940), 542, *Fo*, *EV* 5*, 130) and thus well-suited to allies of the Trojans. Cf. Hardie on 9.574, Harrison on 10.123 for Virgilian 'name-lines'; Greek in appearance does not mean necessarily Greek in origin (Thomas on *G.1.138*).

Harpalycumque *Vd.* **539**; Thracian.

Demophoonta For the name *V.* perhaps turned (though there are other less likely possibilities) to the son of Theseus and in some versions of the Amazon Antiope (so half-Thracian. Cf. Gruppe, 315, *EV* 2, 23, Preller-Robert 24, 1286, Vian on *QS* 13.496ff.), who fought with the Greeks at Troy (in Arctinus' *Iliou Persis*; so *Procl.epit.*; see Davies (*Appx. I*, n. 3), 71, 78) and won back their grandmother Aethra among the booty.

Chromimque Hardly the *C.* of *Buc.6*; one might think of the leader of the Mysians, *Il.2.858*, or of a homonym of either/both! No visible Thracian connexion.

676 quotque . . . /677 tot Knauer notes analogies (though they are not close) with the unerring shots of *Il.8.297f.*, and 17.631. Cf. *G.4.142f.*, *Aen.4.181ff.*, and *Lucr.3.317* for the correlative (*Cat.71.5: quotiens . . . totiens*).

emissa . . . spicula The noun very frequent, **575**, **606**, **654**, **773**. The vb. often enough, if not typically, military: of weapons, specifically, cf. *Caes.Gall.2.23.1 pilis emissis*, *Sall.Iug.57.6 iacula . . . emissa* (cf. 101.4), *Liv.1.32.14*, 9.13.2, etc..

manu As often, not altogether superfluous.

contorsit Cf. **561**.

uirgo Cf. **664**.

677 Phrygii . . . uiri A combination found only here; cf. **145**, **170** for the entirely neutral adj.; for the noun, cf. **9**.

cecidere Cf. **668**; *V.* senses no need to vary.

procul At an (unspecified) distance.

Ornytus An Apollonian name (1.207, 2.65, Saunders (1940), 539, 553) for a Trojan (?) warrior; an etymology from ὄρνυμι (a vb. used of starting game) is favoured. An Etruscan, as emerges at **686** (naturally we are not told how C. knows). Montenegro Duque, 177f. sadly attempts to fasten upon his shoulders a real Etruscan name **armis/678 ignotis** Cf. **7.657, 796**, Malavolta, 134f., Wickert, 299. The implication is that O. was not known in battle, nor had his father been (cf. Serv. on 7.796, citing the *parmaque inglorius alba* of 9.548). **711** will prove problematic.

equo . . . Iapyge For the geography, cf. **247** and for the geogr. horizons of the *Aen.*'s heroic world, cf. **577**, but there is nothing very surprising in the idea that a horse might have been imported from S. Italy (cf. Varr. *RR* 2.7.6, 10.11, **246** above, Rehm, 35f.. Note also *Aen.*'s doctor, Iapyx, 12.391; cf. L.A. Holland, *AJP* 56 (1935), 208).

uenator Just like his adversary (**578ff.**; cf. Gleib, 321, n. 65); cf. 9.771ff. the hunter Amycus, k. by Turnus (where Hardie, Dingle compare the hunter Scamandrius k. by Menelaus, *Il.*5.49ff.), and the panegyrist of hunting, Numanus Remulus, k. by Ascanius, 9.633. Not to mention Lausus, **7.651**; this little list might suggest the chase was not a very successful propaedeutic for war, but such ideological declarations are incidental to a rewarding reading of the text, and could just as well be the anxious and undesirable offspring of the modern mind! The noun first in high poetry perhaps at Hor.C.1 1.26, but it is hard to imagine (e.g.) Enn. using any other word.

fertur Cf. **530**.

679 cui Cf. 8.683, 10.565, etc.: a neat and robust means for the articulation of V.'s narrative,

pellis . . . erepta iuuenco For the (markedly violent) vb., note **7.186**, 1.211 *tergora deripiunt costis*. V has wolfskin caps (**7.688**), lion-skins for warriors (**7.666**; contrast 1.323, lynx), their furniture (8.177) and their horses (**770**, 8.553), bearskins for both seats and heroes (5.37., 8.368). The maenads' *pelles* at **7.396** are probably of fawns (contrast 8.282; Roman and priestly). For the Hom. world, cf. Seymour, 158f. Note untanned leather shoes, **7.690**. In several of these instances, V. aims to suggest an element of savagery (so clearly Ornytus' head-gear! Likewise **7.666**), but a bullock's hide, whether or not stripped of hair, is not essentially barbaric (cf. A.R.1.324; here though the Roman rustic flavour is stronger than the epic echo). This is standard rustic wear: cf. Colum.1.8.9, West on Hes.*Erga* 543–6, Pfeiffer

on Call.*Aet.* fr. 177.31, Gow on Theocr.3.25, Kenney on *Moretum* 22: altogether suitable in/appropriate to the Italian countryside; Ornytus is huntsman-turned-warrior, after all, whatever side he is on.

latos umeros Cf. 2.721, 9.725. Heroes were large men, *Il.*3.210, 227 εὐρέας ὤμους, **7.167f.**

680 pugnatori Liv. has **p.** (*bis*), *expugnator (bis)*, *oppugnator (bis)*, *propugnator* (14x); possibly a Virgilian borrowing from Liv.; a weighty contrast to **678, uenator**: the huntsman naturally becomes a warrior (**7.480, 806**). In C. too, the development is natural; **780** may suggest it is also tragic. The antithesis of C. huntress (cf. **535–96, 583**) and warrior central to Arrigoni's discussion, is never in itself justified and has not convinced (La Penna, 229). Many edd. (at least from Heyne, *ed.min.*) have taken **p.** with **iuuenco**; that introduces a superfluous complication: why a 'fighting bullock'? Bulls of course are quite another matter and (e.g.) Ladewig and Benoist had no business to cite 12.716 here! The charger of 11.89 (as though Pallas had ridden a foal or a gelding!) and the cocks of *Plin.Nat.*30.142 are equally and essentially different. To take **p.** with the previous **iuuenco** also impoverishes the contrast between the two phases of Ornytus' career. Bulls, indeed! The noun (cf. 12.614) qualifies the subj. of the rel. clause inside which it stands (cf. **553**, Heyne on 12.728), much as though it were *pugnanti*.

operit Cf. *Naev.BP.frag.*5.2 *capitibus opertis*, *Lucret.*4.1178. Note that here the garment is subj.; such variation typical of vbs. having this sense (e.g. *sterno* + compounds).

caput . . . /681 . . . texere Cf. 4.250 *nix umeros infusa tegit*, **7.690, 732**, 9.50, etc..

ingens oris hiatus An elaborate compound phrase, hardly to be called hendiadys: cf. *Cic.Nat.*2.122 *cibumque partim oris hiatu et dentibus ipsis capessunt* (the noun *quinquies* in *Lucret.*). With this use of the abstr. subject, cf. 1.509 *concurso*, 2.602 *diuom inclementia*, 5.340 *caueae consessum ingentis*, 6.849 *caelique meatus* (after *Lucret.*), 10.288f. *recursus/. . . pelagi*; a list easy to extend; cf. the useful remarks of V. Ferraro, *EV* 1, 378ff., Bell, 219.

681 malae . . . lupi Cf. **679 pellis**; see my n. on **7.667 cum dentibus albis** for the recognisable intent of striking terror into the foe. The wolfskin appropriate to the hunter O..

cum dentibus albis From **7.667f.** (sc. a lionskin) **terribili impexum saeta cum dentibus albis/indutus capiti**.

682 agrestisque . . . sparus Cf. **580** for such anomalous missile weapons in general; with **a.**, cf. (apart from **678** on O. as hunter, and the rustic leather cloak), **7.681 legio agrestis**. The **sparus** is Sallustian (*Cat.*56.3) and Varronian (*telum missile*, cited by SDan. here, fr. 455GRF; cf. *Men.*293, used in hunting); *paruissimi generis iacula* Paul.exc. Fest. p. 443.16 (note too Isid.*Orig.*12.6.31 and Serv. here *in modum pedī recuruum*). Nep. (*semel*), Liv. (*semel*) and Sil. (*bis*) add little. *In historiis ueteribus* comments Gell. before the list of 10.25.2. Rare enough, that is, to rouse a little interest, but not really interesting enough to count as any sort of learned gloss-word. Brill refers to O.'s 'dilettantische Bewaffung' (67), infelicitously.

manus armat Exceptionally, with the weapon itself as subj. (note **pellis operit, malae texere**); cf. *Buc.*4.45 *sandyx . . . uestiet agnos*. W. Görler notes Liv.9.35.4 *saxa, quibus eos . . . locus ipse armauerat*.

ipse We pass from arms, dress and the like to O.'s actual role on the field of battle.

cateruis/683 . . . in mediis Before (next n.) dismissing these lines as tossed off in moments, let us acknowledge a little variation upon routine phrasing. After some over-use, there have been no *cateruae* since **564**. Those many who compare Hom. ἐν προμάχοις forget the situations: **7.673** is another matter.

683 uertitur Cf. **7.784** (Tu.) **uertitur arma tenens et toto uertice supra est**. Sparrow notes that **685** will derive from 10.556; we have therefore if not, as he remarks, an unfinished passage, at least one in part cobbled together out of pre-existing materials (and he ignored **681!**), which for all we know was not marked for eventual improvement. Moskalew (88f.) ignored the implications of the double echo, which excludes a simple definition as 'formulaic'.

et toto uertice supra est See previous n. and comm. on **7.784**.

684 hunc illa exceptum The partic. 'taken by surprise', as 1.350, 3.332 *excipit incautum* (where Williams' case for 'hunting language' is alas unfounded; cf. though *Caes.Gall.*6.28.4 of the *urus!*), 10.387; this sense is very well suited to military narrative, but by no means exclusively so (cf. *Cic.Att.*8.11d.3), and it should not be hailed (*pace* Harrison on 10, *cit.*) as technical military language in V.. Note neat juxtaposition of opposed pronouns; from **illa**, interposed, there is then hyperbaton as we wait for the vb..

neque enim labor Explanatory parenthesis; C. makes short work of Ornytus, alarming in appearance alone and V. explains C.'s latest

swift success. Cf. *G.4.106 nec magnus prohibere labor*, 1.150, *Aen.1.77*, 4.379.

agmine uerso Perhaps recalled subconsciously from **412**. In the alarm and confusion of the retreat it is easy for C. to catch O. unawares: Gransden, after Mackail, detaches the words from what precedes, unsatisfactorily.

685 traicit 13x in Caes. (and *octies* in the corpus), *deest* in Sall., Liv.27.32.5 *equus pilo traiectus*, etc.. V. uses a recognisable technical term of military narrative.

super Advbl., ‘over’; cf. **150**, **880**, 12.533, etc..

haec inimico pectore fatur So with *super* 10.556 (hardly formulaic, however; cf. **683** for the derivative character of these lines); Knauer recalls Hom. καὶ οἱ ἐπευχόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντ’ ἀγόρευεν (*Il.21.121*). **I. p.**: cf. **377 has imo pectore uoces**, 12.888 *saevio sic pectore fatur*, 2.107 *ficto pectore fatur*, **251**. For this use of **p.** (‘with a hostile spirit’), cf. **7.292** for the possible role of Ennius.

686–9 Rather oddly, filed by Highet (318f.) under ‘taunts, threats, challenges’; explicitly (**687f.**) a grim answer (which does begin with a taunt!) to a (suppressed; cf. Heinze, 409f.) insult. So Asc. to Numanus Remulus, 9.634–5 (in Highet’s same underclassified category!). Brill sees in C. reprehensible pride in the shadow of her own death, but his reference (68; cf. Schenk 250, n. 127) to explicit criticisms of Tu.’s pride in the days of his glory (10.21f., 501f.) shows only C.’s relative restraint, in the face of suppressed insult. That she is herself a huntress hardly requires that she should treat a fellow-huntsman with generosity, after scorn has been offered, by a (mere) man (pace Brill, 68). For Hom., cf. Janko, *Il.13–6*, index, s.v. vaunt.

686 siluis So Hera to Artemis, *Il.21.485f.* ἦ τοι βέλτερόν ἐστι κατ’ οὔρεα θήρασ ἐναίρειν/ἀγροτέρας τ’ ἐλάφους . . . (than to fight κρείσσον). Cf. **7.775–6**, **781** for another apparent opposition of safe woodland and perilous battle. The huntress C. for now is fully a warrior, superior to huntsman adversaries.

te . . . putasti Cf. Sen.’s handy *puta te (sexies)*, or *te . . . putes*, *Rhet.Her.4.7.6*, 11. Plaut.*Merc.654* does not alone make it an idiom of spoken Latin (‘did you really think you . . .?’).

Tyrrhene Cf. **7.260** and E. Dickey, *Latin forms of address* (Oxford 2002), 208, who notes the use of ethnonym in addressing a foe. Possibly, C. is using the name derogatorily; ‘fat Etruscan’ was a traditional insult (Cat.39.11, Horsfall, *SCI* 16 (1997), 75; vd. **738**) and V. may use **E.** on Volscian lips with a hint of scorn. Present-day

Tuscan devotion to good food and drink is perfectly irrelevant but hard to dismiss entirely from the mind (or memory). Possibly (Dickey) C. knows O.'s origin, but not his name

feras agitare Cf. **7.478** ('the vb. is regular, even technical of hunting').

687 aduenit . . . dies Cf. **7.145 aduenisse diem**, 2.324 *uenit summa dies*, 9.107, 10.11 *adueniet tempus*, *EV* 5*. 91. Hom. ἔσεται ἡμᾶρ (*Il.*4.164, etc.). Note too *aderit tempus*, *tempus ueniet* and the like; old poet./prophetic language, Liv.Andr.*Odus.* frag. 23Bü., Cat.64.32. The subj. absorbed within the rel. clause, **7.409**.

qui Cf. **7.145** for *dies* masc..

uestra . . . /688 uerba Not *tua*, but possibly addressed only to O.; that would be occasional poet. usage, Bell, 75, Austin on 1.140, Dingel on 9.525, Harrison on 10.188, etc., but Housman (*Coll.Pap.* 2, 793) rightly asserts that here the sense is of *Tyrrenorum*, though we do not know of their boast and only O. is within earshot.

muliebribus armis A recurrent paradox, **7.806**, **11.663** (and cf. **403**, La Penna, 228). **Verbis** and **arma** in studied juxtaposition/antithesis (cf. **338**).

688 redargueret V. uses neatly a solid prose expression for 'refute' (20x Cic., *semel*, *Rhet.Her.*). **Redarguerit** Mynors 1969 after Priscian, *Gramm.Lat.*2.503.12 (retracted 1972). See however E.J. Kenney, *JRS* 60 (1970), 260, *PCPS* 8 (1962), 31, n. 4, *KS* 2, 179, Riemann, 424f.: after a true perfect main verb, in an Augustan poet (contrast Bennett 1, 339f.), the tense in the subordinate clause will be not perf. but impf. (histor. sequence): *Buc.*9.47f. *processit . . . / . . . gauderent*, *G.*1.351ff. *possemus . . . / . . . statuit*, **11.513 praemisit, quaterent**. The perf. subjunc. (Mynors 1969) seems hardly correct, and Kenney well remarks that Priscian is here concerned with form not grammar (and should not therefore be viewed with undue respect). To claim that **r.** is fut. perf. (and not perf. subjunc. at all) is to fly in the face of the use (or at least the normal use) of moods in rel. clauses: the day's function is *to* give Ornytus' words the lie (and with a hint of purpose, we require subjunc.). Mynors' swift correction might suggest an earlier misprint!

nomen . . . haud leue . . . /689 . . . hoc Cf. **7.581 neque enim leue nomen Amatae**. But here **n.** clearly suggests 'fame' (so **846 neque hoc sine nomine letum**; cf. *EV* 3, 753). C. starts with fame, defines it as ample, then eventually specifies it as **hoc**, directly before explaining that she is herself the source of this ample and consolatory fame; word-order as a powerful instrument of soldierly pride.

tamen Cf. 10.829f. *hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem/Aeneae magni dextra cadis* (with Forbiger's and Harrison's nn.; Henry E., 187, n. 48 attributes irony to C.'s consolation, unnecessarily). Achilles to Lycaon, *Il.*21.106ff. expresses a roughly comparable sentiment (less so, Achilles to Zeus *ib.*, 279ff., reported by Knauer); still less so, Acc.trag.148f., with Wigodsky, 89f.). *Tamen*, as Harrison well remarks, is peculiarly consolatory: cf. also his n. on 10.509 *cum tamen ingentis Rutulorum linguis aceruos* (and see too Austin on 4.329).

patrum/689 manibus Cf. 10.827f. *parentum/manibus*: 'clearly used [sc. in both passages] of the *Di parentes*, the family dead' (Bailey, 259; cf. *EV* 3, 339 and Bömer on *Ov.F.*5.443 *manes . . . paterni*, and, lapidary, Weinstock, 291). Boyancé, 146ff. remains an admirably subtle and informed discussion.

referes Literally, as *laudem et spolia ampla r.* (4.93; cf. 2.547f. *referes ergo haec et nuntius ibis/. . . gentori*), but also with the hint (*EV* 2, 498 wrongly claims Con. as a precedent!) of a dedication or offering. (cf. 5.605 *uariis tumulo referunt sollemnia ludis*). 'Carry duly', rather than 'carry back' as Page sanely remarks.

telo . . . Camillae For the theme, vd. **tamen**, *supra*. Note that C., in briefing Ornytus on his message, uses her own name: the O.O. weakens the familiar pathetic effect (**7.401**).

cecidisse Cf. **668**; flat but alliterative.

690 protinus Cf. **7.408**.

Orsilochum Cf. **636**.

et Buten An old tangle. Let ours be Butes (1), the *armiger* of Anc./comes of Asc. (9.647ff.) Butes (2), and the vast Bebrycian bruiser of 5.371ff. Butes (3). (2) is now clearly too old for active service. (1) perhaps = (3); certainty is hardly possible, but note that at 5.374, B. (3) was *moribundus*, though his dimensions, *immani corpore*, might suggest identity. Cf. *EV* 1, 584f. (Polverini, Gargiulo, with ample bibl.).

duo maxima Teucrum/691 corpora Cf. **7.650 corpore Turni**.

The extension of the periphr. by an adj. *ad hoc*, not formulaic.

sed Buten Cf. **694**; a vast antithetic structure: C.'s victims linked by their unavailing bulk and distinguished by the manner of their death. Between **traicit** and **fixit**, no pressing need of a main verb; an easy ellipse, saving V. the choice of another synonym. Wills (185) finely draws attention to a Virgilian pattern of pairing names initially, then repeating them severally at some distance. So e.g. 5.184 *Sergesto Mnestheique . . .* (185) *Sergestus . . .* (189) . . . *Mnestheus*, 10.575f. (elegantly chiasmic, as here).

auersum Cf. **7.618**; thus of attacking a warrior on the blind side, 9.412 (Heyne; an indispensable correction), 12.464. The **aduersum** of most Carolingian mss. would be tolerable (championed by Henry), but there is no good reason to override **MPR**.

cuspidē Cf. **7.817**.

fixit Cf. **645 transfixa**; the *simplex*, after Hom. πῆξεν, traditional (Cat.116.8), and also hist. prose (Liv.8.7.10; vd. **636**); cf. Harrison on 10.343, *EV* 2, 512.

692 loricae galeamque Cf. **7.640, 638**. Somewhat reminiscent of Hector's death-wound; he wore Patroclus' armour, but the λαυκανίη, throat, was exposed, where the collar-bones separate neck from shoulders (22.324f.; cf. [Hes.] *Scut.*417f.). *Superfluum fuit mortuum dicere*, given the spot specified, TCD.

inter Anastrophe of disyll.prepos.; for the two dependent nouns, cf. **7.349 inter uestis et leuia pectora**, 10.778 *latus inter et ilia* (9.318, 556f. are different).

qua colla sedentis/693 lucent Cf. Prop.2.14.17 and *Aen.*9.383 *lucebat semita*, Buchwald, *TLL* 7.2.1694.69; *EV* in darkness. It is quite clear at **707** that C. is on horseback, and here there are no real grounds to think that either she or her adversaries are not, but we have not been told as much for some time and H.W. Greene, *CR* 19 (1905), 39 neatly wrote **sedentem**, of the helmet sitting or fitting well; Stat.*Theb.*8.524f. writes *summae qua margine parmae/ima sedet galea et iuguli uitalia lucent*, which offers no very clear guide to what he is likely to have read here. Note Quint.11.3.140, 161 *sedens umero toga*, Hor.*Epist.*1.1.96 *toga dissidet*. But *sedere* is impeccable Latin for 'to sit on a horse' (cf. *OLD* s.v., §1b) and we can hardly with reason suppose that Butes is not in the saddle here. But Greene's suggestion is at least elegant, though the resultant word-order might seem a good deal strained.

laeua . . . lacerto Cf. Hor.*Serm.*1.6.74 (earlier) *laeua suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto*. For the noun, cf. **7.164** (vd. also **11.561**).

dependet Cf. 6.301, 10.836 (the vb. Lucretian); cf. **575** for the arrangement of arms and armour not in use.

parma Cf. **619**.

694 Orsilochum fugiens Even heroines execute tactical withdrawals; C., naturally, is about to turn the tables. Paratore suggests unnecessarily that C.'s flight is feigned.

magnumque . . . per orbem Cf. 12.481, 743, 763 (on foot), 5.584, 10.885 (riders), *OLD* s.v., §14b, *EV* 3, 877. Apparently not a military

term but an easy extension of sense. Gransden's unhappy suggestion that C. doubles back (as though she had space or time!) suggests, like Page's censure of editors who 'are very obscure in explaining this device', an exceptional degree of authorial opacity or scholarly hebetude (indeed Harrison on 10.884 is truly baffling): perspicuously, however, V. depicts C. tightening the circle in which she rides (**gyro interior**), letting Orsilochus overshoot her, and coming up behind him before he can turn (as James Henry lucidly explains). Superior horsemanship (and perhaps shrewd use of terrain) wins.

agitata Cf. 2.421, 12.248, 803, *OLD* s.v., §3b ('to harry, chase').

695 eludit Cf. Caes.*Civ.*1.58.1 *ipsi Massilienses et celeritate nauium et scientia gubernatorum nostros eludebant*, *TLL* 5.2.431.47 (Krohn); not, though, to be claimed as technical. 'Gave him the slip'.

gyro interior The noun comparably at 10.884 (vd. Harrison's note; the word's original sense in Lat. is a ring for training or riding horses), **7.379**; possibly introduced to high poetry by V. (cf. Hor.*Serm.*2.6.26). The adj. very similarly at 5.170 *radit iter laeuum interior*. Cic. writes (*Arat.frag.*7.5 = *ND* 2.106, *Lucull.*66) *nam cursu interiore breui conuertitur orbe* but his sense is not entirely clear (vd. Soubiran, *ad loc.*).

sequiturque sequentem Polypoton between vb. and partic., applied to subject at 2.160f. *seruataque serues/Troia, fidem*, and cf. **619**. Full discussion at Wills, 249f.

696 ualidam . . . securim Cf. **656**; the adj. used of C.'s *bipennis* at **651**.

perque arma . . . perque ossa Cf. **7.499 perque uterum . . . perque ilia** (q.v.). Hom. has (20.397ff.; cf. 12.183ff.) *νύξε κατὰ κρόταφον, κυνέης διὰ . . .* [but the helmet did not stop it]/. . . *ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτῆς/αἰχμῆ ἰεμένη ῥῆξ' ὄστεον, ἐγκέφαλος δὲ/ἔνδον ἅπασ πεπάλακτο*. V. sharpens (the repeated **per**) and shortens. The anatomical horror is also increased, as it is drawn out into our gaze.

uiro Dative of disadvantage; the word stronger than **illi** but far less than ἥρωϊ.

697 altior Cf. the closely comparable **755 arduus insurgens** (*arduus* likewise lends itself to such expressions with adj. used as advb.), 12.902 *altior insurgens* (and cf. **284**). The comparative so used is intensifying (the original sense, Ernout-Thomas, 167; cf. **338**).

exsurgens The vb., *Enn.trag.*13; admirably well suited to the heroine standing as she rides; no stirrups, we recall, and only hypothetical

saddles (they were known but are not specified: *EV* 2, 353).

oranti et multa precanti Unique (for V.; cf. Hor.*Epist.*1.7.95 *obsecro et obtestor*) accumulation of synonymous verbs: contrast **7.446 oranti** ('speak'); cf. further **106 haud aspernanda precantis**. Cf. *Companion*, 203, 210 for the plea for one's life in epic narrative.

698 congeminat The verb old (Plaut.*Amph.*786; cf. *Poen.*1297) but unattractive until *bis* in V. (at 12.714, less strikingly, of blows). *Ingeminare* commoner: cf. 9.811 *ingeminant hastis*. 'He splits my skull, not in a friendly way, / once more' (*trag.inc.* ap. Housman).

uulnus . . . rigat ora Homeric detail, as we have seen (**696**). Unfortunately, *EV* ignores the tricky *uulnus*, both wound inflicted and wound suffered, both the blow and the injury (cf. **7.533f.**, equally wet and horrible. Note too 9.753); *uestigia* present a comparable problem (step and print), **788** and see too **699 aspectu**. V. recalls (? unconsciously) the phrasing of 9.251 *ora rigabat* (tears).

calido . . . cerebro Cf. 9.414 *calidum . . . flumen*, 422 *calido . . . sanguine*, 10.570 *intepuit mucro*, 10.486 *calidum . . . telum*: The warmth is simply that of life (cf. 9.475, Onians, 95).

699 incidit huic A common sense in prose (here perhaps calculatedly so); the vb. *septies* in *Aen*; *deest* in *EV*.

subitoque Naturally not to be taken as advb. with **haesit** but as adj. with **aspectu**. Cf. 6.710 *horrescit uisu subito*, 8.109 *terrentur uisu subito*, *EV* 4, 1052.

aspectu territus The noun *ter* in Lucr. (but not Hor., Cat., Prop., Tib., Ov.). Cf. 3.597 *aspectu conterritus haesit* (Achaemenides at the sight of the Trojans), 4.279 *aspectu obmutuit* (Aeneas at the sight of Mercury). Like *uisus* (*EV* 5*, 536), **a.** has the sense both of 'sight' (act.; 9.657) and 'sight' (thing seen, as here).

haesit Cf. 3.597, *cit.*, 5.529 *attonitis haesere animis*, *EV* 2, 829 (on 6.559, misleading), *OLD* s.v., §10. The difficult **7.250** not comparable.

700 Appenninicolae . . . Auni The adj. apparently a showy, attractive invention, of archaic colour (cf. Naev. *siluicola*, Enn. *caelicola*; in V., cf. *accola*, *agricola* and note Colonna, *EV* 1,862). The name Aunus has been compared with Ocnus, 10.198, founder of Mantua, with Silius' Bolognese Ocnus (?; cf. Spaltenstein on 8.599), and even with the Etr. An(n)ius of Ps.Plut.*Parall.Min.*40 (typically, citing alluring sources). SDan. on 10.198, like (e.g.) Saunders, 84f., Montenegro Duque, 171ff., 241ff., and *EV* 1, 412 embroiders further, vigorously (cf. though, commendably, Basson, 183f.). The name will pass for

native in Etruria or Liguria (Montenegro Duque, 243 after Schulze, 72), but its character, associations and origins remain obscure.

bellator filius Cf. 553. Note **uenator** (678), **pugnatori** (680); a marked (fortuitous) concentration of agent-nouns. **B.** used as adj.: nouns in general so used rarely (but cf. 1.21 *populum late regem*) because of the risk of ambiguity (Ernout-Thomas, 165), but the category of *nomina agentis* in *-tor*, *-trix* is clearly an exception (LHS, 157, Wackernagel, *Syntax* 2, 54): e.g. G.3.16f. *Caesar . . . uictor*, **11.89 bellator equus**. The name of the *filius* is a mystery: he is either anonymous (cf. Dingel on 9.581, citing 9.362, 546), or ('naturally') a homonym of his father (Serv. on 700), or he is called Ligus (715; after all, vd. **Tyrrhenus**, 612) or, just possibly, **haud Ligurum extremus** is meant to remind us of Cunerus and Cupauo, leaders of the Ligurians at 10.186, where, conveniently, no paternity is specified; in the subsequent narrative, moreover, neither has been eliminated. But Ignotus is, in truth, well named and his namelessness might well be taken as a further indication that bits of Bk. 11 were composed in haste and without much revision.

701 haud . . . extremus For the litotes (commoner with *minimus*) Hiltbrunner (*TLL* 5.2.2004.42) cites Liv.26.31.4 *non estis extremi Syracusanorum, quippe qui aliis humilitatem obiciatis* (cf. too 8.727 *extremi hominum Morini*, Bell, 218); apparently no Homeric analogues. 'Not least, but honoured of them all'.

Ligurum Firmly located by V. in the NW Appennine (Harrison's 'from the Rhone to the Arno' holds good only in the pre-historic period)—in the arc from Savona to La Spezia, reaching up from coast into mountains. Cf. G.2.168, 10.185 and see *EV* 3, 221f., Rehm, 5, Salmon, *MRI*, 31f.. Notably, though, Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy*, 2, 273ff..

dum . . . fata sinebant Cf. 1.18 *fata sinant* (vd. Austin), 4.651 *dum fata deusque sinebant*, 6.869f., 12.147 *parcaequae sinebant*, Pötscher, 55, Bailey, 217: Aunus' individual destiny.

fallere V. returns, perhaps to the ideas present at 686, the traditional attributes and associations of the Italian regions and their peoples (see further *SCI* 39 (2001), 39ff.). 'Everyone knew' that Ligurians were liars and the ancient references have been collected often enough (e.g. *EV* 1, 412, 3, 222), from Cato, *Orig.frr.*31, 32P, via Nig.Fig. fr. 101Swob. (= SDan. on 715; abbreviated, Schol.Bern. *ad* G.2.168), Cic. *Cluent.*72, *Sest.*68, Crinagoras, GP, GP, 1946, etc.. Legitimate use of ruses (cf. 515) in wartime, protests Saunders, 81, to little effect;

if V. can toy with the conventions of bandit Aequi, Etruscans variously entrail-gazing or greedy, snake-charming Marsi, etc., then it is hard to see what objection there can be (aside from mere *campanilismo*, still potent, even among scholars!) to deceitful Ligurians.

702 isque ubi Cf. 3.596, 6.684, 9.549; *ille ubi* likewise *quater*. With following *uidit* in the other three instances. Hardly ‘formulaic’ (Dingel), but a recalled structural convenience (though my view may be corrupted by the continued practise of hexameter-writing).

se . . . / 703 . . . cernit Cf. 2.538f. *nati coram me cernere letum/fecisti*, Lamacchia, *EV* 1, 748 (*c.* as an emotionally coloured synonym of the flat *uidere*).

nullo . . . cursu Far livelier, more affective than *nullo . . . modo* would have been; the action noun looks forward to the concentration of abstracts, **704** and introduces the theme of speed of pursuit, without cluttering the verse with yet another verb (so too **7.383**); note again the subtle discussion of *Astratti* by V. Ferraro, *EV* 1, 378ff.

iam After a negative, the pathetic sense of ‘no longer’ is achieved: cf. *G.3.252*, *Aen.1.219*, 556, etc..

euadere pugnae Use of *euadere* (itself a common, ‘standard’ verb) with dat. here (contrast **905** abl., 2.731, acc.; Görler, *EV* 2, 266), in keeping with V.’s avoidance of prepositions and frequent use of dat. with vbs. expressing union, separation, Görler, *cit.*, *KS* 1, 317f., LHS, 89f., Ernout-Thomas, 70f..

703 posse Placed with the first of two parallel infins.; cf. 9.561 for this same sense of the warrior’s inescapable inferiority to the adversary of the moment (and note 2.292).

neque . . . auertere Cf. *G.2.172* (averting the Indian, dangerously *mollis*, from the citadel of Rome), etc.. Note *Cic.Caec.33 reppulerit, fugarit, auerterit*.

instantem reginam There is something majestic, royal in C.’s onset. For the vb., cf. **872f.**, 2.491, 10.433, 645, *EV* 4, 1028 (Bartalucci); familiar too in historical prose (*Caes.Gall.3.5.1 hostes acrius instarent*, *Sall.Iug.50.4 infensi adesse atque instare* *Liv.1.27.10 instat Tullus*, etc.). In this sense, a distinct flavour of narrative prose.

704 consilio . . . et astu *Aastutieis* *CLE* 2.3(?); *astu* a back-formation (Leumann, 334; WH doubtful); other cases of *astu* then presumably a further back-formation (cf. EM). *Astu* now concentrated in frag.*trag.* (*quater*, *Pac.*, *bis*, *Acc.*), but that may only be an accident of transmission. *Astu* also at 10.522 (where vd. Harrison); after V., the revived archaism adopted by Prop., Ov. (Tränkle, 38f.). The pairing with *c.*

is not conventional, but we should remember that *consilium* is part of the standard vocabulary of trickery: cf. Gell.1.23.8 on **c.** as a rendering of *ετραπήγημα*, *OLD* s.v., §5c.

uersare dolos Cf. 2.62 *seu uersare dolos, seu certae occumbere morti*; Austin and Ussani strangely forgot that the origins of the phrase were clear and singularly interesting (cf. Garuti, *EV* 5*, 509): after the *πολύτροπον* of *Od.*1.1, cf. the *uersutum* of *Liv.Andr.Odus.*1.1, whence, naturally *uersare dolos*, with *Hom.* and *Liv.Andr.* still in mind; contrast the quite different *Cic.Off.*3.64.2 *perpaucae res sunt in quibus non dolus malus iste uersetur* (Griffin: “there are very few matters to which such malicious fraud is not relevant”).

ingressus Common thus in *Cic.*, and raised to poetry as synonym (but here only with *infin.*) for *incipit, coepit* by *V.* (cf. *Prop.*3.1.3).

705–8 Balanced, not answered by **715–7**.

705 incipit haec Here alone in *V.* as a speech-introduction. and here too alone **incipit** with an *acc.*, not *obj.* but *advbl.*

quid tam egregium The *synaloepha* exceptionally rare: cf. Austin on 1.568, Norden, *Aen.*6, 457. *Quid tam* only here in *V.*; *quater* in *Plaut.*, 21x in *Cic.*, largely in *orat.*; not, though, heavily ‘senatorial’ in tone. Cf. 4.93ff. **egregiam** *uero laudem et spolia ampla refertis/. . ./una dolo diuum si femina uicta duorum est.*

si . . ./706 fidis Cf. 10.181 *Astyr equo fidens* and *Il.*4.303 *ἵπποσύνη . . . πεποιθώς*.

femina Contrast **687 muliebribus armis**: there *C.* speaks and takes due pride in womanly superiority; here, she is enraged by an enemy’s disparaging use of her gender (coupled with a trivial yet wounding allegation of cowardice!), however lying and trivial.

forti/706 . . . equo Cf. *Enn. Ann.*522 *fortis equos*, *Cic. Arat.*54, *Lucret.*3.8, *TLL* 6.1. 1153.44 (Hey).

dimitte fugam A sort of *brachylogy*, as Rubenbauer remarks (*dimitte cogitationem fugae equo celeri fidens*, *TLL* 6.1.1470.82f.); *Serv.* comments, though, *equi celeritatem*, which would entail *fugam* in the sense of ‘speed’ (for which *TLL, cit.* compares *Sen. Phoen.*21): this is no escape. For **d.** in this sense, cf. *Cat.*64.208, *Hor. Ep.*1.7.96.

et te . . . aequo/707 . . . crede solo Cf. 9.56 *non aequo dare se campo* (where Dingel argues that there is also a moral element in the *adj.*; note that **s.** is used as often as a virtual synonym of *campus, terra*, Lenaz, *EV* 4, 933) and 9.42 *neu struere auderent aciem neu credere campo*, where it is singular that *EV* 1, 923 (Pizzani) supplies *aciem* as

dir. obj. of the vb.; possible, but TCD saw it was easier not to. *OLD* s.v. *aequus*, §1b: ‘Mil., of ground which, being level, affords no advantage to either side’, citing *Sall.Cat.57.4*, *Caes.Gall.3.17.7*. For cavalry fighting on foot, cf. Oakley on *Liv.6.24.10*.

comminus Cf. **7.732**.

707 mecum Cf. *Buc.4.58*, etc..

pugnaeque . . . pedestri Standard (and perhaps here a hint of solid narrative language): cf. *Cic.Sen.13* (with Powell’s n.), *Liv.3.61.9*, *6.24.10*, *10.28.6*, *21.55.8*, *28.33.12*, *29.2.9*, *36.44.9*, *42.61.8* (neither *Sall.* nor *Caes.*).

accinge Cf. 1.210 (refl.); in passive (*tacet EV*) a favourite (‘is girt’): cf. **7.640**. C. in fact will feel no need to change equipment (**710**).

708 iam nosces No menace in the εἶδομεν of *Il.22.130* (where εὔχος does not guarantee **laudem** here, *pace* Henry); here Ignotus casts in C.’s’ teeth a very Virgilian ‘too late’ (cf. **7.598**).

uentosa . . . gloria So *Hor.Epist.2.1.177* (where vd. Brink); cf. **390**. Cf., though not precisely comparable, *Hom. ἀνεμώλιος*, as in ἄ. βάζειν. **G.** repeatedly hollow and dangerous in **11**: cf. **154**, **421**, **431**.

ferat cui . . . fraudem **Fraudem** **MR_a**, **laudem** **M₂ωγ**, TCD, corr.**P**; **poenam** recc.; *haec est uera et antiqua lectio ut Serv. (fraudem in lenmate); ‘fraudem’ non ‘laudem’ legas ut si ‘fraudem’ legeris (SDan.), sit sensus: pedes congregere, iam agnosces cui inanis iactantia adferat poenam (Serv.)*. *Serv.*’s admirable note goes on to explain that *fraudem* is [*OLD* s.v., §1 ‘detriment, harm’, §2 ‘liability . . . responsibility’] archaic for *poenam* (whereas if you read **laudem**, the sense is *agnosces cui inanis gloria adferat laudem*); note *Lucr.5.1005*, *Aen.10.72f. quis deus in fraudem, quae dura potentia nostri/egit?* (*pace* Harrison’s tr.); *Rubensbauer, TLL 6.1.1269.5* compares for *f. ferre*, *Cic.Att.7.26.2 fraudem tulit* (‘had been my undoing’ **SB**). *Laudem ferre*, though good Latin (vd. **791f.**; Henry makes the best of a weak case), is rather ‘easy’, and does not explain how the archaising **fraudem** entered the transmission. The **poenam** of recc. is an invasive gloss, added to explain the unfamiliar sense of a common word.

709 dixit at illa Cf. **595** and not hitherto; not so much formulaic as rapid re-use of a convenient structure.

furens Cf. **762**: unwise to argue that this is the *furore* typical of the enemies of Aeneas (cf. Brill, 70, n. 3, Schenk, 248); C. is driven by Ignotus’ jibes to a heroic blaze of χάρμη, without strong moral connotations. Cf. *Companion*, 200, 213f..

acri . . . dolore Cf. Juno, **7.291 stetit acri fixa dolore**. A common sentiment upon the field of battle, *et sim.*, 8.220, 10.398, *EV* 2, 122.

accensa Cf. 4.697 *subitoque accensa furore*, climax to the fire of love-grief-madness, but C.'s flash of fury at Ignotus' insult is quickly sketched in familiar language and we should not do well to build her feelings up to higher levels of tragic rage (Dido, Juno) on the basis of such associations.

710 tradit equum Cf. **706**: Oakley, *cit.*, comments on Liv.'s *tradi equos*, but however common the act, the expression appears not to recur in this form.

comiti Cf. **655**.

paribusque . . . in armis C. answers Ignotus' taunt with deeds not words, now facing her adversary with no advantage of arms (or mobility). Cf. *G.4.245 aut asper crabro imparibus se immiscuit armis*, *Aen.6.184 hortatur socios paribusque accingitur armis*, 9.655 *paribus non inuidet armis*, **11.439 factaque Volcani manibus paria induat arma**, 12.344 *paribusque ornauerat armis*. Their modest equipment is about to be specified.

resistit 'Stands her ground' *uel sim.*; present of *resisto*. Frequently, perhaps distinctively, military (80x in Liv. in various senses).

711 ense . . . nudo Cf. 9.548 *ense leuis nudo*, 12.306 *ense sequens nudo*, and Gk. γυμνός also thus (from Hom., of a bow not in its case, *Od.11.607*, or an arrow not in its quiver, 21.417).

pedes Cf. **7.624**.

puraque . . . parma For **parma**, cf. **693**. For shield decorations, cf. **7.796**; there Serv. notes *nam apud maiores uirorum fortium picta erant scuta, e contra inertium et tironum pura erant, unde . . .* [9.545]. Previous to the present battle, therefore, C. had won no victories (*tunc enim primum in bella descenderat* Serv., here); her prowess, we might continue, had therefore been shown in the hunting field and neither her sovereignty nor the awe she inspires in Tu. (**508ff.**) are easily explained. This expansion of **p.** seems, though, inevitable; cf. Dingel on 9, *cit.*
interrita To heighten the effect of Ignotus' reaction. Possibly a Virgilian formation, of a common type (cf. *EV* 1, 54 and 4, 1064); *ter* in *Aen.*

712 at iuuenis . . . ipse The pron. (markedly delayed) may only mean that Ignotus fights alone, whereas his adversary has numerous companions-in-arms.

uicisse dolo More typical Ligurian conduct; the concentration of words for 'trick' in these lines is remarkable. Cf. Liv.27.16.14 *dolo inuictus*, but V. is not using stock phrasing.

ratus Highly convenient, short past (but effectively achronic) partic. of deponent with no subjuncts. to follow (cf. *EV* 4, 437).

auolat At Acc.*trag.*390 and used of swift non-winged motion already by e.g. Liv. 1.57.8 (possibly therefore Ennian). Speed of escape suggests a flickering moment of success, but C. will of course be faster.

713 haud mora Cf. **7.156**.

conuersisque . . . habenis Cf. *conuersis equis*, *Bell.Afr.*52.3, *conuersi equites*, *Tac.Hist.*2.15; Ignotus turns his horse about. Around reins (and on the metonymy, cf. Bell, 191), V. creates a wide range of compound phrases to express equestrian manoeuvres: creates, perhaps, rather than deploys, for there are strikingly few *habena*-phrases in the classical historians, though note *effusissimis habenis*, Liv.37.20.10. Note caesura at 3tr. and dactyl. rhythm, of horse at speed.

fugax aufertur Cf. **867**, 3.258 *in siluam pennis ablata refugit*, 4.389; for Virgilian adjs. in *-ax*, cf. *EV* 1, 53. Serv. comments *fugiens; nam nomen est pro participio. non enim fugacem possumus accipere quem supra legimus bellatorem*. Bad; **f.** indeed indicates a tendency to flight (12.52, *Hor.C.3.2.14*, Leumann, 376), but that is the whole point: Ignotus is after all Ligurian, so heels and speed are essential to his style of warfare.

714 quadrupedemque I print the apparently correct spelling: cf. **7.500**.

citum Cf. *Enn.trag.*43, *Cat.*64.6 and note too *Acc.trag.*381, 582 for *citatus* used of horses; an occasional synonym for *uelox*, *celer*.

ferrata calce For the adj., cf. **7.622**; there, the doors were iron-covered, and here the kick (*infra*) is iron-tipped (so 5.208 *ferratas . . . trudes*, *Vitr.*8.6.14, and Liv.1.32.12 the *hastam ferratam* of the Fetial); an agreeably inventive alternative for what V. calls *calcar* at 6.881 (post-Homeric; note $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\omega\psi$ *passim* in *Xen.re equestr.*, *Thphr.Char.*21.8, with Ussher's n., Henry and Austin on 6.881, J.K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek horsemanship* (Berkeley 1961), 87f.). Compare *Laus Pis.* 51f. *non solum rapido permittit habenas/quadrupedi, sed calce citat*, *Stat.Silv.*5.2.115f. *tendentem cursus vexantemque ilia nuda/calce ferocis equi*.

fatigat Cf. 1.316f. *uel qualis equos Threissa fatigat/Harpalyce*, 9.609f. *uersaque iuuenecum terga fatigamus hasta*; so already *Pacuv.trag.*159 *fatigans artus*.

715–717 Not insult in reply to insult, but rather response to insult + flight; Highet, 116f., 318. No verb of speech; C. abrupt and furious. **715 uane** ‘Foolish’, or the like, is the most common rendering, as though the adj. were simply restated in the last four lines. We should not, though, forget that **u.** can also carry a sense of *fallax*, as at 1.352 *uana spe lusit amantem*, 4.12 *uana fides*, 6.283f. *somnia . . . / uana*, *EV* 5*, 435 (Colonna), *OLD* s.v., §2; Ignotus, after all, is quintessentially the lying Ligurian and a double sense of **uane** would be attractive here. Serv. *aut fallax aut inaniter iactans*. TCD offers *mobilem . . . fallacem* as synonyms.

Ligus Cf. **700**; most probably, voc. of the ethnic name, as at **686 frustra** Interlocking with **animis . . . superbis** to very good effect; this *superbia* exalts Ignotus to no purpose.

animis . . . superbis Cocky because for a second he appears to have got away (Traina, *EV* 4, 1074, after Con.). For the plur., cf. **18** and note **7.475 animis audacibus**. Here V. cannot, after all, write *superbia*.

elate Banner, *TLL* 5.2.151.31f. offers no very close parallels; cf., though—e.g.—Cic.*Phil.*2.38 *spe uictoriae elati*, *OLD* s.v. *effero*, §13a.

716 nequiquam Cf. **536**.

patrias . . . artis For V., inherited or native qualities are not quite always virtues: cf., on the blacker side, 8.696 *patrio . . . sistro* (and cf. **7.653**). For *ars* thus in the sense of ‘trick(ery)’, cf. **7.477, 765**.

temptasti Cf. 5.499 *ipse manu iuuenum temptare laborem*, *EV* 5*, 94, *OLD* s.v., §7a.

lubricus *Mobilis, fallax* Serv.; cf. **7.353**.

717 nec . . . te incolumem . . . perferet ‘To carry or convey to a person or place (esp. with added idea of successful delivery)’ (*OLD* s.v. *perfero*, §1), *EV* 2, 497; note 10.786 *uiris haud pertulit*, 12.907 *nec pertulit ictum*. Compare notably 10.616 *et Dauno posse incolumem seruare parenti* (but the motif apparently not Homeric). The adj. (= no *calamitates*) in Enn., Pac., *trag.*.

fraus Simply ‘trickery’ and not in the sense of **708**, but such repetition with variation of sense is extremely Virgilian, Austin on 2.505, **7.180, 554**.

fallaci . . . Auno Cf. **713**: A. tends naturally to deceit. Not elsewhere of an individual in *Aen.*; the poem in truth does have a high ethical tone.

718 haec fatur uirgo Unique speech-ending; contrast **501** (etc.) **talia fatur**. V. thus a standing epithet: cf. **479**.

pernicibus . . . plantis For the noun, cf. **573**; the adj. 'swift', perhaps not from *perna*, leg (Leumann, 377, against WH, EM). Probably at Acc.*trag.*421; *bis* in Lucr., *semel*, Cat.. Ignore the distinctions at Isid.*Etym.*10.211. C.'s pace famed from the outset, **7.807**.

igneae The adj. Lucretian (*bis*; note *flammea* at Cat.64.341, of *uestigia ceruae*); *novies* in V. (but *EV* not fired by n. or adj.). TCD writes of *igneis plantis*, enallage, rather simplistically; indeed C. (so too her feet, perforce) is swift as flame (cf. 8.392, lightning), but evidently her spirit too is fiery (cf. **746**) and the double sense should not be excluded.

719 transit equum Goold's 'crosses the horse's path' perplexes, for the vb. thus (*OLD* s.v., §11a) normally indicates 'overtake' (*EV* 2, 323 unilluminating); **curso** perhaps reinforces the notion of overtaking.

curso At the pace which characterises all her aristeia, explicitly or otherwise.

frenis . . . prehensis Cf. Apul.*Met.*6.27.1 *lorumprehendit*. The simplex thus, Cic.*Arat.*116, *Aen.*2.592, 12.775 *prendere curso*, etc.

adversa C. turns about to face and take vengeance on Ignotus. Cf. **370**.

720 concreditur Cf. Acc.*trag.*321, Lucr. (in other senses), and also prose (Caes. *armis congressi*). So too 1.475, 10.540, 12.233, etc..

poenasque . . . sumit Cf. 2.103, 6.501, 12.949; noted by the parodist as typical and worked (too) hard, 2.576, 585. Already in Cic. (*Inv.*2.82, 109).

inimico ex sanguine Fine, terse use,—cf. Sen.*Herc.Fur.*736 *adhauriendum sanguinem inimicum feror*—of adj. for gen., Frei (*TLL* 7.1. 1627.72). The adj. often thus applied in V.; cf. **84**, **685**.

721–4 Primarily after *Il.*22.139–42 ἤυτε κίρκος ὄρεσφιν . . . / ῥηδίως οἴμησε μετὰ τρήρωνα πέλειαν. . . . But in Hom., a stock motif, *Il.*13.62–4 (vd. **721**), 21.493–5 (from the dove's viewpoint), *Od.* 15.525–8 (portent; cf. **751–6**; note the detail, **724** and vd. **721 sacer**), Eur.*Andr.*1140ff., AR 1.1049f.. Serv. notes a paradox; a woman 'is' the hawk, a man, the dove (in Lat., the gender of the nouns sharpens the contrast); Hor.*C.*1.37.17f. has *accipiter uelut/mollis columbas*, which V. will naturally have known! We are encouraged to deduce an appalling end for the son of Aunus (cf. Williams, *TI*, 64f., Lyne, *WP*, 71f.; Traina's objections, *RFil* 120 (1992), 493 = *Poeti latini* 4,154, atypically insubstantial). Cf. Brill, 71, Schenk, 251f., A. Barchiesi, *Traccia del modello* (Pisa 1984), 65, n. 13 (agreed that the bird-similes are coupled; that is hardly true of the other 'pair' adduced).

721 quam facile Cf. **7.718** for the (common) ellipse of *tam*; for the advb., cf. *G.4.404* (common in Lucr.).

accipiter Not specific and therefore not precisely identifiable (Capponi, *EV* 5*, 350) among the hawks or falcons, even with the following (?) gloss. Cf. NH on Hor.C.1.37.17, Bömer on Ov.F.2.90. Note above all Lucr.3.752 (*supra*).

saxo . . . ab alto Cf. 2.307, 10.806; perfectly conventional, and also, clearly, traditional (*Il.*13.62, the ἴρηξ, ἀπ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης) but true to the habits of some raptors; I recall with delight a peregrine (seen late 1986) returning between soars to a dead tree above the Renaissance staircase from lake-level up to the village of Nemi ('fond of watching from look-out on tree [cf. Cic. *Marius*, fr. 3.2] or crag' Fitter and Richardson, *British birds*, s.v., in confirmation of Hom., *cit.*)! Note the impeccable eagle **uolans alte** (**751**).

sacer ales *Ideo quia Marti est consecratus* Serv.; but the woodpecker was Mars' bird, preeminently (**7.191**) and the (apparently unconfirmed) remark could easily be an invention; the augural role of hawks (e.g. *Od.*15.525) is—alone—quite insufficient. However, we might sense a play (O'Hara, 232) between ἰέραξ and ἱερός; Callim. *on birds* discussed the hawks (fr. 420, O'Hara, *cit.*). Learned and verbal, therefore (in all probability), not cultic, though the κίρκος is called messenger of Apollo at *Od.*15.526.

722 consequitur pennis 'Catches [up with]'; cf. 5.153, 224, 12.375 (Enn.—*Ann.*263—and also milit. prose). *Insequitur* at *G.*1.408. Were one to push V., the sense (**pennis**; cf. 6.240 *tendere iter pennis*) might be that the raptor (they are expert users of thermals) does not (*Il.*22.140, *lapsus Aen.*12.249) stoop (with wings folded) onto its prey but has (atypically; very hard, indeed, to a bird-lover) to fly up to catch and feed.

sublimem in nube *Il.*23.874 ὑψὶ δ' ὑπὸ νεφέων (here properly, of the raptor, not its prey), Lucr. (*cit.*) *per auras*. But the expression (adj. expanded by prepositional phrase) V has already used, *G.*1.404 (of the sea-eagle, Nisus) and here it is reapplied with a further decline in ornithological credibility which (perhaps) matters not at all.

columbam Any/all kinds of dove/pigeon (Capponi, *cit.*, 348 properly hesitant), not typically high-soaring; the two birds are, we have seen, properly literary.

723 comprehensamque For the reinforced sense, vd. next n.. Corresponding to **prehensis**, **719**, Lyne, *WP*, 71f..

tenet Cf. (G.4.405) Cyrene, of Proteus *correptum manibus uinclisque tenebis*, (*Aen.*2.530) Pyrrhus *iam iamque manu tenet et premit hasta*, (12.754f.), the hound *haeret hians, iam iamque tenet similisque tenenti/increpuit malis* (vd. Simonetti Abbolito, well, at *EV* 5*, 101); admirably reworked, *Ov.Met.*1.535ff. *alter inhaesuro similis iam iamque tenere/sperat et extento stringit uestigia rostro/alter in ambiguo sit comprehensus*.

pedibusque . . . uncis (G.4.405) Cyrene, of Proteus *correptum manibus uinclisque tenebis*, *Vncae manus* of the Harpies (3.217, 233), 5.255, 9.564 *pedibus . . . uncis* (Jup.'s eagle), 12.250 *pedibus rapit unguibus uncis* (eagle and serpent). Behind V., *Lucr.*5.1322 *unguibus uncis* (lioness), *Cic. carn.Aesch.*2.11 *aduncis . . . unguibus* (Prom.) and a real Greek compound adj. *γαμφώνυξ* (*Il.*16.428, etc.); cf. *EV* 5*, 389 (Iodice de Martino).

euiscerat *Ne uulgari uerbo ex Graeco uteretur dicens 'exenterat', ait 'pedibusque euiscerat'*, SDan.. The verb of distinguished origins, *Enn.trag.*296, *Pacuv.trag.*4, *Cic.carm.Soph.*1.29 (*exenterare*, Plaut., Lucil.). These entrails suggest a brutality beyond V.'s Homeric models.

724 tum Cf. 1.151, 12.591 for similar articulation of the development of a simile.

cruor Suggestive, perhaps, of portentous rains of blood, *Liv.*40.19.2, 43.13.5, etc.; the blood, like the entrails, suggests super-Homeric savagery, by implication in the combat, too.

uulsae . . . plumae V. the Hom. τίλλε, *infra*; cf. *Hor.Epist.*2.1.46.

labuntur ab aethere So *Od.*15.527 τίλλε πέλειαν ἔχων, κατὰ δὲ πτερὰ χεῦεν ἔραζε. Note 4.223 *labere pennis*, *Ov.Pont.*3.3.78 *lapsa per immensas est mea pinna uias*. So 6.310 (leaves); also stars, *ancilia*. Cf. **7.143** for **ab aethere**.

725 at non . . . nullis . . . / 726 . . . oculis Cf. G.4.453 *non te nullius exercent numinis irae* and for litotes with even more striking hyperbaton, *G.*1.118f. **nec** *tamen, haec cum sint hominumque boumque labores/uersando terram experti, nihil improbus anser. . .* The abl. superfluous to the sense (so e.g. *ore locutus*) but indispensable for the rhet. figure (and the litotes might take after *Il.*10.515 οὐδ' ἀλαοσκοπιήν εἶχ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων; cf. too 16.644f.). So, with *aspicit, oculis . . . aequis* (4.372, 9.209) serves as a weighty equivalent to *aeque* and here a sense of 'well, carefully'.

haec . . . / 726 obseruans The vb. 6x in V.; standard language, both *Enn.* and *Caes.*

hominum sator atque deorum Cf. 1.254 (ignored, Moskalew,

118; here the repet. used after the manner of an Hom. formula); gods and men an Ennian polarity after Hom. πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, *Ann.* 203 (with Sk.), 591, 592; *sator* (literally ‘begetter’, Bailey, 136, Wlosok, *Res humanae*, 372), Pacuv.*trag.* 295 *aeternum humanum* [*gen.plur.*] *sator* (text dub.), Cic.*car.* Soph. 1.30 *caelestum sator*. V.’s phrase therefore arguably his own composite. For the unclided *atque*, commoner in the later books, cf. **7.317**.

726 summo . . . Olympo Cf. **7.558**.

sedet altus Cf. **837 alta sedet**; oddly enough, unparalleled phrasing, though adj. -for- advb. of a familiar type (cf. **7.624f.**).

727 Tyrrhenum . . . Tarchonem Cf. **184**; the adj., **171**.

genitor Cf. **7.306**; traditional language but curious both so soon after *sator* and without the usual defining *hominum/deorum*. **G.** does not mean that Jup. was T.’s father and we do not know whether there was some mythical link to account for this show of divine trust in T. (reinforced by the placing of **g.** between name and adj.).

in proelia saeua Not conventional; the adj. of *funera, arma, tela uel sim.*; here perhaps an unconscious and imperceptible novelty!

728 suscitāt Cf. 9.463, 2.618; 12x in V. (standard language; in *Enn.trag.*, *Cat.*) and ignored by *EV*. The vb. enjambéd for augmented effect. A brief and discreet intervention on the Trojans’ behalf.

stimulis haud mollibus Recalled, subconsciously perhaps, from **452**.

inicit Rϙ; incitat MP (by echo-corruption from 10.263), **incutit** NHeinsius. **R** preserves here (and not here alone) an irreproachable reading, *contra mundum*; the vb. thus of feelings, passions is standard in com. and prose, *OLD* s.v., §8a; used variously by *Cat.* (*bis*), *Lucr.* (*bis*).

iras For the plur., cf. **7.445**: battle-rage, Hom. χάρμη, *Companion*, 200. Ethical criticism, not, I sense, intended.

729 ergo Cf. 9.661, likewise of the consequences of divine interference.

inter caedes Cf. **648** and 8.709.

cedentiaque agmina Cf. Liv.21.56.5 *uestigia cedentis sequentes agminis*; here a powerful plur. and a turn surprisingly uncommon.

Tarchon The noun repeated from **727** (rather than a weak *ille*), for T. is now focus of the action.

730 fertur equo Etr. cavalry (cf. **504**); V. has *fertur equis semel* in *G.* and *ter* in *Aen.*; cf. **678 equo uenator Iapyge fertur**.

uariisque . . . uocibus Cf. **7.90**; T. stays the Etr. retreat with suitably coloured language!

instigat Cf. 5.228; the vb. prose (*semel*, *Caes.*) and *semel* in *Lucr.*.

alas Cf. **604, 835**; V.'s cavalry battle is worked out with real care; we are reminded, sparingly, that the poet has mastered some technical language.

731 nomine . . . uocans Re-used 12.759. Cf. *Il.*10.68, 22.415; an ancient technique of encouragement, universal in military historiography (cf. *JRA* 11 (1998), 566, and e.g. Thuc.7.69.2 (with Gomme, Andrewes, Dover), 70.8, Arr.*Anab.*2.7.7, 10.2, Caes.*Gall.*2.25.2, Sall. *Cat.*21.4, 59.5, Plin.*Nat.*7.88, with Schilling's nn., Plut.*Caes.*44.10 and cf. Cic.*Mur.*77, *Comm.Pet.*28 for civil life). On Fur.Bibac. fr. 13.1 (vd. **reficit infra**) *nomine quemque ciet*. Courtney comments only 'some general on the eve of battle' (cf. also Wigodsky, 101)!

quemque Not used 'by the book', but in practice *quisque* alone in the sense of 'each' is far commoner than we were ever allowed to suspect when at school (KS 1, 647, Ernout-Thomas, 198, LHS, 199); Merguet indeed has a category 'allein' (12 instances and at **7.507** there should have been comment). Cf. **7.178, 307**.

reficitque in proelia Fur.Bib.cit., v. 2 continues *reficitque ad proelia mentes*; *r.* often used of soldiers' *animi, uires* (and here therefore perhaps with the flavour of milit. narrative): Sall.*Cat.*48.4, Liv.9.27.13, 21.25.10, 53.2, etc., Vell.2.16.4, G.3.235, *OLD* s.v., §3b. **In proelia** at **486, 520, 727** after comparable vbs. of preparation, encouragement.

pulsos Cf. **392, 7.217**.

732–40 Vituperative encouragement, for Hightet, 309, n. 10. We recall Agamemnon to Mnestheus and Odysseus, *Il.*4.340ff.: they are standing apart from the battle, but πρώτω γὰρ καὶ δαιτὸς ἀκούαζενθον ἐμεῖο, with details and menu to follow. Less relevant the boasts made over the banquet-tables of Lemnos, 8.228ff. Tarchon on Etruscan greed anticipates another imminent cultural polemic, Virgil on Phrygian effeminacy.

732 quis metus Cf. 10.9 and V. has questions thus (*quis . . . ?*) with *furor, amor, plangor, modus*. **Quae** follows shortly, after the geminated interjections; Tarchon intervenes with ample verbal resources.

o . . . o Cf. G.2.40, 486ff., *Aen.*1.198f., 2.241, 281, 5.623f., 6.194ff., 10.18; this gemination (possibly tragic in flavour, Enn.*trag.*87) ignored by Wills.

numquam dolituri *O numquam* at 12.95; Cf. Hor.*Epd.*15.11 *o dolitura*, Val.Fl.3.230 *numquamne dolor uirtute subibit/nil ausas sine rege manus?* Here the *dolor* that attends the defeated, G.3.102, *Aen.*2.3 (note unhelpful complications in Serv.). The polarity of advbs. not common, Ov.*AA.* 3.277f..

semper inertes Cf. **378, 391** for **s.** thus of inalterable characteristics. V. will shortly gloss the adj. with **ignauia**; if *ars* once signified *uirtus* (cf. Ps.Prob. *GL* 4.47.17, EM; ultimately after Gk. ἀρετή, according to Varr. fr. 233GRF), then *iners* will suggest both indolence and cowardice (B. Rehm, *TLL* 7.1.1310.2).

733 Tyrreni Cf. **686, 701**: we are back with the conventional, critical attributes of the peoples of Italy.

quae tanta . . . ignauia Cf. *Buc.*1.26, *G.*4.495, *Aen.*2.42, 282, 5.465, 6.561 for the pronouns thus linked.

animis . . . uenit Cf. 1.582 *animo sententia surgit*, 2.660 *sedet hoc animo*; the simplest of expressions and apparently unparalleled (after several PHI searches), though cf. e.g. κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἴκανεν. For plur. *animi*, cf. **18**.

734 femina For **fem-**, cf. **7.806**; Camilla's sex encourages the same sort of crude and untimely gender-banter as Allecto's had done (cf. **705, 7.441ff.**). Only one enemy, and that a woman, TCD.

palantis agit The partic. a Lucretian vb. (*quater*), *septies* in *Aen.*; in Plaut. and thus perhaps once Ennian. Note, similarly proleptic, 5.265 *palantis Troas agebat*, 6.594 *praecipitem . . . adegit*, 3.682, 5.456, 859f..

haec agmina uertit Cf. 9.800 *fuga per muros agmina uertit*, where vd. Dingel. Possibly a sense of formulaic verse-end. Gransden prints the verse as a question, which in form it is not.

735 quo . . . quidue Sequences of mixed interrogatives are very common in V. (so much so as not to attract Wills); for the present sequence, cf. *G.*1.354, 4.324f., *Aen.*1.8f., 517f., 2.69f., 9.94 (though **quo** here, like **quiue** is of course used advbly.). Williams' case for detaching **ferrum** from **gerimus** is not strong.

ferrum . . . gerimus . . . dextris Cf. 12.50, 97, 206, 488; despite the common, flat, even banal terms chosen, the exact combination proves new in V. and only in bk. 12 does V. ring the changes on these familiar words.

tela irrita Cf. 2.459, 10.329ff. (where vd. Harrison on ἄλιον βέλος); the adj. at Cat.64.59.

736 at non Anticipating reaction to the question, as discussed at **7.363**.

in Venerem Cf. *G.*3.97 *frigidus in Venerem senior*, *Ov.Met.*6.459f. *pronumque genus . . . /in Venerem*.

segnes 12x in bks. 7–12 (*septies*, *G.*, *ter*, *Aen.*1–6); oddly, almost, not among Numanus Remulus' compliments upon the Trojans; clearly,

though, in the same vein. Woldemar Görler compares *Ov.Pont.*4.8.75, 3.4.50 *segnis . . . ad*.

nocturnaue bella Cf. *G.*3.98 *ad proelia* (cited by Serv.; ‘lacks here all the irony that *bella* carried in 11.736’, Mynors), *Ov.Am.*1.9.45 (where vd. McKeown’s n. for the application of this and comparable phrases to lovers and komasts). Note *Cat.*37.13, 66.13 *nocturnae . . . rixae*, Musaeus 9 ἐννύχιον . . . ἄεθλον and see also Lyne, *WP*, 36f. (who leaps from the **bella** of V.’s text to *tela*, *sens.obsc.*, absent from those edd. of *Aen.* I have consulted), Glei, 236, Pichon, *Ind.verb.amat.*, 93, Adams, *Lat.sexual vocab.*, 158f. V. uses polemically the language of *Cat.*, allusive and appropriate, to make the point (Serv.) that currently the Etrs. do not dare face Camilla in the field, but have been only too eager to face her sisters in private.

737 aut ubi Cf. *G.*1.445f. (*bis*), 2.107, 4.49 (*bis*), *Aen.*1.592, 12.523. **curua . . . tibia** Cf. 9.618 (the *t.* and cult of Magna Mater; cf. Horsfall in Harrison, *OR*, 313, for resultant moral censure of the flute). The double flute of 9, *cit.* represents the common type, while the curved flute here recalls rather (Marzi, *EV* 4, 1041) the Phrygian ἔλυμος, where the l.-hand pipe (usually) ended in an upwards-curving cow-horn (M.L. West, *Greek Music* (Oxford 1992), 91). Note that *tibicines* were thought to have reached Rome from Etruria, *Varr.LL* 7.35, *Plin.Nat.*16.172, Mynors on *G.*2.193.

choros . . . indixit Cf. 1.632 *simul diuum templis indicit honorem*, 5.758; not the techn. language of music or cult, for V. extends prose *inducere ludos, concilium, diem, bella* (7.616), *sim.*

Bacchi Wille, 53 supposes this passage is evidence for the early diffusion of the cult of Bacchus in Etruria, an hypothesis not at all in keeping with the detailed case offered for the poet as part-time, amateur Etruscologist (7, p. 166). The gen. may depend on **c.** and/or **t.** Here OCT prints a full stop (well); if so, a vb. to be supplied in **736** (easily) and what Gransden calls ‘abrupt’ (the vb. in **738**) is rather vigorous and decisive phrasing.

738 expectate dapes ‘Await with interest’ (*OLD*); the vb. (cf. **54**) to V.’s taste (cf. *EV* 4, 979). The ‘derisive imperative’ strongly Virgilian, **129**, **7.425** (here then, unexceptionably—though Paratore differs—‘go and wait for a feed until . . .’); the infin. given here by *recc.* and e.g. *Con.*, Page; possible, but unnecessary and frankly indefensible. The noun ‘terminus sacralis’ (Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.38.30; not always: **7.109**, **125**). Like *epulae*, far loftier than *cena* (Axelson,

106f.). Cf. C. Edwards, *Politics of immorality* (Cambridge 1993), 186ff., E. Gowers, *Loaded table* (Oxford 1993), 18ff., Corbeil (384), 139ff. ('political heavies'), Barton (82), 109ff., John D'Arms in *The art of ancient spectacle* (ed. B. Bergmann, C. Kondoleon, New Haven 1999), 308ff., J. Griffin, *Latin poets and Roman life* (London 1985), 9ff. on Roman disapproval of an unhealthy interest in food and drink.

plenaē . . . mensae Cf. Plaut.*Men.*89, Prop.2.16.5: hardly a stock phrase.

pocula Cf. Cic.*Flacc.*92 *nam iste unus totam Asiam magnitudine poculorum bibendoque superavit*, and similarly (of Mark Antony) *Phil.*2.63, 106.

739 hic amor hoc studium Revived, Ov.*Met.*14.634. **A.** common in dicolon with near-synonym (7.461, 6.133, 823, 8.184, 327, etc.) and likewise in parentheses (so here)/epigrammatic formulations (892, 4.347, 10.188, G.2.301, 3.244, etc.).

dum sacra . . . / 740 nuntiet The vb. belongs to the language of reported portents (F. Luterbacher, *Prodigienstil*, 44f., citing Sall.*Cat.*30.2, Liv.5.32.6, etc.; note Cic.*Div.*1.105, Liv.42. 30.8f. *inde preces suas acceptas ab diis immortalibus ominati, senatui rite sacrificatum precationemque de bello factam renuntiarunt. haruspices ita responderunt*); however, the combination *sacra nuntiare* is not attested and V. has, typically enough, reused technical language (cf. 7, index, s.v.) to his own ends. For the mood, cf. Sidgwick, grammatical index, sv. subjunctive.

secundus haruspex Serv. senses rightly that there is a hint at *secunda sacra* (not, though, simply enallage (so Bell, 321); 'favourable'—cf. Hickson, 60—applies both to the *sacra*—cf. Pease *ad Cic.Div.*1.16 on what *haruspices* actually *did*—and to their interpreter).

740 lucos . . . in altos Cf. 7.95.

uocet Cf. 476, 1.610, 2.338, 668, 4.303, 5.656, 9.320 for the sense of 'call, invite pressingly' with non-animate subject.

hostia pinguis Cf. 7.764 **pinguis . . . ara Dianae**, G.2.396 *pinguia . . . exta*. In all probability, V. applies Rom. usage here, the consumption of sacrificial victims, 'vetted' as favourable by the *haruspices*: cf. (e.g.) Beard-North-Price 1, 36, P. Garnsey, *Food and society* (Cambridge 1999), 134ff., J.A. North, *Roman Religion* (GRNSC 30, 2000), 45. The sacrificial meal is then transferred, like so much else in his religious geography, to the sacred grove: cf. 7.82, 778, 697, 800.

741 haec effatus Cf. 7.274.

equum . . . / 742 concitat The vb. at Acc.*trag.*608, *bis* in Lucr. (but also in e.g. Caes.); *concieo* (and notably *concitus*) the commoner form in early poetry.

in medios Cf. 149; cf. in particular 10.575f., 870.

moriturus In contrast with V.'s common use of *moriturus* (*infra*), *periturus* (Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and suspense*, 13), T. is not about to die. Serv. remarks *moriturus animo: nam moriturus non est*. 'Ready to die' write edd., trying to dodge the problem, and though that is not the normal resonance of the word (for which Duckworth quotes 2.511, 4.415, 519, 9.554, 12.55, 602), it may be that V. here attributes to Tarchon the comportment of one convinced (however wrongly) that he was about to die. After all, the emperor Claudius, on hearing '*morituri te salutant*' (Suet.*Claud.*21.6), responded, intelligently enough, *aut non* (D.G. Kyle, *Spectacles of death* (London 1998), 94). The alternative is to attribute extreme carelessness to the poet.

et ipse 'Ready also to die' sc. as well as to deal death (Williams) or 'ready himself too to die' (sc. like the other Etr. victims, while Serv. thinks of Camilla or Venulus; similarly TCD)? The wd.-order, considered strictly, tells against Williams and other instances—e.g. *G.*4.391f., *Aen.*5.499, 6.90, 9.342, 12.226—will confirm that 'Tarchon, like Venulus' is the (only) acceptable implication. Con. suggests **et ipse/concitat**, but no reader undirected by punctuation would ever take the words thus.

742 Venulo adversum Cf. *Lucr.*6.1133f. for the adj. thus + dat. (common in com.).

se . . . infert Pass. at *Cat.*64.42, *Lucr.*3.679f.; refl. in prose and common in V.: cf. **36**, *EV* 2, 497. Note **offert Ry**, not helpfully.

turbidus So of the advancing Mez., 10.763 (cf. Thome (*M.*), 84). Here Serv. glosses *terribilis* and Strati well compares (*EV* 5*, 320) *turbinis instar/more, turbine fertur* and the like (cf. too Briggs (**492–7**), 16). On Venulus, Tarchon descends like a storm.

743 dereptumque ab equo The vb. Lucretian (5.1320), used with both plain abl. (*Hor. Epd.*5.46) and various prepositions (so *e*, *Tib.*1.10.60). Impossible, complains TCD.

dextra complectitur hostem To embrace your enemy a virtual oxymoron; *Plut.Cam.* 4.3 (cited by La Cerda) no real analogy, for there the warriors are on foot. Serv. reports an anecdote about Caesar, in *ephemeride sua* (= *Commentarii*, Sch.-Hos. 1, 337). Fantasy (the text itself someone's invention—and such inventions are not alien to Serv., H.D. Jocelyn, *Act.Class.*29 (1986), 49f.), though C. is at least, *pace* Williams, the victim, not the hero) and follows up with a second anecdote, this time about Varro's family and the origin of their *cognomen* (Varr. fr. 368GRF). Just possibly a floating, annalistic anecdote-type; certainly it is strange that *Liv.*22.47.3 seems not to have been cited (except by Wills, 199, n. 29): *stantibus ac confertis postremo*

turba equis uir uirum amplexus detrahebat equo. Tarchon grasps Venulus (possibly V. retains a recollection of **nocturna . . . bella**, Lyne, *cit.*, **736**), snatches him up, and keeps grasping him; in the end, no inversion of logic.

744 gremium ante suum Similarities with **544 prae se portans** are the natural result of a rider's limited choices of action. **G.** is usefully loose in reference—between chest and knees, for which 'lap' will often serve—, more even than *sinus*; the phrasing unique, it emerges.

multa ui Cf. *G.3.220*, *Aen.1.271*, 6.349, 8.452, 12.720, after *Lucr.1.728* (and perhaps once *Enn.*). For the word-order, cf. Austin on 1.1.

concitus Cf. **741f.**; **c.** at *trag.inc.25*; *citus* in *Liv.Andr.* and *Enn.* (cf. Skutsch on *Ann.18*, *EV 1*, 781); **c. octies** in *Aen.*, but only once in 1–6.

aufert Cf. **28**, *EV 2*, 496f.; to be taken up by **raptum**, **750**.

745 tollitur in caelum clamor So, exactly, *Enn.Ann.428* (and again, *Aen.12.462*; this sort of traditional formulaic writing of little interest to Sparrow/Moskalew); the hyperbole of **in caelum** of a very common epic type: cf. **125**.

cunctique Latini Oddly, only here (but cf. 12.548 *omnesque L.*); cf. **7.583** for the sense of 'all together' and note **114** for the implications of **L.**

746 conuertere oculos Cf. **121**. The alliteration continues.

uolat . . . aequore Cf. 5.819 *per summa leuis uolat aequora curru*, 12.333f. *illi aequore aperto/. . . uolant*, Malosti 23, 59, n. 69 for the abl. 'of extension' (note too 5.218f., 12.450). Cf. *EV 5**, 613, **7.808f.**, **11.712**.

igneus . . . Tarchon 'Like lightning Tarchon flies . . .' (Goold); certainly that was the image at **742** (since when it may be thought to have lapsed); Camilla was **ignea** at **718**, but there and here the image may as well be of a flame leaping: parched grass, trees, bushes (criminally) aflame on an Italian hillside are not soon forgotten. Yet V. may equally be thinking of T.'s fiery spirit: vd. **718**; the adj. perhaps not much favoured because too imprecise (*EV 2*, 614 sadly thinks only of speed). Not in doubt is the line's bounding pace.

747 arma uirumque ferens Respectively, anticipating what immediately follows and recalling **743**: Tarchon's bipartite burden neatly defined. The echo of 1.1 (strangely, not discussed by Moskalew) recognised, of course, in the commentaries, but the wit and elegance of the brief self-echo seems not to be acknowledged. Though I am reproved for having found humour in *Aen.* (nor I alone: cf. E. Krag-

gerud, *Symb. Osl.*72 (1997), 107f. against the *philogelos* E.L. Harrison, now in Harrison, *OR*, 445ff.), the re-working here I nevertheless sense impenitently as a flash of lighter relief in a moment of high narrative excitement. The verb taken up precisely in the simile, **752 fert. summa . . . ab hasta** Properly, the *cuspis* (Malavolta, 119; cf. Wickert, 439), just as *summis digitis* is the Lat. for ‘on tiptoe’ (*OLD* s.v., §4a). **ipsius** *I.* ‘serves to distinguish and sometimes implies opposition between persons and things’ (*EV* 4, 313, citing e.g. **218**).

748 defringit ferrum The vb. long used in prose; elevated at G.2.300. **partis . . . apertas** Cf. Varr.*LL* 5.84, 7.103 for this same paronomasia. Note the *latus apertum* of Hor.*Serm.*1.3.59; *a.* absol. (‘undefended’) at Ov.*Met.*12.100 (of Cynus) and (milit.) Tac.*Hist.*2.21. So *Il.*22.321 ὄπη εἴξειε μάλιττα.

rimatur An old vb. (**7.508**, likewise ‘groping’; *EV* 4, 575 notably obtuse); here we might well recall V.’s Tityos (6.597ff.): *rostraque immans uultur obunco/immortale iecur tondens fecundaque poenis/uiscera rimaturque epulis* (where Austin compares G.1.383f., of birds searching for food). *OLD* s.v., §2b unhappily classifies **748** s.v. ‘to cast one’s eyes about for’; clearly T. cannot see Venulus’ front and prods, savagely hopeful, with the spear-tip. TCD irreproachably *attentius quaerere*.

749 qua . . . ferat Strangely classified by *EV* (2, 494) alongside *clamorem, gressum, iter, auxilium ferre*; but the *uolnus* is not part of T. but rather something he brings or deals, like (*ib*) *noctem hiememque* or *uim* (6.400, 10.77; cf. even *f. pabula, f. ignem*).

uolnus letale The adj. (9.580) perhaps Lucr. (3.820; Dingel wrong to say **I.** not attested before V.!); if not in Lucr., then perhaps a Virgilian coinage on the analogy of *uitalis*; cf. Gk. θανάσιμος.

contra ille repugnans The vb. only here in V., its prefix reinforced by the advb. and our attention (excited by the whole singular situation) refocused upon Venulus by neat *ille; repugnare* Pacuv., *sexies* Lucr..

750 sustinet a iugulo dextram Cf. Sen.*Clem.*1.5.1 *sustinenda est manus* (a knife-happy surgeon’s). With *a*, cf. further Liv.21.35.12 *uia praeceps . . . lubrica . . . ut neque sustinere se ab lapsu possent*, Val.Flacc.3.100f. *seseque a lumine ferri/sustinuit* (‘checked himself from the weapon’s gleam’); Stat.*Theb.*2.648 imitates our passage. See *OLD* s.v., §8a (*EV* 5*, 102, by contrast, unhelpful). **I.** the throat, long present in high poetry (Acc.*trag.*, Lucr.).

uim uiribus exit A traditional transitivity (cf. Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.1367.55): cf. Lucr.5.1330, 6.1206, 1217, *Aen.*5.438. Wills, in an

acute discussion of the polyptoton (199; an extension of ‘battle p.’; cf. **293**, **615**, **632**), suggests that V. ‘poeticises’ prose *uim ui arcere* (e.g. Cic.*Sest.*88), with hallowed vb. and number-variation (cf. Liv.10.41.11 *equites eques*).

751–6 So soon after **721–4**, another bird-of-prey simile is surprising, but the difference in content outweighs any initial sense of disappointment: cf. *Il.*12.200ff. (without close correspondences of detail), Nic.*Ther.* 448–57 (an altogether different opposition of eagle and serpent, which becomes conventional, Arist.*HA* 609a4), Cic.*Marius* frag.3.1–8. Hom. describes a portent, rendered by Cic. (cf. too Plut.*Timol.*26.6); V. makes little if any use of the earlier Latin version, as he transforms portent into simile. In Hom. and Cic. the eagle finally lets the snake fall; Tarchon perseveres, like V.’s eagle. Cf. Gleis, 225, n. 175.

751 utque . . . cum Cf. **7.528**.

uolans alte Cf. *G.*1.364 *atque altam supra uolat ardea nubem*; we have just seen (**721**) that a high flight was/is/was known to be typical of raptors. Cf. in particular *Il.*12.201 ὑψηπέτης and note Skutsch on *Enn.*Ann.76 for avoidance of *altiuolantes*.

raptum . . . draconem **D.** in Acc., Lucr.; V.’s snake-terminology seems flexible, and there are no useful distinctions to be drawn between **d.**, *serpens* (**753**), *coluber*, *anguis* (*EV* 4, 798). The vb. used at 5.255 of Jup.’s eagle carrying off Ganymede.

fulua . . . /752 . . . aquila Cf. 12.247 *fuluus Iouis ales*, Gk. αἴθων (*Il.*15.690). Did one seek precision (folly—or at least, often folly in Virgilian ornithology!), then the golden eagle should not be an automatic choice (Capponi, *EV* 5*, 351), for the upper parts of the (admittedly rarer) *circaëtus gallicus* or short-toed eagle (Ital. *biancone*) are suitably coloured and the habitual prey is precisely right; in my ‘Manuale per il riconoscimento degli uccelli italiani’ (1984, p. 107) it is indeed drawn eating a snake (which a golden eagle would not normally touch)!

752 fert Three parallel verbs, the first explained by the last two.

implicuitque pedes Cf. Prop.4.11.16 *et quaecumque meos implicat ulua pedes*. The eagle entwines its claws round the snake (cf. the inventive **555**), though it is more naturally the *snake* that entwines itself about its prey, 2.215.

unguibus haesit Cf. *Il.*12.202 φέρων ὀνύχεσσι, Cic.*Marius* fr. 3.3 *transfigens unguibus*. Here too clearly an abl of means; the absence of a precise Lat. parallel is hardly worrying.

753 saucius at serpens Cf. **7.500 saucius at quadrupes**. *Variatio* from **751**; *serpens* Acc., Lucr., Cat. and in prose from Cato; cf. Gk. ἔρπετόν. Apparently not, though, sensed as a Kenning.

sinuosa uolumina Well-established language continuing the (initially hissing; then cf. **669**) alliteration: cf. 2.208 **sinuatque immensa uolumine terga** (note already, of the colt, G.3.192 **sinuetque alterna uolumina crurum**); Traina (*EV* 5*, 626) draws attention to Eur.*Med.*481 σπείραϊς . . . πολυπλόκοις. The adj. form apparently a coinage at G.1.244 *hic flexu sinuoso elabitur anguis*. See too *EV* 4, 890.

uersat Perhaps unconscious self-echo; cf. 5.408 *immensa uolumina uersat* (the fittings of Entellus' gauntlets).

754 arrectisque . . . squamis Cf. G.3.545 *squamis adstantibus*, *Aen.*4.280 *arrectaeque horrore comae*. The verb rather a favourite, **496**, etc..

horret Cf. **488 horrebat squamis**, **602**, **7.526** and 6.419 *horrere uidens iam colla colubris*; vd. Angrisani Sanfilippo, *EV* 2, 856.

sibilat ore Cf. **7.447 tot Erinys sibilat hydrys**, a far more choice expression. **O.** used as *manu* so often is, when not strictly required by the sense. So e.g. *ore locutus*, *uomit ore*.

755 arduus insurgens Cf. **697 altior exurgens**, **638 furit arduus**, **7.624f. arduus . . . furit**, 12.902 *altior insurgens*. Well reworked.

illa haud minus Cf. 12.481; while *nec m.* is common enough in V. and Lucr. (cf. Hand, 3, 624f.), *haud m.* is not current poet. usage (nor indeed in Gk.). Not prose either, but note *bis* in Ter.. I take it that **h.m.** is an occasional poet. variation upon *nec/neque m.*

urget . . . /756 luctantem Cf. 1.53f. *luctantis . . . / . . . premit*. Terse and stately abbreviation/simplification of the Hom. combat (*Il.*12.203–6, not to mention Nic.*Ther.*453ff.); the snake's resistance enclosed by the curved beak.

obunco/756 . . . rostro Cf. (vd. **748**) 6.597 *rostraque immanis uultur obunco* (where vd. Norden, Austin): the adj. perhaps innovative. SDan. links **luctantem rostro**, inexplicably (for eagles after all do have curved beaks, and snakes do not) whence some wondrously misguided exegesis ('partial ἀπό κοινοῦ' and worse); cf. (*contra!*) Paratore and *EV* 3, 273. Possibly the combative *coruus* of Liv.7.26.5, using patriotic beak and talons against the Gaul, may also have been in V.'s mind (vd. **756**).

756 simul Cf. **7.340**, **393**, etc..

aethera uerberat alis Cf. 5.377, 12.866 *clipeumque euerberat alis* (where vd. Traina). The vb. *octies* in Lucr. (with *di-*). Note the *alarum*

uerbera of 12.876; for *Lucr.*, both sun and winds are endowed with lashes, 5.957, 1104, while for *V.* sails and oars alike can be wing-like (*Aen.*1.301, 3.520, etc.). Dactylic rhythm of powerful wing-beats. **757** *haud aliter* Cf. οὐχ ἐτέρως, οὐκ . . . ἄλλως. *V.* has also *non aliter* (*sexies*; *haud, octies*); both usually before/after similes but apparently neither in vv. before *V.*.

praedam . . . / 758 portat P. both 'booty' and 'prey' (*EV* 4, 243; cf. *Aen.*4.404). With *p.*, cf. *comportare* 9.613, **conuectare 7.749.**

Tiburtum ex agmine Contrast **519**; here perforce gen. plur. of *Tiburs* (cf. *Cat.*44.1, **7.670**), though we have seen (**242**) that *Ven.* himself is not necessarily a Tiburtine. The form of the gen. plur. (cf. *Laurentum*; the same issue) oscillates, *NW* 2.134, 136.

Tarchon The (metr. convenient) name perhaps repeated for allit. or to create welcome opposition of proper nn. (**592**).

758 ouans Cf. **13.**

ducis exemplum . . . secuti *Et uirtutem, et felicitatem* *Serv.*; 'exemplum', *quod coepit*; 'euentum', *quod prospere* *SDan.*: two perceptive observations! Cf. *G.*4.219 *haec exempla secuti*, where *vd.* *Mynors* for the sense of *e.*.

euentumque Elsewhere in *V.*, 'outcome' or 'event' but here clearly, as often, 'success'. Not a conventional noun-pair (in either sequence), but a neat hendiadys for 'successful model'. The synaloepha at 4^{1/2}, when there is no caesura in 3 is paralleled only at 12.144 *magnanimi Iouis ingratum ascendere cubile*; cf. *Norden*, 429, n. 4.

759 Maeonidae Μηονίη the Hom. term for 'Lydia' (*Il.*2.864, etc.) and at least from *Hellanicus*, the poet's alleged homeland (*NH* on *C.*1.6.2); whence a conventional, older, learned equivalent for 'Lydia' (cf. *Plin.**Nat.*5.110) and a means of referring to the Lydian origin of the Etruscans (cf. **7.652, 701**, *Harrison* on 10.155, *M. Pallottino*, *L'origine degli Etruschi* (Roma 1947), 29ff., *EV* 3, 217 (G. Colonna). Cf. *Oebalius* for 'Tarentine'.

incurrunt Cf. **613.**

tum The narrative is well articulated; *Jupiter* sends *Tarchon* to redress the balance after *Camilla* carries off *Ignotus*; *T.* follows *C.*'s example and, as fatally, carries off *Venus*. *Then Arruns* (for the *Etrs.* follow their leader, **758**) aims higher.

fatis debitus Arruns *C.*'s killer is doomed, **592** (cf. *Duckworth*, 13; of course *Camilla* herself is doomed no less!); he is also 'destined' (*Con.*), but that is hardly present in the Latin. That *Aen.* too is repeatedly stated to be a 'man of destiny' is hardly here significant

(see **761**). Given the dimensions of A.'s role, V. indulges in no preliminaries to develop our interest; otherwise unknown, sketchily characterised in the narrative and of a distinctively Etr. name (Cic. *Tusc.* 4.50, *undecies* in Liv. 1–5). The name A. belonged above all to a son of Tarq. Priscus and that alone should be enough to have settled the strange old discussion of the ranks in which A. fought (Saunders (**429**), 544): Serv. indeed (on **762**; cf. on **592**) quotes his master Ael. Donatus as saying that because Arruns prays to Apollo of Soracte (**785ff.**) he must fight for Tu., because the men of Soracte did so (**7.696**). In the face of **Maeonidae incurrun!** A warning, rather, of the trouble in which the pursuit of realism and consistency in the narrative will land the naive reader. Cf. Miller, 172, n. 5 (*bene*), Valvo, *EV*, *cit.* (with bibl. survey). For A., cf. Brill, 74, La Penna, 238, Montenegro Duque, 145ff., T.G. Rosenmeyer, *CJ* 55 (1959), 162, L. Kepple, *AJP* 97 (1976), 344ff., J.F. Miller, *Colby Quarterly* 30 (1994), 171ff. and *EV* 1, 337f.

760 uelocem . . . Camillam C.'s speed prominent from the first, **7.807ff.**; note **532** (Opis). The adj. (Ennian) not common in V., and here the pursuit of a precise parallel with Opis is unlikely to have been decisive.

iaculo et multa . . . arte Zeugma of concrete and abstract (cf. **7.237, 284**; Bell, 311 notes *Aen.* 2.654 *inceptoque et sedibus haeret in isdem*); cf. closely 5.484 *caestus artemque repono*, 521 *ostentans artemque pater arcumque sonantem*, 8.226 *ferro . . . et arte paterna*; the neat turn (idea divided into two elements, *uel sim.*) for expressing 'X. skilfully used' clearly had a marked appeal.

prior Cf. 10.458 *ire prior Pallas*. Arruns, fatally, has the tactical initiative (and C. will never know it).

761 circuit Orthogr. reflects pronunciation; mss., though, in forms and derivatives of *circumeo*, often retain the m (while *inscr.* oscillate): cf. Sommer, 300, NW 2, 825f., Leumann, 224, 565. The vb. (in *tmesis*, *G.* 1.345, with **7.104**, Leumann, 116; *tacet* Garuti, *EV* 2, 323) common in narr. prose (a dozen in Caes.) and possibly used here on that account.

quae sit . . . temptat T. standard with ind. qn. from Plaut.: *OLD* s.v., §3c.

fortuna facillima 12.920 *sortitus fortunam oculis* has been compared (Kepple, 352), 'opportune moment' perhaps in both passages (Bailey, 235), and both warriors do indeed watch for the right moment, but the hunt for deep Arruns::Aen. analogies was misguided (La Penna,

238, against Kepple, Rosenmeyer, **759**). For the adj., cf. Publ.Syr.N36 *non semper aurem facilem habet felicitas*.

762 qua . . . cumque . . . / 763 hac For the tmesis (from Plaut., Ter.), cf. 2.709, 12.203 (*quocumque*), 1.610, 8.74, 12.61 (*quicumque*), Leumann, 474f., NW 2, 489. These precise correlatives not common: cf. 10.373f., 12.625f., and used here to special effect, for the inversion, **qua . . . hac**, is about to follow (Wills, 412), emblem of the continuous close pursuit.

se . . . tulit Common with pres. and perf. stems, with pron. preceding and following vb., with simplex (**7.492**, **11.749**) and with compounds (**7.286**, **420**, **425**, **536**, **700**, **742**, **11.36**, **462**, **814**); cf. *EV* 2, 493.

furens . . . uirgo Cf. **709**.

medio . . . agmine 'Rides among the ranks in her fury' (Goold); 'en pleine mêlée' (Perret). But it is the tactics, not the Latin (which Perret stretches), that are tricky. C. and Arruns are on horseback (?; cf. **765**), yet it is still *au fond* the tactics of the Trojan plain we encounter here, Paris standing forth only to withdraw into the ranks at Menelaus' arrival, etc. (*Il.*3.15ff., Seymour, 579); between forays, C. returns to the safety of the *agmen* (cf. **7.804** for *a.* of cavalry), for **762** shows C. among her comrades, and **764** retreating again to their midst (while her advances are left for us to infer), with her discreet partner in this deadly (and beautifully articulated, **762f.**) ballet following in **763**, **765**. Neither the usage of *medium agmen* elsewhere nor the unfolding of Homeric/Livian single combats help us much, for in C.'s actual *aristeia*, **664–724**, there was no sign of such tactics and if we stop and ponder too long what C. is now doing, other epics/histories will help very little.

763 Arruns Now that C. rides among her peers to dart out for an occasional foray, Arruns' task is much facilitated.

subit at tacitus The vb. notably common in battle-narr. (*EV* 2, 323); see e.g. 2.467, 9.344 and note *Caes.Gall.*2.25.1, 7.85.5: Caesarian, but not distinctively so. For such calculated, calculating silence (see Con., Licinia Ricottilli, *EV* 5*, 9), cf. 3.667, 4.286, 306; Serv. glosses *latens*.

uestigia lustrat Cf. *Buc.*2.12 *tua dum uestigia lustro*, with a Greek, erotic sense (vd. Clausen's n.); here βάλνω δ' ἵχθυος ἐπ' ἵχθυος (Meleager, GP, *HE* 4606) is far behind us but the meaning 'travel purposefully all over' (Coleman on *Buc.*, *cit.*) is clearly sensed; cf. **7.391** for this favoured, elusive verb.

764 qua . . . / 765 hac Cf. **762f.**

uictrix redit illa Cf. 2.95 *remeassem uictor*, Cic.*Att.*10.10.5, Sall.*Jug.*84.4, Liv. 2.45.13, 3.62.1, 4.40.2, 5.45.8, 23.47.7, Val.Max.1.1.11, Sen. *Ep.*71.8, Phaedr.Appx.10.29, QCurt.8.11.13, Suet.*Aug.*1.1, 29.2, etc.: this list could easily be extended, but it emerges that the phrasing is distinctively that of narr. prose.

pedemque . . . reportat Cf. Cat.64.112 *inde pedem sospes . . . reflexit*, Caes.*Civ.*1.44.1 *pedem referre*, G.4.485, *Aen.*2.378, 657, 6.386, 9.125, 10.794: V. employs and varies such—pedestrian—expressions energetically; here apparently a novelty.

ex hoste Cf. 5.632, 6.111, etc.. Standard idiom; cf. Liv.27.40.9 *ex hoste egregiam gloriam . . . capiam*.

765 iuuenis Balancing **763 Arruns**.

furtim Cf. **515** for this register of military trickery; the advb. *septies* in V., *semel* in both Cat. and Lucr..

celeris . . . habenas A nice enallage; the reins are not swift, but rather the horse or team (and indeed the horseman or driver), though V. may (also) think, as did his friend Varius, frag. 3.1 *lentae moderator habenae* of the reins as in some sense synecdochic for the whole team (cf. **713**). It is not quite clear whether Arruns is mounted or driving a chariot.

detorquet Cf. 4.196 *cursus detorquet*, 12.373 *ora . . . detorsit equorum*; solid prose, elevated, variously, by V. (*Aen.*, *sexies*); at the same time, note too Hor.*Carm.* 2.12.25f. *flagrantia detorquet ad oscula/ceruicem*.

766 hos aditus . . . hos aditus Cf. the **hunc . . . hunc . . . hunc . . .** of **7.473f.**, 10.9f., 12.510f., G.4.84f., Hor.*Epist.* 2.1.60 and Wills, 110, n. 46; the ‘distributive’ gemination lends verbal drama to Arruns’ (hitherto) vain attempts. Cf. **525**; the *aditus* here are rather ‘openings’, in a tactical sense; cf. G.4.9, *OLD* s.v., §7b. V. has much in mind Dares at 5.441f. *nunc hos, nunc illos aditus omnemque pererrat/arte locum*.

iamque Cf. **7.25**, **160**; the passage here from two direct attempts to a circuit of C.’s entire unit in the hope of finding an opening.

omnemque . . . / 767 . . . circuitum Unembarassed passage to a different noun-derivative of *ire*; it is surprising that Lucr. never used *c.* (*circumcaesura* was not too much!); perhaps introduced to high poetry by V..

pererrat Cf. **7.375**; the run-over, postponed **undique (767)** in active correspondence to the ‘inner circuit’ represented by **circuitum**.

767 certam . . . hastam Cf. **803**: the epithet (cf. Cat.68.113, Hor.C.1.12.23, where vd. NH) in tragic anticipation of the fatal throw.

quatit Cf. **656**.

improbus Cf. **512**; *OLD* s.v., §4a classes **767** under ‘unconscionable, shameless, greedy, presumptuous, relentless, etc.’, while *EV* 2, 930 glosses *rapax, uiolens, dirus* (in the same vein, T.G. Rosenmeyer, *CJ* 55 (1959), 162f, Alessio, 141). *Hoc est concepta impatienter cupiditas ferendi* comments TCD. Arruns does not dare face C. and goes to great lengths to find a hidden opening; it is then in this extreme, almost perverse determination that he is *improbus*; Benoist has ‘acharné’. Contrast Miller (**759**), 177: not *probus* because he does not stand up and fight. Arruns returns to the narrative in mid-sentence, **784**; cf. Quinn, 249 *et passim* for this technique of ‘suspended narrative’.

768–93 Chloerus and Camilla’s death For discussion, see on **768**. Cf. Brill, 74–9. La Penna, 236f.

768 forte Cf. **7.494, 509, 11.552**. Though Arruns is **fatis debitus** (**759**), Chloerus enters the action as part of the chance of battle: V. mercifully does not continually offer us a consistent and undeviating working out of a great plan of destiny.

sacer Cybelo Cf. 6.484 *sacrum Polyboeten*, H. Fugier, *Sémantique du sacré* (Louvain 1983), 21. **C**: cf. 3.111: here read by **M**, Serv., TCD, against **Cybele** γ (= **P**), **Cybelae** Macr.5.1.12. The masc. form refers to Cybele’s sacred mountain in Phrygia, well-attested in Gk. prose and verse (Eur.*Ba.*79, Strab.12.5.3, etc.): G. Bonamente, *EV* 1, 774.

Chloerus That there was a bird (inevitably, unidentifiable) so called (Saunders (1940), 552, Paschalis, 367) is wonderfully unhelpful. Given, though, the frequent association of Trojans with the Phrygian ‘degenerates’ in the service of the Magna Mater (cf. *Vergilius, infra*), the sexual charges to which one *pallidus*, **χλωρός** was liable (Howell on Mart.1.77, Dover (**36**), 99ff., Williams (**36**), 199) may acquire some interest. Otherwise note the erotic associations of **χλωρός**, yellow, as the colour of women and effeminates (vd. **775 croceam**, Cic.*Har.Resp.* 44, Juv.O22, Apul. *Met.*11.8, *Apol.*13, etc., Lyne on *Ciris* 252, André, 155. See Horsfall ap. Harrison, *cit. (infra)*, M. Dickie, *PLLS* 5 (1985), 170, Edgeworth, 123, Bender, *cit.*, 150): *croceam*, then, serves as a gloss, of a familiar type (**775**; cf. O’Hara, 66ff.) upon the origin of the bearer’s name (and here both gloss and name are both of Greek origin); Saunders (**429**, 552) thought of the colour of C.’s gold (!), while Alessio, 139 also realises the name is significant but analyses imprecisely.

olimque sacerdos Priest-warriors (and likewise fighting seers; vd.

774 uati) are not uncommon in epic (**7.750**, Harrison on 10.537, Dingel on 9.327f.); in this world they seem not to have been protected by any taboo and took their chances in battle. Does **o.**, though, indicate that C. was still ‘in orders’? So Williams, without discussion, followed, again without discussion, by several recent writers on C.. But **olim** is not a synonym—at will—for *diu* (cf. **7.537**, Cavarzere, *EV* 3, 832f.), and must here be taken as ‘once’, ‘formerly’. Had Chlo-reus been a votary of Cybele back in the Troad? Was he somehow ‘remasculated’? Did he fight visibly as a eunuch? (Eunuchs are much in fashion among classical scholars; their absence from the myth./hist. battlefield down to late antiquity is striking). Now that the *comparanda* for a prudent assessment of the details of V.’s picture of Chlo-reus are to hand, he emerges as oriental, effeminate, votary of Cybele in every detail (visually, too, Arrigoni, 51, Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 23; on Chlo-reus’ dress, H. Herter’s discussion, *Effeminatus*, *RAC* 4 (1959), 629ff. remains indispensable). Whether he had actually been emasculated we are not of course told (cf. W.S. Anderson in Perkell, 206, West (**768**), 22). An embarrassment to his own side and a very peculiar warrior (nothing at all comparable in *Aen.*9; cf. Williams (**36**), 116ff.). V. describes Chlo-reus in the narrative voice, yet his extravagant appearance is developed to serve not as a criticism of the Trojans, so much as a ‘bait’ for the innocent and unaccustomed Camilla. Macr. remarks, rashly (5.1.11f.) that Chlo-reus is killed by Camilla; that is more than V. tells us and conflicts with C.’s death at Tu.’s hands, 12.363 (cf. Fo, *EV* 1, 829). Cf., recently, Brill, 75ff., Arrigoni, 52, and *EV* 1, 772, Bender (**576**), 148, Rosenmeyer (**759**), 161, Alessio, 139, Dickie, 170, G.S. West, *Vergilius* 31 (1985), 22ff., Gleis, 354f., Raabe, 235ff.. For Roman attitudes to the Magna Mater and her votaries, cf. (e.g.) **7.139**, H. Graillot, *Culte de Cybèle* (*BEFAR* 107, Paris 1912), 290ff., T.P. Wiseman in *Poetry and politics in the age of Augustus* ed. T. Woodman, D. West (Cambridge 1984), 117ff., E. Gruen, *Studies in Greek culture and Roman policy* (Berkeley 1996), 5ff., P. Borgeaud, *La mère des dieux* (s.l. 1996), 60ff., S.A. Takacs, *Der neue Pauly* 6 (1999), 951f., Beard-North-Price 1, 97f..

769 insignis . . . fulgebant The adj. (cf. *clarus*) distinctly generic in tone and often requires specific expansion (cf. *EV* 2, 990f.; I note e.g. **291**, 9.336, 10.21); the verb likewise often requires elaboration to emerge from the haze of grand imprecision (cf. 5.133, **7.26**, **526**, 8.553). Not a very powerful or specific pairing.

longe 'With' vb. and adj. alike, as SDan. grasps.

Phrygiis . . . in armis Conventions of dress-definition about to be worked up into yet more ethnographic polemic (cf. Horsfall, ap. Harrison, *OR*, 312f., *Maia* 41 (1989), 251ff., *RFil.* 117 (1989), 57ff., *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 23, *EV* 3, 779, *Alambicco*, 147, **7.167**; Bender (**576**), 146ff. adds little): trousers, we have learned, are a moral issue.

403 Phrygia arma are the panoply of a Trojan warrior, distinctive, not perforce degenerate (criticism and contempt to be weighed in context); cf. 2.389, 422, 3.596f., **7.167f.**, *RFil.*, *cit.*, 59. It will be a Trojan spear, after all, that kills Turnus and the slow accumulation of detail spells out that Chloreus' flaw lies not least in excess. *Phrygius*, it emerges, is a multi-edged adj.: the accumulation **769 Phrygiis**, **772 peregrina** (?), **777 barbara**, in the narrator's mouth (contrast **779 Troia**, viewed by Camilla), makes it clear that here at least there is for V. a lurch into alien excess (cf. Miller (**759**), 176, n. 19), but that is not inherent in the adj. (**677**), though it can indeed stand as gross insult (**7.363**; cf. **7.579**).

770 spumantemque . . . equum The foaming mouth of the (race) horse (or the foam on the bit) has a long history (cf. *Enn. Ann.* 539, *G.3.203*, *Aen.4.135*, 5.817f., 12.372f., etc.), but the epithet *spumans* (G. Franco, *EV* 4, 1004) seems to have declined into a more generic 'excited', of horses (and not just of mouths, bits) here, at 6.881, and at 12.651. The vb. at *Enn. trag.* 118.

agitabat Cf. *G.3.18*, 181 (note *Lucr.2.601*).

quem . . . / 771 . . . tegebat Cf. **7.732**.

pellis The leather backing for the chainmail (cf. **7.640**); cf. **488f.** *Catafractum eum fuisse significat* Serv., quoting *Sall. Hist.* 4fr.65Maur. (cf. fr. 66; ?69BC, Tigranocerta). Entirely anachronistic, but not a novelty: cf. too (e.g.) *Liv.35.48.3*, 37.40.5, 11, 37.42.2, 7. So perhaps not from *Sall.* (who writes of a linen backing; *some* backing was necessary, for comfort and to reduce the corrosive effect of sweat; so Gilmour, *infra*), though, clearly, *Hist.* is a likely enough source, while *Enn. Ann.* 14, corresponding to *Liv.37, cit.*, is perhaps less likely to have furnished full details. Note too *Prop.3.12.12 ferreus armato neu cataphractus equo*. That the eastern, exotic, alien Chloreus should be represented as a cataphract is altogether in keeping with the Persian origin of such armour. Cf. J.W. Eadie, *JRS* 57 (1967), 163f., J.C. Coulston in *Defence of the Rom. and Byz. East* ed. P. Freeman, D. Kennedy, 1 (*BAR* 297 (i), 1986), 60ff..

aënis/771 . . . squamis Cf. **487f.** Abl. of agent, with **tegebat**; distracted by the metallurgy, we may need to be reminded of the syntax!

771 in plumam *In modum plumae* writes Sall. ‘To form a plume’ write Williams and Gransden here, most obscurely; ‘a mo’ di pinne’, correctly, Paratore. That is, like plumage (cf. 10.192, etc.; Justin 41.2.10 attributes to the Parthians’ horses *loricae plumatae*): cf. 3.533 *in arcum*, 6.42 *in antrum*, Hand, 3, 325, **7.159**.

auro conserta. Cf. 3.467 *loricam consertam hamis auroque trilicem*, 5.259 *hamis consertam auroque trilicem*. Cf. **7.639f. auroque trilicem/loricam.** 3.467 is important here: *hamis auroque* are not (Serv.) hendiadys, for the chainmail is (**7**, *cit.*) is some sense ‘triple-looped’: the phrase is comprehensible, if not quite clear and *conserta hamis* offers a distinct set of practical problems! The use of gold is not entirely fanciful (**7.634**, **639**), but V.’s *-lix* compounds are not perfectly understood at a practical level, and that incomprehension affects the hooks. Dr. Brian Gilmour (Institute of Archaeology, Oxford) has kindly explained to me the various ways in which chainmail was really made, but it is quite clear that V. did not similarly take advice. Did he think (quite falsely) that the mail was held together by hooks, or that hooks secured it to the *pellis*? We have no idea. He may mean only that the unimportant undershirt was in some way buckled with gold, leaving the mail happily unclasped and unbuckled: commentators and translators plunge, carefree for extraneous buckles and clasps. Real chainmail is not clamped or clasped to itself, or to its backing, and **auro conserta** remains as impenetrable as ever it was. 3.594 *consertum tegimen spinis* is slightly different: bits of rag ‘held together’ by thorns (vd. *OLD*).

772 ipse V. passes from the horse’s armour to the rider’s.

peregrina ferrugine Cf. 9.582 *ferrugine clarus Hibera* (where vd. Dingel); possibly ‘formulaic’, certainly convenient. The adj. only here in V., and 9, *cit.* suggests strongly that Chloereus displays not a notorious, Eastern, exotic hue, but rather dark red (‘rust’) from Spain (cf. Camilla’s tigerskin, **577**; V. seems actually to relish a touch of geogr. fantasy here): for the colour, cf. Edgeworth’s appendix, 227ff. It is, to complicate matters, ‘literary’: cf. Hardie on 9, *cit.*, Cat.64.227 *ferrugine Hibera* (where vd. Kroll, Fordyce). Cf. (e.g.) Plin.*Nat.*9.141 for Spanish red dyes (did one wish to hold Cat. to the facts!). Dingel on 9, *cit.* senses oxymoron between **c.** and **ferrugine**, perhaps rightly.

clarus Cf. G.4.93 *rutilus clarus squamis*, Acc.trag.211 *agnum . . . aurea clarum coma*. Pace Edgeworth, 229, the suggestion is hardly that **f.** is therefore 'bright'.

et ostro Cf. 72, 7.277, 814; only the association with **f.** is unusual, for purple is of course conventionally paired with gold, 7.817.

773 spicula . . . Gortynia For **s.**, cf. 654. The adj. a very mild learned flourish: Catullan (64.75), via *Buc.*6.60; Gortyn famed from *Il.*2.646 (cf. K. Branigan in *Princeton Enc.Class.Sites*, s.v.); as much 'Cretan' as 'Cnosia' would have been. Cf. Pease on 4.70, NH on *Hor.C.*1.15.17 for (altogether conventional) Cretan bowmen; they were also famed for poisoned arrows (*Companion* 124, n. 13), but that need not be the implication here.

torquebat Cf. 676 **contorsit**.

Lycio . . . cornu Two geogr. adjectives juxtaposed, not for affinity or opposition of sense (cf. Harrison, p. 288f.) and therefore perhaps simply from pleasure taken in the proximity of like to like; V. could have written after all e.g. *spicula iam Lycio torquebat Cresia cornu*. For Lycian bows, cf. 7.816, for **c.**, cf. 7.497.

774 aureus . . . erat . . . et aurea Cf. 7.278f. The **sonat** of γ (= **P**) was once the vulgate text for **erat**. Contrast Forbiger with the 'moderns', Ribbeck (who reintroduced **erat**), Con..

ex umeris Cf. 575, 652.

arcus But see 773 **Lycio . . . cornu**. Not so much a conflict between horn and gold ornament, nor two bows; rather, V. draws our eyes from horse, to rider, to colour, to armament, to material or decoration thereof. One bow, then, conceived two ways (vd. Page's robustly sane note).

uati Note 768 **sacerdos** and compare 7.419, 435: Calybe is likewise defined as both **uates** and **sacerdos**.

775 cassida Used by V. as nom.; the form is as though a Gk. acc. (cf. *tyrannida*, *Cic.Att.*14.14.2, *acalanthida*, G.3.338, etc., NW 1, 460ff.), but why V. should have indulged in this morphological extravagance (Leumann, 455 is mystified; note that Apul. has nom. *chlamyda*, while *crepida* is standard: see NW 1, 496ff.) in the case of a solid (Caes.*Gall.*) old word for 'helmet' (acc. *cassidem*, Plaut., *Bell.Afr.* (*bis*), Flor., SHA) remains unclear (cf. NW 1, 496f., with ample citations from Gramm. Lat.), though of course *cassidem* is metrically unwelcome. Prop.3.11.15 and Stat.*Theb.*4.302 borrow the oddity gratefully.

tum 'Next' in a list, 7.670.

croceam Cf. 9.614 and n. on **768, Chloreus**: *crocea chlamys* might be a decorous, elevated, oblique way of referring to the *crocata*, a yellow gown typical of effeminates and *galli* (**768**), a low thing and a low word, though not itself strictly definable as a *chlamys*. The adj. refers naturally to both **chlamydem** and **sinus**; the position, preceding the first paired noun, is not common: cf. Leo, *Ausgew.kl.Schr.* 1, 64, n. 3, Norden, 404, n. 4, *G.2.95f. purpureae praeciaeque et . . . / Rhaetica*, 118f. *sudantia . . . / balsamaque et bacas . . . acanthi*, Hor.C.3.4.18f. *ut premerer sacra/lauroque collataque myrto*. Dickie, 170, n. 24 writes perplexingly of the 'difficulties of interpretation' this garment presents.

chlamydemque 'Cloak' (Bender, 150), 7x in *Aen.*; in itself, no vehicle of moral opprobrium (vd. e.g. 3.484, 5.250, 8.167).

sinusque crepantis The sense of **c.** embodied by a long allit. run: apparently only here of cloth (*EV* 1, 927 and no obvious analogy in *TLL*). There is no (explicit) hint of gold thread in the weave, and the 'crackle' must be that of fine heavy cloth, presumably embroidered in some way. The **s.** are simply 'folds', cf. 1, 320, 8.712, *EV* 4, 889. We cannot be quite certain whether **V.** is describing one garment or two, but these words do so markedly have the familiar air of 'hendiadys' (vd. index, s.v.), or division of one idea into two expressions ('a cloak made of folds of crackling cotton'), as to make it highly likely. Cf. Sen.*Oed.* 423, Dickie, *cit.*, 171 with n. 27, Smith on Tib.1.6.40, Corbeil (**384**), 161f.: the flowing, billowing cut of Chloreus' outfit is itself a sign of effeminacy.

776 carbaseos The word not common (Cic.*Verr.* 2.5.30, 80); a touch of brisk specificity. Cotton did/does not grow in Italy, unlike flax (whence linen); the *linum* of Col. and Plin. *Nat.* is certainly flax and *carbasus* (nowhere said to be Italian) is, by etym. and in 'correct' usage, cotton. In practice, however, cotton was thought to be a kind of linen (Plin.19.14) and at least from c. 1 AD *carbasus* was used of fine linen (Marquardt-Mau, 488, E.H. Warmington, *Commerce between the Rom. Emp. and India*₂ (London 1974), 210ff., 373). Here then **V.** 'ought' to mean cotton but might rather have had linen in mind, if indeed he differentiated clearly: cf. Wagler, PW 3.167.67ff. (cotton), Olck, PW 6.2461.22ff. (linen), Marquardt-Mau, 480ff. (linen), 488 (cotton), Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, 160ff. (flax). Entries in the standard dictionaries are peculiarly unsatisfactory. Note adj. for gen.; for adjs. in *-eus*, cf. **7.589**.

fuluo . . . auro Cf. **7.279**. Some kind of *fibula*.

in nodum collegerat Cf. 1.320 **nodo** . . . *sinus collecta fluentis*, *EV* 3, 747 (Nosarti), *ib.*, 171.

777 pictus acu The description concludes with stylistic variation, within a coherent visual sequence: after the *chlamys*, our eyes are drawn to his visible inner garments. Chloereus wears embroidered tunics and trousers. We recall 9.582 *pictus acu chlamydem*, **7.796 picti scuta Labici** (where *vd.* Fordyce for the middle sense of the participle; cf. too LHS, 288 for middle sense of *vbs.* of washing, dressing, feeding). The needle gives a precise sense of ‘embroidery’ to the otherwise dully generic *pictus* (Bender, *cit.*, 148 speaks of the *t.* as brightly coloured, but *V.* does not); an art widespread in *Aen.* (E. Simon, *EV* 1, 342f. and above all the rich discussion by Franco Serpa, *ib.*, 4, 112; *vd.* *G.3.25 intexti*, *Aen.* 1.648 *pallam signis auroque rigentem*, 649 *circumtextum*, 5.252 *intextus*, 8.167, 10.818; note too the use of *pictus* for ‘embroidered’, 1.708, 711, 4.137, 206f., **7.252, 277**, 9.26).

tunicas Cf. 9.616 *et tunicae manicas . . . habent* (cf. Horsfall in Harrison, *OR*, 313, Dickie, *cit.*, 170f., J. Heskell in Sebesta, etc. (**576**), 140, 144); here though the *t.* has no explicit sleeves and *t.* in themselves are elsewhere inoffensive (8.457, Evander, 10.818, Lausus). Antiquarian writing (Gell.6.12.3; cf. Ascon. p. 29. 7ff. Clark) suggests that there was a time when the *tunica* was not yet worn (Marquardt-Mau, 550f., Dickie, 171); worn, however, with the toga, and thus in a post-heroic context. The plur. is not likely to be ‘merely’ poet., for Varro writes both of *postquam binas tunicas habere coeperunt* (*de uita* 1fr. 45, with Riposati, p. 161; cf. Dickie, 187, Marquardt-Mau, 552, *OLD* s.v., §1a) and of *mihī puero modica una fuit tunica et toga* (*Catus*, fr. 19 Riese/Bolisani): multiple tunics (Augustus wore four when it was cold, Suet. *Aug.* 82.2) are a relatively late development and their presence on the heroic battlefield can hardly have failed to arouse some sort of smile of amused disapproval. That they were then also embroidered is naturally another typical detail of effeminate extravagance (Suet. *Cal.* 52, VF 6.226, Dickie, 171 with n. 28).

barbara tegmina crurum Of (i) the natural disgust of any civilised Roman at the very idea of trousers (let alone oriental pantaloons) and (ii) of *V.*’s whimsical, elaborate, euphuistic way of writing of them (as of many other aspects of daily life; this counterpoint of mundane detail and stylistic elaboration will be perhaps rather over-worked by the author of *Moretum*, *Class. Med.* 52 (2001), 309f.), I have said too much elsewhere. On (i), cf. *RFil.* 117 (1989), 58, *Vergilius* 35

(1989), 23, on (ii), cf. **7**, index, s.v. euphuism, *Companion*, 76, *Maia* 41 (1989), 251ff.; to the bibl. hitherto accumulated, add now Clausen, *VA*, 1ff. Note that trousers are as much oriental as Gaulish: cf. Juv.2.169, Erskine (*infra*), 58, 64 and Balsdon, *Romans and aliens*, 221, n. 48. *Teg(i)men* a word very well suited to this vein of elaborate description, Liv.1.20.4 *aeneum pectori tegumen*, Tac.*Hist.*2.20 *bracas barbarum tegmen* (a likely gloss), Juv.6.257. V. refers, if the passage is read with attention, to a Trojan wearing barbarian dress (**769**, **777**); that is the nearest he comes to referring to the Trojans as barbarian: *RFil.*117 (1989), 58f., n. on **7.579**, A. Erskine, *Troy between Greece and Rome* (Oxford 2001), 8, *et passim*, E. Hall, *Inventing the barbarian* (Oxford 1989), 21ff. The allegation has its roots in the Hom. representation of the Trojans, but in *Aen.* is limited—at least, *sensu strictiore*—to this polemic portrayal and to 2.504 (vd. Austin there, Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome*, 98, n. 94)..For ‘embroiderer’ the Romans used **phrygio** or **barbaricarius!**

778 hunc uirgo For the pronoun taking up a description thus, cf. **7.493**, with n. on **7.483**. The juxtaposition of adversaries is probably significant; cf. index s.v..

siue ut . . . / 779 . . . siue ut Only here in V. as a vehicle for alternative motivations.

templis praefigeret Cf. **7.817**, 10.80 (for the *simplex*, cf. Gallus, v. 5); see Arrigoni, 53, *Companion*, 176 with n. 43 for temple-dedication of spoils, and **5–13** for hunting usage. It should perhaps be repeated that several much-cited discussions of *spolia* in *Aen.* do not, unfortunately, take due note of the Roman antiquarian tradition; cf. for now *Companion*, 175f. It is far from clear that V. condemns Camilla (Williams, *TI*, 117) or (Gransden) that her role is ambivalent: dedicating Chloreus’ weapons is impeccable Rom. usage, while wearing them is not Roman but heroic (*Companion*, 205).

arma / 779 Troia Cf. 1.248f. *armaque fixit / Troia*, with the same run-over adj.; note too 3.306, 596 with the words inverted.

captiuo . . . auro Cf. Liv.45.40.1 *captiui auri argentique*; cf. **7.184** for the adj. (? first used by V. in verse). Arrigoni, 52 well compares Tarpeia’s desire for the Gauls’ *armillae*; cf. *RMM*, 68ff.

se ferret Cf. **7.286**, **420**, **492**, **536**, **700**, **11.732**.

780 uenatrix Cf. **680**. Mynors punctuates after **u.** and many edd. suppose that C. wishes to flaunt her battle-trophies in the chase (cf. Dido, 4.136ff.), but (e.g.) Page argues for **u.** taken with **780f.** (‘as a

huntress she pursued'). Attractive, though we cannot claim the reader has any natural reason to pause at **auro**. Both senses may well be present, though to delete all punctuation here (as I fear we must) is not generous to the reader. See Arrigoni, *cit.* . . .

unum ex Cf. **533**; the sense of *unus* = 'one alone' is common, 2.716, 10.367, Degl' Innocenti Pierini, *EV* 5*, 398.

omni certamine pugnae Cf. 10.146 *duri certamina belli*, 12.598 *pugnae . . . certamine* (so Lucr.4.843); *genitiuus inhaerentiae*.

781 caeca Cf. Cat.64.197, 12.279 *caecique ruunt*, 1.349, 2.244, 357; note **889** and Militerni della Morte, *EV* 1, 599 ('blinded by the passions'). So 9.374 *immemor* of Euryalus. When we realise V.'s concentration upon the end of Patroclus' aristeia, we shall begin to think here (Knauer, 312) of his fourth rush into the Trojan ranks, when he does not recognise Apollo's presence, 16.789 οὐκ ἐνόησεν.

sequebatur Of hunting, *G.*1.308, or in war, **674**, **695**.

totumque . . . per agmen Cf. **60**, **906f.**. Reinforces **omni certamine pugnae**; these are of course just the tactics of Arruns, lately used against Camilla, **759ff.**

incauta *Ter* in *G.*, *sexies* in *Aen.* (*semel*, Lucr.); a more energetic near-synonym of **caeca**. Cf. A. Wlosok, *Res humanae*, 334, n. 40 and Duckworth, 13 for such adjs. as authorial anticipations of a sad end. Görler notes Gk. νήπιοι and contrasts the clearly less energetic *incautus*.

782 femineo . . . amore Note the **femineae curaque iraeque** of **7.345**. Serv. comments *impatienti, irrationali* (cf. Keith (**480**), 29f. on the gender-rhetoric of such comments; as a warrior, above gender (cf. McManus, 106, Arrigoni, 51, n. 102bis), C. desires booty and trophies; as a woman, she was born with a love for pretty things (West 23, Raabe, 237; vd. *infra*). But she does not 'read' Chloereus' outfit as we must: no queen of the Volsci has any business to lust after a Phrygian eunuch's embroidered undershirts. V. is not engaged in issuing a poor report upon C.'s command effectiveness; her blindness is human and explicable, crucial for characterisation and not a matter for unhelpful condemnation (so e.g. Brill, 76, Williams, *TI*, 117 ('foolish lust') etc.; *bene*, Arrigoni, Schönberger, 186, Gleis, 354). We have not forgotten that when C. arrived at the allied muster, crowds wondered at the magnificence of her raiment and arms (**7.812-7**); the echo of **652 aureus ex umero sonat arcus et arma Dianae** at **774f. aureus ex umeris erat arcus et aurea uati/cassida** might lead us to wonder how much difference there

really was between pursuer and prey, at least at the level of vanity (cf. Moskalew, 133; for Sparrow, 107 a defect of composition). At Ornytus' she gazed with contempt (**686**), but at Chloreus' she has now (fatally), marvelled. *Sane armorum longa descriptio eo spectat, ut in eorum cupiditatem merito Camilla uideatur esse succensa* Serv.; *etsi uirilis animi femina, tamen a cultu et ornatu intactam mentem non habuit*, Heyne.

praedae et spoliorum Cf. Liv.23.45.10, 37.31.6 (29.27.3 reversed; several looser pairings of the wds.); note too Cic.*Verr.*2.1.58, Tac.*Hist.*1.63. So perhaps an old conventional pairing, though not mandatorily so; too much variation of form allowed. 9.373f., of the consequences for Euryalus of having stripped (and himself donned) Rhamnes' armour, are often compared, though Euryalus was not fascinated by its exotic beauty, nor sought to wear it from any (explicit) sense of vanity.

ardebat Cf. 8.163 *iuuenali ardebat amore*, 4.101 (Ter.*Eun.*72 *amore ardeo*); the vb. common of strong emotion in V. (**7.481**, **623**, **781**, **11.607**), but by some chance the apparently obvious construction with abl. of the emotion not common. C. blazed with desire for booty, *per totum agmen*; after the vb. of motion, the vb. of emotion creates, on examination, an attractive tension.

783 telum . . . cum . . . / 784 concitat For the vb., cf. **7.476**. Of weapons thus, Acc.*trag.* 545. The vb. much delayed and run on; thrown therefore with special violence.

ex insidiis Cf. **765 furtim**; we are solidly within the familiar register of legitimate military trickery (cf. **522f.** and see too **7.326**). *Bis* in Caes., *bis* in Sall., 11x in Liv.; perhaps then a hint of military flavour, though it would be hard to express the notion differently. Knauer (313) compares Patr., who fails to see (16.789) that Apollo had entered the fight against him and 791 $\sigma\tau\eta\delta'$ $\omicron\pi\theta\epsilon\nu$.

tandem A tribute to Arruns' spiteful pertinacity (cf. **767 improbus**); at last his prey is distracted.

tempore capto *TLL* 3.323.51 (Hey) compares Liv.3.9.7; add 26.12.15: apparently not a standard phrase, and hardly to be claimed as belonging distinctively to historical prose.

784 superos . . . sic uoce precatur Cf. 9.403 *sic uoce precatur* (the vb. transitive, **7.137**). The abl. common with *uocare*; also with e.g. *secutus*, *locutus*; not always redundant, (Skutsch on Enn.*Ann.*43), even though it clearly is here.

Arruns Chloreus had entered the narrative with singular elegance;

insidiis might have reminded the sharp reader of the Etruscan's **furtim**; for the rest, only now are we told that Arruns indeed is once more the centre of attention.

785–93 Arruns is not typically tough and Italic, for he is a Faliscan/Etruscan despite his arcane, archaic piety (to make him the 'fanatic' member of a 'sect', Quinn, 249, is a deplorable misreading). Nothing is said of his shape, but V. has made play with conventional ideas about the Etrs. (**686**) and we shall not be disposed to think of him as another hardy mountaineer. He does, though, take a high moral line, viewing Camilla as an outrage to propriety (**dedecus**), a public danger (**pestis**), an evil portent (**dira**). There is complex reworking of Hom. here (Knauer, summarised by Miller, Hickson), of Achilles' prayer to Zeus, before Patr.'s return to battle; to that prayer V. will return (**794ff.**). Here the cult of Apollo on Soracte, paradoxically, is also an Homeric 'motto' (*Il.*16.234f.), singularly reminiscent of Ach.'s opening bow to the Selloi of Dodona (for feet, cf. **785**; with 235 ὑποφῆται, cf. **788 cultores**). There are structural elements of Patroclus in Camilla (cf. **664, 806**) and here it is Apollo's role in Patroclus' death (*Il.*16.786ff.) that V. is about to rework (**793ff.**), on the lips of Arruns, who is about to kill C.! See Brill, 77ff., Hickson, 30f., Kepple, 355, Knauer, 310ff., La Penna, 228, 237, Miller, 173f., G.S. West (**768**), 27.

785 summe deum Cf. Naev.*BP.* 10.2 *summi deum regis* and 18 *summe deum regnator*; note Barchiesi, *Nevio epico*, 333 (who compares Plaut.*Amph.*45), **7.306**. The language of literature, not cult. V. applies to Apollo (as also at **790**) language more usually employed of Jupiter. His Homeric model, we have seen, is the Ζεῦ ἄνα of *Il.*16.233 (cf. Miller, 174, n. 11), and V. seems to have reapplied to Apollo language more proper to Jup..

sancti . . . Soractis *Numina insunt nimia*, what with Apollo, Marshal Kesselring (his HQ, during the defence of Rome), Horace (*C.*1.9) and St. Sylvester (founder of the original monastery there). For some detail cf. **7.696**. The ascent has become rather too populous and undemanding; Dennis' account in *Cities and cemeteries* is therefore warmly recommended. Note 8.72 *Thybri . . . cum flumine sancto* (Ennian; vd. Skutsch on *Ann.*26), *Acc.trag.*243, Bailey, 77. Of places, not securely part of Rom. religious language, but note *ILS* 4034 *sancto Sorano Apollini*. Paschalis, 368 suggests **aceruo** might hint at an etym. link with *σωρός*; that just could be right.

custos . . . Apollo Cf. **7.610**, Barchiesi, *EV* 1, 967. **C.** is not standard religious language. On A.'s cult here, cf. Miller, 172f., Schilling

on Plin.*Nat.*7.19, Warde Fowler, *Roman festivals*, 84f., Wissowa, 238, Latte, 148, Andreussi, *EV* 4, 946f.. Varro (cf. **7.696**) provides V. with a sumptuous Faliscan analogy to the Selloi of Dodona present in his Hom. model: their feet were unwashed (*Il.*16.235; vd. Janko, Strab. 7.7.10), those of the Hirpi (Plin.*Nat.*7.19; vd Salmon, *Samnium*, 46) Sorani (Varro ap.Serv. *ad* **787**) of Soracte untouched by fire, over which they walked, thrice, in a yearly festival (Plin., *cit.*, Sil.5.175ff., Strab.5.2.9). Plin., *cit.* shows that this was a real, 'live' cult (*uacatio militiae* for the priests), not an antiquarian curiosity. Firewalking stands with fire-leaping, fire-carrying and snake-handling as a sign of the divine power in ancient (cf. Strab.12.2.7, in honour of Artemis at Castabala; surprisingly, other instances seem not to be cited) and recent ecstatic ritual; vd., amply, L. Robert in A. Dupont-Sommer and LR, *La déesse de Hiéropolis Castabala* (Paris 1964), 53–61, G. Piccaluga in *Magia* (ed. P. Xella, Roma 1976), 210ff., J.N. Bremmer, *ZPE* 55 (1984), 269ff., and cf. too E. Cantarella, *Les peines de mort* (French tr., Paris 2000), 216 (comparing both the dramatic, but less painful, rite of fire-leaping at the Parilia, *Ov.F.*4.727 and the ordeal by fire undergone by C. Mucius Scaevola, Liv.2.12.13; note too the story of P. Mucius, Val.Max.6.3.2).

786 quem . . . cui Cf. **7.484f.**; hailed by Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 174 as a fine instance of the relative-style in religious language.

colimus Cf. **843**, *G.*1.30; 'worship' a far rarer sense in V. than 'inhabit'; *tacet EV*. Arruns identifies himself explicitly as a worshipper; the cult Faliscan (Plin., *cit.*), not incompatible with A.'s name and the 'problem' of A.'s native loyalties (**759**) lessened if we think of Soracte as a rural sanctuary attracting worshippers from a wide area (cf. **7.778**). As prayer-language, Arruns' declaration corresponds to Chryses' to Apollo ('if ever I roofed.'). *Il.*1.39ff.; cf. 15.372, *Od.*4.763, 17.240, Callinus frag. 2aWest, Aesch.*Sept.*179, *Choeph.*255, Soph.*Electr.*1380, *Aen.*4.217, 9.406, 12.777, NH on *C.*1.32.1, *CLE* 1504.48ff., C. Ausfeld, *Jhb. class. Phil.*Suppl.28 (1903), 526, Appel, 150, Norden, *cit.*, 155, n. 1. Note **7.389** for *Du -Stil* used of votaries' actions; here such actions advanced collectively in lplur. to claim divine favour (what Lys. called *θευείων ἀναμνήσεις*, 2.39; cf. *Il.*1.503, 8.240, Call.*H.*6.119ff., *Aen.*12.775, Bömer on *Ov.F.*3.335).

primi Cf. 8.281 *iamque sacerdotes primusque Potitius ibant* (in order? in eminence? in devotion?), *G.*3.12 *primus Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas* (with *Companion*, 96). Here, implications are left open.

pineus ardor Admirable instance of abstract for concrete (see Maurach, 49, Lunelli-Kroll, 42f., LHS, 748f., Ferraro, *EV* 1, 378ff.).

Cf. 10.273 *Sirius* [adj.] *ardor*, Cat.46.2 *caeli furor aequinoctialis*. See 58. The adj. old (Cato) and poet. (Cat.64.10); just possibly (Bell, 319) enallage for *pineo aceruo*.

aceruo Cf. 384 **stragis aceruos**. Here clearly of firewood, of grain at e.g. 4.402.

787 pascitur With wide variety of constr.; cf. 2.471 *mala gramina pastus*, *Dirae* 52 *Vulcanus agros pastus*, *Ov.Am.*1.15.39 *pascitur in uivis liuor*.

medium . . . per ignem Cf. 7.296.

freti pietate πεποιθότες, *Naev.BP* 10.1 *fretus pietatei* (Barchiesi, p. 418), *Enn.Ann.*562, *Lucr.*5.966. Cf. Traina, *EV* 4, 95, 7.5. The passing tribute to the ancient piety of Italy (in this case, Faliscan/Etruscan) not to be ignored; of V.'s picture of Italic religion I have said a good deal in 7; cf. too *SCI* 20 (2001), 43f.. Arruns, as a worshipper, still able to walk, counts on Apollo's continued reciprocal benevolence: cf. 1.603, 2.429, 690, Bailey, 82, Traina, *cit.*.

788 cultores Cf. *Cic.TD* 1.69 *deorum cultorem*, *Hor.C.*1.34.1.

multa . . . pruna Cf. 5.103 *subiciunt ueribus prunas*, *Moretum* 9 *obductae . . . prunae*, *Ov.Met.*8.525; the *aceruus* of pine has burned down, leaving *multa pruna*, an abundance of embers, and the Faliscans walk through them.

premius uestigia V. may refer (cf. Pade, *TLL* 10.2.8.1181.9 *nisi intellegas 'imponimus plantas' simili ambiguitate*) either to the sole of the foot itself or to the prints made and the verb could suit either sense (though the line seen as a whole suggests a greater ordeal if we render 'pressed down our feet'); the distinction, though, may be too sharp and modern. 6.197, 331 *uestigia pressit* are different: 'stopped', for which vd. Henry's excellent n. (*EV* s.vv. *premo*, *uestigia* disappoints). Cf. *Lucr.*2.356 *uestigia pressa* (impressed footprints), *Cic.Verr.*2.4.53 *leuiter presso uestigio*, *Bell.Hisp.*29.8, *Liv.*8.8.9 *pede presso* (vd. Oakley, 'at a deliberate pace'), *Ov.Met.*3.17 *presso . . . gressu* (firm steps). V. describes the ritual through the mouth of a participant: contrast e.g. 7.86ff., 764ff..

789 da Cf. 7.331 (and *ib.* 558, 770 for p).

pater *Da*, *pater* at 3.89, 10.62; 2.689 *da deinde auxilium*, *pater*, 5.689ff., 10.421. 'A formula of prayer', Harrison. Rather, elements of prayer-language rearranged as convenient by a poet. Infin. after *dare* a typically Virgilian extension: cf. 3.77, 6.66f., 9.173, LHS, 343, Lunelli-Janssen, 108, Görler, *EV* 2, 271.

hoc . . . dedecus Cf. 10.681 (vd. Harrison), 12.641: *semel* in Cato, *decies* in Plaut.: perhaps therefore once Ennian; very common in *Cic.*

Defeat, and at the hands of a woman viewed as an offence against *decorum*, an αἰςχος to be wiped out without delay.

nostris . . . armis Cf. **411, 536**. Abl. of means.

aboleri Liv.7.13.4 *abolere flagitii memoriam*, 10.4.4 *quo maturius ignominia aboleretur* both earlier than **11**; not in Cic., Caes., Sall., *HRR*; present by emendation at *ORF* 18.3.7 (Q.Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus), but *octies* in Liv. first decade, and so of a recent and distinctive flavour. Cf. **7.232** for the inceptive form.

790 omnipotens Cf. **7.770**. So **quem primi colimus, summe deum**; here Apollo's primacy is unquestioned. Wagner well quotes Hermann on Soph.*Ant.*338 ὑπερτάταν, 'istae appellationes deum designant eo, de quo sermo est, in negotio prae ceteris colendum'.

non . . . ue . . . /791 . . . aut Cf. *G.*1.92f. *ne . . . -ue . . . aut*, *Aen.*2.785f. *non . . . -ue . . . aut*, 8.205f. *ne . . . aut . . . -ue*, 9.485f. *nec . . . -ue . . . aut*, LHS 499f., Wagner, *QV* xxxvi.4.

exuuias . . . tropaeum Cf. **7**.

pulsaeue . . . /791 uirginis Cf. 12.945f. *saevi monimenta doloris/exuuiasque*. For the gen. ('trophy over'), *OLD* s.v., §1c compares Cic.*Verr.*2.2.115 *t. necessitudinis atque hospiti*. **P.:** and at **793 pulsa cadat**. There the vb. (and **meo . . . uulnere**) suggests the rare archaic sense of 'struck down' (cf. **56**), while here the vicinity of **tropaeum** points rather to an etym. sense, τετραμμένης, forced back, routed (**366, 392, 653, 731**). The repetition is hardly perceptible as such, but even if it were, a variation of sense would be extremely Virgilian (**7.180, 554**, O'Hara, *TN*, 233).

791 spolia ulla Cf. **15, 191**. Cf. **782**; Arruns disavows a part of Camilla's explicit motives in her pursuit of Chloereus.

peto No credit to be won from besting a woman, presumably.

mihi . . . laudem/792 . . . ferent 8.287f. *chorus, ille senum qui carmine laudes/Herculeas et facta ferunt* in an entirely different sense, of course; here, cf. rather 4.93 *egregiam uero laudem et spolia ampla referentis* (with 10.449 *spoliis . . . laudabor opimis*, Baldwin, *EV* 3, 146), *EV*, 2.495.

cetera . . . /792 facta Cf. 8.287f. *cit.*, 10.281f. *nunc magna referto/facta, patrum laudes* (where the sense is 'deeds' rather than 'praises'). *Si laudari cupio, habeo alia quae mihi adferant laudem*, TCD.

haec dira . . . pestis Cf. **7.324, 505**; strong language, for neither adj. nor noun has lost its full force.

meo dum uulnere 'A wound I inflict'; cf. Apul.*Met.*6.9 *tuo uulnere periclitatur*, LHS, 61, 65f.. At e.g. Cic.*Fam.*1.1.2 *amoris erga te sui* the

pronom. adj. again corresponds to a subjective gen. (cf. *ib.* 2.2.1); cf. Bennett 2, 50ff., KS 1, 596f.: much commoner in place of an obj. gen., when there is less risk of ambiguity. **Volnere P; uulnere M** and later mss.; for the (inconclusive) orthogr. issue, cf. **7.182**.

793 pulsa cadat Cf. **789f.**

patrias . . . urbes Cf. **127**. A. will not return home; we know he cannot, if he is to kill Camilla (**591f.**); nor did Patr., of course, in V.'s model (*Il.* 16.252). Arruns indeed does not pray *for* a safe return, mentioning it as he does as part of his envisaged 'modest retirement', if only he can kill Camilla. Cf. Williams, *TI*, 177, Miller, 177, n. 23.

remeabo Cf. 2.95 and *inremeabilis, bis. Meatus*, 6.849 is memorably Lucretian (1.128, 5.76); the *simplex* used by Hor. as an archaism, NH on *C.* 1.4.17, but avoided by V.; the *re-* compounds (vb., adj.) not Lucretian, but comic (cf. Austin on 2.95) and promoted by V.. La Cerda recalled the repeated *δυσκλέα ἄργος ἵκεσθαι*.

inglorius Like *ignobilis* (and in studied contrast to Patr.'s prayer for *κῦδος*), a word dear to V.'s outlook (*sexies*); on 12.397, cf. *RFil.* 117 (1989), 208f., à propos of F. Stok, *Percorsi dell' esegesi virgiliana* (Pisa 1988), 65ff.. At 10.52f. Venus envisages that Asc. *positis inglorius armis/exigat hic aeuum*. Arruns will contemplate a future as *ἀκλεής* (though not even this much will be vouchsafed him, Quinn, 249, La Penna, 237f.: at **865f.** there will be a bitter fulfilment of this desire) if he is consoled by the knowledge that he has wiped out the disgrace of C. triumphing upon the field of battle; equally anti-heroic (and in calculated contrast to Patroclus, **785–93**) is his readiness to do without booty (and C.'s trappings are, we have noted, not much less splendid than Chloreus!). Con. acutely draws attention to 12.322: no credit claimed for the bow-shot that hit Aen..

794–835 Camilla's death Essentially after the manner of Patroclus' in *Il.* 16 (note some criticism of Knauer at Brill, 83f.), beginning from Arruns' prayer (to Apollo, who disarms Patr.!.) in which the rites of Soracte correspond to those of Dodona (**785–93**), after Ach.'s prayer to Zeus of Dodona for Patr.'s return (**794f.**). Patroclus fails to see Apollo (**794**), just as Camilla does not see Arruns (**796**) and Euphorbus scuttles out of his comrades' ranks to hit Patr. (16. 813ff.) just as Arruns too retreats, **815** (cf. **806**). Arruns is killed by Opis, as is Euphorbus by Menelaus (17.1–60). Cf. Alessio, 142–7, Brill, 79–84, Knauer, 308ff., La Penna, 227ff., Raabe, 235ff., Basson (**519**), 63.

794 audiit Cf. *G.4.7 auditque uocatus Apollo*, *Aen.4.220*, 439, 612, 9.630, 10.424, 464, 12.200, Zaffagno, *EV* 1, 397. Hom. ἔκλυε.

uoti . . . partem/795 . . . partem So *Il.16.249f.* (of Ach.'s prayer) τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε μητίετα Ζεῦς, / τῶ δ' ἕτερον μὲν ἔδωκε πάτηρ, ἕτερον δ' ἀνένευσε, *Caes.Civ.3.97.3 partem . . . partem*. For *pars . . . pars*, cf. **7.624**; note 5.187 *parte . . . partim*, **11.204**, *partim . . . partim*. **V.** thus, as 'prayer', cf. *G.1.47*, 157, 7.597, 12.259, etc. Note the balance in what follows:

- (A) **audiit et partem . . . (795) dedit**><**partem . . . dispersit**
 (B) **(796) sterneret ut (797) . . . adnuit**><**reducem ut . . . (798) non dedit**

The multiple balance (of the two pairs of verbs) is perfect, but **V.** avoids the gelid tedium of precisely recurrent contrasts and equilibria; **798 non dedit** echoes but does *not* take up **795 dedit**!

Phoebus The original sense of 'shining' in Apollo's title not lost (8.720, *Lucr.6.1197*, O'Hara, 55, 216), though in practice **P.** had become a synonym for **A.** (Lunelli-Kroll, 45).

succedere **V.** favours *successus*; the vb. thus only here, but the sense (also Hor., Prop.) widespread in com. and prose, *OLD* s.v., §7.

795 mente dedit Cf. 10.629 *mente dares*; here of the gods' will as *Aen.5.56* (*sine mente* parallel to *sine numine*); of a human decision sent by the gods, *G.3.267*, *Aen.12.554*, etc. Hom. δῶκε.

uolucris . . . in auras Cf. 5.503 (of *auras* or of an arrow, by enallage); at 1.317, Rutgers' *Eurum* becomes less convincing (see **7.807**; attractive it remains!). The adj. trag. and *Lucr.*. Cf. **7.593** for the conventional sense of vanity and uselessness (note 6.702 *uolucricque simillima somno*; cf. Pasqualetti, *EV* 5*, 614) inherent in any commission to air or wind (so *aura*, 3.356, 5.850 and cf. **7.646**).

dispersit Cf. **617 dispersit in auras**, *Lucr.3.544 dispersa per auras*, *TLL* 5.1.1410. 66 (Becker).

796 sterneret ut With anastrophe of conjunction; for the vb., cf. **87, 373, 485, 7.426**.

subita . . . morte 'from battle, murder, and from sudden death' was formerly part of English collective memory (from the 'deprecations' in the Anglican litany, after preceding (Sarum) *subita et improuisa morte*); in Latin, apparently not conventional in the epitaphs (cf. Lattimore, 153) and 'mors subita' is likelier to be an echo of **V.** in *Mart.6.53.3* or *Tac.Ann.3.7*, than at *Plin.Nat.1.7*.

turbatam . . . Camillam Con. suggests *simplex* for *proturbo/exturbo*, to suggest that C. died in a rout; Strati (*EV* 5*, 318) prefers 'struck as though by a whirlwind'. It might, though, be easier to suppose that she had been (so e.g. Paratore after Sabbadini) disturbed or confused (2.200, 8.223, 435, 9.735) by Chloereus' gorgeous under-shirts, etc., so as to render her an easier victim. So already Patr. unaware of Apollo's intervention, 16.784ff.

797 adnuit oranti The classic 'ratifying nod': Hom. $\nu\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\epsilon$; in Lat. with a wide variety of constr.: cf. Cat.64.230, Harrison on 10.8, 116, Dingel on 9.106, **7.592**, *EV* 3, 782. The partic. problematic at **7.446** (prayer it is not!), at **697 oranti**, 10.599 *pluribus oranti*, of human-to-human plea: neat and forceful phrasing.

reducem . . . uideret Cf. 3.95f. *eadem uos ubere laeto/accipiet reduces*, 5.40; V. likes the adj. (*sexies*); Naev.*praet.*2 has *in patriam redux*. Note **243**, **270** for the vb. as 'to see something longed-for'; here the idiom (perhaps a kind of 'inversion') is further refined by the use of a (formally, at least) non-personal subject (12.645, *terra*, 12.542, *campi*; *pace EV* 5*, 535, 6.873 is not really comparable, for the river is formally divinised; note too 3.95f. *supra* and Soph.'s beloved 'all-seeing time'). Moroni, *EV* 4, 418 is not very satisfactory.

patria alta Cf. 10.374 *Pallanta ducem patria alta reposit.* *Alta* of individual lofty places, naturally, like the Praeneste of **7.682**, but here rather of emotive yet imprecise *patria*, cf. rather (e.g.) *altae . . . Troiae*; not only feet-above-sea-level (some indeed see a reference to Soracte here), and height of walls, but a strong hint of majesty (sc. and venerable antiquity): cf. **36**, *EV* 1, 121.

798 non dedit Cf. **794f.**, apparently echoing **795 dedit**, but answering **797 adnuit**. Hom. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\epsilon$.

inque Notos The South wind, **7.411**, which carries away Aunus' hope of returning home (**7.593**). The winds, in general, take up the prayer and sweep it into the path of Notus; that sounds curious and V. here uses pleonasm as a more poetic alternative to some form of reflexive: such *exaggeratio* is deeply-rooted in Virgilian idiom: cf. (e.g.) 1.246 (so Housman on Manil.1.539), 3.13, **7.529**, **810**, **11.506**, 12.542f. and note the importance of *exaggeratio* in understanding 'hendiadys', theme and variation and the *genitiuus inhaerentiae* (qq.vv.). The admirable bibl. collected by Kenney on *Moretum* 61 is too eager not to attribute to V. the easy (and often very handy) vice of accumulating synonyms; vd. (suitably realistic) Lunelli-Kroll, 31ff. N. 8 sing.

to 5 plur. in V.; Zephyrs 7 sing. to 11 plur., Eurus 12 sing. to 5 plur. and cf. the alternation of *uentus/uenti*. Vd. E. Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 149ff.

uocem Cf. **784**, 1.409 and the useful analysis of M. Paterlini, *EV* 5*, 634.

uertere '(Cause to) turn into (sc. the path of)'; cf. variously *G.2.33*, 3.365, 4.411, *Aen.2.191*, 4.455, 6.751, 9.427, 10.83. See further, for this loosely-definable idiom, **7.328**.

procellae Cf. **7.594**.

799 ergo The fulfilment of Arruns' bipartite prayer in terms of Diana's previous dispositions (**590–4**).

ut . . . sonitum dedit Cf. **7.567**, **11.458**.

missa manu . . . hasta Cf. *Enn.Ann.356*, 557. **Manu** creates alliteration and suggests that the spear was thrown with force.

per auras Cf. **7.543**, **11.558**, **595**. Word-order suggests connexion with **dedit**, rather than **missa** (though both may—cf. **558**—be heard).

800 conuertere Livian idiom, *TLL* 4.862.29 (Jacobsohn), *Liv.1.55.1*, 3.44.4 (a dozen times), perhaps distinctively so.

animos acris The adj. 'has lost through over-use a precise field of reference' (**7.672**). Cf. **7.482**; here the fierce Volsci turn their attention; enallage, of a sort.

oculosque tulere . . . /801 ad reginam Cf. *Lucr.1.67*, *Aen.2.687f.* (and so too the forger at 570), *TLL* 9.2.615.38 (Oomes).

801 cuncti . . . Volsci The subj. delayed; in death, C. returns to her role as queen of a great Italic people. Cf. further 1.559f., 5.385f., 10.96f. for the separation of *cuncti* ('all together', **7.583**) and noun in agreement

nihil Advbl.: cf. *G.1.119*, Dingel and Hardie on 9.377, 10.319f., *OLD* s.v., §11a.

ipsa Reversion from mass to individual, **39**, **741**; cf. *EV* 4, 313.

nec aurae/802 nec sonitus Neat 'hendiadys', for 'sounding rush of air'; cf. **863 teli stridorem aurasque sonantis**, 12.267f. *sonitum dat stridula cornus et auras/certa secat*, 691 (*tacet EV*, remarkably).

Note **799** ends with **per auras** in a different sense; such repetition with sense-variation did not trouble V., however little we may like it (cf. **76**, **173**, **202**, **221**, etc.). Here indeed, Serv.'s lemma was—by a backwards lurch of the eye at line-end in the bad ms. he had before him here—**auras** (he calls it an *antiqua lectio*, not a *uera et antiqua lectio*) and he explains that this was an archaic gen.sing., one

though that was quite inconceivable for V. (*pace* Bentley; see Sommer, 325; note R.G.G. Coleman in *ALLP*, 41); cf. Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 137f., *Virgilianisti*, 110. Cf. **563**, **596** for the whirr or whistle of weapons.

memor Cf. 2.244, 9.374 *prodidit immemorem* (Euryalus and Messapus' helmet), 9.479f. *non illa pericli/telorumque memor*; Camilla is 'unheedful' and fails to associate familiar sound with imminent danger.

aut G.2.239f. (*aut* after *nec . . . nec*) only in appearance comparable. The sequence not in regular use.

uenientis ab aethere teli Cf. 8.524 *uibratus ab aethere fulgor*, **7.143**. Cf. **7.499** for *uenire* used of a weapon on its way.

803 hasta . . . perlata Cf. 12.907 *nec spatium euasit totum neque pertulit ictum*, perhaps Virgilian, after use in prose of rumour, report, news (*Caes.Gall.4.21.5*, *Civ.2.37.2*), etc..

sub 'To a position below' (*OLD* s.v., §20a; cf. 8.538 *sub undas*).

exsertam . . . papillam Cf. **649** for the partic., as for the exposed breast. But **p** can signify either 'breast' or (clearly the original sense, WH, EM) 'nipple': the distinction declared irrelevant (unilaterally, indeed) by Hodges, in *TLL* 10.1.2.254.28ff., at 77f. but cf. rather my discussion, *ζPE* 61 (1985), 262f.. Fowler (**67**), 195, n. 38 objects that 'breast' ('metonymy', DPF) is only possible where "the normal reading" (DPF) is excluded (Oliensis in Martindale, 308 follows Fowler). The case of *mucri* ('point' and then by synecdoche 'sword'; cf. **ferrum**, **637**) is closely comparable. I think we agree that the issue is one of when part is used for whole, but my old list, to which I refer unblushing, does attempt a careful sorting of instances into *pars*, *toto* and *incertum*, as is, realistically, possible; the present passage belongs to the third category and we are not in practice obliged to render 'nipple' as necessarily the primary sense. Aphrodite wounded on the right breast at *Il.5.393*; a passage not here present (though cf. Heuzé, 174).

donec . . . /804 haesit Cf. **864**, 4.73, 9.419, *TLL* 6.3.2497.73 (Bulhart). Cf. **7.80**, **406**: here the impact of the spear rendered in a run-on first-foot spondee.

uirgineumque . . . cruorem Adj. for gen.; cf. **68**; c. at **646**, **724**. The climax of Fowler's (persuasive) case for V.'s association of death with deflowering.

alte . . . acta The advb. thrust into suitable prominence; cf. 10.850 *alte uulnus adactum* (after *Lucret.3.170f.*). Cf. **783f.**; the spear had been thrown with force.

bibit The association of the **papilla** (in either sense; the issue does not become any clearer) with (not milk but) blood is not to be missed, Fowler, *cit.*, after Heuzé, 176. Note 2.600 *hauserit*. Macr.6.6.17 had well compared the implicit analogy (weapon's desire for blood) in *Il*.21.168 λιλαιομένη χροός ἄσαι and *EV* 1, 505 collects the many reworkings of V.'s image.

805 concurrunt Cf. **7.520** (Ennian).

trepidae comites Cf. the **trepidae matres** of **7.518**; so often of feminine anxiety and distress, Crevatin, *EV* 5*, 265. **C.** as at **655**.

dominamque ruentem D.: cf. **868**; perhaps a little less remote and awesome, nearer to the possibility of a relationship of affection than **regina!** For the vb., cf. **673**.

806 suscipiunt Cf. 4.391 (Dido taken up), *Lucr*.5.402. There is no textual basis (at least, none of substance) here for any 'problem of orthography' (4.391 is quite another matter), *pace* Bartalucci, *EV* 1, 654.

fugit ante omnis A.o 12x in *Aen.* (5x in 5); note **7.55 ante alios . . .**

omnis. Cf. the reaction of Euphorbus at having actually wounded Patroclus (:Camilla), *Il*.16.813 ὁ μὲν αὖτις ἀνέδραμε, μίκτο δ' ὀμίλῳ. Arruns is visibly more fearful than Euphorbus. Peerlkamp grumbled *nescio ante quos fugerit Aruns*, and Henry exploded 'the old demand for a chronicle, instead of a poem', though the sequence of events does suggest, *pace* Henry, that A. stopped to watch the success of his cast; **807** indeed shows A. fearing the very consequences of his skill.

exterritus Arruns The adj. much to V.'s taste (18x, *exterrens*, *semel*); Ennian (*Ann*.35) and a handy metr. shape.

807 laetitia mixtoque metu 10.871 (= 12.667) *mixtoque insania luctu* is not quite comparable, for one emotion is in nom. and even less so 10.398, 742, 12.805 (other means of conveying the emotions/circumstances that are mixed), but there is nothing odd in the phr. (cf. *Lucr*.1.866 *ossibus et nervis sanieque et sanguine mixto*) and comparison of 1.513f. *percussus Achates laetitiaque metuque* shows that Arruns is here appalled by a mixture of joy (common enough in Virgilian battles, *EV* 3, 98f.) and fear; cf. 2.609, 3.99f.; V. uses the verb to associate loosely two items not naturally linked, when bald *cum* would hardly answer. *EV* 3, 541 (Senis) is not satisfactory and comms. shrink from explanation!

nec iam amplius Cf. 3.192 = 5.8 (after Hom. οὐδέ τις ἄλλη, *Od*.12.403, etc.), 3.260; the synaloepha of monosyll. *iam* 20x in *Aen.* (Norden, 457), one of the commoner forms accepted in epic (cf. Williams, on 3.192, Austin on 4.570).

hastae/808 credere Cf. (e.g.) **114, 707, 7.97**, 6.15, 9.42, 10.289. Euphorbus drew his spear from Patr.'s body, but did not dare face him γυμνόν περ ἑόντ' (*Il.*16.814).

nec . . . audet Cf. **884**, 5.379.

telis . . . uirginis We should not have forgotten the size and variety of Camilla's arsenal (Arrigoni, 39); a genuine plural.

occurrere Cf. **503, 528**. Arruns is aware of having hit C., but still fears her as a warrior.

809–13 Serv. remarks (**785**) that *lupi Sabinorum lingua uocantur Hirpi* (confirmed, Paul. exc.Fest. p. 93.25f., Salmon, *Samnium*, 46, Wissowa, 238; for the *aition* that follows in Serv., cf. Latte, 148, n. 2) and continues shortly *unde memor rei Vergilius Arruntem paulo post comparat lupo*. Just so: V. has already drawn our eyes to the priestly Hirpi, Arruns included (**785**); the simile closes a notably satisfying circle of learned imagery. The wolf recurs in four similes in *Aen.*, of Tu. at 9.59ff., 565f. and of the Trojans, 2.355ff.; the last-named shows admirably that for V. individual animals do not have fixed and unvarying characters (cf. Clausen, *cit.*, 189ff., *EV* 3, 286f., Rocca (**812f.**), 154ff.). V.'s reworking of Hom. is challenging: the context, we have seen, belongs to Patr.'s wounding by Euphorbus, but here he turns also to 15.586–8, when Antilochus leaps forward to strip Melanippus, but is noticed by Hector and flees back to the ἔθνος ἑταίρων; this withdrawal Hom. illustrates: ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἄρ' ἔτρεσε θηρὶ κακὸν ῥέξαντι^(a) ἐοικώς, / ὅς τε κύνα κτείνασ ἢ βουκόλον^(b) ἀμφὶ βόεσσι/φεύγει πρίν^(c) περ ὄμιλον ἀολλιεσθῆμεναι ἀνδρῶν. Hom.'s θήρ, like AR's, 1.1243 (Clausen, 190) is the θήρ *par excellence*, a lion (vd. Janko, *ad loc.*) and V. has chosen a beast more appropriate to his Arruns; I indicate the unusually full indebtedness to Hom.'s significant detail; (b) will prove tricky (**812**) and of some importance. See Alessio, 145f., Brill, 80f., Clausen (**483**), 192, La Penna, 237, Miller (**759**), 177, Schenk, 32, Schmit-Neuerburg, 230ff., Williams, *TI*, 176f. and outstandingly Knauer, 310ff.

809 ac uelut Including *ac ueluti*, 15x in *Aen.*, *semel* in *G.*, Cat.68B.63.

ille . . . / 811 . . . lupus Exceptional hyperbaton; cf. 10.707 (where vd. Harrison's useful n.), Wagner, *QV* xxi.6: as often, attention is drawn to the central figure which the reader is invited to identify before the poet specifies (cf. further Fordyce on 7.787 for the pronoun thus to 'flag' the central figure of a simile). Paratore's denial that the simile begins at **uelut** and assignation of all 809 to Arruns and the dangers he wishes to escape are recorded as curiosities.

prius quam Cf. 1.472, 6.328 and G.3.468 (where Mynors writes as one word). Add G.1.50, *Aen.*1.192, 2.741 with the elements separated.

tela inimica Adj. for gen. (cf. **84**, **880**, 8.117, 10.295, *EV* 2, 978); compare 12.253, 716, *Cat.*63.77, *EV* 2, 865 for such enmities in the animal world; this language apparently first here applied to hunting.

sequantur Cf. 6.110 *mille sequentia tela* (and cf. 12.775).

810 continuo Cf. **7.68**, **120**.

in montis . . . altos Cf. **7.563**.

sese . . . abdidit Cf. **7.387 frondosis montibus abdit**; note too [2]. 574. For **sese**, cf. **7.529**.

aius Cf. 12.480 *uolat auia*; the adj. might seem to be in enallage but thus as subj. has a familiar advbl. force (**7.598**, **625**, etc.). On top of marked assonance, the triple coincidence of word-accent and metrical beat portrays (though, unlike Gransden, I am not sure just how) Arruns' withdrawal.

811 occiso pastore Cf. Fraenkel, *Horace*, 186, n. 3: not mere learned folklore; boar too threaten (still) the unwary shepherd and new conservation policies can entail perilous consequences (cf. too Tarleton, *cit.*, **7.817**); moreover, many of the larger and fiercer Yugoslav mammals have now migrated to the protected calm of NE Italy, with dramatic results in terms of repopulation and ecosystems. For the vb., cf. **193**.

magnoue iuueno Unlike the shepherd, a detail (cf. **679–80**) not in Hom.; size explains feat, contrasts with fear.

812 conscius Though Kraggerud (*EV* 4, 728) senses here a meaning containing something of our concept of 'conscience', comparison of (e.g.) 4.519, 8.393, 12.227 suggests that, primarily, the wolf has knowledge of the *audacia* of its *factum*: even a wolf need feel no guilt at killing its natural prey, but, here, the sage wolf will know when it has gone rather too far in its choice of prey (*ubi quid se aduerterit admisisse quod possit aut debeat uindicari* TCD, unexceptionably), which is not the same as a sense of having breached some lupine moral code. In V., the *audacia* is clearly as viewed by the wolf, and the phr. **audacis facti** is not an exact equivalent of Hom.'s *κακόν*. Admittedly, on Hom.'s *κακόν ῥέξαντι* Eust.3.767.26 writes *διὰ τὸ οἶον νοεῖν ὡς κακόν τι ἔρρεξαν*, approved by Janko. But the notion of *consciis* is not (explicitly or necessarily) present in Hom.'s *κακόν ῥέξαντι* and Eust.'s sensibility may be over-fine here: indeed a man may think the slaughter of dog or cowherd a *κακόν*, but to attribute such delicacy to a lion seems a step too far, and one that did not

persuade (e.g.) Walter Leaf, who prefers ‘mischief to the herd’ (‘such a feeling is hardly to be looked for in wild beasts’, Leaf and Bayfield). Brill, 81 and Williams, *cit.* (e.g.) here offer an unconvincing carnivore in inner crisis; the issue is indeed delicate, but I am reluctant to impose Eust.’s reading of Hom. upon V.. For Roman views of the individual conscience, cf. now C.A. Barton, *Roman honor* (Berkeley 2001), 280ff., and with much useful detail, Thome (27), 1, 34ff.: it would not be anachronistic for V. to write at least of *human* ‘conscience’, but animals are another matter (and the wolf here would be an extreme case), while the fact that Prud.*Psych.*702f. (vd. Thome, 36, n. 42) reworks the present passage with reference to the *human* conscience is hardly relevant to V..

audacis facti Cf. 7.475 for the adj.’s tone; unconsidered aggression leaves wolf and Faliscan in trouble. **F.**: cf. 1.641, 2.548 (e.g.).

caudamque . . . / 813 . . . pauitantem The vb. is Lucretian (*ter* of *pueri in tenebris*) and *ter* in *Aen.*; the partic. transferred (enallage; Gransden suggests also predicative, perplexingly) from spirit to tail (which itself perhaps quivers with fear), perfectly in keeping with (496; cf. S. Rocca, *Etologia virgiliana*, Genova 1983, *passim*) V.’s sense of the phys. expression of animal emotions.

remulcens Apparently a coinage, only here in V., and later rare; cf. (ass) Apul.*Met.*7.16 *remulsis auribus*. So Hes.*Erga* 512 of wild beasts tucking their tails under from the cold, or Cerberus *leniter atterens/caudam*, Hor.*C.*2.19.30f., or indeed the bewitched wolves of *Od.*10.215, fawning with their tails. Heyne well noted the image’s grace, ‘mulcendo inflectere uti . . . in felibus fieri uidemus’.

813 subiecit . . . utero V. of oxen, *G.*4.556; part or whole of belly or abdomen. For the vb., cf. 7.110.

siluasque petiuit The beast’s natural refuge (cf. 6.7f., 179, 7.404f.), corresponding closely with 815 **mediis se immiscuit armis**.

814 haud secus Cf. 456; rare at the end of a simile (2.382, 4.447, 8.414, 12.9).

ex oculis se . . . abstulit Cf. 4.389 *seque ex oculis auertit et aufert* (and transitive, 3.199, 6.272); vb. refl. thus as old as Plaut., *OLD* s.v., §2d.

Ex oculis: cf. *G.*4.499f. (*ceu fumus in auras / . . . fugit*), *Aen.*4.278, 9.658, *TLL* 9.2.446.73 (Kuhlmann).

turbidus . . . Arruns Cf. 742; there, though, Tarchon visibly storms into battle, while ‘frantic’ might here render A.’s state: cf. Strati, *EV* 5*, 320, *OLD* s.v., §5a and note the (lupine!) Tu. of 9.57 or 12.10.

815 contentusque fuga Con. and Page 'straining every nerve in flight', forgetting A.'s prayer, **789–93**; A. sought only to kill Camilla, after which he would be well pleased even with a return home *inglorius*. He has killed her and is now slipping away, well-pleased. Both meanings are present in V., but the primary choice here is simple. **mediis . . . armis** Not ὁμίλῳ (so **m.a.** at e.g. *G.2.283*); A. retreats to the illusory security of his *own* ranks; Antenor had retreated to the ἔθνος ἐταίρων.

se immiscuit The vb. similarly at *G.4.245*, *Aen.10.796*, *Carm.bell.Act. frag.min. 2.4* (Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.465.17). A vb. dear to Lucr. (*ter*) and Liv. (33x).

816 illa manu C. herself has not been at the centre of the narrative since **780–2** (passion for Chloereus' outfit); her wounding, so often anticipated, was not narrated until **803** and only now do we return to C. herself as focus of the narrative and to her forcible (**manu**) attempt to extract the spear. For such trials of direct extraction (contrast the use of herbs, or excision with a sharp instrument), cf. *Il.5.99ff.*, 660ff., 11.376ff., Stok (**793**), 113f., *Aen.10.486* (with Harrison's n.; compare 10.384).

moriens Only now is it spelled out that C. actually is dying; our expectations have long been aroused and the circumstantial details of her wounding have all pointed that way. It has often been observed that V. is careful to plan death-scenes in such a way as to permit the dying victim just time and strength for a credible last speech (so Brill, 82f., Alessio, 142f.; note 4.651–62, 10.900–6, 12.931–8).

telum trahit Vd. on **illa manu**; the Homeric ἐκ χροῶς ἔλκε δόρυ (*Il.16.504*); not, as Harrison, *cit.*, remarks, of Patr. upon *himself*).

Trahit is perforce conative (unless **t.** is by some chance the shaft, as against the head). Allit. of both t and m.

ossa . . . inter Cf. 10.384 *ossibus haerentem*, and see Stok (**793**), 112ff. for wounds of this type.

sed Anastrophe of both preposition (hence indifferent word at line-end; cf. **201**, **509f.**) and particle. Not a mere flesh-wound; it is into the bones that the spear has penetrated and they are given due prominence.

817 ferreus . . . mucro Not, of course 'point of a sword' (*pace OLD* s.v., §1a), but *m.* in the sense of 'point' is also applied to daggers, knives, hoes, seashells . . . (*OLD, cit.*); no problem therefore here. Ennian, *Ann.frag.inc.11*. The adj. at **611**.

ad costas . . . stat The line hinges around a short, powerful verb; as at 2.52, 10.334 of a weapon being fixed, *EV* 4, 1027. **C.** are 'ribs', 10.382, etc. (also of animals, also in medic. texts).

alto . . . uolnere Cf. 10.857 *et quamquam uis alto uolnere tardat*. There the abl. causal, here perhaps 'of attendant circumstances' or more probably local. Here at least the evidence is for **uo-**: Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 439.

818 labitur . . . labuntur For the anaphora, cf. **191**; with the vb., cf. 2.430 *labentem*, Prop.1.10.7 *labentis . . . ocellos*, the echo at Quint.6, praef.12 and Flury, *TLL* 7.2. 782.46, *EV* 3, 84. The allit. continued in two nouns, and over the enjambement. Alessio does well to insist upon the affinity of this description with **68ff.** (*Pallas/hyacinthus*) and, behind that, with Cat.62.39–47.

exsanguis The adj. Lucretian (3.596) and *quinquies* in *Aen.*

frigida leto/819 lumina Cf. the **calido . . . cerebro** of **619**, and **21**, **338f.** for ideas about the warmth of life and the chill of death (cf. too Onians, 95). Though eyes can be fiery (e.g. **7.448**), here they seem rather cold by enallage from **leto** to which the adj. 'naturally belongs'. In death, the eyes are, as in sleep (NH on Hor.C.1.24.5), closed (so Hom. too, *IL*5.82f., 11.241): 10.745f., 12.309f.; that is the sense in which they 'slip down' (for *soluere* thus, cf. Harrison on 10.418). Note the *gravis oculos* of the dying Dido, 4.688 (swimming eyes at *G*.4.496). See Stok's acute and helpful remarks, *EV* 3, 816ff..

purpureus . . . color Though *purpureus* is often associated with death in *V.* (5.79, 9.349, 435, Edgeworth, 53), that can hardly be the primary sense here; for the adj. suggesting something such as 'bright', or 'ruddy' (cf. Edgeworth, 215ff. on the hotly disputed non-chromatic sense of *p.*), cf. 1.590f. *lumenque iuuentae purpureum*, [Tib.] 3.4.30. Cf. André, 98, Edgeworth *cit.*, 153 *et passim*, *EV* 4, 356f..

quondam Cf. **74**, **105** for the 'pathetic' use of **q.**

ora reliquit The motif of all that **C.** loses in death will recur at **827**, **830**. Here cf. 3.308, 9.475 *calor ossa reliquit*.

820 tum sic . . . /821 adloquitur Cf. 4.222, 10.228.

expirans Cf. **865**; *septies* in *Aen.*, hitherto in both Hor.*Epd.* and Sall.*Hist.*. *V.* needs occasional synonyms for 'die' (Axelson, 104, Lyne, *WP*, 108, **268**).

Accam Clearly suggested by the A. Larentia who raised Romulus and Remus; for such names for *V.*'s Italian warriors, cf. Saunders (1940), 542f..

ex aequalibus unam Cf. **655** for the importance of age-groups of initiates as the actual background to such stories of the companions of mythological figures. Cf. **586, 655, 710** for **comites**; in *Aen.* V. has *aequaeuus bis*, and *aequalis quinquies*. Note 10.703 *aequalem comitemque* and in particular **533 unam ex uirginibus sociis sacraque caterua**.

821 fida ante alias Cf. **537** and **7.55**. cf. 9.648 *armiger ante fuit fidusque ad limina custos*. To punctuate at line-end with resultant **fida . . . Camillae** seems gratuitous trivialising (for **C.** is also heard as gen. with **curas**)! **Fidam M₂P**, TCD, against the visibly preferable **fida** of **MR**, DServ..

quae sola Cf. **23 qui solus honos**. Not a sister, not a nurse, but, far more persuasively in the midst of such a sisterhood, a 'best friend' (vd. **soror**, *infra*). Cf. Arrigoni, 42f., 55, admirably. *Acca* is otherwise rather neglected in work on *Camilla*.

Camillae/822 . . . curas Cf. **511 ducis . . . curam**, *G.*1.26. Hardly the anxieties of a personal life whose very existence is so studiously suppressed.

822 quicum Remarkably, attested without variants by mss. and grammarians (Remm. Palaemon *ars* 541.31, etc.). The archaic abl. (instrumental) for all cases; so Plaut. has regularly *quicum*; also Cic. *Quinct.*25, Varr. *LL* 5.21, etc., Sommer, 437, Leumann, 472, LHS, 557, NW 2, 455ff.. Perhaps in keeping with the solemn pathos of the occasion.

partiri Cf. **510 partire laborem**. Note too the contemporary Liv.21.21.10 *partiens curas*. In a rel. clause, hist. infin. of repeated action as at **7.15**; compare in particular 4.422 *te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus* (with Austin's n.), Wagner, *QV* xxx.6, **KS** 1, 137, LHS 367f., *EV* 2, 966.

atque haec ita fatur Only here; *atque ita fatur ter*; also with *amicis, obortis* following the vb..

823–7 A final speech generally accepted as 'that of a soldier still thinking of the battle' (Hightet, 116, Brill, 82f.), balanced indeed (**825**) between pride (**potui**; cf. *Dido*, 4.653), a sense of growing weakness, and the needs for telling Tu. what must be done. There are approximate Hom. analogies, such as Sarpedon to Glaucus, *Il.*16.492ff.; cf. Knauer, 314, n. 1.

823 hactenus Cf. *G.*2.1, *Aen.*10.625 and in tmesis, 6.62 (hitherto common in prose); delay before the vb., created by the interposed address, markedly augments pathos.

Acca soror Dickey (686) shows that *soror* is used (not often, though that may reflect the rarity of women as speakers and writers) as an affectionate salutation by unrelated women, and cites an instance from Vindolanda; *frater* is course common (*ead.*, 123ff.); cf. also Bonfanti, 204f.

potui Sc. to fight, or to hold out against the wound, or indeed more probably both.

nunc Cf. 10.557, 582; it is good to remember the force that a monosyllabic advb. of time can exercise, well-placed (in contrast to **hac-tenus**).

uulnus acerbum Cf. 28, 587. C. seems to suggest that her death is before due time; she is not yet 'ripe' for it (and that will prove to bear upon the tricky 831). So the souls of Hector and Patroclus lament their fates, both λιποῦς ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην, Arrigoni, 56, La Penna, 239 and notably Traina, *EV* 5*, 334. The adj. arguably in enallage, if it 'belongs more naturally' to *me* suppressed.

824 conficit Cf. *Enn. Ann.* 386, *Pacuv. trag.* 128, *Lucret.* 2.1162, etc., but above all *Acc. trag.* 564 *conficit animam uis uolneris*. It is curious that this apparent debt should not have been noted.

tenebris Cf. 6.238 *tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris*. Cf. not one of the many collections of *loci* on darkness (e.g. Pease on 4.25, 692, NH on *Hor. C.* 1.4.16), death and the afterlife, but rather Onians, 182 on that misting over associated with faintness which passes very easily (Onians, 422) from temporary λιποφυχία to a more permanent night (cf. *Il.* 4.461, 503, 13.575, *Od.* 18.201f., 20. 351f., 24.315, *Eur. Hipp.* 1444, *Alc.* 385, *Phoen.* 1453, fr. 806.3 *et saep.*).

nigrescunt omnia The vb. *bis* in *Aen.* (and apparently a coinage); V. rather favours inceptive vbs. of colour, 7.528.

circum Indifferent word at line-end. Cf. 509, Austin on 2.18, Norden, p. 401. Here sense is not run on to the following verse and the weakened ending may actually be there for characterisation.

825 effuge Two lines of sorrow at her condition, two-and-a-bit of lucid instructions. This balanced brevity reveals a warrior in command of her situation and loyal to her leader until the very end. The *simplex fuge quinquies* in *Aen.*

haec Turno . . . perfer Cf. 181.

mandata nouissima From a loyal subordinate to a commander, so scarcely 'order' (and no more were they at 7.267 (where *vd. n.*), Latinus to *Aen.*); for **n.** as 'last', cf. 4.650, 6.231, *EV* 3, 769, *OLD*

s.v. *nouissimus*, §3. Alessio (146) compares Anna gathering Dido's *extremus halitus*.

826 succedat pugnae Tu. left battlefield and poem at **531**; with C.'s death imminent, his absence has become critical; that means, in turn, that he is called away from his ambush (**902**) just before (**904**) Aeneas hastens through the pass. So V. manages to set up a final combat between Aen. and Tu. before Lat.'s walls (cf. Feeney, 146). Noun and vb. at 10.690 (sc. *Mezentius ardens*) **s.p.** (and cf. 9.222, 10.439). This is good military language, perhaps distinctively so: cf. *Caes.Gall.*4.32.2, 5.16.4, 7.25.4 etc..

Troianosque arceat urbe That is where the poem will end; the dying C. returns the poem to its 'strategic focus': cf. **514, 904ff.** for Aeneas' undeviating, uninterrupted advance. The vb. quite common thus, *EV* 1, 296. **Vrbe MP², urbi PR**, accepted as an archaic abl. by Sabbadini and Geymonat. **197 morti** (abl. not dat.) does show that V. accepted such forms, but *Buc.*7.47 and *G.*3.155 offer no firm evidence for V.'s more general liking for them.

827 iamque uale The words at *G.*4.497 (where Mynors compares *Eur.Phoen.*1453), *Aen.*2.789, 5.738; here cf. in particular **11.98 aeternumque uale**. For a speech ending not at line-end (cf. **7.552**), presumably to indicate that it is just at this point that she dies.

simul his dictis So 5.357; *simul* an occasional preposition, *OLD* s.v., 12, LHS, 272.

linquebat habenas As **828** indicates, the wds. altogether literal (Arrigoni, 55); C. was on foot at **710**, but it is not hard to suppose that she had since remounted. As she dies, the reins begin to slip from her hands: an altogether admirable, finely-noted and moving detail. Cf. **7.600** (Latinus, and metaphorically) **rerumque reliquit habenas**.

828 ad terram . . . fluens A touching reversal of the asexually sensuous **500f. quam tota cohors imitata relictis/ad terram defluxit equis**. Only now does C. complete the action of sliding begun at **805**, to Henry's untimely mirth.

non sponte Cf. 4.361 *Italiam non sponte sequor!*

tum Characteristic that V., in portraying this dissolution into death, should articulate the process with care.

frigida Cf. **818f.**: the chill of death.

toto/829 . . . corpore Cf. **7.459, 11.87, 313.**

paulatim Cf. **7.529.**

exsoluit se Cf. Lucr.1.811 *omnibus e neruis atque ossibus exsoluatur*, 3.696 *incolumes posse et saluas exsoluere sese*, *TLL* 5.2.1877.27f. (P. Schmid). The dissolution of the body (so e.g. *Il.*5.296 τοῦ δ' αὔθι λύθη ψυχὴ τε μένος τε) and the departure of the *psyche* at death are at once current belief in Hom. and an ancient metaphor (the more complex, after Lucr.): see Page and Buscaroli on 4.695 and cf. Hom. λῦσέ τε γυῖα (*et sim.*; Onians, 187, J.N. Bremmer, *Early Greek concept of the soul* (Princeton 1983), 74, 76). Distinguish, though, the loosing of the bonds of fate, Onians, 372f., 433, etc..

lentaque colla Cf., again, **68ff.** (and 9.436 *lasso papauera collo*, there discussed), **818**. C.'s neck bends and droops (sc. like the stem of a cut flower) with (cf. **7.28 lento luctantur marmore tonsae**) a slow, heavy motion, though the sense may be closer to that of *Buc.*1.4 *lentus in umbra*, *Aen.*12.237 *lenti consedimus aruis*, i.e. nerveless, inactive. Pinotti (*EV* 3, 176) sees **1.** as a synonym of *mollis* (cf. **622**), after Homeric ἀπαλοῖο . . . ἀχένοσ, but that is 'merely' descriptive and ornamental.

830 captum leto . . . caput Not even the meticulous Hey, *TLL* 3.340.21f. offers anything quite parallel; the sense of 'afflict', 'overcome', though, is well-established in poetry (**49**), and is often applied to a specific part of the body, as *G* 1.183 *oculis capti* (moles). So death 'afflicts' C.'s head. *EV* s.v. *capio* ignores.

posuit Cf. 3.631 *ceruicem inflexam posuit* (Polyphemus drunk), 5.845 *pone caput* (Palinurus). Miss Hubbard draws my attention to the complex and striking sequence **829 exsoluit** (pres. or perf.; given **pau-latim** and the complex process, pres. is clearly easier), **830 posuit** (perf.; perhaps of the moment in which C.'s head actually jerks to one side), **relinquunt** (pres.).

arma relinquunt relinquunt alii ap.DServ. (including Probus who *hypallagen uult esse uel contrarium, ut ipsa relinquat [ipsam relinquunt Timpanaro]*), TCD (*ceciderunt et arma, cum haec ulterius tenere non posset*). DServ. continues *alii 'arma relinquunt' cum laude dictum accipiunt, id est illa decidebant e manibus Camillae exanimis*. **relinquens M₂**; **relinquens ex relinquit P_ω**; **relinquit M**; **relinquit R**; Cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 140, Delvigo, 69ff., Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 94ff., and (excellent) *Virgilianisti*, 73ff., J.E.G. Zetzel, *Latin textual criticism*, 52, L. Gamberale, *EV* 2, 298, Courtney (**230**), 25f.. It becomes clearer that V. really is likelier to have written **relinquunt**, since (i), the sequence of ideas suggests strongly that 'arms abandon C.' is preferable; she struggles

against her weakness, slips from her horse, and naturally, is abandoned by strength, by life itself,—and so too, but last of all, being as she is (Pascoli), by her arms. (ii) the hypallage is extremely attractive, difficult and Virgilian, to be considered as another instance of the sort of inversion of ‘normal’ subj. and obj. discussed by Görler, *Vergilius Suppl.*2 (1982), 67f. (iii) it is easy to imagine that a difficult reading (but one known to Probus) such as **relinquunt** might have been changed into **relinquit/relinquens**, not least so soon after **827 linquebat habenas**, but much harder to see why Probus, faced by **relinquit/relinquens**, should have felt any need to conjecture. Readers wishing to follow all the complex meanders of DServ.’s n. are urged to read Timpanaro and Delvigo, *cit.*; earlier discussions take little account of scholiastic usage. If then weapons and life itself successively take their leave of Camilla, it seems best not to separate them by punctuation and to indicate the change of subject by a semi-colon.

831 uita . . . indignata A line much discussed, for it recurs at 12.952 of Tu. and is reworked after both *Il.*16.856f. (of Patr.) and 22.362f. (of Hector) ψυχὴ δ’ ἐκ ρεθέων πταμένη Ἀιδόσδε βεβήκει./ὄν πότμον γούωσα, λίπους’ ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἦβην. For ψυχὴ, *uita*; focus of our uncertainties is (or should be) the partic.. While Traina has suggested an allusion to epigraphic *indigne* (Lattimore, 183 and cf. *Cat.* 101.6 *miser indigne frater adempte mihi*), of those dead before their time (which would be most attractive, given that V. *does* so portray C., **823**, etc., it is not an association easily or naturally present in the *verb indignata*. I suggested (*Companion*, 215) that interpreters of the passage are too much in thrall to mod. ‘indignant’ (and the like), whereas Lat. *indignor* has a more complex range. *TLL* 7.1.1186.47ff. (Bulhart) glosses *fere i.q. dedignari, cum indignatione recusare, nolle* (Forbiger, tersely, *inuita*). Thus, cf. *Lucr.*3.1045 (a text very dear to V.) *tu uero . . . indignabere obire* (and cf. too *Ov.Met.*6.555, 12.354). ‘The sense of righteousness implicit in ‘indignant’ seems therefore to give way to an element of plaint or protest’ (NMH); compatibly with the vb.’s etymology, a cry of *non decet* may be heard and perhaps ‘reproachful’ might be a fair rendering. Nannini, in seeing specifically an echo of non-philosophical protest against death (*Lucr.*, *cit.*, *Plat.Phaed.*63B, etc.) may push rather too far, though in the right direction. The bibl. (at least on 12. 952) is vast: here cf. *Companion*, 195, 215, Traina on 12. *cit.*, and *EV* 5*, 334, with *Poeti latini* 4, 89, D. Gagliardi,

Orpheus NS6 (1985), 404ff., S. Nannini, *Lexis* 14 (1996), 117ff., Arrigoni, 55f., Brill, 83f., La Penna, 239, Schenk, 393, n. 103, Knauer, 33, 309f., 313, 320.

cum gemitu Hom. γοόωσα. Cf. G.3.223, *Aen.*3.577, 4.687.

fugit . . . sub umbras Hom. Ἄιδόςδε βεβήκει. Cf. 4.660 *ire sub umbras*, 6.578 *tenditque sub umbras*. For ideas of the flight of the soul at death, cf. Bremmer (829), 17, 74.

832 tum uero Cf. **633**, **7.376**, **519** (a sudden violent movement of the action; cf. Wagner, *QV* xxv (d)).

immensus . . . clamor Cf. 2.488 *ferit aurea sidera clamor*, 5.140 *ferit aethera clamor*, **11.745 tollitur in caelum clamor**; slightly routine epic hyperbole. Cf. 3.672 *clamorem immensum tollit* (the adj. *quater* in Lucr., *septies* G., *undecies*, *Aen.*). The repetition is perhaps more formulaic than unconscious.

ferit Cf. 2.488 *supra*.

aurea . . . /833 sidera Cf. 2.488, André, 338, Edgeworth, 41, 89. In bk. 2 the stars gleam serenely above the tragedy of Troy, while here it is not night until **913f.** and the contrast (*not* precisely astronomical or chronological) is with the darkness that is slipping down over C. (**824**; well noted by Edgeworth).

deiecta . . . Camilla Cf. **642**, **664**: appropriately a decided flavour of military narrative.

crudescit pugna Cf. **7.788 effuso crudescunt sanguine pugnae**. Schönberger (187) well calls the four-word phrase 'monumental'. Another change of subject in mid-sentence and possibly a hint back to the image of **acerbum**, **823**.

834 incurrunt densi The vb. so at **613**, **759**; the adj. as at 12.280, 457, 563, Gk. πυκνοί (vd. Traina, *EV* 2, 25).

simul *Simul ab sinistro cornu . . . equitatus omnis . . .* (Caes. *Civ.*2.34.2); three bodies of allied troops arrive *together*, in a disciplined manner. **omnis copia Teucrum** In plur., extremely Caesarian. V. had *legio*, *agmina Teucrum*. The plur. vb. and adj. preceding are normal, LHS, 436f..

835 Tyrrhenique duces Cf. **171**.

Euandrique Arcades alae Cf. **93 Tyrrhenique omnes et uersis Arcades armis**, 12.281 *Troes Agyllinique et pictis Arcades armis*, 551 *Tuscorumque phalanx Euandrique Arcades alae*. Cf. **604** for **alae**.

836–67 Arruns' death; Camilla is avenged. See **847** for the (tragic; cf. **847**) motif of vengeance. Cf. La Penna, 244ff., Miller (**759**), 177f., Alessio, 147–9.

836 at Cf. (e.g.) **597, 648**: a major change of direction in the narrative.

Triuia custos Cf. 4.186 (Fama) *luce sedet custos . . . summi culmine tecti*; Barchiesi, *EV* 1, 967 compares *Ov.Met.*1.678 *custos Iunonius*, of Argus.

iamdudum 11x in V.; from *Enn.trag.*62.

in montibus . . ./837 . . . summis Cf. **526**, 2.626, 3.655, 10.766, 12.113 for the expected order, here inverted, for proximity to **summa** and greater effect.

Opis Cf. **532**.

837 alta sedet Cf. **726 summo sedet altus Olypmo**, with, likewise, adjs. in mutual reinforcement.

spectatque . . . pugnas Cf. 10.4 *castraque Dardanidum aspectat populosque Latinos* (with *Il.*8.52 εἰκοπόων and Harrison's n.), 760.

interrita Cf. **711**.

838 utque . . ./839 prospexit Cf. **7.289**. Not synaesthesia, but interaction of seeing and hearing, with interlaced word-order, ABAB.

procul Cf. 12.353 *hunc procul ut campo Turnus prospexit aperto*; not echo in 12, so much as familiar language neatly reshuffled.

medio . . . in clamore Cf. **7.577 medioque in crimine** [accusations]. Cf. **192** for shouting on the heroic battlefield.

iuuenum . . . furentum Cf. 2.355 *sic animis iuuenum furor additus*. On both sides, warriors possessed by battle-rage (**486**).

839 tristi . . . morte Contrast **647 pulchram . . . mortem**; it is not clear that this 'balance' permits wider deductions (as Arrigoni, 57): **t.** is thematic (and perhaps Homeric, λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον, Arrigoni, 61), at least from **7.618, tristisque recludere portas** and by now, given the precise definition of C.'s death as premature (**823, 831**), it looks rather as though V. here defines C.'s death as, rather generically, **tristis** (on various counts), without wishing to provoke subtle inferences.

multatam ω **mulcatam . . . Camillam** MPRbdr, SDan.. Mynors comments on **multatam** 'fortasse recte' (and Goold prints). TCD **mulcata**, corrected to **mulcatam**. SDan. MULCATAM: *affectam*: 'mulcari' enim proprie uerberibus dicimus. But attempts to explain **mulcatam** (the vb. = 'drub', whence 'beat', 'defeat') here carry no conviction and parallels are not cited (vd. Page for impeccable good sense). But note *Sil.*10.462 *mulcata cadauera caede* (Delz's orthogr.; i.e. *multatam*) and *Plaut.Amph.*852 for similar 'punishment' (cf. Arrigoni's well-judged argument, 61f.). **841 luisti, 849 luet** show V. playing nearby with

such favourite ideas of chastisement (**7.766**), in different language. It is easy to see how **multatam** (or indeed **mulctatam**) will early have been written by casual error as **mulcatam**, and spread into almost all of the transmission.

840 ingemuitque *Novies* in V., *sexies* in this form. Cf. **831, 865**. *Lucr.* has *ingemere bis*, but it appears to be V. who promotes the inceptive to high poetry.

deditque has . . . uoces Cf. (speech-end) **7.560 talis dederat Saturnia uoces**.

imo pectore Cf. **377**.

841–9 *Opis* re-works, significantly, themes and language from her mistress' s speech (note **842, 844, 848**, Brill, 56, 85, n. 4); C.'s death does not end her story; her devotion to Diana earns her an aftermath, which V. has prepared with care, **584–594**. Cf. La Penna, 242f.. *Evander's* speech on *Pallas* has been compared (Arrigoni, 62, n. 133, after Cartault): both draw amply upon the rich treasury of consolation-topics.

841 heu nimium . . . nimium *Wills* (*infra*) compares 4.657 *felix, heu nimium felix*; and more to the point, *id.*, 118 notes only *Ciris* 161 for a similarly repeated *nimium*. Cf. Clausen, *THP*, 150, n. 83, and on *heu*, Hofmann-Ricottilli, 114.

uirgo V.'s last homage to her faithfully unwedded state (*Wills*' notion of a reference back to *Dido* and *Calvus* is hardly persuasive, 74f.).

crudele . . . /842 supplicium Cf. **7.597, 11.257f., 273f.**, *Liv.* 1.53.8, 4.50.4 (earlier than this line, if V. needed a precedent for such a combination!).

luisti Here 'you pay (sc. the means of loosing your obligation)'; contrast **444, 849** and cf. 6.740 *supplicium expendant* and (lucidly) *D'Angelo, EV* 3, 282; also *Beikircher, TLL* 7.2.1842.47, *OLD* s.v., §1a ('to suffer . . . by way of expiation').

842 Teucros conata lacessere bello Cf. (to be recognised here; cf. **848**) **585 militia tali conata lacessere Teucros**. C.'s *Schuld* (again!) for Brill, 85!

843 nec tibi . . . /844 profuit Cf. **7.303**. Note *NH* on *Hor.C.* 1.28.4 *nec . . . prodest*, 'a commonplace of laments', *McKeown* on *Ov.Am.* 2.6.17–20.

desertae in dumis The thickets at **570**; the adj. ('lonely, solitary') at least from *Acc.trag.* 415; cf. **412**, 4.42. Cf. **10** for the prepositional phrase, in reality rather common, *pace* the older grammars.

coluisse Dianam Cf. **582, 584** (though it is Diana's own minion that speaks!). Marked dental alliteration in a passage of strong affection. Cf. **786** for the sense that gods shall be grateful for the devotion that has been shown them.

844 nostras . . . pharetras Cf. **536 nostris . . . armis, 649. pharetras PR; sagittas M**, which is apparently not how V. puts it elsewhere; **7.816 gerat ipsa pharetram** not relevant to the textual issue, which is decided by weight of mss., and idiom elsewhere.

umero gessisse Cf. **575, 652, 774**. In as much as Opis is here explaining the grounds on which she is about to intervene, it is no surprise that the lines in which she summarises C.'s claim to divine vengeance against her killer will be (very) rich in (un)conscious echoes of the preceding narrative.

845 non tamen *Septies* in V.; Diana certainly will, however (litotes and adversative particle), leave C. glorious in her death (though, as yet, she is merely dead).

indecorem Cf. **7.231**.

tua . . . regina Cf. **7.620** of Juno. Here though not quite the familiar cult-title of goddesses (NH on Hor.C.1.30.1; cf. Dickey (**686**), 107) for **r.** suggests that Diana is presented as even more than the 'mistress' (or *domina*) of Camilla, of all her votaries, indeed of Opis herself. The absence of precise analogies is not disconcerting, for Opis uses to C.—of Diana—the language C. herself (and indeed Opis) would use when addressing the goddess. Grave confusion in Venturini, *EV* 4, 467 (**r.** applied to C. not D.!). Note marked, decisive allit. of d, t and r.

te . . . reliquit Cf. (likewise) with predic. adj.) 6.841 *quis te magne Cato, tacitum aut te, Cosse, relinquat?* and note *OLD* s.v., §6a. Similarly 5.275, 9.288 with the *simplex*.

846 extrema iam in morte So at 2.447 (subconscious/formulaic), where Ussani, Austin observe the likely influence of Cat.76.18 *extremam iam ipsa in morte tulistis opem*.

neque hoc sine nomine letum Cf. 2.558 *sine nomine corpus* (*sine dignitate*, SDan.), 6.776 *nunc sunt sine nomine terrae*, 9.343 *multam in medio sine nomine plebem*, *EV* 3, 753. Compare **7.776 ignobilis**. Note Serra Zanetti's useful account of synonyms for death, *EV* 3, 597; cf. Skutsch on Enn.*Ann.*389, Jocelyn, Enn.*trag.*, p. 255f. for **L**, lofty and archaic. Fame in some measure through Virgil, some consolation to C. (cf. **7.4**) and certainly in contrast to Arruns' obscurity, **866**; cf. Paschalis, 370.

847 per gentis erit Two prepositional phrases to a single verb, KS 1, 215 *infra* (unremarkable). Cf. *G.1.331 per gentis humilis stravit pauor* (not to mention *Cat.101.1!*). Diana's vengeance will ensure C.'s posthumous, widespread fame (not least, through Virgil, as Schönberger suggests, 187), a traditional consolation (**688f.**, **7.4**), Basson (**519**), 64. **aut** After *neque*: cf. 4.501f., Hand 1, 545.

famam patieris Cf. Plaut. *Trin.*186 *malas famas ferunt*, **7.421 incasum fusos patiere labores**.

inultae Serv. writes, well, *nec inuindicatae ignominiam sustinebis: quod etiam Dido dolet, dicens [4.659] moriemur inultae, sed moriamur ait*. Note too 2.670 *numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti* (probably an old epic tag, and one parodied at *Hor.Serm.*2.8.34). The adj. also at *Hor.C.1.2.51*; perhaps first in poetry at *G.3.227*. The Hom. ἄτιτος, *Il.*13.414 (cf. 14.484), behind 10.739f. *non me, quicumque es, inulto, / uictor, nec longum laetabere*. For V.'s use of the tragic theme of the consolation of vengeance, cf. Austin on 2.670, 4.625, Fraenkel on *Aesch.Agam.* 1279f., Barrett on *Eur.Hipp.*1418. **F.** + an abstr. noun (e.g. *crudelitatis*) is common but here (i) there is no suitable noun and (ii) the adj. is neat, economical and easily understood; Prop. wrote of *fama pudica* (2.32.21). *EV* 5*, 357 insufficient (and presumably unavenged).

848 nam quicumque . . . uiolauit uulnere Cf. **591** (calculated repetition at the moment of fulfilled warning, Moskalew, 110); again, the significant theme of wound as rape. The phrasing as at **277**. **Quicumque** with perf. vb., as at **255**, 12.143.

tuum . . . corpus Far less physical affront would have been present in simple *te!*

849 morte . . . merita Cf. 4.696 *nam quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat* (where Buscaroli compares Hom. ὑπὲρ μόρον), 2.433f..

luet Cf. **444**, **841**. Cf. **7.552**; the speech does not end at line-end, often a sign of emotion/agitation.

fuit Cf. **7.483**, **601** for the use of ecphrastic form to organise narrative.

ingens . . . /850 bustum Cf. **201** for **b.**; the epithet altogether conventional epic hyperbole. Such tombs of mythical figures are a familiar part of the epic/learned landscape (**7.1**, *Athen.*, *infra*, Erskine (**777**), index s.v. tomb) and attempts to locate the monument (cf. *EV* 2, 27) were misguided.

monte sub alto Cf. **810**, **836**, **7.563**, **674**.

850 regis Dercenni Of D. I have probably written too much already—*RMM* 3f., *CR* 41 (1991), 122, *Aion* (Sez.ling.) 13 (1991), 19, *Athen.*66 (1988), 43—and shall here be brief: D.'s name is apparently Celtic in origin and he is mentioned only here (Serv. is entirely perplexed). There are several names of legendary figures in *Aen.* (Acron, Erulus; cf. Propertius in Cato, *Orig.frag.*48, Morrius in *SDan. ad Aen.*8.285) which likewise appear to belong not to ingenious fantasy but to some older stratum of tradition of which V. knew little—and we nothing.

terreno ex aggere A striking instance of loftier adj. for gen.; **a.** is familiar (**212**); for the adj., cf. 6.732, *ter* in Lucr.. Cat.64.363 *excelso . . . aggere bustum.*

851 antiqui Cf. **316, 540**: a long time before the action of *Aen.*

Laurentis But not one of the conventional kings of the Laurentes, **7.45ff.**; cf. also *EV* s.v. *Laurentes* (Horsfall). Note weak caes. at 3tr with caes. at 1½ missing and at 4½ blurred, with long sequence of coincidences of metr. beat and word-accent; cf. Norden, 433f., Gransden on 8.453.

opacaque ilice Cf. 6.208f. *opaca/ilice. Ilice sub nigra*, *Buc.*6.54, *G.*3.333f., *Aen.*6.136, 9.381. Because the leaves, though indeed dark, are shining, Maggiulli (*EV, infra*) claims, perversely enough, that the epithet applies to trunk, not leaves, but the dense, serrated, evergreen leaves of *quercus ilex*, mod. holm oak (also called ilex by gardeners), are quite dark enough (cf. **7.36**) to merit the description *opaca*. Cf. *EV* 3, 164f., Meiggs, *Trees and timber*, 218. V. may well (so Nettleship) think of Rom. usage: cf. Strab.5.3.8 (Augustus' mausoleum), *omne genus enim poma uolo sint circa cinerum mearum et uinearum largiter* (so Trim. himself prescribes) Petr.71.7, *ILS* 3.2, 938 s.v. *cepotaphium*, N. Purcell in *Röm. Gräberstrassen* (ed. H. von Hesberg, P. Zanker, München 1987), 30ff.

tectum 'Covered', as at e.g. *Buc.*7.46, *Aen.*6.138. The ilex used for pyres, 4.505, 6.180, but it is not specially or specifically funereal; rather, because unusually dark, it is deemed suitable covering for a burial mound.

852 hic Taking up the 'ephrastic structure', **849**.

dea . . . pulcherrima Identified as Diana by *EV* 4, 347 (Mugellesi Christillin)! The adj. used of Venus (4.227), Proserpina (6.142), Deiopea (1.72); here not cultic or thematic.

se . . . /853 sistit Cf. *EV* 4, 1028, *Liv.*6.29.3. Also intrans. thus, *G.*1.479, *Aen.*3.7. **P** has **pulcherruma**; cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 450.

primum Reconnaissance before shooting.

rapido . . . nisu Beauty, swift flight and halting interlock in sequence; beauty is as much of flight as of features. Cf., 4.252, Lucr.6.834 *pin-narum nisu* and at length, *EV* 3, 741f..

853 Arruntem . . . speculatur Cf. **7.477**, Allecto **speculata locum**: the word's milit. tone (cf. my n. on **7**, *cit.*) is appropriate here too; agreeable play of sound -ul-, -ul-, -al-.

tumulo . . . ab alto Cf. **6**, **103**, **7.6**.

854 ut uidit Cf. **40**.

fulgentem armis Variation upon the formulaic **fulgentibus armis**, **188** (so as to permit the parallelism with **tumentem**); here Arruns himself is represented as gleaming (cf. 2.616, 5.133, 562). **Laetantem animis M** (later corrected); similarity of sense in both halves of the line is no towering virtue; no clear hint in usage elsewhere and no obvious echo-corruption (shining arms are often repeated, not least when V. is writing *currenti calamo*; the relative proximity of **769 fulgebat in armis** therefore of little weight against the paradosis (**PRM**₂, here!).

uana tumentem Terse and memorable: cf. 6.49 *rabie fera corda tument*, 2.287 *quaerentem uana* (but *here* the adj. is advbl.; cf. **865** and Gk. ἐτῶσια), *EV* 5*, 436, *OLD* s.v., §2b. Sil. expands inventively, 10.176f. *antiqua tumentem/nomina*.

855 'cur' inquit Cf. **42**; **i.** inserted after a single syllable of Opis' speech to convey the immediate check to Arruns' escape that she so vigorously conveys.

diuersus abis Cf. **7.150 diuersi explorant**, old tragic idiom.

huc . . . /856 huc Cf. **601**, **7.635**. Often but by no means always sacral, Wills, 110.

derige gressum Cf. 1.401, 5.162: almost formulaic, but we should remember that such use of verbal abstracts is distinctively archaic/tragic, Ferraro, *EV* 1, 379 (note also *digressus*, *regressus*, *congressus* in V.). For the imper. vd. *infra*.

856 periture Cf. 2.675 *si periturus abis*. Such use of voc. with imper. has recently attracted misunderstanding: cf. 10.811 *quo moriture nuis . . . ?*, n. on **7.425 offer te, inrise**. Note e.g. 2.408, 511, 9.400, 554, **741** for the appeal to the pessimist V. of a fut. partic. foreshadowing imminent death, though of course O. here speaks with heavy scorn. **ueni** Scornful invitation; for such use of the imper., cf. again **7.425**.

capias ut . . . /857 praemia Cf. 2.537, 12.360, G. Crifò, *EV* 4, 246 for **p.** thus ironically; so too *pretium*, 12.352, etc.. **P.** with *capere*

standard, 5.232, 308f. (cf. use with *fructum*). Anastrophe of the conjunction to give greater force to the verb.

digna Camillae Cf. 1.605, 9.252f. (with 5.354f.); the gen. (cf. 12.649 *indignus auorum*) a Grecism familiar from the c1BC (Balbus, Cic. *Att.*8.15a.1, Görler, *EV* 2, 266, LHS 79, KS 1, 398f.). On Balbus, *cit.*, SB writes ‘something of a vulgarism’ unconvincingly; cf. rather Väänänen, *Inscriptions pompéiennes*, 200 on usage there, probably by analogy with *par, similis*.

857 tune etiam After the ferocious double command, the question, ‘will you too die?’ is *cum ingenti amaritudine dictum*, as Serv. remarks, for *ei etiam genus inuidet mortis* (a low sort of victim for *Diana*’s armoury!). Cf. **590**; La Penna (243f.) well summarises the principal stories of *Diana*’s vengeance which more than justify the **etiam** here (*Callisto*, *Orion*, *Actaeon*, *Oeneus*, **7.306**, *Hippolytus*, **7.761ff.**; note also *Niobe*).

telis . . . Dianae *Artemis* was ἰοχέαιρα to Hom.; the bow quintessentially her weapon, in hunting and in childbirth; cf. Barrett on Eur.*Hipp.*166–8, Gruppe, 1284. Note **652 sonat arcus et arma Dianae**.

moriere Not much remoter than the familiar *morere*, 2.550, 4.547, 10.600, 743.

858 dixit, et Cf. **561**.

aurata . . . /859 . . . pharetra Cf. **590, 649, 844, 7.816**; cf. **652 aureus**. The elegance of *Camilla*’s appointments has been noted and *Opis* is similarly equipped, with hyperbaton to make quite sure we realise; a quiver is more credibly chased in gold, gilded, even made of gold, than some of the arms, armour and equipment so described by the poet.

uolucrem . . . sagittam Arrows often also *celereres* in V.; u. at 5.242, 12.415. Hom. ταχύν ἰόν.

Threissa Cf. **531, 539, 571**. ‘A Thracian maid and therefore skilled in masculine exercises’ Henry.

859 deprompsit Cf. **590**.

cornu . . . tetendit Cf. **7.164, 497**.

infensa Cf. **123, 336**.

860 et duxit longe Cf. 9.623 *diuersaque brachia ducens*, Veget.1.15: technical, therefore (or at least ‘standard’), rather than non-specifically poetic. Ignored, *EV* 2, 147. So the classic account, *Il.*4.122f. ἔλκε δ’ ὁμοῦ γλυφίδας τε λαβῶν καὶ νεῦρα βόεια·νευρὴν μὲν μάζω πέλασεν, τόξω δὲ κίδηρον.

donec . . . coirent/861 inter se Cf. Liv.37.28.7 *promunturiis coeuntibus inter se . . . clauditur portus*.

curuata . . ./861 . . . capita Simply, the bent ends of the bow: Triple alliteration of the straining weapon. Cf. Ov.*Met.*5.383 *oppositoque genu curuavit flexile cornu*, 11.324. The vb. perhaps a Virgilian coinage, from *G. (ter)*. **C.** for 'tips' is familiar in a wide variety of contexts, *OLD*, s.v., §10a, Plin.*Nat.*17.39 (tips of rainbows), Sidon.*Epist.* 1.2.5 (bow), *TLL* 3.413.22f. (Maurenbrecher).

et manibus . . . aequis Shortly (**862**) to be specified and expanded; the adj. has been taken as suggesting an equilibrium of forces between the hands (*OLD* s.v., §4a, comparing the use of *a.* for 'even', of a balance, *aequa lance*, Plin.*Nat.*7.44), or a level, horizontal line between both hands (cf. 9.674, 12.569, *OLD* s.v., §2, 'that is in the same horizontal plane'). Neither sense is to be excluded.

iam tangeret 'Semplice contatto fisico', *EV* 5*, 28.

862 laeua . . . dextra Distributive apposition, LHS, 429; cf. *Moretum* 24f. (less elegant!). After Wagner on 10.179, Gransden claims that this is the only synaloepha of long a followed by short a, wrongly: cf. too 1.642 *antiqua ab origine gentis*. But Wagner's memory *hardly* played him false, for the text at 1.642 is uncertain!

aciem ferri Cf. *G.*2.365, *Aen.*6.291; on military technicalities, *EV* disappoints consistently. 2.333 *stat ferri acies* has a quite different sense ('a line of steel . . .').

neruoque So in Hom., νεῦρα, νευρή; in Lat. the bowstring of sinew thus from Acc.*trag.*545; cf. *Aen.*10.131, 12.856, Seymour, 670.

papillam Cf. **803**; Homeric, Il.4.123 (in a long and technically unsatisfactory account), Seymour, *cit.*; Opis employs the 'Cretan' draw, as against 'the Scythian' (to the shoulder, normal with the composite bow), in the distinction made by Schol.T on Hom., *cit.* (vd. Kirk *ad loc.*; a fine account); the techniques coexist on the monuments but recent discussions seem to skirt the issue: cf. A. Schaumberg, *Bogen u. Bogenschützen* (diss. Erlangen 1910), 102ff., M. Jongkees-Vos, *Scythian archers* (Groningen 1963), 71, R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Pfeil u. Bogen* (Bochum 1980), F. Lissarague, *L'autre guerrier* (Paris 1990), 36ff. For guidance here, I offer thanks in the preface.

863 extemplo Cf. **7.276**.

teli stridorem Cf. **563, 801f. nec aurae/nec sonitus memor;** s.: **7.65**.

aurasque sonantis cf. **562, 595f., 799 sonitum dedit hasta per auras**, 5.520f., 12.267f..

864 audiit . . . Arruns Not Homeric, or Apollonian; the victim hearing the fatal weapon appears a unique conceit. DServ. remarks *multi nolunt in medio distinguī propter exprimendam celeritatem*.

una . . . -que Cf. 9.631 *intonuit laeuum, sonat una fatifer arcus*. Ladewig usefully compares *simul ac, eodem tempore . . . et*; cf. LHS, 481f., Ernout-Thomas, 173f.. Neither Serv. nor TCD realise that this **-que** does *not* simply coordinate the two verbs.

haesit . . . in corpore Cf. n. on **7.533 haesit enim sub gutture uulnus**.

ferrum Cf. **862** and **637**.

865 illum exspirantem Cf. **820, 883**.

socī Cf. **533**.

atque extrema gementem Lighter than **854, 886**; cf. the coupled participles of **7.18, 449** (there are about twenty instances of framing/balance of partic. of mixed conjugation, thus, in *Aen.*). Cf. *G.3.517 extremosque ciet gemitus*; here variation on the formulaic *multa gemens* (cf. *EV* 2, 651f.). Advbl. use of neut.plur. adj. as at **854**: LHS, 40, Lunelli-Kroll, 6f. (a Grecism, from Enn. on).

866 oblitī A brilliant surprise (apparently without Hom. ancestry); not in the least what the reader expects and a powerful element in Diana's vengeance: Arruns, despite all his dying groans (for **865** is partly concessive) is thus left bereft (in splendid contrast to C.) not only of all those honours that (to take an extreme case) Pallas enjoyed, but even of his own comrades' simplest concern for his corpse (10.903f., **7.574, 11.26f.**, Griffin, 115f.). Preceding **socī** has already inclined our expectations in a quite different direction (so *Il.5.663, 13.213, 14.428* for the wounded hero and his comrades; *4.506, 17.317, 18.152* for the corpse). Crushing divine and human judgement passed upon Arruns.

ignoto camporum in puluere Cf. 5.795, 871 *nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena*, 9.485 *heu terra ignota canibus data praeda Latinis*; but not only τῆλε πατρίδος for there is also an element of enallage: Arruns will not enjoy the fame and consolation of heroic burial, life and death amid his peers, **846, 7.776**. For the dust of the battlefield, cf. **7.625, 11.611, 908**. *Vltionis augmentum*, as TCD well remarks.

linquunt Not a *simplex pro comp.*; *relinquo* and *linquo* are too closely interchangeable in usage for the usual distinctions to apply (Scarcia, *EV* 3, 229).

867 Opīs . . . aufertur Cf. **713, 744, 814**, 3.258 *pennis ablata*.

ad aetherium . . . Olympum Cf. 6.579, 8.319, 10.621 (vd. Harrison).

The adj. is in itself old and poetic (**7.768**) but the expression is resonant pseudo-Gk. and pseudo-antique.

pennis Cf. the Harpy of 3.258, *supra*.

868–95 A measure of C.'s importance to Tu.'s cause is the chaos at her death; it is only that which permits V to have Tu. return to the action, and which in turn permits Aen. to cross the hills unchecked; C. dies far enough before the end of the book (contrast Dido, Mez., Tu.) for V. to be able to develop the ensuing rout before sunset. No similar chain of catastrophe when Mez. died. Cf. Basson (**519**), 64. La Cerda suggests that panic at a leader's death is a *locus* V. will have found in the historians, citing Liv.4.19.5, 26.6.5, 30.18.13. Add e.g. 24.7.7.

868 prima fugit . . . 869 . . . fugiunt . . . fugit Naturally it is C.'s band that flees first; theirs was a singular bond, and with their *domina's* death, their bond is dissolved. For the triple repetition of the vb., here with number change but no growth in the tricolon, cf. *Buc.*10.19f., *G.*1.77f., *Aen.*12.826f., Wills, 291.

domina amissa Cf. **805, 272**.

leuis ala The noun recently familiar: **604, 730, 835**; the adj. equally familiar, and technical in military narrative, **512**. Possibly to be taken with the gen. (cf. 5.819, 6.17, 12.489), in the sense of swift and nimble on horseback. Both senses not to be excluded.

Camillae The special poignancy of repeated posthumous naming (Dido, Pallas!); her standing augmented by the immediate military effect of her loss.

869 turbati . . . Rutuli T.: cf. **618**; we need to recall that Tu. is still in ambush, **631**, though for little longer (**896**) and on his orders, there are *Latini* under C.'s command (**518**), so the presence of Rutuli under C.'s orders is easily understood.

acer Atinas A. presumably a native of Atina, in C.'s own Volscian territory (**7.630**, Saunders (1940), 547, n. 36); the prosodic difference is, *pace EV* s.v., of minimal importance (for such relatively common variation, cf. my discussion, *Aion* (Sez. ling.) 14 (1992), 173ff.) and no other explanation of the name seems open. The adj. non-specific, **518, 612**, but the clausula repeated in V.'s Homerising manner, at 12.661.

870 disiectique duces A splendid, majestic (cf. **833, 7.576**, 3.466, 6.639, 8.263, *G.*1.470, 3.550; Winbolt, 228 is too selective), economical line, four alliterative strokes of the bell that tolls for C.. The vb. (once in *G.*, nouies in *Aen.*) from *Enn.scaen.*84; cf. Gudeman, *TLL*

5.1.1383.31: twice of *agmina*, and only here in V. of individuals. The loss of C. provokes general dismay among the Latins. For **duces**, cf. **521, 598, 835**.

desolatique manipli The vb. hitherto only at **367**; apparently a majestic innovation (and the sense is not *desolati ducibus*, as Henry suggests). **M.**: cf. **463** (but here cavalry, not infantry; Malavolta, 157 compares **cohors, 500**); panic right through the various contingents of Latin cavalry.

871 tuta petunt Cf. **865**; **t.** expresses 'safety' with neat vigour; cf. **882**, 6.358, 9.366 (Dingel also compares *in tutum*, 1.391).

equis Cf. (*quater*) *fertur equis*.

auersi Cf. **7.618 auersusque refugit**.

ad moenia tendunt Cf. **98f. ad altos/tendebat muros**, 1.410 *gressumque ad moenia tendit*. 'Fortuitous reworking', perhaps. Latinus' city has not been far off (**506, 621**).

872 nec quisquam Cf. **7.703**.

instantis Teucros Cf. **703 instantem reginam**, perhaps an echo to indicate that Arruns' 'success' was, however tragic, a major victory for the Trojans.

letumque ferentis Cf. *Il.*16.454 θάνατόν τε φέρειν; apparently not at all a familiar phrase in Lat., though. Cf. **865** for the paired partics..

873 sustentare ualet V.: cf. **327. S.**: cf. **224**.

telis With both halves of the line; 'of means' as in e.g. *paribus concurrere telis*.

sistere contra ἄντην ἐτηράσθαι (cf. *Il.*11.590, 18.307); note **374 contra stare**, 5.414 *contra stetit*, 10.309 *contra in litore sistit* (transitive) 12.271 *constiterant contra*, *EV* 4, 1026; V. has the unobtrusive ability to create such simple (but rarely precise) equivalents of the Homeric manner. Hissing allit. of **sus-** . . . **sis-**.

874 sed After *nec* thus, cf. **881**, 10.308, 12.810f., etc..

laxos . . . arcus Cf. *Hor.*C.3.8.23f. *iam Scythae laxo meditantur arcu/cedere campis*, *EV* 3, 159, Seymour, 670. Gk. ἀνειμένους (cf. *Hdt.*3.22.1).

referunt Cf. **623**.

umeris languentibus Cf. *Ter.**Eun.*314 *demissis umeris* (of languid young women!); the bow is of course slung from the shoulder (**575, 652, 774**) and the shoulder's symbolic force is of primary importance (2.708, 3.12, 8.731, Hardie, *CI*, 369ff.; cf. *Liv.*27.48.17 *intolerantissima laboris corpora. uix arma umeris gerebant*). Indeed *Physiogn.* 58 helpfully spells out [*umeri*] *laxi enim infirmitatem animi et timiditatem ostendunt* (so too *Ps.**Arist.**Physiogn.*810b35; there are twenty-five references

to the shoulders in Quint.'s discussion of oratorical body-language, 11.3). Nerves as unstrung as bows.

875 quadrupedumque M; quadripedumque M₂PΩY; quadri-
pedemque F₁; quadripedoque FR. Sabbadini, followed by
Geymonat, printed **quadripedo**, comparing Fronto p. 156.4Naber
(= p. 153.15vdH₂) *quadripedo concito cursu*, Apul.*Met.*6.28 *quadripedi cursu*
(cf. Skutsch on Enn.*Ann.*236). Note (i) that *quadru-* is preferable (**7.500**),
(ii) that Fronto/Apul. are only too likely to imitate some delightful
orthographic variant that one or other has found in a Virgil ms. (at
least that much Sebastiano Timpanaro taught us to notice!), and (iii),
more seriously, that NW 2, 163 reveals how **quadripedo** is only
attested as from the passages cited (then Amm. Marc. 14.2.2), whereas
quadrupes is of impeccable ancestry. Such learned play is illuminating
but has no place in our printed texts! Analogy with 8.596
quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum (where we may agree
that the allit. is more pertinent than here) may lie behind **quadri-**
pedoque. Behind V. is Enn.*Ann.*242 *quatit ungula terram* (cf. Wigodsky,
58), where Skutsch maintains that **campum** here is onomatopoeically
an improvement upon *terram*; to my ear that is not clear (cf.
too LHS, 713), and the allit. of d and t seems to work quite as well
as the more booming repeated -um. *Campum* itself perhaps after
Lucr.2.330 *quatientes impete campum* (Wigodsky, 45). The pace and onomatopoeic
energy of the line sits oddly in its present context of dispirited
retreat.

putrem . . . campum. The adj. at Liv.*Andr.*trag.33.

cursu quatit Note Enn.*Ann.*242, 263, 431 *quatit ungula terram*.

ungula Collective sing. (and Ennian) but also to avoid the metrically
impossible plur..

876 uoluitur ad muros Cf. 9.36 *quis globus, o ciues, caligine uoluitur
atra?* At *EV* 5*, 625, A. Traina compares [Aesch.] *Prom.*1084f. κόνιν/
είλιττουσι. Of smoke, *Il.*1.317, *Aen.*2.758, etc., of stench, 12.591. Cf.
900, 12.575, 690 for Lat.'s city as the focus of disaster.

caligine . . . atra Cf. **187** and 9.36 *supra*. Furius Antias had written
(fr. 2) *omnia noctescunt tenebris caliginis atrae*. Wigodsky, 148 is right
to remark that c. is Ennian and the adj. common; no proof, therefore,
of indebtedness; cf. further G. Broccia, *RFil.*118 (1990), 44.

turbidus . . . /877 puluis For dust, cf. **611**, **866**. The adj. suggests
swirling motion, reinforced by the ill-omened colour, Worstbrock.
185. Note *G.*2.137 *auro turbidus Hermus*, 3.350, *Aen.*6.296 *turbidus hic
caeno . . . gurgēs*, R. Strati, *EV* 5*, 319.

e speculis Cf. 526.

percussae pectora Cf. 7.503 **percussa lacertos** and see 11.37f., 87, 215f. for the gesture.

matres Cf. 35, 147, 215.

878 feminineum clamorem . . . tollunt For noun and vb., cf. 37, 622, 745 (= 12.462) **tollitur in caelum clamor**, *Ov.Met.*12.226, Bannier, *TLL* 6.1.465.80. The adj. crucial also at 782. C. fought 'like a man' until 'unmanned' by her womanish love for fine raiment; her followers too fought like heroes until she died. Now the *matres* of Lat.'s city howl 'like women', but (891) man the walls.

ad caeli sidera Conventional hyperbole of sound: cf. Hardie, *CI*, 282f.. *Sidera caeli* at *G.2.1*, 4.58, *Aen.*1.259; the inversion of the nouns essential if the line is to end with **tollunt**.

879 qui cursu . . . inrupere The vb. 12x in *Caes.*, 39x. in *Liv.* (so here visibly after the manner of narr. prose); note 2.33.7 (earlier than 11) *portam ferox inrupit*, 34.47.2 *in portam i.*; above all vd. 5.13.13 *et Veientium refugientes in urbem multi ante portas caesi, dum prae metu ne simul Romanus inrumperet, obiectis foribus extremos suorum exclusere* (and see further 880). Cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 433 on the rarity of assimilation of n before r in the *Virgil* mss..

portas . . . patentis Standard, *Cat.*15.18, *Aen.*2.266, 330, 9.693 (cf. the whole scene: at 722ff. Pandarus shuts Tu. into the Latin camp and many of his own comrades out, 725f.). Note too *Liv.*2.33.7 *sed per patentem portam ferox inrupit in proxima urbis*. La Cerda's eye for the relevant historical analogy here seen to very good effect: cf. *Liv.*22.6.5f. (flight from Trasimene), 25.15.14ff. (Capua; strikingly close to V. in both date and themes), 34.15.8.

primi The first Latins, with *inimici* on their heels.

880 hos . . . super . . . premit Cf. 8.249 *desuper Alcides telis premit*. Cf. 552–5 for a closely similar sequence of preceding rel. phrase picked up with virtual anacoluthon (so W. Görler).

inimica . . . turba Adj. lofty for gen.; cf. 84 **inimica . . . nomina**. *T.* as at 10.432, 12.444, with ample discussion, R. Strati, *EV* 5*, 317.

mixto . . . agmine A familiar scene: cf. *Liv.*1.14.11 *haerens in tergo Romanus, priusquam fores portarum obicerentur, uelut agmine uno inrupit*, 2.30.14f. *uno agmine uictores cum uictis in urbem inrupere*, 26.44.4 *permixti fugientibus inrupturi fuisse in urbem uiderentur*.

881 nec . . . effugiunt Cf. *nec spes ulla fugae* (9.131, 10.121), 8.251, 10.757.

miseram . . . mortem So 10.829. Cf. the copious discussion of P.Serra Zanetti, *EV* 3, 591.

sed limine in ipso Cf. *Buc.*8.92, *Aen.*10.355f. *limine in ipso/Ausoniae*. See **7.625** for the emotive force of **I.**

882 moenibus in patriis Cf. 1.95f. *quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis* [cf. *Od.*5.309]/*contigit oppetere*, 3.322f. *Troiae sub moenibus altis/iussa mori*, 5.624 *traxerit ad letum patriae sub moenibus*, 10.469f.. Under the eyes of their kin (**887**) and on the brink of safety, there is a peculiarly Virgilian pathos in their death.

atque inter tuta domorum For the neut.plur. adj. used as noun, cf. **854**, **865**; for the addition of a partitive gen., cf. the ample discussion by W. Görler, *EV* 2, 265 (note too LHS 53, **310**, **513**).

inter FP, Macr.4.3.12, TCD, against **intra MR**, which gives an unsuitable sense (indoors, not in the streets!).

883 confixi Cf. *Enn.Ann.*392, 517, *Acc.trag.*539, *quinquies* in *Aen.*. See Jackson, *EV* 2, 512.

exspirant animas Cf. **820**, **865**.

pars . . . /888 pars . . . /889 . . . pars . . . Cf. **7.624** (not least for the freedom of number open to V.). V. may think (perhaps after Matius) of the ἠμίεεε of *Il.*21.7 who fall into the river (cf. **888**). Vd. Traina, *EV* 5*, 625.

claudere portas Cf. *Hor.Carm.*3.5.23 *portasque non clausas*, *Caes. Gall.*2.33.1, 7.70.7: standard. Perforce hist. infin..

884 nec sociis Cf. **272**, **533**, **865**.

aperire uiam Note 10.864 *aperit si nulla uiam uis* (see too 9.356 *uia facta per hostis*) and cf. *Il.*12.122f. (gates of the Achaean wall open to receive fugitives), *Aen.*9.726, the Trojans left outside when Pandarus closed the gates. The phrasing is (also) Livian: 6.35.4 (polit., not milit.; vd. Oakley), 42.66.7, 43.1.10.

nec moenibus . . . /885 accipere Simply expanding what precedes, unremarkably; cf. 8.177f..

audent 808, 5.378, 9.802: a favoured litotes.

885 orantis Sc. *socios*; the partic. perhaps in some sense concessive, 'despite their prayers'; cf. **697**, 12.294. Assonance with the following word to be heard.

oriturque miserrima caedes From 2.411, after *Il.*13.122 (vd. Knauer, Bonfanti, 237f.); the situation, *pace* Moskalew, 129, is hardly comparable (though in both passages, but one side provides both killers and victims) and the repetition may well be altogether casual.

On 2.cit. Serv. remarks on **m. quia inter ciues**, and that could indeed apply here too.

886 defendentum armis aditus Cf. 2.447 *defendere telis*; the abl. (to be understood with both partics.) is superfluous (for the vbs. presume that both sides employ weapons) but altogether in keeping with the sense of the verse (cf. **manu, 484, 505, 650**, etc.). **Aditus**: cf. 2.494, 5.441, 9.58, 380, etc; standard, but a word very dear to narr. prose (32x Caes., 74x Liv.).

inque arma ruentum Cf. 2.353 *in media arma ruamus*, and see also **7.782**, 8.648, 9.182. Cf. **7.17** for coupled gen.plur. partics. Avoidance of the metrically unhandy gen.plur. in *-ium* since Enn., Leumann, 438, Sommer, 383, NW 1, 404ff.

887 exclusi Cf. 9.726 *exclusos*, Liv.5.13.13 *exclusere*, 23.15.6, 25.15.15, 28.6.5, 44.28.13 *partim ante portam exclusos. clausurant enim Chii portas ignari, qui fugerent aut sequerentur*: a vb. essential to such scenes.

ante oculos . . . ora Cf. 2.531 *ante oculos euasit et ora parentum*, **11.121** (for the stock pairing).

lacrimantumque . . . parentum Cf. **53, 159** for the stock pathos of burial of children by parents. For (much rarer) parents who witness the death of a child, cf. 1.95, 2.538, 663, Tac.*Ann.*12.47.5, *Epigr.Graec.*327.3Kaibel (cf. Lattimore, 188), *Anth.Pal.*7.224, Lattimore, 187f., Harrison on 10.443 (but death, body and funeral do need to be held in part distinct). Two dully nasal paired *-um* endings again. The Latins die before their city and also before their parents. **L.:** cf. **90, 150**.

888 in praecipitis fossas Both Tortorici (*EV* 2, 572) and Carcopino (363) take V. to be writing of the Trojan camp. He is not, of course (and the error is singular); cf. Carcopino, 290f., **7.160** for Lat.'s fortifications and **7.157** for the *fossa* of the Troj. camp. The adj. ('steep', 'sheer'; cf. 2.460, 5.175, 6.578, etc.) may have a flavour of military narrative (*quater + praecipitare*, Caes., common in Liv. (e.g. 10.9.8), Sall. (*Jug.*92.5); cf. Adkin, *TLL* 10.2.3.417.57) and may perhaps also suggest by hypallage that the Latins rush headlong (2.307, 5.144, etc.). *Tacet EV*.

urgente ruina FM, urgente F₁PR. Cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 448. Baldini Moscati, *EV* 4, 597 usefully compares the repeated association of words 5.144f. *non tam praecipites . . . / . . . ruuntque*, **11.673 praecipites . . . ruunt**, Liv.5.74.5 *ruina . . . tota prolapsa acies in praeeptis deferri*. Had V. written *urgentur ruentes* the outcome would have been the same.

889 uoluitur Cf. **883ff.**: after Hom., *cit.*; that Matius wrote *uoluitur* in a similar context (fr. 7) is entirely conjectural (Traina, *Poeti latini* 1, 63, *EV* 5*, 625 but see Courtney *ad loc.*). See **640**.

immissis . . . frenis For **f**, cf. **195**; for **i**, cf. *G.2.364*, *Aen.5.146f.*, 662 *immissis . . . habenis*, 6.1; *Acc.trag.* (416 *immittens frenos*; possibly an echo, perhaps just standard), *Lucr.*, but not *EV*, despite 29 instances in *V*!

caeca et concita Cf. *Liv.26.13.12 feras bestias caeco impetu ac rabie concitatas*; not a conventional, alliterative pair.

890 arietat in portas Cf. *Acc.praet.24 in me arietare*; the *i* consonantal, *metri causa*, Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 881 (with ample and authoritative discussion).

duros obice postis Cf. **7.622** for the various senses of **p**. in such a context. The noun (cf. *obicere*) *quinquies* in *V*.; cf. 8.227 *fultosque emunit obice postis*, *TLL* 9.2.65.66 (Lumpe), *Liv.6.33.11 obices portarum*; cf. 9.3.1 *per obices uiarum*. Not clear what its history might have been before *G.4.422*.

891 ipsae . . . matres See (unedifying) Quinn, 251, well answered by Zarker (**35**), 21 (and note too Bonfanti, 170); these Latin matrons are patriotic, and agitated, not fearful. One of their leaders is dead, their menfolk are in the field, and for now they alone man the walls. Cf. **475**; Barry (*ib.*), 67 cites the women of Corioli (*DH* 6.92.6, *Plut.Cor.9*) 'who pelted the Roman invader with tiles'. So too at Veii, *Liv.5.21.10* (and e.g. *Sall. Jug.67.1f.*; such scenes within the walls not actually rare). Epic could hardly fall short of such scenes of 'historical' heroism, when located at the gates of Rome. Tiles were used in the streets, but scenes of women who manned the walls were not entirely fanciful, either, at least for a remote epoch: for Argos, cf. *Plut.Mor.* 245C (see Graf (**475**), 247f. on the doubtful historicity of the event, though it is of course the existence of the story that matters).

de muris *De muro nouies* in *Caes.*, *ter* in *Livy*.

summo certamine Cf. 5.197 *certamine summo* (perhaps not a conscious echo); note *Liv.6.24.11 a summo certamine animi*; *Liv.* also has *magno, ingenti, maximo, ultimo certamine*.

892 monstrat Wagner well compared 9.44 *conferre manum pudor iraque monstrat*; the obj. here is very easily supplied. Cf. *EV* 3, 973 for parentheses and the explanation of motivation in *Aen.* *Quid autem matribus monstrat amor patriae?* No clear answer offered (and 9.44 is not precisely parallel, for there is an *infin.* dependent on *monstrat*). *QS* 1.436–9 may be a reworking of *V*. here, but need not be: his

text sheds no precise light on the finer points of interpretation here. **amor uerus patriae**) ‘Love of fatherland’ an occasional phrase (6.823 *uincet amor patriae*, 4.347 *hic amor, haec patria est*), not a universal catchword at Rome: cf. Cic.*Prov.cons.*23, *de orat.*1.247, Val.Max.5.6.8, Tac.*Hist.*1.15, *Ann.*15.36, *Ov.Fast.* 5.653, *Trist.*1.3.49, Sen.*Epist.*91.13. The parenthesis (*bene*, Goold, e.g.) should not extend jerkily to the end of the line (so Mynors). *Caritas* also so used, Hellegouarc’h, 149. The adj. not often used thus in V.: cf. 12.435 *disce, puer, uirtutem ex me uerumque laborem*, 8.301, *EV* 5*, 512f. SDan. thought that death in defence of an alien land was the issue; he had various followers, but the idea is not convincing; in combat against a Trojan, the *patria* of a Volscian (and of a Rutulian) is Italy, or, to stretch the point, Latium. **ut uidere Camillam** Cf. 6.490, 9.683, 10.573; V. thus seizes the moment at which their *amor patriae* takes effect; C.’s body has apparently not yet been removed for burial (if Diana had put her promise, **594**, into effect, the corpse would not be visible at all); note the explicit **post, 593**; Arruns is, though, dead and ‘therefore’, on the basis of Diana’s speech, C.’s body should *not* be visible. Cf. Arrigoni, 119–21 for a survey of the solutions offered (including the transposition of **891–5** after **835**). C. is plainly there (and not just in the mind as an *exemplum uirtutis*, DServ., *exemplum* TCD), whether she should be or not and the sight of her is an inspiration: *she* has died *pro patria* and *they* cannot just stand and watch.

893 tela A couple of lines lightly sketched in with familiar material and well-used phrasing.

manu . . . iaciunt Cf. **578, 650, 676**; *manu* + *iacere*, 10.264, 886 (and cf. 2.459).

trepidae Cf. **805, 7.518** (more anxious).

ac robore duro Cf. **326, 553**; the epithet conventional, *Buc.*4.30, 8.52 (*quercus*), *Aen.*8.315 *duro robore*; cf. too **7.524 stipitibus duris**.

894 stipitibus Cf. **7.507, 524**.

ferrum . . . imitantur Cf. **473, 7.506ff., 523–5**; V. has worked the motif of improvised (and/or rustic) equivalents to iron weapons rather hard; the vb. familiar, **500**, *G.*3.380 (cf. *EV* 2, 923, Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.435.66).

sudibus . . . obustis Cf. **7.524, 11.473** for **s.**; for **o.**, cf. **7.506**.

895 praecipites Cf. **888**: here, clearly, ‘headlong’. See **673**. It is in their haste that they have caught up substitute weapons.

primaequae Alliterative; they long to die, in the forefront, and more than their menfolk; cf. **7.647, 11.380, 786**.

mori . . . ardent A. just might suggest the terrible, fatal blaze in which they will shortly be enveloped, 12.569ff.. The sentiment is tragic, not heroic, as we have seen, **647**. **M₂ω** and Serv. have **audent**, by eye from end of **884**.

pro moenibus Sons and brothers are still fighting *before* the walls, and V. does not suggest that the *matres*, excited, long to join them there (cf. *pro turribus* 9.677). Rather, of course, ‘in defence of’ (cf. 8.648, etc.), but there may be a passing hint of ambivalence.

896–915 Tu.’s return to the action directly motivated by C.’s last words (vd. **897**); he and Aen. return simultaneously from a battle at the pass that was only averted by the news of C.’s death and an anticipated start to the action of xii is only checked by the end of the day (which is said to have begun at **446**; *EV* 2, 238). Acca’s message corresponds to Antilochus’ visit to Achilles (Il.18.1–22) and we are also reminded of Apollo’s intervention at Il.21.544ff., to delay the final combat between Achilles and Hector, Knauer, 289f. See Büchner, 396.50ff., Worstbrock, 65f., Heinze, 228. Gransden, *VI*, 190.

896 interea Cf. **7.572**.

Turnum . . . implet Cf. **fama . . . replet** at **139f.**, Liv.34.12.8 *id pro haud dubio iam nuntiantes non suos modo sed etiam hostes fama Romani auxilii aduentantis impleuerunt*, Ov.F.2.93 *nomen Arionium Siculas impleuerat undas*. Perhaps a Virgilian extension of usage, familiar also to Livy and taken up by Ov., *OLD* s.v., §5b, *TLL* 7.1. 632.62 (Labhardt). But note that the phr. easier with a plural obj. (fills all the members of a group); here perhaps fills all the areas of Tu. liable to reaction (as at **7.458–60**).

in siluis Cf. **531**.

saeuissimus . . . /897 nuntius Cf. **7.437**, **11.447** (‘message’); the superl. **s.** rare in V. and strong (note too the run-on noun); C. had been Tu.’s chief hope (**432**, in climactic position), and her death has spelt immediate disaster. Con. well refers to Il.18.18f. *λυγρῆς . . . ἀγγελῆς*.

iuueni Cf. **7.435**.

ingentem . . . tumultum T. in the sense of ‘panic, alarm’, *OLD* s.v, §3, *EV* 5*, 313, Serv. *ad Aen.*2.486 (as though from *timor multus!*), Fest. p. 486.34 and common enough thus in Cic. (e.g. *Deiot.*20, parallel to *trepidatio*). Explanations of **t.** follow, in acc. + inf..

fert Acca In precise and specific obedience to C., **825**.

898 deletas Cf. Liv.9.32.11, *TLL* 5.1.434.18 (Lommatzsch); the vb.

not common in Caesarian narrative (e.g. *Gall.*6.36.2, 37.7, 41.3); too strong for regular use and so chosen deliberately here.

Volscorum acies Cf. 498.

cecidisse Camillam Alliterative tragedy; the baldest, bleakest word V. could use, in the asyndeton here most appropriate to the milit. message (cf. Horsfall in *Vir bonus discendi peritus*, *BICS* Suppl.51 (1988), 52).

899 ingruere In a milit. context, *Plaut. Amph.*236 *nostrī contra ingruunt*, 14x in *Liv.*, though with non-personal subj. (*deest*, *HRR*, *Caes.*, *Sall.*), 28x *Tac.*; V. thus contributed to the word's revival as a military archaism.

infensos hostis So *Liv.*2.20.3, 4.10.3; just possibly an annalistic tone. Note the marked assonance.

Marte secundo Cf. 10.21, 12.497. In the realm of 'stereotyped phrases', Bailey, 114; cf. *aequo M.*, *aduerso M.*. Cf. 7.494 for the origin in the favour of wind and water (from *sequor* after all).

900 omnia corripuisse The vb. 31x in V. (cf. 462), *septies* in *Lucret.*, *Cic. Carm. Hom.*1.14. Here cf. 9.537 (flames), 1.45 (whirlwind).

metum . . . ferri 'Moves, spreads', comparable to (e.g.) 539; cf. *EV* 2, 494.

iam ad moenia The **iam** very much to the point; now at last (cf. 381, 506, 871) fear reaches Lat.'s walls (7.161) and his people begin to pay directly for his support of Tu.

901 ille furens Cf. 486, 7.464, *Companion*, 208, 213: Tu. is enraged not because he *is* fundamentally crazed (*pace* Gransden, "Turnus' *uiolentia*") but because as a warrior and leader he sees his lieutenants die and his strategy fail; Williams, *TI*, 220 ticks Tu. off severely for his 'lack of strategy' (similarly, R.D. Williams); contrast Cairns, 74, for what I prefer to call χάρη. Ladewig supposes—quite unconvincingly—that it is Jup.'s evident partiality for Aeneas' cause that provokes Tu.'s *furor*.

(**et saeua Iouis . . . numina** The adj. rarely thus: cf. 12.849 (Jup.), 7.287 (Juno), *EV* 4, 644. Cruel, perhaps, because these expressions of Jup.'s will lead Tu. to his death (for **n.**, cf. 7.297, 592).

sic . . . poscunt) Cf. 4.614 *et sic fata Iouis poscunt*, 5.26 *sic poscere uentos* (not to mention 5.707, 8.477 of the fates), 8.512 *numina poscunt*. Cf. 826: it is part of Jup.'s plan that Tu. shall at last confront Aen. (cf. Feeney, 146), and it is V.'s way to let us glimpse the wheels of destiny turning: too slowly and too creakily, some will say.

Poscunt MP, Serv., TCD, etc.; **pellunt R**. The latter said to be *simplex* for *impellunt* (Sabbadini, Geymonat) and **numina poscunt** could be an echo of 8.512. But *numina (im)pellunt* is not good Virgilian idiom, and *sic . . . poscunt* so clearly is.

902 deserit Cf. Liv.10.34.6, 14, etc., but ‘standard’, rather than military idiom; cf. (e.g.) 12.683, 698.

obsessos collis Cf. **528f.**; Tu. had occupied a *planities ignota*, which blocked (*obsedit*) Aen.’s passage through the *collis*. Cf. Caes.Civ.1.67.3 *atque omnia loca atque itinera obsidere*, Liv.4.61.7, 21.32.10, etc.: a vb. dear to milit. writers. Standard, but above all in the business of war and thus to be counted technical.

nemora aspera Memorable detail: see **531, 896**; cf. the *aspera silua* of G.1.152, 3.384, EV 1, 371 (Zaffagno).

linquit The *simplex* of great poetic antiquity: Naev.*Bell.Poen.*23.2, Pacuv.*trag.*186, Aen.3.124, etc..

903 uix e conspectu Cf. 1.34 *uix e conspectu Siculae telluris*; here, Tu. has only just passed out of sight of his eyrie, when Aen. forces the pass. Fortuitous repetition. Synaloepha at 2sp (Norden, 454; once in 89 lines) with u the vowel affected.

xierat . . . /904 cum Tu. had (already) passed out of sight of the hill(s) and was crossing the plain, when . . . That is, the time for a quick reversal of his march had passed.

campumque tenebat Cf. **513, 875**, 12.136, etc.: the plain is ‘Trojan’, by imitation; if we must look at the map, it is towards the alluvial coastal plain. But we have seen that the contrasting hills were firmly in the imagination of poet and reader hereabouts (**522ff.**).

904 pater Aeneas Cf. **184**; Aen. is said to return only here to the narrative he left after the funerals (e.g. Gransden), but the explicit threat of his presence at **511ff.** is of crucial importance.

saltus . . . apertos Aen. was engaged upon his mountain route at **513ff.** and is only now emerging. For **s.**, cf. **7.797**; **a.** indicates that the ‘glen’ is no longer *obsessus*; ‘unprotected’, rather differently, at **748**.

ingressus Cf. **7.194**.

905 exsuperatque iugum Cf. **7.799, 11.135, 514, 529, 544** for **i.**; ‘to reach the ridge and the path back to his camp’, writes Gransden of Aen. here, apparently forgetful of **514** and the whole strategy of xi–xii; Heinze, 228 indeed writes of Aen.’s new camp under the city walls, but that does not exist until **915**! The vb. at 3.698, 10.658; *quater* in Lucr. and Cic.*carm.*Graec.7.

siluaque . . . opaca Cf. 7.36.84, 11.851. The wooded hills of the ambush are familiar: cf. 531, 896, 902.

euadit Cf. 702.

906 sic Tu. reacts to the news of 897–900 at 901–3; at 904–5, Aeneas too returns to the action, while here (905–6) *both* approach Lat.'s city (907, their proximity): at 908–9 Aen. catches sight of Tu.'s troops, while at 909–10 Tu. sees Aen. and *his* troops: an elaborate and well-balanced introduction to the action of xii, which is likewise a resolution of those twists of the action which have kept Aen. and Tu. out of direct contact for the duration of xi.

ambo Cf. 291.

ad muros . . . feruntur For the vb., cf. 623, 7.156, 673; note 12.575 *ad muros . . . feruntur*.

rapidi Cf. 7.156f. **rapidisque feruntur/passibus**. Though we have now returned to infantry action, it is nonetheless swift, on both sides. Caes. would have written *celeriter appropinquant*.

totoque . . . /907 agmine Cf. Hirtius, *Gall.* 8.28.3, Liv. 22.17.7 *interea toto agmine Hannibal transducto per saltum . . .*, 25.36.4, 41.4.3, etc.: a neat and altogether military way of saying 'without dividing their forces'.

nec . . . inter se . . . absunt Cf. Sall. *Jug.* 55.6 *duobus locis haud longe inter se castra faciebant* (and compare too e.g. *ib.* 98.3 *propinquos inter se colles*, Cic. *de orat.* 1.215 *multum inter se distant*). So too e.g. with *differunt*, Caes. *Gall.* 1.1.2, *distarent*, 7.72.4, *Civ.* 1.40.1.

longis . . . passibus *Ad hoc* phrasing; cf. n. on 7.157, *non passibus aequis*, etc.. In contrast to the last, military, ablatival phrase, V. here indicates in a slightly mannered way that Tu. and Aen. are apart not *by* long steps (cf. the long years of 10.549), i.e. distance. **909 prospexit longe** might seem incompatible, did such detail matter!

908 ac simul Aeneas . . . /910 et . . . Turnus Cf. 906; we are at the first bars of the overture to the drama of xii. Cf. KS 2, 6f., LHS 481f. For **ac simul** (M), PR read, after 904, **tum pater**.

fumantis puluere campos The dust is familiar (cf. 866), and the image altogether less so: f. of rainstorms, *Dirae* 76, of thick cloud, Lucr. 6.460. See Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1540.10f. and rather *OLD* s.v., §3.

909 prospexit longe Cf. 7.288f. **longe/ . . . prospexit**, 11.839.

Laurentiaque agmina The adj. used in general of the indigenous enemies of Aen. (Horsfall, *EV* 3, 141); cf. 6.891, 8.537, 12.137, Carcopino, 245ff.

uidit Three verbs of seeing; rather loose paratactical writing, but there may be a climax (distant view—actual sight—specific recognition).

910 saeuum Aenean Of Aen. (or his attributes) also at 10.813f., 878f., 12.107 *maternis saeuus in armis* (Craca, *EV* 4, 644).

agnouit Dear to V. at numerous dramatic moments from 1.406; see Kraggerud, *EV* 3, 766. We recall (i) the effect of a first sight of the shipborne Aen. upon Tu. and his men (10.267f.) as also upon the besieged Trojans (*ib.*262ff.) and (ii) Tu. who catches a first sight of Aen. returning to battle after the wound to his leg (12.446).

in armis Cf. 12.107, *cit.*, 938 *stetit acer in armis*. The function of the adj. is defined, in that Aen.'s *saeuitia* is here expressed in the arms he bears and the use he is to make of them.

911 aduentumque pedum *EV* 5*, 489 disappoints. A sonorous line (with the dull, heavy **u** dominant and -um 3x) in fine equilibrium, using two abstract nouns (cf. **855** and cf. **7.344**) with typical economy to convey actions (so Acestes, 5.35f. *miratus . . . aduentum*); V. reworks the good ideas of **607: aduentusque uirum fremitusque ardescit equorum** (here, **pedum** are clearly hooves, not feet!). Here **M** and TCD read **aduentus**, under the influence of **607**; the variety of number is very much to be preferred.

flatusque audiuit equorum **F.** of horses at *G.*3.111 *umescent spumis flatuque sequentum* (Forbiger's suggestion that V. 'means' *hinnitus* infelicitous); **7.28**, **11.346** differently. The allied cavalry of the combat against Camilla have linked up with Aen.'s infantry; cf. Quinn, 250, n. 1. The sight of Aen., the sound of hooves, the sound of breath: a splendid climax.

912 continuoque Cf. **7.68**, **120**, **11.612**, etc..

ineant pugnas Cf. 1.58 (with Austin's n.), 5.325f. (with Williams' n.), 6.294 (with Austin's n.) for this use (a use current in archaic Latin) of pres. subj. as livelier and handier than plpf. (or indeed impf.); cf. *KS* 2, 400, Ernout-Thomas, 378f., *LHS*, 332f., Bell, 140. Cf. *G.*4.314 *prima leues ineunt si quando proelia Parthi*. The (Ennian) vb. used of seasons or plans, not of battles by Caes..

proelia temptent Cf. 2.334, 3.240; after *Lucr.*5.1299 *quam biuigo curru belli temptare pericla*.

913 ni . . . / 914 tingat For the tense, vd. *supra*; cf. *G.*1.246 *Arctos Oceani metuentis aequore tingi*, *G.*2.481 = *Aen.*1.745 *quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles*, *EV* 5*, 184. Suggested by Hom.'s *λοετρά* of the Ocean.

roseus . . . Phoebus Cf. **7.26**; V. here applies exceptionally to a sunset a typical dawn-colour; cf. Edgeworth 40f., 156.

fessos . . . /914 . . . equos Cf. **7.298**, **11.335** for the adj. (and **7.26** for Phoebus' horses).

iam Cf. **7.25**; note **11.1**, for here the book closes with a dusk (uniquely), having opened with a dawn. Cf. the rich discussion by Antonio La Penna, *EV* 5*, 254.

gurgite . . . Hiberno Cf. **7.704**, **11.624**; for the adj., cf. **772**, **7.663** (Hercules in the far W.): here it suggests the Pillars of Hercules and (cf. **7.100f.**, **11.1**) the Western Ocean. Compare *Ov.Met.*7.324, *ter iuga Phoebus equis in Hiberno flumine mersis*, *Juv.*14.280.

noctemque . . . reducat Of day and dawn at *G.*1.249 (and elsewhere of sun after rain, as also of the seasons). Cf. *Il.*8.486 ἔλκων νύκτα.

die labente Cf. 4.77 (where not even Pease can point to analogies).

915 considunt . . . ante urbem Contrast **323** in a peaceful sense; as here, cf. *Caes.Gall.*7.58.6, 79.1, 4. Perhaps though, standard rather than military-technical. **Ante urbem** thus in a milit. context (contrast **7.167**): *Caes.Gall.*2.32.4, 7.11.5, 25.2, etc., but hardly distinctive. **castris** Locatival, as 12.385.

moenia uallant To fortify by means of a palisade (*uallum*) on top of the rampart; the verb common in similar senses in military narrative: *Caes.* has *circumuallare* (*quinquies*), the *simplex* in the *Caes.* corpus (*bis*, *simplex*, *bis*, compounds), *Liv.* (*decies* compound, *bis*, *simplex*), *Tac.* (*bis*)—and *Lucr.* (5.27). For *SDan.*, apparently (so Page, but this is a trivialising, unattractive 'solution'), the Trojans *castra posuerunt*, while the Latins (cf. **7.159**) *ad morem castrorum fecerunt*. The alternative would be to suppose that for now the Latins camped in the field, before their own walls, though there is no sign of this temporary fortification in xii. The text does not invite us to linger on such profoundly unimportant details.

APPENDIX I: CAMILLA AND THE *EPIC CYCLE*

§1 That in Camilla there is something (much, even) of the Amazon Penthesilea is (cf. **662**) a commonplace, often expanded by the suggestion that V. derived his knowledge of Penthesilea from Arctinus' *Aethiopsis*,¹ She did indeed feature in the *Aeth.*, coming from Thrace to aid the Trojans (Proclus, *EGF* ed. Davies p. 47.4). But the commonplace gives grounds for disquiet. *Aeth.* in particular is not datable by language, for no citations survive,² but the latest attempt to date the *Epic Cycle* as a whole points to the later c. 6.³ Horses, ridden, cautiously re-entered the *Iliad* in 1973, and however Greenhalgh's hypothesis of noble epic chariots employed,⁴ almost systematically, by the poet to replace modern cavalry, be judged,⁵ it is clear that Homer had some sense of the existence of cavalry.⁶ Homer's own date might currently be thought to fall ca. 750–25,⁷ close enough to the earliest artistic representations of cavalymen⁸ and indeed to the earliest historical attestations of the use of cavalry in the First Messenian and Lelantine Wars.⁹ But the earliest representations of Amazons engaged in cavalry battles belong ca. 530;¹⁰ the indebtedness of visual to poetic representations in the archaic period is itself now fiercely challenged;¹¹ there is no solid evidence whatever¹² for

¹ Cf. e.g. A. Brill, *Die Gestalt der Camilla* . . . (diss. Heidelberg 1972) 7ff., G. Capdeville, *MEFR(A)* 104 (1992), 322f., A. La Penna, *Maia* 40 (1988), 222ff..

² M. Davies, *Glotta* 67 (1989), 95.

³ Davies (n. 2), 89ff., *id.*, *Epic cycle* (Bristol 1989), 3f.; R. Schmitt in *Pratum Saraviense* (Stuttgart 1990), 22f. is inconclusive.

⁴ P.A.L. Greenhalgh, *Early Greek warfare* (Cambridge 1973), 7ff., 53ff.

⁵ Not to be dismissed: cf. L.J. Worley, *Hippeis* (Boulder 1994), 17ff., Janko on *Il.* 15.679–84.

⁶ See, e.g., *Il.* 4.141ff., 293ff., 8.179, 185ff., 10.513f., 12.50ff., 15.679ff., *Od.* 5.371, 9.49f., 13.81, 14.267.

⁷ Vd. the admirable summary by Richard Rutherford, *Homer, GR New Surveys in the Classics* 26 (1996), 16ff.

⁸ Greenhalgh (n. 4), 40ff.; cf. A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek armour and weapons* (Edinburgh 1964), 163ff..

⁹ Worley (n. 5), 20ff.. Lelantine War: Strab. 10.1.10; First Messenian, Paus. 4.7.4, 4.8.12.

¹⁰ Greenhalgh (n. 4), 128ff., A. Kaufmann-Samaras, *LIMC* 1.1, 637f..

¹¹ Davies (n. 49), 111, also *id.* (n. 2), 100 with n. 64 after R.M. Cook.

¹² It is singular that Severyns (n. 35), 315 regards Robert (n. 36), 1177 as having

how Penthesilea was represented in *Aethiopsis*;¹³ the one actual reference to cavalry in the Cycle, that is, to Troilus as ἵππιοχάρμη stands among Bernabé's *dubia* of the *Cypria* (*PE* fr. 41) and is not admitted among Davies' fragments at all. Could we be sure that the vases reflected epic usage (but that is not clear!), then the late date of our first visual cavalrywomen might perhaps (but cf. n. 11) suggest Arctinus had had a different conception of Penthesilea.¹⁴

§2 There seems to be no history of the decline and fall of the *Epic Cycle*, a story in which silences are at least as important as attestations.¹⁵ Fraenkel's claim that V had read Arctinus,¹⁶ hugely influential given the respect due to his name,¹⁷ rests on a story¹⁸ that Virgil could have found in art, in a summary, or, indeed, in his beloved Pindar.¹⁹ Virgil as avid reader of the *Cycle* is an hypothesis²⁰ to be evaluated in terms of how it fits into what can be reconstructed of the story of the *Cycle's* decay. Aeschylus and Sophocles are explicitly attested as enthusiasts for the *Cycle*;²¹ all three tragedians pillaged it repeatedly for stories. Their skills hastened its decay, just as the frescoes and vases it inspired led to the popularity of the *Cycle's* subject-matter, not the survival of its text.²² Aristotle condemned the non-Homeric epics' lack of unity²³ and Callimachus notoriously proclaimed his loathing (ἐχθαίρω) for the cyclic poem (*Epigr.*28.1), with

proved that in the *Cycle* Penthes. was represented as mounted. No such proof is offered.

¹³ On Troilus, cf. Severyns (n. 35), 128, 315.

¹⁴ Inevitably, Proclus does *not* record any significant detail!

¹⁵ Davies (n. 49), 91ff. is a learned guide to many Cyclic problems, but sadly not to the loss of the continuous text, nor to the transmission of the fragments.

¹⁶ E. Fraenkel, *Phil.*87 (1932), 242ff. = *Kl.Beitr.*2 (Roma 1964), 173ff..

¹⁷ Cf. G.R. Manton, *AUMLA* 16 (1962), 14, La Penna (n. 1), 222, n. 4, Capdeville (n. 1), 323, n. 77, Harrison on *Aen.*10.789–832.

¹⁸ Lausus dies to save Mezentius from Aeneas; so Antilochus died to save Nestor from Memnon in *Aethiopsis*.

¹⁹ But there is no guarantee that Virgil went beyond Pindar to the Cycle; cf. Horsfall (n. 64), 47, *Companion to the study of Virgil* (*Mnem.*Suppl.151, 1995), 184. R. Thomas in *Style and Tradition. Studies in honor of Wendell Clausen* (Leipzig 1998), 99ff. redimensions some of the instances cited, but recognises (120) that 'Pindar does matter to Virgil'.

²⁰ See n. (38).

²¹ Athen.7.277e (*Epicus cyclus* T4 Davies), 6.347e ('Homer' T2 Davies).

²² Cf. A. Kaufmann-Samaras, P. Devambez, *LIMC* 1.1, 586ff..

²³ Pfeiffer (n. 34), 73f., Davies (n. 49), 94f., Lucas on Arist. *Poet.*1459b1. That Aristotle wrote, *passim*, on the *Cycle*, while neither Longinus nor DH mentions it, just might be taken as a chronological indication.

reasons.²⁴ The poems were included in the *Pinakes*, however, or so it would appear from the stichometric information surviving, though given its context, it might all be no more than spirited invention.²⁵ Survival at Alexandria did not, however, indicate much interest: there were numerous summaries in circulation, variously transmitted and not all equally detailed,²⁶ but their existence tells us nothing about the life expectancy of the texts themselves.²⁷ More important, no extant papyrus,²⁸ no scholia,²⁹ no presence in the school syllabus,³⁰ limited lexicographical interest,³¹ and a steady flow of critical disapproval.³² There are faint traces, though, of interest in the text³³ and the poems therefore were hardly παραληφθέντες, *improbati*, not treated;³⁴ extant for now, but we may perhaps imagine them shunted into some distant book-stack. Severyns' account of the swift, often clumsy and therefore detectable elimination of cyclic material from Aristarchus' notes to Homer (he died ca. 150 BC) is richly suggestive.³⁵

²⁴ *Epigr.* 28.1 (with *Act.fr.* 1.25 and D'Alessio's note); cf. Pollianus, *AP* 11.130. Note Brink on *Hor.Ars* 136–9.

²⁵ Cf. W. Macleod, *TAPA* 115 (1985), 153ff.

²⁶ Distinguish (i) Proclus (n. 49), (ii) summaries on papyrus (*Il.parv.* arg. 2 Bernabé), (iii) on stone (Bernabé, 225, MacLeod (n. 25), 157f., Horsfall, *IGUR* 1612–33).

²⁷ Survival of summaries and survival of text are independent issues: after all, summaries of both Homer and *Cycle* were transmitted.

²⁸ So Horsfall, *JHS* 99 (1979), 46 with n. 171, F. Jouan, *Actes X Congr. G. Budé* (1978), 86, Davies *ad Aeth.* fr. dub., p. 48.

²⁹ The contrast developed by West in his introductions between ancient work on Hes. *Theog.*, *Erga* and *Scutum* and the scant attention paid to remaining *Hesiodica* is illuminating here too.

³⁰ Cf. T. Morgan, *Literate education . . .* (Cambridge 1998), 86, etc..

³¹ There might have been 15000 lines in the 29 books of the *Cycle*—I use a figure averaged from the materials available, n. (25)—; ten lexicographical entries smack of some *ridiculus mus*.

³² Cf. nn. (23), (24); cf. Severyns (n. 35), 155ff. on 'cyclic' as a term of disapprobation; whence Pfeiffer (n. 34), 227ff.; cf. too J. Griffin, *JHS* 97 (1977), 49 and indeed Griffin's whole critique, 39ff., may give a fair idea of the main lines of ancient critical condemnation.

³³ Davies (n. 49), 95 points to book numbers, to the alternative proem to *Cypria*, and to the scholia to *Od.* 16.195, 17.25, but the last two items seem to refer rather to that ed. of *Od.* which accompanied the *Cycle* (vd. Bernabé, p. 99f.), while the *Cypria* lines (cf. Davies (n. 3), 35) need not of course derive from an edition either new or 'critical', just as numbered books might derive, like stichometry (n. 25), from work on the *pinakes*. The case is, however, well put and D. could well be right.

³⁴ R. Pfeiffer, *History of classical scholarship* (Oxford 1968), 208, R. Nicolai, *La storiografia nell' educazione antica* (Pisa 1992), 251.

³⁵ A. Severyns, *Le cycle épique* (Liège 1928), 70ff..

Odd traces of writing about Amazons³⁶ do not of themselves prove anything about the survival of the *Aethiopsis*.

§3 Had V. wished to consult a complete text of the *Cycle* he could perhaps still have done so at Alexandria, but that pessimistic formulation must remain provisional while the rest of the story is considered. Long concern with the problem of V. and the *Cycle*³⁷ suggests that no single passage in V. will yield a clear answer and our problem has to be viewed alongside another at least as tricky, that of the use of V. by Quintus of Smyrna (perhaps mid-c. 3 AD, ed. F. Vian 1, xxii).³⁸ Even use may be a concept too simple for the case in hand: it is no longer unimaginable, in terms of cultural prejudices, to suppose that the Greek QS read the Roman Virgil,³⁹ but it has not yet been shown that he did,⁴⁰ though a recent study of QS 5.322ff., *Aen.*7.460ff. and *Il.*21.361ff.⁴¹ suggests, elegantly, that Quintus' view of the physiology and psychology of the raging Ajax derives from Virgil's reading of Hom. (with, famously, Lucretian touches). Though it is amply clear that V. and QS used common sources, e.g. for the great storm off Euboea, missing from the Cycle,⁴² it would be a comfort to have some idea of whose these powerful narratives actually were, though: whatever QS' tastes, they had been good enough to attract V. and now appear altogether *occasi cum nomine*; it is singular

³⁶ C. Robert, *Griech.Heldensage* 3.2 (Berlin 1923), 1175, Frazer on [Apld.]*Epit.*4.7.

³⁷ Recent discussions (my own—some of which are here cited, *passim*—included) do not appear to have progressed far beyond Heinze (n. 63): G. Arrigoni, *Camilla* (Milano 1982), 36, n. 54, Capdeville (n. 1), 322ff., La Penna (n. 1), 222ff, Brill (n. 1), 7ff., E.C. Kopff, *ANRW* 2.31.2 (1981), 943.

³⁸ A bibliography, by positions held, Vian (n. 56), 95; since then, vd. *EV* 4, 376ff., Vian ed.QS, 1, xxxii^f, Capdeville (n. 1), 324, V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (*Gymn.Suppl.*3, 1963), 193ff., R. Keydell, *Gnom* 33 (1961), 279, M. Campbell, comm. on QS 12, p. 117, n. 51.

³⁹ The issue summarised, Horsfall, *Messana* 16 (1993), 87; cf. B. Baldwin, *AuA* 28 (1982), 88ff., A. Cameron *Claudian* (Oxford 1970), 11, 20, M. Gigante in *La fortuna di Virgilio* (Napoli 1986), 26ff..

⁴⁰ Fernandelli (n. 41), 112 comments lucidly on 'common source' as against 'actual use' arguments. Vian (n. 56), 23 remarks that Penthesilea's steed, QS 1.166–9 is perforce connected in some way with *Aen.*12.82–4; if QS did not know *Aen.*, no economical explanation emerges. To turn briefly to xi: there seems, for example, to be a relationship between 648–55 and QS 1.335–41 (Vian (n. 56), 24): the energetic Amazon, with following, but above all notable variety of weapons (though QS does not have the axe): quite what the relationship is, however, is not altogether clear.

⁴¹ M. Fernandelli, *Quaderni Dip. Filologia . . . Univ.Torino* 1998, 103ff..

⁴² *Aen.*11.255ff., QS 14.580ff., Vian (n. 56), 82f., 98f., E.C. Kopff, *Acta Inst. Athen.Regni Sueciae* 4°30 (1983), 58ff..

that these ‘common sources’ have left no trace in Macrobius and Servius!

We do, though, have three Greek texts which seem to shed light on the Decline and Fall; I stress ‘seem’, for while T.W. Allen in 1908 can scoff at Wilamowitz’ scepticism:⁴³ ‘it is the pyrotechnics of the professor which carry away his pen’; (and note Allen’s scornful use of ‘German’, *passim*), we have learned to view ancient quotations with circumspection, or at least with due consideration of their origins and reliability and their authors’ methods⁴⁴ and a century of at least sporadic attention seems to leave us now in ever darker uncertainty.⁴⁵

(i) Pausanias. P. refers repeatedly to the *Cycle*, and these passages are still at times treated with awed respect,⁴⁶ but our understanding of P.’s *modus operandi* has improved markedly of late⁴⁷ and my own expressions of doubt, in the wake of Wilamowitz,⁴⁸ do begin to seem rather less hypercritical; I refer, with some paraphrase and abbreviation—to:

4.2.1 ‘ἐπελεξάμην . . . [*Eoeae, Naupactia, Cinaethon, Asius*] . . . but there was nothing’.

10.31.2 ‘I read of the death of Palamedes in the *Cypria*’.

10.28.7 ‘Neither *Minyas* nor *Nosti* refer to the deity Eurynomus’.

With the above, contrast 9.29.1 (‘I have *not* read Hegesinus on Attica, a work lost before my time (*FGH* 331F1), but it is cited by Callippus in his history of Corinth, and I quote from him (*FGH* 385F1)’ and 9.38.9f. (‘There is no trace of Chersias of Orchomenus, but Callippus, on Orchomenus, cites him (*FGH* 385F2) and I cite from him’).

⁴³ *CQ* 2 (1908), 70.

⁴⁴ Cf. Obbink on Philod. *de piet.* 1678–81 on *EGF* adesp. fr. 5 Davies as a borrowed quotation; Syme’s exposition of the techniques of citation practised in SHA is too well known, justly, to require detailed mention here.

⁴⁵ L. Holford-Strevens, *LCM* 7 (1982), 65ff. showed that the citations in Gell.9.4 (including Aristeas, T20, Bernabé, T1, Davies) are crude borrowings from Plin.*Nat.*: cf. *id.*, *Aulus Gellius* (London 1988), 50f.; it is fervently to be hoped that Davies’ long-awaited commentary on the cyclic fragments will approach each citation in such a properly critical spirit.

⁴⁶ Allen, *cit.* (n. 43) is, historically, less surprising than C. Habicht, *Pausanias’ guide* . . . (Berkeley 1985), 142f.

⁴⁷ Note the transformation in critical method present in the contributions of C. Jacob, E. Bowie and C.B.R. Pelling to *Athenaeus and his world* ed. D. Braund and J. Wilkins (Exeter 2000).

⁴⁸ Horsfall (n. 64), 47, after Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuchungen* (Berlin 1884), 328ff.; note also A. Rzach, PW 11.2349.20ff..

Pausanias' methods are not necessarily more precise and scrupulous than Athenaeus' and Pausanias admits, as we have just seen, to borrowing citations from lost texts; one might wonder how, otherwise, he cites and refers to post-Homeric epic so much more freely than (e.g.) Strabo and Plutarch. At worst, 10.31.2 could derive from Paus.' reading either of a summary or of another scholar, while the two negative quotations cited could again derive from the absence of the very names under enquiry from the hypotheses Paus. consulted. Otherwise—and this very understandably troubled Wilamowitz—Pausanias alone, of all Greek scholars after the age of Aristarchus, enjoyed relatively free access to the *Cycle* and later pre-Hellenistic epic poems.

(ii) Proclus.⁴⁹ The author of large part of our summaries of the *Cycle*, themselves summarised by Photius. To be identified, probably, with the c5 AD Neoplatonist philosopher, for there are Byzantine texts which call the author of the summaries Πλατωνικός.⁵⁰ Proclus states τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα διασώζεται καὶ σπουδάζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς.⁵¹ Nonsense, remarked Wilamowitz; one still reads this application of clear judgement to the issue with profound relief: rather, P. had read the remark, applied correctly to some far earlier epoch and in a moment of distraction had applied the present tense to his own age. For it is clearly ludicrous to suppose that the *Cycle* was still common currency in the c. 5 AD.⁵²

(iii) John Philoponus,⁵³ in his commentary on Aristotle, *Anal.Post.*:⁵⁴ with his closing remark διὸ μηδὲ εὐρίσκεσθαι τὰ ποιήματα τὰ ἐν τοῖς κύκλοις ἀναγεγραμμένα; he has, though, just remarked that Pisander has covered the same subject matter, leading to contempt (καταφρονηθῆναι) of earlier versions. This is a surprisingly generous

⁴⁹ For P. and the Cycle, see M. Davies, *AGG* 2 (1986), 100ff., who remains sceptical (104) about the identification; cf., however, the Byzantine evidence for the identification (n. 50); for further bibliography, cf. Bernabé, 5. Once Pisander is identified correctly (n. 55) and once the tralatian character of what Proclus records is recognised (n. 52), no objection of substance to the correct identification of Proclus remains.

⁵⁰ Vian (n. 56), 89, n. 2; *Suda* 4.210.6 Adler records that the Platonist P. wrote three books of Χρηστομαθείας, just the title offered by Photius for his excerpts.

⁵¹ *Epicus cyclus* T1 Davies, *Cyclus epicus* T22 Bernabé.

⁵² U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Herm.* 60 (1925), 282 = *Kl.Schr.* 4 (Berlin 1962), 370.

⁵³ Early c. 6: N.G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London 1983), 44.

⁵⁴ *Epicus Cyclus* test. 2 Davies; test. 28 Bernabé is excerpted.

assessment of the colossal Ἡρωικὰ θεογραμῖαι of the early c. 3 AD Pisander of Laranda,⁵⁵ for John can hardly refer to Pisander of Kamiros, c. 6 BC, author of *Heracleia*.⁵⁶ Inconveniently, Macr. (5.2.5) asserts that the story of *Aen.*2 derives minutely (*paene ad uerbum transcripserit*) from (apparently) this Pisander.⁵⁷ Such assertions are commonplace in Virgilian commentary,⁵⁸ but it is highly likely (certain, almost) that Macr. has inverted his authors, for it is altogether credible that a contemporary of Quintus should indeed have drawn deeply upon *Aen.*2.⁵⁹ If—and this conclusion is not much more audacious than Funaioli's (n. 55)—John Philoponus (and/or Macrobius) had really meant that Virgil's *Aeneid* had, via Pisander and Quintus, spelt the final demise of the *Cycle* in the Greek world, the statement(s) would be engrossingly interesting and eminently plausible.

§4 An apparent mystery remains: Virgil describes a cavalry battle,⁶⁰ Quintus portrays Penthesilea mounted in the midst of an infantry combat;⁶¹ in the historians, encounters between infantry and cavalry are common enough⁶² but V., like the artist of the Alexander-mosaic, depicts the more dramatic clash of like with like.⁶³ He is no expert in military matters, notoriously,⁶⁴ and it has emerged that no Amazon-narrative is likely to have helped him much (*pace* La Penna (n. 2), 222). There remained, however, history, whether depicted by the

⁵⁵ For Pisander of Laranda, vd. E. Heitsch, *Die griech. Dichterfragmente . . .* 2, 44f., R. Keydell, *Herm.* 70 (1935), 301ff., *id.*, PW 19.146, *FGH* 1, pp. 493f., G. Funaioli, *Studi di letteratura antica* 2.1 (Bologna 1947), 167ff.

⁵⁶ Davies, 129ff., Bernabé, 164ff.. How the Greek sack of Troy entered into the earlier Pisander's *Heracleia* is hard to see; the place of Aphrodite and Anchises in the later Pisander's Ἡρωικὰ θεογραμῖαι is far more easily envisaged (cf. Funaioli, 169); cf. too F. Vian, *Recherches sur les 'Posthomérica' . . .* (Paris 1959), 99.

⁵⁷ Cf. Austin on *Aen.*2.211, *EV* 4, 125f.

⁵⁸ Horsfall (n. 64), 80, n. 15.

⁵⁹ Cf. n. 39: in the age of Quintus, and in the Greek East, a passion for Virgil is easily understood.

⁶⁰ R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik* (ed. 3, Leipzig 1915), 198f.; Malavolta (n. 66), 158f. adds a little.

⁶¹ QS 1.166, 338, 351, 456, 599, 603, 612, 619, 624, 628, 654, 787.

⁶² See n. 68.

⁶³ The appalled intensity of expression in the Alexander mosaic noted by L.P. Wilkinson, *Horace and his lyric poetry* (Cambridge 1968, etc.), 91. For the mosaic itself, cf. now K.M.D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman world* (Cambridge 1999), 41f., with ample bibliography. Roman triumphal art may have been less expert, hardly less dramatic; Pycdna will have set insuperable standards.

⁶⁴ Horsfall, *L'epopea in alambicco* (Napoli 1991), 43, Sandbach (n. 71), 459.

brush⁶⁵ or by the equally dramatic pen:⁶⁶ we recall Pollio, in whose *Histories fulgor armorum fugacis/terret equos equitumque uultus* (Hor.C.2.1.19f.), Ennius,⁶⁷ Caesar's cavalry engagements,⁶⁸ and the florid confusion of the great Livian battle-pieces,⁶⁹ though hardly in the early period, given the relatively small scale of the material.⁷⁰ That V. should describe lucidly the complexities of a war of movement in often Roman, anachronistic language should not surprise;⁷¹ it is hard to see where, outside the historians (with some help from historical epic), he could have learned the necessary technical detail and overall coherence.

⁶⁵ Cf. A. Cohen, *The Alexander mosaic* (Cambridge 1997), 24ff., A. Stewart, *Faces of power* (Oxford 1993), 133f., T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder* (Würzburg 1973), 113ff.; see e.g. Plin.Nat.35.55, 76, 99, 110. Note too how Philostr.Imag.2.5.1 refers to the terror of the riderless horses in the representation of a battle between Persians and Armenians.

⁶⁶ The interaction of poetic and historical battles has not been studied with systematic productivity: see e.g. W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der röm. Literatur* (repr. Stuttgart 1964), 365, M. Malavolta, *Miscellanea Graeca et Romana* 20 (1996), 158ff., R.G.M. Nisbet in Harrison (n. 71), 378ff.

⁶⁷ K. Ziegler *Hell. epos* (ed. 2, Leipzig 1966), 71f., Enn.Ann.242, 263, 431, 599Sk..

⁶⁸ A.K. Goldworthy, *The Roman army at war* (Oxford 1996), 228ff. for cavalry against infantry (notably in campaigns against the Parthians—Plut.Crass.24, 27, Ant. 37, 45, but cf. also e.g. Caes.Gall.6.40, Bell.Afr.12f.; *ibid.*, 235ff. cavalry against cavalry: Bell.Afr.6, 40, 52, Plut.Pomp.7, Crass.25.6ff., Caes.Gall.8.29.

⁶⁹ See, still, P.G. Walsh's fine discussion, *Livy* (Cambridge 1961), 157ff., 197ff..

⁷⁰ Cf. Oakley on Liv.6.24.10 and indices s.v. cavalry, T.J. Cornell, *The beginnings of Rome* (London 1995), 250.

⁷¹ Anachronisms: *EV* 1, 151–4, F.H. Sandbach in Harrison, *OR*, 449–65; war of movement: 11.463–7, 505–6, 511–7, 901–7. Cf. **618 suffosso** for V. and the technical language of cavalry warfare.

I am much obliged to audiences at Milan and Padova who discussed these issues with me (not least to E. Cingano, Milan); a very slightly different version of this appendix is to appear in *Hommages à J. Poucet*.

APPENDIX II: *DORMITATNE MARO QUOQUE?*

The commentator on *Aen.*11, working through the whole book with, so far as possible, unwavering interest and dispassionate curiosity will (and indeed should) on occasion wonder whether the poet was at all times entirely committed to the task. It has long been suspected (e.g.) that Virgil did not enjoy battle-scenes, but it is also recognised that Camilla is one of the poet's most magnificent creations. The hunt for Virgil's 'faults' used to concentrate with obsessive attention upon flaws in narrative logic and detail (clearly, no continuity man in his private secretariat), but that is not the right way to read epic poetry of the highest quality, as post-analytic Homer-scholars have of course realised. My sense of the defects of 11, or rather of the weight of their presence in the thoughtful reader's perception, has oscillated so much that I concluded it might be best to draw up a 'charge sheet', to clarify my own mind and to help the reader decide in what direction V.'s decline of interest, if any, might lie.

Not in any spirit of tiresome cavil, let it be understood, for the years spent on 11 I do not judge to have been at all wasted, but in the hope of understanding (and helping others to understand) the whole issue a little more clearly.

The Ligurian warrior introduced into the narrative at **700**, and of major importance thereafter, is not named. Both Butes (**690**) and Asilas (**620**) bear names which are used of (too) many other characters. The issue of Arruns' allegiance, on the other hand (**759**) should never really have been raised. On the other hand Tarchon, described as **moriturus** at **741** but not in fact about to be killed, challenges our ingenuity.

The issue of Camilla's military career prior to the events of 11 is left in some uncertainty (**711**); indeed the 'biography' offered by V.'s text leaves a number of provoking gaps, or rather gaps which provoke if they are studied in detail (**535–96**, §3, **581** *sub fin.*, her passage from obscurity to splendour). At several points in 11, it appears that both Drances (**113f.** and likewise **352, 355**) and Latinus (**316, 324, 331, 471**) have forgotten that in bk. 7 Lat. had offered *hospitium* (and Lavinia) to Aeneas (note the gifts at **316ff.**, if you recall those already sent at **7.274ff.**); discussion of a new offer reads oddly at

times in the light of our (modern, precise) recollection of an ill-starred first attempt (Allecto had of course got there first). It is not easy to see why both Dr. and Lat. should in 11 prefer deliberately to misrepresent the passage of earlier events; other cavils excogitated to let V. off the hook of inconsistency are even more trivial (**471**). Lat. will even talk of offering to Aen. land clearly under Turnus' control (**318**), though clearly V. never wrote with a map to hand. In writing 11, V. does seem to have had 7 particularly in mind (cf. too **318f.**, **331** and most particularly **456–8**, where V. draws on both the similes left juxtaposed at **7.699ff.**, after **453**, from **7.460**).

That V.'s application of Homeric infantry tactics to an Italian cavalry engagement once lands him in (not nonsense, but) deep obscurity is no surprise (**762**) and his droll picture of a raptor not stooping upon its prey but struggling up to reach a *columba* will only trouble readers with some basic knowledge of birds' habits (**722**).

The self-borrowing at **647** entails behaviour quite alien to heroic epic (self-sacrifice in battle); that is not variation or enrichment of the epic texture, but the introduction of an alien, awkward element. Compare **192**; in bk. 2 a verse splendidly suited to combat and here oddly awkward in a burial-scene (vd. also **197**). Note too **875**: another self-borrowing which sits ill enough in its present context (in contrast to the neat **641**, **755**).

Quite another issue is that of the density of re-used verses (this discussion presupposes that the *Aen.* was composed roughly in the order of books in which it now stands. Some discussion in *Companion*, 16, 232ff.); such clustering was already well noted by e.g. Sparrow, *passim* (cf. **683**). So **911** depends on **607**, while behind **893–4** there stands not only **473**, but **7.506**, **524**; speak, if you will, of the recurrent motif of improvised weapons (cf. **182–192** on reworking of funeral-motifs).

The repetition and concentration of 'formulaic' verses is hardly significant (**248**, **251**). Repetitious vocabulary, on the other hand, may trouble more readers, and I list a few more striking instances (which pass beyond, it seems, that degree of freedom which V. normally allowed himself (**7.554**): cf. in particular **26**, **29–99**, **37**, **59**, **61**, **86**, **88**: repetition of *gem-* and *miser-* words, *infelix*, *maestus* ('thematic repetition' pushed to an extreme; cf. further **189**, **211**). Contrast **564** for a singular lexical tic.

Now it would also be possible to advance a case that a good deal of the writing of 11 is not at V.'s densest or finest: at least in the

sense that in 7 (and I can only apologise for this over-frequent comparand) often displays a more audacious use of figures (enallage, hypallage, zeugma, exchange of 'expected' subjects and objects, a richer imagery and use of metaphor, a more developed patterning of imagery between narrative and simile, a more varied and challenging lexicon, sometimes a wider and more varied reading, a more sophisticated sense of history). Consultation of the indices to my two volumes will reveal that there (objectively, even, nay, statistically!) is some substance to my plaint and it has yet to emerge whether this change of stylistic texture is the result of haste and years or of a change of subject matter. It may therefore have been the lighter and swifter writing of much of 11 that led me to a more systematic hunt for formal flaws. Some have emerged—a couple, even, of real oddities—but my sense is still that twelve unbiased readers will not condemn the poet for being asleep while in charge of an epic.

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