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Virgil, *Aeneid* 2

A COMMENTARY

NICHOLAS HORSFALL

BRILL

Virgil, *Aeneid* 2

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Virgil, *Aeneid* 2

A Commentary

By

Nicholas Horsfall



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For
Antonie Wlosok
and
Woldemar Görler

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PREFACE

Four may be enough: I am most grateful to Irene van Rossum (Brill) for her continuing and constructive support through the writing of the commentaries on *Aen.2* and *Aen.3*; now, though, Prof. Jan Bremmer (Groningen) and I are planning a commentary on *Aen.6*, not, primarily, for scholars (as my quartet have been, declaredly) but rather for undergraduate and graduate readers.

It is more than forty years since I took *Aeneid* as a special paper in Pt. II at Cambridge. Things have changed: then Roland Austin's *Aen.2* was just out (cf. further, Introduction, §8(xxv^f), and Harry Sandbach lectured to us on the basis of Heinze, *Vt*. Wonderful book; good lectures, particularly on bk.6 (and fun classes too) but the first ed. of Heinze was of 1902 and there was something slightly, and consciously, palaeozoic about the whole undertaking; I am not sure that Pöschl (Eng. tr. 1962), Otis (1964) and Putnam (1966) were so much as mentioned. By 1970, or so, Margaret Hubbard and I gave some classes together at St. Anne's on *Aen.*, and I hope we had at least got the century right, some of the time. Things have changed. David Packard (PHI 5.3), Prof. N. Holzberg (updating of Suerbaum) and Joe Farrell (on-line La Cerdà) are notable ben-e-factors of our studies. Not to mention Gallica for the provision of some periodicals on line, and of course *TLL* on CD-ROM (though the publishers have hardly rushed to remedy certain flaws that emerged in the using). And not only electronic resources. This commentary, like its immediate predecessor, was written, from choice, just under two hundred miles north of Edinburgh; I offer my heartfelt and continuing thanks to Ailsa and Biscuit (six legs between them, in answer to the curious) for their unequal, though equally essential, contributions to a perfect working environment. The remote address made the on-line purchase of quite a lot of books, and the acquisition of several dozen articles, mostly from JSTOR, through the offices of kind friends, indispensable, as the lacunae in my booty from Oxford (vd. *infra*) became apparent. I hope that my list of their names is adequate; it still seems extraordinary that an obscure article could reach me in a remote glen of Wester Ross three days after I

asked for help from, as it might be, Harvard. A great boon to me, and warmest thanks are also due to our remarkable postie, Mhairi Hendry. But the provision of bibliographical supplements and updates involved a lot of people. The list is as full as I can make it, and I can only apologise for any lacunae: Barbara Weiden Boyd (Bowdoin), Jan Bremmer (Groningen), David Butterfield (Cambridge), Gian Biagio Conte (Pisa), Maria Luisa Delvigo (Udine; exceptionally generous in the face of repeated demands), Martin Dinter (KCL), Denis Feeney (Princeton), Marco Fernandelli (Trieste), Philip Hardie (Oxford, Cambridge), Minna Skafte Jensen (Odense), Peter Knox (Colorado), Sylvie Laigneau (Dijon), Andrew Laird (Warwick), Matthew Leigh (Oxford), Robert Lister (London), Michèle Lowrie (NYU), Regine May (Oxford, Leeds), Ruth Morello (Manchester), Ruurd Nauta (Groningen), Emilio Pianezzola (Padova), Sarah Spence (UGa.), Chris Stray (Swansea). My kind neighbour (by Highland standards; only forty miles away) Sandy Hardie has let me consult his set of *LIMC*; our reciprocal commensality has been tinged with pedantry for a wee while now. I was delighted to receive presents of Virgilian books from Michael von Albrecht (Heidelberg), Niklas Holzberg (München), Gerhard Binder (Bochum), Sallie Spence (*supra*) and Stratis Kyriakidis (Thessaloniki). There was a bit of old-style library work and some feverish photocopying before I started writing, in the Bodleian and Sackler libraries, during some part of the six weeks I spent as a visiting fellow at All Souls College, Oxford in Hilary Term 2006.

I should like to thank David West with special warmth: over nearly forty years of friendship, I hope he has begun to have some notion of how much his generous and enthusiastic support has come to mean for me. Jim Adams (Oxford) and Tony Corbeill (UKansas) have discussed arcane points of grammar with me at some length.

Jo-Marie Claassen (ex-Stellenbosch) helped me over exile. Quite numerous points in the text call for an interest, which I share enthusiastically enough, in the history and literature of siege warfare; heavy artillery seemed called for, and I am delighted to have been able to discuss many of the issues raised with Christina Shuttleworth Kraus (Yale), Andreola Rossi (Amherst), Tony Woodman (UVa.), Jon Lendon (*ib.*) and Angelos Chaniotis (Oxford); the cordial cooperation of scholars I have never met (three of the five just named) is to be recorded with particular pleasure. In Padova, Aldo and Roberta Lunelli provided hospitality, support and encouragement, not for the first time; Roberta Lunelli Nordera's quiet triumph at discovering the arcane item cited at

18f. delecta uirum...corpora, in the teeth of my insufficient information, was one of the high points of the last two years.

Irene Peirano (once Harvard, now Yale) discussed all of her dissertation (on pseudepigrapha as reception) with me; her work will be found tangentially relevant to my own discussion of Helen. I think we both enjoyed our year's work together a good deal, and if she learned almost as much as I did, I should be delighted. I have also been able to trade upon her marked energy and generosity in procuring articles for me by JSTOR and by photocopy. When I wrote to Prof. Ursula Gärtner (Potsdam) to express my warm approval of her recent book on QS, that led to a prolonged and wide-ranging correspondence, which has been most agreeable and profitable. When she discovered that I had not been able to buy a copy of A. Weidner's commentary (1869), she arranged for a copy to be made, and sent me: that was a major kindness, quite irrespective of Weidner's tireless, tiring efforts and modest merits. Further expressions of gratitude will be found in the notes, and, in particular, in the two appendices. I should also like to thank those who have invited me to lecture on topics from *Aen.2* over the last couple of years, Henriette Harich-Schwarzauer (Basel), Licinia Ricottilli (Verona), Aldo Lunelli (Padova), Johannes Schwind (Trier), Christine Walde (Mainz). Two friends have read the commentary as it was written and have provided me with reactions, suggestions, and corrections; not for the first time, I should like to express my deep and continued gratitude to Margaret Hubbard (Oxford) and Woldemar Görler (formerly Saarbrücken) for the trouble they have taken over my ms. Probably, I have over-compensated for the extreme remoteness of the area in which I live with an excess of scholarly contacts, but the production of *Aen.2* has often been a pleasantly sociable activity, not only by mail, but in, as it might be, the Eurostar waiting-room at Venice station or the New Club in Edinburgh.

In the last two years two of the three friends who read the ms. of *Aen.7* for me have died, Wendell Clausen (Harvard) and Sandro Perutelli (Pisa): Wendell I had known for thirty years, and he had become a wonderfully sage and entertaining correspondent; Sandro, had health permitted, could have made a yet more formidable contribution to Latin studies. Without them, life, and work, are less fun.

It remains only to explain briefly why this book is dedicated to my friends Antonie Wlosok and Woldemar Görler; Frau Wlosok and I met at FIEC 1979, but over a strange, chaotic buffet lunch in the

mayor of Rome's garden in Sept. 1981, it became clear that we would be friends, perhaps even more than colleagues. Since then, I have benefited immensely from her wisdom and goodness, from her generosity, gentleness and formidable standards, not to mention her admirable contributions to Virgilian studies. During my years of unquenchable, and often biliary, reviewing, I did occasionally find things I really enjoyed, and said so: Prof. Görler's contribution to the *Festschrift* for Peter Steinmetz was one of those. We corresponded, met, talked, wrote, and I discovered to my delight that he had essentially created the modern study of Virgil's language. He then started to read my mss., notably that of *Aen.2*, and a share in the dedication of the present volume is the least I can do to thank him for the remarkable care, patience and intelligence with which he has scrutinised these pages. It is not to be supposed that our letters, lunches, dinners, usw, since ca. 1993, have been grimly, and exclusively professional. Far from it. My heartfelt thanks both to him and to Frau Wlosok.

Nicholas Horsfall
Dalnacroich, Ross and Cromarty
27.04.08

INTRODUCTION

1. Aeneid 2

An infinitely memorable story, as St. Augustine tells us (vd. n. on **1 conticuere**); it would be easy to collect adjectives—exciting, dramatic, moving, colourful, majestic, tragic, displaying wonderful mastery of pace, tone, mood, tension, even humour, of words, sounds, metre, images; perhaps above all, a grandeur that is never merely windy¹: all of that has been my constant delight during the intensive years of writing this commentary, but rather than offer some gaseous pages of general appreciation here, a serious attempt has been made to let my sense of continuous delight spill over into the (potentially) harder, drier pages of the commentary proper.

Aen.2 is Virgil's first attempt at extended high narrative (and note the deaths of Laoc. and Priam, the theophany, and the death of Creusa as its loftiest points), and at that prolonged use of that wonderful blend of epic and tragedy which he will make so much his own (cf. §5(iii), *infra*). Clearly, the end of *G.4* was an excellent chance to learn and experiment²; if I am right about the precedence of bk.3 over bk.2³, then V. has also been able to work at the epic/tragic Andromache scenes, of wonderful quality; vd. xxi, *infra*. But bk.2 is both the first *extended* epic/tragic sequence, and the first large-scale narrative whole that he has attempted, and just as elements of (not entirely successful) experiment were found in bk.3⁴, so here too many attentive readers have been troubled by flaws, real and imaginary, in the organisation and coherence of the narrative.

¹ The reader should not for a moment suspect, though, that V. dispenses with serious consideration of major issues—the rise and fall of cities, clemency in war, the legitimate use of deceit in battle, for example. Cf. *Companion*, 196f. for serious moral issues as part of a good read.

² Cf. *Companion*, 86, etc..

³ **774**, *Aen.3*, p.xl.

⁴ *Aen.3*, intro., xxviiif.

ence of the narrative⁵; much if not all of the narrative disorder alleged in the Sinon-scenes arises from the critic's failure to understand V.'s strategies of narrative, and of deception. Some disorder there clearly is, some lack of expertise in the handling of simultaneous actions, over and above the evident lack of revision, as shown by the number of half-lines (10), far more than in any other book of *Aen.*⁶. Users of this comm. will find me as eager to offer varied accounts of the various half-lines as I am to suggest a range of solutions to difficulties discerned in the narrative.

Di Cesare did well (39) to remind readers of a fine remark of Bowra's⁷, that narrative in 2 'gives the poetry of defeat from the point of view of the defeated'⁸, though such a point of view is already amply represented in Euripides and indeed Livy (Gallic sack, not to mention, later than the composition of *Aen.2*, Caudine Forks, Cannae). As so often, V.'s approach to this central issue is in practice more delicate and complex. Of course the sack is a crushing defeat for the Trojans, and is strongly so presented (cf. 320, 354, 668). Inescapably. But note (i), the familiar tactic of mitigating the defeat by the rhetoric of the victors' use of deceit⁹, (ii) the offsetting of the Fall by the tripartite revelation (Hector, Venus, Creusa) that the future will be different¹⁰ and (iii) the strong Roman sense that defeat is an element (healthy, therapeutic, toughening, even) in ultimate victory¹¹. Not even the Fall of Troy is final; V.'s choice of the paladin Hector to convey to Aen. that he must not remain to be swept under in his city's defeat is brilliant.

I also note here for convenience those general accounts of *Aen.2* (many of modest merit and utility) which have come to hand, both (i) in accounts of the whole *Aen.*, or indeed of all V.'s works, and (ii) those more limited and specific in their application: (i) Anderson (1969), 32–7, Büchner, 325.26–336.21, di Cesare, 38–60, Heinze, 3–81, Horsfall, *Companion*, 109–17, W.R. Johnson in (ed. C. Perkell), *Reading Vergil's*

⁵ cf. §6(vii), *infra*, n. on 749 (for example) and variously, 40–56, §2, 320 **uictosque deos**, 402–52, 460, 469–505, 557 **litore**.

⁶ Bks. 3 and 5 have 7 each; cf. Berres, *VH*, 99.

⁷ From *Virgil to Milton* (London 1945), 41. Cf. La Penna (xxv), 302 'poema dei vinti'.

⁸ On B. as a forerunner of the 'Harvard school', cf. *Companion*, 192, n.8; unsurprisingly, for a (gunner) survivor of the Western Front. WW1 was also, very much, Austin's war, at least in his reading; cf. Henderson (xxv), 56f..

⁹ Cf. Serv. on 1.2, 2.13, Georgii, 102, Heinze, 4f.

¹⁰ Cf. Johnson, 58.

¹¹ Vd. full n. on 7.295, n. on 11.306; see Oakley on Liv.9.18.9, Goodyear on Tac.*Ann.*2.88.2. A topic that cries out for fuller investigation.

Aeneid (Norman, Okl. 1999), 50–63, Klingner, 410–9, Otis, 241–51, Puccioni, 59–90, Quinn, 112–21, Salvatore, 33–97. Cf. also the summaries, M. von Albrecht, *Vergil* (Heidelberg 2006), 112–7, N. Holzberg, *Vergil* (München 2006), 154–9. (ii) G.B. Conte, *PCPS* 45(1999), 17–42, A. Deremetz, *Entr.Hardt* 47(2001), 143–81, *id.*, *REL* 78(2000), 76–92, J.A.S. Evans, *CJ* 58(1962/3), 255–8, G. Funaioli, *Studi di lett. ant.* 1 (Bologna 1948), 201–36, Glei, 133–42, K.W. Gransden, *GR* 32(1985), 60–72 = McAuslan, 121–33, H. Herter, *WS* 16(1982), 237–44, E.L. Harrison, *Phoenix* 24(1970), 320–32, ‘substantially revised’, *ORVA*, 46–59, A. La Penna, *L'impossibile...* (§8, *infra*), 162f. *et passim*, S. Laigneau, *BAGB* 60(2001), 379–89, J.P. Lynch *GR* 27(1980), 170–9 = McAuslan, 112–20, Mackie, 45–60, A. Mazzarino, *Il racconto di Enea. Per una interpretazione dell' Iliuperside virgiliana* (Torino 1955; a notable improvement over Funaioli), T. van Nortwick, *Somewhere I have never travelled* (New York 1996), 108–11.

2. Structure¹²

Vv. 1–249 seem to have an elegant and elaborate plan (cf. di Cesare 40):

1–13 overture

13–39 horse inspected

40–56 Laocoon

57–194 Sinon (with clear divisions at 104 and 144); 195–8 bridge

199–231 Laocoon

232–49 horse admitted

250–97 Greeks enter Troy; Aeneas and Hector

298–452, with division at 401: Aeneas’ resistance, with path to failure from 402.

453–68 Aeneas at the palace

469–505 Pyrrhus breaks in

506–53 deaths of Polites and Priam; the latter, the book’s climax

554–8 epitaph on Priam (cf. d. of Troy, d. of the Republic)

559–66 proem to second (or third, depending on the status of break at 249) part of the book; corresponding to 1–13

¹² Cf. Quinn, 114f. (particularly imprecise and unsatisfactory), Anderson (1969), 32, La Penna, 328–32, Salvatore, 33, Otis, 246f..

[**567–88** interpolation in a great lacuna]

589–633 Venus and Aeneas

634–704 Anchises' change of heart

705–95 departure of the Aeneadae; loss of Creusa

796–804 coda, corresponding to **1–13, 559–66.**

That seems to be the organisation of the subject-matter, but others have found subtler, or deeper, correspondences.

3. Aeneid 3 and its neighbours

Cf. *Aen.*3, p.xiv for the relationship of bks. 2 and 3, and *ib.*, xl for the likelihood that 3 is the earlier book, with n. on **774**, *infra*. For the passage from bk.1 to bk.2, cf. E.L. Harrison's fine discussion¹³. Note in particular (i) the passage from *Od* 8 (Alcinous' questions, 536–86) to *Od*.9, Od.'s answers, and (ii) Dido's indirect questions about Priam, Hector, Memnon, Diomedes, Achilles, 1.750–2, taking up the subject-matter of the pictures in Juno's temple, 1.450–93 and in turn leading to the direct request to Aen.(1.753–6) to relate *his* story of the Fall and of his wanderings. Note also how the sympotic context persists, as **2 toro** takes up 1.708, and as the din of the banqueters, 1.725, falls still at **1 conticuere**. When Aen. at last begins his narrative, the setting stars show it is time for sleep (**9**), and the Trojans themselves, after their own riotous feasting, fall asleep as the Greeks land and storm the walls (**250–9**). We do not, though, seem yet to have evidence on which to base a relative chronology of the composition of bks. 1 and 2.

4. Language, grammar, syntax, style

Readers eager for a fourth instalment of my discussion of the *genitivus inhaerentiae* may be disappointed by what follows (only one instance, apparently, **623**), though my attention may have been distracted by a new enthusiasm, for the abl. of extension (vd. Eng. index, s.v.). But let us be clear, that my zeal for V.'s grammar, syntax, and idiom is undiminished; Prof. Görler has made quite sure that the many real difficulties and perplexities have been considered with care; vd., for

¹³ *ANRW* 2.31.1(1980), 360f..

example, **29f.**, **61**, **114**, **511**, **686**, **740**. In V.'s hands, Latin usage becomes alarmingly flexible and full of surprises for those used to the comfortable verities of the grammars (see e.g. **25**, **81**, **97**, **203**, **632**, **651**, **740**). In the translation, I have inserted question marks where I really do not quite understand the Latin (**234**, **464**, **705**, **779**; there should probably be more); it is disconcerting, and refreshing, to be brought up short by the reflection that we do not always quite fully understand the poet's grammar and syntax. Nothing to do with his ambiguity; rather, our incapacity. In particular, the HE is one of those legendary 'treasure-houses of grammatical peculiarities', the work, I suggest (Appx.1) of an author who has studied with minute attention the peculiarities of Virgilian idiom, and has feasted upon the best discussions available to him. In particular, enallage (transferred epithet); others use the term hypallage, but I do hope to have been consistent from the start (bk.7) and while Prof. G.B. Conte suggests that only V. himself could possibly have used the figure with such skill in the HE, I respond that the author will have had his attention drawn repeatedly, enthusiastically to V.'s fondness for the transferred epithet by the grammarians, as reflected by Serv.¹⁴. Over and above the number of half-lines (§1, *supra*), the texture of bk.2 is also distinctive in a number of other ways: note first the dense sequence of similes: between **223** and **631** there are nine (or ten, if **304–8** counts as two); if you count by number per book, the totals for 9, 10, and 12 are notably higher, but the concentration in half of a book is striking enough¹⁵. To similes proper, add the brief comparisons, **15**, **112**, **794**. And not only images (e.g. the snakes, and Pyrrhus, as images of evil and menace), similes and comparisons, but a famously developed linguistic elaboration of imagery: Knox' famous article (**199–233**) appeared 58 years ago and still wears its years with grace; it will emerge that there has been (a little) good work since on the topic¹⁶. But it should not for a moment be imagined that other manifestations of figured language are therefore reduced in bk.2: note **16 intexunt**, **20** womb and pregnancy of the TH (index, s.vv), **101 reuoluo**, **173f. salsus** **sudor**, **235f. rotarum lapsus**, **251 inuoluens**, **281 lux**, **347 con-**

¹⁴ See HE, §8.iv, **576**, **585f.**.

¹⁵ Cf. Hornsby, 143f, Götte, 1065 and of course R. Rieks, *ANRW* 2.31.2(1980), 1011–1110.

¹⁶ Fernandelli 1997 (**199–233**), Schwarz (**41**); note too Putnam and the (German) revisions of Pöschl. Cf. also B. Fenik, *AJP* 80(1959), 1–24.

fertos, 363 explicit, 398 conserimus, 629 comam, 630 euicta, 653 fatoque urgenti incumbere, 661 ianua, 684 lambere, 706 aestus incendia uoluunt, 758 ignis edax, 768 uoces iactare, 780 aequor arandum. Some identifiable categories of language in *Aen.2* should also be recorded, over and above the numerous specialist registers which are to be identified (for which vd. index s.v. language). Note in particular

- (i) ARCHAISM: 5f. -que...et, 18 uirum corpora, 30 classibus ‘squadrōns’; 48 ne credite, 50 ualidis...uiribus, 53 gemitum dedere, 75 memoret, 82f. incluta fama gloria, 99 uulgum (masc.), 148, 598 Graios, 164 sed enim, 176 extempro, 203 a Tenedo, 318 Achium, 332 angusta uiarum, 373 nam quae, 379 ueluti, 398 demittimus, 425 armipotentis, 439, 522 forent, 494 trucidant, 538, etc. letum, 540 satum, 725 pone, 739 indic. in indir. qns., 758 ilicet, 790 haec ubi dicta dedit.
- (ii) COLLOQUIALISM: Particularly employed to give the speeches something of the tone, or colour or ‘real’ speech. Cf. nn. on 6 talia fando, 23 male fida, 25 abiisse rati, 101f. sed quid... autem...quidue...?, 102 moror, 110 fecissent, 134 fateor, 141 quod, 149 edissere, 281 spes, 283 exspectate uenis, 286 aut, 287 ille nihil, moratur, 311f., proximus ardet, 322 prendimus indic., 373 nam quae, 523 huc...concede, 547 ergo, 615 respice, 642 satis...superque (?), 670 numquam... hodie, 707 ergo age, 739 lassa.

I also list, as previously, and here as concisely as may be, a number of possible/likely literary sources of V.’s lexicon.

- (iii) HOMER 34, 52, 56 (?), 61, 142, 149, 281, 304, 305, 306, 307f., 398, 416, 604ff., 772, 781f.. For Hom. and V.’s use of an inset narrative of earlier events, cf. 1–13¹⁷.
- (iv) TRAGEDY: 281, and more specifically,
- (v) AESCHYLUS 1, 11, 13, 23, 25, 207, 227, 237, 324, 351, 363, 406, 516, 602, 670, 702.
- (vi) SOPHOCLES 40–56, §1, 41, 77, 104, 137, 165f., 201, 235f., 273, 309, 351, 415, 506, 517, 647, 708, 738, §(ii), 800.

¹⁷ For surveys of the subtleties and difficulties of narrative point-of-view introduced by the substantial identity of narrator and protagonist, cf. Johnson, 56ff., Deremetz (2001), and *Companion*, 109–11.

- (vii) EURIPIDES 8, 15, 20, 26, 31, 54, 57–76, §1, 58, 75, 77–104
(with further refs.) (!), 99, 149, 158, 199, 232, 234–49 (!) with 238, 238, 239, 242; 253, 317, 325, 351, 353, 403, 405, 470, 488, 499, 506–58, 509f., 516, 531, 539, 555, 556, 602, 637, 662, 746, 778, 783, 786.
- (vii) HELLENISTIC Note mythographers, 318f. and, strikingly, Cleanthes 701.

And for Latin

- (ix) NAEVIUS 557, 690, 738 (ii), 799.
- (x) ENNIUS (a) *Ann.* 65, 91 (?), 94, 163, 222, 250, 265, 271, 280, 313, 347, 352, 360, 403f., 405, 416–9, 446, 459, 464, 486, 492, 629, 639, 656, 679–704 (Anch.), 689, 782. Cf. further §6.iv for the siege of Alba. (b) *trags.* 8, 16, 18, 20, 44, 62, 237, 237–8, 241 (!!), 259 (?), 268–97 (!), 270, 272, 281, 288, 492, 499 (!), 502, 504 (!), 514, 609, 638f..
- (xi) PACUVIUS 9, 51, 52, 68, 217, 359, 562.
- (xii) ACCIUS 3, 31, 36, 46, 57–76 (i), 57, 72, 84, 92, 138, 146, 280, 374, 421, 425.
- (xiii) CIC.*carm.* 14, 46, 92, 215, 217, 300, 368, 475, 480, 590, 763.
- (xiv) LUCR. 14 (!), 31, 52, 74, 85, 88, 90, 92, 100, 116, 131, 133, 138, 169, 173f., 200, 211, 215, 229, 235, 236f., 250, 251, 264, 271, 301, 304f., 307, 327, 363 (!), 364 (bis), 365, 416, 433, 448, 450, 496–9 (!), 502, 516, 517, 538f., 603 (!), 622 (!), 625 (!), 628, 629, 631, 679–704 (iii), 681, 694, 702, 725, 736, 754, 772, 776, 782, 790.
- (xv) CAT. (a) poem 64: 5 **eruerint**, 16 woods of TH, 24, 31, 43, 112, 170, 179, 197, 220, 244, 299f., 426, 505, 533, 537, 777; (b) elsewhere: 80, 144, 145, 241, 297, 354, 530, 566, 593, 690, 746, 758, 798.

The exclamation mark has been used here to indicate poet. antecedents of exceptional importance.

5. Sources; Kreuzung der Gattungen

Study of the interplay of sources in V.'s account is unexpectedly difficult and potentially unproductive, not only because the Fall of Troy was a topic common to all the periods and genres of Greek literature known

to V., but because it is far from clear from what text or texts he derived his overall narrative picture of the Fall. It cannot be shown either that V. used *Il.Parva* and *Il.Persis* or that he did not¹⁸, and a shelf full of Trojan tragedies, from Aesch. to Acc., would not have led the reader to a clear and coherent picture of the ten years, the sack, and the homecomings; art, likewise, could help, and enrich, while the poet also sought information and instruction. Mythological manuals and summaries¹⁹ cannot be excluded (cf. *Alambicco*, 45, 47); such manuals were proper reading for learned poets, but for an ample, informed general narrative, we might also suggest Hellanicus' *Troika*, a text amply cited by V.'s near-contemporary Dionysius of Halicarnassus²⁰, if indeed the Cycle was not in V.'s hands.

A brief introduction is called for to (i) traces of epigram, but above all to the presence of strong elements of (ii) history and (iii) tragedy:

(i) I refer both to epigraphic language and thought present in the text²¹, and to thematic affinities with *Anth.Gr.*: cf. nn. on 531 (death of son before parents' eyes), 'funerary epigram' on Priam (554–8), and farewell to Creusa (776–89).

(ii) V. writes as one widely familiar with Rom. history and historians, for a public similarly informed: cf. 135 for Marius hiding in the marshes near Minturnae and 554–8 for the deaths of Priam and Pompey; for V.'s expertise in the historiography of decapitation, cf. Horsfall (2009), *infra* (559). Hardly, though, a link between shooting-star and *sidus Iulium* (693–700). Note further a certain amount of language familiar from historians' narratives (13, 256, 265, 386, 640), and, more challengingly, a number of familiar motifs, such as

(a) The *urbs capta*, shared with tragedy too and much discussed of late; cf. §6(iii) below, and note there V.'s evident intimacy with historians' narrative of sieges, and with a wide range of technical details, from scaling-ladders to guards set over the booty.

(b) The claim to autopsy, likewise shared with the tragic messenger-speech (cf. 5, 499, 554–8).

(c) The epitaph of the great ruler (554–8).

¹⁸ Cf. *Aen.*11, p.468. J.S. Burgess, *The tradition of the Trojan war* (Baltimore 2001), 45 is sadly underinformed.

¹⁹ Cf. van Rossum-Steenbeek, Appx.2, n.1, *infra*, Cameron (21), 255–60.

²⁰ Active in Rome from 30BC, Gabba, *Dionysius*, 1; for Hell. *Troika* in DH, cf. FGH 4F31 and Gudeman, PW 8.117.59ff., Erskine, 25, 94.

²¹ See the summary, n. on 7.1, n. on 11.97 and now M. Dinter, *CQ* 55(2005), 153–69.

The ‘Romanisation’ of detail in the narrative should never have been dismissed as mere ‘anachronism’, of solely antiquarian interest; assembled and studied with proper attention, it is a significant element in setting the ‘tone’ of a passage²²

(iii) Tragedy, wonderfully blended with historical elements, as e.g. in the epitaph on Pompey/Priam (**554–8**). It should perhaps be said once more²³ that, over and again, it is when V. is working with strong tragic elements that he reaches his greatest heights²⁴. So too here. Note the formidable range of Trojan plays, both Greek and Latin that V. may have known/actually used²⁵ and note too the great range of tragic elements present in the text of **2**, both those shared with epigram (death of child before parent’s eyes (**531**) or history, such as autopsy (**5**) and the *urbs capta* motif (see §6.iii, *infra*, *SCI* (xxi, n.23), 70) and those distinctively tragic such as

(a) The messenger-speech: cf. nn. on **5** (note there useful work by V. Ussani Jr. on V. and Aesch. *Persae*; vd. n.27, *infra*), **13**, **25**, **68**, **499**, **506–58**, **506**, **507**, **556**, and the affinities long noted between the grandest tragic narratives (e.g. blinding of Oedipus) and Virgil at his loftiest (e.g. death of Laocoön, **189–233**, §1). At **506** possibly a stylistic feature in recollection of the manner of such speeches in Greek.

(b) Tragic irony. Cf. nn. on **199–233**, §2, **234–49**, **244**, **289–95**.

(c) The meditations of choral lyric, both Greek and Roman. Cf. nn. on **54**, **195–8**, **241–2**, **318–69**, §1, **498**, **554–8**. This is a vein deeply congenial to V.²⁶.

(d) Characters, amply and in some cases almost distinctively familiar from tragic texts: not only Laocoön, Hecuba and Andromache, that is, but Cassandra (**173**, etc.), Troilus (vd. **29**), Polyxena (**100**, **108f.**),

²² Cf. **40**, Laoc.’s suite, **456** Androm. without attendants, **148** on **quisquis es**. See too §6(i) the language of siege warfare, and §6(ii), the technicalities. Much of the material collected in the index s.v. ‘language’ shares in this same role. Romans in a sense *are* Trojans; no wonder if Trojans speak like Romans.

²³ Cf. *SCI* 26(2007), 69, with **469–505**.

²⁴ For *Aen.4*, cf. *Companion*, 134; for *Aen.7*, cf. comm., xviii-xix; for *Aen.3* (the wonderful Andromache scenes), comm., xviii-xix and index s.v. tragedy.

²⁵ Cf. *SCI* 26(2007), 70, Jocelyn, ed. *Enn.trag.*, p.11, Ribbeck, *tragfr.*, p.364f.). That article of 2007 collects much recent bibliogr. on V. and tragedy, not here repeated. Add A. Deremetz, *REL* 78(2000), 76–92.

²⁶ Compare in particular Eur. *Tro*.582, Enn. *trag*.87Joc. with **241–2** (laments on the fall of Troy).

Philoctetes (the three plays all well known to us thanks to DChrys.) essential to V.'s Sinon (57–76, §1), Iphigenia (116, 133, etc.) and Palamedes, with Nauplius (82), all at some point explicit, or implicit, in *Aen.2*. The range of references to tragedy confirms what one would naturally suspect, that even if tragedy can hardly serve as a primary narrative *source* for the story of the Fall of Troy (§5, *ad init.*), the tragedians' vision of the Fall is integral to *Aen.2*²⁷.

6. *Siege-warfare*

We do also need to integrate *Aen.2* a little into the literature of sieges, and not only with earlier accounts of the siege of Troy. Some of that work has already been done²⁸: here, enough details, I hope, will be gathered to show that V. writes as one familiar with siege-narratives (not, that is, *just* stage representations; Horsfall, *cit.*) but prose accounts (such as Caesar's), over and above the 'classic' Ennian account of the fall of Alba (*infra*). He writes too for a public itself used to sieges in e.g. Caesar and Sallust; the role of the siege in Virgilian similes confirms this hypothesis²⁹. The *Annales* are not necessarily the only poliorcetic narrative to which Liv.1 and *Aen.2* are both indebted; we shall see that *Aen.2* and Liv.5 (fall of Veii, siege of Rome) are also closely related (vd. Kraus, *cit*) but the question of their priority is by no means clear³⁰ like that of what their common sources (if any, other than Enn.'s Capture of Alba) might have been. The evidence is roughly sorted into

(i) V.'s use of military language: cf. **29 tendebat, 30 acie certare** (?), **47 inspectura** (Vegetius was notably partial to Virgilian citations), **254 instructis nauibus, 265 inuadunt, 373 uiri** (voc.), **408 medium agmen, 409 incurrimus, 442 haerent scalae, 446 telorum genus** (a striking instance), **634 peruentum**.

²⁷ Over and above the standard accounts for Rom. tragedy and V. (Stabryla, Wigod-sky) and for Greek (König): vd. also for Aesch., V. Ussani, *Maia* 3(1950), 237ff., summarised ungratefully, G. Scafoglio, *Vichiana* 4.3.2(2001), 187ff., and for Eur., M. Fernández, *MD* 36(1996), 187–96. Some further bibliography collected, *SCI* 26(2007), 67.

²⁸ Kraus (198), 267–89, Rossi (2002), Rossi, 17–53 and the summary, Horsfall, *SCI* 26(2007), 70.

²⁹ Cf. 5.439f., 11.616f., 12.921f., M. Coffey, *BICS* 8(1961), 69; see too Lersch, 100–5, Malavolta, 173–8, P.-J. Miniconi, *Etude des thèmes “guerriers”...* (Paris 1951), 175f. for further details of siege warfare in *Aen.*

³⁰ *Aen.3*, xxvif.

(ii) V.'s awareness of the technicalities of siege warfare³¹. We might note here the use of ladders (442), towers (460; Trojan, not Greek), *testudo* (441), *aries* (492), the forcing of gates (480f.) and the use of disguise (370–401 (ii)), the gathering and guarding of booty (761–3). Note also a strong awareness of the (theoretical, but familiar) problems of the limits felt to be set to the use of trickery (370–401).

(iii) V.'s sense of the *urbs capta* motif, and use of themes drawn from it; the motif recognised as being of special interest to V.³². Note the familiar elements of din (303), wailing (487f.), smoke and flames (289), suicide (565f., 637), batches of prisoners (761), the ugly hint of rape (170, 403) and the probable future of slavery for the survivors (786; cf. Andromache in index of names), except for those who become refugees/exiles/colonists (634–78, §3, 738, (ii), 780, 797f.; cf. Kraus, 276). Note that V. is careful to avoid the multiplication of passages consisting merely of generalised smoke, flames, ululations, and destruction (318–69, §5).

(iv) Attention has of late been focused, perhaps too much (cf. 469–505), on the sack of Alba, the fall of Veii and the Gallic sack of Rome (vd. *infra*). But on reading 2, with Kern, Chaniotis and Rossi to hand, I suspected, *passim*, that other sieges and accounts might have interested V.: Caesar's account of the capture of Massilia, for example (465; the overthrow of the tower) and Tarentum and/or Syracuse in some annalistic account (265; inebriation of the defenders, over and above the ancient motif of the Trojan celebrations at the Greeks' apparent withdrawal).

(v) Veii and the Fall of Rome. The material has been admirably covered by Kraus, 271ff., and here are listed only the more obvious points of contact between 2 and Liv.5: the ten years of conflict (198), the departure of the gods and their transfer to Rome, the motif of *evocatio* (59ff., 238, 248f., 383, 719); with the arrival of the Gauls, cf. (with Kraus, 276f.) the rescue of Rome's *sacra* (293, 798), the flight of the defenceless civilians (798), and the spectacle of the senators awaiting death (645).

(vi) Alba. The relevance of Tullus Hostilius' capture of Alba was noted by Serv.³³; Norden then perceived that the similarities between

³¹ Cf. Rossi, 178ff., Sandbach in *ORVA*, 459–65, and my nn. on 3.52, 11.616.

³² 746 (with 507, 643), 4.669ff., 12.596, Horsfall, *SCI* 26(2007), 69f., G.M. Paul, *Phoenix* 36(1982), 151, Rossi (2002), 238ff., Rossi, ch.1.

³³ On 313, 486; on his language at 486—*translatus est locus*—cf. Alambicco, 80, n.15, *Aen.*11, p.471.

Liv.5 and *Aen.*2 were to be explained by common use of *Enn. Ann.*, presumably a classic *urbs capta* for all later writers. In particular, cf. nn. on 313 (with general discussion), 363 (destruction of ancient cities), 486 (the din).

(vii) Reference is made at several points to elements of untidiness, disorder, even confusion in V.'s narrative (cf. 402–52, 449, 530, 552, etc.); in particular, V. is still learning how to come to terms with the difficulties of simultaneous narratives (outside and inside, up and down, etc.); by the time he reaches bk.11 he displays competence, even mastery in the unfolding of an elaborate military narrative, which he had learned, or so I have suggested, from years of study of Sallust and even Livy (*Aen.*11, p.472).

7. *Text*

Note that I diverge from Mynors' textual choices at 340, 587, 727, 739, and quite often on issues of punctuation and orthography. At *SCI* 24(2005), 225–8, I argued that in Roman texts of the Augustan period, the case for a consistent system of orthography was not strong; that conclusion is in practice, of course, unhelpful, but I remain a little wary of sweeping decisions on issues of (e.g.) assimilation of prepositions, when the usage of contemporary texts is variable. Some bibliography on orthographical issues is gathered at Geymonat₂, xvi. In that ed., nearly eighty pages of corrigenda and addenda add a little bibliography and some new readings, especially from o (c.11; Spanish). It is depressing, even shocking, to observe that the editor repeats the traditional dating of the capital mss. (c.4–6), with no apparent doubt or hesitation, though for forty years scepticism has been voiced with increasing energy, and some recent, specialised bibliography is offered in a book apparently known to G. (my comm. on *Aen.*7(2000), xxx^r). It is also difficult to establish the rationale behind G.'s citation of modern emendations: are they cited as guarantees of the editor's industry and energy, or do they indicate textual choices that he recommends seriously to our own attention? I do hope that the latter is not the case.

8. *Commentary and commentaries*

No need to repeat here what was said at *Aen.*3, xliii about the virtues or vices of La Penna-Scarcia (the BUR ed.), Perret (the Budé), Goold (the Loeb), Binder (the Reclam), Williams (*Aen.*1–6, Macmillan, London 1972), or Paratore (Mondadori, 1978, in the Lorenzo Valla series). But I should like to comment briefly (i) on the school edd. of bk.2 available to me, (ii) more fully, on the relatively ample scholarly commentaries by Ussani and Speranza and (iii) with proper attention, upon my relationship to Austin (1964): coexistence with 265 dense pages of rightly esteemed commentary, only 45 years old, has been educative; the malignly curious are advised that there is some dissent, but no polemic, let alone vituperation.

(i) Some energy, and vigorous language, was used on the relative merits of school comms. across Europe by Traina, 8–10 and A. La Penna, *L'impossibile giustificazione ...* (Bari 2005), 538f.. But let us be clear that after forty years' close familiarity with the work of Virgilian commentators since Heyne, the superior merits of T.E. Page are clearer than ever; for bk.2, Guillemin is terse, acute, and under-appreciated. Wainwright (London 1903) dodges no difficulty, but applies little acumen. J. Jackson (Oxford 1923) is a little disappointing, after use of his excellent tr. of *Aen.* and familiarity with Fraenkel's famed tribute to his Greek studies. *Trojan Aeneas* (ed. B. Tilly, E.C. Kennedy; Cambridge 1959) and R.H. Jordan's comm. (London 2002; explicitly, a summary of Williams) I have read without profit; likewise, Sabbadini (*Aen.*1–2-3, Torino 1922; no clue to why it is still cited). The index in Sidgwick (Cambridge 1923) remains indispensable.

(ii) Ussani's comm. (Roma 1961) has been in my hands for thirty years; it summarises quite a lot of recent Italian work, notably by Funaioli, and by the editor himself (e.g. on *Aen.*2 and Aesch.), but the user's sense of the independent merits, acumen, and judgement it shows does not increase much upon acquaintance. Speranza (Napoli 1964), on the other hand, proved an agreeable surprise: he is not at all flawless, but shows much laudable energy and curiosity and as a commentator is pleasantly idiosyncratic and sometimes usefully learned and well-informed.

(iii) Finally, Roland Austin; on him, see now John Henderson, 'Oxford reds' (London 2006), *passim*, with a charming photograph, and much curious information regarding the man and the commentaries. When a devoted junior colleague of his, J.C.B. Foster, noticed my comm. on

Aen.7 (*PVS* 25(2004), 165–7), the unwary reader might have concluded that I was passionately opposed to RGA as an interpreter of Virgil, and had indeed said so. That would be deeply mistaken. I met him once only, and recall the occasion (a very long lunch) with delight. To me, reading Virgil as an undergraduate in Cambridge a couple of years after his *Aen.2* appeared, he was an inspiration. But my public is not the sort of promising classics undergraduate who still existed (quite widely, even) forty years ago; they are now metamorphosed, with appropriate loss of plumage, into elderly dons, or readers of same. It has also been suggested (with appropriate obloquy) that my commentaries are not suited to today's students; that is probably true, and is actually a relief to hear, for they have all of them been aimed—clearly, explicitly and without concealment—not at relative beginners, but at the scholarly public, which does also deserve, occasionally, some newly-forged tools.

It is remarkable to read in the letters cited by Henderson (42–8) numerous expressions of the view that no new Virgil commentaries were called for in the years before RGA's *Aen.4*(1954). He transformed the close reading of Virgil in the English-speaking world; 1964 was perhaps his professional apogee; by *Aen.1*(1971) and *Aen.6*(1977), his silent and complete rejection of what was passing for progress in Virgilian studies had garbed these later commentaries in a thin veil of faintly depressing archaism, admirable though many of his notes continued to be. For its day, Au. on 2 was just fine; indeed, really very good. But after working over the same ground, I find I know a little too much about that book's merits and weaknesses. This is not the place to enter into captious detail, nor into an analysis of how it seems to have been written. A careful reader of what follows will see just why I thought the work needed to be done again and what, in particular, had to be re-thought. No criticism of RGA (or, at most, a very little), but a tribute to the towering merits of *Aen.2* itself; some 800 lines of Latin that good seemed to call quite urgently for some re-thinking and general overhaul, as do many commentaries after forty years and more. I gladly admit that I am keener to record RGA's virtues than his errors and omissions; a good note, or series of notes, by him stand among the greatest pleasures available to the careful student of modern Virgilian scholarship.

At Foster's expert conclusion that RGA would not have liked my [English] punctuation I can only bow my head in shame; since 2000, my habits will be found to have altered, possibly for the better.

One topic still calls for comment: RGA was a great romantic; in particular, his ear caught wonderful subtleties and refinements in the sound of the Latin and the movement of the verse (the n. on 767 may stand for many); not all survive careful and dispassionate examination. I have never felt able to hear a tenth as much, above all after having read several discussions of the ancient views of the effect of individual letters³⁴. My discussion of such aspects of *Aen.2* will often be found terse and limited; deliberately so.

‘The first qualification for a commentator of Virgil is not a knowledge of Buttmann’s *Lexilogus*, but a knowledge of the difference between prose and poetry, between literal and figurative, between body and soul...’; Henry, 1, p.251f.. I am quite certain that RGA shared my admiration for those words, and for Henry’s courageous formulation. These days, the awe-inspiring precedents of NH, NR, and Watson, for Hor., along with the four vols. of Oakley’s *Livy*, not to mention the approach attempted in my own previous commentaries, tend to dampen and discourage the fine Celtic frenzy of James Henry at his best. That, sadly, is progress, and we have to live with it. But I do know, despite the spread of pedantic professionalism³⁵ and the unchecked growth of great thorn-brakes of bibliography, that by no means all the answers are to be found in *TLL* and *LHS*.

³⁴ Cordier, *Allitération*, A. Traina, *L’alfabeto e la pronunzia...* (Bologna 1984), W.S. Allen, *Vox latina* (Cambridge 1965).

³⁵ Cf. C. Stray on Mackail’s ‘renunciation of professionalism’. *Classics transformed* (Oxford 1998), 140, n.59.

AD LECTOREM

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

(1) Reviewers have noted, quite correctly, that discussions of (e.g.) pause at 3tr. are not repeated from one commentary to another; that is, indeed, inconvenient, but preferable, I decided, to even bigger, costlier commentaries. But when I have spotted an inadequate note in one of the earlier commentaries, I have replaced it.

(2) Bold type is used only for refs. within *Aen.2; 157* 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.**2**; this short-cut is only used when there is no possibility of confusion.

(3) In the text of bk.2, **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..

(4) 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. (588–691)—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).

(5) Reviewers of my earlier comms. continue to censure the critical element in my refs. to *EV*, though the system and the need for it have been explained before. The point remains important: though in some sense a standard work of consultation, the *EV* is a mixed bag; its quality oscillates from the palmary to the pitiful and by that view, 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 (Pecorino)'; 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. Elsewhere in the comm. I have occasionally offered a very brief comment (e.g. *male*, *bene*) on the quality (conspicuously low, or high) of some earlier discussion. Bibliography is not mere mechanical accumulation, nor is judgement a matter of counting heads, by number and/or weight.

(6) In the bibliography, I do not include e.g. Schwyzer, KG, ANRW, DS, Mommsen, *SIR* 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, *Enn.trag.* from Jocelyn, the other 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), with cross-references to Hollis, where applicable, Varr. *RD* from Cardauns (*Abh.Mainz* 1976). *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. Ten years ago, a friend reproved me, in print, for using a 'citation-style' without titles, too difficult for many of today's students (*Vergilius* 43(1997), 135). That is a sad reflection on those students, and on their teachers' capacities. I have not been cured of my reluctance to waste paper and this book is not aimed at young readers unwilling to master their subject's traditional conventions, nor at Virgilians desirous of wasting paper. 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. My bibliography is fairly full up to early 2006; thereafter, thanks to the assiduity of various friends, I have been able to add a fair number of more recent items. Many recent papers have proved a disappointment; as a friend wrote to me recently about footnotes, 'editors want to cut everything. They want a text appealing to the large audience'. A great pity; you used to learn even when you disagreed, and you learned too how to construct a bal-

anced, informed, helpful footnote. *Sed haec prius fuere.* When I refer to a discussion, or biblio. as full, I mean ‘full’, not ‘comprehensive’; such ‘comprehensiveness’ is an unhelpful myth.

(7) 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, Robert remains unmatched (though unindexed); it seemed useful sometimes to cite Ro., PW and Gruppe in addition. *NP* I have not found very helpful, except when some slight and swift updating seemed necessary; it will not be much cited. There is not a lot of iconography here: *LIMC*, Anderson and Gantz make it easy to supplement the outlines and occasional detailed references supplied here. It was a pleasure to discover how very useful Gantz proved to be; Vellay, alas, is hardly a conventional work of scholarship at all.

(8) As explained in the preface, this commentary has been written in a remote area of northern Scotland; in addition, a single bibliographical foray to Oxford, and a couple of busy days in Padova. But modern tools of communication and research do a great deal to mitigate any inconveniences in this arrangement, though it may be that the latest published dissertation is slightly less likely to be cited than some arcane discussion of the 1890s. My debt to helpful friends and booksellers is very great (vd. Preface), 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. Maltby’s *Lexicon of... etymologies* is here only neglected because—only for V.—superseded by O’Hara.

(9) Very occasionally I offer a relatively full bibliography of discussions on some important point (those containing fifteen items, or over). 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 substantially longer; to my original decision, taken some fifteen years ago, not to engage in polemic save under compulsion, or when appalled by the inexplicable spread of some unfounded dogma, I remain happily loyal.

(10) For all of *Aen.2*, I wrote the first draft of a commentary, section by section, without consulting my predecessors; that draft was then vastly improved by consultation of (*inter alios et multos*) La Cerda, Heyne (and Wagner), Forbiger and Conington (more than Benoist), Henry, Page (more than Ladewig-Schaper-Deuticke), Speranza, Ussani and Austin. I record with awe and gratitude what I have learned from the best of my predecessors, whose work on 2 is in general of a far higher standard than that of the commentators I consulted for bk.3.

(11) Minerva, Pallas, Athena: I despair of finding any consistent way of referring to this deity, as between Greek and Roman, poetry and cult, consistency and correctness; after consultation with Prof. Jan Bremmer, I settled on (usually, but not always) Pallas, though I can hardly hope that this compromise was divinely wise.

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TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant
inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto:

Infandum, regina, iubes renouare dolorem,
Troianas ut opes et lamentabile regnum
eruerint Danai, quaeque ipse miserrima uidi
et quorum pars magna fui. quis talia fando
Myrmidonum Dolopumue aut duri miles Vlxi
temperet a lacrimis? et iam nox umida caelo
praecipitat suadentque cadentia sidera somnos.
sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros
et breuiter Troiae supremum audire laborem,
quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque
incipiam. fracti bello fatisque repulsi
ductores Danaum tot iam labentibus annis
instar montis equum diuina Palladis arte
aedificant, sectaque intexunt abiete costas;
uotum pro reditu simulant; ea fama uagatur.
huc delecta uirum sortiti corpora furtim
includunt caeco lateri penitusque cauernas
ingentis uterumque armato milite complent.
est in conspectu Tenedos, notissima fama
insula, diues opum Priami dum regna manebar
nunc tantum sinus et statio male fida carinis:
huc se prouecti deserto in litore condunt;
nos abiisse rati et uento petuisse Mycenas.
ergo omnis longo soluit se Teucria luctu;
panduntur portae, iuuat ire et Dorica castra
desertosque uidere locos litusque relictum:
hic Dolopum manus, hic saeuus tendebat Achil
classibus hic locus, hic acie certare solebant.
pars stupet innuptae donum exitiale Mineruae
et molem mirantur equi; primusque Thymoetes
duci intra muros hortatur et arce locari,
sive dolo seu iam Troiae sic fata ferebant.
at Capys, et quorum melior sententia menti,
aut pelago Danaum insidias suspectaque dona
praecipitare iubent subiectisque urere flammis,
aut terebrare cauas uteri et temptare latebras.
scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus.

Primus ibi ante omnis magna comitante caterua

All fell silent, and kept their gaze fixed; then father Aeneas began thus from his lofty couch:

“Majesty, your desire is that I renew an unspeakable sorrow, of how the Danaans crushed the might of Troy and her realm—all tears—, tragedies I saw in person (5) and of which I was a large part. In telling of such events, what Dolopian or Myrmidon or soldier under cruel Ulysses would check his tears? Now the damp night is speeding from the sky and the setting stars urge on our sleep, but if you have such desire to learn of our disasters (10) and to hear in brief of Troy’s last suffering, though the spirit shudders to recall and shrinks back in grief, I will try.

Broken by war and rejected by the fates, the leaders of the Danaans, as so many years had now slipped away, build a Horse, the size of a mountain—the craft is the goddess Pallas’s (15)—and weave cut fir into her sides. They pretend she is an offering for their return and that is the story that spreads. Into her, they insert secretly, into her impenetrable sides, having taken lots, well-chosen, bulky heroes and inside they fill her vast spaces and womb with armed warriors (20). The island of Tenedos is within sight: while Priam’s realm flourished, she was rich in resources, but now is a mere bay and untrustworthy anchorage for ships. To Tenedos they sailed, and hid on the lonely shore. We thought they had gone and made for Mycenae on a fair wind (25). So all the land of Troy emerges from her long sorrow. The gates are opened and people are glad to go and see the Dorians’ camp and the places they have abandoned, the shores they have quit. Here the Dolopian contingent, here cruel Achilles encamped; here was the squadrons’ place, and here the infantry used to fight (30). Some Trojans are astonished at unwed Minerva’s fatal gift and wonder at the Horse’s bulk. First of all Thymoetes proposes she should be brought within the walls and placed in the citadel, whether that was a trick or it was thither that Troy’s destiny tended. But Capys and those who had sounder views in mind (35) propose to hurl the suspicious gift of the Danaans’ trap into the sea, or to place flame below it and consume it, or to bore into the cavernous hiding-places of its womb and explore it. The common people are not sure and split into conflicting causes.

In front, ahead of them all, with a great following in his train (40)

- Laocoōn ardēns summa decurrit ab arce,
et procul “o miseri, quae tanta insania, ciues?
credītis auctos hostis? aut ulla putatis
dona carere dolis Danaūm? sic notus Vlīxes?
aut hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achiui,
aut haec in nostros fabricata est machina muros,
inspectura domos uenturaque desuper urbi,
aut aliquis latet error; equo ne credite, Teucri.
quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentis.”
sic fatus ualidis ingentem uiribus hastam
in latus inque feri curuam compagibus aluum
contorsit. stetit illa tremens, uteroque recusso
insonuere cauae gemitumque dedere cauerne.
et, si fata deum, si mens non laeua fuisse,
impulerat ferro Argolicas foedare latebras
Troiaque nunc stare, Priamique arx alta maneres. 45
P
- Ecce, manus iuuenem interea post terga reuinctum
pastores magno ad regem clamore trahebant
Dardanidae, qui se ignotum uenientibus ultro,
hoc ipsum ut strueret Troiamque aperiret Achiuis,
obtulerat, fidens animi atque in utrumque paratus,
seu uersare dolos seu certae occumbere morti.
undique uisendi studio Troiana iuuentus
circumfusa ruit certantque inludere capto.
accipe nunc Danaum insidias et crimine ab uno
disce omnis. 50
60
- namque ut conspectu in medio turbatus, inermis
constitit atque oculis Phrygia agmina circumspexit,
“heu, quae nunc tellus,” inquit, “quae me aequora possunt
accipere? aut quid iam misero mihi denique restat,
cui neque apud Danaos usquam locus, et super ipsi
Dardanidae infensi poenas cum sanguine poscunt?”
quo gemitu conuersi animi compressus et omnis
impetus. hortamur fari quo sanguine cretus,
quidue ferat; memoret quae sit fiducia capto. 70
75
- “Cuncta equidem tibi, rex, fuerit quodcumque, fatebor
uera”, inquit; “neque me Argolica de gente negabo.
hoc primum. nec, si miserum Fortuna Sinonem
finxit, uanum etiam mendacemque improba finget. 77
T
P 80

Laoocoön ran down from the heights of the citadel and from a distance cried: “my poor fellow-citizens, what is this great folly? Do you think that the enemy have gone? Or that any Danaan gifts are free of trickery? Is this Ulysses’ fame? Either the Achaeans are hidden, shut away inside this wooden thing (45), or it is an engine constructed against our walls, to view our homes and to come down upon our city. Or there is some trickery concealed inside. Trojans, do not trust the Horse. Whatever it is, I fear the Greeks even when they bring presents.” So he spoke, and hurled a huge spear with mighty strength (50) into the Horse’s side and into the rounded framework of its belly. It stood there quivering and the Horse’s hollow caverns rang when its womb was struck and gave forth a groan. If divine destiny, if the gods’ intent had not been contrary, he would have driven them to darken the Argives’ hiding-places with the steel (55), and Troy would now be standing, and you, high citadel of Priam, would survive.

Look, Trojan shepherds were meanwhile bringing to the king, with a great clamour, a young man with his hands tied behind his back: he was an unknown and had put himself out in their way, to obtain just this end and to open up Troy to the Achaeans (60), confident in his spirit, and ready for both—either to spin his plot or to face a certain death. From all sides the Trojan warriors poured in a rush, eager to see him: they compete in jeering at the prisoner. Now listen to the Danaans’ plot and from one man’s misdeed (65) learn of them all. He stood there dismayed and helpless, and with his eyes looked about him at the ranks of the Trojans, and said: “Alas, what land, what seas can now take me in? What now remains for me in my plight? (70). I have no place at all among the Greeks, and moreover the Trojans themselves as enemies call for blood and punishment.” At that lament, our feelings were altered and all aggression was checked. We urge him to tell us from what stock he is born and what he brings. Will he tell us on what he, as a captive, is relying (75).

“Come what may, everything I shall expound to you, King Priam, truly” he said “and I shall not deny that I am of Argive race. That, to start with. If Fortune made Sinon a poor wretch, she will not also, cruel lady, also make him a fanciful liar (80).

| | | | |
|---|-----|-----|---|
| fando aliquod si forte tuas peruenit ad auris Belidae nomen Palamedis et incluta fama gloria, quem falsa sub proditione Pelasgi insontem infando indicio, quia bella uetabat, demisere neci, nunc cassum lumine lugent illi me comitem et consanguinitate propinquum pauper in arma pater primis huc misit ab annis. dum stabat regno incolumis regumque uigebat conciliis, et nos aliquod nomenque decusque gessimus. inuidia postquam pellacis Vlixi (haud ignota loquor) superis concessit ab oris, adflictus uitam in tenebris luctuque trahebam et casum insontis mecum indignabar amici. nec tacui demens et me, fors si qua tulisset, si patrios umquam remeassem uictor ad Argos, promisi ultorem et uerbis odia aspera moui. hinc mihi prima mali labes, hinc semper Vlices criminibus terrere nouis, hinc spargere uoces in uulgum ambiguas et quaerere conscius arma. nec requieuit enim, donec Calchante ministro— sed quid ego haec autem nequ quam ingrata reuoluo, quidue moror? si omnis uno ordine habetis Achiuos, idque audire sat est, iam dudum sumite poenas: hoc Ithacus uelit et magno mercentur Atridae.” | O | 85 | |
| Tum uero ardemos scitari et quaerere causas, ignari scelerum tantorum artisque Pelasgae. prosequitur pauitans et facto pectore fatur: | T | 90 | T |
| “Saepe fugam Danai Troia cupiere relicta moliri et longo fessi discedere bello; fecissentque utinam! saepe illos aspera ponti interclusit hiems et terruit Auster euntis. | T | 100 | |
| praecipue cum iam hic trabibus contextus acernis staret equus, toto sonuerunt aethere nimbi. suspensi Eurypylum scitatum oracula Phoebi mittimus, isque adytis haec tristia dicta reportat: | T | 105 | T |
| “sanguine placastis uentos et uirgine caesa, cum primum Iliacas, Danai, uenistis ad oras; sanguine quaerendi reditus animaque litandum Argolica.” uulgi quae uox ut uenit ad auris, obstipuere animi gelidusque per ima cucurrit | T | 110 | |
| | 115 | | |
| | 120 | | |

If in the telling something of the name of Palamedes, son of Belus and of his fame, glorious in legend, has by chance reached your ears,— him, on a false charge the Greeks sent down to his death, innocent as he was, on an unspeakable charge, because he kept opposing the war, and now they mourn him bereft of the light (85). To him my impoverished father sent me here to the war as a follower, related as I was by kinship, in my earliest manhood, while Palamedes stood unchallenged as king in his own land and flourished in the assemblies of the rulers and I too enjoyed some good name and distinction. After he departed from the lands above, through the envy of insidious Ulysses (I tell a familiar story) (90), I dragged out my life of affliction in the gloom of grief and to myself complained of the ill-chance of my innocent friend. In my folly, I did not keep silent, and I gave notice, if chance tended that way, if I should ever return among the victors to my native Argolid, that I would be his avenger and by my words I roused bitter hatred (95). From then on spread the first stain of disaster, thenceforward Ulysses kept scaring me with new charges, and spreading double-edged stories to the people, and seeking out fellow-conspirators in his attack. Yes, he did not let up until, with Calchas as his instrument—(100) But why do I go over all his unwelcome story to no purpose? Why do I bother? If you hold all the Achaeans under one single heading, and it will do to hear *that*, now at last exact the penalty. This is what the Ithacan would want, and the sons of Atreus would buy at high cost.”

Then we are afire to know, and to ask the explanation (105); we are unaware of the Pelasgians’ great crimes, and of their plot. He goes on, quaking, and speaks from his lying breast: “often the Greeks longed to quit Troy and to accomplish their retreat, and weary as they were at the long war, to withdraw. If only they had. Often, savage weather at sea (110) put them off and a South wind alarmed them at parting. In particular, when the Horse, constructed of beams of maple, already stood here, storm clouds rang over all the sky. In a quandary, we sent Eurypylus to enquire of Phoebus’ oracle and he brought back from the sanctum these gloomy words (115): “with the blood of a slaughtered virgin you appeased the winds, Greeks, when first you came to the shores of Ilium. With blood you must seek your return, and the offering must be made of an Argive’s life.” When this answer reached the army’s ears, their spirits were struck dumb and a chill quaking coursed though the depths of their bones (120):

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| osca tremor, cui fata parent, quem poscat Apollo. hic Ithacus uatem magno Calchanta tumultu protrahit in medios; quae sint ea numina diuum flagitat. et mihi iam multi crudele caneabant artificis scelus, et taciti uentura uidebant. | 125 |
| bis quinos silet ille dies tectusque recusat prodere uoce sua quemquam aut opponere morti. uix tandem, magnis Ithaci clamoribus actus, composito rumpit uocem et me destinat aerae. | T |
| adsensere omnes et, quae sibi quisque timebat, unius in miseri exitium conuersa tulere. | 130 |
| iamque dies infanda aderat; mihi sacra parari et salsa fruges et circum tempora uitiae. eripui, fateor, leto me et uincula rupi, | P |
| limosoque lacu per noctem obscurus in ulua delitui dum uela darent, si forte dedissent. | 135 |
| nec mihi iam patriam antiquam spes ulla uidendi nec dulcis natos exoptatumque parentem, | T |
| quos illi fors et poenas ob nostra reposcent effugia, et culpam hanc miserorum morte piabunt. | 140 |
| quod te per superos et conscientia numina ueri, per si qua est quae restet adhuc mortalibus usquam | T |
| intemerata fides, oro, miserere laborum tantorum, miserere animi non digna ferentis.” | |
| His lacrimis uitam damus et miserescimus ultro. | 145 |
| ipse uiro primus manicas atque arta leuari uincla iubet Priamus dictisque ita fatur amicis: “quisquis es, amissos hinc iam obliuiscere Graios (noster eris) mihique haec edissere uera roganti: | |
| quo molem hanc immanis equi statuere? quis auctor? quidue petunt? quae religio? aut quae machina belli?” | 150 |
| dixerat. ille dolis instructus et arte Pelasga sustulit exutas uinclus ad sidera palmas: “uos, aeterni ignes, et non uiolabile uestrum testor numen,” ait, “uos arae ensesque nefandi, | |
| quos fugi, uitiaeque deum, quas hostia gessi: fas mihi Graiorum sacrata resoluere iura, fas odisse uiros atque omnia ferre sub auras, | 155 |
| si qua tegunt, teneor patriae nec legibus ullis. tu modo promissis maneas seruataque serues | |
| | 160 |

for whom were the oracles making ready and whom did Apollo require? At this point the Ithacan hauled the prophet Calchas into the army's midst, with a great clamour, and demanded to know what this divine authority was. Already, many were predicting to me the schemer's cruel outrage and quietly foresaw the future (125). He kept silent for full ten days and, withdrawn, refused to unmask anyone by his words or to put them in death's way. Finally, reluctantly, driven by the Ithacan's loud menaces, he broke into speech, by prearrangement, and condemned me to the altar. Everyone agrees and what every man fears for himself (130) they put up with when it is shifted over to the death of one poor fellow. Now the unspeakable day was here: the rites were ready for me, the salted meal and the bands round my temples. I did, I admit, tear myself from death: I broke my bonds and lay low in a slimy pond by night, lurking in the sedge (135), until they left, should they leave. I had no hope any longer of seeing my dear old homeland, nor my sweet children, nor my longed-for father. They will perhaps call for punishment against them on account of my flight and will expiate this lapse of mine by the death of these poor beings (140). So I beg you, by the gods, by the powers who know of truth, by unblemished trust, if it still remains for mortals anywhere, have pity on such great sufferings, on a spirit that endures undeservedly".

To these tears we grant his life, and, what is more, we show pity (145). Priam in person was the first to order Sinon's manacles and tight bonds to be removed, and spoke to him thus with kindly words. "Whoever you are, from now on, forget the Greeks who are gone (you will be one of ours) and to my questions give true answer. For what did they set up this monstrous, bulky horse? Who had the idea? (150) What do they want? What religious image is it? What engine of war?" He finished. Sinon, well-trained in trickery and Pelasgian craft, raised his palms, now freed from their bonds, to the stars and said "You, eternal fires and your inviolable power, I call you to witness, and you too, unspeakable altars and swords (155) that I fled, and you, sacred fillets that as a sacrificial beast I wore. May it be right for me to breach the Greeks' hallowed ordinances, may it be right for me to hate these men and to bring everything out under the sky, if there is anything that they conceal. Nor am I bound by any laws of native country. Do you keep your promises. Let Troy, kept safe, (160)

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|---|-----|----------|
| Troia fidem, si uera feram, si magna rependam. omnis spes Danaum et coepti fiducia belli Palladis auxiliis semper stetit. impius ex quo Tydides sed enim scelerumque inuentor Vlices, fatale adgressi sacrato auellere templo | 165 | O |
| Palladium caesis summae custodibus arcis, corripuere sacram effigiem manibusque cruentis uirgineas ausi diuae contingere uitias, ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri | 170 | |
| spes Danaum, fractae uires, auersa deae mens. nec dubiis ea signa dedit Tritonia monstris. | 175 | |
| uix positum castris simulacrum: arsere coruscae luminibus flammae arrestis, salsusque per artus sudor iit, terque ipsa solo (mirabile dictu) | 175 | |
| emicuit parmamque ferens hastamque trementem. extemplo temptanda fuga canit aequora Calchas, | 180 | O |
| nec posse Argolicis excindi Pergama telis omina ni repeatant Argis numenque reducant | 180 | P |
| quod pelago et curuis secum auexere carinis. et nunc quod patrias uento petiere Mycenas, | 185 | T |
| arma deosque parant comites pelagoque remenso improuisi aderunt; ita digerit omina Calchas. | 185 | |
| hanc pro Palladio moniti, pro numine laeso effigiem statuere, nefas quae triste piaret. | 190 | |
| hanc tamen immensam Calchas attollere molem roboribus textis caeloque educere iussit, | 190 | |
| ne recipi portis aut duci in moenia posset, neu populum antiqua sub religione tueri. | 195 | |
| nam si uestra manus uiolasset dona Mineruae, tum magnum exitium (quod di prius omen in ipsum | 195 | |
| conuertant!) Priami imperio Phrygibusque futurum; | | |
| sin manibus uestris uestram ascendisset in urbem, | | |
| ultra Asiam magno Pelopea ad moenia bello uenturam, et nostros ea fata manere nepotes.” | | |
| Talibus insidiis periurique arte Sinonis credita res, captique dolis lacrimisque coactis quos neque Tydides nec Larisaeus Achilles, non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae. | 200 | |
| Hic aliud maius miseris multoque tremendum obicitur magis atque improuida pectora turbat. | 200 | |

keep faith, if I speak the truth, if I repay you on a grand scale. All the Greeks' hope and their confidence in the war they had begun always relied on Pallas' assistance. From when Tydeus' impious son, and Ulysses, deviser of crime, set out to wrest the Palladium of destiny from the sacred temple (165): they slaughtered the guards of the high citadel, seized the holy image, and with their bloodstained hands ventured to touch the virgin goddess' fillets. From that point, the Danaans' hopes flowed away, slipped, and were carried backward. Their strength was broken and the goddess' will was turned away (170). Tritonia gave signs of this by no uncertain portents. The statue had just been set down in camp. Dancing flames blazed from her upwards-turned eyes and salt sweat passed over her limbs. Three times she actually leaped from the ground (a wonder to relate), carrying her round shield and quivering spear (175). At once Calchas pronounced that the Greeks were to venture on the waves in flight; Pergama was not to be taken by Argive arms, if they did not seek out fresh auspices at Argos and bring back the goddess whom they had carried off with them by sea in their curved ships. Now, as to their passage home to Mycenae before the wind (180), they are making ready reinforcements, and gods, in their company and will cross the sea again, and arrive unexpectedly. So Calchas explains the omens. They were instructed and built this figure in lieu of the injured image of the Palladium, to expiate the sad wrong they had done it. Yet this vast image Calchas said they should build (185) of interwoven timbers, up to the sky, so it could not be admitted into the gates, nor taken into the walls, so that the people of Troy should not be protected under their ancient cult. For if your hands had violated Minerva's gift, then there would be (and may the gods first turn that utterance against him) a great disaster (190) for the empire of Priam and for the Phrygians. But if by your hands it should mount into the city, Asia would take the offensive and would descend in war against the walls of Pelops and that destiny would await our grandchildren."

By such trickery and by the craft of perjured Sinon (195) was the story believed and they were caught by deceit and feigned tears whom neither the son of Tydeus, nor Achilles of Larissa, neither ten years, nor a thousand ships had broken.

Now another event, graver and much more terrible was cast in their path, poor devils, and unsettled their wits, ignorant of the future (200)

Laocoön, ductus Neptuno sorte sacerdos,
 sollemnis taurum ingentem mactabat ad aras.
 ecce autem gemini a Tenedo tranquilla per alta
 (horresco referens) immensis orbibus angues
 incumbunt pelago pariterque ad litora tendunt;
 pectora quorum inter fluctus arrecta iubaeque
 sanguineae superant undas, pars cetera pontum
 pone legit sinuatque immensa uolumine terga.
 fit sonitus spumante salo; iamque arua tenebant
 ardentesque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni
 sibila lambebant linguis uibrantibus ora.
 diffugimus uisu exsangues. illi agmine certo
 Laocoonta petunt; et primum parua duorum
 corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque
 implicat et miseros morsu depascitur artus;
 post ipsum auxilio subeuntem ac tela ferentem
 corripiunt spirisque ligant ingentibus; et iam
 bis medium amplexi, bis collo squamea circum
 terga dati superant capite et ceruicibus altis.
 ille simul manibus tendit diuellere nodos
 perfusus sanie uittas atroque ueneno,
 clamores simul horrendos ad sidera tollit:
 qualis mugitus, fugit cum saucius aram
 taurus et incertam excussit ceruice securim.
 at gemini lapsu delubra ad summa dracones
 effugiunt saeuiaeque petunt Tritonidis arcem,
 sub pedibusque deae clipeique sub orbe teguntur.
 tum uero tremefacta nouus per pectora cunctis
 insinuat pauor, et scelus expendisse merentem
 Laocoonta ferunt, sacrum qui cuspidé robur
 laeserit et tergo sceleratam intorserit hastam.
 ducendum ad sedes simulacrum orandaque diuae
 numina conclamant.
 diuidimus muros et moenia pandimus urbis.
 accingunt omnes operi pedibusque rotarum
 subiciunt lapsus, et stuppea uincula collo
 intendunt; scandit fatalis machina muros
 feta armis. pueri circum innuptaeque puellae
 sacra canunt funemque manu contingere gaudent;
 illa subit mediaeque minans inlabitur urbi.

T

205

210

215

220

225

230

235

O

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240

Laocoön, chosen as a priest for Neptune by lot, was regularly slaughtering a great bull by the altar; when—look now—two serpents, from Tenedos, over the still waters, breasted the sea with their vast coils and as one made for the shore (205). Their fronts rose between the waves and their blood-red crests towered over the water. The rest of their bodies, behind, passed through the water and they flexed their huge bodies in loops. There was a sound as the water foamed; now they were at the shore; with their blazing eyes stained with bloody flames (210), they licked their hissing lips with darting tongues. We scattered, chilled bloodless at the sight. They made a steady course for Laocoön. First both snakes coiled round the bodies of the two little sons and fed with their jaws on their poor limbs (215). Then they grabbed Laocoön as he came to their aid, bearing arms. They bound him with their great coils. Now they encircled his middle twice round and twice they coiled their scaly bodies round his neck and towered over him with their lofty heads and necks (220). He tried at the same time to tear apart the knotted coils with his hands, with his fillets bathed with gore and black venom and raised frightful shouts to the sky, as the lowing a bull raises when, wounded, he flees the altar and flings the straying axe from his neck. But the pair of serpents escape, gliding, to the sanctuary (225) on the heights and make for the citadel of cruel Tritonia. They shelter under the statue's feet, and the circumference of the goddess' shield. Then a new dread slipped through all their fearful minds: they assert that Laocoön deserved to pay for his crime, because he had violated the sacred oak with his spear (230) and had flung his delinquent weapon into the Horse's flank. They all shout that the Horse should be brought to Pallas' shrine, and that prayers should be offered to her godhead. We part the walls and lay open the city's defences (?). Everyone sets to the task: they attach moving wheels to the Horse's feet (235) and stretch hawsers of hemp on to its neck. Destiny's engine, pregnant with weapons, mounts the walls. Round about unmarried boys and girls sing hymns, and take delight in laying hands on the rope. The Horse ascends and, menacingly, glides into the centre of the city (240).

o patria, o diuum domus Ilium et incluta bello
 moenia Dardanidum! quater ipso in limine portae
 substitit atque utero sonitum quater arma dedere;
 instamus tamen immemores caecique furore
 et monstrum infelix sacrata sistimus arce.

245

P

tunc etiam fatis aperit Cassandra futuris
 ora dei iussu non umquam credita Teucris.
 nos delubra deum miseri, quibus ultimus esset
 ille dies, festa uelamus fronde per urbem.

Vertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox
 inuoluens umbra magna terramque polumque
 Myrmidonumque dolos; fusi per moenia Teucri
 conticuere; sopor fessos complectitur artus.

250

T

et iam Argia phalanx instructis nauibus ibat
 a Tenedo tacitae per amica silentia lunae
 litora nota petens, flamas cum regia puppis
 extulerat, fatisque deum defensus iniquis
 inclusos utero Danaos et pinea furtim
 laxat claustra Sinon. illos patefactus ad auras
 reddit equus laetique cauo se robore promunt
 Thessandrus Sthenelusque duces et dirus Vlixes,
 demissum lapsi per funem, Acamasque Thoasque
 Pelidesque Neoptolemus primusque Machaon
 et Menelaus et ipse doli fabricator Epeos.

255

T

inuadunt urbem somno uinoque sepultam;
 caeduntur uigiles, portisque patentibus omnis
 accipiunt socios atque agmina conscientia iungunt.

265

T

Tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris
 incipit et dono diuum gratissima serpit.
 in somnis, ecce, ante oculos maestissimus Hector
 uisus adesse mihi largosque effundere fletus,
 raptatus bigis, ut quondam, aterque cruento
 puluere perque pedes traiectus lora tumentis.
 ei mihi, qualis erat, quantum mutatus ab illo
 Hectore qui redit exuuias indutus Achilli
 uel Danaum Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignis!
 squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crinis
 uulneraque illa gerens, quae circum plurima muros
 accepit patrios. ultro flens ipse uidebar
 compellare uirum et maestas expromere uoces:

270

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275

280

My country, Ilium, home of the gods, walls of the sons of Dardanus famed in war! Four times on the very sill of the gate, it stopped, and four times the weapons sounded from its womb. Heedless, however, and blind in our frenzy, we carried on and set the unlucky monster on the heights of the citadel (245). Then too Cassandra opened her lips in revelations of the future, lips destined by command of the god never to be believed by the Trojans. We poor wretches, though this was to be our last day, wreathed the shrines of the gods with celebratory garlands across the city.

So the sky revolves and night rushes over the Ocean (250), wreathing the earth, the vault of heaven and the trickery of the Myrmidons in a great darkness. Relaxed within their walls, the Trojans fell silent. Sleep embraced their tired limbs. Now the Argive infantry in well-marshalled ships was coming from Tenedos, through the cooperative silence of the unspeaking moon (255), making for the shore it knew; King Agamemnon's ship had raised the signal, and under the protection of the gods' unfair destiny, Sinon secretly released both the Danaans shut up in the Horse's womb, and the bars of pine. The Horse was opened up and released them to the air and they emerge from the hollowed timber, delighted (260). The princes Thessandrus and Sthenelus, and terrible Ulysses slipped down the rope they had lowered; so too did Acamas and Thoas and Neoptolemus grandson of Peleus, the pre-eminent Machaon and Menelaus and the architect of the trick himself, Epeius. They invade a city weighed down by sleep and wine (265). The guards are butchered and through the open gates they let in all their comrades and marshal all the conspiring Greeks.

It was the hour when first sleep began for poor mortals and by divine gift crept on most welcome. Look, I dreamed that Hector (270), most sorrowful, appeared to me in my sleep and poured forth copious tears, dragged as once he was by the chariot, and blackened with dust and gore, with thongs passed through his swollen feet. Woe upon me, how he was, how changed from that Hector who returned wearing Achilles' spoils (275), or who hurled Phrygian flames at Danaan ships. He bore his beard filthy, and his hair matted with blood, and those many wounds which he received around the walls of his native city. I dreamed that I too in tears made first to address him and to broach words of sorrow (280).

| | |
|---|---|
| “o lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima Teucrum, quae tantae tenuere morae? quibus Hector ab oris exspectate uenis? ut te post multa tuorum funera, post uarios hominumque urbiske labores defessi aspicimus! quae causa indigna serenos foedauit uultus? aut cur haec uulnra cerno?” ille nihil, nec me quaerentem uana moratur, sed grauiter gemitus imo de pectore dicens, “heu fuge, nate dea, teque his” ait “eripe flammis. hostis habet muros; ruit alto a culmine Troia. sat patriae Priamoque datum: si Pergama dextra defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent. sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penatis; hos cape fatorum comites, his moenia quaere magna pererrato statues quae denique ponto.” sic ait et manibus uitias Vestamque potentem aeternumque adytes effert penetralibus ignem. | 285 OO |
| Diuerso interea miscentur moenia luctu, et magis atque magis, quamquam secreta parentis Anchisae domus arboribusque obiecta recessit, clarescunt sonitus armorumque ingruit horror. excutior somno et summi fastigia tecti ascensu supero atque arrectis auribus asto: in segetem ueluti cum flamma furentibus Austris incidit, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens sternit agros, sternit sata laeta bouisque labores praecipitisque trahit siluas; stupet inscius alto acciens sonitum saxi de uertice pastor. tum uero manifesta fides, Danaumque patescunt insidia. iam Deiphobi dedit ampla ruinam | 290 O P |
| Anchisae domus arboribusque obiecta recessit, clarescunt sonitus armorumque ingruit horror. excutior somno et summi fastigia tecti ascensu supero atque arrectis auribus asto: in segetem ueluti cum flamma furentibus Austris incidit, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens sternit agros, sternit sata laeta bouisque labores praecipitisque trahit siluas; stupet inscius alto acciens sonitum saxi de uertice pastor. tum uero manifesta fides, Danaumque patescunt insidia. iam Deiphobi dedit ampla ruinam | 295 P |
| Diuerso interea miscentur moenia luctu, et magis atque magis, quamquam secreta parentis Anchisae domus arboribusque obiecta recessit, clarescunt sonitus armorumque ingruit horror. excutior somno et summi fastigia tecti ascensu supero atque arrectis auribus asto: in segetem ueluti cum flamma furentibus Austris incidit, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens sternit agros, sternit sata laeta bouisque labores praecipitisque trahit siluas; stupet inscius alto acciens sonitum saxi de uertice pastor. tum uero manifesta fides, Danaumque patescunt insidia. iam Deiphobi dedit ampla ruinam | 300 T O T |
| Volcano superante domus, iam proximus ardet Vcalegon; Sigea igni freta lata reluent. exoritur clamorque uirum clangorque tubarum. arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis, sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem cum sociis ardent animi; furor iraque mentem praecipitat, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis. | 310 TO |
| Ecce autem telis Panthus elapsus Achium, Panthus Othryades, arcis Phoebique sacerdos, sacra manu uictosque deos paruumque nepotem | 315 T O |
| | 320 |

“Light of Dardania, surest hope of the Teucrians, what delays were enough to detain you? From what shores do you, Hector, come, long-awaited? How do we, exhausted, behold you, after the many deaths of your kin, after the various toils of the city and its men! What undeserved cause (285) fouled your clear face? Or for what reason is it that I see these wounds?” He replied not a word, and took no notice of my foolish questions, but, heavily drawing groans from the depths of his breast, replied: “Alas! Flee, son of the goddess. Tear yourself from these flames; the enemy holds our walls and Troy collapses from her lofty roof-trees down (290). Enough has been paid to Priam and to our nation. Could Pergama have been defended by a right hand, by *this* one would it have been defended. Troy entrusts her sacred objects and household gods to you. Take them as companions of your destiny and with them seek out the great walls which you will finally build, when you have crossed right over the sea (295). So he spoke and in his hands brought out mighty Vesta, with her fillets, and the eternal flame from the heart of the sanctuary.

The distant walls are meanwhile filled confusedly with the sound of lamentation and louder and yet louder, though the house of my father Anchises was isolated, and set back, sheltered by trees (300), grows the sharp din of arms and their crash impends. I am shaken from sleep, climb, and cross the highest tree of the roof to stand with ears pricked. As when the South winds rage and a fire falls on the crops, or a tearing torrent, gushing from the mountains (305), flattens the fields, flattens the fat crops and the work of the oxen and carried the woods headlong. Uncomprehending, from the high peak of a rock, a shepherd hears the sound and wonders. Then what the Danaans had really done was proved and their trickery stood revealed. Now Deiphobus’ spreading house collapses (310) as Vulcan masters it and now our neighbour Ucalegon’s blazes. The whole of Sigeum’s straits reflects the fire. A shouting of men and the bray of trumpets arises. Maddened, I take up arms, yet there is not enough plan in those arms, but rather my heart is fired to gather together a handful of men for the fight and to concentrate on the citadel (315) with my companions. Frenzy and rage overrun my mind, and the thought comes that it is a fine thing to die under arms.

And—look!—Panthus, who had got away from the Achaean forces, Panthus the son of Othrys, priest of Apollo upon the citadel, himself brought in his arms the conquered gods and his little grandson (320)

| | |
|---|-----|
| ipse trahit cursuque amens ad limina tendit. | T |
| “quo res summa loco, Panthū? quam prendimus arcem?” | |
| uix ea fatus eram gemitu cum talia reddit: | |
| “uenit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus | |
| Dardaniae. fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens | 325 |
| gloria Teucrorum; ferus omnia Iuppiter Argos | |
| transtulit; incensa Danai dominantur in urbe. | |
| arduus armatos mediis in moenibus astans | |
| fundit equus uictorque Sinon incendia miscet | |
| insultans. portis alii bipatentibus adsunt, | 330 |
| milia quot magnis umquam uenere Mycenis; | |
| obsedere alii telis angusta uiarum | |
| oppositis; stat ferri acies mucrone corusco | |
| stricta, parata neci; uix primi proelia temptant | |
| portarum uigiles et caeco Marte resistunt.” | 335 |
| talibus Othryadae dictis et numine diuum | |
| in flamas et in arma feror, quo tristis Erinys, | |
| quo fremitus uocat et sublatus ad aethera clamor. | |
| addunt se socios Rhipheus et maximus armis | OO |
| Iphitus, oblati per lunam, Hypanisque Dymasque | 340 |
| et lateri adglomerant nostro, iuuensisque Coroebus | O |
| Mygdonides—illis ad Troiam forte diebus | |
| uenerat insano Cassandrae incensus amore | |
| et gener auxilium Priamo Phrygibusque ferebat, | |
| infelix qui non sponsae praecepta furentis | 345 |
| audierit! | |
| quos ubi confertos ardere in proelia uidi, | T |
| incipio super his: “iuuenes, fortissima frustra | |
| pectorā, si uobis audentem extrema cupido | T |
| certa sequi, quae sit rebus fortuna uidetis: | T |
| excessere omnes adytis arisque relicts | |
| di quibus imperium hoc steterat; succurritis urbi | |
| incensae. moriamur et in media arma ruamus. | |
| una salus uictis nullam sperare salutem.” | |
| sic animis iuuenum furor additus. inde, lupi ceu | 355 |
| raptore atra in nebula, quos improba uentris | |
| exegit caecos rabies catulique relicti | |
| faucibus exspectant siccis, per tela, per hostis | |
| uadimus haud dubiam in mortem mediaeque tenemus | |
| urbis iter; nox atra caua circumuolat umbra. | 360 |

and at a run he made wildly for my door. “In what state is the crisis, Panthus? What strongpoint are we to seize?” I had only just said this when he replied thus with a groan: “Dardania’s last day has come, and the time that cannot be worsted. We Trojans are no more; no more is Ilium and the Teucrians’ great glory (325). A cruel Jupiter has moved everything to Argos. The Danaans swagger about the fired city. The horse stands high in the midst of Troy’s walls, pouring out men and Sinon in triumph spreads the flames, gloating. Some arrive at the twin-leaved gates (330), in their thousands, as many as ever came from great Mycenae, while others block with weapons set against us the narrows of the streets. A line of steel with flashing points drawn stands there ready to kill. The original watch at the gates barely attempts resistance and fights on in unconsidered combat” (335). At such words from Othrys’ son and under divine urging, I am carried into the flames and into the fray, where the grim Eriny, where the clamour calls and the shouting which reaches to the skies. Rhipheus and the mighty warrior Iphitus revealed in the moonlight, along with Hypanis and Dymas join us as comrades (340) and fill out our flank, as does young Coroebus, Mygdon’s son: he happened to have come to Troy in those days, fired by a crazed love for Cassandra, and as a would-be son-in-law was bringing help to Priam and the Phrygians. Unlucky man not to heed the bidding of his prophetic beloved (345). When I saw that they were mustered and burning for the fight, over and above that, I began to speak to them: “Lads, hearts that are so brave to no end, if your wish is steadfast to follow me as I dare the very worst, you see what chance there is in the situation (350). The gods by whose will this realm had stood have all quit their altars and shrines and are gone. You are bringing succour to a city in flames. Let us die and let us rush into the midst of the fighting. The only salvation for the vanquished is not to hope for any survival”. So the fury of battle was lent to their spirits. Then, like ravening wolves (355), in a dark mist, whom insatiable rage in their bellies drove blindly forth, and their forsaken cubs wait with parched throats, through fire and fighting we go towards a certain death and keep to the way through the centre of the city. Black night hovers round us with her dome of shadow (360).

quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando
explicit aut possit lacrimis aquare labores?
urbs antiqua ruit multos dominata per annos;
plurima perque uias sternuntur inertia passim
corpora perque domos et religiosa deorum
limina. nec soli poenas dant sanguine Teucri;
quondam etiam uictis redit in praecordia uirtus
uictoresque cadunt Danai. crudelis ubique
luctus, ubique pauor et plurima mortis imago.

365

Primus se Danaum magna comitante caterua
Androgeos offert nobis, socia agmina credens
inscius, atque ultro uerbis compellat amicis:
“festinate, uiri! nam quae tam sera moratur
segnities? alii rapiunt incensa feruntque
Pergama: uos celsis nunc primum a nauibus itis?”
dixit, et extemplo (neque enim responsa dabantur
fida satis) sensit medios delapsus in hostis.
obstipuit retroque pedem cum uoce repressit.

375

improuisum aspris ueluti qui sentibus anguem
pressit humi nitens trepidusque repente refugit
attollentem iras et caerulea colla tumentem,
haud secus Androgeos uisu tremefactus abibat.
inruimus densis et circumfundimur armis,
ignarosque loci passim et formidine captos
sternimus; adspirat primo fortuna labori.

380

atque hic successu exsultans animisque Coroebus
“o socii, qua prima” inquit “fortuna salutis
monstrat iter, quaque ostendit se dextra, sequamur:

T

mutemus clipeos Danaumque insignia nobis
aptamus. dolus an uirtus, quis in hoste requirat?
arma dabunt ipsi.” sic fatus deinde comantem

385

Androgei galeam clipeique insigne decorum
induit laterique Argium accommodat ensem.

OP

hoc Rhipheus, hoc ipse Dymas omnisque iuuentus
laeta facit: spoliis se quisque recentibus armat.
uadimus immixti Danais haud numine nostro
multaque per caecam congressi proelia noctem

390

conserimus, multos Danaum demittimus Orco.

OT

diffugiunt alii ad nauis et litora cursu

T

fida petunt; pars ingentem formidine turpi

400

Who could unfold that night's disaster in speech, or the deaths, or could match with tears what we suffered? An ancient city, which had ruled for many years, is falling. Countless bodies are strewn helpless throughout the streets, the houses, and the hallowed portals of the gods (365). Nor do the Trojans alone pay the penalty with their blood. At times courage returns even to the vitals of the defeated and the conquering Danaans fall. Everywhere there is harsh tragedy, everywhere fear and countless visions of death. Of the Greeks, Androgeos was the first to face us (370), with a great following at his back, foolishly believing us a unit of allies, and actually addressed us with friendly words: "Hurry, men! Just what idleness has kept you so late? Others are sacking and pillaging Troy's citadel in flames, while only now are you arriving from the lofty ships?" (375) He spoke, and right away—for we made no sufficiently convincing answer—he realised that he had fallen into the midst of the enemy; he was struck dumb and checked both speech and step. Like a man who unexpectedly treads on a snake, stepping heavily on the ground amid thorny brambles and starts back in a panic (380), as the snake's blue-black neck swells as it uncoils wrathfully upwards. Just so Androgeos, appalled at the sight, made to withdraw. We rushed in and, close-packed under arms, poured round them. Ignorant as they were of the spot and prey to fear, we laid them low. Luck smiled on the beginning of our enterprise (385). Now Coroebus, glorying in his success and in his courage, said "comrades, where our luck reveals the path of survival and where she manifests herself as favourable, let us follow up. Let us change shields and fit ourselves with Greek insignia. Trickery or courage? Who would enquire, in the case of an enemy? (390). They will supply the weapons, themselves". So he spoke, and put on the plumed helmet, and the shield with its fair device, and fitted the Argive sword to his side. Rhipheus did the same, and Dymas himself too, and all my comrades, delighted. Each of them armed himself with fresh-won spoils (395). We go on, mingled with the Greeks, under a protection not favourable to us. We clash and fight many skirmishes, through the unseeing night and send many a Greek down to Orcus. Others escape to the ships and make for the safety of the shore at a run. Some of them, in abject terror, clamber back into (400)

| | |
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| scandunt rursus equum et nota conduntur in aluo. | 400 |
| Heu nihil inuitis fas quemquam fidere diuis! | |
| ecce trahebatur passis Priameia uirgo | |
| crinibus a templo Cassandra adytisque Mineruae | |
| ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra, | 405 |
| lumina, nam teneras arcebant uincula palmas. | |
| non tulit hanc speciem furiata mente Coroebus | |
| et sese medium iniecit periturus in agmen; | |
| consequimur cuncti et densis incurrimus armis. | |
| hic primum ex alto delubri culmine telis | 410 |
| nostrorum obruimur oriturque miserrima caedes | |
| armorum facie et Graiarum errore iubarum. | |
| tum Danai gemitu atque ereptae uirginis ira | |
| undique collecti inuadunt, acerrimus Ajax | |
| et gemini Atridae Dolopumque exercitus omnis: | 415 |
| aduersi rupto ceu quondam turbine uenti | |
| confidunt, Zephyrusque Notusque et laetus Eois | |
| Eurus equis; stridunt siluae saeuitque tridenti | |
| spumeus atque imo Nereus ciet aequora fundo. | |
| illi etiam, si quos obscura nocte per umbram | 420 |
| fudimus insidiis totaque agitauimus urbe, | |
| apparent; primi clipeos mentitaque tela | |
| agnoscunt atque ora sono discordia signant. | |
| ilicet obruimur numero, primusque Coroebus | |
| Penelei dextra diuae armipotentis ad aram | 425 |
| procumbit; cadit et Rhipheus, iustissimus unus | |
| qui fuit in Teucris et seruantissimus aequi | |
| (dis aliter uisum); pereunt Hypanisque Dymasque | |
| confixi a sociis; nec te tua plurima, Panthu, | |
| labentem pietas nec Apollinis infula texit. | 430 |
| Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum, | |
| testor, in occasu uestro nec tela nec ulla | |
| uitauisse uices Danaum et—si fata fuissent | |
| ut caderem—meruisse manu. diuellimur inde, | |
| Iphitus et Pelias mecum (quorum Iphitus aevo | 435 |
| iam grauior, Pelias et uulnere tardus Vixi), | |
| protinus ad sedes Priami clamore uocati. | |
| hic uero ingentem pugnam, ceu cetera nusquam | |
| bella forent, nulli tota morerentur in urbe, | |
| sic Martem indomitum Danaosque ad tecta ruentis | 440 |

T

OT

P

P

the colossal Horse and find shelter in the familiar womb.

Alas! No man has the right to trust in the gods when they are against him. See! Priam's maiden daughter Cassandra, with hair outspread, was being dragged from the sanctum of Minerva's temple, straining her blazing eyes towards heaven to no avail, her eyes (405), for bonds constrained her soft hands. This sight Coroebus, with his wits maddened, could not bear and rushed doomed into the midst of their ranks. We all followed and charged with close-packed weapons. Here first from the temple's high roof (410) we are crushed by our own side's arms and a most pitiable slaughter starts, on account of our armour's appearance and through a confusion about the Greek plumes. Then the Greeks, with an angry bellow at the maiden's being snatched away gather from all sides and attack, Ajax, fiercest of warriors, and the two sons of Atreus and the whole contingent of the Dolopians (415). As when conflicting winds clash as the whirlwind bursts—Zephyr, Notus and Eurus rejoicing in the horses of the dawn. The woods howl; Nereus rages with his trident amid the foam and stirs the waves from their lowest depths. Those Greeks too whom we dispersed amid the dark shadows of the night (420) and drove all over the city by our covert assaults, reappear. They are the first to recognise the deceiving shields and weapons and take note of our voices, different in timbre. At the last, we are overcome by numbers. First Coroebus falls, by Peneleus' right hand at the altar of Pallas, the goddess powerful at arms (425). Rhipheus too falls, the most just of the Trojans and the most observant of fairness—the gods decided otherwise; Hypanis and Dymas die, pierced by their own side, nor, Panthus, does your great devotion to the gods save you, any more than does Apollo's band (430). O ashes of Troy, and last pyre of my kin, I call on you to witness that when you fell, I avoided none of the Greeks' weapons, nor the dangers of fighting them, and if my fate had been to die, I deserved to by my actions. Then we were snatched away from the citadel, Iphitus and Pelias with me, the former already weighed down by age (435), the latter also slowed by a wound from Ulysses, summoned by the shouting straight to Priam's palace. Here really we saw a great fight, as though there were no combats elsewhere and no-one else were dying in the whole city, we saw Mars untamed, and the Greeks rushing to the palace (440),

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| cernimus obsessumque acta testudine limen. haerent parietibus scalae postisque sub ipsos nituntur gradibus clipeosque ad tela sinistris protecti obiciunt, prensant fastigia dextris. | T |
| Dardanidae contra turris ac tota domorum culmina conuellunt; his se, quando ultima cernunt, extrema iam in morte parant defendere telis, auratasque trabes, ueterum decora alta parentum, deuoluunt; alii strictis mucronibus imas obsedere fores, has seruant agmine denso. | 445 T |
| instaurati animi regis succurrere tectis auxilioque leuare uiros uimque addere uictis. | 450 T |
| Limen erat caecaeque fores et perius usus tectorum inter se Priami postesque relict, a tergo infelix qua se, dum regna manebant, saepius Andromache ferre incomitata solebat ad soceros et auo puerum Astyanacta trahebat. euado ad summi fastigia culminis, unde tela manu miseri iactabant inrita Teucri. | 455 P |
| turrim in praecipiti stantem summisque sub astra eductam tectis, unde omnis Troia uideri et Danaum solitae naues et Achaica castra, adgressi ferro circum, qua summa labantis iuncturas tabulata dabant, conuellimus altis sedibus impulimusque; ea lapsa repente ruinam cum sonitu trahit et Danaum super agmina late incidit. ast alii subeunt, nec saxa nec ullum telorum interea cessat genus. | 460 O |
| Vestibulum ante ipsum primoque in limine Pyrrhus exsultat telis et luce coruscus aëna: qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala grama pastus, frigida sub terra tumidum quem bruma tegebat, nunc, positis nouis exuviis nitidusque iuuenta, lubrica conuoluit sublato pectore terga arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trisulcis. | 465 T |
| una ingens Periphas et equorum agitator Achillis, armiger Automedon, una omnis Scyria pubes succedunt tecto et flamas ad culmina iactant. ipse inter primos correpta dura bipenni limina perrumpit postisque a cardine uellit | 470 475 |
| | 480 |

whose doors were beset by the advance of a mantelet. Ladders cling to the walls and by the very doorposts they press on up the rungs and against the Trojans' fire place their shields in the way, in their left hands, for protection, while with their right hands they grasp for the top of the wall. Against them, the sons of Dardanus tear down the towers and all the roofs of the buildings (445); with these weapons, now that they are deciding the final outcome, they make ready to defend themselves now on the last brink of death, and the gilded beams, high adornment of their ancient forbears, they roll down on the Greeks. Others with drawn swords guard the doors at the bottom and watch over them in a close-packed body (450). My courage is renewed, to come to the palace's help, to relieve the defenders by my aid and to lend force to the vanquished.

There was a doorway, and an entrance, unseen, and a passage right through Priam's palace, from one end to the other and a neglected door: so, from the back, poor Andromache, while the kingdom stood (455) used to go, regularly and without a suite, to her parents-in-law and took her boy Astyanax to his grandfather. I went up to the top, at the highest point of the roof, from where the poor Trojans were hurling their weapons to no avail. The tower, standing over the drop, and rising to the stars (460) from the heights of the roof, from which they used to look at all of Troy, and the Danaans' ships and the Achaean camp we attacked with tools on all sides, just where the highest stories provided insecure joints, prised it from its deep (?) foundations and pushed. It fell suddenly and gave way with a roar (465): it dropped far and wide over the Danaans' ranks. But others came up and neither the missiles nor any other kind of weapon paused in the mean time.

At the front of the forecourt, on the fore-edge of the step, Pyrrhus revels, a-glitter with the brazen gleam of his arms (470), as when a snake, who has fed on toxic herbs, whom the chill of winter keeps all swollen below ground, now, fresh and gleaming in his new garb, having sloughed the old skin, raises his front part to the light, coiling his slippery back, straight up facing the sun and from his mouth flickers with his triple-forked tongue (475). With him were the huge Periphas and the driver of Achilles' horses, the armour-bearer Automedon, and with him all Scyros' young warriors; they approached the palace and hurled flames at the roof. In the front rank, Pyrrhus himself seized a double axe and is trying to break down the stout gates and to shift the bronze-clad jambs from their sockets (480).

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| aeratos; iamque excisa trabe firma cauauit robora et ingentem lato dedit ore fenestram. apparet domus intus et atria longa patescunt; apparet Priami et ueterum penetralia regum, armatosque uidet stantis in limine primo. | O |
| at domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu miscetur, penitusque cavae plangoribus aedes femineis ululant; ferit aurea sidera clamor. tum pauidae tectis matres ingentibus errant amplexaeque tenent postis atque oscula figunt. | 485 T |
| instat ui patria Pyrrhus; nec claustra nec ipsi custodes sufferre ualent; labat ariete crebro ianua, et emoti procumbunt cardine postes. fit uia ui; rumpunt aditus primosque trucidant immissi Danai et late loca milite complent. | 490 T |
| non sic, aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis exiit oppositasque euicit gurgite moles, fertur in arua furens cumulo camposque per omnis cum stabulis armenta trahit. uidi ipse furentem caede Neoptoleum geminosque in limine Atridas, | 495 T |
| uidi Hecubam centumque nurus Priamumque per aras sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacrauerat ignis. quinquaginta illi thalami, spes tanta nepotum, barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi | 500 T |
| procubuere; tenent Danai qua deficit ignis. | 505 |
| Forsitan et Priami fuerint quae fata requiras. urbis uti captae casum conuulsaque uidit limina tectorum et medium in penetralibus hostem, arma diu senior desueta trementibus aeuo | T |
| circumdat nequiquam umeris et inutile ferrum cingitur, ac densos fertur moriturus in hostis. aedibus in mediis nudoque sub aetheris axe ingens ara fuit iuxtaque ueterima laurus | 510 |
| incumbens arae atque umbra complexa penatis. hic Hecuba et natae nequiquam altaria circum, praecipites atra ceu tempestate columbae, | 515 |
| condensae et diuum amplexae simulacra sedebant. ipsum autem sumptis Priamum iuuenalibus armis ut uidit, “quae mens tam dira, miserrime coniunx, impulit his cingi telis? aut quo ruis?” inquit. | 520 |

Now he has cut through a balk of wood and has hollowed his way through the solid oak and has created a great hole with a wide mouth. The palace within is revealed, and the long courtyards appear, Priam's sanctum and that of the old kings too, and he catches sight of the armed guards standing on the threshold's edge (485). But within, the palace was filled confusedly with the poor occupants' laments and uproar. Into the heart of the building, the echoing courts cry out with women's howls. Their shouting strikes the golden stars. The older women, fearful, roam through the great building. They clutch and hold on to the jambs and shower kisses on them (490). Pyrrhus lays on, with his father's strength. Neither the bars, nor the guards themselves have the strength to resist. With the intense hammering the gates totter, the jambs are shifted, and fall forward. Force drives a path: the Greeks breach the entrance, pour inside, slaughter the foremost Trojans and fill every corner with soldiery. This is not how a foaming river breaks its embankment, flows out, and bests the facing dyke with its flood. Raging in a heaped-up bore, it pours out into the countryside and through all the pasture-land carries off herds, steadings and all. I myself saw Neoptolemus raging with murder and Atreus' pair of sons at the entrance (500). I saw Hecuba, and the hundred sons and their wives, and Priam over the altar, fouling with his blood the flames he had hallowed. The famous fifty bedchambers, a generous expectation of grandchildren, the doors standing proudly with the spoils of barbarian gold, have collapsed: where the fire has given out, the Greeks take hold (505).

Perhaps you may ask what Priam's end was. When he saw what became of the captured city, and the shattered entrance to the palace and the enemy deep in its inner sanctum, the old man girt uselessly about his shoulders that shook with age the unaccustomed armour; he put on his pointless sword (510) and set out to die in the midst of the enemy. In the middle of the palace and under the open vault of heaven, there was a great altar and by it an ancient laurel, leaning over the altar and embracing the penates with its shadow. Here, to no avail, Hecuba and her daughters sat close together about the altar (515), like plunging doves under a black storm embracing the images of the gods. When she saw Priam himself, as he had put on his youthful armour, "What intent so fatal, my poor husband, drove you" she said "to put on these arms? Where are you charging? (520)

“non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis
tempus eget; non, si ipse meus nunc adforet Hector.
huc tandem concede; haec ara tuebitur omnis,
aut moriere simul.” sic ore effata recepit
ad sese et sacra longaeum in sede locauit.

525 O

Ecce autem elapsus Pyrrhi de caede Polites,
unus natorum Priami, per tela, per hostis
porticibus longis fugit et uacua atria lustrat
saucius. illum ardens infesto uulnere Pyrrhus
insequitur, iam iamque manu tenet et premit hasta.
ut tandem ante oculos euasit et ora parentum,
concidit ac multo uitam cum sanguine fudit.
hic Priamus, quamquam in media iam morte tenetur,
non tamen abstinuit nec uoci iraeque pepercit:
“at tibi pro scelere,” exclamat, “pro talibus ausis
di, si qua est caelo pietas quae talia curet,
persolvant grates dignas et praemia reddant debita,
qui nati coram me cernere letum
fecisti et patrios foedasti funere uultus.

530

at non ille, satum quo te mentiris, Achilles
tal is in hoste fuit Priamo; sed iura fidemque
supplicis erubuit corpusque exsangue sepulcro
reddidit Hectoreum meque in mea regna remisit.”
sic fatus senior telumque imbelle sine ictu
coniecit, rauco quod protinus aere repulsum,
et summo clipei nequiquam umbone pependit.
cui Pyrrhus: “referes ergo haec et nuntius ibis
Pelidae genitori. illi mea tristia facta
degeneremque Neoptolemum narrare memento.

540

nunc morere.” hoc dicens altaria ad ipsa trementem
traxit et in multo lapsantem sanguine nati,
implicuitque comam laeua, dextraque coruscum
extulit ac lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem.
haec finis Priami fatorum, hic exitus illum
sorte tulit Troiam incensam et prolapsa uidentem
Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum
regnatorem Asiae. iacet ingens litore truncus,
auulsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus.

P

550

At me tum primum saeuus circumstetit horror.
obstipui; subiit cari genitoris imago,

T

560

The circumstances do not call for such resort, nor for such arms of defence. No, not even if my own Hector were here. Do come over here; this altar will protect us all, or else you will die alongside me. So she spoke and took him to herself and settled the old man on the sacred spot". (525)

Look! Now Polites, one of Priam's sons, had slipped away from Pyrrhus' slaughter and fled through the enemy's weapons down the long arcades and, wounded as he was, passed through the empty courts. Him the fiery Pyrrhus chased at hostile spear-point. (530). Now, even now he had Polites and pressed him close with his spear. When he finally came out before the gaze of his parents, he collapsed and poured away his life in a flood of blood. Now Priam, though grasped in the very midst of death, did not hold back, nor spared his angry voice: "for such a crime, for such an outrage, (535) may the gods grant you due reward, if there is any pity in heaven to see to such things. May they pay you the price due and render you a proper reward, you, who made me see before my eyes my son's death, and polluted a father's gaze with his end. But the great Achilles, whose father you say you are, liar, (540) did not behave thus in the case of his enemy Priam, but respected a suppliant's rights and trust and returned Hector's bloodless corpse for burial and restored me to my rule." So the old man spoke and flung his unwarlike spear, with no drive, but it was right away kept off by the ringing bronze (545) and hung to no avail from the top of the shield's boss. Pyrrhus replied: "so you will repeat this story and will go as a messenger to my father, the son of Peleus. To him remember to recount my deplorable deeds and tell of Neoptolemus who fails his forbears. Now die." So speaking, he dragged Priam to the very altar, shaking (550) and slipping in his son's copious blood. He wound the king's hair in his left hand and with his right unsheathed his glittering sword and plunged it in Priam's side up to the hilt. This was the end of Priam's destiny, this death carried him off by his lot, as he beheld (555) Troy fired and Pergama in ruins, Priam once proud ruler of Asia over so many peoples and lands. A great trunk lies on the shore, and a head torn from the shoulders and a nameless corpse.

But as for me, then for the first time horror at the savagery enfolded me. I was dumbstruck. A vision of my dear father came to me (560)

ut regem aequaeum crudeli uulnere uidi
 uitam exhalantem, subiit deserta Creusa
 et direpta domus et parui casus Iuli.
 respicio et quae sit me circum copia lustro.
 deseruere omnes defessi, et corpora saltu
 ad terram misere aut ignibus aegra dedere

O

565

....
desunt multa. versus hic pro Vergili a Servio venditatos invenies, lector,
ad p. 49

....
 cum mihi se, non ante oculis tam clara, uidendam
 obtulit et pura per noctem in luce refuslits
 alma parens, confessa deam qualisque uideri
 caelicolis et quanta solet, dextraque prehensum
 continuuit roseoque haec insuper addidit ore:
 “nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras?
 quid furis? aut quonam nostri tibi cura recessit?
 non prius aspicies ubi fessum aetate parentem
 liqueris Anchisen, superet coniunxne Creusa
 Ascaniusque puer? quos omnis undique Graiae
 circum errant acies et, ni mea cura resistat,
 iam flammae tulerint inimicus et hauserit ensis.

590

595

O
O

600

as I saw the king, his contemporary, breathing out his life thanks to a cruel wound; Creusa came to me, all alone as she was, and my house sacked and the fate of little Iulus. I glance behind me and look over what force is still about me. They have all left me in their exhaustion and with a jump (565) have cast their bodies to the ground, or given them, exhausted, to the flames.

....

When she presented herself to be, to be seen, never before so brilliant, and shone out through the night in a bright light (590), my nurturing mother, as she revealed her godhead, as great and as lovely as she used to appear among the dwellers in heaven: she took my hand with her hand, checked me and added these words too from her rosy lips:

“My son, what great resentment rouses your uncontrolled wrath? Why are you raging? Where has your concern for me departed? (595) Will you not first see where you have left your father Anchises, wearied with old age? Whether your wife Creusa and son Ascanius are still alive? About all of whom the bands of Greeks are roaming: did not my concern stand in their path, the flames would by now have carried them off, and the swords of the enemy struck them down (600).

| | |
|--|-----|
| non tibi Tyndaridis facies inuisa Lacaenae culpatusue Paris, diuum inclemens, diuum has euertit opes sternitque a culmine Troiam. aspice (namque omnem, quae nunc obducta tueri mortalis hebetat uisus tibi et umida circum caligat, nubem eripiam; tu ne qua parentis iuissa time neu praeceps parere recusa): hic, ubi disiectas moles auulsaque saxis saxa uides, mixtoque undantem puluere fumum, Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti fundamenta quatit totamque a sedibus urbem eruit. hic Iuno Scaeas saeuissima portas prima tenet sociumque furens a nauibus agmen ferro accincta uocat. | O |
| | 605 |
| iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas insedit nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeuia. ipse pater Danae animos uirisque secundas sufficit, ipse deos in Dardana suscitat arma. eripe, nate, fugam finemque impone labori; nusquam abero et tutum patrio te limine sistam.” | 610 |
| dixerat et spissis noctis se condidit umbris. apparent dirae facies inimicaque Troiae numina magna deum. | T |
| Tum uero omne mihi uisum considere in ignis Ilium et ex imo uerti Neptunia Troia: ac ueluti summis antiquam in montibus ornum cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus instant eruere agricolae certatim, illa usque minatur et tremefacta comam concusso uertice nutat, uulneribus donec paulatim euicta supremum congemuit traxitque iugis auulsa ruinam. | 615 |
| descendo ac ducente deoflammam inter et hostis expedior: dant tela locum flammaeque recedunt. | T |
| Atque ubi iam patriae peruentum ad limina sedis antiquaque domos, genitor, quem tollere in altos optabam primum montis primumque petebam, abnegat excisa uitam producere Troia exiliumque pati. “uos o, quibus integer aeui sanguis,” ait, “solidaeque suo stant robore uires, uos agitate fugam. | 620 |
| | T |
| | 625 |
| | 630 |
| | T |
| | T |
| Atque ubi iam patriae peruentum ad limina sedis antiquaque domos, genitor, quem tollere in altos optabam primum montis primumque petebam, abnegat excisa uitam producere Troia exiliumque pati. “uos o, quibus integer aeui sanguis,” ait, “solidaeque suo stant robore uires, uos agitate fugam. | 635 |
| | O |
| | 640 |

It is not the loathed beauty of Tyndarus' Spartan daughter, nor the fault of Paris, but the gods' cruelty, the gods', that are destroying all Troy's resources for you as they demolish the city from the roof-trees down. Look—for all the cloud which right now stands in the way of your gaze, enfeebles your human vision and damply (605) spreads darkness about, I shall tear away. Do not be afraid of any of your mother's commands, nor refuse to obey her instructions. Here, where you see the blocks hurled apart, and boulders torn from boulders, and the dust is mixed with eddies of smoke, Neptune causes the walls to quake, along with their very foundations that he has uprooted with his mighty trident (610), destroying the entire city from its foundations up. Here most cruel Juno in the forefront occupies the Scaean gates, and girt with her sword summons, raging, a column of allies from the ships. Now Tritonian Pallas—look at her!—has taken her seat on the heights of the citadel (615), bright in her nimbus and savage with her Gorgon. The Father himself helpfully provides courage and strength to the Greeks and in person rouses the gods against the forces of Troy. Take flight, my son and put an end to these toils. I shall nowhere be far from you and will set you safely at your father's doorway" (620).

She finished, and plunged into the thick darkness of night. The great divine powers, opposed to Troy, appeared in all their hostile array.

Then the whole city of Ilium appeared to settle into the flames and all of Neptune's Troy to be overwhelmed from its base up (625). And just as farmers in competition set about bringing down an ancient ash on the heights of the mountain, striking at it with the edge and with frequent blows of the axe; it continues to loom over them and shakes, with its leaves all quivering and its top smitten, until, little by little overwhelmed by the axe-wounds it groans for the last time (630), and, torn from the ridge, brings down its final collapse. I go down, and with the deity to guide me, find my way between flame and foe; weapons give way and flames fall back. And when the threshold of my father's home, his ancient dwelling, was reached, my father, whom I wanted and sought above all to carry off to the high mountains (635), now refused to prolong his life and to tolerate exile, once Troy was demolished. "Do you, whose blood is at the full with your age, and whose forces stand firm with their unaided strength, do you contemplate flight (640).

- me si caelicolae uoluissent ducere uitam,
has mihi seruassent sedes. satis una superque
uidimus excidia et captae superauimus urbi.
sic o sic positum adfati discedite corpus.
ipse manu mortem inueniam; miserebitur hostis 645 T
exuuiasque petet. facilis iactura sepulcri.
iam pridem inuisus diuis et inutilis annos
demoror, ex quo me diuum pater atque hominum rex
fulminis adflauit uentis et contigit igni.”
- Talia perstabat memorans fixusque manebat. 650
nos contra effusi lacrimis coniunxque Creusa
Ascaniusque omnisque domus, ne uertere secum
cuncta pater fatoque urgenti incumbere uellet.
abnegat inceptoque et sedibus haeret in isdem.
rursus in arma feror mortemque miserrimus opto. 655
nam quod consilium aut quae iam fortuna dabatur?
“mene efferre pedem, genitor, te posse relicto
sperasti tantumque nefas patrio excidit ore?
si nihil ex tanta superis placet urbe relinqui,
et sedet hoc animo perituraeque addere Troiae 660
teque tuosque iuuat, patet isti ianua leto,
iamque aderit multo Priami de sanguine Pyrrhus,
natum ante ora patris, patrem qui obtruncat ad aras.
hoc erat, alma parens, quod me per tela, per ignis O
eripis, ut mediis hostem in penetralibus utque T
Ascanium patremque meum iuxtaque Creusam
alterum in alterius mactatos sanguine cernam? T
arma, uiri, ferte arma; uocat lux ultima uictos.
reddite me Danais; sinite instaurata reuisam
proelia. numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti.” 670
Hinc ferro accingor rursus clipeoque sinistram
insertabam aptans meque extra tecta ferebam.
ecce autem complexa pedes in limine coniunx
haerebat, paruumque patri tendebat Iulus:
“si periturus abis, et nos rape in omnia tecum; 675
sin aliquam expertus sumptis spem ponis in armis,
hanc primum tutare domum. cui paruuus Iulus,
cui pater et coniunx quandam tua dicta relinquor?”
- Talia uociferans gemitu tectum omne replebat,
cum subitum dictuque oritur mirabile monstrum. 680

As for me, if the dwellers in heaven had wished me to continue my life, they would have preserved this home for me. Enough and more than enough, we have beheld one sack and have survived the city's capture. With it laid out thus, o thus, bid farewell to my body, and depart. With this hand, I shall myself procure death. The enemy will take pity on me (645) and will seek out spoils from me. To lose burial is as nothing. For a long time now, I have been holding back the passage of years, hated by the gods, and of no use, ever since the father of the gods and the king of men scorched me with the winds of the thunderbolt and touched me with its fire". Thus speaking, he stood firm and remained unmoving (650). I, on the other hand, flooded with tears and my wife Creusa, and Ascanius, and the whole household urged my father not to desire to bring down everything with him and lend his weight to the pressure of fate. He refuses and clings to the same intention and location, Once again, I am borne off to arms and in my deep misery long for death (655). What counsel. what chance was now on offer?

"Did you expect, my father, that I could leave you and take one step away? Did so great an outrage drop from your paternal lips? If the gods have decided that nothing shall be left from so great a city, if this is your decision and you want to add both yourself and yours to the city's doomed fall (660), the door to that death is open. Pyrrhus will soon be here, fresh from the flow of Priam's blood, the man who slaughters the son before the father's eyes, and the father at the altar. Was it for this, dear kind mother, that you are saving me through weapons, through flames—just so that I may see the foe in the inmost quarters of my home (665), that I may see Ascanius, and my father and next to them Creusa butchered in each other's blood? Arms, men, bring arms. Troy's last day summons the vanquished. Return me to the Greeks, let me revisit the renewal of combat. Never this day shall we all die unavenged" (670).

Then I put on my sword again and was thrusting my left arm to fit in into my shield,, and was on my way out of the palace. See, now my wife clung to my feet on the threshold, hung on to me and stretched little Iulus out to his father. "If you are going to your death, take us with you to face everything (675). But if, with your experience, you place some hope in taking up arms, protect first this home. To whom is your father, is little Iulus, am I once called your wife to be left?"

With such exclamations she was filling the whole palace with her laments, when a sudden portent, one wonderful to relate, took place (680).

| | | |
|---|-----|---|
| namque manus inter maestorumque ora parentum ecce leuis summo de uertice uisus Iuli fundere lumen apex, tactuque innoxia mollis lambere flamma comas et circum tempora pasci. nos pauidi trepidare metu crinemque flagrantem excutere et sanctos restinguere fontibus ignis. at pater Anchises oculos ad sidera laetus extulit et caelo palmas cum uoce tetendit: “Iuppiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis, aspice nos, hoc tantum, et si pietate meremur, da deinde auxilium, pater, atque haec omina firma.” | 685 | T |
| Vix ea fatus erat senior, subitoque fragore intonuit laeuum, et de caelo lapsa per umbras stella facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit. illam summa super labentem culmina tecti cernimus Idaea claram se condere silua signantemque uias; tum longo limite sulcus dat lucem et late circum loca sulphure fumant. hic uero uictus genitor se tollit ad auras adfaturque deos et sanctum sidus adorat. | 695 | |
| “iam iam nulla mora est; sequor et qua ducitis adsum. di patrii, seruate domum, seruate nepotem; uestrum hoc augurium, uestroque in numine Troia est. cedo equidem nec, nate, tibi comes ire recuso.” | 700 | P |
| dixerat ille, et iam per moenia clarior ignis auditur, propiusque aestus incendia uoluunt. | 705 | P |
| “ergo age, care pater, ceruici imponere nostrae; ipse subibo umeris nec me labor iste grauabit; quo res cumque cadent, unum et commune periculum, una salus ambobus erit. mihi paruuus Iulus sit comes, et longe seruet uestigia coniunx. uos, famuli, quae dicam animis aduertite uestris. est urbe egressis tumulus templumque uetustum desertae Cereris, iuxtaque antiqua cupressus | 710 | O |
| religione patrum multos seruata per annos; hanc ex diuerso sedem ueniemus in unam. tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque penatis; me bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti attractare nefas, donec me flumine uiuo abluero.” | 715 | O |
| | 720 | O |

For there, between the hands and faces of his sorrowing kin, behold, a fine tongue of flame was seen to pour light from the top of Iulus' head, and harmless to what it touched, licked his soft hair and played about his temples. We were alarmed, and panicky in our fear; we tried to shake the fire out of his hair (685) and to extinguish the holy flames with spring-water. But father Anchises joyously raised his eyes to the stars and stretched up both palms and voice to the sky: "Almighty Jupiter, if any prayers move you, look upon us at least thus far, and if we have earned it by our devotion (690), next grant help, Father, and confirm this omen".

The old man had hardly spoken, then with a sudden burst of noise it thundered on the left, and slipping down through the gloom from the sky, a meteor rushed with a strong light, followed by its trail. We saw it falling over the tops of the palace roofs (695), and plunging brightly into the forests of Ida, marking our way. Then, over all its long path, its track gave light and far about the area smoked with sulphur. Now my father was indeed convinced and raised himself up to the skies, addressed the gods, and did homage to the holy star (700): "Now, now there is no delay; I follow, I am at hand where you lead. Gods of my country, preserve my home, preserve my grandson. To you this augury belongs, and upon your power does Troy depend. I obey, nor, my son, do I refuse to go as your companion."

He finished speaking, and now the fire was heard louder through the buildings (?) (705), and the blaze rolls the heat nearer. "So come on, my dear father. Get yourself up on to my neck; I will put my shoulders under you, and that labour will not wear me down. In whichever way things turn out, there is but one shared danger. For us two, there will be but a single deliverance. Let little Iulus (710) accompany me, and let my wife take note of my route at a distance. You servants, apply your minds to what I shall say. As you leave the city, there is a mound, and an old, disused temple of Ceres, and next to it, a venerable cypress, preserved for many years by our forbears' awe (715). To this single rendezvous we will come by varied routes. Do you, my father, take firm hold of the sacred objects and ancestral penates. For me to handle them, fresh as I am out of so great a battle and its recent slaughter, it is prohibited, until I have washed myself down in running water" (720).

haec fatus latos umeros subiectaque colla
 ueste super fuluique insternor pelle leonis,
 succedoque oneri; dextrae se paruuus Iulus
 implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis;
 pone subit coniunx. ferimur per opaca locorum,
 et me, quem dudum non ulla iniecta mouebant
 tela neque aduerso glomerati ex agmine Grai,
 nunc omnes terrent aurae, sonus excitat omnis
 suspensum et pariter comitique onerique timentem
 iamque propinquabam portis omnemque uidebar
 euasisse uiiam, subito cum creber ad auris
 uisus adesse pedum sonitus, genitorque per umbram
 prospiciens “nate,” exclamat, “fuge, nate; propinquant.
 ardantis clipeos atque aera micantia cerno.”
 hic mihi nescio quod trepido male numen amicum
 confusam eripuit mentem. namque auia cursu
 dum sequor et nota excedo regione uiarum,
 heu misero coniunx fatone erepta Creusa
 substitit, errauitne uia seu lassa resedit,
 incertum; nec post oculis est reddita nostris.
 nec prius amissam respexi animumue reflexi
 quam tumulum antiquae Cereris sedemque sacratam
 uenimus: hic demum collectis omnibus una
 defuit, et comites natumque uirumque feffellit.
 quem non incusaui amens hominumque deorumque,
 aut quid in euersa uidi crudelius urbe?
 Ascanium Anchisenque patrem Teucrosque penatis
 commendo sociis et curua ualle recondo;
 ipse urbem repeto et cingor fulgentibus armis.
 stat casus renouare omnis omnemque reuerti
 per Troiam et rursus caput obiectare periclis.
 principio muros obscuraque limina portae,
 qua gressum extuleram, repeto et uestigia retro
 obseruata sequor per noctem et lumine lustro:
 horror ubique animo, simul ipsa silentia terrent.
 inde domum, si forte pedem, si forte tulisset,
 me refero: inruerant Danai et tectum omne tenebant.
 illicet ignis edax summa ad fastigia uento
 uoluit; exsuperant flammae, furit aestus ad auras.
 procedo et Priami sedes arcemque reuiso:
T
725
730
735
T
740
T
745
T
750
755
760

When I had said this, I spread over my broad shoulders and over the neck I set below my father a covering of the skin of a tawny lion, and I take up the burden. Little Iulus grasps closely my right hand and follows his father with unequal paces. My wife comes on behind. We move through the darkest areas (725), and I, whom no flying spears, no Greeks massed from some opposing unit used once to bother, every breath of air now alarms, every sound agitates in my uncertainty, as I fear alike for my companion and for my burden. Now I was drawing near the gates, and thought I had covered the whole distance (730), when I thought the sound of many feet reached my ears, and my father, looking out through the darkness, exclaimed: "My son, flee, my son. They are close at hand. I see their flaming shields and the flicker of their bronze armour". At this moment, some unkind spirit (735) swept my mind into confusion in my panic. For as I went at a run through an area without paths, and diverged from the familiar route, alas, what befell poor me, whether my wife Creusa was swept off by fate as she stopped, or strayed from the path, or sat down exhausted, it is not clear, nor did she again appear before my eyes (740). I did not look back to see she was lost, nor did I give her thought before we reached the old mound and hallowed sanctuary of Ceres. Here at last we all gathered; she alone was absent and disappointed companions, son and husband. What man, what god did I not accuse in my madness (745)? What sight more cruel did I see in the overthrown city? I entrust Ascanius, my father Anchises and the penates of Troy to my companions and conceal them in a curving valley. For myself, I don gleaming armour, and make for the city. I am determined to face anew all those perils and to return right through Troy (750) and once more to set my life in danger's path. First, I return to the walls and the dark threshold of the gate through which I had gone out and I follow back the track I had marked through the dark, and with my eyes I search. Everywhere, my heart is struck with horror; the very silence terrifies me (755). From there, I make my way home, if only she, if only she has directed her steps there. The Greeks had burst in, and were occupying the whole building. Worst of all, a devouring fire is rolled up to the highest rooftrees by the wind; the flames leap above them and the blaze rages to the skies. I go on, and return to Priam's seat on the citadel (760).

et iam porticibus uacuis Iunonis asylo
custodes lecti Phoenix et dirus Vlices
praedam adserabant. *huc undique Troia gaza*
incensis erepta adytis, mensaeque deorum
crateresque auro solidi, captiuaque uestis 765
congeritur pueri et pauidae longo ordine matres
stant circum.

ausus quin etiam uoces iactare per umbram
impleui clamore uias, maestusque Creusam
nequiquam ingeminans iterumque iterumque uocauit. 770 **T**

quaerenti et tectis urbis sine fine ruenti
infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae
uisa mihi ante oculos et nota maior imago.
obstipui, steteruntque comae et uox faucibus haesit.

tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis: 775 **T**
quid tantum insano iuuat indulgere dolori,
o dulcis coniunx? non haec sine numine diuum
eueniunt; nec te comitem hinc portare Creusam
fas, aut ille sinit superi regnator Olympi. **T**

longa tibi exilia et uastum maris aequor arandum, 780 **O**
et terram Hesperiam uenies, ubi Lydius arua
inter opima uirum leni fluit agmine Thybris.
illuc res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx **PP**
parta tibi. lacrimas dilectae pelle Creusae;
non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumue superbas 785
aspiciam aut Grais seruitum matribus ibo,
Dardanis et diuae Veneris nurus;
sed me magna deum genetrix his detinet oris.
iamque uale et nati serua communis amorem.”

haec ubi dicta dedit, lacrimantem et multa uolentem 790
dicere deseruit, tenuisque recessit in auras.
ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum;
ter frustra compresa manus effugit imago,
par leuibus uentis uolucriue simillima somno.
sic demum socios consumpta nocte reuiso. 795

Atque hic ingentem comitum adfluxisse nouorum
inuenio admirans numerum, matresque uirosque,
collectam exilio pubem, miserabile uulgs. **O**
undique conuenere animis opibusque parati
in quascumque uelim pelago deducere terras. 800

By now, in the empty colonnades of Juno's temple, the chosen custodians, Phoenix and savage Ulysses, were guarding the booty. From everywhere, the treasure of Troy was heaped up here, torn from its blazing sanctuaries, tables of the gods, mixing-bowls of solid gold, seized garments (765). Children and their fearful mothers stand about in long lines. I even ventured to cast my voice through the darkness and filled the streets with my shouting, in my wretchedness repeating "Creusa" to no avail as I called on her over and over again (770). As I sought her and rushed endlessly amid the city's buildings, the tragic wraith and spectre of Creusa herself appeared before my eyes, a ghost larger than the Creusa I knew. I was astonished; my hair stood on end, and my voice stuck in my throat. Then she spoke, and with these words away my cares (775): "Why are you so keen to indulge in crazed grief, my dear husband? These things do not occur without divine authority. It is not fated (?) for you to carry hence Creusa as your companion, nor does the ruler of lofty Olympus, up *there*, allow it. Yours is a long exile, yours the waste of ocean's surface to plough (780), and you will come to the land of Hesperia, where the Lydian Tiber, between the inhabitants' fertile meadows, flows with a gentle advance. There you will secure prosperous circumstances, a realm, and a royal wife. Set aside tears for your beloved Creusa. I shall not set eyes on the haughty seats of Myrmidons or Dolopians (785), nor shall I go to serve the mothers of the Greeks, I who am a descendant of Dardanus, and daughter-in-law of the goddess Venus. But the Great Mother of the Gods keeps me safe in these lands. Now, farewell, and do you preserve the love of our common son," When she had uttered these words, she parted from me, as I wept and (790) wanted to say more, and went off into the intangible airs. Three times I tried to put my arms about her neck and three times her wraith, though embraced to no avail, slipped through my hands like the insubstantial winds and very similar to a swift dream. It was thus that I finally saw again my comrades. as the night ended.

And now I find to my wonder that a great number of new companions had flowed together, both men and women, a force gathered for exile, a crowd deserving pity. They had come together from all quarters, ready with means and will to follow into whatever lands I might wish to conduct them over the sea (800).

iamque iugis summae surgebat Lucifer Idae
ducebatque diem, Danaique obsessa tenebant
limina portarum, nec spes opis ulla dabatur.
cessi et sublato montis genitore petiui.

T

Now the Dawn-star was rising from the ridges at the top of Ida and was bringing the day. The Danaans were holding the entrances of the gates under guard and no hope of succour was offered. I gave way, picked up my father and made for the mountain.

COMMENTARY

1–13 Proemium Lines of unforgettable majesty and density: the book-end is employed as intensification of the drama, and (for the first word is perhaps identifiably dramatic in associations) the tragedy of Troy's fall bursts upon a silent, expectant theatre. The books are very closely linked, thematically, involving not only the end of bk.1 (**10 casus, 12 quamquam animus**) but Aen.'s opening words to his mother (1.372f. *si prima repetens ab origine pergam/ et uacet annalis nostrorum audire laborum;* vd. 11) and the pictures in Juno's temple (**1 conticuere, 7 aut duri**). In this introduction to his *Iliou Persis*, V. has in mind the language and setting used of Demodocus and of Od. himself among the Phaeacians (*passim*; Fernandelli, 95–9, Salvatore, 42, Knauer, *cit.*), but above all tragedy, given the hushed and expectant audience (**1**), the narrative viewpoint of the defeated Trojans during the Sack here introduced, and the links observed with the commonplaces both of the messenger-speech (cf. **5 ipse...uidi, 13 incipiam**), and of the ‘topoi trenodici’ (5 *cit.*). A case has been made, energetically, for the use of Aesch.*Persae* (Ussani, Scafoglio); that did not convince Wigodsky, 95 (use of tragic commonplaces) and I note that at 7.641–817 (introduction, end of §i), I too had searched in vain for a decisive verbal parallel, though use seemed likely. AR and Enn. seem here of little or no moment (**1 conticuere omnes, intentique ora tenebant**). Oddly enough, the proem. is ignored almost *in toto* by two acute readers, E.L. Harrison, *ANRW* 2.31.1, 360f. and Heinze himself (p.4). See rather Cartault, 173–5, Clausen, *VA*, 58ff., Knauer, 154, 170f., 171, n.2, Laird, 199ff., Salvatore 40–3, A. Deremetz, *REL* 78 (2000), 76ff., *id.*, *Entr.Hardt* 47(2001), 143ff., M. Fernandelli, *MD* 42(1999), 95ff., W. Moskalew, *CQ* 30(1980), 275ff., G. Scafoglio, *Ant.Class.* 70 (2001), 71ff. (largely after V. Ussani, *Maia* 3(1950), 237ff.).

1 conticuere omnes Written at least 16x on the walls of Pompeii, *quinquies* in the Roman Basilica degli Argentari and once at Dura, Suessa Aurunca and Silchester respectively (Hoogma, 236f.; add *CIL* 4.10096(b), M. Gigante, *Civiltà delle forme letterarie...* (Napoli 1979), 172,

Heikki Solin, *EV* 2, 333, M. Massaro, *Aion* 4–5(1982–3), 205); see too *Companion*, 253. Perhaps not just the long-remembered first line of an often-read schoolbook but also treasured as the opening of the best story the scribblers had ever read or heard. Cf. Aug.*Conf.*1.13.21f., *Companion*, 251, in confirmation of a personal impression. The verb (cf. Licinia Ricottilli, *EV* 5*, 11, *Gesto e parola*, 170f., Gudeman, *TLL* 4.696.1ff.) taken up in ring-composition, but of Aen. himself, at the end of his tale, 3.718 *conticuit tandem factoque hic fine quieuit* (where vd. n.); in itself, conventional in comedy and prose for ‘fall silent’ (of orators, musicians, etc.) and perhaps first in high poetry in *Aen.2* and 3 (for the ending in *-ere*, cf. *EV* 4, 22), where it is exalted as reworking of Hom. (16x) οἱ δὲ ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῆ: that formula twice of the Phaeacians in Od.’s presence (7.154, 8.234; note also 1.325f., 339f., Laird, 200, n.89). The silence at AR 1.513ff. is hardly pertinent (*pace* Fernandelli, 99, Salvatore, 41) and Nelis makes no claims for it. But we might wish to recall also Plautine *sileteque et tacete atque animum aduortite* (*Poen.3*, *ex ea tragoeadia*; cf. *Trin.22 adeste cum silentio*, *Ter. Heaut.36*, *Eun.44*, *Phor.30*, *Hec.29*, 43, 55), a behest reinforced by the *praeco* (*Plaut. Asin.4*, *Poen.11*, K. Schneider, PW 22.1.1196.54ff., E. Saglio, DS 4.1, 610). So too the *praeco* before a trial (Apul. *Met.3.2*, Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, 916, n.1) or public ritual act (Schneider, *ib.*, 4ff., Appel, 187f.). So possibly the itinerant *fabulator* likewise (cf. his call for money, *Plin. Ep.2.20.1*). Aeneas’ tale is thus exalted to the level of a dramatic performance, even a tragedy, with perhaps a further touch of the old epic courtesy. His public’s expectation is ours too; the conductor’s baton is raised and the auditorium is at last hushed. As well Dido’s guests might, after the racket they had been making, 1.725, 740, 747 (TCD; less fully Serv.). For this universal reaction, cf. *G.4.350f. omnes/obstipuere*, *Aen.2.130*, 5.71. A silence due to the speaker, the hostess, the tale; familiarity with the pictures in Juno’s temple (where Aen.’s reaction, 1.464f., lends weight to his deep-felt reluctance here) might be thought to raise the Carthaginians’ expectations.

intentique ora tenebant The sense here is tricky: Serv. is undecided between *ora intuebantur loquentis* and *immobiles uultus habebant*, while TCD paraphrases lamely *desiderio ducebantur audiendi*. Twelve pages of (misguided) discussion in Henry (carefully answered by Ussani) and a real question of style, too. Ennius is irrelevant, *pace* e.g. Paratore *ad loc.*, Salvatore, 41, though he was once thought not to be (vd. Skutsch on *Ann.82*). Clearly these words complement the first half of the v. and **i.** is the key to any solution; cf. nn. on 7.251 *intentos uoluens oculos*,

3.716f. *sic pater Aeneas intentis omnibus unus/ fata renarrabat*. The material collected there, by Otto, 250 and by Nielsen, *TLL* 7.1.2118.15ff. (Lobe, 98 disappoints) shows that *intenti oculi* is a stock, indeed a proverbial expression (vd. *ut aiunt*, *Cic.Flacc.26*); here; cf. Tosi, n°1733 for the latent metaphor. In one sense, the adjective (cf. *G.4.483 tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora*, 8.520 *defixique ora tenebant*, 11.121 *conuersique oculos inter se atque ora tenebant*) is simply transferred (enallage), in another, *intenti*, naturally part of the object, has become the subject (hypallage); the figures have always been intertwined. ‘Ornate’ remarks Heyne, who naturally grasps the force of the expression. For *tenere* thus with a predic. adj., cf. *OLD* s.v., §20a citing e.g. *Liv.2.18.11 tacitae induitiae quietum annum tenuere*, n. on 7.249f. *defixa.../...tenet ora*, and 6.469 *illa solo fixos oculos auersa tenebat*. Note too **802f. obsessa tenebant/ limina portarum.** Silence is concentrated in the gaze of all present (Trojans, Tyrians), fixed upon Aen.; an anticipatory, unexpressed comment by the audience (cf. L. Ricottilli, *MD* 28(1992), 20f. and n. on 7.250). Quiet fell suddenly (pf.), while the concentrated looks were maintained (impf.): a strong contrast to the riotous evening with which bk.1 ended. *Ora tenere*, to keep the mouth (shut) is good Latin (*G.4.483* indeed) but would here represent profitless duplication of **conticuere**. The sense of *conuersa/-i*, said to be implicit in **intenti** here (Serv., Forbiger, Page), seems absent from *TLL*: ‘stretched’, yes (Nielsen, 2113.25ff); ‘turned’, apparently not. Note the assonance of **intenti** and **tenebant**.

2 inde ‘De tempore et ordine’, Rehm, *TLL* 7.1.1112.40; current in high poetry.

toro...ab alto Note the guests at this banquet do consistently recline: 1.697, 708, cf. 1.79, 3.224 (with n.), Lersch, 258, as against the old Homeric/Roman sitting of 7.176, (where vd. n.; cf. Marquardt-Mau₂, 300, E. Saglio, DS 1.2, 1271). Given V.’s interest (vd. 7, *cit.*) in Varro’s discussion of Rom. usage on this point (cf. *Varr.de gente*, fr.37 with Fraccaro, *Studi Varroniani* (Padova 1907), 225 and *de uita* fr.30a, with Riposati, 140), it may well be that he has in mind the probably oriental character and origins of the habit of reclining (appropriate, therefore, for Tyrians, and their colonists); sitting survived in Crete and Sparta (*Varr. cit.*, K. Schneider, PW 14.1.526. 17ff.) and the conflict of usage aroused much ethnographic curiosity. T. the swelling of a muscle, whence the swell of well-padded upholstery, and finally (so already *Varr.LL* 5.167) the bed or divan (vd. e.g. EM s.v.). The epithet altogether conventional, but in keeping with the magnificence of the

occasion and the status of the expected speaker; *altus a toro* (Speranza) by no means excluded. V. has, as Serv. remarks, already dwelt on the splendours of Carthaginian upholstery, 1.639, 697.

pater Aeneas To be taken up, 3.716. See n. on 11.184; here V. makes the point that Aen. flees from Troy and wanders the Mediterranean as the father of his people and of the *gens Iulia*; his narrative will stand (though it is not so understood yet) as a statement of account. A minimalist representation of the scene in R's illustration, f.100^r: vd. the fine colour plate, *EV* 2, tav.XXI:

sic orsus Cf. 1.325 *Veneris contra sic filius orsus*, 12.806 *sic Iuppiter orsus*, 9.656 *sic orsus Apollo* (at close); *ita exorsus* opening speech, Cic.*Acad.*1.15; cf. Bohnenkamp, *TLL* 9.2.948.56. The omission of *est* fully discussed by Austin here (add n. on 11.378 with further bibl.).

3 infandum...dolorem So Od. replies to Arete, 7.241f. ἀργαλέον, βασίλεια, διηνεκέως ἀγορεῦσαι/ κήδε (so already Macr.5.5.2); compare also (Knauer, etc.) *Od.*9.12f., Od. to Alcinous, on the latter's determination to ask him of his κήδεα... στονόεντα, to induce more tears and grief (cf. Fernandelli, 105); vd. too Pind.*Isth.*7.37 πένθος οὐ φατόν. Laird, 202 senses a reference to *Il.*1.1f. μῆνιν...οὐλομένην, not quite convincingly. The adj. 18x in V.; in Acc.*trag.*131 and, most interestingly, Varius, *trag.*1 (so lofty enough for the *Thyestes* in the victory games of 29): apparently a distinctively tragic term, absent from Cat., Lucr., Hor. and the elegists (*semel* in *Ibis*), missed by Cordier and the *EV*. The verse enclosed by adj. (a molossus) and noun: all prominence given to the weight of grief. **D.:** cf. **2.776** (*d.* at loss of Creusa, 1.209, of Aen.'s comrades); *EV* 2, 121f.; found 'per totam Latinitatem'.

regina A common Homeric courtesy (here, clearly, note Od. to Arete, *supra*; in 'real life', *r.* of late a distasteful honorific at Rome, Woodman on Vell.2.84.2), continuing the sequence of spondees.

iubes Taking up Dido's *immo age et a prima dic, hospes, origine nobis...* at 1.753ff.. Not 'order' so much as 'wish, desire'; Aen. shows all due regard to his royal hostess (*bene*, Iacoangeli, *EV* 3, 58).

renouare Semel in Acc.*trag.*, *bis* in Lucr., Cat.96.3, ignored by Nosarti, *EV* 3, 770. The notion of grief renewed in the telling or recollection peculiarly Homeric; *bis* above and cf. also *Od.*4.183ff. (the reaction to Menelaus' words), 12.309, 19.117f. with Soph.*Oed. Col.*361ff., 510f., Eur.*Orest.*14 τί τάρροητ' ἀναμετρήσασθαί με δεῖ; Ussani, 239f., Fernandelli, 106f..

4 Troianas...opes Another verse opens with a sombre molossus; the adj. in studied antithesis, as often, to the postponed subject of the sentence, **Danai** (cf., for opposed names, nn. on 3.171, 418, 7.547, 11.592). **O.**: cf. **603 has...opes**, 3.53 *opes fractae Teucrum* (with n.) refers equally to power, wealth, resources (as **803**; unhelpful distinctions, *EV* 3, 861); of course Troy had been fabulously rich (1.119, **2.763**, etc.) but the sense should not be thus limited here. **O.** and **regnum** equally imprecise and the strong contrast between them claimed at *EV*, *cit.* quite escapes me.

ut The Homeric ως; invaluable in the loosened syntax of the Virgilian hexameter. No preceding verb explicitly of speaking, but speech is implicit in Aen.'s readiness to accede to Dido's desire: cf. **121**, 3.145, Bennett, 1, 318. An earlier generation of editors tried to restore order by overpunctuation; Henry 2, 13 for details.

et lamentabile regnum In the sense of *lamentandus*, as Serv., Hübner note, *TLL* 7.2.901.63 (cf. nn. on 7.564, 764). The adj. (which is perhaps to be thought of as used proleptically; so Wainwright) used by Cic., and then Liv.3.47.6, of *comploratio*, possibly V.'s source, or a hint that the adj. might have occurred in early epic; ignored by Cordier. An alternative to the (apparently coined) *lamentabilis* (clearly Homeric in inspiration -δακρυόεις-, but only used twice; cf. n. on 7.604). **R.** as often in a general sense of 'realm' or 'nation': cf. Pomathios, 174, Venturini, *EV* 4, 467.

5 eruerint Danai For **D.**, cf. n. on 3.87, V.'s commonest word for 'Greeks' (but rare in Hom.). For the postponed subj., cf. nn. on 3.139ff, 379, 650, 7.635, 11.73, 166f, Marouzeau, *TSL*, 331f.. The (very strong) verb dear to V.: in Cat.64, but not Lucr. and not provably tragic (n. on 11.279).

quaeque.../ 6 et quorum For **-que...et**, cf. on 7.458 (high and archaic); the two relatives are reminiscent of those so often found in epic and historical prooemia (n. on 7.37): Aen. is here after all introducing his own narrative. Austin well refers to 'loose apposition to the **ut**-clause'. Cf. H. Herter, *WS* 16(1982), 238f..

ipse...uidi *Est enim poena et in atrocitate spectaculi* Serv.Dan (Ussani here adduces Donatus on Ter.*Ad.3.1.3*, who cites this v. to illustrate that *uidere* and *pati* are the means by which we are *experientes scientesque rerum*).The change from subj. to indic. does not escape Jackson and Wainwright: Dido has asked Aen. to tell her the destruction the Greeks have wrought (naturally subj.) and Aen. as speaker comments that

the details of that tragedy he saw, in person (**ipse**), as a participant (**quorum p.m. fui**). Autopsy a keynote of the narrative to follow (**347, 499, 561, 746**) and a clear inheritance (cf. Ussani (3), 243 and comm., xxix, n.2 (*bene*), Scafoglio, 70f., *id.*, *Vichiana* 4.3.2(2001), 196, etc.) from the Greek tragic messenger's speech (cf. Aesch.*Pers.*266, Soph.*Ant.*1192, *Aj.*748, Eur.*IA* 1607, and see too *Tro.*481ff., *Med.*653f., with Page's ample n.). Note Fernandelli 104, n.29 (with good bibl.) on V.'s series of 'topoi trenodici'. Autopsy also, of course, often a vaunt of the historian, L. Morgan, *JRS* 90(2000), 55, J. Marincola, *Authority and tradition in ancient historiography* (Cambridge 1997), 63ff.; cf. further on **499, 554–8**.

miserrima Only some 15x in bk.2; hardly overworked, and perhaps to be thought of as actively thematic in its distribution, like *maestus* in bk.11 (n. on v.26). Cf. *EV* 3, 546ff..

6 pars magna fui Cf. n. on 11.289, *Alambicco*, 85, *Vergilius* 32(1986), 17 for V.'s discreet struggles to raise Aen. above his Homeric standing as a warrior. But here Aen.'s words are not simply a reflexion of his recognised status (even at Carthage, 1.488) as a Trojan hero of substance and consequence (Cartault, 175 misses the point, loudly); he is a *pars magna* specifically of the *miserrima* of Troy's fall, notably in the loss of kin (Priam, Hector, etc.), country and Creusa (TCD writes *uxorem quoque amisit et patrem*, inexplicably) and in the perils to which he has had to expose father and son; Perret adds, his failure to halt the sack, and his (unwilling) success in escaping. Cf. G.2.40 *o famae merito pars maxima nostrae*, 10.427 (Lausus) *pars ingens belli*, 737 *pars belli haud temnenda*, Ov. *AA* 1.170, *Trist.*2.58, Courtney on *Carm.bell. Act.*25, Harrison on 10, *cit.*, Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1. 466.29ff., Witlox on *Cons.Liv.*39: though *pars* used of an individual does occur in encomiastic contexts (Harrison, with further refs.), many instances (vd. Witlox, Courtney, Tessmer) have clearly nothing to do with encomium, which would hardly be a welcome element in the tone here.

quis.../ 7 Myrmidonum Dolopumue Cf. 6.341 *quis...deorum...?* The Dolopians a scrap of geogr. ostentation by V. (but a name he liked, **29, 415, 785**, where they are again paired with Myrmidons); in Hom. only mentioned at *Illiad* 9.484 (Phoenix appointed ruler by Peleus; vd. Hainsworth). Might they have been more prominent in the *Cycle*? In trag. only as the title of a miserably preserved Soph. play (contrast Myrmidons, *infra*). But their location in SW Thessaly is clear (Barrington map 55, 2BC). The Dolopes were also understood as the followers of Pyrrhus from Scyros: see Stat.*Ach.*1.

777, Serv. here, Wulff, *TLL* 3.Onom.209.80ff. (with, already, Thuc. 1.98.2, Nep.*Cim.*2.5, Plut.*Cim.*8.3, DS 11.60.2). Their name still carried some echo for Pind.fr.inc.183.1, and their role in the war exercised Strab.9.5.5: see J. Miller, PW 5.1289.47ff., H. Thomas and F.H. Stubbings, in Wace and Stubbings, *Companion to Homer* (London 1963), 297 (with Page, *Hist.Hom.II.*, 126), *EV* 2, 121, H. Kramolisch, *NP* 3, 736, and N. Boncasa, *PECS*, 846, A. Külzer, *NP* 11, 643 (Scyros). Mildly learned metonymy for ‘subjects of Achilles’; they will recur, 252. Myrmidons are much more obvious followers of Achilles, perhaps from the Spercheios valley: cf. *Il.*2.684 (and common elsewhere in *Il.*), Thomas and Stubbings, 296, J. Schmidt, PW 16.1108.53ff., *EV* 3, 548f., H. Kramolisch, *NP* 8, 599: an admirably resonant name, given their presence on stage from Aesch. (a dozen times in the fragments), via Eur.*IA* and Enn.(*trag.*162) to Accius (Ribbeck, p.137).

talia fando For Aen. the story positively *infandum*; even for a Greek, matter for tears. The abl. of the gerund is probably temporal (Ussani, Görler, *EV* 2, 271) or modal (Austin, LHS, 379, KS 1, 753), used almost as a nom.pres.part. might be. A favourite with Livy (Riemann, *Synt. de T.L.*, 308f.). The idiom is indeed colloquial (Görler), but see also Ernout-Thomas, 267, F. Muecke, *Enc.Oraz.*, 2, 767, H. Tränkle, *Sprachkunst des Properz*, 14f. who cites instances from Enn. (cf. Skutsch on *Ann.*394), Lucr. (cf. Bailey, 1, 104), Hor., Prop., Ov.—and, amply, from V.(81 (not identical), 361, 3.671, etc.; see further, Antoine, 183ff.). *Talia fatur formulaic* (12x) for V; here, a sort of back-formation.

7 aut duri miles Vlixi M. collective sing; cf. nn. on 3.400, 11.516. The *saeui...Vlixi* of 3.273 (where vd. n.; add R. Villers, *REL* 54(1976), 214ff., A. Setaioli, in (ed.) M. Rossi Cittadini, *Presenze classiche nelle letterature occidentali* (Perugia 1995), 167–86, at 174, G.K. Galinsky, *ANRW* 2.31.2(1981), 1001–4, W.B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme* (Oxford 1963), 131–7); for V., *durus* can be approving (n. on 7.747; *EV* 2, 153f. poor); not here, though (where an approving rendering of πολύτλαξ would be untimely). *D.* of a ‘hard’ warrior seems slightly uncommon; cf. 10.317, 422; Serv., though, compares 10.44f, used by Venus of Juno. But by the end of bk.3 a profound alteration of sympathy will already be under way (vd. full n. on 3.613). Achilles’ own contingent(s) from the Siege and a leading warrior of the Sack are thus joined. Here already, though, V. launches the grand idea that ‘humanity has leaped the trenches’ (n. on 11.259); perhaps anticipated already by the Carthaginian *lacrimae*

for Troy in Juno's temple. Just as Diom. can conceive the notion that Priam might pity the misadventures of the returning Greeks, so already, at this very early stage in the poem, Aen. advances the idea that some sufferings, some loss might move his recent adversaries, even those most bloothirsty and bloodstained. The sequence **-ue...aut** seems a Virgilian innovation (Lucr.3.616 *aut...-ue*), from G.1. 92f., Aen.1.369 on (use of PHI will reveal a full list to the curious); vd. Vollmer, *TLL* 2.1570. 75ff., *EV* 2, 106, Wagner, *QV* xxxvi, §11. At much the same time, Hor.C.1.7.1ff. and cf. Vollmer 1571.56ff. for *aut...-ue* in Liv.'s first decade. The gen. **Vlixi** 'sine ratione' in good ancient authors, complain NW 1, 508; the only form of the gen., indeed, in V.: cf. Holzweissig, 497, Leumann, 447, Görler, *EV* 2, 264. For the Lat. form 'Ulixes' itself, cf. Leumann, 156,180, WH s.v.; Ibucus fr.305PMG and Plut.*Marc.*20.4 (Crete) are not far different. The interpretation here attributed to 'Pollio' (cf. Fraenkel, *Kl.B.* 2, 362) by Serv. (and found in TCD) is the height of folly (cf. n. on 3.614); *caret ratione* remarks Serv., equably. The grammarian Sacerdos, *Gramm.Lat.*6.467.26f., discussing periphrasis, proposes (improbably enough) that V. may be referring to Ulysses himself; certainly the *miles* may be though to share in U.'s personal epithet, just as Myrmidons naturally suggest *immitis Achilles*, and Dolopians the peculiarly brutal Pyrrhus (Ussani), but that is not what Sacerdos asserts. Moskalew (275) suggests that we are invited to think of Od.'s own tears at *Od.*8.521f., but the rhetorical movement of the line is in a different direction.

8 temperet a lacrimis Cf. G.1.360 *sibi tum a curuis male temperat unda carinis*, as here, 'refrain from'; the vb. used elsewhere in V. in the equally common sense of 'restrain, placate'. Used by Enn.*trag.*(59f. *puerum primus Priamo qui foret/ postilla natus temperaret tollere* (recognising the birth of the disastrous Paris); also with *quin*, *quominus*, *ne*. Male tears are common, in both Homeric and Roman contexts, n. on 11.29. The sentiment impeccably Euripidean, Eur.*Aeol.*fr.33.2Kannicht, *Hec.*296ff., *Ion* 246f. with Fernandelli, 102f.

et iam Not here as transitional (n. on 11.139, Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.108.42ff., Hand 3, 147f.); rather, cf. *Buc.*1.82 *et iam summa procul uillarum culmina fumant*, *G.*2.542, *Aen.*4.584, *Ov.Met.*6.242. 'A statement about the narrator's real situation' (Görler).

nox umida Cf. n. on 11.201 (the association of moon and dew): the epithet is conventional, but rooted in meteorological theory. V. begins to deploy the soft dark u.

caelo/ 9 praecipitat It is odd that Knauer and the commentators do not cite Hom. δρώρει ('rushed') δ' οὐρανόθεν νύξ (*Od.*12.315, etc.; cf. n. on 3.589), V.'s evident model here (which ought to have been enough to rule out the interpretation of the abl. in e.g. Page as 'of extension', though *caelo* is so used elsewhere, Malosti, 89). Night's swift progress accelerated by the run-on verb. The intr. sense of the verb of exceptionally distinguished poet. ancestry, Adkin, *TLL* 10.2.465.3ff. (*tacent EV*, Cordier; of night already in Cato fr. inc 17 Jordan): Pacuv.*trag.*414, Valer.*Aedit.*fr.2.4, *sexies* Lucr., Cic.*Arat.*, *bis*; possibly some tragic flavour remained.

suadentque...somnos Two further patterns now enter this wonderfully complex play of sound, allit. of s and assonance of -ent-...-ent-: V. will re-use these four words at 4.81 (vd. Moskalew, 162, n.61) and Ov. will borrow gratefully, *F.* 2.635. The use of *suadere* wonderfully evocative and apparently an invention, perhaps provoked by a recollection of *Buc.*1.55 *somnum suadet inire* or even by Meleager's use of the phr. παραμύθιον ὑπνου of a lamp (GP, *HE* 4058). Noun replaces verb, too: Bell, 158 comparing e.g. 4.293 *temptaturum aditus*. The rhythm too glides into slumber: Greek caesura at 3tr., word-end at 1½, and words of declining length, as Pease remarked on 4.81. To Austin's ample discussion of plur. **s.** (here as 'a means of comfort or enjoyment'), add now (in general) E. Krägerud, *EV* 4, 149ff., Lunelli-Kroll, 26f., Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 84ff.

cadentia sidera Cf. Cic.*Arat.*464, Lucr.2.209, Prop.4.4.64, Hoppe, *TLL* 3.19.58ff.; cf. the *natantia lumina* of 5.856 (the rhythms of 10.418 and 463 are less 'interesting'). Dido had begun a long interrogation at 1.748f. (*noctem...trahebat*) and there is a sense of time having passed since then. The setting stars as a sign for the passage of time and the need for sleep: cf. TCD, Serv., Serv.Dan. here, *Od.* 11.330f., 379ff. (*Od.* to Alcinous, a time for talk and a time for sleep; no stars. Knauer, 154), 12.312, 14.483, *Il.*10.251ff. (the passage of the stars during the night) and Heyne, excursus II to bk.2.

10 sed si Used at G.4.281 (as though part of an ascending series; vd. Mynors); perhaps surprisingly not Lucretian. So Od. to Alcinous: there is a time for sleep, εἰ δ' ἔτ' ἀκουέμεναι γε λιλαίεαι (11.380), I will tell you the sadder part.

tantus amor Cf. 6.133f. *si tantus amor menti, si tanta cupido est/ bis Stygios innare lacus*, 11.323 *considant, si tantus amor*, Vollmer, *TLL* 1.1969.83ff., Fedeli, *EV* 1, 144. The use of infin. after noun extremely Virgilian,

Görler, *EV* 2, 271, LHS, 351, R.G.C. Coleman, *ALLP*, 83, etc.; on Serv.'s remark that this is a *Graeca figura*, cf. R.G. Mayer, *ib.*, 175. More important (cf. Cartault, 210, n.2) is that, after the *longum ...amorem* of 1.749, Dido's *amor* cannot be exclusively in the pursuit of historical information; Aen. has not here grasped the development of the queen's passion (Clausen, *THP*, 46, von Albrecht (p.xv), 113). Even *Aen.2–3* will not be enough; vd. 4.78 *infra* for D.'s further longing to hear of *Iliacos...labores*.

casus...nostros Cf. G.4.251f. *si uero, quoniam casus apibus quoque nos-tros/ uita tulit*; see *EV* 1, 598, Pomathios, 341. V. now inverts Dido's request for a full narrative of *insidias...Danaum casusque tuorum/ erroresque tuos* (1.754f.); here Aen. refers first to his 'Odyssey', then to his *Iliou Persis*; the *Iliad* had been covered in the shorter questions of 1.750–2. Cf. Deremetz 2001, 157ff.

cognoscere Compare 3.299 *casus cognoscere tantos*, probably earlier than this line; a verb very dear to Lucr. (E. Kraggerud, *EV* 3, 766f.).

11 et breuiter Perhaps intended as a reversal of Od. to Arete, *Od.* 7.241f. ἀργαλέον, βασίλεια, διηνεκέως ἀγορεῦσαι/ κήδεα (cf. 11.379 πολέων μύθων, 12.56). For some, a bow to Alexandrian brevity (Cartault, 211, Ussani, 240, Salvatore, 42, Rossi, 50f., Deremetz 2000, 86f.), for others a hint at the selective brevity implied at Aesch.*Pers.*330, 513f. (Ussani, 241). The motives here explicitly assigned, fatigue and distress, are perhaps sufficient explanation, as TCD was already at pains to propose. Serv., with meritorious ingenuity, thinks V. looks back to Dido's request for a full narrative, right back to earliest causes (1.753; Hdt.1.1 has been compared, helpfully). See Laird, 203, n.98 (*bene*), Rossi (2002), 248.

Troiae supremum...laborem For the *labores* of Troy, vd. 1.10 *tot adire labores* (after 9 *tot uoluere casus*, Rieks, 70), 1.373 *et uacet annalis nostrorum audire laborum*, 597 *o sola infandos Troiae miserata labores*, 4.78f. *Iliacosque iterum demens audire labores/ exposcit*, 6.56 *grauis Troiae semper miseratae labores*, 9.202 *Troiaeque labores* (cf. too **2.284, 362** and next n. for *hearing* of them). next n., Lumpe, *TLL* 7.2. 790.76ff.; *labor* in *Aen.* not of interest to *EV*, but cf. nn. on 3.459, 714. For the adj., cf. 5.190 *Troiae sorte suprema*, 6.502f., 513 (*s. nox*), 10.59, *EV* 4, 1081.

audire Cf. 1.373, 4.78 *supra*. Note *Od.*8.578, Alcinous asks why Od. groans 'Αργείων Δαναῶν ἡδ' Ἰλίου οἴτον ἀκούων.

12 quamquam animus...horret The *animus* as often seat of sentiments, desire, will, intellectual activities (Negri, 147ff., n. on 3.505). For the infin., cf. Liv.28.29.4 *horret animus referre quid crediderint homines, quid sperauerint, quid optauerint*. Austin refers oddly to V.'s use here of a prose construction he has brought into epic: cf. however Cat.14.25f. *manusque uestras/ non horrebitis admouere nobis*, Ehlers, *TLL* 6.3.2981.23ff., LHS, 347. Note the contrast between Aeneas as narrator and the natural prompting of his *animus*, as was already sketched at **3 infandum...renouare dolorem** (Negri, 304f.). We might be tempted to see in the progression from Dido's questions to her request (1.750–6) and in the double statement of Aen.'s reluctance here, the unfolding of a prolonged (and linking) application of pressure, as the lamps burn on (1.727) and the stars set (9), Knauer, 154. Sen.*Ag.*417f. reworks the line with distinctive skill but it is not his *refugit loqui mens aegra* that drives us to take **meminisse** with both verbs here (vd. Con.); rather the natural structure of the Virgilian line.

meminisse Turyn, cited by Ussani, refers helpfully to the Homeric association of recollection and grief; see on **4 renouare**, Fernandelli, 104ff., Rossi, 52. The line's impact has long been clear: Plin.*Ep.*6.20.1 cites it in the introduction to his reply to Tac., who asks for an account of the death of his uncle, and it is echoed at both Quint.*decl.min.*270.29 and *CLE* 582.5. E. Henry, 130 well compares the pain of recollection for Androm. (3.301–44) and Deiphobus (6.513f.).

luctuque refugit Cf. Cic.*Phil.*14.9 *refugit animus, patres conscripti, eaque dicere reformidat*; good prose usage thus (*OLD* s.v., §4), but the vb. itself used in Enn.*trag.*, and much to V.'s taste (11x). It is extraordinary that many commentators persist in taking **1.** (*EV* 3, 279) as abl. of separation, without regard for the regular use of *luctus* (as of many other nouns expressing emotions) in just this abl. of cause or attendant circumstances. (11.231, 1.669, for a start; Antoine, 193f.), and as though Aen. were not already plunged in the deepest grief. The variation of tense is scarcely significant (on the 'perf. of state attained' often in proximity to a present, cf. LHS, 318), since the feelings conveyed are concurrent and interchangeable.

13 incipiam Cf. G.1.5 *hinc canere incipiam*, *Aen.*6.103 *incipit Aeneas heros*, 8.373, 10.5, 11.13, 705, 12.692, *EV* 1, 654. Ussani well compares the Homeric ἀλλ' ἐκ τοι ἐρέω and the messenger's δύως δ' ἀνάγκη πᾶν ἀναπτύξαι πάθος at Aesch. *Pers.* 254. No need for *tamen* here after *quamquam* (Serv.Dan., Sacerdos, *Gramm.lat.* 6.457.23ff.); Aen. has at last

overcome fatigue and reluctance. Austin compares the pause at 7.45 *maiis opus moueo* (again passage from proemium to narrative), but at 2½ the movement of thought and sound is less arresting, like Lucr.'s *disserrere incipiam* (1.55). Austin comments rightly 'the pause here is magnificent'; indeed here it is perceptibly *more* dramatic, because it comes a little unexpectedly, even abruptly (vd. G.1., *cit.*) at 1½, with the rest of the line left free for the great roll of narrative proper to begin. G. Highet, *HSCP* 78(1971), 210, defined this starting-point of a speech as 'excited', which is not a description sufficiently justified by the useful list of parallels he cites. Henry is right to protest that 'begin' is often an inappropriate rendering (Austin wisely followed) and 'undertake' might do better; Hofmann concurs (*TLL* 7.1.915.71f); Perret's 'j'essaierai' a welcome protest against the tyranny of the elementary dictionary.

13–39 The Trojan Horse QS 12.138ff. (vd. Gärtner, 175ff.) and Triph.57ff. (e.g.) offer detailed descriptions of the Horse; V. hints (cf. Ussani on 16, Putnam, 6) at ships and shipbuilding (Austin 1959, 23, M. Fernandelli, *Orpheus* 18(1997), 151f.: the Horse compared to a ship at e.g. Eur.*Tro*.539), at mountains, at rib-cages and flanks, at caverns, at all the timber of Ida, and at the language of house-building; he stirs our wonder and feeds our imagination, without exhausting our concentration. A selective account too, therefore, of the main issues and the recent bibliography.

(1) There is an old, intimate connexion between the stories of Palladium and Horse (Robert, Knight, Bremmer, Anderson (1997), 18–20, Faraone, 102–4).

(2) The connexion with Athene is also strong and original (Bremmer).

(3) In antiquity, the Horse was rationalised as an instrument of siege warfare (Plin.*Nat.*7.202, Paus.1.23.8, Agatharchides 7(95), Serv. on 15, after Hyg. and Tubero), and more recently she (for, when specified, she is often female, and pregnant: Au. on 20, 238 **feta**, Bremmer, 5, Jocelyn on Enn.*trag.fr.*xxvi, Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.*826, Fernandelli (1997), 147, H.G. Wackernagel, *TLL* 5.2.738.49ff. and vd. the orator Titius *infra*, 15 **equum**) has been compared with episodes of Near Eastern siege warfare (Jones, J.K. Anderson, Faraone, 96–7).

(4) Interpretation of Laoc.'s spear-cast (see 52) via the ritual of the *October equus* (Dumézil; then cf. E. Paratore, *Scritti...Brellich* (Bari 1982), 431ff., J. Rüpke, *Eranos* 91(1993), 126ff., W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Eng. tr., Berkeley 1983, 158ff.) seems to start from an insufficiently close analogy.

(5) 'The penetration of the labyrinthine walls of Troy by the horse is an image of heterosexual intercourse', T. Habinek, *The world of Roman song* (Baltimore 2005), 255. Greater experts than I (veterinary, perhaps) may wish to consider this view more intimately, especially given her frequently female gender, from Aesch. on (§3).

(6) For artistic representations, cf. Scherer, Sadurska, Anderson (1997); for narrative details, cf. Vellay, Robert. With Bremmer, I must decline to invoke late antique elaborations of the story (themselves coloured by *Aen.*) to explain the text of V.. Except for Serv.'s n. on 15: *ut alii, porta quam eis Antenor aperuit, equum pictum habuisse memoratur, uel certe Antenoris domus, quo posset agnoscit;* a trace of some learned lost explanation, or maybe no more than ingenious embroidery. The stages and details of V.'s introduction of the Horse are discussed individually; an hypothesis about his sources will emerge from this approach. For a general view, cf. Clausen, *V4*, 59–63, Zintzen, 28f., 50. See Robert, 1225ff., Vellay, 1, 289ff., Scherer, 110f., W.F.J. Knight, *CJ* 20(1924/5), 254ff., *CP*.25 (1930), 358ff., 26(1931), 412ff., *Vergil's Troy* (Oxford 1932), 105ff.[on Knight and the Horse, see now, severely, J.G. Frazer, *Letters* (ed. R. Ackerman, Oxford 2005), 416f.; my thanks to Prof. Bremmer], R.G. Austin, *JRS* 49(1959), 16ff., J.W. Jones, *CJ* 65(1969/70), 241ff., J.K. Anderson, *CJ*.66(1970/1), 22ff., J.N. Bremmer, *Museum Africum* 1(1972), 4ff., L. Bona Quaglia, *EV* 2, 354f., A. Sadurska, *LIMC* 3, 813ff. (s.v. *Equus Troianus*), C.A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan horses* (Oxford 1992), 94ff., Anderson (1997), 18ff., Gärtner, 166ff., Gantz 2, 641f..

13 fracti bello The narrative begins with spondaic pace, graced by mild alliteration and dignified by the arrangement of partics. and agents. Used of men, **f.** is part of the language of public life; much rarer as here of groups (*Cic.ad Brut.1.10, Att.14. 10.1*); of peoples or cities from Caes. *Gall.* 1.31.7; then *Liv.9.19.4, 39.42.1*, *Vell. 1. 12.1*, etc.. Cf. Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1. 1250. 34ff. at 55f.; *EV* s.v. inadequate. A sober, historical note might be intended.

fatisque repulsi A phrase rather harder that seems to have been realised. Serv. takes the *fata* to be oracles: possible Latin and the Greeks did indeed consult oracles (vd. 114) while the preconditions for Troy's fall existed as oracular warnings (166, 199f.), but that sense seems too narrowly specialised here. TCD refers more attractively to the *fatis consentientibus*. So Ov. can write of deities who reject pleas (*Met.*3.289, 12.199), or Val.Max. of a human suppliant rejected (5.3.3), while Apul.*Socr.*5 offers *si omnino homines a diis immortalibus procul repelluntur atque ita in haec terrae tartara relegantur*. The Danai, therefore are checked, or spurned, by their destiny, or Troy's (Pötscher, 37, n. on 11.287). Apparently no latent image, beyond the obvious one of supplication.

14 ductores Danaum *Sonantius quam 'duces'...quod herorum exigit carmen* as Serv. rightly comments, comparing *regnator* (557); cf. Pomathios, 154, n.191. The noun possibly Accian, *trag.*522. An incidental bow to Lucr.1.86 (a passage which will prove of wide importance in bk.2, P. Hardie, *CQ* 34(1984), 406ff.): *ductores Danaum delecti, prima uirorum*; the second half of Lucr.'s line V. is about to use, **18 delecta uirum... corpora** (cf. Hardie, 407, n.7). The words on a Pompeian graffito, *CLE* 2292. The contracted form of gen.plur. (which is indeed the original form) of proper names common in V; lofty and archaic in 'feel' and thus entirely appropriate here: Leumann, 428, Holzweissig, 459ff., NW 1, 168ff., n. on 7.305.

tot iam An occasional collocation in Cic. (e.g. *Acad.*1.25 *Graeci...qui in his rebus tot iam saecla uersantur*) and Livy (e.g. 23.7.9 *tot iam uictoriis clarum imperatorem*).

labentibus annis V. reworks himself, *G.*1.6 *labentem caelo quae ducitis annum*; cf. 1.283 *lustris labentibus*, *Hor.C.*2.14.1f *fugaces...labuntur anni*, Flury, *TLL* 7.2.788.8ff.; the vb. lent dignity by *Cic.Arat.* (e.g. 226). The use of a pres. partic. where the pedantic would expect a perf. has not long been a welcome variation in lit. Latin, *Aen.*1.305, 492, Wagner, QV xxix.1, KS 1, 757, LHS, 387. Loosely equivalent to Hom. περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν. V. begins at a paradoxical moment of fatigue and pessimism for the Greeks (cf. Block, 263, Gärtner, 169f.); the detailed narrative context we have rather forgotten—roughly half way through the *Little Iliad* (cf. Proclus' summary of Lesches, p.52.16Davies, *Hyg.Fab.*108, Dictys 5.9 and particularly [Apld].*Epit.*5.8 ἀθυμοῦσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι (the passage of ten years also specified), *QS* 12.1f., πολλὰ κάμον περὶ τείχεα Τροίης/... Δαναοί, *Triph.*42 ἀμβολή δ' ἔχαλλε δυςάχθει λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν; cf. Robert, 1225ff., Gärtner, 161f.).

15 instar montis Cf. Austin here and n. on 7.707 for V.'s use of *instar*, in Cat. (17.12, perhaps 115.1), *Lucr.* (6.614, 805), also *Hor.C.4.5.6*; 27x in *Ov.*, but no instances in *Prop.*, *Tib.*; common in prose and not obviously an old word. Note mountainous waves, *G.3.240*, and *Tac.Ann.2.61.1 instar montium eductae pyramides certamine et opibus regum* (where Goodyear sees an echo of V.), Szantyr, *TLL* 8.1437.27ff.. Hom.'s comparison of the Cyclops to (*Od.9.191f.*) φίδω ύλήεντι/ ύψηλῶν ὄρέων was noted long ago as analogous (vd. then *Pind.Isth.6.32*); cf. too *Aen.9.674*. Mountain-sized in Aen.'s view, as narrator, or to the Greeks, who have built it, or to both? Cf. *Companion*, 110.

equum See 13–39 for a brief indication of some of the theories offered in explanation. Cf. Horsfall, *Culture of the Roman plebs* (London 2003), 59 for the special effects at the opening of the Theatre of Pompey, when an *Equus Troianus* tragedy was performed (LA or Naev.; cf. Ribbeck, *Röm.Trag.*, 26ff., 48ff., Jocelyn on *Enn.trag.* fr.xxvi). V.'s readers will have heard from their fathers how large the horse was and Plaut.*Bacch.936–44* already presupposes a theatre public fully able to relish extended play around the theme of Troj. Horse (vd. Fraenkel, *EPIP*, 64f., M. Skafte Jensen, *CM* 48(1997), 315ff.; cf. too *Pseud.1244*, *Rud.268*). In the late c.2 the orator Titius in a denunciation of gastro-luxury could refer jestingly to a *porcum Troianum...aliis inclusis animalibus grauidum* (Macr.3.13.13, *ORF* 51, fr.3Malc.). Daedalus of course shut Niobe in the Troj. Horse (Petr.52.2), on a silver bowl of Trimalchio's (cf. *GR* 36(1989), 81), and more orthodox Troj. horses rolled through Lat. proverbial speech; cf. Otto, 126, H.G. Wackernagel, *TLL* 5.2.738.44ff. and Horsfall, *cit.* (1989), 77. Note all the Gk. orators who emerged from Isocrates' tuition *meri principes, tamquam ex equo Troiano* (Cic. *de orat.2.94*) and more predictably, vd. Cic.*Mur.78*, *Cael. 67*, *Phil.2.32* (cf. 18f. **huc...includunt**), *Verr. 4.52*. **Ecum M, equm M₇** (humanist) P: an archaism of a familiar type (Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 392), favoured by Hadrian himself, *ILS* 2487 (see NW 1, 180, Wackernagel, 731. 47ff.), but not appealing to clear-headed editors of V.. Cf. Austin, *JRS*, 17.

diuina...arte Mild enallage; R actually reads **diuinae**. The art of divinely-favoured carpentry, or the cunning of the goddess herself? Serv. is in doubt (*aut ingeniose aut dolose; hoc falsum* protests Klotz, *TLL* 2.666.64f.); Austin, TCD and *TLL* 5.1.1620. 16 (Gudeman) avert their eyes. Prop.3.9.42 *Palladiae ligneus artis equus* suggests he thought of carpentry here (cf. 3.20.7, *Ov-AA* 1.691 (of Achilles) *non sunt tua munera lanae; tu titulos alia Palladis arte petas*[the art of war], *Pont.3.8.9*), as does Klotz (*cit.* 63f.). Consideration of older views of Athene's role (next

n.) solves nothing. Possibly the juxtaposition of **arte** with **aedificant** favours carpentry, but a real ambiguity would cause no problems. Henry's passionate search for a clear solution is, typically, informative but untimely. Cf. Block, 263ff.

Palladis Cf. 31 **donum exitiale Mineruae**, E. Henry, 92, M.P. Wilhelm, in *The two worlds of the poet* (Detroit 1992), 75, Bailey, 154, EV 3, 532. Despite the Greeks' impieties, Athene has always been on their side. The Greeks took Troy Ἀθηναίς διὰ βουλάς (*Il.*15.71; cf. Triph.57); Epeius built the horse σὺν Ἀθήνῃ (*Od.*8.493); Epeius constructed the Troj. horse κατ' Ἀθηνᾶς προσάρεσιν (Proclus' summary of *Il.Parva*, p.52.17 Davies); Epeius built the Horse μηχαναῖς Παλλάδος Eur. *Tro.*10; *monitu Mineruae* Hyg.*Fab.*108; Athene Epeius' master in carpentry, QS 12.83; cf. Triph.57 βουλῆσι θεῆς. See Robert, 1227, n.1. The terminology used suggests that in the pre-existing tradition likewise Athene's handicraft coexisted with her inspiration.

16 aedificant Used by Papinian (*Dig.*33.10.9.1) in a paraphrase of *Od.*23.190ff., of Od.'s bed-building (Hom. τέτυκται, κάμον); of ships (Prinz, *TLL* 1.925.57ff..), Plaut.*Merc.*87, etc.. A word of wide application (Ennian, moreover, *Ann.*405; perhaps standard Latin, rather than (Lyne, *WP*, 125) actually prosy), which V. is about to limit with the application of precise noun and image. Vd. Prinz, *cit.*, 63f..

sectaque...abiete Cf. 4.505 *ilice secta*, 6.214, EV 4, 744 (of chopping cruder than here). We might remember the historical importance of the pine and pitch of the Troad (n. on 3.5f. and vd. 9.674 for another link with Troy); local wood is used, naturally enough, when the detail is specified: Robert, 1228, Austin, *Aen.*2, p.34, Losada (*infra*), 307f., H. Stubbe, *Phil.Supp.*25.2 (1933), 32f. (first in Petr.89.5, of surviving texts; also QS, Triph.). For the *abies alba*, silver fir, or common European fir, vd. Meiggs, *Trees and timber*, 43, EV 1, 5 (Maggiulli) and *ead. Incipient silvae* (Roma 1995), 209ff.. Botanists today refer to the Anatolian fir as *abies equi Troiani*. For the prosody of **a.**, cf. n. on 11.667.

The many timbers (**abiete** here, **acernis** 112, **roboribus** 186 (cf. 230), **pinea**, 258) used for the manufacture of the Horse have long been understood as having more to do with Parnassus than with wood-yard or carpenter's shop (Hexter, 117ff., R.J. Edgeworth, *Glotta* 59(1981), 140ff., L. Losada, *TAPA* 113(1983), 301ff., W. McLeod, *Phoenix* 24(1970), 144ff.). Here in 2, any credible kind of wood is more interesting than mere wood, *lignum* and the overall effect *may* be to sug-

gest that, perhaps, various woods were used. Charon's bark has been cited (McLeod) as another instance of this sort of particularised synecdoche (cf. Macr.6.9.13). Odd, though, that 6.179ff. too has not been cited as analogous: five sorts of tree are listed as cut for Misenus' pyre, but only pitch-pine and oak then feature specifically in its construction (6.214). Why should Ida not yield as many species as Campania? Why, in short, should the Horse not be made of mixed timber (so La Cerdà)? Both fir and pine were currently used in shipbuilding (Meiggs, *Trees*, 118, Jocelyn on *Enn.trag.*209); the fir more warlike. Was any lapse of grandeur or decorum involved in naming more, or fewer, timbers? Different timbers for different parts, even (Losada, 305f.; cf., in the analogous context of tree-felling, E.A. Schmidt, *Hyperboreus* 3(1997) 57ff)? Hexter, 121f. draws attention to Cat.64, where the Argo is both *pinus* (1) and *abies* (7), enclosing the *robora pubis* (4); there might be an echo at 18, but without the critic's magic wand (or beguiling pen), I doubt whether any mere wooden-witted reader can be expected to draw a link between two such scattered sequences.

intexunt Here, cf. above all **112 trabibus contextus acernis, 186 roboribus textis**, 6.215f. *cui*[Misenus' pyre] *frondibus atris/ intexunt latera* (cf. 11.65, with n.) and the *simplex* at 11.326 *Italo texamus robore nauis* (with n.); *texere* and cognates long used of dockyards and shipbuilding, *Enn. Ann.*504 *textrinum, trag.*44 *textitur, Acc. trag.*484 *laterum texta*, Cat.64.10 *inflexae texta carinae*; the word's IE origins may in fact be closer to the axe than the loom (EM). Caes.*Civ.*1.54.1 uses *contextum* of shipbuilding, but timbers are not involved (Losada, 306). Though the verb is often used of the plaiting of wicker, *uel sim.*, the image was clearly felt to be applicable to the construction of (any) complex wooden structure (both frame and facing here, surely; *aliter*, Händel, *TLL* 7.2. 13.46ff.). Cf. nn. on 11.75, 777, 3.483 for the impossibility of deciding in many cases (see too *G.3.25, 5.252* and note too 8.167 *intertextam*) whether the vb. *intexere* refers to weaving or to embroidery. Cf. Clausen, *THP*, 139, n.34.

costas Of a pot, to avoid some crude word like 'belly' 7.463 (where vd. n.); of ships (*Ov.Her.*15.112, *Plin.Nat.*13.62), of baskets (*Plin.Nat.*16.75), of deer (*Aen.*1.211). At 12.508 V. writes *costas et cratis pectoris*, of the rib-cage, so here one might suppose some sort of framework of pine, particularly given the verb's associations. Cf. Clausen, *VA*, 62, Wulff, *TLL* 4.1084. 81ff.; the horse of *Lucr.*5.1297 is real, and has normal equine flanks, *costas*.

17 uotum...simulant Serv. most unhelpfully suggests that **u.** is ppp.: [Tib.]3.3.27 *pro dulci reditu quaecumque uouentur* (with Ov.*Am.*2.11.46, Suet.*Cal.*14) and Petr.89. 10 (with V. in mind) *in suo uoto latent* are decisive. For vows made before a voyage, cf. n. on 3.404. As Hexter notes (110f.), the Greeks may also in some sense have in mind their *reditus* from Tenedos to Troad. For another instance of such *simulatio* in *Aen.*, which leaves the reader equally perplexed about what has ‘really happened’, cf. n. on 7.385 *simulato numine Bacchi*. With reference to the tradition regarding the dedicatory inscription on the TH, V.’s position is studiedly unclear: vd. **31**.

pro reditu τῆς εἰς οἴκον ἀνακομιδῆς “Ελληνες Ἀθήνας χαριστήριον [Apld.] *Epit.*5.15. Accius has *abeuntes* (*trag.*127). Cf. **118**.

ea fama I.e. *fama eius rei*; for the brachylogy, cf. n. on 7.595, 1.463 *haec...fama*, **2.171 ea signa**. V. has a sharp, contemporary sense of the importance of rumour in troubled times: cf. nn. on 7.104, 549, Oakley on Liv.6.21.9, P. Jal, *La guerre civile à Rome* (Paris 1963), 119ff.; *tacet EV s.v.*

uagatur Of death (5.221), and fire (6.152) in Lucr., of *nostrum nomen* (Cic.*Rep.*1.26), often of *oratio*; the Greeks do not merely leave, but first put about a story that they are actually returning home. V.’s elegantly evasive phrasing discourages us from fussing over precise narrative detail (just how was the story brought inside the walls?). Neat paratactic avoidance of OO (cf. that inevitably found with *si uera est fama*).

18 huc.../ 19 includunt Cf. **45 hoc inclusi ligno, 258 inclusos utero Danaos** (very well suited to the theme of the Horse), Hor.*C.*4.6. 13f. *non inclusus equo Minervae/ sacra mentito* (echoing *Aen.*, typically of *C.4*), Petr.52.2 *supra*, Rehm, *TLL* 7.1. 950. 57ff. (the verb common standard Latin; of the Troj. Horse, *Phil.*2.32 *in huius me tu consili societatem tamquam in equum Troianum cum principibus includis?*, for which, vd. **15 equum**). **Huc** so used already, G.2.76f. *huc aliena ex arbore germen/ includunt*; also in Plaut. and Sall., Rehm, *TLL* 6.3.3068.13ff.. Not only with **huc**, but with dat. as well: cf. 9.729 *incluserit urbi* (possibly a locative form; cf. Holzweissig, 293f.), Vitr.10.11.8, VM 5.6.3, 9.2.ext.1, Sen.*Ben.*3.20.1, etc., Rehm, *TLL* 7.1.956. 33ff.; Austin seems to overstate the rarity of dat.. **18–20** an elaborate, multiple theme and variation (Henry): two verbs to convey filling, two expressions for ‘Horse’, two for ‘Greek warriors’, one thought.

delecta uirum...corpora For the periphrasis (of tragic, rather than Homeric, origin), cf. full n. on 7.650 *Laurentis corpore Turni*; prob-

ably some hint of *large* men (crammed somehow into the Horse). Serv. notes the enallage; strictly, it is the *uiri*, not their *corpora*, that are chosen. Hom.'s πάντες ἄριστοι (*Od.*4.272; same expression, Proclus *Il.Parr.*p.52.25Davies) is reinforced by other registers of association: the adj. is very old military (or at least Ennian) language, parodied at Plaut.*Amph.*204 *Amphitruo delegit uiros primorum principes*, Bögel, *TLL* 5.1.452.43ff. (Cic., Caes., Sall., Liv.); cf. too the *delecti uiri* of Enn.*trag.*212 = the *lecti iuuenes* of Cat.64.4 (Argo, again; Eur.*Med.*5 ἀρίστεων), whose relevance here is elegantly overstated by Hexter, 121; see A. Ronconi ap.S. Scurti, *Annali del liceo statale G.D'Annunzio, Pescara* 2(1982) [= *Atti del convegno di studi Virgiliani, Pescara*], 13f.. For **uirum... corpora**, cf. 10.662, 12.328, Lucr.1.1015 *diuum corpora sancta*, Cat.64.355 *Trojenum infesto prosternet corpora ferro*, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.1015.49ff..

sortiti Drawing the lot for positions of military danger, just as at 3.634 (where see n; cf. also n. on 3.510 and add G. Glotz, DS 4.2.1413): the evidence tragic and historical, Greek and Roman. We do not ask just how *sortitio* and the choice implied by **delecta** coexisted; apparently, complete silence in the parallel accounts. Picked warriors then, in the tribute paid by their vanquished adversary, or as viewed by the narrator? Cf. *Companion*, 110.

furtim Ennian, *Ann.*227; the Troj. Horse naturally attracts the lexicon of milit. trickery (vd. full n. on 11.515 *furta...belli*). Cf. Austin here for a handy summary of Norden's discussion (*Aen.*6, 400ff.) of 'indifferente Worte am Versende', which acquire unusual emphasis when (here, as rather rarely) placed at verse-end, where they require the following line for their sense to emerge. Cf. nn. on **34, 390 dolo, 36 insidias** and in particular, **370–401**.

19 caeco lateri L. not of itself a nautical term but easily applicable to ships because its basic sense is so wide (for the issue, see further *Aen.*3, index s.v. nautical language): cf. Cic. *de orat.*3.180 *quid tam in nauigio necessarium quam latera, quam cauerne, quam prora, quam puppis, quam antennae, quam uela, quam mali?* and Acc.*trag.*484, *Aen.*1.105, 122, Hor.*Epd.*10.3, C.1.14.4, Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.2. 1028.8ff.. Naturally, whether wooden or not, a horse likewise has *latera*, **51**, Colum.6. 29.2. V. though, uses the sing. here, as Serv. notes; so occasionally of parts of the body, Bell 8, KS 1, 85f.. The line will continue alliteratively (noisily, even, as the Horse is filled) in the same register: see **cauernas, infra**. The adj. (no sight, actively, or passively) V. will re-use precisely: (Turnus) *nec equi caeca condemur*

in aluo (9.152); so of e.g. *latebrae*, 3.232, 424, 12.444 *puluere*. *EV* 1, 599, Burger, *TLL* 3.45.9.

penitusque Cf. nn. on 3.673, 7.374. Not here, though, ‘deep into’, but simply ‘within, inside’, Spoth, *TLL* 10.1.1077.70, citing e.g. Lucr.3.582, *Aen*.12.390.

cauernas/ 20 ingentis V. will use **c.** again soon (53); applicable, indeed, to houses, to a vast range of closed objects (Hoppe, *TLL* 3.646.15ff; to indicate in particular the opening, which might not have been expected), and, though not often, to ships (*Cic.cit.*, V., commentators, imitators). Serv.Dan. here suggests a more technical nautical sense (“ribs”), not in keeping with the word’s range; *de orat.*3.180 alone does not establish the word as clearly and recognisably used as a shipbuilding tt. here (so e.g. Clausen, *VA*, 62). With the images of ships, houses and mountains to deploy, there is little need to overwork the favourite adjective here.

uterumque The third indication of the Horse’s vast bulk, after **lateri** and **cauernas**; from **penitus** to **complent** the line sprawls over two objects, with three adj., an advb. and an abl. of means. With **u.** we reach a venerable inherited image, of remarkable history and associations: cf. **38, 52, 243, 258, 401** *EV* s.v. (*male*); *tacet* Heuzé but see J.N. Adams, *BICS* 27(1980), 54 (no taboo on mentioning the womb in epic). Note first, Aesch.*Ag*.825, the ‘spear-bearing tribe’ are the ἵππου νεοccός (‘brood’), then Eur.*Tro*.11 ἐγκύμον’ ἵππον, Lyc.342f, Antiphilus, GP *GP*, 998 ἔγκυον, Triph.389 γαστέρα, Enn.*trag*.72 *grauidus armatis equus* (with Jocelyn’s notes), Titius (*cit.*, 15), Lucr.1.476 *partu*, *Aen*.6.516 *armatum peditem grauis attulit aluo*, Ov.*AA* 1.364. The image thoughtfully discussed, O. Rodari, *PP* 221(1985), 81–102 and see Scalfoglio (5), 193. Cf. also **52, 238 feta**.

armato milite Cf. **495 late loca milite complent**, Liv.2.47.6, 9.39.8, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.945.50ff.. The adj. (Vollmer, *TLL* 2.620.50ff.) is a bow to Enn.*trag*.72 *cit.* (cf. *ib.*, 153); used again of the Greeks in the Horse, **328**, 6.516. V. also makes an important narrative point, as we shall discover, **243 utero sonitum quater arma dedere**. For the collective sing., cf. Austin here and nn. on 3.400, 11.287.

complent Standard Latin, *Cic.Clu*.93, *Caes.Gall*.2.24.4, Wulff, *TLL* 3.2092.37ff. Cf. too *Od*.8.495 ἀνδρῶν ἐμπλήσας.

21 est in conspectu A common prose expression (Spelthahn, *TLL* 4.491.80ff.), but apparently not in geographical contexts, as here. V. is intimately familiar with the ways periplus-writers had of express-

ing ‘comes into sight’: 3.552, 554 *cernitur*, 3.205f. *se attollere.../ uisa*, 270 *apparet*, 275 *aperitur* (vd. my nn.). Here, though, V. clearly means ‘is visible’: so *conspici* Cic.*Leg.Man.*44, Liv.30.9.12, and in the periplo and geographers, φαίνεται, ὄραται (*Stadiasmus Maris Magni* 273, Strab. 6.2.8, etc.). Not, therefore, an obvious technical flavour, but a definite impression of the conventions of geographical writing is given. The actual distance a mere 20km.; Tenedos reaches a height of 190 metres. Cf. n. on 7.563 *est locus Italiae medio (...hic 568)* for the neglected stylistic side of the ἔκφρασις τόπου, 607 *sunt geminae Belli portae (...has 611)*; here V. ‘closes the circle’ with **24 huc**.

Tenedos Not important in Hom. (but as a cult-centre of Apollo Smintheus, cf. *Il.*1.38, 452; Achilles killed Tennes, k. of Tenedos, and sacked the island, 11.625). Philoct. bitten by the snake there on the Greeks’ way to Troy, Proclus, *Cypria* p.32.64 Davies. cf. [Apld.]*Epit.* 3.23–7. Note that Proclus and [Apld.]*Epit.* employ common sources: cf. the edd. of Bernabé and West, E. Bethe, *Der tro. Epenkreis* (repr. Darmstadt 1966), 57f., A. Cameron, *Greek mythography...* (Oxford 2004), 96). So too (Proclus, *Ilias parva* p.52.26f. Davies and *Iliou Persis* p.62.16 with [Apld.] *Epit.*5.14, 19, 20) it is to Tenedos that the Greek fleet withdraws in the *Cycle* (vd. also *trag.adesp.fr.1e*, Kannicht-Snell, *TGF* 2), QS 12.29ff., Hyg.*Fab.*108, Triph.217, Robert, 1240, Gärtner, 174f.; Tenedos and Calydnae, Lyc. 346f.). At **203**, the serpents come from Tenedos to kill Laocoon: so too Hyg.*Fab.*135, Petr.89.29. ἐκ τῶν πλησίον νήσων [Apld.]*Epit.*5.18 (meaning the Calydnae islands, between T. and Troad); for Bacchyl., clearly Calydnae (fr.9Sn.-M. = Serv. *ad Aen.*2.201), likewise Lyc.347 (‘child-eating’), (?) Nicander, *Suppl. Hell.*562.11 QS 12.449ff.; see Radt on Soph.*Laoc.*fr.373. Fiehn, PW 9A.494.23ff., A. Külzer, *NP* 12.133f., G. Bonamente, *EV* 5*, 98ff. (*bene*), W. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (Cambridge 1923), 214ff., L. Schmitz, in Smith, *Dict.Geogr.* 2, 1126f..

notissima fama/ 22 insula Cf. 86f. incluta fama/ gloria, 1.379 *fama super aethera notus*, Caes.*Gall.*7.77.15, Cic.*Phil.*2.117 *fama gloriosum tyrannum*, Vetter, *TLL* 6.1. 222.68f.. Cf. nn. on 7.79, 745 for similar expressions. Cyclic, not Homeric fame, we have just seen, and as perceived by poet, not by speaker.

diues opum So already G.2.468 *d. opum uariarum*; also at *Aen.*1.14 (of Carthage). For the gen., cf. also (a handy, flexible formula) 11.338 *largus opum* (with full n.; add Antoine, 90), *Buc.*2.20, *Aen.*1.343, 9.26, 10.563, Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.1589. 62ff. (people), 1590.67ff. (things).

Priami...regna Cf. n. on 11.264 *regna Neoptolemi*; coexisting with the loftier *Cnosia, Laertia regna*.

dum...manebant Cf. 455 **dum regna manebant**, 3.615 *mantissetque utinam fortuna*, Tietze, *TLL* 8.284.72. The same point made, 3.16 *dum fortuna fuit*.

23 nunc tantum Cf. n. on 7.413 *sed fortuna fuit* for ‘the familiar tradition of lamenting the past glory of cities famed in myth or history but now reduced to insignificance’; Aen. naturally enough expresses an Augustan-romantic outlook, not that far from a Trojan’s natural love of home.

sinus Standard language, 1.243, 3.551 (vd. n.; in the geographers), 689, 692.

statio Standard language; cf. (e.g.) Caes.*Civ.*3.6.3 *Cerauniorum saxa inter et alia loca periculosa quietam nanctus stationem* and Mela 2.45, of Aulis, *Agamemnoniae Graiorumque classis in Troiam coniurantium statio*; see too Plin.*Nat.*3.82, 5.125. The passing of T.’s prosperity is part of Troy’s end, but sometimes V. is careful briefly to lower the whole tone and emotive level of the narrative.

male fida carinis For c. (synecdochic), cf. n. on 7.431. *Male* thus at 735 **male... amicum** and 4.8 *male sana* (and G.1.105), Hor.*C.1.9.24 digito male pertinaci*, where vd. NH (‘negatives...but less bluntly than *non*’), with full bibl., though they do not spell out that this is part of spoken language and rare in high poetry, 1.17.25 *male dispari*, Hofmann-Ricottilli, 306, L. Ricottilli, *Enc.Oraz.*2, 902, Krieg/Rubenbauer, *TLL* 8.243.61ff., Bauer, *ib.6.1.706.32ff.* (then Ov., Petr., Tac.). Though the detail is reminiscent (Ussani, 246f.) of Aesch. on Psyttaleia, *Pers.* 448 δύσօρμος ναυκίν, it is, just like preceding **statio**, equally well suited to the flat, factual manner and matter of the periplus, which V. has just studied so minutely for bk.3 (index, s.v. *periplus*), *Peripl.Mar.Erythr.* 9.2, 12.4, 26.5, 58.5. Precisely, cf. Arr. *Peripl.Pont.Eux.*4.3, 13.3, *Peripl.Pont.Eux.* 19 ὄρμος ναυκίν οὐκ ἀσφαλής (and the contrary, *ib.*52.3, Plb.10. 10.4; or, depending on the wind, *ib.*, 39.11, 50.19). Not to mention the Pharos of *Od.4.354 νῆσος ἔπειτά τις ἔστι....* It would be easy to continue, less so to explain the former prosperity of T., in reality or indeed just in terms of V.’s construct, when her harbour was so poor. The *litora fida* of 2.399f. and 5.23f have a rather different sense.

24 huc With both vb. and partic., as Austin rightly remarks. Note (Ussani) Veg.4.26 *frequenter dolum excogitant obsidentes ac simulata desperatione*

longius abeunt. sed ubi post metum murorum uigiliis derelictis requieuerit incauta securitas....

se...condunt With refl.pron., cf. *Buc.*8.97, *G.*4.66, 473 *in foliis auium se milia condunt*; Spelthahn, *TLL* 4.149.72f..

prouecti Accius, *Lucr.* (also comedy, prose); cf. n. on 3.72 *prouehimur portu.*

deserto in litore Cf. 3.122 *desertaque litora Cretae*; after *Cat.*64.133 *perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu?*.

25 nos The narrative proper begins with the Greeks, pauses and takes breath with Tenedos, and only now passes to the viewpoint of the Trojans themselves: the plur. expands the perspective of **5f.**: Aen. as both leading participant/sufferer and witness; 1pers. sing. used: Cartault, 215, n.3, Zintzen, 60, n.144, citing plurs. at **105, 145, 234, 244, 249** and cf. Ussani, 252f., Scafoglio (**1–13**), 72 for 1plur. used by the messenger in *Aesch. Pers.*. Aen. sees the Fall as one of a number of active combatants, leading, but also fighting and speaking as one of a band of peers or comrades, a proper role for a future father of his people: see Mackie, 46, G. Sanderlin, *CW* 66 (1972), 82; ‘more as a spectator than a participant’. Note here that directly after **nos**, V. passes to the reaction of **omnis...Teucria**: Troy already looked to Aeneas (and those around him) for correct judgement and a lead in action.

abiisse rati *Sumus* omitted (cf. 2). Likewise, the subject of **abiisse** (colloquial, LHS, 362), though not the same as the subj. of **rati**: KS 1, 701, *EV* 4, 437 (Borioni). *Reor* 19x in *Lucr.* (cf. Cordier, 39): there is extreme economy of means here, in keeping with factual subject-matter and lowered emotional level; V. is in general eager to avoid the clutter of small words ‘required’ by ‘book-grammar’, *Companion*, 230 (on reflexives, cf. n. on 11.798), not least given the restrictions on pronouns (*eos*) in high poet. language. **abiisse M**₁ (humanist) ωγ, Serv., grammarians; **abisse MPR**₂, TCD. Contracted and uncontracted forms of the perf.infin. of *abire* coexist in poetry: NW 3, 433ff., Vollmer, *TLL* 1.66.19ff.. This first moment of false relief already present in *Il.parva* (Proclus, p.53.1Davies) τῶν κακῶν ὑπολαβόντες ἀπηλλάχθαι, found in expanded form, and quite close to V. at [Apld.]*Epit.* 5.16 ήμέρας δὲ γενομένης ἔρημον οἱ Τρῶες τὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων στρατόπεδον θεασάμενοι καὶ νομίσαντες αὐτοὺς πεφευγέναι, περιχαρέντες; cf. *Iliou Persis* (Proclus p.62.8f.Davies) ἀπηλλαγμένοι τοῦ πολέμου (though at the moment of the horse’s entry), QS 12.356 γηθόσυνοι (Gärtner, 175), Robert, 1245, Campbell, 115.

uento petiisse Cf. 180, etc.; p. ‘the flattest of words available’ (n. on 3.115), Dubielzig, *TLL* 10.1.1954.41ff., *EV* 4, 51. Instrum. abl. (cf. *G.*1.44, 2.106, *Aen.*3.285, etc., of specific winds). The repeated ending *-iisse...-iisse* apparently only here in V.. In fact, in all class. Latin, of extreme rarity (cf. only Plaut.*Capt.*693 and Serv.; PHI), though it is hard to credit that here of all places V. would have permitted himself a sound-sequence generally viewed as harsh or awkward

Mycenas Cf. n. on 7.372: not home for all the Greeks, but for their commander, Agamemnon (n. on 11.266), alongside Argos; a familiar symbolic name. *A parte totum, id est Graeciam* Serv.Dan.. Not a port, either, as **uento petiisse** might have led us to expect, but that is not the point..

26 ergo Cf. n. on 7.467; a natural reaction to their leaders’ deduction from the Greek fleet’s absence.

omnis...Teucria The image Euripidean, *Tro.*531 πᾶσα δὲ γέννα Φρυγῶν, who rush to the gates (27). Here sc. *gens* (Serv.); or *tellus*, but relief from grief favours the former. The name imitated by Lat. authors; in Gk., cf. only Phot.*Bibl.*186.134a27 (Conon 21; *FGH* 26F1) Τευκρία ἡ γῆ. Apparently, therefore, an unexpected invention (cf. 3.3 *omnis... Neptunia Troia*): unobtrusive variation on Eur., of no special significance here. *Teuci* V.’s commonest word for ‘Trojans’, Garuti, *EV* 5*, 215.

longo...luctu Aen. recounts to Dido the Trojans’ brief phase of relief after the ten years of (war and) sorrow; all know it is misconceived and cannot last (*EV* 4, 936, at length). The phr. re-used at 11.214. Note that the allit. is reinforced by **solut**it. Cf. *EV* 3, 279, Kemper, *TLL* 7.2.1742.68f.. Central verb, surrounded by chiastic pairs of adj. + noun.

solut se Cf. (after *Il.parva*, 25) Eur.*Tro.*524 ὃ πεπαυμένοι πόνων (*Tro.*, and indeed this passage, will become notably important, 232f., König, 32f.), *Lucr.*3.903 *dissoluant animi magno se corde metuque*, Prop.4.6.41 *solute metu patriam*; cf. *EV* 4, 936, *OLD*, §14a (common); note Hor.*C.1.27.21* (*uenenis*). For this moment, cf. (in detail) Triph.243ff., Petr. 89.15ff.. For the visit to the Greek camp, cf. Robert, 1245, Campbell, 115, Gärtner, 175f., [ApId.]*Epit.*5.16, QS 12.353–9, Triph.235ff..

27 panduntur portae At Eur.*Tro.*532, the Trojans all rush to the gates (πρὸς πύλας ὠρμάθη), to admit the horse. The vb. very rare

thus in prose (Varr.*LL* 7.108; Liv.21.37.3 a moment of high drama; at Plaut.*Bacch.*368 parodic solemnity, Fraenkel, *EPIP*, 144); cf. Pacuv.*trag.* 360 (*ualuas*): for the allit. pairing of vb. and noun, see too 6.574, 12.584, Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.196.43, Buchwald, *TLL* 10.2.8.54f.. Here a lofty, spondaic effect. Through the Scaean gate (242), the Horse will enter, and the breach (**pandimus**) in the walls (234) seems a necessary enlargement of the same operation; though the gates are here opened for the Trojans to emerge rejoicing, this innocent and joyous act is the very first of the final blows to the city's security. In Quintus, the Trojans are still under arms (12.357); in Triph. (239), Trojan awareness (the evidence overstated, Clausen, *V4*, 63) of potential Gk. δόλος is more widespread than in V. La Cerda well cites Hor.*Ars* 199 *apertis otia portis* (where vd. Brink); here Serv. notes Sall.*Hist.*1.fr.14 *aper-tae portae, repleta arva cultoribus*. In particular, vd.8.385f. *clausis/... portis*, Hor.C.3.5.23 *portasque non clausas*. La Cerda provides many instances from the historians of open gates as symbolic of peace, Sall.*Hist.*5.fr.2, *Cat.*10.1, Tac.*Hist.*2.12, etc.. Serv. *signum pacis est*.

iuuat Cf. n. on 3.282 and see 29 **hic...hic** for the narrative implications.

ire et Unobtrusive parataxis, ‘go and’, to avoid any subordination.

Dorica castra So too at 6.88; the adj. post-Hom., *sexies* in *trag.* V. is not concerned with Thuc. on the Dorian invasion, but calmly employs another lofty word (cf. *trag.* inc.62, I. Kapp, *TLL* Onom.3.239.51, Malavolta, *EV* 2,132) for ‘Greek’. There are strictly, *two* objections to V.’s phrasing: first, to any word beginning with its predecessor’s closing syllable (vd. Marouzeau, *TSL*, 43f., Austin here; *cacemphaton* Serv. Maurenbrecher, *TLL* 3.6.11f. seems not to recognise that Serv. makes no reference to obscenity here); secondly, the inadvertent creation of a bad word (sniggers in class; Ael.Don.’s stern look), n. on 3.250 with bibl.. This too is correctly called *cacemphaton* (cf. *in praefanda uidemur incidere*, Quint.8.3.44f., Lausberg 1, 474, 514). Cf., improbably, Highet, 130 (the *cacemphaton* chosen with care by V.).

28 desertosque...locos Cf. 24 **deserto in litore**, which V. reworks into theme and variation, with ABBA disposition of nouns and adjs.. The masc.plur. *quinquies* in *Aen.*, in a concrete, geogr. sense (which goes against the general distinction between masc. and neut.plur. of *locus*; Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.2.1576.13ff., LHS 21, EM). Dimundo, *EV* 3, 240 particularly unreliable. V. eschews the Hom. detail of the Greeks firing their huts, *Od.*8.501.

uidere The 1200 ships are supposed (in V. and in the parallel texts, **21 Tenedos**) to be invisible on Tenedos, which was (ib.) **in conspectu** and whose anchorage/harbour in fact faces Troy. H. Gasti, *Cambr. Clas. Journ.* 52(2006), 128f. argues that **desertos** and **relictum** are predicative not attributive; she does not consider that **d.** and **r.** may have genuine participial not adjectival force (see tr.). I doubt they are attributive, but suspect we do not much differ on the sense of the v..

litusque relictum Cf. Iris at 5.612 *desertosque uidet portus classemque relictam.*

29 hic...hic.../ 30 ...hic...hic Cf. Tietze, *TLL* 6.3.2763.20ff. Energetic deixis, with perhaps the triple ἔνθα of *Od.* 3.109ff. in mind (and La Cerdá also, from eyewitness narrative, *Tac. Hist.* 2.70 *monstrabantque pugnae locos...* (followed by *hinc...hinc...inde*), *Ann.* 1.61 *hic...ilic...ubi... ubi*). Cf. *Buc.* 10.42f., Wills, 111. We might wonder if Aen. been down to the shore? Had he toured the battlefields himself, pointing eagerly? Does he now recall that moment, or does this multiple deixis represent as many as four Trojan observers, distantly reported to Dido by Aen.? There may be a latent indication in the text, though (I thank Prof. Görler for helpful disagreement): not, perhaps, so much because the logical subject (Aen.) should be included among those who are pleased, if it is not stated otherwise (as at Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.4 *sunt quos*), as because of preceding **nos** and **ergo**: the reader has not been invited to detach Aen. from the collective mass of Trojans.

Dolopum manus For **D.**, cf. **7**; for **m.** + gen. thus, cf. 7.730 *Oscorumque m.*, 9.11 *Lydorumque manum*, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.366.71f.. Whereas in **28** there was ‘Gk.’ caesura at 3tr., and word-end at 2tr. too (an eager, leaping movement), in **29** and **30** there is a pyrrhic word + monosyll. before ‘normal’ caes. at 2½; cf. Winbolt, 27f., 94; speed and excitement conveyed.

saeuus...Achilles Cf. 1.458, also 1.30, 3.87 *immitis* (with n.; the Cyclic, more than the Homeric, Ach.: remember Troilus, Hector’s corpse). *EV* 1, 25.

tendebat Cf. 8.605 [*legio] latis tendebat in aruis;* of stretching out your *tentoria*, or of pitching them (*OLD*, §3, *EV* 5*, 95); in the latter sense, as here, Caes. (e.g. *Gall.* 6.37.2 *qui sub uallo tenderent mercatores*), Liv., Tac.. A timely use of Roman, military language, superseding the Homeric encampment *κατὰ κλισίας τε νέας τε*.

30 classibus...locus Serv. thinks of cavalry, quoting 7.716, about which he is not likely to be right. As '[squadrions of; as detailed in *Il.2*]ships', this is correct archaic usage; cf. n. on 3.403. V. passes from where the Greeks had drawn up their ships (on the shore) to where they used to join battle (on land). No difficulties, except in the commentators. For the dat., cf. G.2.177 *locus aruorum ingenii*, *Aen.*9.237 *locum insidiis circumspeximus*, **2.71 cui ...locus**, 4.319 *precibus locus*, 7.175 *hae sacris sedes epulis*, G. Landgraf, *ALL* 8 (1893), 63, KS 1, 342, LHS 95f., Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.2.1598.60ff.

acie certare So Liv.1.23.3, 22.24.9, Tac.*Hist.*4.27, etc., but never quite a stock expression in milit. prose (not in Caes.; Burger, *TLL* 3.897.81ff.). Some noisy allit. of c in this verse.

solebant Cf. 456, 462; a weary familiarity with the broad outlines of the siege; Au. well notes that V. here passes atypically from specific details to a general picture.

31–9 The divisions within the Trojans over what to do with the Horse are an ancient motif: see *Od.*8.505ff., *Iliou Persis* (Proclus p.62.3ff. Davies), Stes.S88, fr.i, col.ii. 5ff. (cf. further, 587ff.), DChrys.11.128, Campbell, 134f., Robert 1247, Vellay 1, 292, Austin on 32, Frazer on [Apld.] *Epit.*5.16, M.L. West, *ZPE* 4(1969), 139, Krafft (40–56), 47, Gärtner, 192ff.. But note that in V. the debate takes place *outside* the walls; so too Triph.250ff., QS 12.389ff., Gärtner, 193f. (V. and QS could well follow a common source here), Campbell, 115f. (but many details in QS are not in V.).

31 pars Followed by sing. and plur. verbs; neither number individually unusual (Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.454.68ff.), but for the coupling of sing. and plur., cf. n. on 3.676, Wagner, *QV* viii.§4d, KS 1, 25 and Speranza's good list, including **63f.**, 4.86ff., 404f.. The next member in the sequence opened by **pars** is supplied loosely by the rel. clause of 35; cf. G.4.158ff.... 165 *sunt quibus*, Tessmer, 455.70ff..

stupet The first instance of *stupere* + acc. cited by *OLD* s.v., §2c. For V.'s transitivisations, cf. n. on 7.581 and indices to comms.. Cristante, *EV*4, 1046 rashly assigns the phenomenon to spoken language, where it is indeed attested, but so is it too in epic, and in the elegy of the mid c.1BC, A. Lunelli, *Aerius* (Roma 1969), 81. This first reaction of the Trojans to the size of the Horse seems natural enough, but V. appears to share it only with QS 12.359, Triph.247f. **35 et quorum...** after **at** suggests that the subjects of **stupet** here are to be understood

negatively: mere witless, gawping tourists. Aen.'s relationship to the Trojans' collective viewpoint is discussed at *Companion*, 110f..

innuptae...Mineruae The adj. at Cat.64.78 and *quater* in Cat.62; cf. Eur. *Tro*.536 ἄξυος. V. has already used it at G.4.476; note too *Aen.*12.24. For the obj.gen., cf. Henry's vigorous n. here, **189**, Antoine, 84, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.2021.68ff. (*non quod ipsa dedit* Serv.; Ussani's notion that it might actually be *subjective* here I do not understand: Athene's role in QS 12.104ff. is another matter). There is an issue of detail, or consistency, here: it is widely related that the TH bore a dedicatory inscription. Perhaps implied *Iliou Persis*, Proclus p.62.5f.Davies -0ι δὲ ιερὸν αύτὸν ἔφασαν δεῖν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἀνατεθῆναι (no proof that there was an inscription, but not excluded). First explicitly present in Acc. *trag.fr.127R*: cf. Petr.89.12f. (with Stubbe, 33), Hyg.*fab.*108, [Apfd.] *Epit.* 5.15, DChrys. 11.121, 128, Austin on **17**, Robert, 1230, n.1, Stabryla, 92, Manuwald (57–76), 199, Harries (401), 139f., Gärtner, 185 and this verse looks as though it should be understood as such an inscription, but the sense of **17**, of **151**, and, as Austin remarks, of the whole of 'Simon's rigmarole' (to convince the Trojans to dedicate the Horse) would be entirely undercut, did the Horse, from the first, bear an explicit dedicatory inscription (so, too, closely enough at QS 12.375ff.). So here, as Austin subtly suggests, a comment added by Aeneas with hindsight. Triph. 256 would likewise make no sense, were the Horse there inscribed. Cf. also Paratore (40–56), 412ff. (for P, not only an added comment but also an element present in **ea fama uagatur**). In the present context, perhaps 'gift to Minerva' is to be understood as part of the Trojans' general wonderment, **mirantur**.

donum exitiale The adj. *bis* in Lucr. (cf. Cordier, 171); to be added to Duckworth's good list of adjs. in *Aen.* that have a prophetic or anticipatory function (*Foreshadowing and suspense*, 13), though here the detail hardly requires emphasis. Only with hindsight, again, does Aen. know the Horse will be fatal to Troy. For now, a cold shiver amid the Trojans' joy; cf. Cartault, 176, n.1.

32 et molem...equi Cf. **150 molem hanc immanis equi**, **185 immensam...molem**, Petr.89.26 *roborea moles* (cf. v.5), Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1342.65ff..

mirantur Cf. 1.421, 6.651, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.1064.70f.; *EV* 3, 541 weak. An insignificant shift of number after **stupet** (cf. **63**, n. on 3.676). The strong allit. that began with **Mineruae** ends here.

primusque Thymoetes T. acts first, takes the lead (cf. n. on

3.561); V. swiftly and typically particularises, adding a scrap of (potentially complex) learning for those who relish unravelling it: Euphorion, fr.55 Powell (= Serv. here; cf. Barigazzi, *EV* 2, 422) related that Priam, having heard that a child was to be born through whom Troy was to fall, ordered the wife and son of Thymoetes (his brother, arguably, after DS 3.67.5) to be put to death; she had given birth as Hecuba bore Paris (cf. Lyc.319–22, with schol.319). A fine motive (at which V.'s **dolo** might hint; *quia habuit iustum causam proditionis* Serv.) for wanting the Horse inside Troy, did T. know what it was (a detail that remains, however, obstinately unexplained). In Hom., no more than an elderly member of Priam's suite, *Il.*3.146. *EV*5*, 181f. (Pellizer), Ro.5.925.37ff. (Ruhl), PW 11A.716.10ff. (Türk).

33 duci intra muros The cumbrous prepos. (Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 7.2.39.42f.) only *octies* in *Aen.*, *bis* in *Enn. Ann.* (390 *intra muros*, as Hor.*Ep.*1.2.16 *Iliacos intra muros*), *bis* in *Lucr.*, *quinquies* in *Ov. Met.*. Cf. **187 duci in moenia, 232**, Hey, *TLL* 5.1.2148.47f.. See **31 pars** for V.'s innovative chronology (debate outside walls).

hortatur Not elsewhere in *Aen.* of a speaker in a discussion, *EV* 2, 858, *TLL* 6.3.3012.5f. (Ehlers); for the constr. + (acc. and) infin., *id.*, 3011.43ff., LHS 346.

et arce locari L. of a statue of Jup., Cic.*cons.fr.*2.61 (and often later of statues); cf. Kemper, *TLL* 7.2.1564.2ff.. This suggestion is perfectly reasonable, given the situation, but also refers to the position taken up by the Horse in earlier versions (dedicated to Athene, and drawn up to her temple, *Iliou Persis*, etc.). No proof, *pace* Paratore (40–56), 414f. that V. thought of the TH as bearing an inscription (31); just because this was the version in the *Iliou Persis*, it does not have to be imported into our reading of V..

34 siue dolo seu... Odysseus had once taken (*ἢ γάγε*) the δόλον up to Troy's citadel, *Od.8.* 494 ('the phrase is odd', Garvie). But here the all-pervasive element of Greek *dolus* is extended, tentatively, to Thymoetes, whose motives seem in passing to be questioned. V. makes no effort to associate Dolopians and δόλος, though that association attracts some modern readers. Cf. Hey, *TLL* 5.1.1860.76, Cairns, 193, *EV* 2, 122f., and see **36 insidias** for the varied lexicon of military trickery and E.L. Wheeler, *Stratagem and the vocabulary of military trickery* (*Mnem. Suppl.*108, Leiden 1988), 30, 85, J.C. Abbot, *Vergilius* 46(2000), 59ff..

iam The idea that Troy's time had at last come.

Troiae...fata Cf. nn. on 7.293f. *fatis contraria nostris/ fata Phrygum*, 11.345 *fortuna...populi*, for the idea of the fate or fortune of nations. Hom.'s *αἰσα γὰρ ἦν ἀπολέσθαι*, *Od.8.511*. Note Pomathios, 337f. on the extremely Virgilian technique of offering alternative explanations (cf. 54, 7.235, etc.).

sic...ferebant Cf. Nep.*Eum.6.5 si ita tulisset fortuna*, CLE 59.16 *fatum se ita tolit* (probably Caesarian), *Aen.2.94 fors si qua tulisset*, 3.7 *incerti quo fata ferant* (with n.), perhaps with Hom. *κῆρες γὰρ ἄγον* (*Il.2.834*, 11.332) in mind, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.362.11ff. and 549.69f..

35 at Capys C. the name (*Il.20.239*) of Anchises' father (s. of Assarus), of the founder of Arcadian Capyae (DH 1.49.1), of the eponym (Hecataeus, FGH1F62) or founder (Coel.Ant.fr.52P) of Capua (cf. 10.145) and of a king of Alba. The first and last of these confirm that C. is a common name; the other two may both be identified with this Capys. J. Heurgon, *Capoue préromaine* (Paris 1942), 143–5, and *EV* 1, 651f., Stoll, Ro.2.956.56ff., Scherling, PW 10.1922.49ff.. Gärtner, 193 notes similarity with QS's description of Laoc. himself, in the debate on Sinon, as *πεπνυμένα βάζων* (12.391); not close, though, and of course Homeric in origin; again, the analogy of content between **36 Danaum insidias** and QS 12.392 *δόλον...Ἀχαιῶν* seems hardly sufficient to assign confidently to a common source. Interaction in the literary tradition between the debates on the TH and on Sinon seems however, an attractive possibility.

et quorum...menti Edd. assume that the grammatical structure here is *ii, quorum menti melior sententia erat*; cf. 6.133 *si tantus amor menti*, 11.314 *quae sit dubiae sententia menti*. Or just possibly the marginally different (with looser, even locatival, function for *menti*) *ii quorum melior sententia erat menti*. Strong assonance of -ent-...-ent-.

melior sententia Cf. Cic.*Mur.66 nisi sententiam sententia alia uicerit melior, dom.68 sententia uerior, grauior, melior, utilior rei publicae nulla esse potuit*; the tone is indeed quite like Cic.'s, expatiating on *boni cives*. See Pomathios, 155, *EV* 4, 778, Hellegouarc'h, 116ff.. Cf. 11.222, 314 for conflicting *sententiae* in Virgilian debate and compare *potior sententia* 4.287, Hor.*Epd.16.17*, *EV* 4, 778ff.. Aen. does not explicitly include himself among the Trojans who had seen through the deceit. For **menti**, cf. 54, Negri, 166f., Adorno, *EV* 3, 485 (though I cannot agree that the notion of 'soundness of judgement' is in any way inherent in the noun, whether here or in the other passages he cites).

36 aut...// 38 aut With third variant at **37 subiectisque...** The list of (various) alternatives for dealing with the Horse is ancient, *Od.*8.506–9, Proclus, *Iliou Persis*, p.62.4–6 Davies, DChrys. 11.128, [Apld.] *Epit.* 5.17, Triph.251–7, QS 12.389–94 (Laoc. proposes burning the TH at 393).

pelago.../ 37 praecipitare The vb. has an old and interesting poet. pedigree (9), though V. uses it here in a sense familiar from hist. narrative (*Caes.Civ.*2.11.1, *Nep.Alc.*6.5, *Liv.*22.6.5, Adkin, *TLL* 10.2.466.69ff.). **P.**: cf. n. on 3.204 (high poet.); In Triph. and QS, as in V, the Trojans cannot hurl the Horse from the citadel (κατὰ πετράων βαλέειν, Hom.), because it is still outside the walls; however, they may have realised that a wooden Horse would presumably have floated: here, if we pause to ponder the details, as we should not, mildly comical, or grotesque. Strong allit., suggestive of violent aversion, perhaps. The suggestion seems not to be advanced in other classical versions. Dative of motion: Görler, *EV* 2,266 (*bene*), Antoine, 152, Penney, *ALLP*, 262.

Danaum insidias Cf. 1.754 *insidias...Danaum*; the Homeric λόχον. A basic word in the lexicon of military trickery, nn. on 11.515 (with bibl.), 783, *TLL* 7.1.1892.25 (Hubbard), *EV* 2, 989f., Wheeler (34), 85. *Danai*: vd. 5. Aen. represents with notable economy the arguments used by Capys and his right-thinking followers.

spectaque dona Compare 3.550 *spectaque linquimus arua*; an uninscribed, unexplained Horse was indeed a matter for disquiet and suspicion, on the site of the deserted Greek camp. The Horse a *donum* to Minerva at *Acc.trag.*127, at it was at 31. Now also a gift (cf. Citroni, *EV* 2, 130f.) from the Greeks, as at 43f. (associated with *doli*), 49, at once viewed with suspicion: *timeo Danaos et dona ferentes* (Tosi, n°243) is a specific variation upon the general ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα κούκ όνήσιμα (Tosi, n°244). The Greeks brought down Troy by trickery, on their own assessment (*Od.*8. 494, *supra*); *ingenia ad fallendum parata* as Cic. had written (*Cic.QFr.*1.2.4); cf. N. Petrochilos, *Roman attitudes to the Greeks* (Athens 1974), 43f., A.N. Sherwin-White *Racial prejudice...* (Cambridge 1970), 73, J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Romans and aliens* (London 1979), 31f., Tosi, n°242; V. could both reflect a traditional, hostile view of the Greeks' greatest trick, and show through Aen. a remarkable degree of thoughtful humanity towards the briefly successful tricksters (n. on 3.613). The exact relationship between **s.d.** and **insidias** is not perfectly clear; the second member does not explain the first and rather, both members (abstract) qualify the very concrete TH in a sort of asyn-

deton ('the gift suspected of treachery' if it must be spelt out. Cf. Hahn 1930, 144).

37 iubent Cf. nn. on 3.261, 11.218; here, as quite often in V., of popular clamour.

subiectisque...flammis Cf. 6.223f. *subiectam more parentum/ auersi tenuere facem* and 11.186 *subiectisque ignibus atris* (with my n.). Austin's note on the disjunctive force of **-que** here is excellent (add *EV* 2, 106); Serv. remarks on **-que** for **-ue**, while Serv.Dan. talks about *anti-quia...exemplaria* reading **-ue** (cf. *Vergilius* 41(1995), 57ff. for the language used), which Heyne actually favoured.

urere Not Homeric., but from *Iliou Persis* (Proclus, p.62.5 Davies), καταφλέγειν. Cf. *G.* 1.85, *Aen.* 5.672 *uestras spes uritis*.

38 terebrare Cf. n. on 3.635; the word a carpenter might use (a register that, sparingly, appeals to V.). Allit. of *t* (note too *uteri* and *latebras*); sounds of the workshop as the Trojans chip and gouge their way in to the Horse?

cauas uteri...latebras Echoed, 52f. **uteroque recusso/insoruere cauae gemitumque dedere cauernae** (and cf. 260 **cauo...robore**). Cf. *Od.* 8.507 κοῖλον δόρυ, 515 κοῖλον λόχον, *Lucr.* 3. 503, *Aen.* 10.601 *latebras animae, pectus, mucrone recludit*, *TLL* 3. 716.37f. (Hoppe), 7.2.993.2f. (Lumpe), *EV* 3, 127; unprofitable cavils, Paratore (40–56), 417f., n.23. Naturally, if the Horse is pregnant with armed men (20), its interior may be termed 'womb': so Serv. on 2.20, *EV* 5*, 408. Buchheit notes some similarity with Aeolus striking his hollow mountain, 1.81 (65, n.246).

temptare Cf. n. on 3.32 *causas penitus temptare latentis* (by pulling up stems of the *myrtus*). Hom., more energetically and militarily, (*Od.* 8.507) ἡὲ διατμῆσαι...νηλέϊ χαλκῶ.

39 scinditur Cf. *Luc.* 10.416f. *Latium sic scindere corpus/ dis placitum, Tac. Hist.* 1.13 *hi discordes et rebus minoribus sibi quisque tendentes, circa consilium eligendi successoris in duas factiones scindebantur*. But cf. already *G.* 4.419f. *quo plurima uento cogitur/ inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos*; the abstract development was to be expected. Leumann, 14 remarks that PColt1 here (Cavenaile, *CPL*, p.34) marks not *long* syllables but those bearing the word-accent.

incertum Honest uncertainty perhaps seen as a first step towards noisy and unprofitable partisanship; not here alone, an expert (and

ultimately unsympathetic) view of crowd mentality. Cf. Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.883.76f.; *tacet EV*.

studia in contraria Cf. Eur.*Hec.*117ff. (a later occasion), Cic.*Cael.* 12 (of Catiline) *neque ego umquam fuisse tale monstrum in terris ullum puto, tam ex contrariis diuersisque <atque> inter se pugnantibus naturae studiis cupiditatibusque conflatum*, Suet.*Aug.*81 (Aug. and the doctors) *contrariam et ancipitem rationem medendi necessario subiit*, Tac.*Hist.*4.6 *ea ultio, incertum maior an iustior, senatum in studia diduxerat*. See *TLL* 4.770.42f. (Spelthahn), Hellegouarc'h, 176, n.12. Also used of the divided passions of a sporting crowd, 5.148, 228, 450; cf. *EV*4, 1045.

uulgus With a little of the disapproval present at 1.148f. *cum saepe coorta est/ seditio saeuitque animis ignobile uulgas*; cf. too **2.99, 119, 798**, 11.451 (with n.), 12.223, Pomathios, 152, A. La Penna, *EV*4, 911, and in *Vergiliana* (ed. H. Bardon and R. Verdière, Leiden 1971), 285.

40–56 Laocoön For his genealogy, etc., cf. **41**; for his priesthood vd. *infra* here, §1 and for his sons, §3. Below are discussed (1) V.'s view of Laoc.'s innocence, (2) the structure of the Laoc.-scenes in V., and (3) the relationship of V.'s narrative to the Vatican sculpture.

See Austin 1959, 18ff., Bethe, PW 12.736.7ff., Block, 255–94, Campbell, 136ff., 153ff., Clausen, VA, 63ff., Engelmann, Höfer, Ro.2.2.1833.47ff., Gärtner, 192ff., Gantz 2, 646ff., P. Hardie, *CQ* 34(1984), 406ff., E. Harrison, in *ORVA*, 51ff., a revision of *Phoen.* 24(1970), 325ff., Heinze, 3–21, Hexter, 111ff., Immisch, Ro. 4.935.31ff., H. Klein-knecht, *Herm.* 79(1944), 66ff. (also in *Wege zu Vergil* (ed. H. Oppermann, Darmstadt 1963), 426ff., here cited; a paper of exceptional distinction), S. Koster, *Gymn.* 101(1994), 43ff., P. Krafft, in *Kontinuität und Wandel* (Festschr. Munari, ed. U.J. Stache, etc., Hildesheim 1986), 43ff., G. Maurach, *Gymn.*99 (1992), 227ff., E. Paratore, *Studi ... Traglia* 1 (Roma 1979), 405ff., G.J. Petter, *Studies in Lat. lit.* (ed. C. Deroux) 7 (*Coll.Lat.*227, Bruxelles 1994), 327ff., Robert, 1246ff., E. Simon, *LIMC* 6.1.196–201, *ead.*, *EV* 3, 113ff., H.W. Stubbs, *Vergilius* 43(1997), 3ff., S.V. Tracy, *AJP* 108(1987), 451ff., Zintzen, *passim*. Zintzen's analysis of the tradition about Laoc. and of the problems which V.'s treatment of him has been thought to raise is sober, informed and acute. Cf. further **199–233**.

(1) Discussion of the fine ambiguities raised by V.'s use of multiple points of view in the Laoc. narratives, and of the reader's attitude, in consequence, to Laoc.'s (alleged) guilt is reserved for **199–233**. Here one detail must be clarified: are we to think that the TH was from the

outset clearly, visibly dedicated to Pallas? When it first appears, Rom. readers might reasonably have thought they knew that it traditionally bore a dedication, but at 17 and 31 we have seen that that is, at least for Virgil, no foregone conclusion. The TH as **uotum** is presented as **fama** (17); the link with Pallas appears first as an element of popular wonder (31), that appears to have been added by Aen. with hindsight; if there had been an actual, visible dedication, the role of 17, **fama** would stand as confused and undercut. At 183ff. Sinon advances his tale about Palladium and TH, but, unlike the Trojans, we know (as does Aeneas, 195) that it is nonsense, created to deceive; possibly, though (Paratore, 413), the context is better suited to such nonsense if an explicit dedication is not present and visible on the Horse. Thus when we read (229f.) **scelus expendisse merentem/ Laocoonta ferunt** [sc. the Trojans], in that he had desecrated the TH with his spear, we shall find (vd. 199–233) we need to pay proper attention to **ferunt**; the interpretation here reported is that offered by the terrified (228f.) Trojans, deceived by their naive speculations and by Sinon (cf. Petter, 336, Hardie, 409). The wary and informed reader, unimpressed by Hyg.*fab.*135, who swallows 229f. uncritically as though objectively true, will by now have realised that V. himself has *not* followed the tradition of the inscription (31). So no inscription, and no prophecy from Laoc., either (vd. n. on 41), though at 45, if we recall the (?Cyclic) tradition of Laoc. as μάντις, we may for a tremendous, but passing, moment feel that, almost atypically, he has hit the mark with a warrior gesture that implies a prophetic function. That leaves his priesthood: of Thymbraean Apollo, according to Serv. on 201 and Hyg.*fab.*135; Clausen, IV, 64f., Austin, comm., p.95, and Simon, EV 3, 113 are not necessarily right to claim Apollo as the ‘original’ deity. We need to recall that, in Hom., princes may be priests as well (n. on 7.750) and there is no difficulty in supposing either that distinguished Trojans held more than one priesthood (Burkert, *Gk.Rel.*, 95), or that the major Olympians enjoyed more than one priest each among the Trojans (cf. Sabbadini, xviii on 319); for A., there was also Panthus (319). Laoc. perhaps a priest of Poseidon in Soph. (fr.371.1 Radt). In Euphorion (fr.70) too, if Serv. on 201 reflects him *in toto* (beyond, that is, the sentence beginning *Laocoön, ut Euphorion dicit...*); at least, in Serv., *cit.*, Laoc. seems to begin as a priest of Thymbraean Apollo, but then is chosen a priest of Poseidon by lot.; he had, though, profaned Apollo’s temple by lying with his wife there, and for this was punished: cf. Zintzen, 25, Gantz 2, 648, properly cautious; the story of the sexual

profanation to Euph.'s taste, perhaps (Tracy, 455. Thymbraean Apollo also involved at Nic.fr.562Suppl.Hell.), and perhaps hardly suitable in a major early-Augustan text (Clausen, *V4*, 65). Cf. A.F. Stewart, *JRS* 67 (1977), 86. Tracy has suggested that at 201 V. uses **Neptuno** to allude to this story, and to the profanation as the cause of his death. Ingenious, but rather far-fetched, and odd, when so vigorously challenged in the narrative by the emphasis placed on the Trojans' (not obviously correct) belief in Minerva's role. V. has separated the spear-cast and the death, thus further wrapping the theological justification, if any, for Laoc.'s death in characteristic uncertainty.

(2) Some critics of the Laocoön- and Sinon-scenes are happily convinced that they can explain the sources, development and many imperfections of V.'s Laocoön-scenes (after E. Bethé, *Rh.M.*46(1891), 511–27; cf. Zintzen, 9f., Heinze, 13, Campbell, 134f. for discussion). Vd. in general Block, *cit.* Zintzen, *passim*, Cartault, 183f., Harrison, 51ff., Kleinknecht, 468–85, Koster, 47ff., Maurach, 231, Sabbadini, xvii–xviii, and note E. Paratore, (13–39), 434, *id.*, (40–56), 405ff. (prolonged name-calling at the expense of scholars convinced of V.'s art, as indeed I am). Some degree of formal disorder is inherent in the earliest elements and development of the story: see, e.g., the scenes of rejoicing at the Greeks' feigned departure (Petr.89.15–20, [ApId.]*Epit.*5.16. etc.) and at the TH's entry into the city (*Il.Parv.*, Proclus, p.53.30 Davies; cf. *Iliou Persis*, Proclus, p.62.8f.Davies), the uncertainty over what to do with the TH (31–9) and what to do with Sinon (QS 12.360ff.), the duplication of prophetic roles between Laocoön and Cassandra (Zintzen, 53f., Clausen, *V4*, 67) and the story's inevitable polarity between shore (cf. n. on 26; shore essential alike to the Greeks' departure and to the serpents' arrival) and citadel. Particular objection has been taken to Laocoön's abrupt arrival, and to the division of his role over two scenes. Heinze's account of the splendid dramatic qualities of the arrival-scene (13–5) does not need to be repeated, and part indeed of the 'justification' of Laoc.'s delayed death is likewise dramatic. Sinon's lies have no direct and immediate effect; first, the portent of Laoc.s death (199–227) convinces the Trojans, falsely, of his guilt, as also of Sinon's good faith, but warns *us*, correctly, of Troy's imminent fall. Only now is the TH admitted into the city; rejoicing rapidly gives way to slumber, and to the fatal opening of the TH: this magnificent sequence of changing tones, effects and emotions (228–49) can result only from V.'s radical re-ordering of the tradition. Naturally, much further detail of V.'s reworking of his material will emerge *infra*; cf., for example, 236f., 246f..

(3) The endlessly-debated question of whether *Aen.*2 influenced (or was influenced by) the great marble sculptural group in the Vatican will not be discussed at length here, but some relevant (even, one hopes, persuasive) considerations, and a very little selected modern bibliography will be listed (more will be cited in the discussion, and much more too is easily to hand, in *LIMC* and *NP, infra*); the topic is of particular interest and singular complexity. See F. Albertson, *MDAI(R)* 100(1993), 133ff., B. Andreae, *Laocoonte e la fondazione di Roma* (Ital.tr., Milano 1988), with *EV* 4, 991f. (but on A.'s theories, see B. Ridgway, *JRA* 2(1989), 171ff.), P. von Blanckenhagen, *AA* 1969, 256ff., S. Koster, *supra*, 77, E. Kraggerud, *Symb.Osl.*67(1992), 113ff., G. Mau-rach, *supra*, 77, R. Neudecker, *NP* 6, 1135f., E.E. Rice, *ABSA* 81(1986), 233ff., E. Simon, *supra*, 77 (*bis*), R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic sculpture* (London 1991), 101ff., S.V. Tracy, *supra* 77. In 1976, Peter von Blancken-hagen (New York) generously discussed with me some of the issues he had raised in an excellent lecture on Laoc. the previous year in Lon-don.

The (unsigned) Laocoön-group, now in the Vatican, was found on the Colle Oppio in 1506. Is it the same as the *opus* ('work of art': cf. Kraggerud, 120, after W. Görler, *RhM* 133(1990), 176ff., though this natural sense has been inexplicably called into question and recent discussion has sunk to mere vilification) to which Plin.*Nat.*36.37 refers as *in Titi imperatoris domo* and the work of the Rhodians Hagesander, Polydorus and Athanodorus? No, first, because Titus did not live on the Oppian (Albertson, 139f.), secondly, because Pliny says Titus' group is *ex uno lapide*, while the surviving group is made of eight pieces of marble, of two types (excluding thereby *both* obvious inter-pretations of Pliny's phrase, Albertson, 137f.), thirdly, because Pliny refers to Titus' group as *opus omnibus et picturae et statuariae artis praef-erendum*; the latter, in his lexicon, refers to bronze (cf. Jex-Blake and Sellers on Plin.*Nat.*34.35 and 54 *toreutiken*, confirmed by several cita-tions in *OLD* s.v., e.g. Sen.*Ep.*88.18) and lastly because Pliny normally devotes no attention to copies (cf. P. von Blanckenhagen, *AJA* 80(1976), 103). Cf. further, O. Zwierlein in *Festschr. N. Himmelmann* (Mainz 1989), 433ff., J. Isager, *Pliny on art and society* (Odense 1991), 173. The ob-vious solution (so, e.g., Andreae, *EV* 4, 992) is to argue that 'our' Laocoön is a copy of a bronze original, perhaps even Pliny's, a view firmly rejected by E. Simon (*LIMC* 199), because several details (e.g. of the hair, snakes and faces) in the surviving marble are so dis-tinctively those of work in marble. The date of the Vatican group

remains elusive; the sculptors' names on the stern of the ship in the Scylla-group (see *SEG* 19.623 and 36.1590, Rice, 239) coincide with Pliny's list of the artists of Titus' group and careful prosopographical work points to a likely *floruit* for these artists in Italy ca.40–20BC (vd. Rice, *passim*). We must recall, though, that the technique of the Sperlonga groups is, in many details, quite unlike that of the Vatican group, though that difference may reflect the existence of many hands within a large atelier (Albertson, 136f, von Blanckenhagen, 103). But we may still, from external sources, have established an hypothetical date for the Vatican group's original, very close to the date of *Aen.*2; only, though, if Prof. Simon's objections, *supra*, are minimised or met.

That leaves us no nearer to a clear view of the Vatican group's relationship to *Aen.*2. In Arctinus (Proclus, p.62.10f. Davies) one of Laoc.'s children is devoured (but note plur. in [Apld.]*Epit.*5.18; cf. Zintzen, 21ff); in Soph., both, very probably, die (vd. Radt's introd. to the frr. of Soph.*Laocoön*, *TGF* 4, p.330f.; cf. Zintzen, 19ff.), as in V.. At Lyc.347, no number is specified (cf. Andreae (1988), 158f.); in (?)Nicander, *Suppl.Hell.*562.12 apparently one of two (cf. further 223–4). In the Vatican group, it seems that the elder son, to the r., will be soon able to escape. In V., Laoc. is blameless (Zintzen, 13, not overstating gravely, as has been argued *supra*), in the Vatican group, he is a classic suffering hero (Smith; cf. Cartault, 183); his 'sin' may, we have just seen, not be that of assailing Minerva's 'sacred' TH, but rather that of lying with his wife Antiope in the temple of Thymbraean Apollo, as detailed by Serv. on 201, citing Euphorion, fr.70Powell. In Arctinus, Aen. leaves Troy as a reaction to Laoc.'s fate (Proclus, p.62. 12f.Davies, Zintzen, 18f.), a version little suited to V.'s purpose. It *may* be that V. follows ultimately a Sophoclean view of the story and that the Vatican group is ultimately closer to Arctinus. In Lyc. (for dating, cf. now Horsfall, *ICS* 30(2005), 35–40), and, far more clearly, in V., Laoc.'s end is a major step towards the end of Troy, but there are numerous other such steps and the figure of Laoc., whether in marble or in iambic trimeters, is not (*pace* Andreae; cf. also B. Fehr, in *Religion and power in the ancient Greek world* (Uppsala 1996), 189ff.) naturally and credibly suited to a central role in the fall of Troy and/or rise of Rome; merely, as Schol.Lyc., *cit*, says, a *εγκεῖον* (and there were many) of Troy's fall. It is of no importance to V. that he is son of Antenor. Reasonably impartial enquiry points neither towards the Vatican group's influence on V., not to V.'s influence upon it; both masterpieces seem to be heirs to lost

Greek accounts, not particularly close, whether in tone or in detail. ‘Aucun rapport’, Cartault 1, 183.

40 primus...ante omnis Cf. nn. on 3.321 *una ante alias*, 7.55 *ante alios...omnis* and 11.806 *ante omnis*, Hand 1, 387, Hey, *TLL* 2.136.10ff.; with the addition of **p.**, the expression (cf. Serv.’s *perissologia*) becomes pleonastic (and on V.’s taste for pleonasms, cf. Austin here; add nn. on 7.40, 548, 11.798, *EV* 4, 140ff. (Zaffagno), Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 222ff.). At *Contr.*7.5. 8, Sen. introduces *quae belle dicta sunt*, at §10, *qui res ineptas dixerant*[*i.* a favourite term of disapproval among the rhetors], and of the latter, first of all, *Musa uoster, primus ibi ante omnes*: a clever, witty way to flag the booby prize, and no criticism of V.’s expression (some confusion in Austin). *Primus* often suggests not merely first in sequence but a degree of ardour too (cf. n. on 7.647).

ibi Our gaze and Aen.’s narrative still firmly held to the foreshore.

magna comitante caterua Used again at **370** of the Greek Androgeos (Moskalew, 127 overinterprets re-use of handy formula; 11.564 *magna propius iam urgente caterua* is a parallel development), and cf. too 5.76 (Aen.) *magna medius comitante caterua*, 1.497, 4.136 *magna...stipante caterua*. Such bands of followers are conventionally *magnae*; cf. n. on 11.478. Austin is right to cite a couple of historical *cateruae*: cf. Goetz, *TLL* 3.608, 53ff., Bannier, *ib.*1811.1ff. for a great many more instances. The verb suggests familiar *comites* (Hellecouarc’h, 56ff.). More important, the associations of the scene, the *aduentus* of a great Trojan magnate, with a suitably large following (as Guillemin notes): cf. n. on 7.812 for details and bibl. (e.g. R.G.M. Nisbet, *ORVA*, 378ff.). Not an anachronism (though the effect is similar), but, as at 7., *cit.*, the briefly-hinted recasting of an epic scene in familiar togate form. Compare consulting the senate (3.58), or the senate’s vote on declaring war (7.611), or dismounting in your commander’s presence (11.501). Such details of the colouring of Virgilian narrative are slow to be recognised.

41 Laocoön A figure Cyclic, not Homeric (**40–56**); Soph. named a tragedy for him, which DH cites (1.48.2) for the Aen.-legend. He was Priam’s brother (and thus Aeneas’ uncle; later, s. of Antenor, Engelmann, Höfer, 1833.48f.). That he was a seer, *μάντις* (like his brother Helenus and sister Cassandra; cf. n. on 3.294–505, §a) may go back to the *Iliou Persis* ([Apld.] *Epit.*5.17; cf. Zintzen, 22f.); had this detail been generally known to V.’s readers, it would have lent further authority to his intervention, but there is no hint in the text of a prophetic role or

manner and if L. had here carried weight and conviction, there would have been difficulties for the development of the plot; L. acts (50) like a warrior, but is also a priest, of Neptune/Apollo (201 and vd. 40–56, §1). For the name, cf. Robert, 1252.

ardens Vb., partic. and noun (*ardor*) common in V. (cf. Vollmer, *TLL* 2.485.30; *EV* notably disappointing) of a wide range of human emotions; Laoc. afire with urgent rage at the folly of his fellow-Trojans and the flame of his (wholly laudable) anger is clearly enough the first fire-image of the book (ignored by Knox and Putnam, but not by F.F. Schwarz, *Festschr. R. Muth* (Innsbruck 1983), 444), a first scintilla that will carry the reader to the great, fatal conflagration.

summa...ab arce V. will re-use the words and image (*tacet Moskalew*) of Tu. at 11.490 *alta decurrrens aureus arce*, where cf. my note; Latinus' palace too is *urbe...summa*: 7.171, where vd. n. for Homer's transient sense of the acropolis of Troy, Pergama (cf. *Il*.6.257, 22.172, D. Musti, *EV* 5*, 282, 2.245, 290); even Xerxes went up there (Hdt.7.43) to sacrifice to Athene, as did Alexander (*Arr.Anab.*1.11.7) and (e.g.) Antiochus, Liv.35.43.3 *Ilium a mari escendit ut Mineruae sacrificaret*.

decurrat Liv.1.12.8 Mettius Curtius *ab arce decucurrerat*: just earlier than V. (vd. now *Aen.*3, xxvi), but hardly a significant parallel, or an indication of a common source.

42 et procul A fine detail: L. begins to shout at a (not specified; n. on 3.13) distance before he comes up to the crowd of excited, curious and deluded Trojans. The speech begins at 1D, a regular sign of passion and excitement: cf. 1.321, 335, 9.634, Winbolt, 13, Kvičala, 265ff..

42–9 Dissuasorie Serv. on 46 (cf. Lausberg 1, 54); Highet (though vd. 132) does not discuss dissuasion; cf., though, 519ff., 5.17ff., 12.56ff. (positive and negative definitions are interwoven, however). A particularly fine and energetic brief speech, tightly structured (Maurach, 231f., n. on 45 **aut**); it ends, as it begins, on a high note. The case advanced by J.P. Lynch, in McAuslan, 112f., that these lines are distinctively archaic, even Catonian, in tone is not correctly or convincingly argued.

42 o miseri...ciues Cf. 3.639 (with n.), 5.623, 7.596 (with n.), 12.261, Rieks, 152. The interjection raises markedly the affective level. The citizens of Troy are *miseri* (here not far from *stultus*, *ineptus*, Wieland, *TLL* 8.1105.28f., comparing, after all, *miser Catulle, desinas ineptire*) as at 11.119 (where vd. n.), 360, and at 5.671 *miserae ciues* are prey to *furor* as

here to *insania* (cf. too 5.631): see Pomathios, 153; V. will often enough build up a picture of the Trojan-in-the- street as foolish and excitable (Pomathios, 105); they will not be seen as turning into sober, vigilant proto-Romans for a fair while yet.

quae tanta insania Cf. n. on 11.733 for the interr. and correl. pronouns linked thus (common in Cic.; *quae tanta dementia*, *Div.*2.94). Add masc., *G.*4.495, *Aen.*6.561. This is not the madness of civil war (7.461), nor the folly of political ambition, *G.*2.502 *insanumque forum*; rather the familiar condemnation of the adversary as e.g. (*Cic. Sest.*17) *caecus et amens tribunus plebis* (cf. Opelt, 140f., *Cic. Pis.*46f., with Nisbet's nn.). *Insanus* Pacuv., Enn., *insaniens* trag. inc., *insania* Acc. *trag.*236; possibly a distinct tragic flavour (nothing to be said in favour of claiming the accusation of insanity at *Enn. Ann.*199f. as a source here; vd. Ussani) but *dementia* and *furor* with cognates are likewise attested, in keeping with tragedy's conventional subj.-matter. *EV* 2, 621f. does not consider adequately V.'s language of insanity; cf., though, Buchheit, 107, Cairns, 82, n.69 comparing that of the Italians in *Aen.*7: both Trojans and Italians are *also* destroyed by their own folly.

43 creditis Equally misconceived, **371 socia agmina credens** (cf. 10.457); at **48**, a different sense, possibly one of V.'s deliberate repetitions with sense-change. Wills, 469f. and my n. on 7.554 add a little to Austin's splendid discussion, on **505**.

auectos hostes Cf. Cat.64.132f. 'sicine me patriis auectam, perfide, ab aris, / perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu?', *Aen.*1.511f. *ater quos aequore turbo dispulerat penitusque alias auexerat* [auerterat is also attested] *oras*, Ihm, *TLL* 2. 1304. 5f.. The line already thick with dentals in mid-word before the spitting allit. of d in **44**. The infin. gladly sacrificed to urgency: cf. 3.122 *desertaque litora Cretae*, 602 *scio me Danais e classibus unum*, Leo, ed. Seneca, 1, 189.

aut...putatis Cf. a similarly scornful tone at 11.686 *siluis te, Tyrrhene, feras agitare putasti?* Austin on **520** illuminates from bk.2 (vd. also **286**), *Buc.*, *G.* and *Plaut.* (add e.g. *Ter. Andr.* 139, 256, *Hor. Epd.*5.3, *Pers.*2.29, *Petr.*82.3) the colloqu. use of interrog. *aut* (introducing the second or later questions in a series): LHS 465 (*tacent TLL, KS, EV, Hofmann-Ricottilli, Hand, Bennett, Wagner, QV*).

ulla.../ 44 dona...Danaum *Nulla*, clearly, had they a grain of sense, but *u.* seems not to be a regular presence in angry questioning elsewhere. Cf. **36 Danaum insidias suspectaque dona**; in furious OR. V. now sharpens the associations and implications already present in

Aeneas' earlier account. Greek *doli* already present to the reader, in the same earlier passage, 34; *Danaum sic pronuntiandum est atque sentiendum, quasi omnes essent uersuti et insidiosi*, TCD.

carere dolis Cf. 5.173 *nec lacrimis caruere genae*, *TLL* 3.451.47 (Meister), *EV* 1, 662.

sic notus Ulixes? Laoc.'s fourth and last question is much his shortest (cf. the first *epiphonema* in 48, **equo ne credite**). At Petr.39.3, Trim. asks *rogo, me putatis*[the first trace of Virgil] *illa cena esse contentum, quam in theca repositorii uideratis?* 'sic notus Ulixes' (discussed, *GR* 36(1989), 79): the words therefore already a catchphrase. Could **sic** ever have been understood separately from **notus**, as 'could the *notus* *Vlices* ever have behaved thus?? Only by taking **n.** to mean 'notorious' here (*OLD* s.v. §7, citing *Cic.Verr.1.15 qui non tam me impediunt quod nobiles sunt, quam adiuuant quod noti sunt, Cael.31 Clodia, muliere non solum nobili uerum etiam nota, Fam.10. 14.1) and *sic* as at Cat.38.6 *sic tuos amores*. Possible, but strained; odd that the sane and lucid Austin should have bothered to consider such a notion, when the alternative is so solidly attractive. Kraggerud (*EV* 3, 766; cf. Wigodsky, 76, n.378) well compares *Enn.trag.170 nomus ambo Vlixem*, possibly in V.'s mind here. *Notus* perhaps better understood as a participle of *nosco* (cf. V.'s *nosti*, 6.514); Kraggerud's '[scil. *uobis est*]' seems awkward. Clearly Laocoön could not have known in any rational sense that Ulysses had 'invented' the Horse ([Apłd.]*Epit.5.14, QS* 12.23ff., etc., Robert, 1228, n.4), nor indeed that he was in it, but he 'knows', or intuits who is likely to be behind something that was already so menacing and divisive as the TH. He was after all a seer (41); our knowledge reinforces his justified suspicions.*

45 aut.../ 46 aut.../ / 48 aut Are the Greeks gone? Is the gift innocent? Do you trust Ulysses? Three questions to jolt the Trojans' complacency (43–4), and now three weightier explanations, much nearer the mark, to set against them. The first, indeed, hits the truth of the matter, but Laoc. does not hammer away at the point, so the Greeks only risk unmasking for a brief, but highly dramatic moment. Ladewig well compares Cassandra at [Apłd.]*Epit.5.17 λεγούσης ἐνοπλον ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμιν εἶναι*.

hoc...ligo With hindsight, Aen. had referred to TH as **donum exitiale Mineruae** (31), but the notion of 'sacred offering' has not yet been mentioned. Serv.Dan. writes *merito quasi dissuasor adfectauit tapinosin dicens ligno non simulacro*. 'Thing of wood' would indeed undercut 'sacred

offering', but the whole 'offering' rigmarole will only begin with Simon (for on the TH here there seems to be no inscription; vd. n. on **40–56**, §1) and Serv.Dan.'s suggestion is slightly misleading in the context of the knowledge available to speaker and audience. **L.**: material for thing (a type of synecdoche); so *sal*, *pinus*, *aurum*, nn. on 7.245, 3.355; often used thus, over a wide range of objects, writing tablets, weapons, ships, crosses (non-Christian as well), and even *lignum id quod ad emundanda obscena adhaerente spongia positum est* (Sen.ep.70.20); Steinmann, *TLL* 7.2. 1388. 25ff. at 1389.43.f..

inclusi Cf. **19**, **258**.

occultantur The vb. comedy and prose, but also *Lucr.* 2.634 and *Buc.* 2.9. Then 8.211; once in *Hor.C.* and *bis* only in *Ov.* Perhaps the synaloepha (o on o not exactly common: cf. **26**, **102**, **624**, 3.154, 4.291, 6.175, 188, etc.) indicates hiding away (Austin); the choice of verb (for V. could have written e.g. *aut hoc occulti ligno includuntur Achiu*) suggests that V. wanted to deploy the weightiest synonym for 'hide' readily available.

Achiui Cf. n. on 11.266 for this older, tragic form of *Achaei*.

46 haec...machina Cf. **151**, **237**, 4.89 *aequataque machina caelo* (cf. *Lucr.* 4.906, *Hor.C.* 1.4.2, Dietzfelbinger, *TLL* 8.11.79f.; *machinatio* also used thus, *id.*, *ib.*, 16. 15ff.). For the TH interpreted as an instrument of war in antiquity, cf. **13–39**(§3). *M.* is an old military import from the Gk. (cf. *catapulta*, *machaera*, *pirata*, *pharetra*, *ballista*, *stratioticus*, etc.): *Enn.Ann.* 620 *machina multa minax minitatur maxima muros*; as 'trick', Pacuv. and common in *Plaut.*. That sense clearly not absent here, in the company of **dolus**, **error**, **insidias** (cf. Amerio, *EV* 3, 299). Allit. of m in this verse as there was of c in the last; no explanation is offered here.

in nostros...muros The Trojan crowd will not believe Laoc. even though it is their very own walls that are threatened. Cf. 4.96 *moenia nostra*. The common affective/ patriotic tone of **n..**

fabricata est The vb. in *Acc.trag.*(559), *Lucr.* (*bis*), *Cic.Arat.* (*ter*); also at *Aen.* 9.145, and cf. **264 fabricator**. The vb. found as deponent originally; the past. partic. used in pass. sense from Varro, and Sall. and the pass. as pass. from here. Flobert, 78, 354, Jachmann, *TLL* 6.1.18.64ff., 20.6f..

47 inspectura domos The verb used of military scouts, *Liv.* 25.16.9, 34.38.3, *Amm.* 27.10.10 (with N.J.E. Austin, N.B. Rankov, *Exploratio*

(London 1995), 189); if the expression were recognisable as suggesting military intelligence/espionage, it would contribute much to the flavour of the line. At least Vegetius, *infra*, was impressed.

uenturaque desuper urbi The advb. perhaps first here (cf. F. Leo, *ALL* 10(1898) 437). Caes. *Gall.* 1.52.5, *Civ.* 1.79.2 are both doubtful (vd. Leo, Graeber). *Novies* in V., though. Here, the vb. is given a force not unlike that of a Gk. double compound (cf. 3.579f. *insuper.../ impositam*). Cf. n. on 7.588, 589 for V. and disyll. prefixes in tmesis. Vegetius 4.19 (often quoted here. See E. Bandiera, *EV* 2, 452, Graeber, *TLL* 5.1. 789. 36) will be glad to cite his learned colleague, on the need to raise the portion of wall threatened by a *machina*, *ne defensores desuper urbi uentura possit obprimere*; the besiegers require, above all, the advantage of height. So Laoc. rationalises the TH as a sort of *turris ambulatoria* (Liebenam, PW 6.2244.3ff., Kern, 181f., etc.). For ten years, the Trojans could look down on the Greeks (*Il.* 3.161ff., Seymour, 606), and the Greeks had had apparently no sight of the Other Side of the Wall. Laoc. intuits this source of rage and frustration.

48 aliquis...error ‘A’, definitely extant, like the *ultor* of 4.625, *EV* 4, 315f. (cf. too e.g. 1.463, **2.81, 89, 676**). But KS 1, 636 are clearly wrong (so not only Woldemar Görler, *per litt.*, but Vollmer, *TLL* 1.1608.73ff., citing e.g. Lucr. 4.665 *aut alia ratione aliquast uis excita morbi*; cf. too *OLD* s.v., §6) to rule out the occasional sense of *alius quis* for *aliquis*; their citations do seem to establish it for Cic. (e.g. *Brut.* 310 *cum M. Pisone et cum Q. Pompeo aut cum aliquo*; cf. Vollmer, *cit.*), and LHS 195 should clearly not have limited this use to Petr. and after. **E.** used ‘exquisite’, Heyne; Heyne defines a sense of *error* ‘metonymice...de eis quae errorem creant (instrumentis decipiendi)’, *TLL* 5.2. 818. 48ff., citing Serv. here *id est dolus, ut ‘inextricabilis error’*[6.27]. Cf. too *Liv.* 22.1.3 and Serv. on *Aen.* 5.589 *ancipitem dolvm perplexum errorem. Tacet EV*. So a welcome, though rare synonym of *dolus*, etc.. Cf. QS 12.392 φῆ[sc.Laoc.] δόλον ἔμμεναι αἰνόν and 394 καὶ γνῶ<με>ναι εἴ τι κέκευθε.

latet Serv. punctuates after **error**; Serv. Dan. joins *equo* and *latet* but does not discuss the punctuation, while TCD seems to pause at **equo**. Cf. G.B. Townend, *PVS* 9(1969–70), 84 and Speranza’s opaque n.. **Credite** without **equo** is a little feeble (*Buc.* 8.108 and *si credere dignum* could be quoted in support) and V.’s usage with *credere* (for the dat., cf. *Buc.* 2.17, 3.95, *G.* 4.48, 192, *Aen.* 7.97, 11.808, Lambertz, *TLL* 4.1133.82ff.) suggests rather strongly that we should pause at **error**: there, the sense is already crisply complete (contrast 7.505 *pestis...latet*

aspera siluis; no distinction, Lumpe, *TLL* 7.2.996.84ff.). Eye, brain and instinct are not tempted to leave the sense open after **latet**. To continue there would be grammatically possible but in no way binding, or even seductive. Rhythm is immaterial.

equo ne credite See on **latet**. A slightly archaic form of prohibition, n. on 7.96.

Teucri Cf. n. on 3.53.

49 quidquid id est A Lucretian formula, 3.135, 5.577; ‘pas très élégant’. complains Marouzeau (*TSL*, 111), but good enough for both V. and Lucr.. Serv. mysteriously proposes that we pause after **timeo**; *hoc enim melius est*.

timeo Danaos et dona ferentis A striking sequence of long o (the first two in successive anapaestic words), *ter*. For the Danai, vd. **36**. Serv.Dan. glosses **et** with *etiam*; cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 5.2.908.28f., *Buc*.7.56, 10.76, *G*.2.455, LHS, 483, Hand, 2, 517ff.. The TH has already been identified, massively, as a *donum*, **31**, **36**, **44**. *Dona ferre* stock, or formulaic, n. on 11.479, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.2023.34ff.. For antecedents and offspring in the repertory of proverbs, cf. n. on **36 suspectaque dona**; the relevance of the delightful *equi dentes inspicere donati*, championed by Austin, is not persuasive; cf. Tosi, n°1361. **D.** cannot be limited to ‘offerings to the gods’, as has been suggested. A particularly splendid *epiphonema* (cf. nn. on 7.312, 722, D. Fowler, *MD* 22 (1989), 103f. and **354** for another instance. See too Gagliardi, *EV* 2, 341ff.). E.D. Kollmann, *Herm*.106(1978), 503f. injudiciously corrects this unexceptionable line to *quidquid id est, timeo. o Danaos et dona ferentes!*

50 sic fatus Cf. n. on 3.118.

ualidis...uiribus Cf. 5.500 *tum ualidis flexos incurvant uiribus arcus, 6.833 neu patriae ualidas in uiscera uerite uiris*. After Hom. κρατερῆφι βίηφι; then cf. Enn. *Ann*.298 *ualidis uiribus* (where vd. Skutsch), *Cic.Arat.* (*bis*), Lucr. (*quater*; for 1.971 see below, **contorsit**). Here, therefore, lofty and archaic.

ingentem...hastam Conventional (*quinquies* in *Aen.*) but also appropriate to the size of the TH.

51 in latus The verb is being withheld for greatest effect. For *in...inque*, cf. 12.293, Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.805.55, Liv.Andr.fr.35Mariotti (only *inque*). Cf. **19 lateri**.

inque feri...aluum The anaphora of the prepos. adds force to the blow (Benoist); cf. 12.293 (and note e.g. *Aen.*7.499 *perque uterum...perque ilia*, with n.). A. the belly or womb likewise at 401, 6.516 *armatum peditem grauius attulit aluo*, 9.152 *nec equi caeca conduntur in aluo*, Ihm, *TLL* 1.1801.68ff.; ‘womb’, if we give precedence to the image of the TH as pregnant with warriors. The noun (cf. J.N. Adams, *BICS* 27(1980), 54), here more precise and specific than preceding **latus** (for epexegetic *-que*, cf. Wagner, *QJ* xxxiii §5), has an interesting history in high poetry: *Acc. Ann. frr. 1, 5* Courtney, *trag. inc. xxxix, ter* in *Lucr.*, *Hor. C.4.6.20*. Acceptable as both ‘womb’ and ‘belly’ and the distribution dictated by subj.-matter (for analogous *uenter* cf. Adams, *cit.*, 54). *Ferus* as *bestia fera* in *Cat.*(63.85) and *Cic. carm. Hom.* 1.16 (the snake who ate the sparrows at Aulis; vd. 198 **decem**); cf. *Aen.*7. 488, and, of the TH, Petr.89.12; cf. Klee/Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.606.55ff.. Hardly ‘wild’ except as a dangerous enemy to the Trojans.

curuam compagibus Cf. 1.122 *laxis laterum compagibus*, *Liv.*35.26.8; also later of universe, earth and human frame. The phr. perhaps tragic in origin: cf. Pacuv.*trag.*250 (Od.’s raft, from *Niptra*; Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.*, 275) *nec illa subscus cohibet compagem aluei/ sed suta lino et sparteis serilibus; compago/ compages* from *con-pango* (*compingo*; our ‘compact’). See *TLL* 3.1999.68f. (Wulff). Cf. Mynors on *G.*3.80, 87 for the ideal of a solid, well-fleshed horse.

52 contorsit At last, the violent, prominent, long-awaited verb, of distinguished poetic ancestry (Pacuv.*trag.*186, *Enn. Ann.*465, *Cic. Arat.*61, *Cat.*64.107, *quater* in *Lucr.*); cf. n. on 3.562 and here note in particular *Lucr.*1.971 [*telum]id ualidis utrum contortum uiribus ire* (see 50 **ualidis...uiribus**). In the strongly antiquarian context of 7.165, *spicula contorquent* points the attentive reader to the use of a throwing-strap (*amentum*), but that seems rather less compulsory here. Cf. Hoppe, *TLL* 4.736.81f.; *decies* in V. but *tacet EV*. The spear-cast itself has been claimed as an original Virgilian detail, Austin 1959, 18, after Robert, 1246f. (comparing Tzetzes, *Posthom.*, 713), Rüpke, 126, Campbell, 134f.. But in some sense only an elaboration of *Od.*8.507 ήέ διατμῆξαι...νηλέτι χαλκῷ. Note too Petr.89.20ff. (vd. Stubbe, 33f.) *mox reducta cuspide/ uterum notauit, fata sed tardant manus/ ictusque resilit et dolis addit fidem*, suggestive, perhaps, of more than a mere variation on V.. The killing (Plb.12.4b.1 uses κατακοντίζειν) of the *October equus* has also been compared (13–39; vd. Beard-North-Price, 1, 47, Scullard, *Festivals and ceremonies*, 193f., W. Warde Fowler, *Rom. festivals*, 241ff.): this sacrifice was

explained by Timaeus, *FGH* 566F36, as commemorative of Troy's fall to the TH, in pursuit of his search for confirmation of Rome's Troj. origins (vd. Walbank, *ad loc.*; παιδαριωδέστατον comments Plb.). This *action* had a long life (cf. *Plut.Aet.Rom.* 287A5), but at Fest. (Verrius Flaccus) p.190.20f., seems to be downgraded to *ut uulcus putat*. It could have been known to V. and in that case, might have served to enrich this passage, over and above the Hom. model (vd. 38). For another challenging (and Roman) spear-cast (or two), to hand in V.'s general knowledge of Roman history, cf. *Lat.33(1974)*, 80ff.; whether Tolumnius, at 12.266ff. is also relevant remains doubtful (but see Mazzocchini, 241, n.50, Glei, 225, n.175). Could Tzetzes and V. have both found the spear-cast in some 'Hellenistic source'? Perhaps not, if the brilliant moment is itself a sharpening of Hom. detail, enriched by associations from Rom. ritual and history. Not quite an original detail, perhaps, but of splendidly complex origins.

stetit Molossus + strong pause at 1½ + pyrrhic (cf. 29) + Greek caes. (Norden, *Aen.6*, 431ff.), evidently enough, a rendering in metrical effects of the weapon's thud ('effort', Winbolt, 22) and ensuing quiver. Cf. 12. 537 (where Traina cites this line), 10.334 *steterunt*, Liv.27.14.9, *EV* 4, 1027, *OLD* s.v., §6. This is good Homeric idiom: *Il.11.574* (= 15.317), 20.280.

illa Taking up a subject already specified, as often, Wagner, *QV* xxi §5, Bulhart, *TLL* 7.1.357.28ff., *EV* 4, 314.

tremens Cf. 175, Traina, *EV* 5*, 262. Compare *Buc.8.105*, of flames.

uterisque recusso Cf. 20, 38 and 51 **aluum**. The vb. perhaps first here (cf. Cordier, 145); 'to strike so as to cause to vibrate, recoil, sim.', *OLD* s.v., §1. *Tacet EV* s.v. *quatio*.

53 insonuere Cf. 7.451, 515 with nn.; possibly a coinage but rather a favourite: *sexies* in *Aen..* Cf. Hugenschmidt, *TLL* 7.1.1938.84, Traina, *EV* 4, 943, Roiron, 388, who writes well of an immediate echo, as of a bell being struck.

cauae...cauerne Cf. 19, 38; a very simple *figura etymologica*, (*Graeca figura*, Serv. - vd. Mayer, *ALLP*, 182; O'Hara, TN, 60ff., LHS 793); cf. 3.98 *nati natorum... nascentur*, 7.707 *agmen agens*, 11.200f. *semusta ...busta*). Glei, 326 compares Cacus and sees a hint of chthonian forces here, which might be germane. The κοῖλον of *Od.4.277*, 8.515.

gemitumque dedere Cf. n. on 11.377, an archaic type of composite phrase. On the convenient ending in *-ere*, cf. n. on 7.760. Cf.

G.3.378, 4.214, *Aen.*1.398, **2.566**, 5.582, 8.133, 335, 11.800, 12.696 for various instances of the rhyming effect achieved by two endings in *-ere* within one line. The line thus echoes, doubly, in honour of the spear-blow's echo; cf. Clausen, *THP*, 34.

54 et si fata deum, si mens non laeua fuisset Aen. interrupts his own narrative to offer generalising tragic-choral comment. **F.d.**: ‘the will of the gods, expressed by their spoken word in oracles and visions’, n. on 7.239, Pötscher, 57f., 83, Pomathios, 328, and cf. Serv. here *modo participium est, hoc est ‘quae dii loquuntur’*; ‘portents’, clearly, should be added (with the coming serpents in mind), though they are not implicit in the nexus *fari-fatum*. For **mens**, cf. 35: either the *mens* of gods or that of men (Hofmann, *TLL* 8.719.29) can be that intended; for the former, cf. 5.56 *haud equidem sine mente, reor, sine numine diuom* (with Bailey, 68), 11.795 (with n.), Negri, 176, n.36, Pötscher, 57f., Zintzen, 56, n.131, Hofmann, 712.75ff.. Note G.4.6f. *at tenuis non gloria, si quem/ numina laeua sinunt, auditque uocatus Apollo*; ‘adverse’ (Mynors, Richter), *pace* ancient views. At *Buc.*1.16 *saepe malum hoc nobis, si mens non laeua fuisset*, the reference is evidently to human minds, as also at **2.735f. hic mihi nescio quod trepido male numen amicum/ confusam eripuit mentem**; in these two passages, Negri acutely notes the presence of the human mind (un)able to cope with a divine sign or message (which can hardly be the case here, however: vd. *infra*). At *Buc.*1.16 Serv. glosses *laeua* with *stulta, contraria*, and here with *contraria*; cf. *EV* 3, 99f., Montefusco, *TLL* 7.2. 892.41ff.. Jackson rightly notes that the force of **laeua** is slightly different with **fata** ('hostile') and with **mens** ('blind'). In V.'s mind here was clearly enough (Ussani, M. Fernandelli, *Lexis* 14(1996), 108f.) Eur. *Tro.*45ff. ἀλλ' ὃ ποτ' εύτυχοῦσα, χαιρέ μοι, πόλις / ...εἴ σε μὴ διώλεσεν/ Πάλλας Διὸς παῖς, ἥσθ' ἄν ἐν βάθροις ἔτι. All that said, there has been a lot of unprofitable speculation about the line's grammatical structure, at least since Serv.Dan. on the last four words *Troianorum scilicet; bene diuisit*. ‘Sound and sense point out that *non laeua fuisset* must be mentally supplied with the first clause’ Page, quite rightly, as the anaphora of **si** makes plain enough to the alert reader. That puts a stop to unlikely expedients such as Con.'s limiting of **non laeua**'s application to **mens** alone and addition of a *fuissent* to **fata** ('had so willed' *uel sim.*). Does **deum**, finally, apply only to **fata**, or to **mens** as well? Once it is accepted that **laeua** applies to both members, it becomes impossible to limit the application of **deum** to a single half of the line. It seems in the end that

the line refers only to the gods, and to their *mens* and *numen* (as 5.56), though the existence of a reference to human mind(s) in *mens* (cf. 244 **caecique furore**) is perhaps not entirely to be ruled out (as suggested by Austin, Zintzen, 56, n.131). At QS 12.395ff., the Trojans would have obeyed Laocoon and been saved, but Athene intervened (Gärtner, 197).

55 impulerat With the infin. from 1.11 (*tot uoluere casus*); cf. 520, Hor.C.3.7. 14ff., Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.540.67ff. A particularly common Virgilian use of infin., Görler, *EV* 2, 271. Standard Latin; ‘epici adamant’ (from *Enn. Ann.581*), Hofmann 536.46. Indic. thus in apodosis of past unreal condition is common enough (here indicating that Laoc. nearly did drive the Trojans to break open the TH), usually with apod. preceding: cf. NH on Hor.C.2.17.28, NR on 3.16.3, Handford, *Lat.subjunct.*, 129, Ernout-Thomas, 380f., KS 2, 203f., LHS 328. Cf. G.2.132f., *Aen.*4.19, 603, 6.358 (with Austin’s n.), 8.522.

ferro...foedare Synecdochic use of metal (cf. **ligno**, 45) for weapon (very common; Pflugbeil, *TLL* 6.1.580.1ff.); the whole phrase Ennian, *trag.*399 *ferro foedati iacent*; cf. too *Aen.*3. 241 (with n.), Pflugbeil, 583.18. Whereas befouling the foul birds in 3, *cit.* is particularly forceful and appropriate, the phr. is marginally less powerful here, in keeping with the likelihood of bk.2 being the later of the two books (Bk.3, xl; 2.774). For the vb., cf. Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.997.51f.; Serv. *dilacerare*; also Lucr., Cat.64, Cic.*carm.*

Argolicas...latebras For the adj., cf. nn. on 78, 3.283, a useful quasi-alternative to *Argiuas*. **Latebrae** already at 38; cf. 48 **latet**.

56 Troiaque nunc staret M; stares PR, Pap.Colt 1, grammarians, TCD. Serv. appears to write **stares**: *si ‘staret’ legeris, ‘maneres’ sequitur propter όμοιοτέλευτον. et est apostropha*, in which there appears to be an ellipse of thought: *maneres* follows, after *staret*, to avoid homoeoteleuton, which is in fact absent, unlike apostrophe. Austin was right to express perplexity about Serv.’s sense, but the temptation to emend should be resisted. With **staret**, cf. 1.268 *dum res stetit Ilia regno*, 2.88, Bartalucci, *EV*4, 1027.

Priamique arx alta Cf. 11.490, with n., Reed, 177; for Pergama, the citadel of Troy, cf. n. on 7.322, D. Musti, *EV* 5*, 282, *Il.* 5.446, 460, etc. The adj. here suggestive perhaps of Hom. Περγάμω ἄκρη (*Il.*5.460); at any rate a faint, passing hint of venerable majesty. No *arx* in *EV*: cf. nn. on 7.61, 70; a symbol of royal power, Lersch, 31f..

maneres maneret M₇ (humanist), Pap.Colt 1, TCD, Dositheus, *Gramm.Lat.*7.428.15. Cf. 4.312 *Troia antiqua maneret*, *EV* 3, 338. The textual issue was addressed at 7.684f. *quos diues Anagnia pascit/ quos, Amasene pater* : ‘at 2.56, a double apostrophe could hardly be cobbled on to the preceding *impulerat* by -que and Austin *ad loc* rightly senses that the single-member apostrophe is artistically preferable; stylistic variation does nothing to impair the significance of the Euripidean echo’. Further confirmation (though no decisive argument) from the imits., Sil.7.563, 10.658. There are two apostrophes in Eur. *Tro. supra*; no compulsion for there to be two here too. Compare 10.429f. *sternitur Arcadiæ proles, sternuntur Etrusci/ et uos,...Teucri* (discussed at 7, *cit.*); note too the shift of person at 4.312. The single apostrophe here is flawlessly restrained (note TCD *facta apostropha cum ingenti dolore animi addidit*, Williams, *II*, 250); a first trace of Aeneas’ (and the Trojans’ in general) deep love for his native city.

57–76 Sinon Abbot (34), 65–72, Austin 1959, 19f., Block, 267ff., F. Canciani, *LIMC* 7.1.777f., Campbell on QS 12.360–88 (*bene*), Cartault, 177ff., Clausen, *V4*, 65–8, C. Deroux, *EV*, 4, 885ff., W.-H. Friedrich, *Philol.*94(1940), 152ff., Funaioli, 215ff., Gärtner, 170ff., 177ff. (*bene*), Gantz 2, 646ff., P.R. Hardie, *CQ* 34(1984), 406ff., Heinze, 8ff., Hexter, 112ff., Highet, 247f., Immisch, Ro.4.935.31ff., J.W. Jones, *Cl.*7.61 (1955/6), 122ff., J.P. Lynch in McAuslan, 114ff., B. Manuwald, *Herm.*113 (1985), 183ff., J.H. Molyneux, *Lat.*45(1986), 873ff., Robert, 1240ff., Rieks, 49ff., G. Scafoglio, *AuA* 53(2007), 76–99, R.M. Smith, *AJP* 120(1999), 508ff., Zintzen, 8ff., Zwicker, PW 5A. 248. 61ff.. Here, a summary of (1) Sinon’s literary antecedents and (2) narrative analogues; also, (3), some suggestions about the rhetorical strategy of his four speeches; see the four introductions to the sections of the speech, *infra*, for further discussion.

(1) Sinon is a post-Homeric figure, but owes much to Hom. In QS, tortured by the Trojans, in Triph., self-mutilated, in V., neither, but the detail important in understanding the Sinon-tradition. It is no surprise that he comes to be presented as a cousin of Od.’s, Lyc.344 (details in Schol.Tz.)- not simply on account of Od.’s own expertise in dishonesty (cf. Highet, 247), but because of Od.’s influential foray into Troy, the πτωχεία: cf. Helen’s narrative, *Od.*4.244ff., of Od. self-mutilated and dressed as a beggar, when he entered the city, recognised only by Helen herself, for slaughter and espionage: cf. Campbell, 120, Gärtner, 180, Jones, 122ff.. Lydus (*Mens.*4.118) related that Julian was deceived

by two self-mutilated Persians, because forgetful of both Hdt.'s Zopyrus and Σίνωνος τοῦ Βεργιλιανοῦ; L. was still well-enough grounded in Latin but here seems to reflect Triph.; cf. Gärtner, 181, n.104. Note lastly Euphorion fr.69 Powell *secundum Euphorionem Vllices haec fecit* (Serv. on 79). Simon was more clearly present in the Cycle: in *Il.parv.* to give a fire-signal to the Greeks ([Apld.]*Epit.* 5.15, supplementing Proclus. Cf. Au. on 256). Cf.fr.11^c Davies. The same detail, *Iliou Persis*, Proclus, p.62.14f.Davies. See Campbell, p.119. Note that the *Tab. Il. Cap.*, appearing to represent scenes from the *Ilias Parva*, shows a bound Simon entering Troy along with the TH (vd. n. on 57); that is poor evidence (587ff.). Of Soph.'s *Sinon*, the four discontinuous words that survive permit no speculation. The (probable) interpolation at Arist.*Poet.*1459b7 may refer simply to Soph.'s play and not to some other unknown dramatisation (vd. Kannicht-Snell, *TGF* 2, *Adespota* F1e, Radt, *ib*, 4, p.413f., Campbell, 119, n.52). As for Rom. tragic versions, cf. in particular Acc., *Deiphobus*: Stabryla's optimistic account (91–4) does not prove use by V. here; cf. too Campbell, 121f.. However, C. does detect (122) a 'direct reflection' of a Sophoclean deception-scene, and the deceptions practised by V.'s Simon clearly owe something to those of Od. in versions of the story of Philoctetes: cf. Setaioli (7), 182f., Campbell, 121f., Heinze, 8f., Friedrich, 157ff., Manuwald, 189ff., A. Martina, *EV* 2, 430. See in particular Eur. *Philoctet.*fr. 789d. 22ff. (Kannicht)=DChrys.*or.*59.8, Od.'s account of what he has suffered at the hands of the Greeks (cf. 83, etc.). The role of Accius' *Philocteta* clearly and atypically overstated, Wigodsky, 88: cf. Manuwald, 194f., Campbell, 122, n.59. Further formidable complications in V.'s reading here will emerge from comm..

(2) Already in La Cerdá, a reference to Hdt.'s story of Zopyrus, 3.153ff: the Persian wins the Babylonians' trust by self-mutilation (cf. the source of QS 12.366ff. for the Trojans' mutilation of Simon, Gärtner, 180) and the pretence that he is a deserter, with explanation. The besieged are convinced, trust him, and their city falls. Livy had lately taken the story over (Tarquinius Superbus, siege of Gabii; 1.53.5ff., *minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo*). La Cerdá's further comparison of Nico and Philemenus (the betrayal of Tarentum to Hannibal, Liv.25.8.3ff.) is less striking. Note the torture at 8.485f.: from the historical tradition, via Cic., *Hortensius*. Much has also been written about analogies between Simon and (the invented figure of) Achaemenides, not all of it profitably; cf. *Aen.*3, pp.408f..

(3) The wider problem is familiar: Troy falls, Aen. flees but fall and flight have for Roman, even patriotic reasons to be presented with

full justification (H. Bruckmann, *Die röm. Niederlagen*, Bochum 1936, is full of good ideas; add Oakley, Liv.9, p.19ff.): Greek trickery and the loss of the gods' goodwill, in particular. Here, the depths of Sinon's trickery are given fullest exposition (cf. 65f., Cartault, 177, Highet, 16, 247f., Ricks, 49), in the four increasingly ample subdivisions of his speech (Rieks, 49, Lynch, 115, 69–72); Sinon first explodes in calculated despair (69–72); no studied contrast of manner, therefore, with Laoc.'s wrath, *pace* Lynch. Inconsistencies within the speech(es) have attracted attention (Friedrich, Molyneux, Manuwald, 192): the very length and complexity of Sinon's exposition is part of a grand strategy of confusion and deception; inconsistency helps subvert the Trojans' perception of what has happened/is to happen. The speech's success lies in 196 **credita res**; that is not translated into action before the serpents attack Laocoön and Laoc.'s death 'proves' to the Trojans that he is punished for his attack on the 'sacred' TH, 40–56, §1. I say nothing of the 'etym. meaning' of Sinon's name, in the absence of any secure conclusions(?cf. Sinope; ?cf. *cίνομαι*).

57 ecce A word that recalls the narrator's astonishment on the fatal evening; perhaps he pointed then, and maybe now does so again in the telling; certainly the visual in some sense both checks and dramatises the oral; 8x in 2, 3x in bk.3. *Haec particula prope rem gestam ante oculos lectoris inducit* Serv.Dan. But what, exactly, are we seeing? Does the TH stand there, with Laoc.'s spear in its flank, all through Sinon's speeches (thus, Austin)? The **hanc** of 187 makes it highly likely, if not certain. Is Laoc. there, or does he depart to start his sacrifice (Clausen, V4, 69)? TH found on the shore (31), sacrifice to Neptune likewise (near enough: 212f.), but not necessarily at the same point. Laoc.'s movements perhaps not a crucial issue.

manus...post terga reuinctum For the retained acc., cf. *Buc.*7.32 *suras euincta cothurno*, *Aen.*5.269, 774, 8.286, 12.120, *Hor. Ep.*2.1.110, *fronde comas uintci*, *Tib.* 1.10.28 *myrto uintctus et ipse caput*, Antoine, 54, KS 1, 289, R. Thomas, *Vergilius* 38(1992), 136f., E. Courtney, *CJ* 99(2004), 427, Austin's n. here. The plur. (**terga**) used as often of parts of the body: further to Austin's n., vd. Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 150. The vb. of very distinguished antecedents, *Enn. Ann.*2, 470, *Varr. Atac.*fr.23. Cf. *EV* 5*, 554. Sinon perhaps so represented in the *Il. Parv.*: at least, with bound hands on the TIC before the gate of Troy; Sadurska, 28 (visible, *EV* 5*, pl.I; lowest band, third figure from R.; for inscr., Sadurska, 30); cf. *Acc. trag.*130 *manibus manicas neximus* (from

Deiph., clearly of Sinon), Robert, 1242f.. For the image, cf. 1.295f. *centum uinctus aenis/ post tergum nodis*, 11.81 *uinixerat et post terga manus* (with n.), Liv. 5. 27.9 *denudatum deinde eum manibus post tergum inligatis reducendum Falerios pueris tradidit* (just earlier than 2, probably), 9.10.7 *manus post tergum uinciri*, Hor.C.3.5.21f. *uidi ego ciuium/ retorta tergo bracchia libero* (with NR), Ov. Am.1.2.31 *manibus post terga retortis* (with McKeown's n. for later passages), Vell. 2.1.5 *nudus ac post tergum religatis manibus dederetur hostibus*, Il.21.30 δῆτε δ' ὁπίσσω χεῖρας ἐύτμητοιςιν ἴματι, Od.22.189, Soph.Aj.71f. (with Jebb's n.), OT 1154, Eur. Andr.718f., Ar.Lys.434, and for Eur.*Alexander*, vd. *infra*.

iuuuenem Cf. nn. on 3.136, 7.531, 11.123: a typical young warrior.

interea In the course of the argument, but the precise sense of **i.** has been much (and inconclusively) disputed of late; cf. n. on 7.572.

58 pastores Virgilian invention, it appears (but what of—e.g.- Soph.?). The Trojans, collectively, find Sinon at QS 12.360. Here, we may wonder what prompted V.'s invention of this circumstantial detail: perhaps because *pastores* occur frequently in the legends of Troy (cf. n. on 7.363 *Phrygius...pastor*, Seymour, 360 and *ib.*, 251ff. for Hom. shepherds in general), they may have seemed natural occupants of the Trojan plain. R.V. Albis (*HSCP* 95(1993), 319ff.; anticipated, Campbell, QS 12, p.121) acutely draws attention to *POxy*.3650 (= Eur.*Alexandros* T.iiiKannicht).16f.: because of his haughty behaviour, the shepherds among whom he was raised (cf. G. Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes* (Meisenheim 1964), 144f.) [δ]ήσαντες ἐπὶ Πρίαμον ἀνήγαγον αὐτόν, and there were shepherds in Ennius' *Alexander* (64Joc.), a play V. knew well (Wigodsky, 77, Stabryła, 74ff.). Note that the role may possibly have been filled by fishermen in Acc.*Deiphobus*; *trag.*129 with Stabryła, 92.

magnō...clamore Cf. *G*.3.375, 4.439, *Aen*.5.207, 6.175, 9.791, 10.799; a handy formula, sometimes with order reversed; the spondaic rhythm might (even) suggest that Sinon is in some way resisting capture (cf. Au. on 58), but there is no reason in the development of events for his doing so. Or (Serv.) the shepherds were in a hurry. Cf. Au. on 457.

ad regem...trahebant Cf. the Livian *trahi ad consulem* (9. 41.18); it is likely, if not guaranteed, that Priam has followed his people out of the walls. The *arx* and Priam's palace would here be an unwelcome distraction. Cf. 77.

59 Dardanidae Common synonym for *Troiani* (cf. *EV* 5*, 292); used with no special point here: n. on 11.353. The churlish reader might grumble that, of course, the shepherds hereabouts are Trojan. But their prisoner will bring about the fall of the great city of Dardania (n. on 3.52).

qui se...ultra// 61 obtulerat Cf. Heine, *TLL* 9.2.506.84, 371; note the pass. at *Liv.*5.15.4 (previously, cf. *Cic.Sest.14, bis* in *Epp.*): the schoolmaster of Veii, a striking passage. Sinon does not wait to be found, but puts himself in the Trojans' way. One could quibble about quotidian details of narrative plausibility. Traina, *EV* 5*, 363 compares *Buc.*3.66 *at mihi sese offert ultro*, *Aen.*8.611 *seque obtulit ultro*. The verb will be long delayed, to follow the *ut*-clause that explains the initiative Sinon takes. For synaloepha of monosyll., cf. n. on 11.807; for *se* in particular, cf. Norden, 457 (*se* in synaloepha 37 times in V., comparing *Lucr.*, *Cat.*; see now A. Morelli, *L'epigramma latino prima di Catullo* (Cassino 2000), 232).

ignotum Metapoetically, not mentioned by Hom. (cf. 57–76) but, in terms of plot-construction, a figure conveniently without father, lands, kin, deeds, whose lies will pass without the doubts engendered by ten years' familiarity. An unknown Sinon also at *QS* 12.33, 238 (Gärtner, 165, 171).

uenientibus Cf. 6.291 *strictamque aciem uenientibus offert*, taking up Gorgons, Harpies and the like, as here, *pastores*; ‘as they went’. Cf. n. on 7.676 (*euntibus*); V. also uses *ab-*, *red-euntibus*, similarly.

60 hoc ipsum To be caught (and taken to Priam); cf. *G.3.511*, Tietze, *TLL* 7.2.354. 43ff. (regular idiom; not common in poetry).

ut strueret ‘Contrive, devise’, *OLD*, §6a, *Aen.*8.15 *quid struat his coeptis*. Cf. (e.g.) *Cic.Clu.178 aliquid calamitatis*, 190 *insidias*, *EV* 4, 1042 (Ugenti).

Troiamque aperiret Achiuis The vb. subtly used, suggestive of standard *portas aperire* (as 7.522 *castris...apertis*, with n., Prinz, *TLL* 2.213.6ff.), but also of ‘opening up’ the city of Troy to the Achaeans, as in *Liv.*42.52.14 *transgressi in Asiam incognitum famae aperuerint armis orbem terrarum*, *Cic.Arch.21 populus Romanus aperuit...Pontum*, *Luc.4.352*, Prinz, 213.43ff.. Almost V.’s cherished juxtaposed opposition of proper names (4, Bell, 373); A.: cf. 45.

61 fidens animi Animo R, *Sen.Vit.beat.8.3*. The abl. is indeed so used in sing. and plur., Bauer, *TLL* 6.1.696.45ff., citing *Liv.*24.8.4,

40.20.5, *Il.Lat.*712, Tac.*Ann.*4.59, Amm. *Marc.*16.12.47; cf. Breimeier, *ib.*10.1.427.42ff., citing e.g. Caes.*Civ.*3.95.2, Cic.*Fam.*10.8.6. The gen., though, is more difficult, ‘interesting’, and better supported (present in PColt 1). It almost certainly gen. of reference (cf. Serv.) rather than locative (though loc. may sometimes still have been, incorrectly, sensed; Görler, *EV* 2, 266): a long, old debate on this gen., summarised decisively and with fine arguments, Löfstedt, *Synt.* 1₂, 172ff.; see too LHS 75, Ernout-Thomas, 56, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 48. To summarise once more, compare (i) the whole range of analogous usage, not only *animi angi, inops animi, incertus animi*, not to mention 11.417 *egregiusque animi* (my n. underinformed), but also *incertus consili/ rerum*, (ii) (coupled with an unchallenged gen.) *sanus mentis aut animi* (Plaut.), and, when you need a more ‘locational’ form of expression (for *animus* is not the *sort* of word that has a loc.), (iii) *in animo habere*. Partic. used as adj. (already in Cic.*Att.*); cf. 5.398, 11.370, Bauer, 697.21f.

atque...paratus Standard Latin, and a wide range of constrs. attested (Breimeier, *TLL* 10.1.427.23ff.); for *in*, cf. *id.*, 427.47ff. (Sen. *Contr.*7.3.3, etc.) for the infin. (typical flexible Virgilian usage), *tacet, ut videtur, TLL*, but Görler, *EV* 2, 271 cites Cic. *Quinct.*8 *id quod parati sunt facere*. Infin. with **p.** thus common in V. from *Buc.*2.72 onwards.

in utrumque.../ 62 seu...seu Cf. Hor.*C.2.17.17ff., Serm.2.1.34f.*, *OLD* s.v. *uterque*, §2c (from Plaut.).

uersare dolos Cf. 34: exactly what was to be expected of a Greek. *Versare dolos* also at 4.563, 11.704, where vd. note (the debt to Liv.Andr.’s *uersutum* considered). PColt1 reads **dolo**; so too Non.p.418.34. Serv. knows both readings. Once the hint at Hom. πολύτροπον via Liv. Andr.’s *uersutum* is recognised, the almost literal debt to Odyssean κέρδεα νωμῶν becomes less relevant and we see that acc. is essential; abl. has no significant attractions. **Dolo** served once as a spur to emenders (vd. Geymonat).

certae...morti Au. remarks oddly: ‘in V.’s context, the phrase has a certain pathetic swagger’. Aen. allows for two eventualities: the successful trickery of a skilled Greek and certain death; Sinon faces this unsettled future with undeniable calm and courage, such as Aen. concedes to the enemies of Troy from the first. Not therefore quite identical with the familiar antithesis of ‘Ruhm oder Tod’ (Triph.126f., Gärtner, 172). The adj. thus from Cic. *Sest.*45, Ov.*Met.*5.29, etc., Elsperger, *TLL* 3.927.39ff.

occumbere Called by Serv.Dan. *nouae locutionis figura et penitus remota*; he quotes Enn.*trag.*398Joc. *pro nostra uita morti occumbunt obuiam* (Wigod-

sky, 42). Note also *Ann.*389 *occumbunt multi letum*; with *mortem*, *Liv.*2.7.8, 3.50.8, with *morte*, 29.18.6 (and cf. Oakley on 8.10.4). The text of these passages tends to uncertainty (*occub-/occumb-*; *morte/mortem*). See Heine, *TLL* 9.2.380.39f., Cordier, 40; *tacet EV*.

63 undique As the Trojans had rushed to surround the TH, **31f.**; cf. **40–56**, §2 for the duplication between these scenes.

uisendi studio Cf. *G.*1.387 *studio...lauandi*, *Liv.*1.15.4, *OLD* s.v., §2; standard. The gerund likewise: cf. (variously) *Caes.Civ.*1.69.1 *ac primo Afraniiani milites uisendi causa laeti ex castris procurrebant contumeliosisque uocibus prosequabantur nostros* (Rice Holmes, *Roman republic*, 2, 65), *Hor.C.*3.3.54.

Troiana iuuentus 6x at line-end in *Aen.*; cf. n. on 7.672 *Argiuia iuuentus*. An invaluable term for a body of young men (Senis, *EV* 3, 75, *male*), of Ennian origins, *Ann.*499 *Romana iuuentus*, etc.. V. Ferraro (*EV* 1, 380) well considers comparable usage of *consessus*, *concurrus*, *comitatus* (along with *custodia*, *praesidium*). It does not seem likely that we are meant to think of *Aen.* as taking part in this display of collective excited curiosity; cf. *Companion*, 110.

64 circumfusa *Septies Caes., semel, Sall., 14x Tac.* and over fifty times in *Liv.*, such as 2.22.6 *magna circumfusa multitudo*. A definite feeling of the flavour of narrative prose here. The scene thus too at *QS* 12.362, but (vd. Campbell there) in *V.*, no actual violence.

ruit Cf. 12.123, 652; Cavazza (*EV* 4, 602) is possibly wrong to remark that the sense of the partic. blunts the force of the main verb; prolepsis should not be ruled out (Görler, *EV* 2, 270); LHS, 414 should perhaps not have been so eager to rule out the proleptic use of partics. in *V.*

certantque With infin., from *ENN.*; also *Cic.carm*, *Lucr.*, *Hor.C.*1.1; very rare in prose (for such infins. in *V.*, cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 271, §3). Burger, *TLL* 3.896.51ff. lists six instances in *V.* (*tacet EV*); the picture seems to be that of Trojans competing for the wittiest, most cutting insult.

includere capto Unassimilated orthography of codd. retained in text; cf. *Aen.*3, xlif. With dat. of persons mocked, cf. *Hor.Serm.*2.3.51, *Priap.* 70.1, Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1. 389.36ff.; commoner with acc. (*ib.*14ff.). Note Opelt 48, 164 on *captiuus* as an occasional insult, and indeed such insults may be part of the occasion: Samnites after the Caudine Forks, 9.6.2 *exprobrantes eludentesque*, and vd. *Hor.C.*3.5.31–6. Cf. too *Liv.*5. 48.9 (with Tosi, n°1254). Not just mockery, either, to judge from **71–2**;

some Greeks will call for his death; Clausen, *THP*, 140f., n.43 (*VA*, 67, n.55) thinks V. is hinting at the torture lovingly described by QS; not necessarily (cf. Gärtner, 180).

65 accipe Addressed to Dido; as a hint of her presence in full narrative almost unique (cf. 506); see comm. *Aen.*3, xv. Cf. 3.250 *accipite ergo animis* (with n.), 1.676, 6.136, 8.155, 10.675, *EV* 1, 653f. (Bartalucci). The idiom is Ennian (*Ann.*187). Hey, *TLL* 1.306.45ff. at 307.35ff.. Formally, *Aen.* now answers Dido's request at 1.753f. '*immo age et a prima dic, hospes, origine nobis/ insidias*' *inquit* 'Danaum.'

nunc Articulation of the narrative (so e.g. *Cic.Cat.*2.27); Sinon has been properly introduced, and *Aen.* now relates his great deceit. Hand 4, 338f..

Danaum insidias For **D.**, cf. 3.87; for **i.**, cf. 36.

et crimine ab uno Crimen TCD, Serv.; the shift from neut. sing. to masc.plur. is thus avoided, and sense of a sort is preserved, but the cost is intolerable. For Thomas, *EV* 1, 932, a difficult passage that has divided the commentators, but he does appear to think that 65–6 are spoked by Sinon; *crimine*, 'accusation' here not pertinent. The expression is proverbial: cf. *Ter.Phorm.*265 *unum quom noris, omnis noris*, *Cic.Pis.*85 *cognoscis ex particula parua scelerum et crudelitatis tuae genus uniuersum*, *Sil.*7.39 *nosces Fabios certamine ab uno*. See further Otto, 358, Tosi, n°324; Austin also usefully cites *Hier.Ep.*57.12.1. In their discussion of brachylogy, the grammars (cf. n. on 7.595) do not recognise *uno crimine* as short for *unius crimine*, but after one has re-read the discussions of *hic*, *is*, *ille* so used, it would hardly cause surprise (cf. Pascoli here). Note that the thought of **102 si omnis uno ordine habetis Achiuos** is analogous. Certainly we should not understand *insidias* with **omnis** (Williams).

66 disce omnis Gudeman glosses 'intellege', *TLL* 5.1.1332.50f.; 'apprendere per conoscere' (*EV* 2, 95); V. has *discere* with acc. *cultus, uitas et crimina, dolorem*. *Aen.* here manifests, naturally, a foe's hatred of Greek deceit, music to an old Roman's ears; also, already, the first seeds (e.g. 62) of a singular respect that will grow into reconciliation; cf., more fully, n. on **36 suspectaque dona**. This half-line has been variously explained, in the context of differing speculative evaluations of the growth of this passage (Sparrow, 42, Günther, 42, Berres, *VH*, 137). It may even be enough simply to suggest that V. never completed the bridge between the narrative of the mocking crowd of Trojans around

Sinon and the introduction to the latter's speech. Do we just lack an epiphonema to complete the line? Or, as often, the rest of the verse, plus the verse following? The context justifies no further guesswork (for **namque**, though, vd. *infra*), and no answers are offered.

67 namque ut Narrative, explanatory (Hand 4, 1ff.)—presumably—of a further generalisation about the Greeks, though V. might have thought to turn to Trojan folly or divine malevolence.

conspectu in medio So too at 12.213, with *procerum*; cf., for example, *in ciuum esse conspectu*, *in oculis conspectuque omnium*, (Cic.), Spelthahn, *TLL* 4.491.80ff.. At 12.361f., QS writes ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος/ μέσσον ἐκυκλώσαντο περισταδόν; there, Campbell is of course right to insist on the differences between the two scenes, but that does not eliminate a certain verbal similarity (not clear proof of anything), of which Gärtner (179f.) takes proper note.

turbatus Dear to V., and employed often of fear, but also of every kind of strong emotion (Strati, *EV* 5*, 318f.): S. is ready to face his destiny (62), but he has first to reach the Trojan rulers and the first step is indeed risky (vd. the events at QS 12. 363ff.). At **107** he is still **pauitans**.

inermis Heteroclite in V.: Norden, 406, Gumpoltsberger, *TLL* 7.1.1305.17, Holzweissig, 540f., Leumann, 347, NW 2, 150f.; *semel*, Lucr., Hor.C.1, but common in prose. The scene splendidly illustrated in **R**; vd. *EV* 1, pl.xlvii. Sinon there seems entirely naked (as Triph. 259 γυμνός); hands not visible, but clearly bound behind his back. Asyndeton (of juxtap. adjs./partics.) as *Buc*.9.5, *Aen*.1.384, 4.373 (and vd. 9.794); KS 2, 150f..

68 constitit At **57f.** he was being frogmarched, but now he can stand and look about him; the narrative moves forward and we should not cry inconsistency.

atque oculis...circumspexit 'V. risque un pléonasme' (Heuzé, 542); cf. 5.552, 6.34, 145, etc.. Strange that Hom. ὀφθαλμοῖςι with ἵδεν, ὄρᾶςθαι, etc. has not been invoked (cf. Traina on 12.151, and cf. nn. on 7.436, 11.418). Cf. Kuhlmann, *TLL* 9.2.445.27 (and 22ff. for a wide range of pleonastic eyes). **C.** Pacuvian (n. on 3.517); here (but not to be claimed as distinctively tragic), cf. Elsperger, *TLL* 3.1170.37, 'sensu debilitato'. But the placing, and the spondaic line-end (vd. Norden, 446, citing Arat.297 περιπαπτάίνοντες) suggest that V. means the vb. to be noticed: S. looks carefully about at the Greeks, perhaps

to try to read his fate in their faces. Vd. Heuzé, *cit.* Paratore compares 405f., for both Cass. and S. are bound and both seem therefore reduced to eyes as a means of expression.

Phrygia agmina Hey glosses ‘populum Troianum’, *TLL* 1.1341. 75f.; cf. *ib.*, 72ff. on *a.* in non-military contexts, in particular of an ample *comitatus*, Cic.*Pis.*51, *Phil.*13.19, and cf. 4.469, the Eumenides. V. also has *Troiana, Laurentia agmina*, alongside the less exalted and more frequent gen.. For **P.** used in the neutral sense of ‘Trojan’, cf. n. on 11.170 (Zaffagno, *EV*5*, 293; poor).

69–72 The first instalment of Sinon’s speech (described as a **gemitus** by V., 73), which is surely (cf. 107 **prosequitur**) to be considered a single whole, though in four parts, and divided, as Highet suggests (16f.; cf. Manuwald, 189, Campbell, QS 12, p.122), after the manner of many tragic messenger-speeches, by questions and comments. That is confirmed by a glance at the interruptions: 73–5 are but an encouragement to keep talking, while 105–7 are a request for more, and 145–53 contain the removal of S.’s bonds and Priam’s specific questions; ‘intensification of the emotions on the Trojan side’ (Heinze, 11). Cf. Highet, 16f., 247f., Cartault, 177f.. For now a *commiseratio*, the winning of pity and sympathy (Ussani, Lausberg 1, 239, 380: Quint.9.2.8 remarks on the use of questions to evoke pity here); note Serv.Dan. *hac enim exclamacione et miseriae auctu beniuolum sibi iudicem fecit....* Note Feeney, *ORVA*, 185 on speech as a weapon.

69 heu Cf. 7.293.

quae...tellus...quae...aequora The *topos* of *quo me uortam?* (see e.g. Biotti on G.4. 504f., Jocelyn on Enn.*trag.*217, Pease on 4.534) expressed (so too, 10.377f.) in terms of a ‘universalising formula’ (Hardie, *CI*, 305, citing e.g. Cic.*Mur.*89) The polar expression itself of a common type (Hardie, 302–8: *Aen.*1.3 *terris...alto*, 235f., 598f., 756 and often). Highet, 247 imprudently grants precedence to a single Odyssean parallel (5.299/ 465), neither close nor memorable.

nunc After, that is, what he would have the Trojans believe has happened. **Possunt** too can only be understood once S.’s lies are heard and digested. The same effect created by 70 **iam...denique**.

inquit For placing, cf. 387, 5.623 ‘*o miserae, quas non manus*’ *inquit...*, and vd. *EV*2, 987.

me...possunt/ 70 accipere For synaloepha of monosyll. thus at 4D, Austin well refers to Housman on Man.4.46. S. begins with plain

language, artfully disposed; with the run-on infin. (**a.** conveys the key idea), cf. *G.1.26ff. et te maximus orbis/ auctorem frugum tempestatumque potenter/ accipiat*. For places as subj. of *accipere*, cf. also *Lucr.3.894 (domus)*, *G.4.362 (unda)*, Hey, *TLL* 1.312.11ff..

aut quid iam...denique restat Cf. 12.793 ‘quae iam finis erit, coniunctus? quid denique restat?’ (where vd. Traina; Serv. glosses *iam* as *denique*), *Cic.Mil.100 quid iam restat?*, Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.101.35, *EV* 4, 1028. *Quid/quis denique* in *Lucr.(1.981, 5.34)*; for prose, Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.529, 26ff.. *Iam...denique* are combined occasionally in Cic., (*Clu.199, Agr.2.68, Att.1.19.8, Phaen.124*); here, the sense is clear enough (Hand 2, 266), though the pairing is not in general widespread (PHI; *TLL* s.vv.); S. asks what *now* (i.e. sc. after all that has happened) remains *at the end* (again, sc. after all that has happened, intensifying): ‘non ordo rerum consideratur, sed ipsa extremitas’, Hand.

miserō mihi A key word in S.’s self-portrait, **79, 131** and cf. **140** (sons), Ugenti, *EV* 3, 546. A neat and natural placing for the words within the hexam.: cf. *Buc.2.58, Aen. 10.849*.

71 cui neque...et ‘While not... (yet) at the same time’, *OLD* s.v., §8a, Hofmann, *TLL* 5.2.888. 65ff., Hand 4, 133ff.. Compare the *neque...-que* of 7.195f.. The dat. is possessive, with *est* suppressed; Antoine, 109 notes 8.104, 718.

apud Danaos Cf. 5; the invented circumstances will be related, **116ff.. Apud semel** in *Buc.*, *sexies* in *Aen.* and at least as uncommon in other poets; at 11.288, I should have drawn attention to Axelson’s admirable discussion, *UW*, 77f..

usquam locus On the rare **usquam**, cf. n. on 7.311. **L.**: ‘ricovero’, ‘asilo’ paraphrases Speranza, unexceptionably. See Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.2.1598.60f.: the clear hint of home and safety derives from the context; consider too 4.319 *si quis adhuc precibus locus* and the *locus...solus* which Evander sees for the *merita* and *fortuna* of *Aen.*, 11.179f..

super ipsi/ 72 Dardanidae S. occasional for *insuper*, n. on 7.462. **Ipsi** makes a nice point (vd. Speranza): S. had given himself up, and has since been bound and mocked. He implies that the Trojans should by now have worked out that he is not a Greek, just like other Greeks; just for now, though, he can present himself as victim of both sides. *Quis enim non cuperet audire quo pacto idem homo et Graecis et Troianis esset inuisus?* Serv.Dan..

D. : vd. 59.

infensi Cf. 4.320f. *te propter.../...infensi Tyrii*, Lambertz, *TLL* 7.1. 1366.34f.; the adj. standard, used by Acc.carm., but not elsewhere in repub./Aug. poetry, except for V. himself, *undecies* in *Aen.*. Note 20x. in the first decade of Livy. This ‘pattern’ of usage might suggest that Enn. had used the word, which was then revived by V. and Livy. *Plus quam inimicus* comments Serv. here. Cf. *EV* 2, 953.

poenas...poscunt Cf. 139 and 6.530 for *poenas* with *reposco* (and note 8.495); probably *simplex pro composito* then here, in the interests of allit.; cf. Scheible, *TLL* 10.2.74.61f., *EV* 4, 153, 230; Gk. e.g. δίκην ἀπαιτεῖν. Cf. 64 **includere capto** for another indication of the Trojans’ attitude. Contemptuous, indignant allit. of p..

cum sanguine Cf. 366 **poenas dant sanguine**, 7.595 *pendetis sanguine poenas*, 766 *explerit sanguine poenas* (with n.), 9.422f. *calido mihi sanguine poenas/ persolues amborum* (with Dingel’s n.), 10.617 *pio det sanguine poenas*, 11.592 *det sanguine poenas* (with n.), 720 *poenasque inimico ex sanguine sumit*, 12.949 *poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit* (with Companion, 215). Ennian phrasing, as has often been explained (cf. *Ann.* 95). For the prepos., cf. 4.621 *uocem extremam cum sanguine*. *EV* seems entirely bloodless.

73 quo gemitu Cf. I.Kapp, *TLL* 6.1.1750.47. At speech-beginning, 288, 323, 11.95, 377; at end, 2.679. Vd. *EV* 2, 652.

conuersi animi A. indicates ‘la sede dei sentimenti’ at the moment in which ‘subentrano sentimenti contrari’, Negri, 122. For c., Jacobsohn, *TLL* 4.867.32; *EV* 5*, 510 unhelpful: note *Gloss* 4.37. 28 *conuersi animi, mutati animi*, Cic.Sull.69 *nunc iam reuocandi estis eo quo uos ipsa causa etiam tacente me cogit animos mentisque conuertere*, Mil.34 *conuertite animos, de orat.* 1.8, 2.200, *orat.* 138, *nat.deor.* 1.77, often in Liv.(862.29ff., n. on 11.800 *conuertere animos acris*), Tac.*Hist.* 1.85 *animum uultumque conuersis*. The expression used of changing both one’s own heart and that of others.

compressus Cf. G.4.87 *certamina tanta*, *Aen.* 5.801f. *furores...rabiem... caeli marisque*, 8.184 *amor compressus edendi*, Acc.trag.622 *animum iratum comprime*, Cic.har. *resp.* 1 *duobus inceptis uerbis omnem impetum gladiatoris ferociamque compressi*, Cic.Phil.2.21 (checking a very literal attack). *EV* 4, 256, Hey, *TLL* 3.2161.23ff..

et omnis/ 74 impetus Vd. *supra*; O. Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.611.43.

hortamur No reason to suppose that, in his recollected and inevitably ‘re-written’ version of events, *Aen.* does not still identify with that group of Trojans who encouraged S. to speak. *Bene non ‘iubemus’, utpote miserantes* Serv.Dan., rather well. For the infin., cf. 33. The

grammatical structure of **75–6** is not as complicated (or improbable) as e.g. Page or Puccioni (*PP* 9(1954), 431ff.; unhelpful) thought: on **hortamur fari** depend (i) **quo sanguine cretus** and (ii) **quidue ferat** (as the parallel relatives confirm); **quae sit fiducia capto** clearly depends on **memoret** and **memoret** itself is parallel to **fari**, and dependent on **hortamur**. Appropriate punctuation follows naturally.

fari quo sanguine cretus Cf. 3.608 *qui sit fari, quo sanguine cretus* (*Achaemenides*) with comm.; c. is poetic (from *Lucr.*) and used as though the partic. of *crescere*; cf. EM, Sommer, 601. The expression formulaic (cf. too 4.191 *Troiano sanguine cretum*, Moskalew, 124) on an Homeric model, which makes it of limited use towards solving the delicate problem of priority (3, xxxvii, n.87); 3 turns out to be probably the earlier book (3, xl); cf. **55, 774. Sanguine** two lines previously, in same *sedes* and different sense: Au. on **505** is excellent; further material, n. on 7.554.

75 quidue ferat *Adferat, id est, nuntiet* Serv.; cf. Hey, *TLL* 6.1.543.74. This is a common enough sense ('nuntiare, referre, praedicare, docere' Hey, 63); cf. Acc.*trag.*499, *Aen.*1.645 (Serv. *afferat, nuntiet*, TCD *nuntiare*), **2.161** (Serv.*Dan.* *dicam*), 4.270, 438, 9.234, 11.141 (vd. n.), 330 (TCD *perferant*), 897, Zucchelli, *EV* 2, 495f.. For *-ue*, with *quis*, in place of *-que*, cf. Au., LHS, 503, Ernout-Thomas, 447.

memoret 'Mentionem facere, dicere, narrare' (*TLL*; Serv. thinks—wrongly—that the sense could be 'meminerit'). O. Primz, *TLL* 8.691.21; the vb. common in V. (*tacet EV*): 1.8, 327, 631, **2.650**, etc.; present in Enn. (heavily), Pacuv., Acc., *Lucr.* (common); rightly noted by Cordier (39, etc.) as an archaism.

quae sit fiducia Cf. Tac.*Ann.*1.63 *hostibus terror, fiducia militi* (echoing Sall. *Hist.*2.fr.104 *terror hostibus et fiducia suis incessit*), 3.11 *quanta fides amicis Germanici, quae fiducia reo* (where Woodman and Martin render 'self-confidence'). Strangely, none of these passages registered by *TLL* s.v. (Fraenkel). Note also *Aen.*9.126 *at non audaci Turno fiducia cessit* and n. on 11.502 *sui...fiducia*. 'Qualche difficoltà' raised here by some older edd. (Dolç, *EV* 1, 131, Rocca, *ib.* 2, 511; cf. Puccioni, *supra*), unnecessarily; if V. has wanted the Greeks to ask Sinon why they should trust him, a prisoner, there were far clearer ways to do it. Inevitably, confusion at once for those who ask what exactly is implied by **fiducia**; that is not specified and there is no compulsion to ask. It may very well be (Au.) that V. already has Eur. *Philoct.* in mind: fr.789d7Kannicht=

Dio Chrys. *Or.* 59.5 τί δὴ βουλόμενος, ὅπτις εἴ ποτε σύ, ἢ τινα **τόλμαν λαβών...**:

capto Cf. 64: conveniently remembered; useful, neat phrasing.

76 The line *ille haec deposita tandem formidine fatur* (=3.612) is omitted by **P** and by PColt1; in **M**, it is added at the bottom of the page by **M₇** (= probably Pomponius Laetus, though the identification is not certain, Lunelli, *EV* 3, 192f.); present in the text in two Carolingian mss.. **Fatur** duplicates **78 inquit** and laid-aside **formidine** has been thought incompatible with S.'s state at **107 pauitans**. There are numerous interpolations of this kind in the transmission of *Aen.* (Polara, *EV* 2, 996, Sparrow 130ff. at 132, Moskalew, 7f.).

77–104 The second element in Sinon's extended, quadripartite, reported speech (cf. on 69–72) is conceived initially in a strongly and identifiably tragic key, with Eur.*Philoctetes* in the forefront of V.'s mind (57–76§1, **75, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83**). Given the multiple debts of Sinon's language to Odysseus' in that play, there is an element of learned wit in the Virgilian Sinon's systematic denigration of Ulysses, particularly apparent to the scholarly reader in the references to Sinon's origins and kin, **83, 86**) The speech's rhetorical tactics have prompted intelligent interest since antiquity: over and above Serv./Serv. Dan. and TCD, Grillius, in his late-antique comm.(?early c.5 AD, Jakobi) on *Cic.Inv.* (cf. *EV* 4, 461, Lausberg, 1, 160f., Kaster, *Guardians*, 410; ed. by R. Jakobi, 2002, comm. 2005), analyses the formal elements in these vv. with care and compares it to Cic.'s own precepts. Note *Cic.Inv.* 1.20 *insinuatio est oratio quadam dissimulatione et circumitione obscure subiens auditoris animum*. Grillius comments *sed quia apud hostes dicebat, credere ei nemo poterat, ideo prius per circuitionem beniuolenter ut sequentia credentur efficit* (*RLM*, 602.10f.): so too, on **77f.**, *circuitione autem fit insinuatio, cum beniuolentiam per ambages...non petis sed colligis* (602.3f.)...[on **78**] *confessio criminis...prima medicina est* (602.5f.). Compare Serv.'s definition of the speech as *diasyrtica* (duplicitous: **79f.**). Grillius' references to *beniuolentia* and *confessio* suggest we should look a little further for ancient indications of the speech's methods and intentions: thus, for *confessio*, the frank admission of damaging details, cf. too **79, 82** and **87** for the subtle technique of *beginning* from known truths. V. places in Sinon's mouth repeated attempts to arouse pathos (**85, 87, 89**), a studied effort on the great deceiver's part to present himself as a particularly straightforward and loyal individual (**93, 94**), at loggerheads with his kinsman, the

great deceiver Ulysses. Above all, an undeviating attention to arousing his hearers' curiosity (82. 100), while winning their sympathy. Ussani's comm. is helpful on the rhetoric of these vv.

77 cuncta... fatebor/ 78 uera This constr. with predic. adj. surprisingly *ad hoc*; Vetter, *TLL* 6.1.338.20f., *OLD* s.v. §1d. The vb. used (programmatically) again by Sinon, 134 (cf. **ueri**, 141). Cf. *EV* 2, 473 (Focardi Monami) and 5*, 512. Campbell, 122 acutely compares Soph.*El.*679f., where the paedagogus prefaches his 'fictions' with τὸ πᾶν φράσω, in answer to Clytemnaestra's request τάληθὲς εἶπε.

equidem Serv. insistent (e.g. 1.335, 576) that in V. e. always has the sense of *ego quidem*, not quite rightly, Hand, 2, 426, Burckhardt, *TLL* 5.2.720.5ff..

tibi, rex Priam present (58), and addressed with proper respect (cf. Pomathios, 34ff.; the studied courtesy noted by TCD), but, given the speech's crescendo-structure, Priam not significantly active till 147ff..

fuerit quodcumque Parenthetic (Serv.Dan.); *id est, quicumque me sequitur euentus* (Serv., Serv.Dan.) *sive miseratus uitam concedere uolueris sive non* (Serv.Dan.). Whatever Priam's decision (fut. perf. as used of wish, expectation, prediction; *infra*), Sinon will (simple fut.) tell the truth; cf. Hor.C.3.11.3 *ut melius, quicquid erit, pati*, Tac.*Ann.*6.8 *sed utcumque casura res est, fatebor et fuisse me Seiano amicum* (a possible echo). For the use of the fut. perf. thus, cf. Ladewig here (with LHS, 323), 4.591 *inluserit* (with Austin), 9.282 *arguerit* (with Dingel), 10.334 *torserit* (with Harrison), Görler, *EV* 2, 273. Wagner and Henry try to tie q. closely to **cuncta**; ill-advisedly, given the logic of the tenses, and of the parenthesis. The euphemistic use of q., for 'death', for which Serv. here quotes Lucil., is interesting (cf. Hofmann-Ricottilli, 305f, O. Hey, *TLL* 11(1900), 521ff.), but not germane. Cf. *Od.*21. 212 σφῶιν δ', ως ἔεσται περ, ἀληθείην καταλέξω. **Quaecumque** P and 5 c.9 codd.; **fuerint** only the c.9 codd.. Apparently already a catch-phrase by the time of Phaedrus (3.pr.27ff.): *sed iam quodcumque fuerit, ut dixit Sinon, / ad regem cum Dardaniae perductus foret, / librum exarabo tertium.*

78 inquit The placing lends formidable emphasis to the run-on predic. adj..

neque me...negabo So Achaem.: vd. n. on 3.602f. *scio me Danais e classibus unum*. The source of Sinon's admission (or, for that matter, Achaem.'s) is, though, clearly Eur.*Phil.*fr.789d15, 17Kannicht ἀλλ' εἰμὶ Ἀργεῖος τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν πλευσάντων...τῶν ἐπ' Ἰλιον στρα-

τευσάντων Ἀχαιῶν εἶναί φημι. Cf. Au., Friedrich, 160, Heinze, 6. The litotes (cf. Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 123, n. on 7.733 *nec...indictus*) of a familiar type (cf. n. on 7.8). An answer, as Grillius remarks, to **quo sanguine cretus?**.

Argolica de gente I should have noted at 3.283 that A., in Greek, refers properly (so LSJ, TLL) not to Argos but to the Argolid (in Gk. prose authors from Hdt.4.152, Dem., Scylax, DH...). But used by Cic. *carm.Hom.1.6* to render Hom. Ἀχαιῶν; cf. Diehl, *TLL* 2.535.42ff., ‘ad totam Graeciam’. For **de gente**, cf. n. on 7.750. *Esse* naturally suppressed.

79 hoc primum The *confessio* (*quod sciebant Troiani confessus est ut ei de ceteris crederetur* Serv.Dan. on 77) was but the first element in a strategy of *circuicio* that dominates the speech; it is entirely an answer to the questions of 74–5 (Grillius, 602.7–9); cf. the initial *omnium primum*, Plaut.*Amph.*1088, 1135, etc., Breimeier, *TLL* 10.2.1366.15ff., 1368.18ff. and here (cf. *hoc tantum*), Haffter, *ib.*6.3.2726.31f. (Serv. Dan. notes *fatebor subaudis*), 2732.63 (citing Ter.*Haut.*269 *hoc tantum*; cf. *hoc saltem* and vd. Au. on 690). *Quinquies* Plaut., *quater* Ter., *quater* Cic.*Epp.*, but not distinctively from spoken Latin, though clearly much used in structuring speeches; Au. too tentatively compares Eur.*Philoct.*fr. 789d14Kannicht πρόθεν δή[cf. **Argolica de gente**]; τοῦτο γάρ πρῶτον εἰκός με εἰδέναι. After Vahlen, Au. placed a comma before and a full stop after, these words; Mynors, a full stop before and a colon after. Perhaps two full stops; a sort of underlining parenthesis, here following the words given prominence.

nec.../ 80 ...etiam Macr.6.1.57 compares Acc.*Telephus*: *nam si a me regnum fortuna atque opes/ eripere quiuit, at uirtutem nequiuit* (trag.619f.). The (Stoic) commonplace falls under the general heading of ‘what fortune has not given, she cannot remove’; cf. Sen.*Med.*176 *fortuna opes auferre, animum non potest*, *Ep.*76.32, *Nat.Quaest.* 3.pr. 11, Tosi, n°838, Arnold, *Rom.Stoicism*, 293. Many students of this passage have thought they smelt a rat in V.’s sense here: (1) Serv.Dan. *quidam ita intellegunt*: ‘*si me Fortuna ad hanc miseriam perducere potuit, non ualebit etiam stultum facere, ut putem me mentiendo proficere*’. Trivial moralising. (2) Ussani revived, and Paratore approved, with additional ingenuities, a note by F.W. Thomas (*CR* 12(1898), 33): given the prominent position of **finxit** and **finget**, is there not also a possible sense of ‘caused to seem (falsely)’, twice over? That is, (a) mocking those he deceives, ‘has caused Sinon to appear a poor wretch’ and, (b) with trag. irony, condemning himself, ‘will

cause him not falsely [i.e. truly] to appear a liar'. Over-ingenuous and unnecessarily complex. (3) Hexter (113) banteringly(?), that if Fortune did *not* make Sinon a poor wretch, then he may be speaking the truth. An outrage to the clear rhet. (and grammatical) movement and sense of the passage; of course Sinon is visibly reduced to *miseria*. Though we have learned that in V. alternative senses are often to be accepted, eagerly, even, here they do all seem entirely unconvincing (*aliter EV* 2, 527, Paratore), the product, as often, of the tyranny exercised by words' traditional dictionary senses. When Serv. calls the whole speech *diasyrtica* (duplicitous, vd. *TLL* s.v.), he explains *nam et negotium exprimit et Troianorum insultat stultitiae*; that does not mean that the gates of wholesale ambiguity are flung open.

si...fortuna Sinonem/ 80 finxit Cf. nn. on 7.80, 406 for the self-contained spondaic first foot (in bk.2, once every forty vv.; Au. notes that if the spondee is not 'natural' a slight pause often follows, as here); prominence given also by allit.. The verse (80) framed as often by repet. (Wills, 429); for repet. with tense-shift (past and fut.), cf. *ib.*, 301f.. Serv. soberly glosses the vb. *composit, formauit* (cf. Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.773. 51ff.), under the heading 'animum vel mores hominis', comparing 6.80 ('mould'; Austin there excellent), 8.365. Here simply 'made'. S. at last introduces his own name; a typical, fairly frequent Virgilian instrument of pathos (n. on 7.401), but here we see Sinon playing upon the Trojans' sympathies; the name therefore an instrument of his tactical *insinatio* (77–104). But was his name really Sinon? Even that might have been known as a lie when 'Lesches' wrote. **Fortuna** in the sense of 'destiny'; cf. 1.546, 8.333, 9.214, Bailey, 239. Strong, perhaps sinister, allit. of f.

miserum Vd. 70.

80 uanum Cf. n. on 11.715 for the sense of *u.* as 'deceitful'.

mendacemque Also at 8.644 of Mettus of Alba; at Cat.67.48 and *ter* in Hor.C.1–3, but not common in high poetry. Cf., though, *EV* 1, 53 for some adjs. in *-ax* (for a fuller list, in *Aen.*, note *audax, loquax, fugax, minax, sternax, tenax, fallax, pellax, procax, sequax*; add *edax, ferax* in *G.*).

improba Not previously used of *f.*, O. Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.690.43; cf. Hey, *ib.* 6.1.1186. 63ff. for imitations. If Sinon, seeking Trojan goodwill, here begins to try to convince them that he is no liar, then of course he can rail at fortune as unkind if she has made him not only a poor suppliant but also a deceiver. Note the position of **i.** directly after the adj. and before the verb, for maximum effect. Cf. *EV* 2, 930 (thin).

finget Vd. *supra*.

81 fando So (Heinze, 9, n.7, Austin) Eur.*Philoct.*fr.789d.27 Kannicht οἵ μαί σε γιγνώσκειν τὸν Ναυπλίου παῖδα Παλαμήδην. Abl. here probably modal. At **6ff. talia fando/.../temperet a lacrimis**, 3.481 *fando* *surgentis demoror Austros*, **2.361f quis funera fando/ explicit**, and 4.333f. *quae plurima fando/ enumerare uales*, the speaker indicated by the gerund is also the subj. of the main verb. But commonly enough, the gerund does *not* have the same subject as the sentence (so here), and is best to be understood as a verbal noun with, often (despite the grammars), a pass. sense (so here, again): Speranza, well aware of the difficulty, cites Diomedes, *Gramm.Lat.* 1.342. 14ff, distinguishing between **6** (act.) and here (pass.); Schol.Ver. here recognises the pass. force. Cf. also (with ample refs.) Pease on Cic.*ND* 1.82 *fando auditum est*, Clausen on *Buc.*8.71, Munro on *Lucr.*1.312, Page, Mynors on *G.*2.248–50, Erren on *G.*1.133, Traina on 12.46, Bailey, *Lucr.* 1, p.104f., Madvig, *Gramm.Lat.*, §418, Riemann, *Langue et gramm. de Tite-Live*, 308f., *id.*, *Synt.lat.*, 461ff., Roby 2, lxiii, Ernout-Thomas, 263. Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.1030.56 notably unhelpful, and specific discussion of this (not uncommon) idiom apparently absent from KS, LHS.

aliquod Cf. n. on **48**. Not open to literal translation. *Met.*15.497 shows that the discreet phrasing appealed to Ov.: *fando aliquem Hippolytum uestras si contigit aures*.

si forte...peruenit The vb. thus standard: cf. Reineke, *TLL* 10.1. 1851.37f., Sen.*Suas.*2.17 *Seneca fuit, cuius nomen ad vos potuit pervenisse*. **Si forte semel** in *G.*, *sexies* in *Aen.*; standard idiom, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.1132.75ff. (from Plaut., Enn.); such diffidence well suited to Sinon's role; Prof. Görler remarks to me that if this is a protasis, there is no apodosis ('anantapodoton, KS 2, 587, §5, LHS 731. The complexity of Sinon's deceits conveyed by irregularities of grammar.

tuas...ad auris Cf. Cic.*Verr.*2.3.132 *ad tuas auris*, Nep.*Milt.*3.6 *ad regis auris*, *Pelop.*3.1 *ad auris peruenit*. A common clausula, with several variations, nn. on 3.40, 7.166.

82 Belidae... Palamedis P. normally son of Nauplius (2); a descent from Belus, son of Poseidon and Libya, and father, by Anchinoe, of Aegyptus and Danaus was painfully and variously excogitated. First, why the odd geneal. here? And, second, why the unorthodox form of the patronymic (long i; thus strictly from Beleus)? The first answer may be a learned bow to the geneal. of the steersman Nauplius (2) offered at AR 1.133ff. (vd. Vian's n., p.246; also Horsfall, *Vergilius* 37(1991), 34 on homonyms; these vv. are already rendered in Lat. by Varr.A tac., cited

by Schol.Ver. here, with variations not significant for us, fr.3Courtney). There, Nauplius (1) is, ‘correctly’, son of Poseidon and Amymome and his homonym, seven generations later, sails with Jason (is there even the hint of an etym. from ναῦς and πλέω?); it is easy to see how close the genealogy of Nauplius (1) will have seemed to that of Belus (possibly, some confusion of Amymome and Anchinoe may have contributed), whence an easy step to assigning Belus, from a misremembered genealogy of Nauplius (1), to a place in that of Nauplius (2). Secondly, cf. the molossi Atrides, Tydides; analogy comes conveniently to the rescue here, *metri gratia*. Cf. Ov.*Ib.*503 *Lycurgides* and my n. on 7.484, in some detail. Palamedes had revealed Od.’s feigned madness ([Apld.]*Epit.* 3.6f.; Proclus *Cypria* p.31.40ff.Davies. The story is clearly Cyclic; cf. also Proclus p.32.86Davies, and *Cypria* fr.20Davies) and to punish him, Od. invented a tale of his treasonable correspondance with Priam. Nauplius (2), was then said to have helped vengefully in the ruin of the Greek fleet on its way home (n. on 11.260). A tale very dear to the tragedians (cf. Plat.*Rep.*522D, Polyaen.1.prooem.12, Cic.*Off*3.97, Radt, *TGF* 4, p.386): plays by Aesch., Soph., Eur. all attested (not to mention Soph.*Od. Mainomenos*); in addition (Radt), Astydamas II and a comedy by Philemon, not to mention Lyc.815ff.. For Rome, cf. only *trag.inc.*55ff. (with Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.*, 370). Not only tragedy, but rhetoric: the testimonia splendidly gathered, Robert, 1135, n.1 (repeated, Austin p.59f.); vd. n. on **83 proditione**. Given the deep general debt of V.’s Sinon to Eur.*Philoct.*, it is no surprise that there Od. himself asks Philoct. if he knows Palamedes, son of Nauplius (fr.789d27Kannicht); Od., who pretends that he has been driven from the army by none other than Od., claims to have been a friend of Palamedes (fr.789d42), whose disgrace (and death, in some versions) he has brought about; the fall of all Palamedes’ friends (so Eur.’s Od., l.c.) is clearly irrelevant to Virgil’s Sinon, a valiant agent of the plot Ul. has devised (Manuwald, Friedrich, *infra*). Almost inevitably Sinon (as a deceiver of almost Odyssean skill) will now claim that he and his father were kin (**86**) of P, though in fact Sinon was often represented as a first cousin of Od. (cf. Austin 1959, 19). For this ‘nexus of deceit’, cf. Friedrich, 159, Jones, *cit*, Manuwald, 193f., 195. For Palamedes in general, cf. S. Woodford, I. Krauskopf, *LIMC* 7.1.145ff., Frazer on [Apld.]*Epit.*3.8, Robert, 1132ff. (*bene*), *EV* 3, 929f., Gantz, 2, 603ff., Ro.3.1264. 40ff. (H. Lewy), PW18.2500.11ff. (E. Wüst). *A ueris coepit* Serv. Dan. on **77**; ‘in falsa desinit’ adds Heyne (cf. Serv. on **81**, *ad init.* and n. on **91**).

nomen Often standing thus in tandem with *gloria*, (e.g. Aen.12.135

tum neque nomen erat neque honos aut gloria monti, Cic.*Div.*1.31, Sall.*Iug.* 18.12, Tac.*Germ.*13.4); cf. Knoche, *TLL* 6.2.2075.70ff.. Sinon, to arouse benevolent curiosity, introduces himself and his father as unknowns, cowering behind the skirts of Palamedes' fame, which is conveyed with sonorous majesty, appropriate to the tactics and the occasion, as also more to P.'s *literary* than to his heroic importance. Note Eur.*Philoct.*fr.789 d.28 Kannicht οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων οὐδὲ ὀλίγους ἄξιος.

et incluta fama/ 83 gloria inclita V (cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 427); **inclyta** PColt1, **M** (cf. Sommer, 26, 106, Leumann, 52): *-i-* is the commoner spelling, Leumann, 80, O. Prinz (*infra*), 957.74ff. but *-u-* preserves the link with Gk. κλυτός (cf. *cluere* (vd. EM s.v.), κλύειν) and should probably be printed (cf. Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.*146). A resplendent archaism: Naev.*BP* (*semel*), *Enn.Ann.(ter)*, *trag.(bis)*, *Acc.(ter)*. Cf. Bandiera, *infra*, Jocelyn on *Enn.trag.*48 (in Plaut., paratragic), Cordier, 38, etc.. The *abundantia* (pleonasm, tautology) of a familiar type (Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 222ff.), particularly in keeping with the subj. matter (cf. 4.232 *si nulla accedit tantarum gloria rerum*, 5.394 *laudis amor nec gloria*, 6.757f. *gloria...inlustris animas nostrumque in nomen ituras*, 7.4 *Hesperia in magna, si qua est ea gloria*, etc.. Vetter, *TLL* 6.1.222.70 and *EV* 2.461 (**fama**), Knoche, *TLL* 6.2.2075.75f. (s.v. ‘iuncturae abundantes’) and *EV* 2, 771 (**gloria**), and O. Prinz, *TLL*, 7.1.960.18f. and Bandiera, *EV* 2, 935 (**inclusa**).

quem.../.../ 85 demisere neci Cf. 398 **multos Danaum demitimus Orco**, 10.662, Hor.*C.1.28.11*, etc. after Hom. Ἀιδί προσάψεν (cf. the numerous periphrases with forms of ὅλεθρος, πότμος; Schol.Ver. *a Graeco*), Kieckers, *TLL* 5.1.492.62ff., *EV* 3, 717 (considering more related Virgilian formulae; cf. Lunelli-Janssen, 105ff.). **N.** in Pacuv., *Enn.trag.*; *nex decies* in V; restrictions on *neco* (as on the other principal verbs for ‘kill’) seem not to limit the use of the noun (cf. Lyne, *WP*, 106ff.; Henry, *OLD* rightly insist that *nex* suggests a violent end). Austin suggests that there are so many periphrases for ‘kill’ because the main verbs are so restricted in their use. Clearly enough, not: over and above the ‘restricted’ *infiricio, occido, neco*, a lot of alternatives do exist—*caedo, obtrunco, perimo, trucido, iugulo, macto, sterno, deicio, confodio, extinguo*, for example, in *Aen..* There may be a few more, for, after all, the taking of human life is the chief business of heroic epic. Little wonder, then, if Rom. poets also coined a sufficiency of periphrastic expressions on the Homeric model (vd. *supra*). Cf. 91 for ‘die’.

falsa sub proditione The noun familiar in prose from Cato, *orat.*, first elevated here; only here in V., and rare in vv. thereafter (Austin).

Abstract nn. in *-tio* not common in V. (cf. *ratio*, *satio*, *seditio*, *supersticio*, Ferraro, *EV* 1, 379) but the abl. here neat and powerful, with spitting allit.. ‘False’ is an adj. commonly applied to accusations and testimony (Hofmann, *TLL* 6.1.193.27ff., 194.5ff); clearly ‘treason’ was never going to do here for **proditione** (cf. Serv. *sub falso crimine proditionis*) and Con. rightly protested against Serv.’s hasty and unparalleled explanation (cf. Hajdú, *TLL* 10.2. 1615.50ff.). Hajdú, with full lexicographical information to hand, eliminates ‘treason’ from the discussion and firmly establishes the sense ‘detegendo, revelando vel indicando...proditur magistratibus, indagantibus, iudici, contioni’ (*ib.*, 48ff.; so already Con.). ‘By laying a false information’, therefore: note **84 indicio** and compare Sen.*Ben*.3.25.1 (of the proscriptions) *cum praemia proditionis ingentia ostendantur, praemium fidei mortem concupiscere*, Petr.98.2 *persequar abeuntem praeconem et in potestate tua esse Gitonem meritissima proditione*[Pithoeus; *propositione* codd.] monstrabo, 125.3 *quid, si etiam mercennarius...indicium ad amicos detulerit totamque fallaciam inuidiosa proditione detexerit?* That the charge is itself of treason has complicated discussion here: though Palamedes’ alleged defection to Troy (whatever the details: vd. *supra*) was a specially familiar particular (Eur.*Philoct.fr.*789d.32Kannicht προδοσίαν ἐπενεγκών, ‘Gorgias’, ‘Defence of Palamedes’, 76B11aD-K.§3, ‘Alcidamas’, ‘Odysseus against Palamedes’ treason’, fr.16Radermacher) within a well-known story (*supra*), that does not alter the force of **falsa ...proditione** here.

Pelasgi Used *septies* in *Aen.*, usually as a learned synonym for ‘Graeci’: cf. **106, 152 arte Pelasga** (and there is an edge of dislike or contempt assumed here too, as at 1.624, 6.503, 9.154: cf. Musti, *EV* 4, 6f.). So already Ennius, *Ann*.14 (with Skutsch, who explains that this regular widening to ‘Greek’ is Lat., not Gk. poet. usage).

84 insontem Cf. **93**, 5.350, Hugenschmidt, *TLL* 7.1.1941.16f. *EV* 4, 945. Standard language, from Plaut. on; note Hor.*C.2.19.29*, Liv. first pentad (*quater*). P.’s condemnation proverbial for its injustice, from Plato on (*Apol*.41B, Wüst, 2503.14ff.).

infando indicio Bulhart, *TLL* 7.1.1345.8: the adj. common of crimes (Liv.1.59.8, 4.32.12, etc.) and thus easily extended to testimony; note Acc.’s *infandod homine*, of Ul. (*trag*.131, Stabryła, 93). Like *nefan-dus*, not of interest to *EV*. Serv. glosses **indicio** with *delatione*; cf. n. on **83 proditione**. *Quater* in Lucr., common in Ov. (35x); nouns which help the elegant and ingenious poet to avoid OO are particularly welcome. The only sequence in V. of *three* words beginning in *in-* (cf.

Plaut.*Pers.* 408, *Rud.* 194, Ter. *Hec.* 54, Lucil. 600); two thus are common. Heavy indignation, perhaps reinforced by furious gesture. Note also the sequence of strong synaloephae and the shortage of conventional caesurae, with repeated clash of ictus and accent; see n. on 3.658 *monstrum horrendum informe ingens* (not of course exactly comparable).

quia bella uetabat *Iam hoc falsum est, sed dicitur ad Sinonis commendationem* Serv.. So Sinon begins to spin his fatal rigmarole; the Trojans cannot be expected to know that this first detail was fantasy; it is tossed out as a fascinating, and presumably false, titbit from ‘the other side of the wall’. Sinon might expect to win favour for his ‘patron’ P., if the latter had spoken (note indic., not subjunc.) for peace (Serv.Dan. *et bene ad captandam circa amicos eius miseriam adiungitur, qui pacis auctor fuit*). For the line of argument (an inclination to peace—even if invented—which does not secure survival), cf. 7.536 *dum paci medium se offert*, 12.517 *exosum neququam bella*. Writers on war and peace in V. do not bring these vv. together.

85 nunc P. has already died. Note that in many versions this does not occur at the hands of the furious Greeks (cf. Gruppe, 673, n.1, etc., Vellay 1, 162ff.).

cassum lumine Cf. 11.104 *aethere cassis* with note: *cassus lumine* the idiom of Cic.*carm.* and Lucr. Cf. *luce carentum*; the vb. may be cognate (EM). For the light of life, see nn. on 7.771, 3.311; add now Catlein, 183. Predicative, with *eum* suppressed.

lugent Thus with acc. Cat. 64.400, 66.21, Lucr. 3.886 (used, therefore, at the highest level), Heus, *TLL* 7.2.1798.84f., *EV* 3, 279. Lugubrious allit. of *lu-* *lu-*; S. invites the Trojans to share in the pathos of Palamedes’ unmerited end.

86 illi Given great prominence as self-contained spondaic first foot (cf. nn. on 7.406, 3.1). ‘To him...’ at last takes up the movement begun at **81 si forte**; compare, clearly ‘there is a place..., *here/hither*’.

me comitem C. (predicative) here the Virgilian equivalent of Hom. εταῖρος; cf. nn. on 3.613, 11.94, Pomathios, 110.

et consanguinitate propinquum Not predicative, and therefore not (Austin) exactly coordinated with **comitem**. We have just seen that this genealogy is clever fantasy, calqued upon the obscure fact that Sinon’s father and Anticleia were siblings (details, Immisch, 936.31ff.). C. used by Liv., in bks. 1, 7, 8; the first of those (1.15.1) clearly

enough earlier than *Aen.*2 (*Aen.*3, xxvi^r); an Ennian origin, in the case of an abstr. noun, unlikely. It should not therefore have been claimed as a Virgilian coinage, Cordier, 144, Ferraro, *EV* 1, 379. *Propinqui, qui a femina ueniunt, ‘consanguinei’ dicuntur* (sc. ‘hoc in versu’ Lindsay), *Gloss.*3.*Abol.**PR*64, Burch, *TLL* 10.2.2023.26ff., though I have found no other evidence for this distinction.

87 pauper...pater Serv.Dan. notes well *excusatio a fortuna* (cf. n. on 7.532, for this line of argument in Virgil-commentary); the Trojans can be expected to view kindly Sinon’s poverty. This was a reason given for the young men of comedy having to join the army; cf. my n. on 3.614 *genitore Adamasto/ paupere* (add A. Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic world* (Oxford 2005), 82): Berres, *VH*, 138, n.18 tries to establish priority, ill-advisedly, when the poet merely turns twice to a pathetic battle-topos in superficially similar phrasing. In epic, cf. in particular 12.519f.; after Miniconi first tried to sort the stock topics of battle-narrative in epic and Glei (150), Rossi (163) and Mazzochini (283ff.) drew passing attention to the theme of poverty (not to mention *EV* 3, 1034), it is singular how much remains to be done. G. Strasburger, *Die kleinen Kämpfer des Ilias* (diss. Frankfurt 1954), 135f. draws attention to *Il.*20.390f. (her discussion of V. excellent); note too Griffin, 140f..

in arma...huc Cf. Bickel, *TLL* 2.599.56; a neat co-ordination, without obvious parallel, formally binding the halves of the line.

misit Cf. 12.362 *huic comitem Asbyten coniecta cuspide mittit* (different), 7.715f. *quos frigida misit/ Nursia* (with n.), 744 *et te montosae misere in proelia Nersae* (vd. n.; a possibly Ennian antecedent), 9.177 *comitem Aeneae quem miserat Ida* (vd. Dingel’s n.), 9.547 *uetitisque ad Troiam miserat armis*, 10.351 *et tris quos Idas pater et patria Ismara mittit* (vd. Harrison), 12.516 *Lycia missos et Apollinis agris*. Fleischer, *TLL* 8.1188.11ff.. Serv.Dan.’s remark *et est excusatio, quia patri parendum necessario fuit* perhaps goes too far, given the frequency of the ‘formula’. Ussani, after Billmayer, usefully draws attention not only to Cic.*Inv.*1.15, on *concessio* (*cum reus non id, quod factum est, defendit, sed ut ignoscatur, postulat*) but to *ib.*107 *primus locus est misericordiae, per quem, quibus in bonis fuerint et nunc [per quem] quibus in malis sint, ostenditur*. Compare the various *excusationes* noted by Serv..

primis...ab annis Cf. 8.517 *primis et te miretur ab annis*; the same clausula also at 9.235, 11.174, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 1.36.74f.. In context, clearly S. means *his* first years (sc. of manhood; vd. *infra*), not the war’s, as Heyne, after Burmann, proposed; the debate, though, continued: vd. Ussani. Bell, 285 indeed suggested that both senses are present, a

possible, but unnecessary refinement. The children of **138** are clearly inconsistent, but after fifty lines have passed, that matters not at all; certainly not grounds for shunning the normal sense of the Latin. Note that S. was not sent to the war as an infant but in the first years of manhood. So Henry, well, comparing e.g. *Cic.Fam.6.12.4 et a primis temporibus aetatis in re publica esse uersatum*, *Sil.6.128 cum primo malas signabat Regulus aevo*, *Tac.Hist.2.77 capax iam imperii alter et primis militiae annis apud Germanicos quoque exercitus clarus*, *Ann.4.1 prima iuuenta*.

88 dum stabat.../ 90 postquam Compare the movement 3.51f. *cum iam diffideret armis/ Dardaniae...53 ut opes fractae Teucrum* (and note *Cic.Arch.9 Gabini, quam diu incolumis fuit, leuitas, post damnationem calamitas*). Serv.Dan. comments very well *et bene addidit dignitatem eius quem finiebat propinquum, ut ei iusta causa fuerit indignationis aduersus Vlixem*. Cf. **56 Troiaque nunc staret**, with n.. For **p.**, especially introducing a new section of narrative. cf. n. on 7.406.

regno incolumis I. limited by *civitate*, *Cic.Fam.11.22.2, Verr.2.2.157*, by *re publica*, *Rep.2.69*. The adj. *novies* in *Aen.*; not likely to be Ennian, *pace TLL* (vd. Jocelyn, p.123f.), but dear to Lucr. (14x). Cf. Buchwald, *TLL* 7.1.981.53f.. His homeland oscillates between the Argolid and Euboea, Lewy, 1264.61ff.. Here—but only at **95**—we discover V. favours the former.

regumque.../ 89 conciliis Cf. *pater...parentem*, 7.48, with n., called parechesis or paronomasia. Cf. **783 regnumque et regia coniunx**, 12.43f. *parentis...patria*, O'Hara, *TN*, 60ff. and apparently not discussed by Wills. The phrase might seem obvious, or standard, but it is not. In Hom., cf. *Il.10.195*: nothing however exactly comparable, though it is no fault of V.'s that Hom. never ended a line ἀγοραῖς· ἀνάκτων. *Quia et ipse unus de regibus fuit* remarks Serv.. **Conciliis MPV_i**, Pap.Colt1, **consiliis V.**

uigebat Elsewhere in *Aen.*, only at 4.175, but common in Lucr.; here then the line ends in arresting, but simple, and original, language.

89 et nos Cf. **675**, 4.350, 12.50, 629 for this simple line of argument. On the plur. modestiae, cf. Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 150 (with Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen*, 1, 100, LHS, 19f.), against Austin here, after W.S. Maguinness, *CQ* 35(1941), 129 ('a sad reflexion on former happiness'). Serv.Dan. suggests a reference to Sinon and father; possible.

aliquid Cf. **48, 81**; three instances of this rare pron. here concentrated; not significant.

nomenque decusque A simple, weighty, memorable noun-pair, as V. employs in other cases to lend weight to *decus*: Laurenti, *EV* 2, 11f., 5.229, 262, 12.58); cf. Liv.28.17.3, *et in suum decus nomenque uelut consummatam eius belli gloriam spectabat*, Leissner *TLL* 5.1. 238.52f., 247.62ff.. For *nomen* in the sense of ‘renown’, cf. 583 **memorabile nomen**, 5.621 *cui genus et quondam nomen natique fuissent* (cited by Schol.Ver.), 9.343, 11.688, 846, 12.225f. *cui genus a proavis ingens clarumque paterna/ nomen erat uirtutis*. Cipriano, *EV* 3, 753. For *-que...-que*, cf. n. on 7.470. Deviously, Sinon confuses the issue by introducing first the story of the fall of Palamedes in terms that expect the Trojans’ sympathy; cf. TCD *haec nobilitas generis idcirco composita est, ut Trojanorum misericordiam de praeterita et praesenti fortuna prouocaret ad lenitatem.*

90 gessimus Cf. Leissner, 246.60f., quoting Sen.*Phaedr.*828f. *sed iste quisnam est regium in uultu decus gerens*, I. Kapp/G. Meyer, *TLL* 6.2.1935. 67f., quoting Ov.*Met.*8.575f. *insula nomen/ quod gerat illa, doce*. Pause after first-foot dactyl (‘one can imagine a sigh’, Austin).

inuidia Only ten instances of -φθον- in Hom.; for the lit. tradition of envy/Envy, cf. (following older bibl. in Au.’s n.) K.M.D. Dunbabin, M. Dickie, *JbAC* 26(1983), 10ff.. To be rendered, perhaps, as, more loosely, ‘spite’; nothing here to support the more complex and precise ‘envy’ (cf. *EV* 2, 1005); so in Palamedes’ defence, [Gorgias] 76B11aDK₄ (p.256.2), and vd. Lucian, *Calumn.*28.2, Schol.Eur.*Orest.*432, Robert, 1130. Cf. nn. on 11.337, 539 (*inuidia* in public life), Stiewe, *TLL* 7.2.204.77. Serv. suggests *propter adiectum frumentum*, referring to the old story of P. who reproved Od. for failing to bring corn from Thrace[but Delos is central to the common version of the story; cf. Frazer on [Apld.]*Epit.*3.10]; challenged by Od., he went himself, and succeeded. As old as *Cypria*, perhaps (fr.29 Bernabé, 26West); also, Sophoclean (fr.479.1 Radt λιμόν), clearly, and possibly in Simonides, (fr.537PMG Page). That is to say, a story well enough known to make Serv.’s suggestion highly likely. Lewy, Ro.3.1265.53ff., and, better, Wüst, PW 18.2503.66ff., Robert, 1130f..

pellacis Vlixi The adj. clearly enough a Virgilian coinage, Cordier, 145, 188, Keudel, *TLL* 10.1.997.15. Tacet *EV*. Schol.Ver. comments *circuumuentoris uel etiam corruptoris a uerbo quodam ‘pellicio’*, adducing Lucr. 5.1004 ...*placidi pellacia ponti*, from which Keudel elegantly suggests (996.74f.) that V.’s *pellax* (cf. *fallax*) may be a back-formation, perhaps under the influence of (e.g.) Hom. ποικιλομήτης. Of course ἵκε ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα is the motto proudly borne on Sinon’s

own shield: he is a brilliant variation upon the theme of Ulysses himself. **Pellacis** MV, Serv. (also on G.4.442), Schol.Ver., TCD, Velius Longus *Gramm.Lat.*7.65.17; **fallacis** P, Charisius; the c9 mss divided. **Pellacis** far rarer and more interesting.

91 haud ignota loquor Cf. Hor.*Ars* 130 *ignota indictaque. Non ignotus quinques* in Cic. (*Verr.*2.2.69, etc.); cf. Liv.39.12.1 *Hispalam...ex Auentino libertinam, non ignotam uiciniae*. With *haud*, a good deal less familiar: cf. Liv.21.1.2, 26.40.10 *clamor Romanus haudquaquam ignotus*. The terse parenthesis invites the Trojans to share in Palamedes' familiar, pathetic fall: Sinon's deceit seeks to build on his hearers' informed humanity. Cf. *haud incerta* (8.49).

superis...ab oris A familiar disposition of words: cf. 1.369, **2.282**, 7.270, 11.281, etc.; this use of *ora*, under the general heading of 'de regionibus non terrenis' (Baer, *TLL* 9.2.868.3), from Enn.*sat.*4 *aetheris oras* (thence Lucr.). More closely, 'orae luminis, uitae' (868.17), from Enn.*Ann.*109 (where vd. Skutsch); cf. Lucr.1.22, G.2.47 *luminis oras*, etc., n. on 7.660. Whence further variations. The adj. of 'the world above' (i.e. of men, as against the more frequent antithesis sky-underworld): cf. 6.481, 568, 680 and vd. Battegazzore's helpful analysis, *EV* 4, 1081. Cf. **84f.**: if killing is so common, then dying too requires a formidable lexicon of synonyms and periphrases (start from Quicherat, *Thes.Poet.* s.v. *moriō*, Lyne, *WP*, 108ff., Goodyear on Tac.*Ann.*1.3.3, Raabe, 147f., Serra Zanetti, *EV* 3, 589ff., *passim*).

concessit *Pro decessit* Serv.. Hey, *TLL* 4.9.30f. 'concedere vita, in fata vel similia de morte', normally a particularly alert and systematic lexicographer, here surprisingly groups uses + dat. ('yield to') and abs. ('depart from'): in this passage, the former, though, often employed in references to death (cf. Sall.*Cat.*14.15 *naturae concessit, fato concedere*, Goodyear on *Ann.*2.71.1), seems hardly pertinent. Cf. rather Tac.*Ann.*1.3.3 *uita concessit*, and (abs.) *Ann.*4.38.3 *concessero*. Cf. also (*uita*) *concessere*, Woodman and Martin on Tac.*Ann.*3.30.1. Absent from *EV*'s discussion of the compounds of *cedo*.

92 adflictus Cf. Acc.*trag.*595 *desertum abiectum afflictum exanimum*, Cic. *carm.Soph.* 1.27, Liv.1.39.3, Sinko, *TLL* 1239.14f.. No case for assimilating *adf-*, in the teeth of the ancient evidence: Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 399, *Aen.*3, xlif. The days of **nomenque decusque** are not long gone.

uitam...trahebam Cf. 3.646f. with n. (probably the earlier of the two passages); cf. **57–76**, §2, **74, 78**, *EV* 5*, 248. Not necessarily adap-

ted from the Gk. (*pace* Ussani); vd. Willink on Eur.*Orest.*207 for the rarity of βίοτον ἔλκειν.

in tenebris luctuque Cf. Cic.*Tusc.*3.75 *uixit in luctu*: for the hendiadys, cf. Hahn, 1930, 146, who notes the co-ordination of words used (i) literally and (ii) figuratively (*mores et moenia, conubiis aruisque, etc.*). T.: the one case in V. where the sense is ‘esclusivamente morale’, Setaioli, EV 5*, 97; so too *OLD* s.v., §5 ‘a dark, obscure, or gloomy state of affairs’. Compare e.g. Sall.*Iug.*14.15 *clausi in tenebris cum maerore et luctu morte grauiorem uitam exigunt*, Hor.*C.4.4.39f.* *pulcher fugatis/ ille dies Latio tenebris*, and of course Lucr. 2.15 *in tenebris uitae*, 3.77 *in tenebris uolui caenoque*, 5.11 *fluctibus et tantis...tantisque tenebris*, 175 *tenebris...ac maerore*. These words then may have carried a perceptibly Lucretian ‘feel’.

93 et casum insontis...amici For c., as ‘death’, EV 1, 598 compares e.g. 1.221 nunc *Amyci casum gemit*, 5.700; *multo melius*, Hey, *TLL* 3.581.67ff.. See **563. I:** cf. **84**; a cornerstone of the story, to be repeated: Sinon binds himself yet more tightly to the famed innocence of his old patron. And friend, indeed, to raise the emotional temperature further (Bellincioni, EV 1, 135 compares e.g. 5.452; cf. n. on 3.82). Virgilian friendship has not so far rated the full modern discussion it requires; *hospitium* is another matter.

mecum indignabar S.v. ‘fere i.q. indigne ferre’, comparing e.g. Liv.2.31.11 *suam uicem*, Bulhart, *TLL* 7.1.1184.15f.; add G.2.162, *Aen.* 8.728. We are not far from the tone of ‘reproachful’ with which I rendered the *indignata* of 12.952 (*Companion*, 215). For the use of *mecum*, Bulhart offers no close parallel, 1185.27 (but note the *gemit...secum* of 1.221). The line grumbly spondaic in harmony with Sinon’s assumed mood; the sobs Austin hears in the synaloephae will not convince all, not least because by now Sinon is presenting himself stoutly as the loyal avenger: *bonum socium, bonum amicum, bonum propinquum* as TCD well puts it, 159.3f..

94 nec tacui Cf. the litotes of G.4.122f., Ricottilli, EV 5*, 11.

demens The folly of loyalty to his late friend (TCD), a folly beautifully calculated to win friends. Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.476.53; *tacet* EV, but cf. n. on 11.276,

et me...// 96 promisi ultorem Serv. notes the ellipse of *futurum*, but complete omission of the fut.infin. (rightly ignored by students of the omission of the copula) is not the issue here. Delhey, *TLL*

10.2.1867.35ff. compares Petr.8.2. *ducem se itineris humanissime promisit*, Tac.*Hist.*3.59 *se socios fugae promitterent*. KS sagely register the present passage under use of the double accusative (1, 295f.). Compare e.g. *consulem se ferens*; an extremely common usage. For Virgil's ideas about vengeance, cf. C. Renger, *Aeneas und Turnus* (Frankfurt 1985), 78ff., P. Schenk, *Die Gestalt des Turnus* (Königstein 1984), 273ff. (polemically); W.V. Harris, *Restraining rage* (Cambridge, Mass. 2001), 219, etc. seems not specifically engaged. Note however *EV* 5*, 356ff., *Companion*, 200, 206. The synaloepha **-i u-** is not as quite rare as Austin, after Norden on 6.770, suggests: cf. also *Aen.*1.442, 10.375.

fors si qua tulisset Cf. *Enn. Ann.*186f. *quidue ferat fors/ uirtute experi- amur* (with Skutsch's n.), *Sall. Jug.*78.2 *uti fors tulit*, *Lucr.*3.983 *casumque timent, quem cuique ferat fors*, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.1128.37ff. (Page well notes that the allit. in *fors fert* will have helped the phrase's popularity). The anastrophe of **si qua** gives marked prominence to the noun, Marouzeau, *Ordre des mots* 1, 165ff.. The plpf. subjunc., in indirect speech after **promisi** (histor. sequence), for fut. perf. in direct, n. on 3.652. Cf. LHS, 758 for the euphonious effect of the long series of monosyll. words.

95 si...remeassem For the sequence **si qua...si**, cf. n. on 3.433f.; Sinon attempts some woebegone dignity. For *meo*-compounds in V, cf. n. on 11.793; a *re-* compound to be expected in the context of a *nostos*-story. Possibly a source for the forger at **578**.

patrios...ad Argos Cf. n. on **88**; only now does V. hint at the paternity 'P. son of Nauplius'; Sinon thus, indirectly (through, that is, a related toponym, accessible only to the informed reader) and after long delay, answers the question **74 quo sanguine cretus**. Modesty, or a hint of deceitful intent? Not necessarily the latter; if we are not certain, that too is to V.'s credit. **P.** thus with a toponym also at **180**, **577**, *Ov.Her.*7. 145, etc., Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1. 762.41ff.; Fasce, *EV* 3, 1026 unsatisfactory.

umquam Sinon augments the pathetic sincerity of his promise. Cf. *EV* 5*, 387, **247**, **331**.

uictor Over Troy; often used in predic. or advbl. positions; cf. *EV* 5*, 546f.. In fact S. will, as **uictor**, enter Troy (**329**) before his homeland, **uictorque Sinon incendia miscet**.

96 uerbis As expression of thought; so e.g. 4.5, 8.155 (with Maselli, *EV* 5*, 506).

odia aspera moui Cf. *TLL* 9.2.466.77f. (von Kamptz), *EV* 3, 821; no clear analogies for this qualification of *odium*. But the adj. often enough of qualities and feelings; cf. Hey, *TLL* 2.811.9ff., citing e.g. Sall. *Cat.* 20.13 *at nobis est domi inopia, foris aes alienum, mala res, spes multo asperior*, [Sall.] *Rep.* 2.7.7 *ipsa per se uirtus amara atque aspera est*. The vb., of emotions aroused, in general use, but clearly to Cic.'s particular taste, Wieland, *TLL* 8.1545.60ff.; cf. *EV* 1, 371, 3, 608.

97 hinc...hinc/ 98 ...hinc For the repet., cf. *G*.2.514f. (where vd. Erren; also n. on *G*.1.5, with p.12, n.6), *Col*.10.209, Rehm, *TLL* 6.3.2807.33ff. Cf. n. on 3.111f..

mihi So S. tells us that his own woes began (seriously) here, with his unwise threats against his 'friend's' murderers.

prima mali labes *Ruinam significat, a 'lapsu'* Serv.; this analysis of the word also in *Schol.Stat.Theb.* 8.34 (cf. Flury, *TLL* 7.2.773.16f.); alternatively, cf. *Paul.exc.Fest.p.* 108.17L *macula in uestimento dicitur*. Two words or one? If one, which was the older sense? Much work for the linguists; cf. EM for a strong case made for two words. But which here? Flury seems to allow (769.30) that both senses are possible: 'c. gen. explic. (*nisi subest notio irruendi*)'. First, for 'stain' (ie. here, as it might be, 'trace of trouble'), cf. *Cic.Balb.* 15 *est enim haec saeculi quaedam macula atque labes, uirtuti inuidere* (cf. *Off.* 3.85 *conscientiae*), *Vat.* 15 *ex tua summa indignitate labes* *Liv.* 39.9.1 *huius mali labes*. At 6.746 an evident stain, *concretam exemit labem*. Secondly, 'ruin' is suggested by Justin's echo, 17.1.5 *haec illi prima mali labes, hoc initium impendentis ruinae fuit* (cf. Goodyear, *Atti* 1981, 2, 170), which proves only how he found it convenient to interpret the passage. There is no problem with the genitive to express what is ruined (cf. *Cic.Flacc.* 24 *innocentiae labem aliquam aut ruinam*, Flury, 769.7ff., with ample parallel material); as Prof. Görler remarks, *labes* is clearly a deverbal and when a gen. follows to express what is ruined it is almost to be classed as *subjective*. Note too the literal *Lucr.* 2.1144f *moenia mundi/ expugnata dabunt labem putrisque ruinas*. Here, though, V. clearly does *not* mean that it is the *malum* that is beginning to collapse (palpably ludicrous). It might seem natural to cite (so e.g. Weidner) *Il.* 11.604 κακοῦ δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή. But V. has on any argument altered Hom.'s sense; evidently not 'beginning' here, and no helpful clue to the Latin's sense in Hom.. Trogus too could easily have misunderstood V.. Austin cites **387 salutis iter** (the link of **i.** and *eo* sensed) *G*.3.482 *via mortis* (*u.* not deverbal) which are not exactly objective (cf. LHS 67 on expressions such as *ingressio fori*). If then (with warm

thanks to Prof. Görler) we can be rid of ‘slip’, there is no difficulty at all (*supra*) with ‘stain’ or ‘mark’. Cf. Flury, 769.30ff., Bartalucci, *EV* 3, 85 (judicious).

semper Vlixes A permanent characteristic of U.’s (the use of fear and (false) accusations), as of the Aequi at 7.748 and of individuals, 11.122, 378. The speaker’s feigned hostility sharpens certain familiar elements of U.’s character (cf. Cairns, 193).

98 criminibus...nouis Cf. 6.430 *falso damnati crimine mortis*, and see n. on 7.339 for other *crimina* in the sense of ‘malign accusations’ (with grave consequences). Sinon relates that he has begun a war of words against U. and it is only too credible that U. is very well able to reply in kind (cf. Pomathios, 28). This sort of situation much to the taste of TCD: *spargebat in uulgum nouum de me criminum genus et omnia iactabat ambigua, quia uera quae diceret non habebat.*

terrere No object, as at 755 (but in both cases easily supplied; here perhaps not only S. himself, but unspecified friends or ‘neutrals’); not often used in V. with a personal subj. (cf. 10.879, 12.761, 875, 894). ‘Historic’ infin. (cf. n. on 11.142); used normally as here in groups.

spargere Apparently a Virgilian invention thus, imitated thereafter: Ov. *Met.* 8.267, *OLD* s.v. *spargo*, §7a, Au. (for Quint.). See n. on 7.338 for the metaphors present in 339 **sere** *crimina belli*; Gk. διασπείρειν λόγους. Cf. *effundere u.*, *rumpere u.* and *dispergere u.* (with Catrenin, 155), *EV* 5*, 634 unilluminating.

uoces/ 99 ...ambiguas The weighty (and sinister) epithet (cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.821, Bannier, *TLL* 1.1842.78) prominently run on; Liv. 4.17.3 *in tesserarum prospero iactu uocem eius ambiguam, ut occidi iussisse uideretur* might be earlier than *Aen.* 2. Serv. Dan. comments thoughtfully *aut dubias aut suspicionum et criminum plenas, ne si aperte ageret accusatio esse uideretur.*

in uulgam Cf. 39, Pomathios, 152 for **u.** as ‘the foolish, gullible people’, easily swayed by Ul.. This use of **u.** masc. has evident metr. convenience here; also a certain archaic flavour: cf. Acc. *trag.* 288, Lucr. 2.921, Sisenna fr. 48 Peter, Varr. *Men.* 359 Astbury, Leumann, 450, NW 1, 972f., Bednara, *ALL* 14(1906), 345. Con. well reminds us of the tragic Ul.’s appeals to the crowd, Eur. *Hec.* 134, 254 (vd. Collard on both passages), *IA* 525f.: the hero as sophist/demagogue.

quaerere conscientius arma On G.4.245, Serv. glosses *arma* here with *id est consilium* (so too at *Aen.* 1.542); here, Serv. Dan. compiles a variorum note on an old disputed passage: *alii ‘arma’ pro opibus’ uel ‘auxiliis’ accipiunt; alii ‘arma’ ‘consilium’, alii ‘occasione’, nonnulli ‘insidias’ intellegunt’.* TCD

quaerebat consiliorum tela quibus me confoderet occasionesque captabat. None of which is very helpful. ‘Id est vel fraudes vel dolos’, Bickel, *TLL* 2.601.57f., citing both Servius’ nn., but no clear and helpful parallel usages. Serv. has not finished here, however, and notes *quidam ‘concius arma’ hypallagen potent pro ‘conscientia arma’*. Cf. *ICS* 31(2006), 21 for Serv.’s use of *h.* as ‘transferred epithet’ (what we normally call enallage). ‘Arms in the conspiracy’ is (*pace* Henry) very helpful (and cf. Spelthahn, *TLL* 4.370.37ff. for many late-republican instances of *c.* with a strong flavour of ‘conspiratorial’, as Cic. *Phil.*2.17 *consciorum indiciis*); note Au.’s acute paraphrase ‘quaerere conscos, concius ipse’ (cf. Bell, 315ff. for many instances where the adj. is probably to be understood twice), citing e.g. **267 agmina conscientia iungunt.** Ov.*F.*2.100 *ceteraque armata conscientia turba manu* sheds no clear light on this passage. *TLL* s.v. *concius* is selective and strangely unhelpful. With *quaerere...arma*, cf. n. on 7.625 (*requirunt*), Cic.*Ep.Brut.*1.24.4 *quaerenda esse arma*, Caes.*Gall.*7.12.4 *arma...conquirerent*, Bickel, 596.29ff..

100 nec...enim E. strongly asseverative: cf. Hand 2, 389f., KS 2, 43f, LHS, 451, Norden, p.454, Conway on 1.198, Fordyce on 7.581: some twenty times in V. and only here in tmesis. We are nearing the first climax of the long fiction.

requieuit *EV* 4, 445 (Scotti) usefully cites *Lucr.*6.1177 *nec requies erat ulla mali*, and *Aen.*6.600 *nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis*. The vb. in *Enn.*, *Lucr.*, *Cat.*.

donec Used by *Liv.Andr.*, *Acc.*, and often in *Lucr.* (22x, including *donique*), with various orthographies; 14x in *Aen.* (and 18x in all V.). See *EV* 3, 994, LHS 628ff.

Calchante ministro C. prominent in *Il.* as a leading Greek seer (1.69, 92, etc.) Not a sympathetic figure: ‘notoriously the priestly authority for the sacrifice of Iphigenia’, P.R. Hardie, *CQ* 34(1984), 406 (cf. Heckenbach 1553.16ff. for the evidence), ‘was to be concerned with the death of Astyanax’ (Au. here, referring presumably to *Serv.Dan.* on 3.489, *Sen.Tro.*533 and probably *Acc. Astyanax*, on which vd. Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.*, 412ff.. See Saladino, *LIMC* 5.1. 932, Robert, 1260f.). The death of Polyxena, too, to facilitate the Greeks’ return, according to *Sen.Tro.*361, and *Serv.Dan.* on 3.322, (vd. Wüst, PW 21.1842.23ff. and cf. *Eur.Hec.*111f., *Ov.Met.*13.440ff., QS 14.243ff., Wüst, 1841.60ff. for alternative accounts of Polyx. and the winds): that might indeed have been a narrative model that appealed to V. here (cf. Molyneux (57–76), 875, n.11, Friedrich, 152ff., Stabryła, 93f. and now

for an hypothetical reconstruction, G. Scafoglio, *CQ* 57(2007), 781–7). For his role in the building of the TH, cf. 185, Campbell, 123f., Gärtner, 167: perhaps a detail found in the sources of both QS and V.. See *LIMC* 5.1.931–5 (Saladino), *NP* 6.153 (Nünlist), Ro.2.921.54ff. (Stoll/ Immisch), *PW* 10.1552.18ff. (Heckenbach). With **m.**, cf. *Sall.Iug.* 33.4 *quibus iuuantibus quibusque ministris*, *Liv.* 34.60.1 *Hannibale ministro*, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.1005. 3ff. *Quater* in V., between masc. and fem., adj. and noun, and used by the poets elsewhere (Cat., Lucr., Hor.C.). The aposiopesis here rouses the audience's desire to hear more: cf. M. Plotius Sacerdos, *Gramm.Lat.* 6.468. 12 *ut aut terreatur auditor, aut ad desiderium intendatur auditus* (citing this passage), Serv. *ut semiplena dicendo cogat et interrogare et audiens audire Troianos*, Serv.Dan. on 101 *et bene reticuit, ne taederet illos tam longae orationis nihil ad se pertinentis, nisi studium audiendi intermissione renouasset* (the success of the tactic he notes at 105) and (*bene*) Licinia Ricottilli, *EV* 1, 227.

101 sed quid...autem... 102 quidue...? V. is at pains here to give S.'s language a distinct spoken flavour, yet one peculiarly in keeping with both epic convention and rhetorical tactics: of *sed quid ego...*, Skutsch writes (Enn., p.363; cf. *Ann.* 201, 314): ‘the dactylic poets, perhaps rendering an Homeric tag...evidently used a common turn of speech which was naturally dactylic’. Cf. *Il.* 11.407 (and *Od.* 20.38), AR 1.648f. (a self-interruption to justify brevity), Cat.64.116 (and Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.169, *Mil.* 18, Apul. *Met.* 7.3, etc.; very common phrasing). There Kroll remarks on the presence in such expressions both of *praeteritio* and of *metabasis* (*cum ab alia re ad id quod demonstrare instituimus orationem atque actionem nostram reuocamus*, *Rutil.* 2.1; cf. TCD here *ubi ad ipsum cardinem uenit in quo mendaciorum consistebat effectus*). At the same time, *sed...* *autem* is a rare double adversative, known from Plaut. and Ter., which here therefore adds to the colloquial tone: cf. Münscher, *TLL* 2.1594.79ff., Hand, 1, 583 (who notes in poetry Cic. *Progn.* fr. 2 *ast autem...*), Hofmann-Ricottilli, 235, LHS, 525 ‘aber anderseits’. Austin here finely notes that *sed quid ego haec autem* could indeed be read as the first half of a senarius; that is not the only place in V. where alien metres have been spotted behind the hexam. (cf. n. on 3.129, citing Serv. and later students of this most elegant stylistic *tour de force*).

ego...reuoluo ‘Transf. to go back over (past events, etc.) in thought or speech’, *OLD* s.v., §2c, apparently first thus here; the image of winding back a roll to some extent present, Traina, *EV* 5*, 626.

haec...ingrata Much (successful) effort in antiquity to understand this correctly: Serv. *nec uobis placitura nec mihi gratiam conciliantia*; Serv.Dan. *quorum iam non libenter memini*; TCD *quae apud uos erunt ingrata*, Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.1560.73ff., *EV* 2, 792.

nequiquam Cf. nn. on 7.589 and 11.536. Adj. and advb. in mutual reinforcement (such as occurs frequently in V, in various forms: cf. my nn. on 3.78, 257, 313, 410f., 11.21, 493, 837, etc.). Austin suggests that the frequent synaloepha of **n.** is in the interests of pathos. Perhaps also to ensure that a mere adverb occupies less space.

102 moror Cf. 5.400 (misunderstood by Williams), 4.325, 6.528., 11.365 (with my n.). We are not required to specify an obj. as we read: though a response to literal *moror* may be heard in *iandudum* (Goold), the formula (*tacet* Hofmann, Austin undecided) maintains the tone of spoken Latin and we naturally compare (from Plaut. and Ter.) *nil moror* (LHS, 356; 41x in Plaut.), *haud moror, num moror, non moror* and *ter* in Plaut. *numquid moror?*: cf. Reichmann/ Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1499.28ff.. *Quid moror? ter* in Plaut.. Between ‘I’ve no time for’ and ‘I don’t mind/care’; cf. Fabia, Barsby on Ter. *Eun.*184 *nil moror*, but notably Lejay on Hor. *Serm.*1.4.13 and Brink on Hor. *Ep.*2.1.264. So here, ‘what is the point?’ (that is: since as a Greek he is doomed anyway, there is no need to explain). The question mark should not be delayed until after **sat est** (Ussani), given that *quid moror?* is so regular a unit.

si...habetis Cf. 10.108 *nullo discrimine habebo*, Bulhart, *TLL* 6.3.2448. 54f..s.v. ‘putare, numerare’, and located with *habere in numero, in loco*. Cf. *EV* 2, 826. **si M₂P₂V**, Pap.Colt 1, TCD, **sed M, siue P.**

omnis uno ordine For this ‘significant juxtaposition’ of ‘one’ and ‘all’, cf., with a quite different force, 11.132 (with full n.). Keudel, *TLL* 9.2.965.6ff. compares *eodem loco habere* (vd. Bulhart, *ib.*6.3.2448.33ff., citing Cic.*Fin.*2.50 *cum honestatem eo loco habeat*), Pollio, *Fam.*10.31.3 *me...uetustissimorum familiarium loco habuit*, etc.; note also *ib.*6 *familiarem meum tuorum numero habes* with Bulhart, 41ff.). Here variation of a common prose idiom, with the use of a readily flexible noun; *OLD* s.v., §5b well explains ‘if you regard them as all alike’ and compares Ov.*Met.*9.438 (of Minos) *nec quo prius ordine regnat*, Val. Max. 2.7.8 *eiusdem ordinis quod sequitur*. Serv. fancies a legal flavour, unconvincingly. ‘Categorica’, well, Lenaz, *EV* 3, 880.

Achiuos Cf. 45. Decorum restored to the punctuation here by Austin, following Vahlen.

103 idque audire Sc. *me Graium esse* (Serv.; *bene*, despite Henry's cavils); cf. Sinko, *TLL* 2.1266.33f., well inviting the reader to supply *nomen* as at 4.302 *audit...Baccho*, Ov.*F.5.514*. Con. did not need to refer back to 79, when **Achiuos** precedes directly and Au. deals briskly with other unlikely interpretations.

sat est Cf. 3.602 *sat erit* with n..

iamdudum Much time and ink expended on this tricky word without consultation of the ample technical discussions available: cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 5.1.2177.82ff., Bennett, 1, 17f., KS 1, 202, LHS 305, Hand 3.158ff., Fordyce on Cat.64.374. It is often supposed that there is ellipse of *sumendas* here (i.e. 'exact the punishment that you have long wanted to exact'; so TCD, p.161.11), with the common sense of 'now for a long time' (i. as at 4.1 *iamdudum saucia cura*, 362, 1.580, 12.217, etc., Hofmann, 2178.6ff.). But the ellipse is peculiarly uninviting when the vb. is imperative, given the sense of 'at once' also present in *i.*: cf. Serv. here *quam primum* and on 1.580 (wrongly) *cito*, Cat.*cit.* (with jussive verb; see also Ellis, Kroll there) *dedatur cupido iam dudum nupta marito*, Ov.*Ars* 1.317f. *iamdudum de grege duci/ iussit*, Sen.*Ep.75.7 iamdudum gaude*, 84.11 *relinque ista iamdudum ad quae discurrit*, Med.191 *monstrumque saeum horribile iamdudum auehe*, Hand, 161, Hofmann, 2180.10ff..

sumite poenas Cf. 6.501, 11.720 (with n.), 12.949 and **585f.** for the HE. Possibly first here in high poetry, but cf. Lucr.4.1074 *sed potius quae sunt sine poena commoda sumit*. Gk. ποίνην λαβεῖν.

104 hoc For the prosody (after original *hocc*), cf. n. on 7.174. For the very Virgilian one-line epiphonema, cf. **49**.

Ithacus For geogr. periphrasis in V., cf. n. on 7.409; for the adj. form used as noun, cf. n. on 3.629, and for Ithaca itself, n. on 3.272f..

uelit Cf. *Il.1.255* ή κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες; γ. aor. subjunc. and potential as here; note Ov.*Her.9.7* *hoc uelit Eurystheus, uelit hoc germana Tonantis*, Triph.279 (where vd. Gerlaud), Clausen, *VA*, 66. Schol.Ver. remarks appreciatively *elegans fraudium color*.

et magno mercentur Abl. of price; Antoine, 185f. compares (e.g.) G. 1.31, *Aen.1.136*, 484 10.503 *emptum magno intactum Pallanta*. Bulhart, *TLL* 8.800.21ff. compares abls. of price in Prop.(2.16.15, 34b.71) and Liv.(23.28.6). The vb. at Hor.*C.3.19.5*, *quater* in Prop.; perhaps first here in high poetry, but *tacent* Cordier, *EV*. Clausen, *VA* 66, n.52 argues, not strongly, for a tragic flavour on the basis on its frequency in Plaut. and Ter. Also at 1.367.

Atridae Cf. n. on 11.262. For Agam. and Menel., cf. 1.458 (*Atridas*), **2.415 (Atridae)**, **500 (Atridas)**, 8.130 (*Atridis*), 9.138 (*Atridas*), 602 (*Atridae*), 11.262 (*Atrides*). Cf. NW 1, 514, Holzweissig, 494. Od. and the Atridae already paired as villains by Philoct., Soph. *Phil.* 314f. (Clausen, *V4*, 66, n.52). So we have a (partial) answer to why (some) Greeks want him dead (**72f.**).

105 tum uero Cf. n. on 7.519; barely adversative.

ardemus Cf. 1.515, 581, **2.316**, 4.281, 11.895, etc., with infin.; Vollmer, *TLL* 2.486. 62ff., Görler, *EV2*, 271. Not a context in which to expect active fire-imagery; naturally, after Sinon's dramatic, suggestive opening and beautifully-timed pause, the Trojans are afire for more.

scitari Only here and at **114** in V; why Cordier, 133, 163 claims poetic colour is unclear, as is the mysterious reference to Cic., 39. The vb. ('itératif, intensif', EM, 603) Plautine, neglected in class. prose in favour of *sciscitor* and elevated by V, apparently. Ovidian, but not Lucretian, perhaps unexpectedly; cf. Flobert, 74. Perhaps sc. *plura*, perhaps sc. **causas**; any uncertainty unimportant.

et quaerere causas Cf. 6.710 *causasque requirit*. Meister, *TLL* 3.667. 83ff. quotes numerous instances of *causas/-m quaerere* from Cic., Varr., Caes., Ov., Liv., etc., but not, surprisingly, from Lucr.. P's **casus** has no charms.

106 ignari Cf. 3.569 (with n.); note Ter. *Haut.* 226 *ignaram artis mere-triae*, *TLL* 7.1. 272.58 (Wiese). Serv.Dan. comments *aut nescientes aut imprudentes*, in keeping with the frequent oscillation between 'act.' and 'pass.' senses (Wiese, 272.6ff., quoting e.g. Gell. 9.12.20 *non tantum qui ignorat, sed etb qui ignoratur*). Perhaps then both 'ignorant' (obviously) and 'innocent' too.

scelerum tantorum Cf. G.1.506, *Aen.* 7.307 (with n.), **2.125, 164**
scelerumque inuentor Vlices (cf. 6.529 *hortator scelerum Aeolides*), 229 (Laoc., as viewed by the deluded Trojans), **535**, 3.604, 5.793, 6.511 *scelus exitiale Lacaenae* (Helen at the fall of Troy), 8.206, 668 (with 11.258). *EV* s.v. unsatisfactory.

artisque Pelasgae For P. as 'Greek', cf. **83**. For a. as 'cunning', cf. **15**. For 'Greek cunning', cf. Eur. *IT* 1205, Xen. *Hipp.* 5.10, Tosi, 111f. n°242, Mayor on Juv. 10.174, and **370–401**.

107 prosequitur 'To continue with a further remark or sim., go on', *OLD* s.v., §7b; cf. Ottink, *TLL* 10.2.2191.17, Val.Max.2.7.12 *non*

prosequar hoc factum ulterius, Phaedr.3.5.3f. “*tanto*” inquit “*melior!*” assem
deinde illi dedit, / sic prosecutus: “*plus non habeo mehercules...*”, and perhaps
Suet.Claud.43.1 et subinde obuum sibi Britannicum artius complexus hortatus
est, ut ...; Graeca insuper uoce prosecutus: Ottink cites many more instance of
this sense from c.1AD prose, with acc., 2191.29ff.. Of speech as follow-
up to spearing, Stat.*Theb.*8.472. At all events, explicit evidence that at
least the second and third elements—and therefore, presumably, the
rest—of Sinon’s speech are conceived as belonging to a single whole
(69–72).

pauitans Alliterative of stammering, perhaps (and note also asson-
ance of t); fear both assumed (as **ficto pectore** might suggest) and
real (natural here and not to be ruled out), which is wrongly called
‘ambiguity’ by McKay, *EV* 3, 1038; Serv. Dan. realises that S.’s fear is
tricky here. The vb. *ter* in *Lucr.*, *ter* in *Aen.*. La Cerdà well compares
*Tac.Hist.*1.69 *cum Claudius Cossus, unus ex legatis, notae facundiae sed dicendi*
artem apta trepidatione occultans atque eo ualidior.

et ficto pectore fatur Cf. n. on 11.685 for speech-openings with
adj. + *pectore fatur*; on *pectus* as ‘la sede dei sentimenti, del desiderio e
della volontà’, cf. also Negri, 207f., 289. V. is careful to remind his
readers that they are still in the middle of a tissue of lies (Serv.Dan.
simulans se pauere). Cf. Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.779.41, Ov.*Her.*12.12 *linguae*
gratia ficta tuae.

108–144 The third element in Sinon’s speech. This *Trugrede* is brilliant:
exciting, in the story it tells, dramatic and slightly unfamiliar in con-
tent, rich in apparent pathos (Rieks, 151, 156), entirely successful as
deceit (Adler, 261f.), richly inventive in its use of inherited material.
Trojan gullibility anticipates Roman innocence in the face of (histor-
ical) Greek/Punic deceit. The apparent inconsistency between **108f.**
and **176f.** has attracted disproportionate attention: nothing in the text
requires that V should be offering alternative versions of the same
moment and we have learned that Calchas intervenes repeatedly (**100**).
To the compatibility or coexistence of this speech with **154–194** we
shall come, *infra*. Sinon’s tale must be at once fantasy (as the basic
'facts' of the plot require) and altogether credible, to Aen. and to us:
rarely is the unwearingly erudite scissors-and-paste of V.’s composi-
tional technique seen to greater advantage. We start from the Iliadic
and tragic accounts of the Greeks’ need for a favouring wind to return
home; then note a hint of the great storm off Euboea (**111**), the familiar
Rom. procedure of consultation of distant oracles (**114**), the slaughter

of Iphigenia (116), etc., in steady flow, as quite exceptional riches of learned reference—the essential underpinning of Sinon's discourse and not some mere Alexandrian icing on the cake—are deployed. See Austin 1959, 19f., Block, 271–3, Cartault, 178f., Friedrich, 152–4, Hardie, 406f., Manuwald, 189f., 196, Molyneux (57–76), 873–7, Smith (*ib.*), 508–14.

108 saepe Taken up by **110 saepe**: the first, the allegation of intended flight, the second, in careful parallelism, the fantasy of that flight checked by storms.

fugam...cupiere.../ 109 moliri V. refers to the Greeks' projected withdrawal, or retreat, a topic with a solidly-attested literary history. In *Il.* (see Speranza's useful discussion), Agamemnon himself, to test the Greeks' morale, proposes that they return home. The army is delighted, and in the end Odysseus checks their excitement (2.73–181). Citing this passage Serv. here remarks *hoc secundum Homerum uerum est*. Cf. Diomedes' savage use of the idea of return in defeat to revile Agam., 9.42–7. Achilles knows that he does not have the option to return home, alive, *Il.* 9.412–6 (with Griffin's notes), Griffin, 99. Contrast the flight contemplated, *Il.* 14.79–81. It is easy for V. to attribute to Sinon another decision to abandon the siege (cf. QS 12.379ff., Manuwald (57–76), 195, Gärtner, 182f. for this same motif of Sinon's threatened death as a means to facilitating the Greeks' return home); the credible lie, adorned with circumstantial detail, noted by TCD (*mendacium cum argumento quo credibile uideri potuisset quod dicebat*). And the role of Calchas here suggests strongly that V. has also in mind the story of Polyxena and the winds (100). The storm on the completion of the TH at QS 12.157ff. (Guillemin, Gärtner, 169f.) has also been adduced, not very helpfully. On the ‘intense and intimate’ wanting implied here by c., cf. *EV* 1, 960; not just *uoluere* remarks Serv.Dan.. On **m.**, he notes well *hoc uerbo difficultatem rei ostendit* (cf. *EV* 3, 560, Heyne, memorably, a ‘grave vocabulum’ for *parare*); cf. 1.414, n. on 3.6, 10.477, Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1359.14. The sequence *cupiere relicta* occurs ca. 60 times in V. (e.g. in successive vv., 7.315, 316); **27** is quite another matter.

Danai Cf. 5, etc..

Troia...relicta Cf. 28 **litusque relictum** and note the story put about at the outset, **17 uotum pro redditu simulant**.

109 longo...bello So, rather later, the Trojans see off the Latins' siege, 9.511 *adsueti longo muros defendere bello*. Probably to be understood both

with the vb. and with **fessi**. Cf. QS 12.376 μακρῷ ἀκηδήσαντες ἐπὶ πτολέμῳ καὶ ἀνίη, with Campbell, p.123 (a widespread and recurrent motif), Gärtner, 183.

fessi Cf. n. on 3.78, in some detail; of course it is the length of the war (cf. 198) that might seem to have exhausted the besiegers (cf. *Il.2.134ff.*, Cat.64.366f., Hor.C.2.4.11) and (TCD) *hoc enim et Troiani libenter audiebant et Sinoni proderat. καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες (uel sim.)* Hom. would have said.

discedere Cf. 11.325, Graeber, *TLL* 5.1.1278.21f.; a studiedly colourless word.

110 fecissentque utinam The parenthetic comment is added by Sinon to his own narrative, but is as well ‘authorial’ (cf. Heinze, 371f., R.J. Tarrant in *Studies...Clausen* (Stuttgart 1998), 152f.: such parentheses common in speeches). Prof. Görler draws my attention to the use of a connective to introduce a parenthesis (note the complete disparity of levels between **cupiere** and **fecissent**): cf. *Buc.3.104 et eris mihi magnus Apollo*, 5.89 **et erat tum dignus amari, *Aen.3.615 mansissetque utinam fortuna*, 11.364f. **et esse/ nil moror**, 901 **et saeuia et saeuia Iouis sic numina poscunt**, KS 2, 26 (prose), LHS, 473, Hofmann, *TLL* 5.2.891.80ff. at 892.7ff.; Hand 2, 492 disappoints. **V.** not common in poetry; cf. n. on 3.615 (likewise in anastrophe, as—strikingly—at Hor.C.2.6.6, 4.5.37: greater weight placed on the verb). See Romano, *EV* 5*, 408. **F.** employed in an ‘all-purpose’ sense (to be understood from the context) in place of e.g. *fugissent/ discessissent*: cf. Hey, *TLL* 6.1.107.31ff. (whence some exx. in Austin), *OLD* s.v., §26a; spoken idiom, though not markedly or exclusively so, and not to be confused with the use of *facere* as a verb suited to all manner of compound expressions (as in e.g. *clamorem facere*), LHS 755.**

saepe Cf. 108. The repetition defines the almost parenthetic character of the interposed wish; Wills calls this function of repetition ‘resumption’ (66ff.).

illos.../ 111 interclusit The weighty verb familiar in historical narrative (*septies* in *Bell.Alex.*, *quater* in *Bell.Hisp.*), but also *Lucr. 6.1266*; perhaps the flavour of narrative prose present here, though. Voss, *TLL* 7.1. 2169.59f.. The detail ‘bad weather held them back’ narrated with ponderous theme and variation, over a verse and a half; it may be that both verbs go with both nouns (*ita* W. Görler, *per litt.*). Credible, traditional/literary nonsense (on this occasion, but not on many others) lent weight by prolixity.

aspera ponti/ 111 ...hiems Cf. Sall.*Jug.*37.3 *hieme aspera*, Ov.*Met.* 11.490, Plin.*Nat.*18.344, Kornhardt, *TLL* 6.3.2774.44, Hey, *ib.*2.809.56. See n. on 3.285 for the sea's conventional *asperitas*. The use of the gen. in Latin in such phrases (cf. my n. on 7.586, considering e.g. *insula fluminis*) is initially surprising to readers used to another language's use of the possess. gen.; it is found with the sea's *uires*, *minae*, *casus* and *rabies* in V. and compare in particular Cat.63.16 *truculentaque pelagi*, Aen. 3.708 *pelagi...tempestatibus* (with n.). Note likewise (*bene*, Con.) *hiems* qualified by *temporis*, *anni*, *montis*, *rerum*, *amoris*, *fortunae* (little joy in *TLL*, *OLD*). For the sea as interrupting a voyage, V. may perhaps have in mind AR 1.1078f. (Nelis).

et terruit Auster The south wind (cf. nn. on 3.61, 357) naturally ill-suited to Greeks sailing back down the Aegean from Troy. NH and NR, despite Horace's insistent references to the dangers to mariners of the S. wind (C.1.3.14ff., 3.3.4f.), never offer a collection of the parallel evidence: see rather Capelle, PW 17.1117.36ff., Kidd on Aratus 292, Jebb on Soph.*Ant.*335, and West on Hes.*Erga* 675. Insistent assonance of -t- in some way suggestive of the din of foul weather at sea. *EV* 5*, 138 (cf. G.1.459 for *terror* aroused by weather); 'omnia ad ornatorem orationem spectant' Heyne. There may be resonances here of the great storm unleashed against the returning Greeks off Euboea (cf. n. on 11.259f.).

euntis Cf. nn. on 59 and 7.676. *Ire cupientis* Serv., comparing *Buc.*6.3 *cum canerem reges et proelia* (where he comments *cum canere uellem*); after all the Greeks did not set to sea. Cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 270 (who argues for a sense of *quominus irent*; cf. 430), Bell, 209, LHS 316 and the satisfactory discussion, KS 1, 120f.. Sinon will return to the Greeks' notional departure, 136.

112 praecipue Verbosity again; Sinon is about to specify the worst of the bad weather. Not common: cf. n. on 7.746.

cum iam hic Of course the Trojans are fascinated by the silent bulk of the TH and have been for some time (31ff.): Sinon here merely refers to its presence, and will not return to it until his next speech, 185ff., in a quite different key. For the synaloepha of *iam*, cf. n. on 11.807. Sinon seems now to be speaking of a time in the very recent past, when the TH was already in its present position, but the Greeks had perhaps not yet withdrawn to Tenedos.

trabibus...acernis Phrasing to the taste of the mature Virgil, 9.87 *nigranti picea trabibusque obscurus acernis*. Cf. n. on 16 for the

varieties of wood mentioned by V.; maple a local wood of Mt.Ida (*Thphr.Hist.Plant.3.11.2*), as V. might have known; cf. Losada (16), 308 and n. on 3.6 (shipbuilding and the coasts of the Troad); he knew his Thphr. rather well; cf. R. Thomas, *Reading Virgil...* (Ann Arbor 1999), 165ff. (= *HSCP* 91(1987), 253ff.), Battegazzore, *EV* 5*, 123–5. On the maple (used specially in making furniture), cf. Maggiulli, 216 and Meiggs, *Trees and timber*, 143 (shipbuilding).

contextus The verb present in Cat.64.292 *haec circum sedes late contexta locauit*; also Lucr., *ter*. Cf. 16 **intexunt** for the language and imagery.

113 staret equus Cf. 15. Standing is a good deal more than mere being: Henry compares 4.135, 7.275, 6.22, 554, etc.; Bartalucci, *EV* 4, 1026 adds 460, 3.63, etc.. Sinon then glides away from any mention of the TH (here slipped in while he is talking about something else: Serv.Dan.) until 154.

toto...aethere Abl. of extension (Malosti, 29); cf. 5.821, 10.356, with *toto...aequore* at 1.128; cf. n. on 11.599 *aequore toto*. See *EV* 1,40 (Lunelli) for the Homeric and Lucretian antecedents of Virgilian *aether* as ‘sky’ in the context of weather phenomena.

sonuerunt...nimbi Apparently, the sound of thunder, 8.524f., Roiron, 194, *OLD* s.v., §1a (‘rain-cloud’); **n.** apparently a synonym of *nubes* (Vinchesi, *EV* 3, 774), *semel* Pacuv., *bis*, Acc., and not Ennian. But also, of course, ‘rain’, Lucr.3.19f. *nec nubila nimbis/ aspergunt*, though not here. ‘Thunderstorms resounded’, Henry 2, p.291f..

114 suspensi Cf. n. on 3.372 (a favourite expression, ignored by *EV*).

Eurypylum Homeric leader of the Thessalians, *Il*.2.736, von Sybel, Ro.1.1428.15ff., Tümpel, PW 6.1347.1ff., P. Dräger, NP 4, 303, §1, M.A. Zagdoun, *LIMC* 4.1.109f., §1. Eurypylus son of Telephus ([Apdl.] *Epit*.5.12) was by now (not long) dead, at Neopt.’s hands. Eurypylus of Cos (*Il*.2.677) was perhaps too insignificant to confuse matters any further. Unpersuasive etymological speculations, H.Mørland (370–401), 18–20.

scitatum... 115 mittimus Scitatum Some c.9 mss, Charisius, *Gramm.Lat.*1.356.1, Nonius p.386.24, *alii* in Serv., TCD; **scitantem** ΜΥ (for **P**), Serv., some c.9 mss.. It is singular that some edd. print the partic., not impossible Latin, but otherwise, at least with *mittere*, the usage of prose, as Fleischer, *TLL* 8.1189.83ff. makes very clear (cf. KS 1, 757, Weidner, etc.). Oddly Görler, *EV* 2, 270 (quoting the line

without *oracula*) favours partic., comparing Vell.2.5.3 *moriturum miserat* (no normal supine available). With other verbs (notably, of motion), the partic. is so found: Wagner, *QV* xxviiii, §2c, citing Cat.11.10 (cf. LHS 387 and even *Aen.*1.518f. *ibant/ orantes ueniam* (*petebant* follows), 8.120, 11.100f.). However, the supine is much commoner with *mittere* (Fleischer, 1189.51ff.; Austin, *bene*); supine in *-um* is found throughout in V. (though not often), and occasionally elsewhere in poetry: cf. *Buc.*7.11, 9.24, *Aen.*2. 786 (*seruitum*), 4.117 (*uenatum*), 9.241 (*quaesitum*, with Dingel and Hardie) and above all *G.*4.449 *uenimus hinc lassis quaesitum oracula rebus*. See KS 1, 724, LHS, 381, Bennett, 1, 453ff., Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen*, 1, 279, Bertotti, *EV* 4, 1083ff. (whose material is very limited), J.H.W. Penney in *ALLP*, 254f. (again, rarity of supine overstated). Outside V., note Liv. *Andr.* Od. fr. 23 Mariotti, Pacuv. *trag.* 187, Acc. *trag.* 198, Cat. 10.2, Hor. C.1.2.15, Ov. *AA* 1.99, Brink on Hor. *Ep.*2.2. 67, NW 3, 175f., Roby, 2, 154ff.. Brink is surely right to see the flavour of the supine as faintly archaic; faintly prosy too, perhaps (Baehrens on Cat.66.12, Coleman on *Buc.*9.24). Not distinctively familiar or spoken Latin, *pace* Au. on 786: see Penney, 254, n.15. Gasti (28), 129f. now argues for **scitantem** with no grasp of the grammatical point at issue. The verb used in the commoner sense of ‘enquire’ at 107; here perhaps rather too far away to be a case of repetition with changed sense (43); the word is recalled as familiar, and the sense shifted to ‘consult’ (cf. *OLD* s.v., §b, Ov. *F.*4.191). The language and procedure are altogether familiar: cf. Tarquinius Superbus, *Liv.*1.56.5 *hoc uelut domestico exterritus uisu Delphos ad maxime inclitum in terris oraculum mittere statuit. neque responsa sortium ulli alii committere ausus, duos filios per ignotas ea tempestate terras, ignotiora maria in Graeciam misit*, 22.57.5 *Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum quibus precibus supplicisque deos possent placare*. See Luterbacher, 7, n.2, Bömer on Ov. *F.*2.711, Latte, 223f., E. Gruen, *Studies in Greek culture and Roman policy* (Berkeley 1990), 9; legendary accounts are careful to follow republican procedure and that was itself quite in keeping with Greek usage (see e.g. Stengel, *Griech. Kultusaltertümer*, 67).

oracula Phoebi At Thymbra (n. on 3.85: at the gates of Troy)? Or at Claros (3.360 with n.)? Or Grynum (4.345, with comm. on *Aen.*3, xxx; twenty miles SSW of Pergamum)? Or somewhere less likely to be philo-Trojan? Sinon rambles on through his complex narrative, rich in familiar, credible, reassuring detail. Cf. W. Unte, *Gymn.*101(1994), 207ff.; Friedrich, 152, n.27 is not right to assume that the reader will

think naturally of Delphi, while Perret is altogether too keen to identify precise geogr. detail.

115 isque...reportat Ambassadorial likewise, 7.285, 9.193, 11.511; Virgilian usage; not that of orators and historians, though. Cf. n. on 7.167 for the level of (*re-*)*portare*, where I failed to cite Lyne, *WP*, 57ff. (*bene*).

adytis The inner room of any shrine or temple, particularly Delphi (cf. n. on 3.92). V. uses the plur. even when not required by the metre (Austin); cf. *templa, delubra, tecta, stabula, thalami, domus* (plur.), not to mention *arae, altaria, fores*; cf. Löfstedt, *Synt.1₂*, 42f., Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 150.

haec tristia dicta Cf. 10.612 *tua tristia dicta*, 12.894f. *tua feruida.../ dicta*; pronom. adj. + adj. + *dicta* not a favoured ‘formula’.

116 sanguine Enter another element in Sinon’s tale, Lucretius’ account of the killing of Iphigenia. This is not ‘human sacrifice’; vd. n. on 11.82, and cf. F. Schwenn, *Die Menschenopfer...* (*RVV* 15, Giessen, 1915), 122f., D.D. Hughes, *Human sacrifice in ancient Greece* (London 1991), 227, n.25: there is much inherited and avoidable confusion on this issue. See *Lucr.1.84f. aram/ Iphianassai turparunt sanguine*; further debts will emerge (cf. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Eng. tr.), 65f., P. Hardie, *CQ* 34(1984), 406ff.). The informed reader follows in fascination and disbelief the many evident traces and hints present in these vv.. The full, appalling implications will not become apparent until the next **sanguine**, in two lines.

placastis uentos Standard language: cf. n. on 3.69 (some form of p. probably present at *Lucr.6.48*; see Hardie, 406, n.5), 120.

et uirgine caesa V. at *Lucr. 1.84*; the verb used very frequently of animal sacrifice, Hoppe, *TLL* 3.62.80ff., Piacente, *EV* 1, 600, my n. on 7.574. The choice of vb. here suggests that—as readers and participants might agree—Iph. was slaughtered as though a mere beast. We are in the realm of familiar mythological ‘fact’. The line may be considered as ‘hendiadys’; at least, a compound expression (see Hahn 1930, 216).

117 cum primum Cf. n. on 7.39.

Iliacas...uenistis ad oras *Ad oras* at 1.158; for the adj., cf. n. on 11.255, *EV* 5*, 292f.; for the vb., cf. 1.369 *uenistis ab oris*. Entirely conventional, if not quite formulaic, language. In the oracle’s reply,

Sinon tosses out a hint at Aulis, in his unerring hunt for curiosity and sympathy; he was himself to have been another Iph..

Danai Cf. 5, etc..

118 sanguine Brilliant use of the ‘interlocking positional pattern’ (Wills, 410f.; further reinforced by **uenistis...uenit**) suddenly raises the emotional level: in the invented oracle’s response, it now emerges that another act of ritual slaughter, shortly to be specified as being of Sinon himself, was intended to balance that of Iph.; not only does initial **s.** take up initial **s.**, **116**, but **uenit ad auris** takes up **uenistis ad oras**; double echo of sound doubly underlines parallelism of argument. The first slaughter was mythological and literary ‘fact’, which lends credibility (TCD 1.162.26f., Block, 271) to the next instalment of fantasy; an old technique, recently used (cf. n. on **81 Belidae...**, *ad fin.*).

quaerendi reditus Cf. 10.436, 11.54 (with n.); typically neat and powerful use of the abstr. noun in place of a clause. Note 1.380 *Italian quaero patriam*, **2.294**, 3.4 (with n.), 496f., etc.. The plur. perhaps to indicate various returns to distinct destinations.

animaque.../ 119 Argolica **A.**: cf. **78**; **a.** as ‘life’, n. on 11.440, Isnardi Parente, *EV* 1,172, Negri 35, 37, 39. The adj. is carefully delayed; Sinon himself we know to have come from the Argolid (**95**).

litandum ‘To make an offering’, with instrum.abl., *OLD* s.v., §2a, Meijer, *TLL* 7.2. 1511.63f. , comparing Sen.*Herc.Fur.*1039, of a human offering. Cf. Stat.*Theb.*2.246ff. *hi fibris animaque litant, hi caespite nudo, / nec minus auditi, si mens accepta, merentur/ ture deos*; the instrum.abl. is used often, of a wide range of offerings, Liv.38. 20.6 *hostiis*, Pers.2.75 *farre*, Plin.*Nat.praef.*11 *lacte*, Sen.*NQ* 4.6.3 *sanguine*.

119 uulgi...uenit ad auris V. re-uses (perhaps by a mere accident of recollection, and here with strong allit.) the phrasing of **81 fando aliquod peruenit ad auris**. Cf. **39**, **99** for traces of a hostile view of the ‘crowd’. This **uox** will penetrate deeper, through ears and spirit to the very marrow of the bones.

quae uox Cf. n. on 7.117 for the sense of ‘speech’.

ut Cf. n. on 3.53, 306 for temporal *ut*.

120 obstipuere animi For the vb., cf. n. on 11.120; *o. animi* also at 5.404; *o. animis* at 8.530, 9.123(?; vd. Dingel). Cf. Negri, 296, n.46. Old

phrasing: cf. Ter.*Ad.*6.12 *membra metu debilia sunt. animus timore obstipuit*, Heine, *TLL* 9.2.260.61ff.. An Ennian antecedent for Ter. and V. seems probable: otherwise, comedy and prose before V; not in Hor..

gelidusque.../ 121 ...tremor The formula (to **tremor**) re-used at 12.447f.; cf. too the variations, 6.54f. *gelidus Teucris per dura cucurrit/ ossa tremor*, 11.296f., Moskalew, 97. Cold and fear are associated, fundamentally: cf. nn. on 3.29, 11.21, 338, A. Traina, *Vortit barbare* (Roma 1970), 20, Geissler, *TLL* 6.1.1729.7ff.. Trembling a standard symptom of fear (n. on 7.446) and hence by association itself chill (Ov.*Met.*3.688, 10.423f., *Her.*5.37f., Geissler, *cit.*, 9ff.).

per ima.../ 121 ossa Cf. *G.*3.457, *Aen.*12, *cit.*, Fleischer/Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.1401.36, Baer, *ib.* 9.2.1099.79ff.. By ‘depths of the bones’ V. refers to the marrow, ‘seat of vitality and strength and connected intimately with the brain’, n. on 7.355.

cucurrit Cf. 8.390 (*calor*), 12.66 (*rubor*), Hofmann, *TLL* 4.1516.57ff..

121 cui fata parent The absence of a visible object has created millennia of confusion: Serv. *cui praeparent mortem*, Serv.Dan. *fata, id est, responsa. sunt qui ita diuidant: cui fata parent uitam, quem poscat Apollo, ut moriatur*. Some emend: Hofmann Peerlkamp, *quid*, Madvig *paret* (with Apollo as subj.: elegant but needless); vd. Kvičala, 9ff.. Some find the desired accusative in *fata* (in the sense of *mortem*) and excogitate a plur. subject (gods, oracles, *vel sim.*) from the context (still, e.g. Pötscher, 37f., after Con.). Given the easy, natural parallelism of Apollo and his recently-mentioned oracle (114; cf. n. on 7.239, etc.), and the absence of a precise and evident subject for the verb, it is far easier to take *fata* as nom. (so, energetically, Henry); Serv.Dan. seems to recognise both interpretations, while Serv. favours object and TCD avoids commitment. Luc.2.68 “*non alios*” *inquit* “*motus tum fata parabant ...*” (vd. also 6.783) suggests that he too understood V. thus: comforting, if not decisive. The subjunc. depends on the sense of fearing latent in what precedes (cf. with *uenia*, *Aen.*3.144, KS 2, 487f., Sidgwick 2, 495; vd. n. on 3.36 and note at Hor.C.3.6.40ff. the subjunc. in clauses of time subordinate to the command implicit in *arbitrium* (NR indecisive and unpersuasive). Breimeier, *TLL* 10.1.422.61ff. accumulates a splendid list of passages in which the obj. of *parare* is to be supplied from the context (note e.g. Cic.*QF* 3.7.3 *Pompeius abest, Appius miscet, Hirrus parat*, Sall.*Jug.*31.17 *quo maius dedecus est parta amittere quam omnino non parauisse*, PsQuint.*decl.* *mai.* 17.4 *quid tererem, cui pararem, nesciebat, qui interrogavit*, with 17.5 *quaesiuit quid tererem, cui pararem*). Here, as Serv. saw, the (sin-

ister, even) omission of *mortem* was easy and obvious (possibly, even an ‘aposiopesis’, so as not to mention death—W. Görler, *per litt.*); in the context, **fata** suggests perhaps both destiny and, (*supra*) better, the local oracle.

quem poscat Apollo Cf. n. on 7.272 *hunc illum poscere fata*, 8.12, 477, Scheible, *TLL* 10.2.77.7ff., *EV* 4, 231. Apollo as the deity of the oracle consulted, 114, or even the patron of prophecy in general (cf. Horsfall (1989), 8ff.).

122 hic Temporal; cf. nn on 7.141, 11.193, etc..

Ithacus Cf. 104 (with n.), 128, 3.629 (with n.). Cf. nn. on 3.51, 11.348 (in detail), 399f., 442 for the suppression of the name as a sign of loathing; perhaps then the substitution of the ethnonym has something of the same effect (cf. 7.362 *praedo* and 363 *Phrygius ... pastor*, n. on 11.686).

uatem...Calchanta Cf. n. on 100. For V.’s use of *uates*, cf. nn. on 7.68, 3.443; see O’Hara, *DOP*, 180 for the attribution (not at all points persuasive; cf. *Vergilius* 36 (1990), 133f.) to V. of the intention to present prophets and prophecies ‘that conceal, equivocate, fail or deceive’, alongside the ‘exalted, ennobled’ seer. The form of the acc. regular for both Gk. and Lat., NW 1, 465.

magno...tumultu Cf. n. on 11.662.

123 protrahit in medios Bulhart (*TLL* 8.597.69ff.) categorises 1.440 *infert se...per medios*, 5.303 *quibus in mediis*, 5.618 *inter medias sese...coniecit* 12.496 *inuadit medios* and this v. as instances of enallage, inasmuch the subject of the verb is ‘central’ rather than the crowd in whose centre the subject acts. **P.:** cf. 8.265: standard Latin, found in *Acc.trag.* and *Lucr. (septies)*.

quae sint ea numina diuum Austin rightly compares 3.100 *quae sint ea moenia quaerunt*, 6.711 (sc. *requirit*) *quae sint ea flumina porro*. Battagazzore, *EV* 3, 781, after Con. here, thinks the question is ‘whom do the gods indicate with a nod?’ (no parallels cited); Bailey, 68 quotes 7.118 and 9.661 to argue for a concrete sense of ‘oracle’, altogether unconvincingly (‘divine authority’ will do well enough, rather than Au.’s too-concrete ‘decision’). Missing at Pötscher, 100. We should compare 2.336 **numine diuum**, 777 **sine numine diuum** (so too 5.56, 6.368), 4.204 *media inter numina diuum*, along with references to the *numen* of a single deity (1.133 Neptune, 447 Juno, 9.661 Phoebus, etc.). With the situation, we might wish to compare 3.147ff. (the Penates explain

what Apollo was going to tell Aeneas) or 7.96ff. (Faunus explains what the *vates* had said less clearly at 69ff. about the bee-portent). Ulysses here asks Calchas what divine (inspirational, oracular) powers have given rise to the prophecy reported at 116–9, so that the apparent plan to kill Sinon acquires sufficient divine authority; Calchas is in the plot (100), so Sinon can now quote both the oracle and Calchas' exegesis of it (129 in explanation of 118), by way of smokescreen, preparatory to planting the one big lie.

124 flagitat *Inuidiose poscit* Serv.; ‘scire cupio’, Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.845. 1f.; perhaps used here as *simplex* for *efflagitat* (cf. 12.759).

et mihi...multi...canebant When Schol.Ver. (on 1.1) discusses the four senses of *canere*, this v. is cited for ‘*praedicare*’; cf. Poeschel, *TLL* 3.264.29ff., 176, *et saepe*, *EV* 1, 649. Sinon revels in the portrait drawn of himself isolated in the face of the multitude gleeful at the apparent working out of Ul.’s vengeance and eager to tell him of his coming end. Dative of disadvantage.

iam The stage now at last nearly ready for the sham of Sinon’s condemnation. TCD explains with patient care the need for Sinon to appear undeserving of his end: Ul. was an enemy for a good reason and Calchas *coactus fecit et diu nihil voluit dicere*. The complexities of the plot are quite bearable, even the distinction between what we know and what the Greeks are represented as perceiving.

crudele.../ 125 artificis scelus The precise sense of *scelus* is not clear (and that is in itself significant): though it is normally assumed to be Ul.’s plot against Sinon, it may also refer back to the story of Palamedes (*infra*; cf. 106, which indicates the Trojans’ reaction to just that story, as told by Sinon). *Scelus* and *crudelitas* are very frequently juxtaposed in Cic., in various guises, but one appears not to qualify the other elsewhere. Compare too **164 scelerumque inuentor Vlices**, 6.529 *hortator scelerum*, *EV* 4, 697. For **a.**, see Klotz, *TLL* 2.701.17f.. V. returns to the phrase *artificis scelus* at 11.407 (where it is not clear whether or not he alters the sense; *vd. n.*).

taciti A traditional pseudo-problem (from Serv. at least), on account of the apparent inconsistency with **canebant**: should we understand **multi** with **uidebant** too (Serv., Serv.Dan.), or distinguish between the friends who spoke and the enemies who kept silent (Serv.Dan.: silence means doing nothing to stop the plot), or distinguish between moments of speech and others of silence (Austin, Ricottilli, *EV* 5*, 9), or read

a disjunction into the text (Speranza)? Presumably (Pascoli), the two expressions are part of a single idea: some spoke and some did not. Perhaps those who saw what would happen next (**uentura uidebant**) kept silent, not wishing to end in Sinon's situation, while many dwelt noisily on the pretended origins of Sinon's feud with Ul. in the story of Palamedes (perhaps the principal sense of **scelus**) without necessarily following out all the possible consequences for Sinon. Certainly, if **scelus** looks principally back, not forwards in time, the 'inconsistency' is of even less moment.

uentura uidebant There has been marked alliteration in these last two lines, of m, of c, and now of v. There is also so-called grammatical rhyme with **canebant** (cf. n. on 3.657).

126 bis quinos...dies Cf. n. on 11.133 *bis senos*, though *decem* is, unlike *duodecim*, at home in dactylic verse. Calchas is silent for 'twice five days', not for five, and then five more. He reserves judgement, in order to enhance, by prearrangement, the drama and importance of his verdict. The tension is no less great for being invented.

silet ille A phase in the drama inserted purely for effect, on Greeks and on readers. Cf. *EV* 5*, 12.

tectusque Cf. Latinus at 7.599f. (Au.). Duckworth oddly makes no comment on this calculated silence, and withdrawal (cf. 7.600 *saep-sit se tectis*), in his still-valuable account of suspense in V. J. Russell, *Lat.* 32(1973), 821f. overelaborates. A further metaph. sense of 'concealing his thoughts' (Page) would be attractive, and is good Ciceronian usage (*OLD* s.v. *tectus*, §2b; add *Rosc.Am.* 104), though not compulsory here; *male*, *EV* s.v..

recusat 13x in V.; *EV* 4, 413f.. Apparently brought into high poetry by V..

127 prodere...quemquam In the sense of 'deferre', Non.p.363.22; cf. 12.41f. *ad mortem si te ...prodiderim*, Liv.5.21.5 *Veientes ignari se iam a suis uatibus, iam ab externis oraculis proditos*, *TLL* 10.2. 1620.44f. (Morelli), *EV* 2, 117. The seer must specify who is meant by the oracle; hence 'reveal', 'unmask'.

uoce sua Speech in his capacity as a seer, after days of silence (for otherwise the detail would be startlingly pointless); apparently absent from *EV*'s agreeable discussion.

aut opponere morti Serv.Dan. glosses 'obicere, destinare'; cf. 11.115 *aequius huic Turnum fuerat se opponere morti*, Beikircher, *TLL* 9.2.764.40f..

Aut not to be understood as disjunctive (cf. KS 2,102), but, if anything, as indicating a ‘Steigerung’ (LHS, 499); almost ‘and indeed’.

128 uix tandem Cf. nn. on 3.309, 11.151.

magnis...clamoribus Cf. **58**; the pairing *octies* in V. (sing. and plur.).

Ithaci Cf. **104, 122**.

actus You can be driven by fate, chance, oracles, portents, madness, wave and wind (*EV* unsatisfactory); so too by Ul.’s clamour: Ussani suggests *simplex* for *coactus*, but this is only a masquerade and there is no compulsion, though feigned compulsion cannot be excluded.

129 composito Serv. *ex pacto* (cf. Ter., Nep.), Hofmann, *TLL* 3.2133. 80ff. ; *ex composito* Sall. and (common) Liv.. Cf. **100 ministro** for Calchas’ role.

rumpit uocem Cf. n. on 11.377 (add now Catrein, 154). **Rumpit P**, Serv., c9 mss. / **rupit M**.

et me destinat arae Cf. Liv.5.40.1 *seniores morti destinatos*, Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.757.48f.; standard Latin, used by Lucr. and Cat.. For altars, cf. Lersch, 160ff., Beringer, 23ff., Lehr, 92f., here used baldly as the place intended for his own ritual death; cf. the frequency of βωμός in Eur.*IA*.

130 adsensere omnes Cf. Bögel, *TLL* 2.856.50f.; **119 uulgi** and **123 in medios** confirm that the plot was to be played out in public; the Greek rank and file were to be there to lend their noisy support, naturally enough, but manipulated by Ul.; **omnes** in typical antithesis to **unius 131** (note **65f., 102** and the instances collected, *EV* 5*, 398, degl’Innocenti Pierini). To increase the Trojans’ sense of pity, as Serv.Dan. remarks.

et quae sibi quisque timebat For until Calchas spoke, Simon could credibly evoke a scene of general anxiety as the Greeks pondered who might be chosen as the eventual victim. Cf. 11.309 *spes sibi quisque*; cf. Merguet, *Lexicon*, 580 (despite the apparently tricky niceties of *quisque*’s use, by no means shunned by V.).

131 unius in miseri exitium The noun *quater* in Enn.*trag.*, *semel* Pacuv., *decies* Lucr., *quinquies* Hor.C.; cf. n. on 7.129. Compare 1.41 *unius ob noxam*, 251 *unius ob iram*, *EV*, *cit* (**130**). **M.**: low-intensity, all-

purpose pathos (cf. n. on 11.63): more important, Simon now succeeds in presenting himself as scapegoat of the Greek army's collective loathing; he alone stands between them and a safe voyage home.

conuersa Fear no more, but relief focused on the provision of a hapless victim, Jacobsohn, *TLL* 4.862.62, *Lucr.* 4.1063 *atque alio convertere mentem*, *Liv.* 33.44.5, *et saepe*. Cf. n. on 191, *EV* 5*, 510.

tulere Simply 'bore', with, as often, suppression of *esse*: cf. *Liv.* 3.67.9 *nostra iura oppressa tulimus et ferimus*, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.538.19ff. at 24ff., Zucchelli, *EV* 2,493. Mackail's 'turned and carried' (cf., exactly, Henry, *Twelve years' voyage*, 38) both less in keeping with usage and (vd. Austin) uncaring of the evident strong antithesis **timebant**><**tulere** (while the whole **tulere** clause expands **adsensere**). See too Bell, 202, 248.

132 iamque Cf. n. on 11.100.

dies infanda Of death, (10.673); cf. 3, 84, 1.525, 597. Rare in repub. prose; used by Acc., and *quater* in Livy's first decade. Quite likely to hint at the more technical (and therefore less welcome) *dies nefastus*, Pflugbeil, *TLL* 5.1.1058.60ff..

aderat Cf. 5.104 *expectata dies aderat*, 9.107 *aderat promissa dies* (a colloqu. formula, probably; see Dingel, comparing Cic. *Epp.* and Hor. *Serm.*; add Pflugbeil, *TLL* 5.1.1045.10f.).

mihi Dat. incommodi, as **130 sibi**. Serv. remarks helpfully *multi cum primis iungi*; both pauses are entirely acceptable, and the sense is good either way, but the sense of horror and immediacy in 'for me the ritual is made ready' is attractive, if not mandatory.

sacra parari Histor. infns. begin (cf. n. on 11.142). Cf. Breimeier, *TLL* 10.1.418. 39ff.; a good deal of preparation was required for an ancient sacrifice to run properly: cf. Wissowa, 409ff., Latte, 375ff. and for Greece, after Burkert's *Homo necans* (of which, see esp. Eng. tr. (1983), 10f.), cf. J.N. Bremmer, *Greek religion* (*GRNSC* 24, 1994), 40ff..

133 salsaes fruges On the use of *sal et far*, regularly sprinkled on the heads of victims, on altars, and even on the knives, as Serv. here explains, cf. Pease on 4.517 and on Cic. *Div.* 2.37, Bömer on Ov. *F.* 2.538f., Austin here, and in particular S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer* (Kristiania 1915), 319ff.. The usage also Homeric (Seymour, 230) and class. Greek (Ziehen, PW 18.1.602.21ff.), though that further dimension is unlikely to be significant for the Roman reader here.

circum tempora uitiae Cf. *G.* 3.487 *lanea dum niuea circumdatur infula uitia, Aen.* 10.538 *infula cui sacra redimibat tempora uitia* (Harrison, there, *male*), where Serv. explains that the *uitiae* hang down from the plaited woollen *infula* (whence Isid. *Orig.* 19.30.4); Paul. exc. *Fest.* p.100.7 however defines *infulae* as *filamenta lanea, quibus sacerdotes et hostiae templaque uelantur* and Varro had remarked *inful<at>as hostias, quod uelamenta his e lana quae adduntur, infulae* (*LL* 7.24; cf. *ILS* 139.20); for *uelamenta*, cf. n. on 7.154. Lesser grammarians and glossators will equate *i.* and *u.* (van den Hout, *TLL* 7.1.1498. 58ff.). Unsurprisingly, some dissent between the contributors to *The world of Roman costume* (ed. J.L. Sebesta, L. Bonfante, Madison 2001) may be discerned and Erren on *G.*, *cit.* is quite right to insist (as does Latte, 385, n.4) that we do not know exactly what the *infulae* and *uitiae* (on which Festus kept silent) of a Rom. priest were thought to be (cf. Andreussi, *EV* 2, 966f., Latte, *PW* 9.1543.12ff. H. Graillot, *DS* 5, 949ff. wisely avoids precise definition). For V. not so much a precisely perceived and identified object (cf. n. on *taenia*, 7.352) as a word used by Lucr. of Iphigenia at the altar, 1.87f. *cui simul infula uirgineos circum data comptus/ ex utraque pari malarum parte profusast* (and, for that matter, cf. the wreaths of Eur. *I.A.*, 1477f.). Hardie (407) rightly notes that V.'s use of precise detail in this scene is of Lucretian origin. For a sceptical view of apparent religious technicalities in V., cf. *Alambicco*, 115. **Circum tempora** very differently at 684.

134 eripui...leto me Striking postposition (after verb and ind.obj.) of the monosyll. pronoun (here itself in synaloepha), though interposed **fateor** mitigates the singularity; cf. R.G.M. Nisbet in *ALLP*, 143ff.. At 10.259 *pugnaeque parent se* (vd. Harrison), 802 *tectusque tenet se*, *se* (postponed) at line-end is an Ennian effect (cf. 4.314). Cf. 12.157 *fratrem...eripe morti*, *Sen.Ben.* 2.11.1, Brandt, *TLL* 5.2.795.22. For lofty *letum*, see on 3.654. See Au. on 353 for V.'s use of paratactic explanation (and vd. Görler, *EV* 2, 275); Serv.'s claim of hysteron-proteron misleading.

fateor Parenthetically, Simon apologises for having disturbed the good order of the Greeks' sacrifice by his escape (cf. Serv.Dan. on **140 quia fatetur sacra per suam fugam fuisse uiolata**); this is subtle, complex characterisation and there is no need to invoke Simon's hypothetical concern for the family for whom he has created such trouble: they have not yet been mentioned (*EV* 2, 473, Kvičala, 13). This parenthetic use the idiom of spoken Latin, Vetter, *TLL* 6.1.336.70ff. at 337.14f., Hofmann-Ricottilli, 251, n. on 3.603.

uincula rupi Stock phrasing: compare e.g. 5.543, 9.118, Cic.*Verr.* 2.5.79, *Cat.*4.8, *Phil.*10.18, *Liv.*8.16.9, 37.20.11, *Val.Max.*2.7.3, *Luc.*3.712f., 6.217, *Aetna* 380. the connexion, if any, with the bonds of 57 and 146 does not repay study, *pace* Kvičala. Sacrificial victims were (sometimes at least) hobbled, *Juv.*12.5, *Sil.*16.265f., *Suet.Galba* 18.1, *Amm.Marc.*24.6.17, Au. on 223f. (where vd. n.), and the intended victims of ritual slaughter likewise (Au. here, citing *Ov.Pont.*3.2.72): that might be germane here.

135 limosoque lacu The adj. found in *Bell.Alex.* and *Sall.Iug.* before V. (used at *Buc.*1.48); the allit. perhaps suggestive of clinging slime. Serv.'s note here excellent: he first remarks sagely *ut uerisimilem fugam faciat, circumstantiis utitur*. Then he draws attention to the scene's evident analogies (as Lucan well realises, 2.70 *limosa ...ulua*), with Marius' famous escape to Minturnae in 88, *Plut. Mar.*38.2. Au. well compares the swamps of App.*Civ.*4.48; such escapes perhaps also familiar during the proscriptions. A story familiar to V. from his admired Sall.'s narrative, in *Hist.*1 (vd. fr. 24, 25Maur., comm. *Aen.*11, index s.v. Sallust); note too *Ov.Pont.*4.3.45ff.. But Serv.'s finest stroke is picking up the way in which Marius' presence here prepares the way for Pompey's at 557. Della Corte (*Mappa dell' Eneide*, 18) continues to gaze unperturbed at the marshes of the Troad. The noun refers to any kind of pool or hollow: cf. van Wees, *TLL* 7.2.861.37ff..

per noctem obscurus *Per noctem* at G.1.486, *Lucr.*6.1160, von Kamptz, *TLL* 10.1. 1144.47. *Bona elocutio est rem temporis ad personam transferre* comments Serv.: enallage (transferred epithet), like *ibant obscuri*; cf. Au. on 6.268, Bell, 317f., Kuhlmann, *TLL* 9.2.168.37ff., Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 39.

in ulua Plants of *fontes, paludes, stagna* (*Isid.Orig.*17.9.100; *herba palustris* Serv.Dan. here) in general, perhaps, rather than precise species: cf. *Buc.*8.87, G.3.175 (with Mynors' n.), *Aen.*6.416, Maggiulli, 470f., *ead.*, *EV*5*, 366.

136 delitui *Delitescere* perhaps first raised to high poetry at G.3.417 (of a snake, Putnam, 22). By no means a 'mot rare' (Cordier, 142); nearly two columns in *TLL*.

dum uela darent Here, the intention of Sinon's concealment is explained (as later that of Aen.'s return will be), in histor. sequence ('I was asked...?'); in direct speech ('why are you waiting...?'), *dent* (cf. n. on 3.9 for the expression). Serv. exercised by the logical puzzle of how

Sinon might have hoped the Greeks would sail, with him escaped and alive.

si forte dedissent Cf. 756f. **inde domum, si forte pedem, si forte tulisset/ me refero.** *Dederint* (fut.perf.) in OR; alternatively OR *dederint* perf. subj., tentatively, ‘if they should set sail’; cf. nn. on 94 and on 3.652. *Si forte* often thus with expressions of hope or anxiety, LHS, 666, Wills, 121, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.1133.8f. with ample material (e.g. Cic. *Rep.*1.59 *si quando, si forte*, Hor.*Serm.*1.4.104 *liberius si dixerim quid, si forte iocosius*).

137 nec mihi iam...spes ulla Cf. 1.556 *nec spes iam restat Iuli*, 4.431, 5.194, 8.251, 11.71 and note **803 nec spes opis ulla dabatur**, 9.131, 10.121 *nec spes ulla fugae*. Note Hom. ὄλετο...νόστος (Knauer also draws attention to *Il.*5.686ff.). *Iam* and *ullus* invaluable elements in the discreeter lexicon of Virgilian pathos; we might seem to be passing from *narratio* to *commiseratio* (vd. Heyne), though the latter may not begin formally until 141.

patriam antiquam...uidendi Cf. 5.633f. *nusquam/ Hectoreos annis, Xanthum et Simoenta, uidebo*, 8.576 *si uisurus eum uiuo*, 11.270 *coniugium optatum et pulchram Calydonia uidere* (with n.), Maselli, *EV* 5*, 535 for the element of longing which can be present in *uidere*. For *antiquus* in this sense of ‘dear and old’ (*Serv.* here *caram*), cf. **363 urbs antiqua ruit**, 4.312 *Troia antiqua maneret*, 633, 10.688 *et patris antiquam Dauni defertur ad urbem*; *Serv.*, TCD (both here and on 363) and *Serv.Dan.on* 12.347 are well aware of this affective, evaluative force of *a.*; Evrard, *EV* 1, 196 (*bene*), Reed, 136; Henry well compares the παλαιά δώματα of Soph. *OT* 1395. Heyne, Speranza, and others prefer a sense of ‘of long ago’, ‘prior patria est antiqua patria’, of no discernible merit here. Sinon continues unperturbed to distil the common language of shared affection, in the worst of causes, adhering closely to Cicero’s instructions (*Inv.*1.109) on techniques for rousing *misericordia* (*duodecimus[sc. locus]*, *per quem disiunctio deploratur ab aliquo, cum diducaris ab eo, quicum libentissime uixeris, ut a parente filio, a fratre familiari*).

138 nec dulcis natos Possibly with the children of *Il.*5.408 in mind. Cf. *G.*2.523 *interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati*, 3.178 *sed tota in dulcis consument ubera natos*, *Aen.*4.33 *nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris*, after the renowned *Lucr.*3.895f. *nec dulces occurrit oscula nati/ praeripere et tacita pectus dulcedine tangent* (cf. 4.1234, Lackenbacher, *TLL* 5.1.2194.45ff.). Au. well cites Hecuba and her daughters too, *Eur.Tro.*487f.. Drolly,

duplicis P₁, *quidam ...legerunt* in Serv.. *EV* 2, 151 poor. Cf. 87 for V's alleged inconsistency; we have no idea of the facts of the case, and the children's admirable literary parentage should encourage us not to worry about trivia.

exoptatumque parentem The stately adj. used also at 6.330 *tum demum admissi stagna exoptata reuisunt* (again a passage of high emotion); the adj. (comedy and prose) promoted by V., the vb. in *Acc.trag.*, but not *Lucr.*, *Cat.*, *Hor.*. *Tacet* Cordier. **P.**, as often, synonym for *pater*, n. on 3.58.

139 quos illi poenas...reposcent For **r.** with two accs., cf. n. on 7.606 *reposcere signa*; see 6.530 *pio si poenas ore reposco*; the vb. *octies* in V. and already *bis* in *Lucr.*; also *Liv.3.23.2*, but Norden (on 6, *cit.*) only guesses that it 'must have been' Ennian. UI. and the orchestrators of the deceit reduced to anonymity.

fors et Cf. n. on 11.50 *fors et*. **Et** has nothing to do with **et culpam hanc, infra**, and probably not with *et = etiam* either (LHS, 483, etc.; vd. NH, *infra*): some confusion in some older comms., but see rather Hey, *TLL* 6.1.1136.51ff., NH on *Hor.C.1.28.31*, Lindsay, *Lat.Lang.*, 560, Hand 2, 711f. and Page, Con. here. Perhaps best taken as old parataxis, 'there is a chance and [i.e. 'that']...' (cf. *fors sit an...*).

ob nostra.../ 140 effugia The noun (a little weightier than *fuga*) *quater* in *Lucr.*; *et fuga dicimus et effugium sicut lana et lanitium* Serv. *Tacent EV* and Cordier, but on the plur., vd. still P. Maas, *ALL* 12(1902), 484f. and see Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 150, nn. on 7.96, 555. The prepos. rare in V. but loftier than *propter* (18x *ob*; 6x *propter*): cf. LHS 246f., Axelson *UW*, 78f., Löfstedt, *Per.Aeth.*, 219, *Synt.* 2, 291, Wölfflin, *ALL* 1(1884), 161ff.. If Serv.Dan.'s n. here, to the effect that *e.* is a t.t. for the escape of a sacrificial animal is correct (*uerbo sacrorum et ad causam apto usus est*; cf. nn. on 4.57, 6.248, 252, 8.106, 10.228 for the language used), then the association reinforces my remarks on Sinon and the escape of beasts from the altar at 134. Serv.Dan. actually finds a reference to the (?supposed, alleged) technical term *hostia effugia* (adj.; Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.211.51ff.).

et culpam hanc Flight, or support of Palamedes? Serv.Dan.'s question need not have been asked. **H:** brachylogy for *huius* (cf. nn. on 17, 65).

miserorum morte This poor (cf. nn. on 70, 131 for the adj.) family is useful in the systematic exploitation of sympathy: Sinon, obliged to flee or die, fled and now feigns alliteratively the dread that this will

bring about his family's death in his place (cf. Marcovich on *Alc.Barcin.*, p.9f.), though this motif does not surface again.

piabunt Montanari (*EV* 4, 86) compares the use of *placare* at Liv.22.57.6 (ritual killing of *Gallus et Galla* to win back the gods' favour; see n. on 11.82, Bailey, 85); Sinon's 'guilt' (cf. n. on **134 fateor**) and its 'expiation' are alike in the realm of fantasy (cf. n. on **184**) and invention, as the solemn nn. of Serv., Serv.Dan. and TCD here seem not to have realised.

141 quod 'Wherefore', 'so'; cf. 6.363f. *quod te per caeli iucundum lumen et auras, / per genitorem oro*, 10.631 *quod ut*; instances are quoted from Plaut., Ter., Sall., and Hor.*Ep.*1: see LHS 571, KS 2, 321, *OLD* s.v., §1b, and, more widely, Munro on Lucr. 1.82. Sinon blends high pathos with spoken idiom (cf. **101f., 110, 134**).

te...// 143 oro As in 6, *cit.*, long hyperbaton to augment the appeal's effect (as often: cf. 6.75f., 10.903, 12. 932f.); Serv. on **143** thinks it necessary to explain the word-order. The direct appeal (*obsecratio*) is listed as topic §14 in Cic.'s account of *commiseratio*, *Inv.*1.109. **Te** is Priam (77); the crowd (**145**) answers first, and P. himself does not react till **147**.

per superos Cf. 3.600, 6.459; **s.** an old word, n. on 7.312.

conscia numina ueri Cf. 4.519f. *testatur...conscia fati/ sidera*, 9.429 *conscia sidera testor*, Spelthahn, *TLL* 4.370.81f. and Kraggerud, *EV*4, 728 on 1.604 *mens sibi conscientia recti*. Bailey, 64 finds here *too* the 'astrological' sense of the stars divinised that he claims unhappily is present at **154**. No: Sinon has begun his crescendo of protestations that he is speaking the truth (cf. further, **154ff.**, Hickson 114–24, Lehr, 51–60); we are therefore solidly in the realm of gods as the guarantors of oaths, Wissowa, 130, Latte, 122, n.4, Burkert, *Gk.Rel.*, 252, *EV*3, 780.

142 per si qua est.../ 143 intemerata fides Cf. 6.458f. *per sidera iuro, / per superos et si qua fides tellure sub ima est*, 10.903 *unum hoc per si qua est uictis uenia hostibus oro*, 12.56f. *per has ego te lacrimas, per si quis Amatae/ tangit honos animum* (vd. Traina). Compare further 10.597 *per te, per qui te talem genuere parentes*, von Kamptz, *TLL* 10.1.1158.33ff.. In Greek, cf. Soph.*Phil.*469, *OC* 250. It is a pity that interpreters of these passages in V. do not refer to the acute discussion, KS 1, 585: thus at 6.458, or indeed here, a prosy paraphrast might write *per fidem, si qua fides...*; in short, attraction of the antecedent into the rel.clause (nn. on 3.154, 7.477): a complex phenomenon, less arresting in Gk.. The anaphora of

per makes the structure perfectly clear. Cf. nn. on 3.433f. and 7.4, with further bibl., for the pathetic use of formulae expressing uncertainty in prayers and appeals. The lofty adj. (cf. nn. on 3.178, 11.584) glossed *incorrupta uel integra* Serv.Dan. (cf. TCD 1.407.28 *integram fidem intemeratamque*, Tac.*Ann.*1.42 *quid...inausum intemeratumque uobis?* (Virgilian: see Goodyear), Fraenkel, *TLL* 6.1.667.38ff., Hermans, *ib.*7.1.2104.60ff.); the *alii uolunt* interpretation he then adds is corrupt.

quae restet...mortalibus Restet M,P Serv.Dan.; **restat M TCD**; c.9 mss. divided. The *si quis* formula is not necessarily followed by subjunc. (but see **536 si qua est caelo pietas quae talia curet**); here, subjunc. is probably to be explained not as consecutive but rather as indefinite, Ernout-Thomas, 338–40, LHS 561f.. Cf. 1.556, 4.324, 11.161, etc. in the sense of ‘remain when all else is lost’, Pease on 4.324 after Placek. **M:** a strong feeling of δειλοῖς βροτοῖς.

adhuc...usquam ‘Still...anywhere’: cf. Ov.*Pont.*4.15.1 *si quis adhuc usquam nostri non immemor extat*, Vell.*Pat.*2.54.2 *nusquam erat Pompeius corpore, adhuc ubique uiuebat nomine.* Note 4.319 *oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus (tacet Pease)*, Ausfeld, *TLL* 1.657.39f.

143 miserere.../ 144 ...miserere Cf. Ov.*Her.*12.81, Apul.*Met.*2.28. See further **154 uos...uestrum** with Wills, 267, n.23.

laborum/ 144 tantorum A Greek, lamenting his *labores* to the Trojans: the irony will not have been lost. *Periculorum, malorum* glosses Serv.Dan.; cf. n. on 3.368 *tantos ... labores*.

animi With the spirit of endurance here indicated, Negri (130, n.31) compares tentatively 8.256 and 10.610 *animusque ferox patiensque pericli.* Note too 5.751 *animos nil magnae laudis egentis*.

non digna ferentis Cf. Cat.66.41 *digna ferat*, Bögel, *TLL* 5.1.1144. 65f., Hey, *ib.*6.1. 535.79f.. Cited by Non. to exemplify the sense *pati*, p.302.25f.. For now, Sinon concludes on a high note of simple pathos; still, as Ussani remarks (see **87, 137**), perfectly Ciceronian; §4 of the topics of *commiseratio* in *Inv.* is the suffering of things *indigna aetate, genere....* The next part of Sinon’s speech changes tone and content entirely: both formally afterthought and “real” climax. An acoustic echo of **49 et dona ferentis;** here Sinon also brings the Trojans a gift they do not deserve, but that is the sort of polyvalence that is not welcome here.

145 his lacrimis Cf. **73 quo gemitu conuersi animi.** Clearly a reference to the preceding speech (Flury, *TLL* 7.2.838.25f.); also, clearly enough, the indir.obj. of **damus:** cf. Flury, 838.51ff. (rather than e.g.

abl. of time or cause), Rubenbauer, *ib*.5.1.1684.50, Cic.*Verr*.2.5.75 *cur...ciuibus Romanis quos piratae ceperant securi statim percussis, ipsis piratis lucis usuram tam diuturnam dedisti?*, Sen.*Clem*.2.6.2 *donabit lacrimis maternis filium*, Plin.*Ep*.1.22.9 *dandum filiae lacrimis, dandum etiam nobis amicis, ne....* Note too 3.9 *dare fatis uela* (with n.), and see TCD *usque adeo flendo singulorum animos flexit, ut Priamus....* Tears the accompaniment and the result of words, Lynch in McAuslan, 118 and texts just cited; add Cic.*de orat*.1.228, 2.190, *Sest*.68, *Aen*.4.314, etc., Lausberg 1, 240, 376 . Significance has been claimed for the plur., improbably (vd. next n.). Merely ‘augmentatif’, Marouzeau, *TSL*, 222.

uitam damus *Dare* frequently used thus in both prose and verse in the sense of *condonare* (Rubenbauer, 1684.44ff.); so e.g. Cic.*Verr*.2.5.75 *ipsis piratis lucis usuram tam diuturnam dedisti?*, Cat.1.29, Phil.2.5, *Tusc*.1.93, Ov.*Trist*.2.127.

et miserescimus ultro Used already by Cat.64.131 *inmite ut nostri uellet miserescere pectus*. *EV* 3, 547 unhelpful; see Wieland, *TLL* 8.1121.34ff.. The suppliant has been spared; the Trojans add—positively—pity, which had not been explicitly sought, over and above life itself, and Sinon’s bonds (described as **arta**, 146; their removal another significant step for Sinon) are at last removed. Mercy, and pity, if you will, cost the Trojans their city; ignored, M.B. Dowling, *Clemency and cruelty...* (Ann Arbor 2006), 97ff. (on V). Whether the plural is significant (Cartault, 179), so as to remove some of the responsibility from Priam’s shoulders by placing it on the collective Trojans’, may be doubted. But pity represents an improvement upon what was requested, i.e. *ultra* (by no means the word’s only implication): Traina, *EV* 5*, 364.

146 ipse...primus.../ 147 iubet Priamus Cf. 58, 77; Priam is very much present and is still in command of the situation (cf. *EV* 3, 57f. for the vb., sorted by rulers, though P. is not included). The phrasing *ipse...primus*, perhaps surprisingly, very rare: cf. (in nom., and down to the Aug. period) Liv.27.23.7; *primus...ipse* very slightly commoner (e.g. Lucr.5.336). The impetuous, unsuspecting generosity of the good, old king offsets Sinon’s evil scheme. Culpable naïveté has been alleged.

uiro Weightier than the undesirable *ei* (or, as Page acutely suggests, *eius*); cf. nn. on 7.296, 11.224. Dat., rather than abl..

manicas In Acc.*trag*.130 (*Deiphobus*; possibly V.’s model here, Stabryła, 93); a synonym (*quibus manus uinciuntur*, Non.p.350.22, glosses, *ap*. Bömer, *TLL* 8.301. 65ff.) useful for this slightly ponderous theme-and-

variation (Speranza well compares 5.510 *nodos et uincula linea*). We are perhaps meant to think back to **57 manus....post terga reuinctum**.

atque arta.../ 147 unclā The adj. conventional, used of metaph. *uincula* at Cic.*Rep.*2.69, *Off.*3.28, 111; cf. Hey, *TLL* 2.720.61ff.. On syncope, vd. n., 3.143.

leuari Koster, *TLL* 7.2.1228.75f., 1230.70f. suggests that Cic.'s phrasing at *Tusc.* 1.118 *emittique nos e custodia [sc. corporis] et leuari uincis arbitremur* displays the original usage of the verb; *uinculum leuare* metaphorically, *Tib.*3.11.14, *Liv.*9.9.7. The sense not perfectly clear in antiquity: Non.p.336.15 renders *soluere* here (so too e.g. Forbiger), but Serv.Dan. on 1.145 prefers *laxat*; however, if Sinon's bonds are merely loosened, the gesture of **153** is reduced to farce.

147 dictisque ita fatur amicis *Dictis...amicis* also at 5.770, 8.126, 10.466 (the last two also with *adfatur*). *Dictisque ita fatur* perhaps surprisingly only here. Knauer does not recognise significant affinity with Hom. μύθοιςι πρόσηνδα μειλιχίοιςι. Cf. Moskalew, 65. The epithet is in stark moral contrast to Sinon's evil intentions.

148—51 Priam's role should never (so Pomathios) have been limited to his death-scene; cf. n. on **146—7**. His energetic flow of questions is excellent characterisation, in the face of Sinon's ramble. The last one will actually take up one of Laoc.'s; the last-but-one may anticipate intelligently what is about to be said. Sinon has actually given the Trojans his name (**79**), though not his patronymic (vd. **87**), and Priam may be expressing a certain weariness in the face of a (calculatedly) long and complex explanation: the Trojans' initial question (**74**) **hortamur fari quo sanguine cretus** has still not been answered and part of the justification of Priam's torrent of *interrogatiunculae* may lie in his reaction to a failure in epic manners. Cf. Cartault, 179; ignored by Heinze, Pomathios, 36, *EV*s.v. *Priamo*, Highet (but vd. 16, 336, 341 in passing). The similarities with Triph.283—9 are sufficient to have suggested a common source.

148 quisquis es Cf. 1.387, 4.577, 6.388. Note the question πρῶτον μὲν οὖν μοι λέξον ὅστις εἴ γένος, Eur.*Ba.*460; generalising, as here, Eur.*Hec.*502, *Hel.*78; Austin acutely adds Eur.*Philoct.*fr.789d7Kannicht ὅστις εἴ ποτε σύ. Serv., first suggests (fairly enough) that the expression is euphemistic, *licet hostis sis*, then offers the remarkably interesting comment: *et sunt, ut habemus in Liuiō*[fr.61 Weiss.-M.], *imperatoris uerba*

transfugam[Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, 548, L. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, PW 12A.2152.32ff.] *recipientis in fidem quisquis es noster eris*. He goes on to compare V.'s use (10.228) of the formula *uigilasne deum gens?*. Cf. too *hoc habet* (gladiatorial) 12.296, *omnia praecepi*, 6.105, where Aen. employs probable, if not incontestable Stoic terminology (cf. Sen.*brev.vit.*15.5). Vd. *EV* 1, 153 (Horsfall), *Alambicco*, 22, 115; the use of technical language is extended to make V.'s characters speak like Romans, particularly in prayers and relig. acts; cf. indices s.v. language, religious and in particular, n. on 3.383 for V.'s attribution of distinctively oracular *style* to Helenus there and to the *uates* of 7.69f.. *Quia uariam scientiam suo inserit carmine*, as Serv. concludes his shrewd and precious note. Wigodsky, 71 and Reed, 92 make no sort of case for an Ennian echo.

amissos...Graios For V.'s use of *Grai*, cf. n. on 11.289 (archaic-poetic); an ample note in Au.. They are simply lost, or gone, as by shipwreck, 1.217, or metamorphosis, 11.272, B.A. Müller, *TLL* 1.1923.27 (and lost in the works by *EV*). Priam has quite forgotten Laoc.'s warning at **43 creditis auctos hostis?**. Con.'s suggestion that *amissos* is used as a synonym of **o.** is possible Latin (cf. Page on 1.69f., *OLD* s.v. *amitto*, §7c), but the reader here has no reason to prefer both a less common sense of **a.** and a partic. used in a less usual way.

hinc iam Understood together and of time, Rehm, *TLL* 6.3.2795. 31ff. at 36, and Hofmann, *ib.*7.1.113.18ff., 35ff., Liv.2.1.1 *liberi iam hinc populi Romani res ...gestas*, 7.29.1 *maiora iam hinc bella...dicentur*, 8.7.7 *interea tu ipse congregi mecum, ut nostro duorum iam hinc euentu cernatur quantum eques Latinus Romano praestet?*, 40.35.14. For the synaloepha of **iam**, cf. n. on 11.807. The verse copied on a wall in Pompeii, *CLE* 1785, *CIL* 4.1841.

obliuiscere Serv.Dan. notes of **o.** that *quidam pro 'contemne' uel 'neglige'*, not very helpfully. Lumpe, *TLL* 9.2.113.51f. suggests that *esse* is omitted. But is it? Are the Trojans to forget that the Greeks have been, and gone? Surely they are invited to forget the Greeks, now departed hence (adjectival; Lumpe, 110.75ff., *passim*).

149 noster eris The actual *imperatoris uerba* (Serv., *supra*). Distinctively, exceptionally uncommon phrasing, re-used, Ov.*AA* 1.178. Austin compares Eur. *Philoct.fr.*789 d51^f Kannicht ει δε δη τοῦδ' ἐθελήσεις κοινωνεῖν τοῦ βίου μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐνθάδε, but the flavour, if Serv. is right, is far more Roman than Sophoclean.

mihique...edisser...roganti E. used in comedy, Cic., Liv., Hor. *Serm.*; only here in high repub./Aug. poetry; then Lucan, Sil., Sen.*trag.*; *tacet* Cordier. Hom. ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον (so e.g. Kapp/Meyer, *TLL*

5.2.77.35) is clearly relevant to V.'s phrasing, but little help to the confused interpreter of the Latin (next n.). Serv. Dan. refers back to 77f. when Sinon had said **cuncta equidem tibi, rex... fatebor/ uera.** The vb. an intensive form of *dissero*, perhaps not (*pae* Serv.Dan., WH) linked to *desertus* (EM). Priam uses a term of everyday speech on this very Roman (if not exactly quotidian) occasion; Don. on Ter.*Phorm.*378 calles it a word *scrupulose aliquid interrogantium*.

haec...uera At 77f., and 154ff. Sinon will noisily proclaim his devotion to the truth; of that truth he has offered the poor, hapless Trojans just a few shreds to lend conviction to an elaborate campaign of perfectly planned mendacity. Predic. use of the adj. as so often with verbs of speaking, such as *dicere* (KS 1, 292). **Haec** can hardly be dissociated from **uera**; Serv. **edissere uera.** *hic distinguendum; uera autem audire desiderat.* V.'s emphasis is consistently on Sinon speaking the 'truth' (152–161); more important, *uera rogare* is not the Latin for 'to ask for an honest answer', as PHI now makes entirely clear. To take **haec** with **roganti** and **edissere** with **uera** (Jackson) strains credulity. At Plaut.*Persa* 616 *ut quae rogiter uera, ut accepi, eloquar*, there seems to be no chance of confusion. Given authors' aversion to *uera rogare*, we should not understand both words as obj. to both verbs (so e.g. Paratore); rather, both as obj. to **edissere**.

150 quo...? No other such torrent of direct questions in *Aen.* (though the fivefold question is Ciceronian enough, unsurprisingly, *Quinct.*42, *Rosc.Com.*7, etc., not to mention instances without variation, such as *Cat.*2.7, or in OO), but cf. G.4.504ff., *Aen.*1.1369ff., 3.337ff., 6.692ff.; Serv.Dan. (on 151) remarks *et seruat dignitatem regiam; breuiter enim reges interrogant, non ut minores, quos plus loqui necesse est* (by no means whimsy; cf. Tac.*Hist.*1.18 (with Damon's useful note; cf. too Plut.*Galb.*16.2), Plut.*Mor.*506C8ff., and *Laus Pis.*61 on brevity of Menelaus). Highet (16) well compares 74, 105: unity is lent to Sinon's quadripartite speech by the use of interrogations to introduce its sections. Serv.Dan. offers '*quam ob causam*', '*in quem usum*' as alternative glosses (OLD s.v., §2). The subject-matter of the questions is roughly comparable to Od.'s behests to Demodocus, *Od.*8.492ff..

molem hanc immanis equi Cf. nn. on 11.130 *murorum attollere moles*, and 32 **molem equi** (vd. EV 3, 559, Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1342.65f.); indeed, since 32, the Trojans have learned nothing, and Priam's questions represent no progress over Laoc.,'s, 42–9. Interest in the actual dimensions of the TH is as old as Arctinus (*Iliou Persis* F2 Davies, Bern-

abé, S. Timpanaro, *Contributi...* (Roma 1978), 429ff. (with corrections offered by F. Jouan, *Actes 10 Congr. G. Budé* (1980), 87f.), Austin 1959, 18; *EV* 2, 354 unhelpful. **Hanc** suggests (deictically, even) the immediate presence of the TH's bulk; **i.**: only here of the TH (an adj. dear to V. (55x), a welcome alternative to *ingens* (207x), suggesting as it does both mere bulk and additional horror, Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.440.76, *EV* 2, 924, nn. on 7.305, 666).

statuere Cf. n. on 7.147, *OLD* s.v., §1a. On the ending, cf. n. on 7.760.

quis auctor? Cf. 7.49 *tu sanguinis ultimus auctor* (with n.; cf. *G.3.36*, *Aen.* 3.503), 11.339 *consiliis habitus non futilis auctor* (with n.), 10.67 *fatis auctoribus*, *EV* 1.394. The correct answer might be disputed, between Ul. and Epeius, while Sinon also suggests Calchas (185); this Horse at least was successfully designed by a committee.

151 quidue petunt Cf. 45f.; Priam is still fumbling with the alternatives already present to Laoc.. Cf. *G.4.446*, *Aen.* 6.319, 7.197, 9.94, 10.150.

quae religio We might think that Priam reacts in the same direction that Aen. had recorded at **31 pars stupet innuptae donum exitiale Mineruae** (where vd. note); so apparently Serv.: *quae consecratio?*. However, V. appears to take the view that before Sinon's rigmarole of 154–194 the Trojans had at the time of the TH's discovery no sense of its dedication to Minerva. Better than that, Priam's penultimate guess anticipates Sinon's impending, and lying, disclosure. The sense of *religio* employed by Sinon in his answer at 187 is no necessary indication of Priam's here (*pace* Bailey, 71; Montanari, *infra*, rightly doubtful). Here, Priam may express a suspicion that there may be some cultic intent in the TH's presence (so Montanari, *EV* 4, 425, comparing 3.362f.). Alternatively, Priam may suspect the presence of some element of religious scruple attaching to the TH (cf. 715, 7.172, 608 (with my nn.), etc.) which he thinks it as well that he should know.

aut quae machina belli? Cf. n. on **46 machina**; that Priam is still repeating in puzzlement Laoc.'s questions, in addition to those of 74–5, indicates clearly enough that the Greeks are already far ahead in the battle of deceit. Hom.'s δόλον, *Od.* 8.494.

152 dixerat Cf. n. on 7.212.

ille Change of subject; verb delayed at the dramatic moment.

dolis...et arte Pelasga We recall, from Aen.'s narrative, **106 ignari scelerum tantorum artisque Pelasgae**; the echo sharpens V.'s introduction to Sinon's masterstroke, or fourth part. For **dolis**, cf. **34, 62.**

instructus Excellent Ciceronian usage, *Tusc.*5.28 *omnibus enim uirtutibus instructos et ornatos tum sapientis, tum uiros bonos dicimus*; also Liv.: von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.1.2019.42ff. Compare καὶ σύ, κακοῖς δόλοισι κεκασμένε, κερδαλεόφρον (Agam. of Od., *Il.*4.339, but the sense of κεκασμένε is rather 'excelling in'). Val.Max. 7.4ext.2 *haec fuit Punica fortitudo, dolis et insidiis et fallacia instructa* may distantly echo V..

153 sustulit...ad sidera Cf. full n. on 3.176f. *tendoque supinas/ ad caelum...manus*, W.S. Anderson, *ICS* 18(1993), 167f.; the possible distinction between *manus* - and *palmas* - expressions (Heuzé, 624ff.), is not borne out by a full consideration of the icon. evidence and of the ample range of ancient (and comparable) usage. With the use of *tollere* here, cf. 9.16f. *duplicisque ad sidera palmas/ sustulit*, 9.637, 10.262, 11.37 (with n.), 11.878, 12.795, *EV*5*, 206f.. For **sidera**, vd. on **154 ignes**.

exutas uincis...palmas Cf. Tietze, *TLL* 5.2.2117.52f. (comparing Sen.*Phoen.*471 and in a non-literal sense, Cic.*Verr.*2.5.151 *ex his te laqueis exueris*), Adkin, *ib.*, 10.1.142. 43f.. A loose use of *exuere*, roughly in the sense of *soluere*. The moment Sinon is untied, he lifts his hands in the most solemn perjury (vd. TCD), against the king who has spared and loosed him; Austin invites us to think of Sinon nerving himself too for the last great effort (cf. Cartault, 180), but the thoughtful reader's sympathy and admiration for him is by now in short supply: remember **dolis instructus et arte Pelasga**. We are appalled by Sinon's easy triumph and terrified for Troy. Palms not loosely metonymic, but specific and 'correct' in an appeal to the gods above, n. on 3.176.

154–94 Sinon concludes Austin (1959), 19f., Block, 275f., Cartault, 179f., Friedrich (57–76), 154f., Funaioli, 220–3, Gärtner 184f., 217–20, Heinze 10ff., Hight 16, 247f., Manuwald (57–76), 190–203, Molyneux (57–76), 873–7. The last element in Sinon's *Trugrede* is precisely and specifically focused, to induce the Trojans, by means of the carrot of promised future victory over Greece (192–4), to carry the TH inside the city walls. Also forward-looking are the portents of Pallas' wrath (170–5), which prefigure the manner and purpose of the imminent portent of Laoc.'s death. We might also discern in the varied outrage shown to the Palladium (166–8) a studied contrast, in anticipation, to

the reverent removal of the Penates (**717–20**; cf. Heinze, 34, W. Görler, *RhM*.129(1986), 285ff. on ‘kontrastierende Szenenpaare’). Note that these vv. also look back, to Laoc.’s assault of the TH (**189**) and to the oddly timeless theft of the Palladium, while the informed reader will find at **170ff.** strong anticipation of the rape of Cassandra and of Pallas’ reaction.

The structure is particularly strong and skilful: Sinon’s proem (**154–61**) clears the ground, leading us back to the alleged episode of his projected execution; S. is now a Trojan, not a traitor and he raises high expectations of his forthcoming revelations. His narrative (a recurrent technique) starts from familiar mythological ‘facts’ (cf. **162**, **167 ad fin.**, **168**), here, the story of the theft of the Palladium. The intimate intertwining of Palladium and TH begins, apparently, with Arctinus (**183f.**, Anderson, 19f.), and the credibility of Sinon’s narrative relies entirely on the interdependence of the two talismans. The sequence theft-portents-Calchas-*repetitio ominum-* unrolls with perfect clarity. Only at **183** does Sinon address the urgent issue of the TH; time is pressing (**181–2**; the Greeks’ feigned return masks the real one, from Tenedos), and as the Greeks’ substitute talisman, it must be brought, he insinuates, within the walls of Troy (**192**; cf. **33**). The narrative ironies of Sinon’s feigned revelation of the Greeks’ intentions (**181–2**, again) are of notable brilliance, expressed through verses of particularly careful order and structure (cf. n. on **189**). At **150**, Priam is still perplexed about the TH; he gets an answer, of sorts, at **183ff.**, apparently closing the circle of doubt upon which the Trojans entered at **31**; the decisive portent of Laoc.’s death resumes his role in the story that was interrupted at **49**, at precisely the point at which Sinon finally persuades the Trojans to lay aside the doubts that Laoc. had first crystallised.

A good deal of attention has been devoted to the apparent, and real, inconsistencies between this narrative and Sinon’s earlier account (**108–44**: see Austin, p.85, Molyneux, Manuwald, 196, Friedrich, 155, 162. The temptation to reduce the two accounts (so Molyneux) to a single, combined, elaborate sequence of events should have been easier to resist; the proposed unified sequence (but exactly when was the Palladium stolen?) seems, if you consider the detail, unconvincing, and as Sinon seduces his hearers into sack and ruin, there is no temptation for the Trojans, or for us, to reduce the tortuous development of Sinon’s narrative in various directions into deceptively lucid chronological sequence. Objection has been taken to an apparent discrepancy between the motives offered for the Greeks’ departure at **108ff.** (fatigue)

and at 178ff. (*repetitio ominum*): these passages do not necessarily refer to the same occasion (cf. n. on 108–44: a common motif. See too 40–56(§2) on narrative doublings in general). There is, though, real trouble to be found, for those who enjoy it: why, for instance, did the Palladium have to be taken to Greece during the *repetitio ominum* (cf. Manuwald, 197f.)? The theft of the Palladium is more seriously problematic, if you look closely: it was not consistently presented in the mythographic tradition as an outrage (165) and Virgil's robbers go about their task very strangely, if it is Pallas' goodwill towards the Greeks that they wish to secure (cf. Austin, *cit.*, on bloody hands and slaughtered guards). But it is exciting, brutal, appropriate and in the use V. makes of it, it serves its purpose.

By now, Virgil has almost finished with Eur.*Philoct.* (see though 158). He has studied intently the interaction of TH and Palladium, has pondered the rape of Cassandra, he brings familiar *repetitio ominum* into his account, with Laoc. about to die, he alerts readers to the importance of Rom. (and non-Rom.) portent descriptions (172), he has pondered the function of the talisman (Palladium and TH), and on his way to the removal of the Penates from Troy has perhaps already considered the removal of the gods from Veii; *evocatio* is not (quite) involved.

154 uos...uestrum/ 155 ...uos For the mixture of pron. and pronom. adj. in invocation, cf. 1.666, 4.27, 6.115, 8.72, 12.179f., n. on 3.489, Wills, 83f., 241f., 266, n.23. A certain spondaic solemnity, suited to the occasion.

aeterni ignes What exactly might V.'s readers have supposed Sinon to invoke as witnesses? Compare 3.599 *per sidera testor* (with n.), 4.519f. *conscia fati/ sidera*, 9.429 *caelum hoc et conscientia sidera testor*, 12.197. Hickson, 123f. is helpful on such invocations, but students of *Aen.* have not given much attention to V.'s two slightly tricky phrases here. Serv. suggests either altar-flames (cf. 129 **arae**) or the Sun and Moon. The former has rightly not received serious support. Clearly, these **ignes** (cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.290.51f.; **i.** common of Sun, Moon and stars) cannot be dissociated from the **sidera** of 153, towards which Sinon raises his hands, as Ussani rightly insists. Serv.'s definition, may, though, be rather limiting and Heyne, after Burmann, had already proposed 'Sun, Moon and stars', with V.'s other invocations of *sidera* as witnesses (*supra*) in mind. Though *sidera* can be used in a weakened sense of 'caelum' (cf. n. on 3.619f., *EV* 4.1018, Hardie, *CI*, 261, *OLD*, s.v., §7), it becomes

clear within a verse that something much grander and more specific is intended. **Aeterni** (Vollmer, TLL 1.1143.39) is used equally of the Sun, Cic.*Arat.*332 (cf. Lucr.5.402) and of the stars, *ib.*, 189, 237. We should remember therefore that both Sun and Moon can be described as ‘stars’ (‘greater’, as against ‘lesser’): see NH on Hor.*Carm.*1.12.48, Watson on Hor.*Epd.*15.1; *OLD* ss.vv. *sidus*, §1b, and *stella*, §1a, Dittmann, *TLL* 2.970.34ff., 972.67ff., Verg. *Aen.*6.725, Sen. *Tro.*388. For their role as witnesses (cf. Pease on 4.519f.), it may help to recall to role of the Sun as eye of Zeus, Taillardat, 33f., West on Hes.*Erga* 249ff, 267; for the Moon, cf. Pind.*Ol.*3.20. Much to be said, therefore, in favour of the old ‘inclusive’ sense of ‘Sun, Moon and stars’. Austin here compares Dido’s plea to Sol, 4.607; note also Mynors, Erren on *G.*1.5f. *uos o clarissima mundi/ lumina*. Bailey, 64 plunges for the stars ‘divine in an astrological sense’, and Speranza toys with the (Stoic) stars as souls of the departed, but such developments in the ancient perception of the stars are hardly necessary for the understanding of this passage; here and elsewhere in V., stars not actually venerated, but invoked as witnesses. Sinon has so far done nothing, so (TCD; Ladewig, Paratore and Speranza are impressed) the heavenly witnesses have seen nothing (for indeed nothing has as yet happened), but the intent of the appeal nonetheless entails deceit both in the employment of the oath and in the invocation of the witnesses.

non uiolabile.../ 155 ...numen The adj. *inuiolabilis* Lucretian (5.305; cf. n. on 11.363) and the positive adj. presumably a Virgilian back-formation and clearly enough a coinage. *Tacet EV*; little joy in Cordier. The litotes here both convenient and a mildly interesting variation/innovation. There is also a form of enallage present, for the only violation suggested is that of the oath which the *sidera* are called upon to witness: cf. 4.27, *OLD* s.v. *violo*, §3. **N.** the will, power, even authority of the stars; cf. Pötscher, 96ff. (who ignores this passage; but see 100), Bailey, 64. **N.** often enough indicates clearly a named deity, n. on 7.571, Battegazzore, *EV* 3, 781; at 3.697 the *numina magna* may be Arethusa and Alpheus (so *EV*, *cit.*, acutely).

155 testor Cf. 3.599 *per sidera testor*, *EV* 5*, 148, Hickson, 123f..

ait Highet’s study of speech-formulae, *HSCP* 78(1974), 189ff. is updated in *EV*: for *aio*, cf. Setaioli at 2, 103.

arae ensesque Cf. 129; the plur. might seem a characterising, Sinonian improvement upon the facts (*inuidiose* Serv.), but in fact V. prefers plur., like *altaria* (vd. Au.’s good n. on 663). **E.:** no sword actually

appeared in Sinon's narrative of the preparations for his death, and perhaps we might think (also) of that at Eur.*IA* 875, 1429, etc.; Sinon's appeal to the never-used sword (and altar) in so solemn a context rings a little oddly if we think too hard.

nefandi *Novies* in *Aen*; cf. n. on 3.653. Sacred/sacrificial, but also, to Sinon, unspeakable.

156 quos fugi Cf. 134.

uittaeque deum Cf. 133; the gen. (vd. Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.904. 14ff.) adds in practice little, apart from a certain solemnity of tone: so in V. *templa deum, sacra deum, monstra deum, portenta deum*, and cf. too **248 delubra d.**. Serv. Dan. records that *multi* took **d.** with **hostia**; just possibly to be understood with both, but **uittae deum** appears a completed unit and there is no inducement to eye and mind to attach **d.** to **hostia** too.

quas hostia gessi G.: standard, Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 6.2.1930.43ff. at 52. Whatever the problems regarding the etym. of *hostia*, its original sense, and its exact role in pontifical usage (EM s.v., Wissowa, 412, 415, 419, *EV* 2, 862f. (Chirassi Colombo), Latte, 210, 379), its use in V. (*quinquies*) seems to be simply as a synonym for *victima*; cf. Krause, PW Suppl.5.236.36ff. (ample). Fine balance of **quos...** and **quas....**

157 fas mihi.../ 158 fas Vetter well compares 6.266 *sit mihi fas audita loqui* (*TLL* 6.1.289.40). The gemination attractive to Ov., *Her.*16.63, *Trist.*3.5.27. For *fas*, cf. Austin here and on 6, *cit.* ('allowable under divine law'); also *EV* 2, 467, Watson on Hor.*Epd*.5.87. Serv.: *subaudis 'sit' et bene a diis petit ueniam, ne uideatur proditor*. *Sit* is pretty clearly what we are expected to supply (for this ellipse, cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 274, in detail), for Sinon can hardly (as a matter of dramatic credibility) display complete certainty that the gods will approve of his change of loyalty; **159 teneor** is another matter, standing as it does in the sphere of Sinon's human and civic relationships.

Graiorum Cf. 148. Sinon addresses Priam's adjuration that he forget the Greeks, who have gone. Au. considers whether the gen. is objective ('duty to the Greeks') or subjective ('duty set upon him by the Greeks'): a very fine distinction, ignored by Serv., TCD and *TLL* (Tessmer, 7.2.686.36f.), perhaps because not quite relevant, as being no more than alternative results of Au.'s (quite unnecessary) decision to translate **iura** as 'duty'.

sacrata...iura S. here hardly more than a handy synonym for *sacer*,

n. on 7.778; in (e.g.) Cic., a *lex sacra* is one to which a relig. sanction has been attached, R.G. Nisbet on Cic.*Dom.*43, Mommsen, *StR* 2.1₃, 303, n.2 and there may be some hint of this technical sense here. These *iura* are either the simple ‘rules and regulations’ observed by the Greek army, not distinct from the ‘laws’ (with possess. gen.), whether in the *istorum iura* of Cat.*orat.fr.*235 or in the *Siculorum iura* of Cic.*Verr.*2.2.32, or else (much better, given the sacred witnesses invoked, 153f., and the tone of the epithet; cf. Hor.*Carm.*2.8.1f. *ulla si iuris tibi peierati/ poena*) ‘shorthand’ for ‘oaths’ (plur. **iura** *iuranda* uncommon). Cf. *trag.inc.* 219 *Iouis sacramum ius iurandum* (with Plaut.*Capt.*892, *Cist.*569, Ter.*Hec.*268, 751), Pacuv.*trag.*380 *sancta iura iuranda*, Caes.*Gall.*7.66.7 *sanctissimo iure iurando*, Cic. *Leg.*2.22 *Deorum Manium iura sancta sunt* (these ideas of the sacrality of the oath are very ancient, Burkert, *Gk.Rel.*, 250ff., Wissowa, 118, Seymour, 501f.). Sinon may be talking of the oaths by which (some of) the Greek leaders were bound, in post-Hom. versions ([Apld.]*Epit.* 3.6, 9, Robert, 1091; on the case of Tanagra, cf. Erbse on Schol.*Il.*2.498c). Or is he suggesting that those involved in the TH plan were bound not to reveal its secret? It was perhaps not enough to refer (Serv.Dan. on 157) to an heroic equivalent to the Rom. *sacramentum militare* (Walbank on Plb.6.21.1–3, Mommsen, *St.R.*1₃, 623, 631, Klingmüller, PW 2A.1667.56ff.), though that notion too may be latent here. The *fas*, *iura* and *leges* to which Sinon refers concentratedly here, are terminologically very Roman (vd. Au.); he is concerned to appear to try to justify a nice point of ethics, whether the Greeks’ intention of putting him to death was enough to justify his revelation of their secrets, now that he has left their camp and has been taken in by the Trojans, as an accepted *transfuga*. All nonsense, of course, for Sinon does not care a scrap about oaths and witnesses and is exercised solely by the convincing, reliable impresion he must make upon the Trojans, so we should not try too hard to work out exactly why and how Sinon is to be thought of as bound (sc. by oath) not to reveal the Greeks’ secrets; *quasi iam ipse Graecus non esset uel illi eius socii non fuissent* TCD. Of course, Sinon might have thought he had also to address the problem that his betrayal of the Greeks would make the Trojans less likely to believe him (Serv., quoting Cic.*Verr.*2.1.38 *nemo umquam sapiens proditori credendum putauit*), but their credulity and innocence has, we may think, removed that potential difficulty.

resoluere Cf. 4.27 *ante, Pudor, quam te uiolo aut tua iura resoluo* (where vd. Pease), Cic.*Phil.*11.14 *quoniam omnia iura dissoluit*, EV 4, 935. Not at all stock phrasing.

158 odisse uiros Cf. 96; *EV* 3, 819 overstated. V. employs *u.* again (vd. 146) presumably to avoid *eos*, with some hint of ‘warriors’ (n. on 7.295). Again (Austin), cf. Eur.*Philot*.fr.789d23Kannicht ἐκείνων δὲ ἐχθρός.

atque...ferre sub auras Cf. *Buc*.8.9f. *ferre per orbem/...tua carmina*, *Aen*.7.104f. *fama per urbes/...tulerat*[sc. Albunea’s responses], 12.235 *per ora feretur*, *Hor.C.1.* 18.13 *sub diuum rapiam*, Zucchelli, *EV* 2, 495 (useful), Hey, *TLL* 6.1.550.44. The clausula a favourite; cf. n. on 7.768; of speech, *Ov.Met*.3.296, etc..

omnia/159 si qua tegunt O. refers to the Greeks’ entire situation, any part of which Sinon may now pretend to reveal. Serv.Dan. sees, credibly, an allusion to Sinon’s *opening* of the TH (*ipse enim lectos hostes produxit ex equo*) and release of its contents (258). Serv. and (following up his previous n.) Serv.Dan. then comment *propter ea quae latent in equo*. Not exclusively (so Serv.Dan.): **qua tegunt** refers to *anything* that Sinon can reveal of the Greeks’ ‘secrets’ (cf. *EV* 5, 71; the hidden contents of the TH come naturally to mind). Sinon’s promise of revelations is a brilliant stroke: he will conceal the essential secret of the TH from the Trojans, but not of course from us, while filling the Trojans’ ears with a torrent of complicated and credible disinformation, about the TH, which will get it drawn inside the walls.

teneor Standard Latin for the binding effect of laws and scruples, as in (e.g.) *lex tenet, religione teneri, loci ius tenebit*, *Ov.Met*.10.203 *fatali lege tenemur*. Cf. *EV* 5*, 101, *OLD* s.v., §21a. Serv. sees that Sinon can claim he is formally freed of any tie after Priam’s **noster eris** (149). *Alii*, according to Serv.Dan., preferred a reference to ‘natural law’. Speranza does well to cite *Plat.Crit*.51a^f as an answer to the ethics of this assertion.

patriae...legibus ullis Cf. *Cic.Tusc*.1.101 (= *fr.poet.Graec.ii*: the Thermopylae epigram) *sanctis patriae legibus*: a grand antecedent. The phrasing is, perhaps surprisingly, not at all conventional. An intended echo, then, or at least possibly so. Sinon has concluded his disclaimer, and maintains he is no longer bound by *fas*, *ius*, or *lex* (vd. on **158 sacra...iura**).

nec For (Neoteric, mannered) postponed *nec*, cf. n. on 11.137.

160 tu modo Cf. n. on 7.263

promissis maneas Cf. Tietze, *TLL* 8.288.70, not, in just that form, a common idiom (though cf. Aus. 195.19 *felix quietis si maneres litteris*); note, though, [*Laud.Tur.*]2.62 *permanere in promisso*, Delhey, *ib*.10.2. 1878.62, and Lat. *manere in fide, in ea condicione*, etc., Tietze, 289.39ff., n.

on 3.409 *maneant in religione*, 8.643 *at tu dictis, Albane, maneres*. Note too the usage of Gk. ἐμμένειν (e.g. Thuc.5.18.9). Perhaps here for normal *stare promissis*, *OLD* s.v., §20, Delhey, *cit.*; **p.** standard idiom (for V. vd. Delhey, 1877. 28ff.; *tacet EV*).

seruataque serues.../161 Troia fidem Cf. 4.552 *non seruata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo*; the phrasing old and standard, both comedy and (Cic., Caes.) prose (Fraenkel, *TLL*6.1.670.65ff. at 77f.). For the polyptoton of partic. and vb., cf. 7.295 *num capti potuere capi* (with n.), Ov.F.1.523 *Victa tamen uinces euersaque, Troia, resurges, Her.*7.59, Wills, 249 (an atypically confused and unsatisfactory discussion). Sinon apostrophizes all of Troy (*magnificentius* than *Troiani* would have been, Serv.Dan.; cf. E. Dickey, *Lat. forms of address* (Oxford 2002), 298f., 362) in her old king's presence: *tu, inquit, Troia, , conseruatori tuo fidem serua* TCD.; high claims for his role on the Trojans' side as proem to his exposition of what the TH is not; prolixity in the interests of perfidy.

si...si Cf. 54, 94, 756, etc.; a common repetition: 3.433f., 7.263, 11.116, etc..

uerā feram Serv.Dan.: *dicam*; cf. 75 (with n.). Sinon continues to concentrate on his guaranteed honesty.

magna rependam 'Give in payment', 'pay in return', *OLD* s.v., §4a; the vb. once in Cic. (*de orat.*2.269) and apparently promoted to high poetry by V. (also 1.239); a successful innovation (Hor.C.3.5.25, *ter* in the heavily Virgilian Prop.4, *septiens* in Ov.). *Tacent EV*, Cordier. Sinon assures his poor listeners that he at least knows what gratitude is due, for his survival, liberation, etc.. Serv.Dan. reports the view of *alii*, that there might also be a sense of *Graecis rependam*. For what? In the teeth of the rhetorical movement of 160–1? Surely not; Serv. and Serv.Dan. find many complex ambiguities in these vv. and Sinon's role as a fake deserter does indeed set up numerous doublings of level and meaning, here noted, but some of the more fantastical elaborations, both ancient and modern, will be ignored.

162 omnis spes Danaum Careful articulation; Sinon will return to the Greeks' **spes** at 170; o. the positive counterpart of **ulla**, 137. **D.**: cf. 5. *More suo a ueris incipit* Serv. Dan., acutely here; the remark applies to Sinon's whole narrative of the theft, though (so too, 81ff., Palamedes).

coepti...belli Cf. Sall.*Iug.*21.2, Liv.7.28.1, 22.19.1, etc., Spelthahn, *TLL* 3.1428.47ff.. However justified the Greeks may have been, it remains true, even on Sinon's lips, that it was they who started the war.

fiducia Cf. 1.132 *generis..fiducia uestri*; standard usage, Fraenkel, *TLL* 6.1.699.19ff. at 37. For **f.**, vd. **75**.

163 Palladis auxiliis Though venerated by the Trojans in Hom., Athena was no good friend to them (cf. Kirk on *Il*.6.86–98, my nn. on *Aen*. 3.531, 11. 477, with bibl.; add with caution M. Wilhelm in *Two worlds...*; ed. R. Wilhelm, H. Jones (Detroit 1992), 74ff.). Though she had previously favoured the Greeks energetically and (vd. *infra*) almost consistently, that changed after the rape of Cassandra, in her temple (n. on 11.259; cf. Henry, *VP*, 95f., Seymour, 426ff., Griffin on *Il*.9.254). For Athena and Diom., cf. Kirk on *Il*.5.115–20, 800–34. **A.:** cf. Münscher, *TLL* 2.1622.48, Quint. 3.16.4 *stant enim quodam modo mutuis auxiliis omnia*; as Au. remarks, the plur. is not metrically necessary but refers to many acts of support.

semper True enough (though not at all points; cf. Girard, *EV* 3, 533, Bailey, 154, Campbell, 124 for Athena's moments of favour towards the Trojans), as readers of *Il*. naturally knew.

stetit Cf. 352 **di, quibus imperium hoc steterat**, *Enn.Ann.* 156Sk. *moribus antiquis res stat Romana uirisque* and, a little less closely, *G*.4.209 *stat fortuna domus, Aen*.1.268 *dum res stetit Ilia regno*, **2.56, 88**; see Bartalucci, *EV* 4, 1027. The bucolic diaeresis (amply discussed, Windolt, 45–8, *EV* 2, 65f.) focuses attention on the new narrative direction (not for the moment to include the TH) that is about to unfold.

impius.../ 164 Tydides Diomedes will resurface in very different garb in bk.11; cf. n. on 11.225–42 for the son of Tydeus in V, with bibl.. The patronymic (possibly first in *Aen*. (also **197**, 1.97, 471; cf. Hor.C.1.6.16, 15.28) easier to handle in dactylic verse (*septies* in V; *Diomedes, quinques*). The epithet (cf. Traina, *EV* 4, 94) closely tied to the theft of the Palladium and particularly severe upon Aeneas' lips; Serv. adds *propter numina uulnerata* (Ares and Aphrodite in *Il*.: 5.330, 856): true enough, in the background). Pygmalion, and *Aen*. himself, in Dido's rage (4.496) the only other characters actually called *i.* in *Aen*. (as distinct from its use of deeds, etc.).

ex quo Cf. **648**, 5.47, 8.47, Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1090.77ff.; *ex eo* Cato, *ex quo tempore Rhet.Her.*, 1.623 *tempore iam ex illo* and for *quo tempore...ex eo*, cf. comms. on Cat.35.13, LHS, 555.

164 sed enim Cf. Friedrich, *TLL* 5.2.573.80ff. at 574.6f., KS 2, 78, Hand 1, 444f., 2, 396, Norden on 6.28; *quater* in *Aen*.; ‘aber ja, aber freilich’, KS. Archaic here (Quint.9.3.14; cf. Cat.*orig.fr*.95b,

Plaut.*Bacch.*1081). For marked postposition, cf. 6.28 *magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem* and Friedrich, *cit.*, comparing *Lucr.*1.219 *nulla uiforet usus enim* at 577.23f.: a neoteric mannerism; cf. nn. on 7.761, 11.81.

scelerumque inuentor Vlices. We are clearly expected to recall here **65 crimine ab uno, 106 scelerum tantorum** (directly after the mention of **Ithacus**), **125 artificis scelus** (Ul. again), 6.529 *hortator scelerum* (Ul. again). In poetic texts, no fine legal distinctions to be drawn between *scelus* and *crimen* in the sense of ‘crime’, and a clear, strong pattern of characterisation (cf. Setaioli (7), 175f.). **I.** alone morally neutral, but not rare of ‘malarum’ (Kapp, *TLL* 7.2.157.12); cf. Liv.25.19.12. The phrase splendidly echoed by *Lact.mort.pers.*7, of Diocletian (Au., not *TLL*; cf. also Ascytus at Petr.79 *omnis iniuriae inuentor*). It has been suggested that **scel. inu.** seems to correspond to an Homeric compound epithet; that appearance often enough does not correspond with actual Greek usage; cf. n. on 7.747; δολομήτης is no more than roughly analogous.

165 fatale.../166 Palladium TCD: *Palladium cum pronuntiamus, pondus addendum est; in ipso enim nomine magnitudo nominis expressa est.* The ‘small Pallas’ (Burkert, *Gk.Rel.*, 140), standing and armed. The goddess was widely revered as πολιοῦχος and this protective character passed to her talismanic image (Faraone, Latte, 108): possession of the Trojan Palladion, without which Helenus had predicted that the city could not be taken ([Apfd.]*Epit.*5.10, Serv. on **166**, Fraenkel, *Elem.Plaut.*, 66f., Vellay 2, 395, Au. on **612**; the prophecy in itself already present at Soph.*Phil.*604ff., but not the elaborated details), was widely claimed and the detail of (1) its departure from Troy and (2) its passage to (e.g.) Rome was vigorously and variously asserted in post-Homeric texts.

(1) the *Il. Parva* (Procl.p.52.23f.Davies) has Od. and Diom. remove it from Troy, and this remained the orthodox version (cf. *ib.*, fr.9). What is attributed to Arctinus by DH 1.69.3 is problematic: if Diom. and Od. stole a copy, then the original stayed in Troy, but Troy nonetheless fell (Austin). I also suggested long ago (*CQ*29(1979), 374f.) that the story of an exact copy stolen from Troy by Od. and Diom. looked to reflect a Roman claim to hold the real thing. M.L. West on *Iliou Persis* fr.4West now proposes that such a claim might already have been made by the Aeneadae in the Troad. Davies prints this passage of DH as a ‘fr. dubium’ of Arctinus and in the context of the *historical* development of real and false statues within the Palladion-story, it is

hard to believe that just this complication was already present in the real *Iliou Persis* (so, West). (2) Cf. Ziehen, 174.5ff. for a full account of the cities that claimed possession of a Pall. (note also Perret, *cit.* and, for Argos, Erskine). If Diom. stole the real Pall., then some thought that he brought it with him to S.Italy, and a number of attestations in S.Italy result (Moret). Either Diom. gave the real Pall. to Aen., or, in some way, it was not the real one that Diom. stole, or else the real one may even have remained in Troy (so Serv. on 166; vd. Au. there, Fraenkel, *Kl.Betr.* 2, 379; vd. Austin, Prescendi, T.P. Wiseman, *Myths of Rome* (Exeter 2004), 21 for summaries of these attempts at harmonisation; for DH, G. Vanotti, *L'altro Enea* (Roma 1995), 76ff.). The Palladium was rescued by L. Caecilius Metellus, during a fire at the temple of Vesta in 241BC, at the cost of his sight (the story in Varro (*res div.fr.2aCardauns*; vd. H.J.Bäumerich, *Über die Bedeutung der Genealogie...* (diss. Köln 1964), 41ff.); cf. Bömer on Ov.F.6.437f.) and Plautus can play with his audience's familiarity with the story of Ul., Diom. and the theft of the Pall. (Fraenkel, *Elem. Plaut.*, 89f., Moret, 288f.). Brought to Italy by Aen. (cf. n. on **293 sacra**); cf. Canciani for the ample art. evidence. Note DH 6.69, Wiseman, *cit.*, for the claims of the *gens Nautia*, and venerated as a *pignus imperii* as early as Cic.*Scaur.*48 (cf. Latte, 292, n.5 on this non-cohesive category). See Anderson, 18–20, Au.'s detailed n. here, V. Basanoff, *Evocatio* (Paris 1945), 114, F. Bömer, *Rom und Troia* (Baden-Baden 1951), 61f., Canciani, *EV* 3, 939–41, Erskine, 117, Faraone (13–39), 4, 7, *et passim*, Gantz 2, 643ff., J.-M. Moret, *Les pierres gravées antiques représentant le rapt du Palladion* (Mainz 1997), 281ff., Perret, 76–8 *et passim*, F. Prescendi, *NP* 9, 192f., P. Demargne, *LIMC* 2.1.965ff., Robert, 1225ff., E. Wörner, Ro.3.1.1301.1ff., and in great detail PW 18.3.171.60ff. (L. Ziehen, G. Lippold). **Fatale:** *in quo fatum Troianorum constabat*, Schol.Ver. here, citing **237 scandit fatalis machina muros**; note too Plaut.*Bacch.*956 *paria item tria eis tribus sunt fata nostro huic Ilio* (vd. n. on **190f.**). Hey, *TLL* 6.1.332.66f. compares Ov.*Met.*13.381 *signum fatale Mineruae*.

adgressi...auellere With infin. also at 6.584; so in Lucr.(5.167, 6.940); also Cic., Caes., Sall., Liv.: cf. Zimmermann, *TLL* 1.1320.63ff. at 69f.. No reason to assimilate the prefix when mss. read **adg-**. Cf. Cic.*Verr.*2.4.110 *hoc iste e signo Cereris auellendum asportandumque curauit* [a figure of Victory in Ceres' right hand]. Manuwald (57–76) well remarks that this theft does not appear to be presented in the Greek sources as a great sacrilege; indeed in some versions (he cites, 198, n.61, Ov.F.6.431, QS 10.353, Triph.55f.) Athena was delighted to leave. V. consistently

builds up the sacrilege perpetrated by Ul. and Diom., adding emotions and outrage borrowed from the rape of Cassandra (Manuwald, 194; cf. n. on 170); he probably intends also a proleptic contrast with the voluntary departure of the revered and comparably tutelary Penates (vd. n. on 179).

sacrato...templo S. fresh in the memory from 157; cf. [Tib.]3.4.77, Ov.F.2.57, 3.429. Neither *sacrum* nor *sacratum* traditionally epithets of *templum*, but *aedes sacra* is standard.

166 caesis....custodibus For **caesis**, cf. n. on 7.574 (Ennian, poetic; *tacet* Cordier; *EV* deplorable). Note 8.652 *custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis*, Liv.4.55.4 *Aequos interfectis paucis custodibus arcis inuasisse*, Mertel, *TLL* 4.1573.43ff.. The allit. of c clearly appropriate to a scene of furtive butchery and this killing evidently augments the sacrilege of the theft (TCD).

summae arcis Cf. n. on 41.

167 corripuere Cf. 479 **correpta ...bipenni**; equally of Aeneas and the golden bough, or Cerberus and the cake (6.210, 422): a forceful compound, much to V.'s taste (31x.); *EV* 4, 401, Lambertz, *TLL* 4.1040.67.

sacram effigiem Cf. 3.148 *effigies sacrae diuum Phrygiique penates* (with n.), Brandt/ Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.180.79f..

manibusque cruentis So in Cic. and Sall., unsurprisingly (Hoppe, *TLL* 4.1238.49ff.). Note G.4.15 *et manibus Procne pectus signata cruentis*. The detail is sharply significant, when contrasted with Aen.'s report of his own words at 717ff. **tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque penatis;/ me bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti/ attractare nefas, donec me flumine uiuo/ abluero.** Aen. states correctly the Gk. and Rom. view of the ritual purity required prior to handling a sacred image: cf. (including refs. to the purity of sacred vessels) *Il*.6.266f., 16.228, Hes.*Erga* 336f., Eur.*Orest*.429, *Ev.Matt*.27.24 (Pilate), Paus.2.17.1, 31.9, Plut.*Sulla* 32, Suda A3298, Appel, 185, Au. on 719, Eitrem (133), 94ff., Frazer, Bömer on Ov. *F*.2.35, E. Lupu, *Greek sacred law* (Leiden 2005), 207f., R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford 1983), 226, 371, Pease on 4.635, P. Stengel, *Die gr. Kultusaltertümer*₃ (München 1920), 162, Th. Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im gr. Kult* (*RVV* 9.1, Giessen 1910), 11ff. ('beim Opfer'), 64ff. ('Mord'), Wissowa, 416. Since the murder of the guards, Sinon has heaped up details that further augment the sense of outrage and defilement. His acknowledgement of guilt is tactically

flawless: frank admission of undeniable facts increases his general credibility.

168 uirgineas...uittas The fillets (cf. n. on 133) present on the statue of the virgin goddess. See *OLD* s.v. *uirgineus*, §2c, which compares Hor.C.3.4.72 (arrow of Diana), Prop.4.4.44 (hearth of Vesta); to be considered enallage, just about. Con. notes that the goddess is envisaged as both warrior and (not helmeted but) wearing *uittae*. Not at all therefore the conventional warrior Athena (whether from Athens, Aegina, or Lavinium, *Enea nel Lazio*, pl.D61 and following). She is odd, but by no means unparalleled: on Apld.*Bibl.*3.12.3 (the Palladion with spear, spindle and distaff), cf. Ziehen, PW 18.3.174.29ff., 185.57ff., G. Lip-pold, *ib.*, 194.56ff., comparing the older coin-types of Ilion, where the P. also wears not a helmet but a ‘πόλος’ (Lat. *pileus*, hardly conceivable at the same time as *uittae*; cf. Paus.2.10.5, etc., DS 4, 480 (Paris) and vd. further Demargne (165), 963, n°58); no suggestion that V. actually refers to such a type (not current in his day), but only a hint that this P. was not as odd as Con., acutely enough, suspected.

ausi...contingere The vb. of foolish or outrageous acts, 535, 5.792, 6.15, 624 *ausi omnes immane nefas*, etc.; *EV* 1, 396 notably unilluminating. On c., cf. *EV* 5*, 30; Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.712.82f.; standard usage (for touching the fillets of Minerva herself, Au. cites Germ.*Arat.*648f. and cf. too Juv.6.50, with Courtney’s n., for the *uittae* of Ceres).

diuae Pallas (cf. Schwering, *TLL* 5.1.1650.52ff.) as represented by her tutelary statue. Just as the impiety of Diom. and Od. will contrast with Aen.’s scruple, so their treatment of the Palladion may be thought to anticipate the impious rape of Cassandra (403ff. and see n. on 170 **auersa**; the *templa...temerata Mineruae* never forgotten, will one day be avenged, 6.840). The robbers themselves are only concerned to remove the statue’s talismanic power from Troy; pollution of the image or possible divine wrath do not trouble them. By contrast, after the fall of Veii, Livy’s Romans were a good deal more careful (vd. n. on 179 **secum auexere**, D.S. Levene, *Religion in Livy* (*Mnem.*Suppl.127, Leiden 1993), 186f.). Cf. Serv.Dan. on 167 (a good note): *et tres simul res dixit quare numen irasceretur: quod antistites caesi, quod tolleretur, quod cruentis manibus*. But it does not appear that Ul. and Diom. were punished for this act; contrast Ajax, n. on 11. 259f., and indeed Diom., though this would be punishment for the wounding of Aphrodite, n. on 11.270. Sinon here again starts up (cf. 162) with a stiff, reassuring dose of generally known fact.

169 ex illo Cf. *Buc.*7.70, *Aen.*8.268, 12.32f.; V. also employs *ex illo tempore* (1.623, 11.275f.). Neither expression specially common (Bulhart, *TLL* 7.1.347.68ff.; *ex illo* Hor.*Sat.*, Prop., Ov., Silver epic). Prof. Görler draws attention to LHS 187, 557, KS 2, 283 for this form of articulation and the (old) placing of the rel. clause first (cf. too Kroll on Cat.35.13, LHS 563f.). At 81 a calculated lapse in syntactical organisation was remarked; here, that is avoided, for 163–8 has actually worked as a (long, rather untidy) period.

fluere Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.973.80ff. compares Cic.*Fin.*2.106 *effluit igitur uoluptas corporis et prima quaeque auolat*, Hor.*Ep.*1.1.23. Hist. infns.: vd. bibl., 11.142.

ac retro...referri Virgil quotes (vd. Mynors) a particularly moving passage, *G.*1.199f., *sic omnia fatis/ in peius ruere ac retro sublapsa referri* (cf. *EV* 4, 505 and note too *Lucr.*4.695 *fluere atque recedere*, 2.69 *longinquo fluere omnia cernimus aevo*); in the interests of successfully assumed pathos, Sinon is allowed to cite even the language of V.'s own lament. Cf. **378 retro...repressit**, 3.690 *relegens... retrorsus*, 9.794 *retro reddit*, 797f. *retro...uestigia.../ ...refert*.

sublapsa A Virgilian invention, perhaps, and not often used: cf. n. on 7.354, *EV* 3, 85. An underlying image of current (*G.*1.201–3), or, in theory, tide, always less clearly visible to the Mediterranean imagination.

170 spes Danaum Taking up 162, q.v.. A powerful, terse, tripartite line; Pallas' wrath then recounted in markedly economical verses (171–5); note e.g. the parataxis at **172 arsere**. Kvičala suggested **res**; this is extremely Virgilian (cf. n. on 3.1) but quite unnecessary.

fractae uires Standard phrasing: cf. *Lucr.*2.1132, *Cic. Dom.*55, *Liv.*35.30.12, *Prop.*4.6.51, etc., Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1. 1247.27ff.. Compare the closely comparable *opes fractae Teucrum* of 3.53 (where vd. n.).

auersa Cf. Hom. ἐτράπετο φρήν/ νόος, Negri 172, 293f. Bickel, *TLL* 2.1324.59, Garuti, *EV* 5*, 510. The expression of a familiar type: cf. *Cat.*64.406 *mentem auertere deorum*, 12.647 *superis auersa uoluntas*. At 1.482 *diua...auersa* (Hom. ἀνένευε), 4.362 and 6.224 a physical sense is clearly also present, as at 6.469 *fixos oculos auersa tenebat*. Cf. Sittl, 84, Heuzé, 567, Riccotilli, 116, Lobe, 23, A. Pardini, *MD* 22(1989), 201f. and F. Muecke's excellent discussion, *BICS* 31(1984), 106f.: she rightly suspects here the influence of the rape of Cass. and Pallas' reactions to it ; in particular, she notes that in some accounts (from Arctinus on, Proclus, p.62.23f.Davies) Cass. clung to

the statue (distinct from the Palladion), which was indeed carried along with her (cf. Robert, 1266); the image of the goddess turned away and averted her gaze so as not to behold the rape (Lyc.362, 988, Strab. 6.1.14, QS 13.425ff., [Apld.]*Epit.*5.22, etc.; cf. further 173 for the decisive detail). This is a familiar pattern of reaction: cf. Ov.*Met.*4.798ff., Eur.*IT* 1165ff., Muecke, 107, 111, n.23 and historical statues likewise look away, portentously: cf. Obsequens 7, 48, Liv.40.59.6ff., Dio 58.7.2, Muecke, 107, Bömer on Ov.*F.*3.46. Cf. further on 173f.

deae mens Cf. Cat.64.406 *supra*, Hofmann, *TLL* 8.729.45f., Negri, 171f.. For the monosyll. at l.-end, cf. n. on 7.592.

171 nec dubiis...monstris A common litotes: Cf. G.4.253 *quod iam non dubiis poteris cognoscere signis*, Cic.*Cat.*2.29 *multis et non dubiis deorum... significationibus*, Colum.2.2.14, Suet.*Ner.*37.3, *Vesp.*5.2, Bulhart, *TLL* 5.1.2110.50. **M.** in the ‘etym.’ sense of *id quod monet*, nn. on 7.81, 270.

ea signa dedit Cf. nn. on 7.519f., 11.474. **E.** brachylogic: ‘*i. eius rei*’, Szantyr, *TLL* 8.1447.20, nn. on 17, 65, 139, 7.595.

Tritonia Cf. n. on 11.483, Schlunk, 18, Schmit-Neuerburg, 344f., pointing to the association with fear, $\tau\sigma\epsilon\pi$ in Schol.*AD*, *Il.*8.39.

172 uix Temporally: cf. nn. on 3.8, 11.296: the parataxis here particularly Virgilian (n. on 3.90, Görler, *EV* 2, 274); swift movement of the action.

positum castris simulacrum **P:** ceased to be carried and was put down, 8.616, 9.586, 10.52, 11.67, *OLD* s.v., §6a; *EV* notably unhelpful. For **s.** as ‘statue’, cf. 517, *EV* 4, 868; ‘statue’ already at *Lucr.*2.24 (and standard prose). This banal, routine moment in the removal of the Palladium now, of a sudden, turns into the context for a splendid (but conventional) display of divine wrath. Such statue-portents are widely attested and much discussed: see Luterbacher, 25, Faraone, 105f. and index s.v. images, Muecke (170), 107. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la divination* 2,129f., R. Bloch, *Les prodiges...* (Paris 1963), 23. Pease on Cic.*Div.*1.20f., 98, Bömer on Ov.*F.*3.46, Erren on G.1.480, Au. here, and now D.T. Steiner, *Images in mind* (Princeton 2001), 136ff. The portents repay close study: only the sweat is a traditional Rom. portent, with an added poet. detail; the others will reveal lightly learned Virgilian invention, a brilliant facade of sufficiently disquieting signs, beguiling the attentive reader into thinking also of Ajax and Cassandra.

Pause with synaloepha of *-um* at 3½ (Winbolt, 40, 174), focusing attention on what follows.

arsere Cf. 10.270 *ardet apex capiti*, Cic.*Div.*1.121 *caput arsisse Seruo Tullio dormienti* (cf. Liv.1.39.1), *Bell.Alex.*47.6, Liv.22.1.8, 24.10.7, etc., Ov.*F.6.636*, Vollmer, *TLL* 2.483.41ff. *Ardere* does therefore belong to portent-language, but when the subject is the thing that takes fire, and so not (except at one remove) in the present instance. *Arde(sce)re* of flames otherwise post-Virgilian, Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.868.45.

coruscae/ 173 ...flammae Uncommon phrasing (cf. *Aetna* 54, Manil.1.860; cf. Burger, *TLL* 4.1076.61f.). The adj. (flickering, flashing) Lucretian (*quater*) and cf. *Cic.carm. (bis)*, Hor.C.1.34.6; Cordier, 155, etc. (*tacet EV*). *Hoc primum, inquit, indicium iracundiae suaे dedit commotum tot sceleribus numen...ex oculis inanimalis materiae flammae non leues, sed in modum fulminis mittebantur* TCD (1.173.2ff.). Flames from the breast of Hera's statue a hostile portent, Hdt.6.82 (La Cerdà), but commentators seem reluctant to consider what V.'s flames *here* might suggest. Fiery eyes are a common, conventional symptom of wrath, full n. on 7.448f. *flammea...lumina*; note in particular Hom. πυρὶ δ' ὄccε δεδήει, upon which it is only too easy to expand, Theocr. 24.18f. (with Gow's n.), West on Hes. *Theog.*826, Aen.2.210 (q.v.).

173 luminibus...arrectis So in V. **a.** of a horse's neck and chest, a snake's scales, a sea-monster's breast and crest, not to mention human ears. Cf. Bögel, *TLL* 2.638.52f., Cattein, 102; reprehensibly absent from *EV*. That Pallas' statue gazed at the ceiling during the rape of Cassandra by Oilean Ajax is traditional, Lyc.361f. (with Schol.), [Apld.]*Epit.*5.22 (an action of why the statue looks at the ceiling), QS 13.427, Call.*Aet.fr.*35Pf., Schol.AD on *Il.*13.66, Robert, 1267, n.2, Gantz 2, 652, Muecke, 107 with n.19 (here expanded), S. West, *CQ* 34(1984), 135. The scene was depicted on the chest of Cypselos, Paus.5.19.5, and, by Polygnotus, in the Lesche of the Cnidians, *ib.*10.26.3; the detail of Pallas gazing at the ceiling perhaps, therefore, passed into Hellen. literature from art (which may itself have derived from earlier texts), as an action of the posture. Pallas' gaze upwards at the ceiling is absent from the repertory of conventional eye-gestures (Sittl, 92–4), and is likewise so distinctive and well-attested in accounts of the rape that its presence here is a very powerful argument for the influence of the Ajax-story on V.

salsusque.../ 174 sudor Strangely, modern discussions (though not Ussani, Berres, *VH* 18, n.17) lose sight of the clearly Lucretian

origins of this expression, quite different though the sense and context clearly are (Heuzé silent and *EV*, *bis*, unhelpful): cf. 5.487 *tam magis expressus salsus de corpore sudor* (the earth's moisture, or sweat that made the sea; cf. Arist.*Met.*357a 24ff.: specifically a poetic metaphor, and note further Emped.*A78DK*, [Plut.] *Placita* 897A2). The saltiness of sweat was widely noticed (e.g. *physici ap. Serv. ad Aen.*5.801 *dicunt...* *sudorem salsum esse*) and explanations were offered (Arist.*Probl.*866b19ff., 877b20ff., Thphr. frr. ed.Wimmer, p.403ff. περὶ ιδρῶτων, 9.1, 2, 3, Oribas.15.2.19); for tears and sweat as the same liquid, cf. Arist., *ib.*884b28, Onians, 202. The text of the anon. verse present in Schol. Ver. *infra* is too uncertain for it to be cited here (cf. Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.*417), and the salt blood of *Enn. trag.*139 may be no more than a bizarre enallage (vd. Jocelyn's n.). V.'s words attracted much interest in antiquity: Schol.Ver. *Probus malo epitheto putat usum poetam. critici*[cf. n. on 11.24 *aīl*] *uero naturalia* [*epitheta a poetis*] *nusquam in honeste putant locari*; Serv.Dan. *salsus sudor indicium commoti numinis fuisse dicitur* ... *Probo sane displicet salsus sudor et superuacue positum uidetur. hoc autem Ennius de lamis dicitur*[vd. Skutsch on *Ann.*370]; TCD (1.173.7f.) *sudor ex simulacro non potest profluere, nisi cum aliquid mali portenditur*. Noted in passing, H.D. Jocelyn, *CQ* 35(1985), 473, and vd. rather Timpanaro, *per la storia*, 118, H. Georgii, *Die ant. Äneiskritik* (Stuttgart 1891), 113f. (a flurry of unhelpful emendations). There seem to be two defences offered against Probus' criticism, even three; it looks (at least from Schol.Ver.) as though Probus' objection was that the attribution of salt sweat to a goddess was *inhonestum* (cf. Serv. on 4.23, 318, 547 and see *Maia* 41 (1989), 253 for ancient decorum-based criticism of V.). To which three lines of reply (oddly called 'estremamente involuta' by Timpanaro) may have been: (1) (Schol.Ver.) what was natural was never *inhonestum* and (Serv.Dan., TCD) the flow of sweat from a statue was a conventional portent of both (2) divine displeasure and (3) *malum* to come. For sweating statues, cf. G.1.480, Liv.22.1.12, 27.4.14, 28.11.4, Plut.*Alex.*14.8, App.*Civ.*2.144, and the many passages collected by Pease on *Cic.Div.*1.98 *sudavit*. V.'s epithet has physiol., even medical origins but reaches him clearly enough from Lucr..

per artus/ 174 ...iit Cf. *Luc.*9.745 *defessos iret qui sudor in artus, Sil.*3.215 *it membris gelidus sudor*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.2.644.64. See too 6.726, 9.433 for *per artus* in clausula.

terque Not always part of portent-language (nn. on 7.141, 3.37), though occasionally, it can be (nn. on 3, *cit.* and 11.631). Cf. also Zor-

zetti, *EV* 3, 783 on *ter* as an epic cliché (*τρίκ* after all 31x in *Il.*); in this case cf. the formulaic *τρίκ μὲν ἔπειτ’ ἐπόρους* (*ter* in *Il.*). Conventional Homeric battle-language here, then, rather than the clearly recognisable ring of a Roman portent.

ipsa solo.../ 175 emicuit Pascoli well suggests for **i.** a force of ‘sponte, nullo movente’ citing e.g. *Buc.*4.21 (Tietze, *TLL* 7.2.336.29f., Wagner, *QV* xviii, §m). On **e.**, Serv. Dan. *exsiluit*, Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.486. 40f. (comparing 6.5, 11.496 (where vd. TCD), 12. 327, 728). Here close to flames (173), and the association of **e.** with leaping fire has often been noted (Norden on 6.*cit.*, *ardet*, *ardens* in 12, *cit.*, *EV* 3, 518). Though the Palladion did move mysteriously at Conon FGH26, ch.34 (cf. Vellay, 398, Faraone, 13, n.10), we have here, typically, passed beyond the context of Roman portents and the statue is behaving like the goddess herself in battle (cf. previous note; note too use of *ἐπᾶλτο*), literally leaping forwards to threaten her foes.

mirabile dictu In a portent-description: cf. n. on 7.64.

175 parvamque ferens Cf. n. on 11.619 for **p.** and cf. n. on 7.470 for *-que...-que*. *Ferens* as at e.g. 8.85, 609; as Au. remarks, an elegant variation on *cum*.

hastamque trementem Cf. 52 **stetit illa tremens**, with Traina, *EV* 5*, 262 and Pascoli’s n.: the latter remarks finely how the last wd. of the v. takes up the first, as the spear continues to quiver long after the goddess’ leap. Or perhaps because (La Cerdá, citing not Hom., but Pind. *Ol.*7.43, Philostr. *Her.*682) the spear is still quivering from having been clashed against the shield.

176 extemplo N. on 7.276 quite insufficient; the etym. offered by Serv. on 699, *uerbum augurum qui uisis auspiciis surgebant ex templo* (cf. on 1.92) accepted by the experts (WH, EM); Plaut.x67, *bis* in Ter., *semel* in Caecilius, *Enn.Ann.*377, *semel* in each of the tragedians, and *trag.*inc., *Lucr.*x18, *deest* in Cat., *bis* in Cic. (youthful), *deest* in Caes., *Sall.*, 378x in *Liv.*, *deest* in Hor.: see I. Kapp, *TLL* 5.2.1966.62ff., Hofmann-Ricottilli, 213, J.C. Jones, *ALL* 14(1902), 102f.; for *Ov.Met.*archaic (Axelson, 26), *semel* in *G.*, 14x in *Aen.*, with some solemn and archaic flavour.

temptanda fuga...aequora Cf. *Buc.*4.32 *temptare Thetin ratibus*, *G.*1.207, 3.8 *temptanda uia est*, *Aen.*3.364, 520, 8.113, *Hor.C.*1.28.5, 3.4.30f. *insanientem nauita Bosporum/ temptabo* (with NR), Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1471.61. Not to mention *fugam cursu temptauit*, 12.484. For **a.**, see nn. on 3.191, 196f. Cf. 109 for the motif of ‘return to Greece

before Troy falls'; after such marked allusions to Pallas and Ajax, we might wonder in passing here at Pallas' rage against Ajax during *his* return journey (n. on 11. 259f.), on account of the (as yet unrealised, but strongly present) rape of Cass., whence possibly *temptanda* here (a hazardous return even now envisaged, proleptically); *EV* 5*, 94 unilluminating.

canit...Calchas For C., cf. 100; he has been built up since as an active participant in events and his continued role is credible and consistent; Manuwald (57–76), 202f. treats C. as an—in some sense mythologically ‘real’—enemy of Sinon, but this role is rather a consistent element in the unrolling of Sinon’s *Trugrede* (cf. Gärtner, 183f.). The prudent reader will envisage Ul., Calchas and Sinon devising the entire plot in aimable cooperation. See 124 for *canere*; conventional for what seers do.

177 nec posse...excindi For e., cf. n. on 7.316, Hight, 213, n.31. For the orthography, vd. 481.

Argolicis...telis Cf. 78; here with typical Virgilian juxtaposition of contrasting proper names (n. on 7.233, indices s.v.). Cf. 6.57 *Dardana...tela*, 10.638, for *tela* ethnically characterised.

Pergama Cf. 41, 56.

178 omina ni repetant Serv.: *respexit Romanum morem. nam si egressi malum pugnassent, reuertebantur ad captanda rursus auguria* (though in fact defeat was by no means the only motive for seeking new auspices; see Wissowa, PW 2.2582.60ff.). Attention has been concentrated on the famous case of Flamininus, Liv.21.63.11, to the exclusion of (e.g.) Liv.8.30.2 (where vd. Oakley; note his ample addenda, with full bibl., vol.4, 583f.. See too Mommsen, *StR* 1₃, 99, with n.5). D.A. Phillips, *Vergilius* 43(1997), 46–9 and Levene (168), 39 add nothing new. Notice the widening range of the intellectual sources of Sinon’s persuasive fantasies. The attentive, or churlish, reader might wonder just what the presence of the Palladium has to do with fresh auspices and how and why the Greeks can credibly be thought to be carrying back to Argos for this *repetitio auspiciorum* an image they have stolen from Troy, while it was Roman generals who returned to Rome to renew auspices taken there, in the cases just discussed (cf. Molyneux, 875, Manuwald (57–76), 197f., 200). The Greeks’ new talisman has of course nothing to do with Roman ritual usage, but neither V. nor Sinon expect to be heard out with such dull pedantry;. For **ni** in V., cf. n. on 7.433.

Argis Cf. 78, 95, etc.; ‘home’ for the Greeks is for now Argos (and Argolid).

numenque reducant Serv.Dan. *aut pro Palladio posuit numen, ut [4.204]...aut numen Mineruam dixit.* Or (Con.) ‘an indication of the divine will’. This last a most unhappy idea (how and why did the Greeks carry this ‘indication’ with them back—cf. n. on **auexere**, *infra*—to Greece?), briskly disposed of by Austin. Of Serv.Dan.’s alternatives, Minerva (or at least, in some sense, her power or embodiment) would be possible usage (cf. n. on 7.571, Pötscher, 99f., Pomathios, 352, Bailey, 61); for *numen* in the sense of ‘statue’ or ‘image’, Perret cites 4.204 *ante aras media inter numina diuum* and 6.68 *errantisque deos agitataque numina Troiae*, decisively enough; add Ov.F.2.279 *transtulit Euander siluestria numina secum.* Au. well notes the comparable use of *deus* of a statue in which a god dwells: see, in addition to Smith on Tib.2.5.22 (a fine n.), *OLD* s.v., §3, Liv.5.22.3 *amoliri tum deum dona ipsosque deos ...coepere*, Hor.C.2.18.27 *paternos in sinu ferens deos* (with NH), 3.23.15f. *paruos coronantem... / ...deos.* Indeed **deos** is surely used thus at 181. Though a *numen* is far less corporeal in Roman eyes than a *deus*, such a (clearly possible, though not common) sense would be most attractive here. After 171ff., it is much easier to think of the energetic Pallas as present in her statue, the Palladium. Cf. *EV* 3, 781 (slightly confused); the problem ignored by Bailey, Pötscher. The punctuation of 178–182 was once much contested. Deletions and transpositions have also been tried (vd. Kvičala, 13ff.). In short, ‘editors perplex the passage’ (Page, *optime, ut solet*). Of 179 (**quod...**), Au. writes ‘the line cannot be linked with 178’, not convincingly. The **quod** of 179 is best taken as a relative dependent on 178 **numen** and indic. **auexere** represents an explanation of fact offered by Sinon, to Calchas’ oracle. In 180, **quod** (if that is what V. wrote) is not relative, and the change of sense may have unnerved some readers. But I am not persuaded that any real difficulties of sense are present here and will try to take a reasonably uncomplicated view of these vv.

179 quod Vd. *supra*.

pelago et curuis...carinis P. abl. of extension; n. on 3.124 (and p, as I should have spelled out on 7.586, is in Pacuv., Acc., Cic.*Arat.*, Cat., Lucr., Hor.C.1: a synonym entirely at home in high poetry, as *EV* 4, 4ff. quite fails to explain); the curved hulls (vd. 23, 3.465 for **carina**. Hom. *νήεσσι κορωνίσι*) already at *G.1.360*; cf. Schwering, *TLL* 4.1550.36, Meister, *ib.3.458.33*. p. abl. of extension; we have thus a sort of syllepsis (vd indices 7, 11, s.v.) between the linked abls.

secum auexere At 1.512 V. pretty clearly wrote *penitusque alias auexerat oras* rather than *auerterat* (the capital mss. divide); note Cat.64.132f. ‘sicine me patriis auectam, perfide, ab aris,/ perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu?’; with *secum*, cf. Plaut. *Men.* 27, *Bacch.*574. See *EV* 5*, 470, Ihm, *TLL* 2.1303.73. Given **repetant** and **reducant**, and the strong sense of a quick trip home, Con.’s ‘from Greece to Troy, at the beginning of the expedition’ is little to his credit (so too Benoist); TCD 1.173.30ff. has no problems with terse but perspicuous geographical sequence of Sinon’s narrative. With this removal of Troy’s talismanic Minerva, which is no *evocatio* (cf. Basanoff (**165f.**), 43), compare the transfer of the gods of Veii (Liv.5.22.3), of Minerva Capta from Falerii (Ov.F.3.837ff., Wissowa, 253), and notably of Carthaginian Tanit in 145 (Serv. on 12.841, Wissowa, 374) to Rome; *evocatio*, it should be stressed, was not a merely scholarly and antiquarian rite but a procedure that the Rom. general in the field might use, Beard-North-Price 2, 248. What happened at Volsinii in 264BC is not clear (vd. now Hutchinson on Prop.4.2.3f.). We should clearly contrast the protective removal of the Penates from Troy (Horsfall (1989), 17, Faraone, 6).

180 et nunc Sinon emerges from the past: he is still within his exposition of Calchas’ bidding and its results (vd. the ring-composition of his name, **176**, **182**), but he now addresses explicitly the present (and future), as he affects to work out the passage of time and what is now likely to be happening.

quod Normally explained as ‘as to the fact that’, a common use in narrative, n. on 11.177, LHS, 572, Ernout-Thomas, 295, KS 2, 277f., Kroll, *Wiss.Synt*, 81f., C.F.W. Müller, *Synt. des Nom. u. Akk.* (Leipzig 1908), 74f. (and cf. Antoine, 50f.). But if the repetition of **quod** is different senses in successive verses be thought awkward (hardly to be justified as one of those cases of beloved elegant repetition with variation, n. on 7.554 *arma*), one might wonder whether V. actually wrote **qui**, here: just those sailors who ‘went back to Greece’ are now ‘returning to the Troad’.

patrias...Mycenas Cf. **95 patrios...Argos**; in 1.380 *Italianam quaero patriam*, 3.613 *sum patria ex Ithaca*, 10.351 *patria Ismara*, and 12.44 *patria Ardea*, *p.* is the noun. For use with proper nn. elsewhere, cf. Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.762.51ff. (post-V).

uento petiere Cf. 25.

181 arma deosque A handy pairing (cf. Liv.7.31.2, Tib.1.6.30, Ov. *Pont.*2.2.12). Reinforcements (non-Iliadic, Seymour, 627; note, though, Neoptolemus, Philoctetes), or just new supplies of weapons, as well as—in some sense (vd **178 omina ni repeatant**, *ad fin.*)—a renewal of divine favour.

parant comites **P.** as often, with predicate, Breimeier, *TLL* 10.1. 420.67ff. at 75. Compare **294 hos cape fatorum comites** (note Bannier, *TLL* 3.1775.28).

pelagoque remenso Repet. of **p.** so soon after **179** bothers V. not at all (n. on 7.554). **R.** depon. vb. used in pass. sense (cf. full n., 3.125), as at *Lucr.*2.516, *Aen.*3.143; see Flobert, 358. The phr. reminiscent of Hom. πέλαγος μέγα μετρήσαντες (*Od.*3.179; cf. 12.428).

182 improvisi aderunt Cf. n. on 7.506, **2.330 adsunt**. The Greeks are indeed on the point of returning; a terrible irony present in Sinon's words. Sinon, clearly is not revealing the Greeks' secrets; his intent is to induce the Trojans to carry the TH inside the walls, *sine mora*, under the threat of the fleet's return, not indeed from Tenedos, but from Greece (*aliter*, Manuwald (57–76), 200f.).

ita digerit omina Serv. comments *interpretatur numinis commotionem*. Serv.Dan. continues *uel futuri ordinem pandit, id est, oraculorum, uel ordinat et disponit*. Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.1118.7ff., like Au., seems to favour Serv.Dan.'s *first* explanation, though no other 'signs' of the future are present, other than that/those given by the Palladium, in the narrative nor is there any evident compulsion to supply them. At *Ov.Met.*12.21 Calchas *nouem uolucres in belli digerit annos*, which shows that Serv.Dan.'s *second* explanation is good Latin. At *Aen.*3.446 too, *d.* is clearly used in the sense of *ordinat et disponit*. See Vinchiesi, *EV*2, 714. But Oomes, *TLL* 9.2.576.38ff. well directs us back to **171 signa dedit Tritonia monstris**, decisively in favour of the very first explanation (Serv.). At this point in the text, our natural reaction here is indeed to think of Pallas' recent commotion.

Calchas Cf. **176**; discreet and orderly ring-composition.

183 hanc.../ 184 effigiem Nothing suggests that the TH is moved between **32** and **232**; here therefore the Trojans are still gathered around the TH on the shore, and Sinon gestures towards it. Paul.exc. Fest.p.71.20 sees the TH as an *effigies* of the horse sacrificed to Mars, unhelpfully: see **13–39**, §4. *Tacet EV*.

pro Palladio Not simply 'as a replacement for', but 'in compens-

ation for', *uel sim.*, as the parallel **pro numine laeso** requires (common: cf. Ramminger, *TLL* 10.2.1426. 42ff., citing (uncertain) *G.4.456 rapta...pro coniuge*); cf. Faraone, 111, n.58, wrestling with Au's n., Anderson, 20 ('an offering of atonement'). In Sinon's current story, the TH is presented as being talismanic, like the Palladium (cf. **13–39**, §1): this version (cf. Anderson, *cit.*) does not necessarily represent correctly the Greek leaders' intentions, but we see repeatedly that Sinon beguiles the Trojans with nuggets of familiar, accepted, 'correct' myth; we should not be *surprised* by a TH represented as talismanic, with which there is nothing that could be called wrong. Vd. Campbell, 124, (iii) for the independence of QS here.

moniti Given Calchas' presence in **182** and **185**, it is clear who advises, or warns, the Greeks (cf. 3.188, 684, *EV* 3, 562).

pro numine laeso Cf. 1.8 *numine laeso*, Hor. *Epd.* 15.3 *numen laesura deorum*, described by Watson there as 'a technical term for offending against the gods', oddly, given V.'s general avoidance of genuine techn. language, the exclusively poetic passages that W. cites in support, and the lack of other, 'non-technical' words that Rom. authors might use to describe the same act. The material collected by Hübner, *TLL* 7.2.868.72ff. does nothing to support the case for a 'technical' use.

184 statuere Cf. **150**.

nefas...triste The theft of the Palladium (reinforced as it now is in our minds by the rape of Cassandra). Cf. n. on 7.596 for **n.**; *triste* (*EV* s.v. poor) then used of *nefas* by Stat. (*Theb.* 9.887) and VF (1.747).

quae...piaret Rel. clause of purpose; Serv.Dan. *contaminati Palladii scilicet. piaret autem 'expiaret'*. The *simplex* far preferable to the compound in dactyl. verse, *TLL* 10. 1.2183.27f. (Sauer-Gaertner).

185 hanc...immensam...molem Cf. **32**, **150 molem hanc immanis equi**, Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.451.27, Lumpe, *ib.*, 8.1342.68, *EV* 2, 924. **I.** predicative, 'to raise huge', a sort of parallel to **186 caeloque educere**. The repet. after initial **hanc** in **183** 'non pulchre' according to Peerlkamp, but we see repeatedly that V.'s sense of the alleged awkwardness of initial (and other) repetition (q.v. in indices) was far less over-developed than our own; at times, even, the effect of such repetition seems to have been positively welcome and sought out, as at *G.2.532f.*, *Aen.7.473f.* (for more obviously studied exx., cf. Willis, index s.v. anaphora, line-initial). Cf. **14–6**, for V.'s repeated concern to represent at least touches of the Greeks' point of view, *Companion*, 110.

tamen V. rather stretches the language: clearly the force of **tamen** cannot be taken as applying to either **attollere** or to **iussit**. Rather, **tamen** limits **hanc...immensam** but the sense of that limitation does not clearly emerge until the paratactic explanation finishes at **188**. Gk. would write, effortlessly, γ' ὥστε after the adj..

Calchas.../ 186 ...iussit Vd. n. on **100**, QS 12.377.

attollere Cf. 3.134 *arcemque attollere tectis*, 11.130 *fatalis murorum attollere moles* (with n.), Münscher, *TLL* 2.1150.44f..

186 roboribus textis Vd. n. on **112 contextus**; cf. **230, 260** for *robur* as one of the woods (vd. **16**) of the TH. Cf. G. Maggiulli, *EV4*, 513 and in *Atti conv.bimill.Georg.Napoli 1975* (Napoli 1977), 421–9.: ‘oak’, though *r.* is hardly a specific, botanical Latin name for the tree.

caeloque educere Cf. **460f. sub astra/ eductam**, Hey, *TLL* 5.2.121.73f.. A dative of goal, Antoine, 150 (cf. 3.178, 11.192, etc.); for the hyperbole, cf. nn. on 3.678, 11.192; note also nn. on 3.422 for *auras*, 423 for *sidera*, 3.462, 572 for *ad aethera* and Hardie, *CI*, 291f. for the Hom. background; wisely, he does not essay a survey of the great mass of Virgilian vertical-axis hyperbole.

187 ne recipi portis, *Bell.Afr.*82.1, *Caes.Civ.*3.76.2. *Liv.*10.29.15, 25. 30.8, *Front.Strat.*3.2.7, 16.5, Buchwald, *TLL* 10.2.8.77ff.: standard in narrative prose (*accipere* also used) and note also e.g. *Liv.*32.18.9 *recepturi moenibus*.

aut duci in moenia posset P, TCD; **possit** FM, Priscian, *Gramm.Lat.*3.96.1, Serv. Dan.; c.9 mss divided. The pres. by simple error (after **iussit**) or because **iussit** was taken to be a true perfect (which, clearly, it is not). Probably defensible as representing Calchas’ actual thought (Handford, 156, LHS, 551, Bennett, 1, 341, KS 2, 179), not least if the force of the order were thought to extend into the pres., but it would then be very hard to account for the reading **posset**. Impf. preferable, by *utrum in alterum*. Cf. **33** and *sub/ad/per moenia ducere* in V. (for *ducere in m.* later, cf. Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1331.58 and see too Hey, *ib.*5.1.2148. 47f.). So the Trojans who have been wondering at the vast size of the TH from the very first (**32**) at last have their (profoundly misleading) answer: the size is perfectly deliberate, to make sure the Trojans cannot carry this vast reparatory talisman within the walls of their city, where its very presence would protect them and not the Greeks. Serv. well refers forward to this v. at **150**, Priam’s question about the size of the TH; here, Serv. Dan. remarks on how, with one breath,

Sinon explains both that the TH is too big to be carried into the city, and that it is essential for the Trojans to do so.

188 neu After **ne...aut...**; Vollmer, *TLL* 2.1567.68ff. compares Cat. 26.1 *non... nec... aut*, *Lucr.* 2.693 *non...aut*, *G.* 1.126 *ne...aut*, 2.300 *neue...aut*, *Aen.* 3.43 *non...aut*, 4. 529f. *non...neque...aut*, 8.206 *nequid...aut*, 10.581 *non...nec...aut*, 12.135 *neque...nec ...aut*. The exact sequence, as here, occurs again at *Colum.* 10.320ff. (courtesy of PHI).

populum...tueri Not particularly common phrasing: cf. *Cic. Sest.* 12 *senatum populumque Romanum sine militum praesidio tueri*, *Vitr.* 2.pr.3 *populumque sine copia tueri*. **P.** used is a wide and vague sense, ‘nation’, as it might be; cf. 7.80, 693, etc., *EV* s.v., *ad init.*

antiqua sub religione A felicitous, sonorous expression, employed at *Ov. F.* 3.264; then *Plin. Nat.* 16.242, *Tac. Germ.* 43; see Bannier, *TLL* 2.180.80f. Sinon’s line of argument has preserved a certain seductive logic: the TH is coherently presented as a counter-talisman, and once within the walls of Troy, on Sinon’s argument, it could be thought to offer the sort of protection that the Trojans have enjoyed from their revered but evidently inconstant Palladium: so, acutely, *tutelam colenti populo praestare* *Serv. Dan* and *fauore pristino* *Serv.*; *ad uestrum auxilium redditurum* *TCD*. Montanari (*EV* 4, 425) thinks of the veneration of a deity in some way acquired by *evocatio* and Bailey first suggests ‘rite’, unhappily, but adds, better, ‘the sense of... the protection of a god’; awe-inspiring (8.349) Pallas is supposed to protect the Trojans who venerate her, with awe (cf. nn. on 7.172, 608).

189 nam si...uiolasset Sin (192) marks the opposition of **189–191** to **192–4**; in both cases, one line of hypothetical act and two of consequences, with balance between both protases and apodoses. If the Trojans take the TH into the city great victories will follow, whereas if they harm it, disaster for the city will ensue (*et minatur occulte, ne quis equum tentare audiat* *Serv.*). Exactly what you would expect of a major tutelary image, which, as we all know, some of the Trojans have wanted to destroy (36–8), and Laocoön at least has attempted, ineffectually, to damage. *Serv.* comments *quia occurrebat exurendum esse equum, si intro ferri uel prodesse non poterat*; in the light of **37 subiectis urere flammis**, very reasonably. Au. is worried lest the Trojans are reduced to trimming bits off the TH to get it into the city. Not an issue actively present here. The plpf. subj. represents the fut.perf. of direct speech (cf. **94, 136**). At 4.27, *Serv. Dan.* comments on the appropriateness of *uiolare* to *pudor*.

quia pudor sacrosancte custodiendus est (cf. Serv. on 11.255 *nam uiolare de religionibus dicimus* and Serv.Dan. on 11.591; also my nn. on those vv. as well as on 11.277): here, therefore, the vb. well suited to the talismanic sacrality (whether alleged, authentic, or ambiguous) of the TH. Cf. *EV* 5*, 569.

uestra manus In theory, ‘your band’ might be possible (as 6.5), but hardly appropriate to Priam and his following and far less suitable than ‘hand’ as the subj. of *uiolasset*. Not to mention **manibus uestris** in the related 192. S.v. ‘Hand’, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.346.42f.. Note sing. *manus*, of many hands, qualified by *uestra* which guarantees the ‘plurality’ of the distributive, or collective sing. Cf. Liv.8.13.14 *sit Latium an non sit, in uestra manu posuerint*, Sen.*Phoen.*454 and add e.g. [Sen.]*Herc.Oet.*435 *dum feruet manus*; for *pes*, cf. Holmes, *TLL* 10.1.1895.28ff., for *oculus*, Kuhlmann, *ib.*9.2.442. 14ff. See Bell, 188f., KS 1, 70 (well quoting Enn.’s *quatit ungula campum*), Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen* 1, 92, Egil Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 875f. (noting *Buc.*7.32 *suras euincta cothurno*).

dona Mineruae Cf. n. on 31.

190 tum ‘In that case’, to introduce the apodosis. Cf. *G.*1.454f., 3.504f., *OLD* s.v., §5. The only instance in V. of three consecutive words ending in *-um*, without interposed punctuation (with **ipsum**, **futurum** to follow shortly); the dull, even menacing effect hardly mitigated by the one synaloepha.

magnus exitium.../ 191 ...futurum Cf. 10.13 *exitium magnum* (Harrison compares Hor.C.1.15.21), Bulhart, *TLL* 8.128.82f., Leumann, *ib.* 5.2.1530.64. So already of Paris, Plaut.*Bacch.*947 *qui erit exitio rei patriae suae*, not to mention 953 the *tria fata* which *illi*[to Troy]*forent exitio*, Enn.*trag.*61 *exitium Troiae, pestem Pergamo* (e. *quater* in Enn.*trag.* ; *semel* Pacuv., *semel* *trag.*inc.). See further n. on 7.129; *tacet EV*. Loosely dependent still on **iussit** (implying speech).

quod di prius omen.../ 191 conuertant O. here ignored by Bailey, 14ff., Beringer, 99ff., *EV* 3, 840f.; Oomes, *TLL* 9.2.575.51 quotes, *in formulis prohibentium* Serenus Sammonicus *Med.*947f. on fractures and dislocations *infandum dictu cunctis procul absit amicis/ sed fortuna potens omen conuertat in hostes*. *O.* is often thus applied to the words of a prediction[or indeed any chance remark], *OLD* s.v., §2a, Oomes, *cit.*, 575.31ff., 12.72f. *neue omine tanto/ prosequere*, and the famous Cic.*Div.*2.84 on Caunean figs. Compare **131 conuersa tulere**, Jacobsohn, *TLL* 4.862.62; Sinon’s words here are immediately recognisable to a Roman as a formula of *epipompe* (cf. J.N. Bremmer on Cat.63.92f., in *Catullus’*

poem on Attis ed. R.R. Nauta and A. Harder (Leiden 2005), 57, with ample bibl., n.163, and A. Harder, *ib.*, 77 with n.19), a request that the evil passes elsewhere (cf. indeed Serenus Sammonicus, just cited); Knauer's reference to *Il.7.390* ως πρὶν ὄφελλ' ἀπολέσθαι (of Paris) is thus hard to accept.

in ipsum Serv.Dan.warmly applauds this parenthesis; Sinon, enthusiastically Trojan now in his point of view, *nomen etiam Graecorum exsecretur* and threatens even Calchas (**ipsum**, as Serv.Dan. explains).

191 Priami imperio Phrygibusque Cf. 344 **Priamo Phrygibusque**. An ample, alliterative, magniloquent expression, well suited to the old king's ears; we may think back to 56 **Priamique arx alta maneres**. Prinz recalls the **imperium** of 352, *TLL* 7.1. 580. 60f.; note too the **regna** of 22, Pomathios, 35.

192 sin We pass to the second part of Sinon's elaborately structured alternatives (189); very near the end of his fourth speech, Sinon finally slips in the crucial hint, that the Trojans should themselves carry the TH, as though a real replacement talisman, within their walls. See n. on 11.324.

manibus uestris After 189, these are unchallengeably manual; cf. 11.311. The polyptoton of adjacent pronom. adjectives (cf. Wills, 241; 703 a little less thunderous), at caesura (with chiasmus over the verse), draws our attention to the crucial point, that Troy will perish by the Trojans' own hands, all thanks to Sinon.

uestram...in urbem Not theirs for much longer; 1.573 (no less powerful, *urbem quam statuo, uesta est*) is the nearest we get to another instance of the expression in V..

ascendisset The plpf. exactly parallel to that of 189; cf. 41 **summa ...ab arce** for V.'s sense of the acropolis of Troy.

193 ultro Cf. 145, Wagner, *QV* xvii, §2 and (Henry) Liv.3.8.3 *iam satis ualida ciuitate ut non solum arcere bellum sed ultro etiam inferre posset*; V. will return to the motif of the Trojans attempting the conquest of Greece, 11.286f. *ultro Inachias uenisset ad urbes/ Dardanus et uersis lugeret Graecia fatis*, with n.. The relevance of Rome's eventual conquest of Greece, sometimes cited here (cf. Glei, 135, Block, 272f., Feeney, 143, as a confirmation of 1. 283–5; cf. 6.836–40), is perhaps a little problematic, for the result, a direct equivalence between historical Rome and mythol. *Asiam* would hardly be welcome or timely; vd. A.S. Hollis, *ZPE* 130(2000),

15, not convincingly, against Au.. Livy's fantasy of Alexander invading Italy (9.17.1ff.; vd. Oakley *ad loc.*) is equally unlikely to be germane; V. here simply imagines the Trojans not merely winning at Troy, but then taking the initiative and attacking Greece. And in a sense that is what the 'Phrygian' Aeneas will actually do, within the text of the poem, as destined invader, and on Italian soil, defeating the 'Argive' Turnus (for this theme, within *Aen.*, cf. *Companion* 160, 165, 188, 191, nn. on 7.362, 11.403).

Asiam Cf. n. on 3.1 *postquam res Asiae...* for V's *Asia* in the limited Homeric sense, and on 7.224 *Europae atque Asiae fatis concurrerit orbis* for the 'continental' use. Here, only the former is actively in play.

magn...bello Cf. 7.80 (with full n.), 11.295. πόλεμος μέγας at Choerilus *Persica* fr.1.2Bernabé, *Suppl.Hell.*316.2 (so Hollis); once V. embarks on the language of great struggles between the continents, an ample nexus of possible sources and associations is disclosed, though it should not be supposed that all of them are equally relevant.

Pelopea ad moenia M. with adj. (often allusive, as here or personal, not geogr.) a welcome, exalted way of giving a city's name; Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1329.13ff., citing examples from Lucr., Cat., Hor.*Epd.*, *Carm.Bell.Act.*. P. grandfather of Agam. and Men. (cf. Frazer on [*Apld.*] *Epit.*2.10); the adj. clearly covers Argos and Mycenae; it is found first here, then Prop.3.19.20, 4.6.33: compare *Achilleus*, *Pallanteus*, *Anchiseus*, etc., n. on 3.326, Austin on 4.6, Williams on 5.761, Bednara (*infra*), 583 for this treatment of Gk. -ειος. *Pelopeius* (with the e long) also occurs (cf. AR 1.758, 2.790, Ov.*Her.*8.27, etc.; see also SByz.p.516.11f.). Vd. still E. Bednara, *ALL* 14(1906), 353ff., 578ff. for the whole phenomenon of such alternative forms and the factor of metrical convenience.

194 uenturam Cf. Liv.3.67.1, Ov.*Met.*14.458, Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1331.41f.

et nostros... manere nepotes Cf. 3.505 *maneat nos tristis ea cura nepotes*, with n., n. on 3.409 *hac casti maneant in religione nepotes* for the act. and pass. sense of *manere* is such phrases and for V's partiality for *nepotes* (with n. on 7.99). In the first of those notes, I argue against the presence here of any material useful for a discussion of priority (on which vd. *Aen.*3, xxxvi^r). Hollis' claim that **nepotes** is a solemn word which suggests seriously that the prophecy will be fulfilled, hardly squares with the tenor of Sinon's speech thus far; **nepotes**, equally, rules out the Persian invasion of Greece, *pace* Hollis.

ea fata 'Destiny of the individual'; cf. Bailey, 209, Pötscher, 38f., Pomathios, 335.

195–8 ‘Egregium epiphonema inclusum sententia aliqua in primis ad miseracionem aptum’, Heyne; ‘in his quoque sobrietatem Vergilii admiror’, Peerlkamp; V. harks back to the epiphonema of **54–6**, after Laoc.’s vain spear-cast. Fraenkel (*Horace*, 50, n.3) identified a traditional rhetorical pattern here; affinities with the Priamel-form are clear (‘Troy did not lose to A, B, or C. It was D that destroyed her’; cf. further **601ff.**, 12.895). In particular, those who have written on Hor.*Epd*.16 suspect an old hist. or rhet. antecedent (vd. e.g. Romano’s intro.). Even, as it might be, perhaps, cf. Ennius on the fall of Alba, though the missing antecedent could just as well be Greek. Note (and both TCD and Serv. well understand the movement of thought here) the elaborate rhetoric of explanations of defeat (H. Bruckmann, *Röm. Niederrägen*, Bochum 1936, *bene*): in particular, cf. n. on 11.515 for the use of trickery in such explanations. Compare *Rhet.Her*.4.66 [Roma speaking] *ego illa plurimis tropaeis ornata, triumphis ditata certissimis, clarissimis locupletata uictoriis, nunc uestris seditionibus, o ciues, uxor; quam dolis malitiosa Karthago, uiribus probata Numantia, disciplinis erudita Corinthus labefactare non potuit, eam patimini nunc ab homunculis deterrumis proteri atque conculcari?*, Hor.*Epd*.16.3ff. *quam neque finitimi ualuerunt perdere Marsi...[9] inpia perdemus deuoti sanguinis aetas/ ferisque rursus occupabitur solum*, Liv.5.22.8 *hic Veiorum occasus fuit, urbis opulentissimae Etrusci nominis, magnitudinem suam uel ultima clade indicantis, quod decem aestates hiemesque continuas circumessa cum plus aliquanto cladium intulisset quam accepisset, postremo iam fato quoque urgente, operibus tamen, non ui expugnata est*, Ov.*Her*.9.25f. *quem non mille ferae, quem non Stheneleius hostis,/ non potuit Iuno uincere, uincit amor*, Sen.*Ag*.614–26, notably, 625f. *restitit annis Troia bis quinis/ unius noctis peritura furto*, Luc.6.140ff. *quem non mille simul turmis nec Caesare toto/ auferret Fortuna locum uictoribus unus/ eripuit uetuitque capi*, Tac.*Hist*.3.72.1 *sedem Iouis Optimus Maximi auspicio a maioribus pignus imperii conditam, quam non Porsenna dedita urbe neque Galli capti temerare potuissent, furore principum excindi*.

195 talibus insidiis Cf. **36, 65** for **i.** and the Virgilian lexicon of deceit. Cf. 1.503, 3.172, 7.284, 555 for *talis* used thus resumptively, but not of a speech; compare use taking up the narrative after a simile.

periurique...Sinonis Elsewhere in V. of Laomedon (G.1.502, etc.). TCD (on **65**) *mendacem, periurum, sacrilegum*, Wenaweser, *TLL* 10.1. 1509.33ff.. Note V.’s insistence on the sacrality of the oath, **154, 157f., 160**; Sinon does not of course limit himself to mere perjury (cf. *EV* 4, 29f.).

arte Cf. **106, 152.**

196 credita res Laurenti (*EV* 4, 446) compares use of *res* at 3.179 *rem...ordine pando* (where vd. my n.), 287 *rem carmine signo*. *Credere* thus used transitively very common; the pass., as Speranza explains, of *c.* used in the transitive sense of ‘believe true’ (*OLD* s.v., §5a). See Lambertz, *TLL* 4.1142.20ff. at 36f., comparing *Buc.*10.46 *nec sit mihi credere tantum*.

captique Cf. 1.673 *capere...dolis*, 4.330, Hey, *TLL* 3.336.79. Used almost as though simplex for compos. *decipere*, but ‘deceive’ is such a common sense for *capere* in all genres (Hey, 336. 53ff., *OLD* s.v., §20a) as to make *simplex pro comp.* here most unlikely.

dolis Cf. 34, 44, 62, 152.

lacrimisque coactis The tears of 145. Serv.Dan. glosses *expressis*, comparing Ter.*Eun.*67f.; vd. too Ov. *Met.*6.628 *inuitique oculi lacrimis maduere coactis*, Juv.13.133 *umore coacto*, and McKeown’s ample note on Ov.*Am.*1.8.83, Lobe, 40, Hey, *TLL* 3.1533.19ff., *EV* 1, 56. The marked allit. of *c* perhaps expressive of anger.

197 quos.../ 198 ...domuere Cf. G.3.30 *urbes Asiae domitas*, *EV* 2, 124.

neque...nec/ 198 non...non Cf. 521f. **non...nec...non**, G.2.136ff. *neque...nec...non... neque*, 293 *non...non...neque*,

Tyrides The familiar thunder of heroic names. Here vd. 164 and note Wiltshire, 101, arguing for V.’s general preference for Diom. over Achilles.

Larisaeus Achilles Cf. 29: about him Dido had longed to hear, 1.752 *nunc quantus Achilles*. See *EV* 1, 24f.. The epithet post-Homeric: for V., probably from Cat. (*infra*), but not (merely) ‘Thessalian’ (Au.): even if we do not have topogr. certainty here, a greater degree of (at least, bookish) precision and erudition is often to be sought in V.’s geography. See Cat.64.36 *moenia Larisaea*, Hor.C.1.7.11 *Larisae...campus* (with Marasco, *Enc.Oraz.*1, 490): this L. (a very common and widely diffused name) was a leading city of Thessalian Pelasgiots, still Larissa and still important. Distinguish Larisa Kremaste (so-called, e.g. Strab.9.5.13 *ad fin.*; also named *ib.* is Larisa Pelasgia), on the SE face of Mt.Othrys facing the furthest NW end of Euboea (for both, see Barrington, map 55, C1 and 55, D3 or 57, A3; see too directory, ss.vv.). The connexion (of either, but it is the second Larisa (Kremaste) that actually seems to supply the link) with Achilles is more difficult: cf. on **7 Myrmidonum** for the Spercheius valley and more generally Thomas and Stubbings (6f.), 296f., Lazenby and Hope Simpson *Hom.Cat.Ships*, 128f., Page, *Hist.Hom.II.*, 126, Kirk on *Il.*2.683f. for Ach.’s domain in *Il.* The discus-

sions of Pelasgic Argos (*Il.2.681*; Achilles' followers) in Strab.9.5.13, 14, and of Alope (*Il.2.682*; likewise Achilles') at SByz.p.77.8ff. both involve Larissa Kremaste, just as that of Polyboetes' Argissa (*Il.2.738*) involves the greater Larissa (Strab.9.5.19, Stählin, PW 12.846.50ff.), so, not least if there was some homogenisation of the two Larisae among Roman readers less closely acquainted with Thessalian toponymy, it is easy to see (so already Schmitz, in Smith, *Dict. Geogr.* 2, 127) how the notion of an originally quite learned link between Achilles and Larissa might have taken root. The author of 11.404 (not Virgil) had this v. in mind (vd. n.).

198 anni...decem Cf. 8.399, 9.155, 11.290, Zorzetti, *EV* 3, 784, after *Il.2.134*, 329, *Cypria*, Proclus, p.32.45f. Davies (the years linked to Calchas' interpretation of the portent of the sparrow chicks and the serpent in the plane tree during the Greeks' first muster at Aulis, Buffière, *Mythes d'Homère*, 52ff., Robert, 1092, Gruppe, 668, n.5, Vellay, 459, n.1, Gantz 2, 576f., West on Hes. *Theog.* 636, C.S. Kraus, *TAPA* 124 (1994), 271, Knauer, 77, n.3 on Herder's perception of the importance of *Il.2.308ff.* for *Aen.* 2. 199ff.; for Cic.'s version, cf. 51), Aesch. *Ag.* 40, [Apld.] *Epit.* 3.15, Plaut. *Bacch.* 928, Sen. *Ag.* 625 *restiit annis Troia bis quinis*, Petron. 89.1. Whence the ten years of Livy's siege of Veii, 5.22.8 with Ogilvie, 629, 670.

mille carinae C.: cf. 23, 179. On the various forms of the total number of ships (cf. too 331, 9.148 *mille carinis*, Zorzetti, *EV* 3, 786) that went to Troy, cf. Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 45, the 'exact' total being apparently 1186 (that claimed to be given at Hyg. *Fab.* 97.15 is (Marshall) 'manifeste corrupta'), while Thuc. 1.10.4 offers 1200 and apparently everyone else is happy with a round thousand (e.g. Plaut. *Bacch.*, cit., Petr. 89. 11), except for [Apld.] *Epit.* 3.14, who adopts 1013. These thousand ships cited as a typical round number, Varr. *RR* 2.1.26. For Lucian *Merc. Cond.* 11, vd. Au..

199–233 Death of Laocoön

Further to the bibliography offered at 40–56, vd. Austin 1959, 20f., J.J. Bodoh, *Ant. Class.* 56(1987), 269–74, Campbell, 136f., 176f., M. Fernandelli, *Orpheus* 18(1997), 141–56, Funaioli, 175–92, 223–7, Gärtner, 205–18, E.L. Harrison, *Eranos* 77 (1970), 51f., id, *Phoen.* 24(1979), 325–8 = ('substantially revised') *ORVA*, 51–4, B.W.M. Knox, *AJP* 71(1950), 379–400 at 381–4 (the reprint, shorn of notes, not here cited), W. Pietsch, *Anregung* 26(1980), 158–75, Putnam, 23–5 *et passim*,

J. Rüpke, *Eranos* 92(1994), 126–8, M. Salanitro, *MDAI(R)* 102(1995), 291–4, Smith (57–76), 514f., S.V. Tracy, *AJP* 108(1987), 451–4, Williams, *TI*, 258, Zintzen, 55–63, *et passim*. Here, further to the discussion at 40–56 of the wider issues which V.’s figure of Laoc. raises, are offered (1) a brief account of the stylistic and literary character of these vv. and (2) a discussion of the points of view present, and of Laoc.’s consequent ‘guilt’, or otherwise.

(1) Rarely in *Aen.* is a substantial, key passage given such a distinctive colouring: as Kleinknecht definitively explained, that of a Roman portent; my account of the stylistic features involved differs in several details from K.’s, but although more stringent criteria of what constitutes technical language are here applied, my discussion merely amplifies K.’s detail, over a reduced list of instances, and confirms his conclusions. Nor just ‘any’ portent, but, distinctively *the* portent indicating that Troy will fall; for portents indicating the imminent fall of cities, cf. Kleinknecht, 449–61, citing e.g. Liv.5.15 and Val.Max.1.6.3 (Veii), Liv.5.32.7 and Cic.*Div.*1.101 (Gallic sack of Rome), Tac.*Hist.*5. 13 (Jerusalem). Not only a portent: V.’s account also invites us to read the serpents’ advance on Laoc. as a close prefiguring of the Greeks’ advance upon Troy (206). It will furthermore emerge that V. has had in mind the Homeric portent of the serpent at Aulis (cf. 198, 206f., 215) and seems to have read widely and with some glee in ancient herpetological fantasy (206). Austin (p.95) did well to draw attention to the affinity of these vv. with some of the great tragic narratives, such as Soph.’s of the blinding of Oedipus; we should also keep in mind the description’s affinity with some of V.’s other major mythological ecphraseis (206). V. is at pains not to narrate the actual deaths of Laoc. and his sons (223–4); this delicacy is compounded by the use (*ib.*) of an exceptional short simile drawn from Roman sacrificial usage (the bull’s escape itself a regular portent, just like the death-scene which it illuminates) and therefore is essentially bound to Laoc.’s own sacrifice at 201–2. The narrative itself eschews high stylistic elaboration, grand, archaic (and indeed distinctively tragic) lexicon, and concentrates rather upon elaborate use of patterns of alliteration, sustained, high pathos and marked frequency of run-on lines, suggesting the serpents’ fatal, inexorable advance. Laoc. fails to protect his sons, as Priam fails to avenge Polites and as Aeneas fails to carry Creusa safe out of Troy; some bond exists between the three passages (cf. Harries (401), 138).

(2) Much modern discussion of *Aen.* has turned upon ‘guilty or innocent’ debates:

The tension of the courtroom fires discussion but oversimplifies conclusions. My preference for the hung verdict (or for Scots ‘not proven’) has strengthened over the years (cf. *Companion*, 156, 200, notes on *Aen.* 7.38, 11.586, 842). Here then, with ‘Minerva has clearly punished Laocoön for desecrating the horse with whose creation she was closely associated’ (Harrison, 52, cf. Funaioli 178, Koster, 49, Block, 278); contrast ‘Laokoón ist im Gegensatz zu griechischen Darstellungen völlig unschuldig bei Vergil gezeigt’ (Zintzen, 13; cf. *ib.* 11ff., 56ff., E. Simon, *EV* 3, 114, Heinze 15ff., Glei, 135, Kleinknecht, 462f.). Paratore, 408 claimed 225–7 as decisive: the serpents take refuge under Pallas’ statue. Certainly that confirms, for the Trojans, that it was she who had sent them (cf. Austin on 226), but the narrative has established, for us, no causal link between Laoc.’s spear-cast and his death; rather, such hints at a link as there are (228–31) are cast in such a way to lead us to shed deepest doubt on them. Nowhere is the careful reader encouraged to believe in a vengeful Pallas or a guilty Laocoön; in reading V., simple answers are usually wrong. And if Laoc.’s death is at the last unexplained, then his poor sons’ is yet more so (cf. Koster, 49). Slowly a more nuanced view of the voices present in the narrative is coming to be heard (Adler, 262, Mazzochini, 241, n.50, Tracy, 451, Block, 276ff., Krafft, 54f.): we distinguish at least between the views of the Trojan crowd and those of the narrator, between information offered by Sinon (by no means all of it false; even the informed reader knows that he is right about the Palladium, some of the time) and by the narrator, between our heads, which register that Sinon’s detail is usually false and deceitful, and our hearts, which are often almost persuaded, like the Trojans’, between the gods as viewed by the crowd and by Sinon, and as a Roman reader might. The obscurities of 54 **mens...laeua** are alone enough to discourage us from any simple apportioning of blame or guilt. Krafft, 54 is right to spell out that the interaction of the Trojans’ ignorance or belief in Sinon’s deceit with our own ‘omniscience’ constitutes deep tragic irony. The Trojans did not know that Laoc. had to die to serve as a portent for the fall of Troy. If Laoc. is not guilty of an outrage to the TH (and on any straightforward reading he is not), then why was he killed? As Adler remarks, *Aen.* offers no obvious answer. Cf. further nn. on 199, 226, 229.

199 hic Temporal, as often, n. on 7.141, Tietze, *TLL* 6.3.2770.84ff. at 2771.6ff.. After the epiphonema, two lines of ‘flourish’ (as of trumpets),

to bind the TH to Laoc. in intensifying sequence, and to raise the tension for Laoc.'s re-entrance.

aliud After Sinon's account of the Palladium's reaction to being transported outside the city (173–5); his hearers are hardly quite certain about the meaning for themselves of such signs of divine displeasure manifested to the Greeks; they have only now been told (deceitfully, of course) of the intimate causal link between Palladium, TH and the future of their own city and only now do they have to face at least the likelihood of the city's fall, according to Sinon, if the TH is not 'properly treated'; the greater horror lies not only (in the immediate present) in the means of Laoc.'s end but (Pascoli) also in the (fractionally less imminent) breach in the walls of Troy that results from the Trojans' mistaken inference from Laoc.'s death. This is an old type of transition-formula: edd. cite Eur.*Phoen.*1427 ἄκουε δή ννυ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τούτοις κακά (cf. too *ib.* 1347, Aesch.*Pers.*237, QS 12.447 κύντερον ἄλλο, where vd. Campbell for antecedents in AR, Denniston, *Particles*, 293; cf. too *Od.4.* 698, the suitors are plotting something πολὺ μεῖζόν τε καὶ ἀργαλεώτερον); in Lat., 12.244 (*infra*), Liv.7.35.10, Sen. *Ag.*528 (with Tarrant's good n.), Petr. 89.29 and 119.13. The lack of specificity in the neut. adj. (contrast *signum*, 12.245) adds to the horror of the moment.

mai⁹us...multoque trem⁹nd⁹m / 200 ...magis V. will return to the terminology at 12.244ff. *his aliud maius Iuturna adiungit et alto/ dat signum caelo, quo non praesentius ullum/ turbauit mentes Italas*; cf. Kleinknecht, 447, n.27, O'Hara, *DOP*, 85, n.53. Unsurprisingly, *mai⁹us* is used elsewhere in the *Steigerung* of portents (Bulhart, *TLL* 8.137.72ff., excerpted by Au.; note too, though, Hor.*C.4.4.63f.* *monstrumue ...mai⁹us*, 138.59ff.). Natural, standard Latin, and not here claimed as a piece of technical portent-language. The very marked allit. not at all to Serv.'s taste; he refers repeatedly to the change of taste between V.'s day and his own (Cordier, *Allitération*, 34, n.2, *EV* 1, 113). **Multo magis ter** in Lucr. and not elsewhere in V. (Bulhart, *cit.*, 69.80ff.); occasional in Livy (e.g. 3.49.8), but not welcomed into high poetry elsewhere. Here, enclosing the whole expression, **T.** only *ter* in V. (also the *monita* of Carmentis, *Aen.*8.335 and the king of Hades, *G.4.469*; all 'con riferimento sacrale' for Traina, *EV* 5*, 262, not decisively; *tacet* Cordier). Pretty clearly a Virgilian coinage, as *ter* in Hor.*C.4* helps confirm (also 1.16.11, prob. after *G.4*).

miseris V. enjoys (cf. 70, 140) this use of oblique cases of *miser* as a neat means of extending the range of authorial sympathy.

200 obicitur Standard Latin, ‘place in the way of’ (cf. 8.145, 12.377), often with a sense of obstacle or peril, Lumpe, *TLL* 9.2.55.11ff., Salemme, *EV* 3, 803f., *OLD* s.v., §6. Here compare 5.522f. *hic oculis subitum obicitur magnoque futurum/ augurio monstrum*, but this is not (Lumpe, 55.40) technical language. We might, though wish also to compare technical *obicere religionem* (in the sense of ‘scruple’, Lumpe, 57.24ff.). Given the portentous character of what follows and the recently-established talismanic resonances of the TH (cf. 188), we might expect some such associations to be present in the language used.

atque...turbat Cf. 12.246, *supra*. Cf. Kleinknecht, 431 (with 447, n.27; followed by Au.) on *turbare* as a ‘technical term’ of prodigy-descriptions. K. cites Liv.27.37.5, Ov.Met.11.411, Tac.*Hist.*1.18, and might usefully have added Liv.7.26.5 *donec territum prodigii talis uisu oculisque simul ac mente turbatum* Valerius *obtruncat* and Suet.*Nero* 19.1: *sed Alexandrina [peregrinatione] ipso profectionis die destitit turbatus religione simul ac periculo. nam...*; no sign, though, that this use is evidently formalised or formulaic, rather than, simply, the natural application of a common Lat. word, used equally by Lucr.3.38 (e.g.) of the effect of religion on the mind (cf. P. Hardie, *CQ* 34(1984),408). *Tacet* Oakley on Liv.7 *cit.*; a careful hunt for further relevant passages before/unaffected by Virgil failed, and Priam *conturbatus* by Hecuba’s dream, Cic.*Div.*1.42, is not strictly germane. See too Strati, *EV* 5*, 318. The TH will be baptised as portent (245); for now, it is becoming portentous by hint and association.

improuida pectora **P** as the seat of both feelings and mental activities (Negri, 207, comparing *Buc.*1.63; such refinements alien to *TLL* s.v.). **I.**: cf. O. Prinz, *TLL* 7.1. 699.18ff., Cic.*Lig.*17 *fatalis quaedam calamitas incidisse uidetur et improuidas hominum mentis occupauisse*, Liv.2.50.6 5.45.3, but, most important, *bis* in Lucr., of *puerorum aetas*. Prolepsis after **turbat** has been suspected, unnecessarily: no-one expected Laoc.’s horrible death right then, and, coming right then, its very unexpectedness deluded the Trojans into believing him punished for his impiety, with terrible and unforeseen consequences; a (further) reference to the Trojans’ lack of awareness of Greek deceit, seen by some edd., seems a little unlikely.

201 Laocoön Sinon is closed off with an epiphonema (cf. too 154–94, 191, 194–8), and at last Laoc. returns centre stage, with the TH rescued from Laoc.’s assault, and now once more focus of the Trojans’ attention and transformed by Sinon into the talisman of their survival.

Au. is exercised by the question of what he may be thought to have been doing in the meantime, but V. hardly invites us to raise the issue; Laoc. reappears as he had disappeared; the educated reader naturally expected him to return to the narrative, to die.

ductus...sorte sacerdos The constr. originally *sortem ducere*, as in Cic.*Div.*1.34, 2.86; so too *Aen.*6.22 *ductis sortibus*. Usage was varied and extended, *sorte ductus* Cic.*Rep.*1.51, *Div.*1.34 (again), Sall.*Hist.*4.fr.22 *sorte ductos fusti necat* (cited by Serv. here), echoed by Tac.3.21 (where vd. Woodman and Martin), and possibly formulaic in decimation. Note too *sorte lectus* Liv.2.59.11. Cf. J.H. Schmalz, *ALL* 9(1896), 578, Hey, *TLL* 5.1.2147.83ff.. For the use of sortition in the appointment of priests, cf. DS 4.2.1409 (Lécrivain), J.W. Headlam, *Election by lot at Athens* (Cambridge 1933), 5, 171, J. Martha, *Les sacerdotes athéniennes (BEFAR* 26, 1882), 29–35, Ziehen, PW 8.2.1416.40ff., Burkert, *Gk.Rel.*, 96. Lehr, 85 realises that a Roman explanation for **sorte** is not easily to be found. Cf. n. on 7.750 for epic priest-princes.

Neptuno Cf. 40–56, §1 for Laoc. as priest of Neptune, possibly from Soph. or even Euphorion. Learned and pleasantly challenging, but not disquietingly unorthodox. There is no difficulty in his being associated also with a priesthood of Apollo (*ib.*). Not mentioned on Laoc.’s first appearance; then he acted as a prince, but now his priesthood is significant and fatal. **Neptuni P**, unattractively *facilior*; N. was evidently the beneficiary of the sortition.

202 sollemnis...ad aras *Anniuersario sacrificio religiosas* Serv.; this exegesis of *s.* also in n. on 3.301 and in Fest.; it rests on an etym. link with *annus*, and V.’s use of *s.* does indeed appear to favour a sense of ‘regular, anniversary’, rather than weakened ‘solemn’; cf. full n. on 3.301. The adj. refers of course to the ritual, not to the altars themselves, on any interpretation of **s.** (cf. Ov.*F.*5.597, *AA* 1.133). The etym. sense is helpful here, for it may help to explain to the attentive reader why Laoc. is on the shore just then; no need to suppose that his name had just been drawn for some *ad hoc* ritual act (as Serv.Dan. on 202 incautiously suggests, *ut Graecis mala naufragio prouenirent*), for which he has rushed down from the *arx* (Paratore). He was priest of N. by sortition (which implies divine approval; *non sine arbitrio diuino* TCD); the altar has somehow survived ten years of war (which worries critics; not a question we should have time to put, here) and if the rite is hallowed and pre-exists the occasion, it removes any justification for speculation about why the rite is taking place. Set cult duties also explain why Laoc.

has not been present during Sinon's rigmarole; portents regularly, on the Roman view, occur during religious acts (n. on 7.71–80, with bibl.). Choice by lot and current activity ought to protect Laoc. from divine hostility (TCD). Cf. Cartault, 181f., della Corte, 20, Salvatore, *EV* 4, 929, Kleinknecht, 434, Heinze, 17ff.. Laoc.'s death while sacrificing is comparable to Sinon's (intended, thwarted by his escape), Coroebus' and Priam's (cf. Smith (57–76), 503); not to mention Neoptolemus', eventually, at Delphi (cf. n. on 3.332, W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Eng. tr.), 119f.). This is an ancient motif of relig. narrative, discussed finely, and with numerous instances, by Burkert, *cit.*, and Parker (167), 159 with n.87. For the use of the plur., cf. on 115.

taurum ingentem 'Solidly Homeric', as sacrifice to Neptune, n. on 3.119, Lehr, 75. The size is mere epic majesty (for the occasion is after all momentous, and *mola salsa* might seem insufficient) and/or a hint that the beast is an adult.

mactabat Cf. nn. on 3.21 and 7.93; add Beringer, 64ff.. Impf. suggests that the rite has already been under way for some time, further helping to explain the absence of the hostile Laoc. during Sinon's explanations.

203 ecce autem Ps. Asconius (c.5, Sch.-Hos., 1₄, 448, Teuffel, 2₆, 246) on Cic. *Verr.* 1.17 remarks (Stangl, p.211.5f.) *ecce autem. proprium hoc Ciceronis est in rebus improuisis. quod cum cura Vergilius et legit et transtulit, ut...* (quoting this v.). Cf. Serv. Dan. here *cum ex improuiso uult aliquid ostendere*, n. on 7.286: a marked change of direction in the narrative, from Plaut., Enn. on (cf. Jocelyn on *trag.* 167). See Kapp/ Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.29.83ff., 31.53ff. at 58, Hand 1, 587, A. Köhler, *ALL* 5(1888), 16ff. *Ornatus-simus locus* remarks Heyne, appropriately; he continues thus on 209–11, only to digress into a magnificent denunciation of the commentators' accumulation of parallels.

gemini.../ 204 ...angues G.: *EV* 2, 650, n. on 3.180 (simply an alternative for *duo*); number and noun enclose two lines, hardly 'per fissare la monstruosità dell' apparizione' (Fasce, *EV, cit.*), for 'two' hardly brings shivers unassisted; after the announcement of a portent to come, we are not even waiting nervously for the noun after **gemini**. The snakes have been there in the story, and have been a pair since Arctinus (Proclus, *Il. Persis* p.62.10 Davies); merely plural in Bacchyl. fr.9 (Serv. on 201). Here then, two is unalterable (and also appears in Rom. portent descriptions, Kleinknecht, 434f.; see 227), though the reason for this number in Arct. is perhaps lost to us(?::Laoc.'s two sons, or Laoc. +

one son; cf. 40–56, §3); the hyperbaton is simply aimed at bringing the delayed serpents into prominence. Serv. here offers an unworkable distinction between the Lat. terms for ‘snake’; cf. Fasce, *EV* 4, 798, who much overstates the rarity in prose of the poets’ preferred *anguis* (some 20x in Cic. prose, *septies* in Val.Max., *ter* in Tac. as well as a dozen instances in Liv.).

a Tenedo Cf. 21. The monosyll. proclitic at caes. effectively eliminates the main caesura; the line’s tripartition clearly contributes to our sense of the snakes’ motion. Prepos. with name of a small island no error and indeed quite common in archaic usage, LHS, 102, KS 1, 476, Bennett 2, 288. Once the parallel between serpents and Greek fleet, coming from Tenedos, and heading for the acropolis of Troy, is set up, elaboration is easy (vd. Serv., TCD, Knox (199–233), 382, Fernandelli, 152 and also Schlunk, 39f. on the effect of scholia to *Il.* 2.303ff., the serpent and the sparrows); not however, at all points mandatory, for this allegorical anticipation of the fall of Troy by no means chokes the reader’s attention with detail, except perhaps when elaborated by James Henry. Tenedos here indeed signals to the reader that the serpents prefigure the city’s fall to the Greeks, but that is more than the Trojans can see (Block, 280).

tranquilla per alta For adj. as noun qualified by adj., cf. nn. on 7.562, 3.315. T. only *bis* in V.; in Lucr., *quater* +, as a noun, 5.12 (so too *Aen.* 5.127), so hardly felt to be too prosy. *Bis* in Hor. hexams, *semel* Prop., *ter* Ov.; *tacet* Axelson. A calm sea in contrast to the serpents’ menace, brusque advance and/or the havoc to come; possibly calmed by a helpful Neptune. The use of plur. *alta* as noun not very common: cf. 7.362 (with n.), von Mess, *TLL* 1.1782.70.

204 horresco referens The phrase apparently an invention (Ehlers, *TLL* 6.3.2984. 44ff.) and no sign that it was conventional in portent-language. But note that it is as though an active form of *horrendum dictu*, *uel sim.*, and for such expressions in ‘poetical *Prodigiens*’, cf. my nn. on 3.26, 7.78. **R.:** cf. n. on 7.436. Clearly, it is Aen. as narrator in Carthage that is speaking (cf. Mackie, 46).

immensis orbibus Cf. *G.* 2.153f. *rapit immensos orbis per humum.../ ...anguis*, 3.424, Bohnenkamp, *TLL* 9.2.910.19ff. (*o.* is normal Latin—thus in Val.Max. and Plin.*Nat.*—for the coil of a snake, alongside (217), *spira*). *EV* 3, 877 unilluminating; cf. rather Grassmann-Fischer, 79. The adj. (cf. 208) another welcome alternative (cf. 185, n. on 3.632) to *ingens* (cf. on 150 **immanis**); the great size Kleinknecht (435f.) compares to

the snakes of Liv.27.4.13, Val.Max. 1.6.7; small monsters risk oblivion (we recall Hor.'s *quale portentum*).

205 incumbunt pelago P.: n. on 3.204. The vb. 22x in V., standard Lat., *quinquies* in Lucr.. *Tacet EV*. 'Leaning into', or (Goold) 'breasting'. They seem therefore to be swimming at a fair pace.

pariterque The sense of the advb. not as crucial as at 3.560 *pariterque insurgite remis* (and note Aen. and the Sibyl, 6.633, 5.830, of ships, Knox, 387), but the serpents' swift coordinated motion clearly adds a good deal to the menace of the scene.

ad litora tendunt Cf. 3.592 *supplexque manus ad litora tendit* (probably earlier), the same clausula, and a quite different sense. T. thus standard, 1.410, 656, **2.321**, n. on 7.605. Cf., of the Greeks, **256 litora nota petens** (Knox, 387).

206 pectora quorum V. slips unobtrusively into a detailed description, in which the allit. of p continues, with assistance from the sinuous serpentine s in **207–8**; for the *pectorā* of serpents, Gatti (*TLL* 10.1.911.23ff.) compares the *malus anguis* of *G.3.426*, *G.4.15*, and also *Aen. 2.474*. At 89.36f. Petr. writes *tumida quorum pectora/ rates ut altae lateribus spumas agunt*. Such descriptions in V. (cf. Scylla and Charybdis, 3.420ff., Polyphemus, 3.655ff., Fama, 4.173ff., Allecto, 7.323–40, where vd. n.) are a mixed bunch, lacking the unifying, formal features of Virgilian descriptions of works of art and landscapes, and seem to be neglected in recent work on the ecphrasis. From Arctinus on, Porcis and Chariboea (the names, Schol.Lyc.344, 347) must have represented a gorgeous field for descriptive invention, to which Gorgons and Furies had much to contribute, as did seasnakes of a wondrous size, seen off Terracina (Val.Max.1.6.7, Kleinknecht, 436). Significant details are noted *infra*; Speranza's n. well aware that V.'s imagination feeds on lit. (and indeed visual) sources. Various sorts of sea-monster also breasted the waves both in mythology and in the paradoxographical tradition (cf. the ship-chasing serpents of the Libyan coast, Arist.*Hist.An.* 606 b12, Paus.9.20.4 on preserved Tritons at Tanagra, Plin.*Nat.9.10* on 'Nereids' in Gaul); they do of course overlap, as in the case of Andromeda (Plin.*Nat.9.9f.*), at Joppa; at Troy, indeed, we might think of the κῆτος sent against the city, and Hesione, by Posidon, cheated of his wages, Apld.*Bibl.2.5.9*. A. Mayor, *The first fossil hunters* (Princeton 2001) is an engaging guide to this material, which is rather more complex intellectually than she allows. Cf. too *EV 4*, 799, C. Auffarth, NP

3, 806f., West on Hes. *Theog.* 820–80 (Typhon), .R. Merkelsbach, *RAC* 4.226ff., W. Burkert in (ed.J.N. Bremmer) *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London 1987), 19ff.

inter fluctus arrecta Cf. 173 for the vb.. Reminiscent of what pass for photographs of the Loch Ness monster, a brute about as credible as what M. Scaurus (aed. 58BC; vd. *MRR* 2, 195 for the context) displayed *inter reliqua miracula* in Rome as the remains of Andromeda's persecutor (*supra*), Plin.*Nat.cit.*.

iubaeque/ 207 sanguineae Cf. Petr.89.38f. *liberae ponto iubae/ consentiunt luminibus*; such crests on snakes (Baer, *TLL* 7.2.571.4f.) were too much for Pliny: *draconum enim cristas qui uiderit, non reperitur* (*Nat.* 11.122), but they were solidly at home in the portent-tradition (Luterbacher, 54; as is particularly appropriate here), Plaut.*Amph.* 1108, Liv.41.21.13, 43.13.4 (and cf. the succulent *Rhet.Her.* 4.62 *qui cottidie per forum medium tamquam iubatus draco serpit dentibus aduncis*); vd. among *miracula*, *SHA Ant.Pius* 9.4. In mythology, they blossom: cf. Plaut.*cit.* (strangled by Herc.), Ov.*Met.* 3.32 (story of Cadmus), Claud.*carm.* 2.4 (Python), Pind. *Pyth.* 10.47 (the Gorgon's locks), Eur.*Phoen.* 820. Cf. Petter, 330. The colour from a familiar palette: cf. Allecto's *sanguineam...aciem* at 7.399 (where vd. full n.), as in Aesch. and Eur., a clear intensification of Hom. δαφοινός (*Il.* 2.308, the snake at Aulis), Edgeworth, 161. A conventional sign of wrath (as also at 4.643): for the physiological background, vd. my earlier n..

superant undas Compare Ovid's rather laborious *anguis, ac media plus parte leues erectus in auras despicit omne nemus* (*Met.* 3.43f.). Abs. at 219. This sense of *supero* ('rise or extend above, overtop') common and well illustrated from prose and verse by *OLD* s.v. §2a.

pars cetera So at 8.548, with Spelthahn, *TLL* 3.966.4f.; cf. the *postrema* of 3.427.

pontum/ 208 ...legit P. high poet. idiom, n. on 7.300 (in Enn.*Ann.*, Acc., *trag.* inc., Cic.*carm.*, Cat. (incl.64), frequent in *Lucr.*). Serv. glosses *transit*, comparing 3.292 (as does TCD). See also 3.127 (where vd. n.; not a nautical t.t. in this sense) and 706, *EV* 3, 173, von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.1123.46. Above all, vd. Nonius' survey of the word's range, 331.32ff.; he glosses 3.292(332.18) with *praeterire* and here offers *nauigare, praestringere* (332.23). Something like 'passes over' is called for here; so von Kamptz 'perlustrare', *TLL cit.*, 1127.50, comparing (59) nothing exactly similar to this passage. So apparently a modest extension of meaning.

208 pone Contributing the dignity of antiquity, Quint.8.3.25 (vd. Winterbottom, *EV* 4, 375); Ennian (*Ann.*219 with Skutsch's n.), Cordier 38, 48, Au. on 725.

sinuatque V. has in mind the colt of *G.3.192 sinuetque alterna uolumina crurum* (and note 11.753 *sinuosa uolumina uersat*, *EV* 4, 890). In appearance, a coinage (cf. Cordier, 143).

immensa...terga V., we have already seen, is extremely eager to tell us how large these serpents are (204). Cf. 6.422, the *immania terga* of Cerberus and the *terga* of the 'real' snake, 474. No hysteron-proteron here, A.S. McDevitt, *CQNS*17(1967), 317.

uolumine We have just noted *G.3.192, Aen.11.753*; add 5.85 (a snake), 408 *uinclorum immensa uolumina uersat* (boxing-gauntlets), Traina, *EV* 5*, 626. The extension of this common word for 'papyrus roll' is apparently first V.'s (*OLD* s.v.), in the sense of 'coil', alongside *orbis* and *spira*, and the noun reinforces *sinuare* with *uoluere*; it matters not at all (rightly, Au.) that we are not sure whether to take **u.** as qualifying **sinuat** or **immensa**. Though in fact, given V.'s notable fondness for an abl. in explication of an adj. (*auro gravia ac secto elephanto*), Görler, *EV* 2, 268, Antoine, 188f., it is likelier to 'go with' **immensa**.

209 fit sonitus Cf. *G.4.79*, 188; also with *gemitus, strepitus, sonus, murmur*, *EV* 2, 455, Roiron 194–6. Much discussion (already present in Serv.) of what actually made the sound; Petr.89.38, 40 offers the tails and hissing of the serpents, the latter after 211 *infra*. Roiron remarks, in a good discussion, that in juxtaposition with **spumante salo** it must be (inasmuch as there is any certainty in such questions) the foaming, frothing water about the serpents' breasts that makes the noise (cf. *Il.1.481, Aen.10.212*, Roiron, *cit.*). In act. such compound expressions usually created with the short, neat *dat/dant.*(3.239, 519, 7.519f. with n., etc.); in pass., *fit*, now shorter and neater, rather takes over.

spumante salo Cf. *G.4.529 spumantem undam, Aen.3.268 spumantibus undis* (with n. on the Catullan origins of the tag), *EV* 4, 1003 (Franco). Here there is strong hissing alliteration and an approximation to synesthesia (acoustic/visual) in the hissing created by the foaming. Note Enn.*trag.*179 *undantem salum; salus/-um* after Gk. *σάλος* (masc.), a rare synonym for 'sea, swell' (note too Cat.63.16, *Aen.*1.537), also found in prose.

iamque No temporal clause, explicit or implicit, to follow (a frequent form of inverted *cum*-clause); **iam** + **-que** + **-que** (210) simply indicates the next (paratactic) development in the order of events. Cf.

Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.109.13, Görler, *EV* 2, 275, F. Leo, *Ausgew.kl.Schr.2* (Roma 1960), 52, n. on 7.25ff. *iamque...cum*.

arua tenebant Cf. 6.477, 744, 10.741; not so much an echo as the repeated use of a handy formulaic expresion. In the sense of *litus* (Heyne)? Or the fields behind the shore (Henry)? Simply, as elsewhere, ‘land’. (3.171, 418, *et saep.*). Possibly here with some thought of the more literal clasping of a native land at *Od.4.522*.

210 ardentesque oculos Cf. n. on *igni, infra*, **405 ardentia lumina**, 5.648 *ardentis ... oculos*, 12.670 *ardentis oculorum orbis*, 5.277 the snake *ardensque oculis*, 9.703 *ardentem oculis*, G.3.433 *flammatia lumina*, Vollmer, *TLL* 2.484.75ff. (*bene*). **A.** and **igni** in mutual reinforcement: the serpents are fired by rage, as the city will soon be more literally fired: note **lambebant**, *infra* and vd. Knox, 383f.. On the language used of these snakes’ entrance upon the scene, cf. G.B. Conte, *Virgilio. L'epoca del sentimento* (Torino 2002), 13–5.

suffecti OLD s.v., §3, Cic.*Hort.fr.92* Grilli *sufficient prius lanam medicamentis quibusdam*. A rare word, promoted by V., perhaps to indicate a shade with which the serpents’ eyes are deeply dyed, as though by prolonged steeping, a force which would have been absent from *suffusi*, which Conte considers (unconvincingly) as an alternative that V. could have used. Serv.’s *pro ‘infecti’* is not illuminating; *inficere* too suggests the work of dyeing and here could have been used with equal ease. *Suf-ficere* thus is rarer, and suitably alliterative, but not clearly stronger, nor obviously distinct in sense.

sanguine et igni Cf. nn. on 7.399 *sanguineam...aciem* (bloodshot eyes as a sign of rage), 448f. *flammea.../ lumina* (symptom of wrath); such eyes often associated with Furies and related divinities.

211 sibila...ora Cf. 11.754 *sibilat ore*. The hissing mouths embrace the entire line; this is a spectacle of sound, colour, and anatomy given majesty by inner menace (cf., acutely, Conte, 14f.). Note the *sibila colla* of 5.277. The hissing allit. of s continues, to be replaced by l...l-.

lambebant Often thereafter of serpents, Sen.*HF* 786, etc., *TLL* 7.2.899.2ff. (Hübner), *EV* 3, 101. The vb. used by Lucr. (*semel*). Serv. here names the snakes (in corrupt form), citing ‘Thessandrus’ as his source (cf. Macr.5.2.4, V. follows Pisander *paene ad uerbum* on the Fall of Troy; for such expressions, cf. *Alambicco*, 80). Perhaps ‘Pisandrus’, Heyne, Fraenkel, *Kl.Beitr.* 2, 363. The identification of P. problematic, even controversial: cf. *Aen.11*, p.471 for the older arguments in

favour of Pisander of Laranda, c.3AD, and theoretically influenced by Virgil. Now, though, cf. Cameron (21), 203 for the (attractive) case for Peisandros the Hellenistic mythographer (FGH16, Keydell, PW 19.146.47ff.), anticipated in passing by Zintzen (47, n.117); C. usefully cites in support other Hellenistic *érudits*, such as Palaephatus, who surface again in the Virgilian scholarship.

linguis vibrantibus Cf. 10.484 *vibranti...ictu*, Lucr.3.657 *lingua uibrante*, Plin.*Nat.*11.171 *linguae non omnibus eodem modo. tenuissima serpentibus et trisulca, uibrans, atri coloris et, si extrahas, praelonga*, EV 5*, 529 (Tartari Chersoni). Note also G.3. 439, Aen.2.475 *linguis micat ore trisulcis*. The flickering tongue noted by ancient snake-watchers from Hes. *Theog.*826 (where vd. West). Speed, flickering tongues, blazing eyes, and hissing mouths, not to mention sounding waters, clearly mean an imminent bad end for someone, presumably Laoc. (cf. TCD 1.176.25f.).

212 diffugimus ‘In diversas partes fugere’, *TLL*. A great favourite with Lucr. (14x), and *octies* in V., *ter* in Hor.C.. Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.1106.29f.

uisu exsangues E. found in Acc., *trag.* inc. and Lucr. (once each), *quinquies* in V. *TLL* 5.2. 1825.82f. (P. Schmid). TCD explains that the Trojans are prey to the chill of fear, without the warmth in their blood. Full n., 11.338f.. V. as at 382, 8.109, *OLD* s.v., §2a. Synaloepha over the caesura blurs the Trojans’ motion. Kleinknecht, 436 well quotes the general flight at the sight of a portentous snake, Liv.1.56.4.

illi agmine certo We return at once to the serpents; while the Trojans scatter in terror, the target of their undeviating advance is only too clear. The phrase *ad hoc* and unparalleled; claims of military language (Salvatore, 49) are entirely unfounded. Serv.Dan. hesitates between *itinere, impetu* (comparing 782) and *tractu corporis* (comparing G.3.423). Note also *agmine longo* at 5.90 (with Val.FI.2.530). At. 1.82, Serv. comments ‘*agmen*’ *polysemus sermo est. nam impetum significat*, quoting this passage. Though in G.3 and Aen.5., *citt.*, the sense is pretty clearly that of the unbroken forward motion of a snake’s coils, like the (quite common) use (vd. 782) applied to the onward flow of a river, the meaning here is slightly less evident. That Porcis swims exactly in front of Chariboea (thus forming the semblance of a military *agmen*) is perhaps, *pace* Austin, faintly trivialising. The serpents are above all moving in a straight ‘line of march’; see *OLD* s.v., §6, citing e.g. Liv.3.28.2 *exercitum omnem longo agmine circumdat hostium castris*, 9.27.10 *in hunc transuerso agmine inter duas acies se inferen-*

tem. Certo gradu refers to the steady pace of troops (Hirt.*Gall.*8.9.1, Liv.42.59.6, Elsperger, *TLL* 3.912.6f), but that is perhaps not an association present here. Cf. Hey, *TLL* 1.1340.78ff.. *Male*, *EV* s.v. *agmen*.

213 Laocoonta petunt ‘Make for’, often of animals (though the intent need not be hostile), *Lucr.*3.662, 5.1068, 1331, *Dubielzig*, *TLL* 10.1.1950.72ff. at 1951.4f.; the hostile intent clear at *G.*2.505, *Aen.*3.603 (where vd. n.), 10.343. See *del Chicca*, *EV* 4, 51. Even though they begin with the sons, it is Laoc. that they are after (*Serv. Dan.*).

et primum Looking forward to **216 post ipsum**.

parua duorum/ 214 corpora natorum. For Laoc.’s sons, cf. **40–56**, §3. Suitably intertwined word order, and pathos too in the childish physique of the victims, unable to defend their little bodies, in marked distinction to the robust sons in the Vatican group. At Petr. 89.41f. the sons are explicitly the father’s altar-boys (cf. n. on 11.558 *famulam*); here, they have no specified role, though they are generally (and credibly enough) supposed to be *camilli* of some sort. Cf. *Buc.*5.22 *complexa sui corpus miserable nati*, *Aen.*6.21f. *septena quotannis/ corpora natorum*, 8.413 *paruos educere natos*. The pathos and injustice of the scene expounded with laboured eloquence by TCD.

serpens...uterque For the number of snakes, cf. **203f.**, and for the variation of number, vd. n. on 11.608; they attack as a pair. **S.** the word commoner in prose (as against *anguis*), but by no means so strongly as to create an obstacle to its use here as a handy synonym, *EV* 4, 798 (skimpy), Dittmann, *TLL* 2.51.76ff.; **s.** found in Acc., *decies* in *Cic.carm.*, Cat.64, *Lucr.*

amplexus Cf. **218**, Gudeman, *TLL* 1.1990.56f.; *amplector a vox propria* of snakes ‘coiling round’: *Lucr.*5.34, *Aen.*5.86, *Ov.Met.*12.22, etc., *OLD* s.v., §9a, Gudeman, *cit*, 1990. 65ff..

215 implicat Cf. n. on the serpentine 7.355 *ossibus implicat ignem*, Rehm, *TLL* 7.1. 642.47f..

et miseros...artus So we discover that these serpents, though apparently not yet venomous, both coil hideously round their victims, and then consume them: compare *Liv.fr.*10 (from bk.18; = *Val.Max.*1.8ext.19; cf. *Sil.*6.140ff., in ampler detail), the great serpent of the river Bagradas (on whom vd. the note by Warde Fowler, *Rom.Ess.Int.*, 178ff.) which devoured numerous legionaries (armour and all?) and had to be eliminated by the artillery; V. will have seen *Liv.* 18,

if not by the time he wrote bk.2, then surely by the time *Aen.* was completed (*Aen.*3, xxvi^t). Cf. further Plin. *Nat.*8.37, and vd. Gossen-Steier, PW 3A.534.41ff. on ancient views of the various types of python. Peter's argument, 331f., 334 that V. is *not* visualising serpents who behave roughly like pythons, is notably unpersuasive.

morsu depascitur The verb. Lucretian (3.12); then *semel*, *Buc* and *ter*, *G.*, notably 3.458 *artus depascitur arida febris*. In *Aen.*, note the serpent consuming the food on the altars, 5.93 (the benign snake there recasts much material from bk.2, Grassmann-Fischer, 79f.). The prefix suggests that the serpents have time to manage a good feed. Cf. Lommatsch, *TLL* 5.1.562.19f.. The non-poisonous (or rather, not yet, but vd. 221), devouring bite of a monstrous serpent alas of no interest to *TLL* s.v. *morsus* (Reichmann/Buchwald), but we might compare the *morsus* of the snake that ate the baby sparrows at Aulis, *Cic.carm.Hom.*1.16 (vd. further 217), after *Il.*2.314 κατήσθιε, Heuzé, 73 on the human body as edible and for the artistic tradition of Laoc.'s end, representing at least once one of the sons in pieces, vd. Maurach, 232, n.20, E. Simon, *LIMC* 6.1.197, n^o1. Cf. Lyc.'s terse παιδοβρῶτος (347). The *morsibus multos inuadere* of Gran. *Lic.*33.21 Criniti seems to refer to multiple victims and poisonous bites rather than to prolonged consumption of the snakes' prey.

216 post ipsum Cf. 213 et primum.

auxilio subeuntem A. particularly common thus as dat. of purp., Münscher, *TLL* 2.1624.48ff., Antoine, 140f.. The novelty here lies in the choice of vb. (Münscher, 1625.23), in lieu of standard *auxilio uenire* (n. on 7.551). 'To come to assist', 10.338, *OLD* s.v., §6c; *EV* 2, 323 inadequate. Undercut by Petr.89.49 *infirmus auxiliator*.

ac tela ferentem Cf. 6.400, 12.465 (and in poets after V.); phrasing found in the 'carmen devotionis' cited by Macr. (3.9.10), but no sign that *tela ferre* is anything more than an occasional variant upon standard *arma ferre* (cf. Bickel, *TLL*2.596.68ff.). Cf. n. on 3.657 for rhyming participles; normally, they are further apart than here, for effect.

217 corripiunt This energetic, forceful compound much to V.'s taste (31x.; cf. *EV* 4, 401). See Lambertz, *TLL* 4.1040.23ff. at 28f., *G.*4.405 (Proteus), *Aen.*8.260 (Cacus). Cf. yet again the language of *Cic.carm.Hom.*1(14 *corripuit pullos*).

spirisque...ingentibus V. has employed the lexicon of sheer size with notable restraint, after *immensus* 204, 208. Cf. 204, 208 for the

needs to vary the terminology of ‘coils’: **s.** in Pacuv. and Acc. (and vd. Skutsch on *Enn.**Ann.*531 for the possibility of a serpentine double meaning there), G.2.154; perhaps originally of rope (thus in Pacuv. and so *propre*, Serv.).

ligant So too at Petr.89.43; Buchwald (*TLL* 7.2.1390.39ff.) also adduces (of serpents) Plin.*Nat.*8.33, 10.17, Sol.25.11.

et iam Two monosylls. after strong pause at 5D, as elsewhere in moments of high excitement: cf. Winbolt, 55, Williams on 5.624.

218 bis...bis How many snakes and just how many coils? The question should perhaps never have been raised, and the answer is fortunately far from clear; clearly, we visualise many coils, possibly not all of them actually in use, conveyed tersely and simply. The anaphora G.1.48, 2. 150, 410f., *Aen.*6.32f. (with notable pathos), 134, 9.799f., 11. 629f.; very common, from Cato on the feeding of geese on; oddly, *tacet* Wills.

medium amplexi The vb. at 214, neither calculated repet. nor obvious inattention. The oppressive, nightmarish sense of the all-embracing coils bears repetition. The serpent (or serpents) are long enough to go once (or twice) both round Laoc.’s waist and round his neck. For this use of **m.**, cf. Plaut.*Rud.*609, Ter.*Andr.*133, Liv.1.48.3 *medium arripit Seruum*, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.585.6ff..

collo Vd. the snake round Amata’s neck, 7.351; here at least a passing hint of strangulation. We may think of Hercules killing Cacus, 8.260, *corripit in nodum complexus* (with the strangulation to come), with Heuzé, 119ff..

squamea.../ 219 terga Used at G.3.426 *squamea conuoluens sublato pectore terga* and vd. too *infra* 474 **lubrica terga**. *EV* 4, 1005 jejeune. For V.’s adjs. in -eus, cf. n. on 7.589; V. apparently introduces *squamēus* as a (slighter) alternative to old *squamōsus*, *squamiger*; cf. Cordier, 146. ‘Back’ suggests the whole body-length.

circum/ 219 ...dati For the tmesis (common enough with disyll. prefixes), cf. nn. on 7.588, 589. **C.** is often used with the surrounding material as the direct obj. and the thing surrounded as the indirect, as also at *Buc.*8.74, *Aen.*1.175f. *arida circum/ nutrimenta dedit [sc.flammæ]*, 2.510, 792 **collo dare bracchia circum**, 8.458, 12.88, Bannier, *TLL* 3.1127.84, 1131.2. The past partic. is then, as often when the obj. is a part of the body, used with the force of a Gk. middle: cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 267, Courtney, (57), 428f..

219 superant Cf. 206f. iubaeque/...superant undas; either the vb. is here used in an absolute sense ('towers'. 5.473 rather different; vd. *OLD* s.v., §2b), or we supply 'him', easily.

capite et ceruicibus altis Cf. 11.496f. *arrectisque fremit ceruicibus alte/ luxurians.* Recognised by Wölfflin as an allit. noun-pair, *Ausgew.Schr.*, 255, citing Cic.*Sest.90*, *Mur.79*, *legagr.2.74*; inevitable discord of number because dat./abl.plur. of *caput* non-dactylic, Bednara, *ALL* 14(1906), 567f..

220 ille...tendit The focus of the narrative returns to Laoc.. **T.** with infin. as at 1.17f., 5.155, 10.354f.; cf. *EV* 5*, 96 (Simonetti Abbolito), *OLD* s.v., §13b, citing Lucr. and Liv., Görler, *EV* 2, 271 (for V.'s free use of infin. with verbs expressing desire or hesitation).

simul...// 222... simul Cf. 1.513, 631f., 12.758 (with Traina's n.), *OLD* s.v., §7b, KS 2, 70, LHS 520.

manibus...diuellere nodos Cf. 4.600; of Milo and the oak, Val. Max.9.12ext.9 and of Maenads, busy with *sparagmos*, already Cat.64. 257. **N.** simply of coils, 5.279 (cf. *EV* 3, 747), Hor.C.2.19.19 but here there is surely (also) the suggestion that the serpents' many coils have the appearance and effect of some great knot.

221 perfusus sanie The verb used with *sanguis*, Cat.64.399, G.2. 510; V.'s phrasing taken up in a lurid image by Amm.Marc.21.16.15 (Holmes, *TLL* 10.1.1419.51f.). **S.** defined by Suet. as 'cruor putridus': vd. n. on 3.618 (though here the blood has hardly had time to putrefy). Serv.Dan. remarks soberly '*pro sanguine*'; *nam 'sanies' corruptus sanguis*, possibly (Austin) under the swift effect of the venom (if any). There is no difficulty in linking the blood (perhaps poisoned), which will most naturally be taken as primarily Laoc.'s (though perhaps the serpents too are to be thought of as lightly injured) with the poison, clearly the snakes'. However, Forbiger saw in **s.** '*salivam veneno tinctam*', which is not in keeping with ancient usage, and Mazzini (*EV* 4, 673) too takes the word implausibly and unnecessarily as referring to the serpents' venom (so too Petter, 333, likewise with little thought of the Lat. usage) . The poison appears only at this point in the narrative, and seems a rather heavy-handed addition to the narrative: Laoc. is being crushed to death, and devoured, by two giant marine pythons, of a sort, and additional venom is not needful. *Et est interpositus uersus; nam potest tolli saluo sensu* remarks Serv.; indeed the verse could be removed without leaving a trace. With no grave loss either, perhaps, and some

gain to herpetological coherence, though that is not reason for excision. Neither Ribbeck nor even Hofmann Peerlkamp were troubled.

uittas Cf. 133, 156, 168; ‘egregie ad horrorem facit v.221, quod *vittas*, *infulas sacerdotis*, narrat’: Heyne at his best. The idea of the fillets stained by both serpents and victim is rather lurid but undeniably powerful. The acc. ‘retained’ after the middle **perfusus**, Courtney (57), 426). The priestly attributes now serve as those, rather, of the real victim (Hardie, 408). Cf. Wissowa, 417, n.1, Latte, 385, G.3.487, Serv. *ad Aen.*10.538 etc. for the *uittae* and *infulae* worn by the victim.

atroque ueneno Black blood we are well used to (nn on 3.28, 11.646), and for that *ater* is the right sort of black. But right for poison too, more for the deadly effect than because of actual hue: at G.2.130 *atra uenena* are offered by stepmothers and note too *Aen.* 4.514 *nigri...ueneni*, Hor.C.1.37.27f. *atrum...uenenum* (where vd. NH). Cf. André, 51, Edgeworth, 75, 138.

222 clamores...horrendos The line crushed by two molossi in agreement and nearly juxtaposed, the second heavily athwart the anticipated third-foot caesura. More than one cry, too; this is the awful climax of the struggle (Pietsch, 162). Hoppe, *TLL* 3.1257.61f., Ehlers, *ib.*6.3.2982.48f.. Grief, pain, or both? At least the (lucky) bull will not have to behold the fate of his children. Vd. Heuzé, *infra*.

ad sidera tollit Hoppe, 1259.35f. compares Lucr.4.1014 for *clamorem tollere*; note also Enn.*Ann.*428 *tollitur in caelum clamor exortus utrimque*, with Skutsch’s n., Catrin, 144. For the hyperbole, cf. nn. on 186, 338. The sequence *ad sidera toll-* at v.-end singularly frequent in varied senses: cf. 1.103 (*fluctus*), 9.637 (*animos*), 10.262 (*clamorem*; Harrison collects numerous instances of noise reaching the heavens), 11.37 (*gemitum*; vd. my n.), 12.795 (*Aenean*).

223–4 It was a bull that Laoc. was about to sacrifice at the altar, 202 (as TCD properly recalls, 1.178.6); the officiant now becomes victim (cf. Serv. *facta autem comparatio est propter sacerdotis personam*), and Laoc.’s *uittae* are the focal point of the transformation (221). The bull’s escape from sacrifice is also reminiscent (Hardie, 408, Smith, 518) of Simon’s (134). Here, some clarification of (1) the place and form of such escapes in descriptions of Rom. sacrifice and (2), the implications of this simile for the narrative. See Kleinknecht, 438ff., Hardie, 408, Heuzé, 119f., Latte, 388, *id.*, PW 9.1130.1ff., Lyne, *WP*, 74–6, Petter, 334f. (*male*), Pietsch, 162, Smith, 518–20 (*bene*), Toutain, DS 4.2, 975, Weinstock, *Divus Iulius*, 6f., Williams, *TI*, 258, Wissowa 416 with n.6, Zintzen, 61f.,

R. Ehwald, *Philol.* 53 (1894), 739ff. (*male*), Hornsby, 59, C. Sguazzini, *Quad. dip. fil.... class. Torino* NS2(2003), 133–48 (disappointing).

(1) In Hom., cf. 17.520–2 (a clean, successful sacrificial blow), 20.403–5 (the bull bellows as it is dragged to the altar). But this scene is markedly, distinctively Roman, as has long been realised; V. goes far beyond a variation in the choice of moment described (Miniconi, 117). The acceptable sacrifice stands *patiens* (and mute) for the single blow (cf. Serv. *ad G.* 2.395, Latte (*bis*), Wissowa, Toutain). The victim that tries to escape, or escapes from the necessary cooperation with the fulfilment of ritual, and here has been said (Lyne) to suggest a momentary escape on Laoc.'s part (unlikely but not impossible), is called *hostia effugia* (Serv. Dan. on 140, *infra*), and such *effugiae* were not rare; some detail is required to fill in V.'s swiftly 'selective' account with the natural assumptions present to the original 'informed reader': Amm. Marc 24.6.17 *decimus uero[sc. taurus], qui difftractis uinculis lapsus aegre reductus sit, mactatus...*; Liv. 21.63.13 *immolantique ei uitulus iam ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese cum proripiisset, multos circumstantes cruento respersit*; Lucan 7.165f. *discussa fugit ab ara/ taurus et Emathios praeceps se iecit in agros*; Macr. 3.5.8 (the problem of the unwilling, recalcitrant *hostia*); Paul.exc.Fest.p.287.3ff. (cf. Fest. p.286.8ff.) *piacularia auspicia ...cum aut hostia ab ara effugisset, aut percussa mugitum dedisset...*; Plin.Nat.8.183 *sicut nec claudicante nec aliena hostia deos placari nec trahente se ab aris*; Serv.Dan. *ad Aen.2.140 si casu effugeret* (and the *hostia effugia* was then replaced by a *hostia succidanea* or *forda*); Sil. 5.63ff. *nec rauco taurus cessauit flebile ad aras/ immugire sono pressamque ad colla bipennem/ incerta ceruice ferens altaria liquit*; Sil. 16.264ff. *cum subito abruptis fugiens altaria taurus/ exiluit uincis mugituque excita late/ impleuit tecta*; Suet.Caes.59.1 *cum immolanti aufugisset hostia* (vd. Weinstock, *cit.*); id., Galb.18.1 *taurus securis ictu consternatus rupto uinculo essendum eius inuasit elatisque pedibus totum cruento perfudit*; id., Tit.10.1 *aliquanto tristior, quod sacrificanti hostia aufugera*; Tac. *Hist.* 3.56 *accessit dirum omen, profugus altaribus taurus disiecto sacrificii apparatu, longe, nec ut feriri hostias mos est, confossus* (with Heubner's n.); Tac.Ann 15.7 *hostiaque quae muniebantur hibernaculis adsistens semifacta opera fuga perrupit seque uallo extulit* (with Köstermann's n.); Val.Max.1.6.12 *ab ipsis altaribus hostiarum fuga*; App. *Bell.Civ.* 2.68.283 (victim fled and was not caught); Cass.Dio. 45.17.4 (a bull τυθείc...δι' αὐτόν[sc. Cicero] in the Temple of Vesta, that jumped up after the sacrif. ritual). Compare also the scene at Sen.Oed.342f. *at taurus duos/ perpessus ictus huc et huc dubius ruit* The non-fatal blow is (Liv.21, Plin.Nat., Sil.5, Suet. Galba, Cass.Dio) attested elsewhere. The bull that actually escapes (a markedly unfavourable omen) may survive,

but is sought out and if caught, is slaughtered. Escape does not therefore indicate survival for Laoc., though this has been claimed. (2) In QS (12.401f., Campbell, p.135, Zintzen, 32f.) Laoc. survives, but has been blinded; elsewhere, he is killed by the serpents. Zintzen suggests that this version may have been in Soph., improbably (cf. Radt, *TGF* 4, 330), but note that Laoc.'s death is not specified at [Apld.]*Epit.*5.18f. (whose silence, as an epitomator, is hardly eloquent). In V., remarkably, we are not actually told that either the sons (cf. Quinn, 82, n.1) or the father are actually killed. Were we seriously supposed to conclude (so Petter, 328f.) that any of them survived, all the ominous, dramatic and emotive potential, force, and consequences of the episode would be trivialised, avoidably and quite unnecessarily. The bull of the simile does escape death, briefly (*supra*). But Austin long ago noted (1959, 21) that 'at tells us all' (comparing, in comm., *G.4.460*, after Eurydice's not-narrated death). As indeed it does, over and above our informed sense of the form of such portent-narratives. It hardly needs to be spelt out, too, that **229 scelus expendisse** is greatly enfeebled, like, indeed, the general reaction of **pauor**, if there is any suspicion that Laoc. and sons are still alive. Laoc. here is not officiant, but victim, the first major sacrifice of Troy's fall, and the great portent (vd. Kleinknecht) of that event. His death is in every way essential, as are those of his sons.

223 qualis mugitus Balancing in sound and sense **clamores...horrendos**. The sequence of spondees and assonance of -u- a challenge to the reader obliged to avoid entirely any hint of farmyard farce in the sound of an actual oral performance. The vb. still presumably **222 tollit** (so Serv., TCD; the alternative would be **m.** nom. (hard after plur. **clamores**) and *est/sunt* in ellipse). **M.** in high poetry from *Buc.*; the vb. at Enn.fr.inc.7, and in *Lucr.*, Cat..

fugit cum...aram Cf. too *fugit praesepia*, 11.492, where vd. n..

saucius Cf. n. on 7.500 (Silvia's pet stag; vd. n.), *EV4*, 689.

224 taurus Cf. **202** (where vd. n.), the bull that Laoc. himself was sacrificing to Neptune.

et incertam...securim The sacrificial animal, at Rome, was actually killed by a *culter* (Cat.*Agr.*141.4, etc., Henzen, *Act.fratr.ArV.*, p.94, Latte, *RR*, 388, Wissowa, 417, Toutain, 976, with n.2, S. Reinach, DS 1.2, 1585, 1587 and for full detail, Latte, *PW*, 1129.17ff., Lambertz, *TLL* 4.1316.45ff.). Older accounts (e.g. Reinach, Ryberg, 46f.) suggest that the choice between axe and knife depended on the size

of the animal, but Latte's minute examination(s) of the evidence suggest(s) that the beast (of whatever kind) was first stunned by the *popa*, using mallet or axe, to avoid ill-omened noise or flight, and then killed with the knife. But, except when a tall *popa* encountered a small bull, no easy work to strike a clean, stunning blow. The form in *-im* claimed as Virgilian by Gell.13.21.6, citing Probus (cf. NW 1, 302). For **i.**, cf. Serv. *dubie inlismam*, *id.* on 11.767 (*certam quatit improbus hastam*, where vd. n.) *infirmam, euitabilem*, on 12.267 *infirma et uitabilis*, Sen. *Ag.*776f. *caditque flexo qualis ante aras genu/ ceruice taurus uulnus incertum gerens* (so Zwierlein, etc.; Tarrant reads *incisa*, not convincingly), Stat. *Theb.*11.310 *ictus ut incerto pastoris uulnere serpens* (schol. *non forti impetu percussus*), [Quint.] *decl.mai.* 2.17 (*uulnus*; struck by a blind man), Sil.5.64f. (*supra*) *pressamque ad colla bipennem/ incerta ceruice ferens*, Tac. *Ann.*4.51.2 *incerti ictus*, Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.880.54f. (**i.** employed with studied flexibility in application to weapon, wound and part of body). The synaloepha at caesura clearly enough conveys the axe jerked out of the neck.

excussit ceruice Cf. the compromising apple of Cat.65.21f. *quod miserae oblitae molli sub veste locatum,/ dum adventu matris prosilit, excutitur*. The bull escapes and in his course dashes out the axe. No hysteron-proteron; see McDevitt (208), 317.

225 at Cf. n. on 223–4 *ad fin.* Resumptive after simile at 11.725; *at* regularly employed for major changes of subject and articulations of the narrative, Wagner, *QV* xxxvii, §2a, Hand, 1, 422f.. For the implication, cf. Austin cited, 223–4.

gemini...dracones For **g.**, cf. 203. For **d.**, cf. n. on 11.751 (with n.); distinctions (ancient and modern) between the various Lat. words for snake are unpersuasive (cf. n. on 214).

lapsu Typically of snakes (Germ. *Arat.*52, Sen. *Ira* 2.31.6; *proprie*, Serv.; cf. Steinmann, *TLL* 7.2.957.70ff.), but soon to be used also (235) of the TH, Knox, 385. Compounds of *labi* regularly used in snake-prodigies, Liv.1.56.4, 25.16.2, 26.19.7, Val. *Max.*1.6.8, Obsequ. 28, Luterbacher, 53f., Kleinknecht, 435. Cf. Bartalucci's useful remarks, *EV* 3, 86f..

delubra ad summa In the *arx*, or Pergama, the highest point of Troy (nn. on 41, 56; inevitably we remember Hecuba and her suite who *νῆσον ἵκανον Ἀθήνης ἐν πόλει ἄκρῃ*; cf. *OLD* s.v., §1a, delightfully citing Cat. *Agr.*162.2, the topmost hams in the salting-tub. **D.** in Acc., *septies* in Lucr., *novies* in V.. See Wissowa, 469, *id.*, PW 4.2702. 29ff, Pease on Cic. *ND* 3.94; Scagliarini Corlaita, *EV* 5*, 81 rich only

in errors. There is very ample ancient writing on the alleged distinctions between the various Rom. words for ‘sacred building’ (Jachmann, *TLL* 5.1.471.43ff.). *D.* originally a sacred building where water for purification was available (Cincius fr.16GRF, Serv. here; Wissowa cites the story at Liv.1.45.6); also explained as a precinct where several deities are revered under one roof (Varr. *ant.div.6*, fr.70Cardauns (vd. his n.), Serv.Dan. here). In practice, a lofty synonym for ‘temple’ in both prose and verse; Kleinknecht, 435, n.10 cites Val.Max.1.6.12, Juv.13.69 without establishing that *d.* belongs distinctively to portent-language. Serv.Dan. on 201 suggests that the serpents’ withdrawal to the citadel not only indicated Minerva’s hostility towards Troy but also (credibly enough) *signum fuit periturae ciuitatis*, the *arx* being now under threat.

226 effugiunt M₂P, c.9 mss., **diffugiunt M₁**, TCD, after **diffugimus**
212. Often of living things, Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.206.33ff.. There has been not a word of others present at Laoc.’s sacrifice, but the general terror at 228f.. requires that there were witnesses enough, who preferred not to check the serpents’ homewards journey.

saeuaeque...Tritonidis Not a standard epithet, Carter, *Epitheta*, 71. Compare 1.4, **2.612**, n. on 7.592 (Juno); **226, 616** (Pallas), Kleinknecht, 443, n.23: we are learning of Pallas’ general hostility towards the Trojans. Val.Max.1.6.8 (cf. Kleinknecht, 434) writes [*angues duae*] *in easdem latebras se rettulerunt*, but that decisive circularity is just what is absent here. V. seems indeed to be careful not to present Laoc.’s death as being, objectively, punishment for his violation of the TH, when he could so easily have done (**40–56**, §1; *infra*, **230–1**). Since the explicit statement of Laoc.’s guilt is presented as the reaction of an excited crowd, there is a sense in which we are invited by the text *not* to rush to judgement; cf. further **199–233**, §2.

petunt Cf. **213**, etc.; we are not told explicitly, however, that they end up there.

arcem Cf. **225 delubra ad summa**; though the serpents came from the sea, they do appear to return to the citadel (cf. Val.Max., *supra*, *in easdem...latebras*); this geographical hint only furthers Aeneas’ lingering suspicion that the serpent may indeed have *something* to do with Minerva (**40–56**, §1, Clausen, *V4*, 64), beyond the obvious ref. to Athena’s temple at *Il.6.297* ἐν πόλει ἄκρῃ.

227 sub pedibusque deae D. by metonymy, as often (both m. and f.), for ‘statue of deity’, 168, Hor.C.2.18.27, Prop.4.5.27, Liv.29.10.8, 14.13, Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.889.9ff.. 912.65ff., *EV* 2, 36, *OLD* s.v. *deus*, §3. The postposition of -que standard, in the case of some, but not all, monosyll. prepositions, KS 1, 583, Ernout-Thomas, 454. The anaphora of **sub** (here reinforced by -que...-que) more artful at 6.255 (variation of case), but there is here a very strong sense of the serpents vanishing downwards out of sight.

cliipeique sub orbe Cf. n. on 7.639 for the circular, Homeric *clipeus*; and see on 7.114f. *orbem/ fatalis crusti*. Bohnenkamp, *TLL* 9.2. 907.83ff. compares 10.546, 12.925; also Obsequ.45, Aesch.*Septem* 489 ἀσπίδος κύκλον. Note too *Aen.*10.783, 8.448, *EV* 3, 876ff.. It has been suggested that the coiled serpent on the inside of Phidias’ shield of Athena Parthenos might be germane here (Hardie *CI*, 99, n.37) perhaps rather than by the butt of her spear, Paus., *infra*, Heuzé, 640f.; perhaps some thought also of the snakes on her aegis (cf. *Aen.*8. 435ff., n. on 7.450, with bibl., I. Krauskopf, *LIMC* 4.1.285ff., E. Henry, 97f.). O’Hara, *TN*, 132, after La Cerdá, toys with the etym. *clipeus*-κλέπτω (= ‘conceal’)/ καλύπτω. Not quite to be ruled out.

teguntur Cf. 12.53, 148, 539 of divine protection. La Cerdá and Paratore (e.g.) are distracted by the commonplace of depicting vanquished serpents at or under a divinity’s feet, at Plut.*Mor.*381E, Paus.1.24.7 for example (for panegyrical, victorious crushing under foot, cf. n. on 7.100), but the notion of serpents snugly settled in a temple is entirely in keeping with Rom. views (for portents are so very often located in the context of temples, altars, and ritual, n. on 7.71–80, Kleinknecht, 434): cf. Val.Max. 1.6.4, 1.6.7, Liv.28.11.2(2), 43.13.4, *Aen.*5.92f., Gran.Lic.33.21Criniti, Obsequ. 28a(2), 42. (2) indicates passages where a *pair* of snakes is attested, as here; note also Obsequ.58(2), Plaut.*Amph.*1108(2), Luterbacher, 28. Cf. too *QS* 12. 481 (snakes disappear below sanctuary of Apollo); for snakes in Roman sacred contexts, cf. E. Küster, *Die Schlange* (*RVV* 13.2, Giessen 1913), 126, Gossen-Steier, PW 3A.519. 17ff., E. Pottier, DS 2.1.412; for Lanuvium, cf. Prop.4.8.3.ff., Ael.*NA* 11.16.

228 tum uero Cf. 105.

tremefacta...per pectora T. *ter* in 2, *quinquies* in *Aen.* as a whole; first in poetry at Cic.*cons.*2.25. P. common as the seat of feelings: 107, 200, 349, Negri, 205.

nouus.../ 229 ...pauor Often used of dread inspired by portents,

etc., Pacuv.*trag.*82, Lucr.5.1219, *Aen.*3.57, etc., Hickson, *TLL* 10.1.839. 42ff.. Cf. n. on 212 **exsangues**, nn. on 3.47 *ancipiū mentem formidine pressus*, 7.81 *sollicitus monstrus* and Grassmann-Fischer, index, s.v. ‘Reaktion der Furcht’, Rieks 85, 151, O’Hara, *DOP*, 59f.. Perhaps a fear (accentuated by postponement in the phrase) naturally caused by *nouā monstra* (cf. n. on 3.365) rather than the bland ‘further, ensuing’ suggested by Nosarti, *EV* 3, 768f.. Note the **nouā... formidine** of *G.*4.357, where Thomas acutely compares *Aen.*3.259 *subita...formidine* (where vd. n.), but here sudden onset is not the only point. Cf. n. on 7.120 for the element of speed in prodigy-narratives.

cunctis At 199ff. there was a vague impression that the bulk of the Trojans had been listening to Priam and Sinon, and that Laoc.’s sacrifice was perhaps rather on the margin of events. Now, though, general terror. Dat. ‘of disadvantage’, Antoine, 100ff..

229 insinuat The vb. (both trans. and intrans) old and widespread: prose, comedy, 30x in Lucr. (e.g. 5.73f. *diuom metus insinuarit/ pectora*), Hugenschmidt, *TLL* 7.1. 1918. 74f.. More important, it conveys that the serpents have in a poetical sense not left the scene at all; fear of them has slid or coiled into Trojan hearts: cf. 208 **sinuatque**, *EV* 4, 890, Knox, 384, *tacet* Putnam. The intrans. (or ‘reflexive’) use specially common of verbs expressing motion: cf. 9.372 *flectentis*, Wölfflin, *ALL* 10(1898), 1ff., KS 1, 93.

scelus expendisse Cf. Acc.*trag.*535f. *poenas...expendisse*, *Aen.*6.740 *supplicia expendunt*, 10.669 *talis...expendere poenas*, 11.258 *scelerum poenas expendimus omnes* (with n.), Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.1642.10f., n. on 7.307 *scelus...merentem*, and vd. my discussion, *ICS* 31(2006), 21, of the sources of such phrasing in the HE.

merentem/ 230 Laocoonta Cf. Bulhart, *TLL* 8.811.30ff., comparing inevitably, from the HE (585f.) **sumpsisse merentis/ laudab̄or poenas** (as well as Sall.*Iug.*100.3 *laudare et increpare merentis*); it was long ago established by George Goold that the author of HE studied carefully certain passages of Lucr. and Virg. (*HSCP* 74(1968), 145ff.), and further work (vd. *infra*, on 567–88) confirms this approach to the author’s *modus operandi*. It is clear from 7 (*supra*) that V. could also write *scelus mereri* and here it may well be that **scelus** is to be understood as obj. of both infin. and partic., the misdeed which Laoc. committed and for which he paid, rather than the simpler ‘paid for, deservedly’. Henry, *ut nonnumquam*, here twines the coils of his learning round quite the wrong solution.

ferunt The viewpoint, most explicitly expressed, of the Trojan onlookers; not in any sense, therefore, to be claimed here as narratorial, authorial or objective. This same distancing recurs at QS 12.415–7: the λαός is afraid that Laoc. has offended the goddess in his folly; cf. Gärtner, 213f., 216.

sacrum...robur Cf. 186 **roboribus textis**. Yet again we find that V. seems positively to be inviting us to dwell on the rhetorical character of the context: cf. 199–233, §2, 226; had he really been committed from the start to the (crude and atypical) rhetorical strategy of establishing decisively that the TH was indeed in some sense sacred to Pallas, then to present that definition as part of the opinion an excited crowd ('one can almost hear the crowd repeating itself' Au. on 231; cf. Zintzen, 12), without solid confirmation from objective narrative elsewhere, was a strange way to proceed. He prefers, I suggest again, to leave us to wonder exactly what his view of Pallas' link with the TH actually was, and also to defer, once more, our own attempts to work out any coherent explanation of the causation of events.

qui causal.

cuspide Cf. n. on 7.756 (Cat.64). See vv. 50–4.

231 laeserit Cf. Hübner, *TLL* 7.2.867.33, *EV* 3, 97: the vb. carries, perhaps (vd. *EV*), beyond the obvious 'strike' or 'damage' (e.g. G.2.301, *Aen.*7.809), something of the sense of 'offend' (cf. 183 **numine laeso**). V. seems at pains *not* to assign to Aen. any sort of commitment to the view that Laoc. was in some way 'guilty'.

tergo The TH has a conventionally equine anatomy (cf. 52 **utero**); like the serpents, it is not obviously fantastical, as these figures later became (ample detail in Austin 1959).

sceleratam...hastam Cf. 3.60 *scelerata excedere terra*, 9.137 *sceleratam exscindere gentem*, 12.949 *scelerato ex sanguine*; vd. *ICS* 31(2006), 21, on the sources of the forger's **sceleratas sumere poenas** at 576. Here, evident enallage; the crime in Laoc.'s not the spear's. Lucr. uses *scelerosus*; -atus perhaps introduced to high poetry by V. (Cordier, 154). The accusation of crime and the exaltation of the TH as sacred go naturally together as heads of the popular accusation.

intorserit Of good poet. pedigree, Cic.*Marius* 3.5, Lucr. (*semel*); when used of missile weapons, *torqu-* compounds naturally suggest the use of a throwing-strap (nn. on 7. 165, 11.284), unfortunately unknown to *EV* 5*, 218. Not. though, everywhere, necessarily: vd. n. on 52 **contorsit**.

232 ducendum ad sedes S. often for the temple of a divinity, **716**, **742**, 1.415, 681, etc., *EV* 4, 750 (Spallone), *OLD* s.v., §5a. **D.** used as at **33**, **187**.

simulacrum Cf. **172**.

orandaque.../ 233 numina Serv. glosses correctly *placanda* (and we might think both of the Greeks' placating of Pallas, **176ff.** and of the Hom. κελόμην θεὸν ἵλακκεσθαι, *Il.* 1.386); Tessmer/Baer, *TLL* 9.2.1045.51f. cite Amm. Marc. 21.2.5 *numine orato* (of Christian prayer). Cf. Pötscher, 100.

diuae Cf. **227 deae**; taking up **Tritonidis** and naturally avoiding *eius*. Compare 1.447 *donis opulentum et numine diuae*, and the use of *numen* + the name of a deity (7.385 with. n., 9.661), or + *diuum* (**123**, **336**, **777**, 4.204, 5.56, etc.). Eur. *Tro.* 525f. has long been cited: τόδ' ιερὸν ἀνάγετε ξόανον/ Ἰλιάδι Διογενεῖ κόραι.

233 conclamant Common in prose and verse; *decies* in *Aen.*, n. on 7.504, used by Cat.(42.18), 13x in *Liv.* 1–10. Au. wrong to say that V. introduced *c.* to epic, for it is present at *Varr. Atac. Argonautica*, fr.7.2 Courtney. *Tacet Cordier*. Au., Paratore, after Serv. Dan., see an allusion to the *conclamatio* of the dead (for details, Hoppe, *TLL* 4.71.23ff., citing notably Schol. Ter. p.59.10; Marquardt-Mau, 346), but since this took place on the ninth day after death, the association, if any, hardly seems relevant; various looser uses of *c.* are attested in the scholiasts' language (Hoppe, 71.40ff., Harv. Serv. here), but the immediate aftermath of a prince's death is just where such looser usage (e.g. 'despair of') might seem actively unwelcome and the literal sense of a great collective howl (if not the technical 'lament on the ninth day') is positively welcome. This half-line a key piece for those who view the development of *Aen.* 2 as a puzzle, open to rational solution. **234** has been claimed as a stopgap, and as a well-constructed verse; it has also been claimed as both the last line, and as the first line of long sections of narrative. A connexion between **46** and **237** has been remarked, and an effort made to establish priority. In particular, the attractions of a direct passage from **198** to **234** have been studied, in the hope of establishing that Laoc. was some sort of later addition. But at e.g. **199** it has been suggested that the interweaving of Sinon and Laoc. is in fact both artful and successful (if not formally perfect); a faintly flawed masterpiece greatly preferable to a perfect, brilliant jigsaw, in logical sequence of development. Cf. Sparrow, 31, Berres, *VH*, 138–40.

234–49 Not essentially divided from 199–233, as the sequence of plan and action, **232 ducendum...234 diuidimus**, makes plain, but here separated, for Laoc. has departed from the narrative and the entrance of the TH into Troy is narrated as the result of his death. Discussion is, oddly enough, extraordinarily limited (cf. Block, 282f., Heinze, 21, Cartault, 184f., Quinn, 117f., Salvatore, 50f., Scafoglio (5), 191ff.). Even one of V.'s most drily rational readers remarks 'die grossartige Darstellung' (Berres, *VH*, 138), and comm. here will try to offer some account of why these vv. have long seemed to me one of the most intellectually rich and stylistically exciting passages in *Aen.*; no surprise to find a concentration of difficult, ambiguous phrases, **245 monstrum infelix**, **246 fatis...futuris**, **247 credita**, **248 esset**. One small, memorable touch of Hom. (**249 ille dies**), but the dominant tone is that of trag. lyric, both Gk. and Rom.; frequent debt to the first stasimon of Eur. *Tro.* (511ff.) will be noted, and **241 o patria** is as splendid an Ennian motto as can be found (*Andromache*); several other Ennian debts, both to *Ann.* and to *trag.* will be noted (see esp. **238 feta**). The strong motif of last-minute warnings ignored has often been remarked: the fourfold clang of arms on the *limen*, and Cassandra's inevitably futile words, following close on Laoc.'s death invite terror and pity more than intellectual superiority (cf. Block, 284). This is tragic irony on the grandest scale, spelt out by **244 immemores caecique furore**. Even quite recent commentators have expressed doubt about the very existence of the Roman, ritual scene present to the poet's imagination, but the ritual reception for the TH, viewed as an offering to Pallas, is there, in ample, pervasive measure, with the varied festal detail in swelling counterpoint to the imminent tragedy. Note in particular the use of the rope, **239 funemque** and its importance in festal, processional scenes, the **pueri innuptaeque puellae** (238), not only familiar in ritual contexts, but associated with the untimely dead, the hymn sung (239 **sacra canunt**) and the climactic festal greenery (249 **festa...fronde**). Perhaps surprisingly, the clang of arms in the gate seems to be traditional (242 **ipsoque in limine portae**); clearly familiar are the festal character of Troy's last night (239 **sacra canunt**, 249 **festa...fronde**) and the presence of Cassandra at this point (246).

234 diuidimus muros Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.11 *discissis...muris* (the same episode), and the glossators διεῖλομεν, *aperimus*, Bauer, *TLL* 5.1.1594. 32f.. Comms. draw attention to Plaut. *Bacch.* 955, the third *fatum* of Troy (165f., 190f.) *cum portae Phrygiae limen superum scinderetur* (with Dictys

5.11 and Stat., *cit.*). Serv. here comments on **muros superpositos Scaeae portae** (on 241 he adds that the tomb of Laomedon was set over the Scaean gate) and James Henry suggested that V. had in mind an *upwards* enlargement of one of the gates, to admit the TH. Possible, not compulsory, like the reference to the third *fatum*: of course the walls had to be breached somewhere, and somehow, for the huge TH to be able to enter, as had been narrated from Lesches on, Proclus, p.53. 29f. Davies, Robert, 1245, Vellay 1, 292f., Gantz, 649, etc., and the fatal breaching of a gate is not actually perceptible in the language used. Cf. too Suet. Nero 25.1 *reuersus e Graecia Neapolim, quod in ea primum artem protulerat, albis equis introiit disiecta parte muri, ut mos hieronicarum est; simili modo Antium, inde Albanum, inde Romam* (with Cass. Dio 63.20.1ff.). See Gaspar, DS 4.1.190 with n.22. It is hard to credit that, if this had really been *mos hieronicarum*, no trace would have been left in the Greek historical record; perhaps best therefore removed from the discussion of this (tricky) v.. Note the eloquent discussion, Chaniotis (87), 26ff., of the supreme importance of city-walls in the Greek world.

moenia pandimus urbis *Moenia* and *muri* an allit. noun-pair, Wölfflin, *Ausgew. Schr.*, 267, also comparing 9.196 *muros et moenia*; see also 11.506 (with my n.) and add both Liv.10.10.2, and the passages cited by Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1327.15ff.. But we should not forget that *moenia* can also be applied not just to fortifications but to ‘oppidum cum omnibus aedificiis’ (Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1327.59ff., citing 252, 298, 12.620; see also Fo, *EV* 3, 557) and indeed to ‘aedificia specialia’, as at 6.541 (Lumpe 1328.27ff.). H. Beikircher (*EV* 3, 953, *optime*) remarks helpfully that the object of *pandere* is normally what is revealed (cf. 6.97, 7.641 *pandite nunc Helicona, deae* (with my n.), but sometimes **p.** is applied to the obstacle that is removed, such as *ostia, portae, claustra, fores*: see 27, Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.196.35ff.. Here then, either (i) ‘opens the walls’ or (ii) ‘reveals the buildings’ (further unsupported fantasy at Della Corte, 22f.). V.’s preference for theme and variation and the force of the noun-pair suggest that (i) should be preferred (not least, as Miss Hubbard remarks, in view of the evident etym. connexion of *moenia* with *munire*), and this is asserted with slightly more confidence on finding them (vd. La Cerda) as palpable synonyms at *Aen.*11.506 *ad muros subsiste et moenia serua, 12.705f. quique alta tenebant/ moenia quique imos pulsabant ariete muros,* and Sen. *Ep.*59.12 (Alexander) *in obsidione cuiusdam urbis, <dum> circumit muros et inbecillissima moenium quaerit.* Serv. insists *non est iteratio: nam dicit patefacta porta uel diruta interiora ciuitatis esse nudata* and TCD offers *muris... inconsulte patefactis interiora moenia pandebantur;* perfectly possible, but per-

haps rather less Virgilian than ‘theme and variation’. It may be (so e.g. Knauer) that V. here (also) had *Od.*13.388 Τροίης λύσμεν λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα in mind.

235 accingunt omnes operi *Praeparant se ad opus* Serv., *Prisc. Gramm. Lat.*3.390.17 *pro ‘accinguntur’ uel ‘accingunt se’*, *TLL* 1.303.4ff. (Klotz); for this intransitivisation (so already Pompon.*Atell.*66 *accinge ad molas*), cf. 11.707 *pugnaeque accinge pedestri*; in general, cf. n. on 7.27, Görler, *EV* 2, 272. Could this be an oblique way of conveying even the detached narrator’s admission that he had joined in? The likelier in view of the first-person plurals in 234.

pedibusque.../ 236 subiciunt Cf. (in a quite different sense) *G.*2.491f. *metus omnes et inexorabile fatum/ subiecit pedibus* (for ‘feet’ thus, cf. n. on 7.100), after *Lucr.*1.78 *religio pedibus subiecta*. Any association with the serpents once more hidden at Pallas’ feet, 227, seems altogether fortuitous. V. may also recall Hephaestus’ wondrous wheeled tripods at *Il.*18.375f..

rotarum/ 236 ...lapsus A wonderfully rich and inventive expression (for the form, cf. *remigio alarum, ferri rigor*, Bell, 219, 258, Görler, *EV* 2, 265): on wheels, the TH will glide into Troy, as the serpents slid (cf. Putnam, 7, Knox, 384f., Fernandelli, 151, Scafoglio (5), 192; cf. *Prop.*3.13.63f. *sola/ fallacem patriae serpere dixit equum*, the TH as serpent as Knox remarks), or as ships slip over the waves (cf. 8.91; the TH may also become, metaphorically, a ship, 13–39, *ad init.*, Scafoglio, *cit.*): *labi*, notes Knox, used of a chariot, *G.*3.180, and of a sea-chariot, *Aen.*1.147. See *EV* 3, 86, Steinmann, *TLL* 7.2.957.79ff., noting both the travelling palace of Candace, resting on *rotarum lapsibus* and drawn by twenty elephants, *Iul. Valer.* 3.37, and *Veget.*4.17, of siege-towers: *his plures rotae mechanica arte subduntur, quarum lapsu uolubili magnitudo tam ampla moueatur* (cf. *Bell. Alex.*2.5, siege-tower moved *rotis funibus iumentisque*; note Kern, 181). At *El.*718, Soph. writes of τροχῶν βάσεις, with an entirely different sense (of the motion of the wheels of a racing chariot), along with an influential phrasing. Wheels ‘no doubt figured in the Cycle’ (Campbell on *QS* 12. 424–7, persuasively); apparently first attested, Eur. *Tro.*516 τετραβάμονος ὡς ὑπ’ ἀπήνας (but perhaps already implied, *Od.*8.504 αὐτοὶ γάρ μιν Τρῶες ἔει ἀκρόπολιν ἐρύσαντο; Gärtner, 202, n.210); after V., cf. *QS* 12.424f., *Triph.*100. Note that the Trojans only attach wheels to a previously wheel-less TH when it has to be drawn inside the walls: a version distinctively different from that in *QS* (Gärtner, 202f., *bene*; see too Zintzen 34). In art, Au. here notes some clearly

wheeled instances of the TH (vd. his pl.I, A. Sadurska, *LIMC* 3, 813ff, nos. 13, 15, 36; on the lowest band of the TIC the TH is clearly wheeled and pulled by twelve men, Sadurska, *Tab.il*, 28). Had the TH been wheeled from the first, Sinon's task of persuasion would have been too arduous (even Trojans might have jibbed at a vast unexplained statue with *wheels*); here, we pass lightly over the converse difficulties of fitting wheels to a TH full of armed warriors.

236 stuppea uincula For adjs. in *-eus*, cf. n. on 7.589; adj. thus loftier than gen. would have been (n. on 7.723, etc.). The expression clearly enough after Eur. *Tro*.537 κλωστοῦ δ' ἀμφιβόλοις λίνοιο (of the same occasion). Cf. Blümner 1, 182f. (for ancient ropes), Cristante, *EV* 4, 1048. V. once more endows the narrative with a strong flavour of Rom. cult usage (cf. Austin's informed n.): the ropes (236, 239), the boys and girls (238), and the hymn (239), all within four lines, point unambiguously in the same direction (for details, vd. *infra*; 239 for the rope): the Trojans honour the TH as a sacred object, deserving of all familiar, Roman, gestures of respect.

collo/ 237 intendunt Serv. glosses *inligant*; cf. Lucr.4.76 *uela...magnis intenta theatris*, G.4.399f. *uincula capto/ tende*, Nielsen, *TLL* 7.1.2116.31; *EV* 5*, 96 insufficient. Dat. or abl.? The passages cited by Nielsen, 29ff. are ambiguous, but for Val.Max.6.3ext.3 *e corpore pellem detractam sellae intendi*, which should suggest that at e.g. Ov.*Met*.14.708f. *coronas/ postibus intendit* dat. is at least likely, as indeed here (cf. with *accingere*, *aduoluere*, *committere*, *immittere*, *inicere*, Antoine, 124ff., Nielsen 28 'aliquid alicui rei'). Real horses too of course have *colla*, G.2.542. The spondees of a heavy pull and a terrible moment. 'Noli argutari' is Heyne's good advice to those who want to know where and how the rope was secured; not enough to silence James Henry, who does, though, cite usefully QS 12.424 δῆςάμενοι καθύπερθεν.

scandit...muros The TH is hauled laboriously (I refer to the rhythm) over the rubble of the recently-demolished gate/wall (*propter aggerem quem ruina fecerat muri* Serv. Dan.); however, the vb. might here suggest almost autonomous motion (Scafoglio (5), 193) and certainly is not the sort of threat to the walls envisaged by Laoc. at 46. This is not the image conveyed by Aesch. *Ag*.826f., the TH πήδημ' ὄρούςας.../ ύπερθορῶν δὲ πύργον, and Enn.*trag*.72 *saltu superauit*, *Aen*.6.515 *saltu super ardua uenit*. Here, no trace of leaping, perhaps thought inappropriate to what has become at least partly a scene from cult. The vb. standard Lat. for 'climb' Cat.105.1, Prop.3.21.24, Liv.4.2.14 and Liv. indeed

uses *muros scandere* as regular phrasing (5.21.12, 29.7.5); an almost ironical echo present at 401.

fatalis machina M. already at 46. Cf. 6.515 *fatalis equus*; here TCD writes *ibat in patriam ultimum fatum*. The inevitable fall of Troy does not diminish the drama and tragedy of its working out.

238 feta armis The run-on phrase given special prominence: so 395, 400, Squillante Saccone, *EV* 2, 311. For the hallowed, traditional image, cf. nn. on 13–39§3, 20. Compare in particular here Eur. *Tro*.11 ἐγκύμον' ἵππον τευχέων, Enn. *trag*.72 *grauidus armatis equus*. Cf. 1.51 *loca feta furentibus Austris*, Leonhardi, *TLL* 6.1.640.69; already Varr. *At.fr*.12 Courtney *feta feris Libye. Armatum peditem grauis attulit aluo* (6.516) seems a less felicitous expansion of the theme.

pueri...innuptaeque puellae So G.4.476, *Aen*.6.307 *pueri innuptaeque puellae*, formulaic and in the Hom. manner, and therefore largely ignored by Sparrow (but see 81ff.) and Moskalew; no significant Gk. antecedents and not an allit. noun-pair for Wölfflin; see though Wills, 282. Not only (*infra*) sacral, however, but associated *bis* with the young who died *ante diem*, as these young Trojans too will probably die on the morrow. *Puella* particularly lyric and elegiac, *quater* in *Buc*, *quater* in *G.*; formulaic again at *Aen*.6.307. Cf. *EV* 4, 342, Axelson, *UW*, 58. *P.* is a diminutive form (EM, Leumann, 284, *EV* 2, 75), as the fem. is in other such pairs of nouns (EM, citing e.g. *adulescens*, *adulescentula*), and avoidance in epic is thus easily understood (*tacent* Axelson, Austin); in the present formula a definite tinge of elegiac pathos. Cf. Cic. *har.resp*.23 *puer ille patrimus et matrimus* (vd. *infra*), Cat.34.2ff. *puel-lae et pueri integri ...//...canamus* (with T.P. Wiseman, *Cat. and his world* (Oxford 1985), 96ff.), Liv.27.37.13 *tum septem et uiginti uirgines, longam induitae uestem, carmen in Iunonem reginam canentes* [a great literary moment; the hymn by Livius Andronicus; Fraenkel, *Horace*, 379] *ibant* (cf. Warde Fowler, *Rel.exper.*, 328, F. Bömer, PW 21.2.1896.30ff., T. Köves-Zulauf, *Kl.Schr.* (Heidelberg 1988), 32, G. Wille, *Musica romana* (Amsterdam 1967), 47ff.), Hor. *CS* 6 *uirgines lectas puerosque castos*, ILS 5050.147 *pueri XXVII...patrimi et matrimi et puellae totidem carmen* [Hor. *CS* itself; Fraenkel, *cit.*, 378f.] *cecinerunt*, to which Hor. returns, *Carm*.4.6.31 *uirginum primae puerique...[37] canentes* and Tac. *Hist*.4.53 *cum pueris puellisque patrimis matrimisque* Cf. Bömer, *cit.*, 1903.49ff. for Greek usage: the children regularly specified as ἀμφιθαλεῖς; for these groups of boys and girls in Rom. cult, cf. Marquardt, *St.V.* 3, 227, Wissowa, 496, Latte, 249, 407f.; Serv. tersely *more Romano*. Thus too after the fall of Veii (*Liv*.5.22.4) *nam-*

que delecti ex omni exercitu iuuenes, pure lautis corporibus, candida ueste, quibus deportanda Romam regina Iuno adsignata erat... (cf. Basanoff (165f.), 43f., E. Schmidt, *Kultübertragungen* (RVV 8.2, Giessen 1910), 103f.). But there is perhaps also a touch of Eurip. here, for in his lyric narrative of the TH's entrance into the city, young and old flocked *Tro.*527f., τίς οὐκ ἔβα νεανίδων / ...ἐκ δόμων;

circum The adolescents both choir and (perhaps part of the) haulage team (cf. Scafoglio (5), 195); hardly both at once, though the detail, here not tidily processional, is best not pressed.

239 sacra canunt Cf. Poeschel, *TLL* 3.266.65; no helpful analogies. Over and above the passages just cited (238) in which the adolescents' role is explicitly choral, cf., for processional song, Wissowa, 426f., Norden, *Priesterbüchern*, 268ff. and for an introduction to the Gk. material, F. Bömer, PW 21.2.1911.62ff., Burkert, *Gk.Rel.*, 102f., J.N. Bremmer, *Gk. religion* (GRNSC 24, 1994), 39f.. Note that at (i) below and in Liv.5 above, as here, a new cult is being introduced; cf. Bömer, 1900.59ff. for the comparable Gk. usage. Here note the ἀοιδαῖς of Eur. *Tro.*529; flutes and lyres, Triph.309; not suitable here. See Robert, 1246; one dancing figure on the TIC, Sadurska, 28. Cf. 249 for feasting. Little do they realise that they are also singing a lament (Puccioni, 68).

funemque Compare (i) Ov.'s account of Claudia Quinta and the arrival of the Magna Mater at Rome (a scene which becomes directly relevant to V. at 240f.), *F.*4.325 *exiguo funem conamine traxit* (a much-poeticised version of the reality discussed by Meiggs, *Rom. Ostia*, 289ff., J. Le Gall, *Le Tibre...dans l'antiquité* (Paris 1953), 228ff., K.D. White, *Gk.Rom. Technology*, 153, L. Casson, *Ships and seamanship*, 332f.; note too Aus.*Mos.*42 for towing upstream). (ii) Ps.Asc. (vd. 203) on Cic. *Verr.*2.1. 154 *tensas...quod ante ipsas lora tenduntur; quae gaudent* [possibly an echo of V.] *manu tenere et tangere qui eas deducunt* (with Cic.*har. resp.*23 on ritual flaws *aut puer ille patrimus et matrimus si tensam non tenuit, si lorum omisit*, Val. Max. 1.1.16 the consul Varro lost at Cannae because as aedile he held *ludi circ.* and in *Iouis optimi maximi tensa eximia facie puerum histrionem ad exuuias tenendas posuisset*). (iii) Liv.27.37 *supra* continues ...[§14] *et per manus reste data virgines sonum uocis pulsu pedum modulantes incesserunt* (cf. Scafoglio (5), 194f., where a ref. to Au. is clearly lacking). (iv) Tac.*Hist.*4.53 Helvidius Priscus, at Vespasian's restoration of the Capitol *uittas, quis ligatus lapis innexique funes erant, contigit; simul ceteri magistratus et sacerdotes et senatus et eques et magna pars populi, studio laetitiaque conixi, saxum ingens*

traxere. Bremmer (*RMM* 106) compares also Paus. 7.5.7f.. The TH is a far step from Rom. *tensae* (Marquardt, *St.V.* 3, 509, Weinstock, *DJ*, 285, Chapot, *DS* 5, 115), though the latter clearly belong to the ritual scene that V. implicitly envisages; Au. is hardly right to suggest that the Trojans touch the rope ‘for luck’, for clearly, on these joyful occasions (note (ii), (iii), specifically), Rom. processional usage (sometimes, but not always for the introduction of a new cult) imposes the most careful, respectful handling of *tensae* and *lora*; there is *gaudium* in the occasion (tragic, ironic of course), but the irascible Pallas, and Roman religious pedantry, demand that the adolescents keep a firm grasp on the rope(s). Cf. Schmidt (238), 94ff..

manu contingere Not a clearly defined activity (238) and at this point the phrasing neutrally commonplace, not helpfully specific: cf. Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.712, 83f..

gaudent Serv.Dan. remarks *quidam hic ‘gaudent’ pro ‘optant’ intelle-gunt, ut[Buc.3. 88]; cf. Sen.Ag.639 sacros gaudet tangere funes, Hey, TLL 1704.63ff.. Tacet EV.*

240 illa subit Unobtrusive change of subj.; the vb. indicates ‘ascend’ (sc. towards Pergama and the temple of Pallas); cf. *OLD* s.v., §2a.

mediaeque...urbi Cf. 1.441, 2.359f., n. on 7.384. The TH is now just inside the city; and from beyond the wall (though we revert to the gate at 242f.), it towers menacingly over all that lies within (Speranza unwisely takes these words with vb. only, not partic.); the menace anticipated by Laoc. (47) is realised.

minans *uel ‘eminens’...uel ‘minitans’* Serv.; clearly both towering and threatening, while *TLL* 8.1031.21 (Rubenbauer) havers. For the former, cf. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.620*, who cites *Aen.8. 668* (‘probably’) and Cat. 115.8 (‘perhaps’) and note also *Aen.1.162*, Runchina, *EV3*, 531.

inlabitur Firmly within the realm of serpent-language; cf. on 236
lapsus, with bibl.. The vb. used in Hor.C. (2.17.27, 3.3.7), but apparently introduced to high poetry by V. (n. on 3.89; *tacet* Cordier).

241 o patria At this exalted moment, corresponding to a lyric reflection on what has happened/is about to happen (cf. 554–8, after the death of Priam, closely similar in tone and manner) V. pays (profoundly significant) homage to Enn. as tragedian: cf. *trag.87 o pater, o patria, o Priami domus*; cited by Cic. (*de or.3.217*) to illustrate *miseratio ac maeror* (cf. Rieks, 67f.); *uersus Ennianus* comments Serv. (cf. Stabryła, 80, Wigod-sky, 78). Cf. also Enn.*Ann.108 (o...o...o)*, Plaut.*Ba.933 o Troia, o patria, o*

Pergamum, o Priame periisti senex, Cat.63.50f. *patria o mei creatrix, / patria o mea genetrix*, 5.632 *o patria et...Penates*, Petr.89.11 *o patria*, Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.770.25ff. ('allocutiones'), Dickey, 348. For the gemination of *o*, cf. n. on 11.732.

o diuum domus Ilium For **I.**, cf. full n. on 3.3. The allit. phrase of recognisably Ennian origin, *Ann.*586 *diuom domus, altisonum cael,* Aen.10.101 *deum domus alta*. See Hofmann, *TLL* 5.1.1978.45ff., Schwerling, *ib.* 5.1.1653.15. The Homeric θεῶν ἔδοc, though that is Olympian, not earthly. Serv.Dan. thinks of Troy's walls built with divine help and of the the veneration of the Palladium, TCD of the many temples in Troy. The rhetorical, or emotive 'point' is that Troy, for all her temples, and devotion to the gods, is in the process of falling.

et incluta bello/ 242 moenia Dardanidum The adj. predictably Ennian, *Ann.*155 of Rome (cf. Liv.1.56.5 of Delphi); O. Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.959.59. Note **82f. incluta fama/ gloria**, 6.479 *inclusus armis*, Sall.*Hist.*2.fr.81 *ad Corycum urbem inclitam portu atque nemore. EV* 2, 935; Hom. κλυτὰ τείχεα (*Il.*21.295). For all the fame previously acquired (*quia superauit Mysiam totam* Serv.), we have reached the point at which they have at last been breached, by the Trojans themselves. **D.:** cf. 59; here suitably sonorous, and taking up the allit. of **diuum domus**.

quater.../ 243 ...quater The Hom. τετράκις (once only), here a studied 'improvement' upon the familiar *ter*. Cf. n. on **174 ter** (on which **quater** is clearly some sort of variation or improvement, Zorzetti, *EV* 3, 783f.): suitable for giving an impression of portent-language.

ipso in limine portae In this context, old (and therefore, potentially if not conclusively, tragic) phrasing: cf. Plaut.*Bacch.*95 *Cum portae Phrygiae limen scinderetur*, **2.803 limina portarum**, 3.351 *Scaeae...amplectior limina portae*, Meijer, *TLL* 7.2.1403.83f.. V. is at pains not to specify the Scaean Gate, important in accounts of the *fata* of Troy (234); on **241** Serv.Dan. supposes that *etiam post profanationem* the gate exercised its powers against the foes of Troy. Maybe. Here the occurrence a nimble invention of elegant, immediately detectable origins: the threshold a conventional focus for portents in daily life, K.M.D. Dunbabin, *JRA* 3(1990), 105f., Pease on Cic.*Div.*2.84 (in some detail). Tripping on the sill brings ill-luck to the tripper, so no close analogy is to be drawn. The sound of arms from within derives surely from a famous passage, which we have already seen V. using (232, 235f., 236, 239; cf. G. Scafoglio, (5), 192). At *Tro.*5.19ff., Eur. writes ὅτ' ἔλιπον ἵππον οὐράνια/ βρέμοντα

χρυσεοφάλαρον ἔνοπλον ἐν πύλαις Ἀχαιοι. If the TH is described as ἔνοπλον, then οὐράνια βρέμοντα is likely (though not perhaps quite certain; cf. Lee's n.) to indicate the thunderous clang of arms, and it seems that that is how V., here, understood it; cf. too Sen.*Ag.*634 *saepe commotae sonuere parmae*. If the hauling of the TH into the city (Austin 1959, 21f., Gantz, 649f., Sadurska (235), 813, Robert, 1244ff.) is here portrayed with the colours of the entry of a cult or statue into Rome (238, 239), we may wish to compare this very last moment of delay, resistance, and risk of revelation with the resistance of the Golden Bough (6.210f.) and the statue of the Magna Mater grounded on a mudbank (Ov.*F.4.*300, etc.). Such instances of 'ritual delay and resistance' are fascinatingly discussed by J.N. Bremmer, *RMM* 105–11, Schmidt (238), 99f. (and vd. n. on 7.620), though here a modern reader with interests in the history of religion may possibly risk seeing more than (s)he should. The TH crossed the rubble of the wall at 237, entered the city, and began climbing towards the *arx* at 240, so the clang of arms here is clearly placed out of chronological sequence (and TCD notes that there is a problem of narrative order, 1.180.16ff.) as a moment appropriate to V.'s current theme of the Trojans' deafness, literal and mental (cf. 244 **tamen**); *bene*, Paratore. Tarrant on Sen.*Ag.*630, and Rostagni here (cited by Speranza) suggest the gate of the temple of Palas; in the same v. as **moenia** (here, evidently the outer fortifications), that is not persuasive.

243 substitit Cf. 11.95 with n.; the TH described as though capable of autonomous motion, though that will never quite come (Austin 1959, 17f.).

atque utero Cf. 20, n..

sonitum...arma dedere Cf. 53 (with n.), Roiron, 197, 443, 542 and my n. on 11.377. Speranza cites G.1.474f. *armorum sonitum toto Germania caelo/ audiit* and suggests that the sound was ill-omened (cf. Beaujeu ed.Plin.*Nat.*2, p.219). Undeniably, but here, the sound was of direcer consequence; yet again, remarks Serv., the Trojans are warned and still do not (**tamen**) give heed.

244 instamus tamen 'We keep on' (cf. n. on 11.703, *EV* 4, 1028), despite the clear, audible signal just given; this was perhaps not the moment for hymns (239).

immemores Of Gk. treachery in general and Laoc.'s warning in particular, of the latter's death, of the sacred character of the Scaean

gate (important to Serv.) and of the clang of arms in the gateway (cf. *EV* 3, 475f.); **i.** dear to V. as an indication of human folly in an unkind world, ruled by ill-disposed deities and destinies: see *EV, cit.*, Austin 1959, 21, G.4.491, *Aen.*4.194, etc. and above all, Henry, *VP*, 70, 153; **i.** used absolutely, as at 244, 9.374 ('improvidus, incautus', Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.447.27). Serv. Dan. commends V.'s *peritia* here (cf. *Alambicco*, 149, n.26) in alluding to the words of the *carmen euocationis*: *eique populo ciuitatique metum, formidinem, obliuionem iniciatis*. He continues *unde bene intulit 'immemores caecique furore', tamquam quos dei perdidrant*, and he is enthusiastically followed by Austin. The *carmen* is transmitted at Macr.3.9.7f. (including the words reported by Serv.): cf. Basanoff (165f.), 18, 33. Here there has been no identifiable *evocatio* (179) and there is no precise verbal parallel; I am not therefore confident that Serv.Dan. was right in claiming an allusion. Caesuras at 1½, 3½; the Trojans' mindless rush blurs the regular progress of the verse.

caecique furore Cf. 1.349 *auri caecus amore*, Liv.28.22.14 *cum caeci furore in uolnera ac ferrum uerordi audacia ruerent* (Rome's foes: see R. Häussler, *Das hist. Epos*, 1 (Heidelberg 1976), 197, n.119); here V. follows (perhaps unconsciously) the phrasing of Cat.64. 197 *amenti caeca furore*. F. not at all that of 316 (with 314 **amens**), 355; here 'madness' is the folly of ignorance, which blinds the Trojans to the roles of Sinon, Pallas, and the TH; compare the *dementia* of 4.374, 5.465, and even Jup. to Juno 12.832. 'Inspipientia, dementia, stultitia, deliratio', Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1. 1630.40ff.; 'excessive folly', Cairns, 83 (of this v.). In the immediate context, the celebrations of 248f. are ample explanation. Cf., not closely, 42 **insania**, possibly 54 **si mens non laeua fuisset** and vd. Buchheit, 107, Kleinknecht, 451f., 475, n.70.

245 et monstrum infelix A rich and complex expression, for **m.** clearly suggests both mod. 'monster' (Szantyr, *TLL* 8.1449.71ff.), and as often *id quod monet* (n. on 7.81), while **i.** conveys both tragic outcome and generally ill-omened character (n. on 3.246); possibly also the paradox of a *monstrum* pregnant but *infelix*, barren, infertile (A. Traina, *Poeti latini* 3, 143–4 = *Mnemosynum. Studi...Ghiselli* (Bologna 1989), 547–9). Cf. Clausen, *V4*, 73, Kleinknecht, 451f., n.31.

sacrata...arce Not significantly different from *sacra*; cf. 157, n. on 7.778. Typical significant juxtaposition of opposites (vd. indices, s.v.) at the centre of the line: the hallowed clashes with the ill-omened, and this dualism is present within the person of Pallas, venerated but hostile

deity, planner (15), and now also dedicatee of the TH, venerated on the citadel she is about to bring low. For **a.**, cf. 33, etc..

sistimus Cf. *G.2.489, Aen.2.620*, Bartalucci, *EV4*, 1028.

246 tunc etiam ‘Then too (as on previous occasions; *sicut antehac, saepius* Serv.) or ‘then too, in addition to other warnings’ (Speranza)? The former does seem much more probable, despite Henry’s eloquent discussion.

fatis...futuris Serv.Dan. cites *quidam* who take **fatis** *pro calamitatibus*; as often (Hey, *TLL* 6.1.359.4ff. at 11, comparing 3.182 *Iliacis exercite fatis*; cf. Serv.Dan.on 1.32, 4.450 *aut malis suis*). Given that Cass. is the subject, there also exists a tendency to take **f.f** as ‘prophecies of the future’ (in the etymologising sense of *f.* frequent in V; see e.g. n. on 7.239), Bailey, 206; cf. Pomathios, 335, Pötscher, 56, 68). But the simple ‘[fated]disasters to come’ is at least equally present. Surprising that Austin ever contemplated that these words might be in abl.; as clear a dat. of purpose as you could wish: cf. Antoine, 141, *Aen.1.210 illi se praedae accingunt dapibusque futuris*, 429 *scaenis decora apta futuris*.

aperit.../ 247 ora Cf. [Sall].*Rep.1.8.9 uix satis apertum os aut lingua prompta uidetur*, Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1079.21, Prinz, *ib*, 2.214.64; compare *ora resoluti*.

Cassandra Condemned by Apollo never to be heeded in punishment for her refusal to sleep with him, Aesch.*Ag.1202ff.* (with Fraenkel’s n.), Apld.*Bibl.3.12.5* (with Frazer’s n.), Vellay 2, 422f., Robert, 997. For C. in general (prophetic in the Cycle, not in Hom.), vd. J. Davreux, *La légende de la prophétesse Cassandra* (Liège 1942), *EV1*, 690f. (Massenzio; thin), NP 6, 316f. (J.N. Bremmer), *LIMC 1*, 956–70 (O. Paoletti), Bethe, PW 10.2290.8ff., Engelmann, Ro.2.974.68ff.. When the TH was about to enter Troy, she (predictably enough) warned the Trojans again, as here: cf. [Apld.]*Epit.5.17* (probably reflecting a summary of *Il.Pers.*, Campbell, 176, West, *Gk. epic frs.*, 145), Hyg.*Fab.108.2f.*, Triph.358ff. (at some length), QS 12.525ff. (with Gärtner, 221ff.), D. Chrys.*Or.11.128* (with Campbell, *cit.*). Possibly more significant here, Prop.3.13.63f. *sola/ fallacem patriae serpere dixit equum*; Cass. is also clearly present on the TIC (Sadurska, 28), though no prophecies are here offered about the source there followed. With Laoc. just dead and the TH in Pallas’ temple, this was not the time for V. also to unleash Cass.. See Davreux, 59, 246, Robert, *cit.*, Gärtner, 222, Heinze, 21, n. on 3.183, Austin on **40–56**.

247 dei iussu Cf. 6.461 *iussa deum*. *Iussus* comedy and prose, perhaps brought to V.' attention by its popularity (likewise of *iniussu*) in early Livy. Ignored by Cordier. See Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.2.709.36f..

non umquam Not a common litotes, *Buc.* 1.35, *Aen.* 9.256; with *nec* 4.338, 529, 8.569.

credita With a comma after **ora**, naturally taken of Cass. (and so thus in *TLL* 4.1143. 12ff. (Lambertz), but that comma is quite unnecessary (is, indeed, most unwelcome, and it is surprising to find it in Goold) and the partic. can apply, as Serv.Dan. realised, as well to **ora** (nn. on **196 credita res**, 3.700 *concessa moueri* for the personal constr. with intrans. verbs in pass.). Actually, there is no reason to decide or distinguish between Cass. and her lips, and Henry should not have cited 9.181, 10.822 as expansions of *ora* comparable to this. At Ov.*Met.* 15.74 *sed non et credita* shows that it once suited Ov. to show he understood **c.** here of *ora*, but that does not in itself eliminate the mild ambiguity here. Prof. Görler reminds me that **c.** is used transitively, when *credere alicui* is still regarded as standard usage: this passage might indeed be the first attestation of acc. (which is then favoured by Ov.). For V.'s transitivisations, cf. n. on 7.581.

Teucris Cf. 26, 48; dat. of agent (Antoine, 147).

248 nos Clear and discreet means of changing the subject.

delubra deum For **delubra**, cf. n. on 225; for allit. **deum**, cf. 156.

miseri Cf. (e.g.) 70, 131, 140, 199. Formulaic pathos.

quibus ultimus.../ 249 ille dies Cf. 9.759 *ultimus ille dies bello gentique fuisset*, Ov.*F.2.570*, Liv.8.36.8 *ut ille ultimus eis dies conferendi signa cum dictatore fuerit*; a common expression, in various contexts, Pflugbeil, *TLL* 5.1.1053.42ff., Oakley on Liv., *cit.*, so we should perhaps not give excessive weight to its presence at Liv.5. 21.5 (fall of Veii) *seque ultimum illum diem agere*. Liv.5 and *Aen.* 2 both written ca. 28, both using (probably, not provably) older phrasing; no need to try to establish priority. **Ille dies** run on for greater weight, and clearly evocative of the day foreseen by Hector, *Il.6.448f.* ἔκκεται θῆμαρ ὅτ' ἀν ποτ' ὄλωλη "Ιλιος ἵρῃ...", Knauer, 353f., n.6.

esset "It is idle to enquire whether the subj. is 'causal' after **miseri**...or 'concessive' before the idea of rejoicing" Jackson, *bene*. At **miseri**, we are still waiting for a main verb; **quibus ultimus...**, therefore, we have to suspend, since it may well explain **miseri**, or else may come to depend in some other way on the main verb. When we reach **uelamus**, though, we have rather forgotten **miseri** (anyway,

comprehensible without explanation), and so tend now to take **quibus ultimus...** as concessive. Perhaps then both answers are present at different stages in our reading.

249 festa...fronde *Quae festos indicat dies*, Serv.. Cf. 4.459 [*templum*] *festa fronde reuinctum*, Bauer, *TLL* 6.1.630.64f., Robbert, *ib.*1350.7f.; particularly, it is clear, in celebration of Pallas, who is no friend to the Trojans, though V. hides away any specific detail in a tangle of narrative complexities (199–233, §1, 226). We might note the expansion at Sen.*Ag.*644 and compare the garlanded TH at QS 12.434ff. (cf. Robert, 1246). Cf. 239 for music. V. has also in mind the widespread and ancient detail of the Fall by which, after the TH has been brought to the Pergama but before the d. of Laocoon, there was a night of feasting: so *Iliou Persis* (Procl.p.62.8Davies), [Apld.] *Epit.* 5.17, Eur. *Tro.*542ff., QS 12.523, 575, 13.1–20, *Triph.*448ff., 500f., Hyg. *Fab.*108, Robert, 1248, 1252 and *Aen.*6.513 *falsa inter gaudia*. Heinze suggests that it would have been embarrassing for Aen. to admit to Dido that he had been among the feasters (21) and that the procession was a discreeter alternative. Unpersuasive, for Aen. could so easily have detached himself with disdain from the banquetters, and as it is he will later comment distantly on their sodden slumbers, 265 (cf. Pomathios, 105).

uelamus La Cerdà well quotes Tert.*Apol.*35.4 *cur die laeto non laureis postes obumbramus*; cf. too Verr.Flacc. ap. Macr.1.6.15 *placuisse uelari*[cf. n. on 7.154] *loca ea qua pompa ueheretur (pompa circensis)*, Stat.*Silv.*1.2.231 *fronde uirent postes* (nuptial; cf. Friedlaender, Courtney on Juv.6.51, Blümner, *Privataltertümer*, 354, n.1), and see too Cat.64.293, DC 63.20.4, Apul.*Met.*4.29, Eitrem (133), 64f., 480. A regular item in varied festal/processional usage. For (analogous) funerary greenery, cf. n. on 3.64.

per urbem A common clausula, *decies* with sing., *septies* with plur.. The conventional, almost banal detail of ornamental greenery acquires high pathos from the context.

250–267 Cf. 234–49: the passage from the entrance of the TH to the beginning of the massacre is not yet complete; the full ‘bridge’ requires the moon to rise, a signal to be sent, the TH to be opened and the Greeks to emerge: ancient, indispensable narrative motifs. V. maintains the remarkable intensity and density of the previous fifteen lines: vd. e.g. the refined structure of the miniaturised Greek catalogue.

250 uertitur interea caelum Cf. Enn.*Ann.*205 *uertitur interea caelum cum ingentibus signis* (compared by Macr.6.1.8), *ib.* 27 *qui caelum uersat*, with n. on 11.202 *inuertit*, Lucr.5.510 *magnus caeli si uortitur orbis*. Macr. also (5.5.5) compares *Il.*8.485f. (the sun falls into the Ocean, bringing Night); *Od.*5.294 is clearly relevant too: ὁρῶσει[‘is roused’, ‘stirred’] δέ οὐρανόθεν νύξ. ‘Revolves’, clearly, and not (Serv.) ‘*in aliam faciem commutatur*’. This verse has attracted much attention, and no definite answer has hitherto emerged: over and above the comms., cf. Antoine, 160, *EV* 4, 604 (Cavazza), *ib.*, 3, 770f. (Bagnolini), W. Hübner, *Act. Class....Debr.* 33(1997), 189ff., P. Knox, *CQ*39(1989), 265, G. Landgraf, *ALL* 8(1893), 73, S. Mack, *CQ*30(1980), 153ff., Roiron, 616f., Wigodsky, 121f.. Discussion has concentrated upon the case of **Oceano**, but, oddly, no attention seems to have been paid to the chronology of the action (but cf. briefly Hübner, 191, Clausen, *DAI*, 74): V. does offer a simple, lucid picture of the sequence of events, and it is one that permits only one solution to the grammatical ambiguity, even though no exact schedule of the Greek assault emerges. In the verses immediately prior to 250, there is no indication of time. It will very shortly appear that the moon is at least for the present shining (255), and that the Trojans are asleep (253, 265), after some hard drinking (265), but they have not been asleep for very long (268–9). The sense of **interea** is not perspicuous (cf. n. on 7.572, T.E. Kinsey, *EV*2, 992f., after *Glotta* 57(1979), 259ff.): some degree of simultaneity between (a) the procession and festival and (b) the darkness of 250ff. is clearly easy and likely (Kinsey, 261; agreed, entirely), but the sense of a ‘loose temporal sequence’ cannot be excluded. **Vertitur ... caelum**, though, clearly marks the advance of time, whether it be the sun or the stars whose movement(s) signal the passing hours. The Trojans have therefore seen (not that long since: four hours or so, in the ‘real world’) the sun set behind the Calydnae islands, even behind Lemnos. As the sun sets, the night rises: so Ov.*Met.*4.92f. *et lux tarde discedere uisa/ praecipitatur aquis et aquis nox exit ab isdem* (cf. *ib.*15.30f., Mack, 156, Hübner, 192; there are many other formulations of the night’s onset). No moon visible, or at least none mentioned, until 255; moonrise at midnight in the *Il.**Parv.*, as we shall soon see; narrative detail and astronomical calculations will prove to be in complete harmony.

et ruit Not (Serv.) *nascitur de Oceano* but (Serv.Dan., quite correctly) ‘*cum impetu et festinatione uenit*’. V.’s usage closely studied by Cavazza, Mack, Hübner: here cf. 3.508 *sol ruit interea*, with n., 6.539 (with Norden’s n.), 8.369, 10.256.

Oceano Abl. of separation, or dat. of goal? Discussed energetically (*supra*) and unnecessarily; narrative context and lit. antecedents point to a time before midnight and therefore to night coming on, *from* the Ocean (for day, cf. n. on 11.1), comparable to Hom. οὐρανόθεον. That said, S. Malosti's valuable work on the abl. of extension does point to a further possibility, not hitherto considered: **ruit**, it is agreed, can indicate swift fowards motion (e.g. Mack, 155), and is found with abl. of extension, G.3.470 *ruit aequore turbo* (with Malosti, 79f.; cf. *Aen.* 4.52, 5.212). So possibly here 'rushes over the Ocean'. LHS, 100 hasty and disappointing.

nox The final monosyll. clearly Homeric (*supra*), and there is no case to be made for an Ennian contribution, though it has been claimed; Clausen (*THP*, 142, n.54 = *DAI*, 74, n.71) notes that QS and Triph. adopt similar effects in their Cassandra-episodes. For V., cf. n. on 7.592, and see Marouzeau, *TSL*, 314f., and Hübner, 196f. for the placing of *sol*, *fax*, *lux*, *nox*, etc. at v.-end. With the coming of night, the rhythm slows dramatically.

251 inuoluens Cf. 6.100 *obscuris uera inuoluens*, 336 *obruit Auster aqua inuoluens nauemque uirosque*, and, for the idea of night or darkness as a covering or cloak, cf., variously, Hom.'s common νύξ ἐκάλυψεν (and the like), in particular (Hardie, *CI*, 317) *Od.*5.293f. σύν δὲ νεφέεσσι κάλυψε / γαῖαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πόντον, Lucr. 6.864 *roriferis terram nox obruit undis*, *Aen.* 4.351f. *umentibus umbris / nox operit terras* (the latent metaphor, if any, much obscured), Val. Max. 1.7 ext. 1 *lucem...caliginosis inuolutam tenebris*, Stat. *Theb.*2.527, 3.415f. *nox subiit.../...nigroque polos inuoluit amictu*, Ven. Fort. *carm.*3.9.64, I. Kapp, *TLL* 7.2.264.75f., Mack, 157, Hübner, 190f. and above all Catrein, 119f., 126 for such expressions as (*con*)uestire *caligine*, *umbra* (Cic. *Arat.*119). The volumes of R. Eisler, *Weltmantel u. Himmelszelt* (München 1910) do not illuminate the metaphor here (but cf. 1, 105 on the sky as meadow) The darkness perhaps more menacing for the homoeoteleuton and repeated clash of word-accent and metrical beat; cf. (e.g.) A. Lesky, *Studi...Castiglioni* 1 (Firenze 1960), 534.

umbra magna Cf. Bulhart, *TLL* 8.128.68f., citing Stat. *Theb.*8.676; m. of *nox*, Germ.570, Plin. *Nat.*6.213, A.M. Negri Rosio, *EV* 5*, 381. Pascoli offers a fine list of instances of *magnus* used by V. to evoke something vast and spreading. Cf. above all G.3.219 *in magna Sila formosa iuuencia. Magnam P.*

terramque polumque Ocean likewise present in the previous line (so V.'s expression overall involves three elements); cf. Hardie, *cit.*; cf.

nn. on 3.586, 11.588 for **p.**, and for expressions denoting earth and sky in V., cf. n. on 7.571, Hardie, 296ff. For *-que...-que*, cf. on 7.470.

252 Myrmidonumque dolos Cf. 7 for **M.**; for **d.**, cf. 34 (we recall that Hom. used *λόχον* of the TH, *Od*.4.277, 8.515). Cf. n. on 7.470; the presence of a third *-que* of no special interest (cf. 3.516f., *et saep.*). Night enfolds heaven and earth, and likewise, exactly parallel, but παρὰ προσδοκίαν, Greek trickery; dependent upon the darkness, it is exalted almost to the status of a universal force.

fusi per moenia Teucri Serv.Dan. writes *dispersi per sua quisque*, but that could refer either to the Trojans' homes, or to the stretch of wall to be guarded (to both, we might think); cf. Cic.*Sest*.91 *ut quodam tempore homines...fusi per agros ac dispersi uagarentur*, Petr.131.8, Robbert, *TLL* 6.1.1571.50f.. But the sense is not only of the Trojans scattered about the (?)walls; note too (as Serv.Dan. realised, *ad habitum... dormientium*) of the body relaxed by wine or in slumber: *G*.2.527 (the reveller) *fususque per herbam*, *Aen*.5.837 *fusi per dura sedilia nautae*, 6.423 *fusus humili* (Cerberus, drugged), *Ov.Met*.12.319. Given the very common use of *fundere* applied to liquids, yet another association may be at work here, that of sleep as a liquid poured into the Trojans' bodies (vd. detailed n. on 3.511), as other liquids have been but lately, and in less metaphorical ways. *EV* 2, 610 inadequate. **M.** we have just seen (234) may be used of houses or of walls, as Serv. notes. Possibly left deliberately unclear; whether asleep on guard or snug at home, the Trojans are not ready for combat, and, tragically, they feel no need to be.

253 conticuere Cf. 1 **conticuere omnes**; significantly placed, perhaps, just after the beginning of 'Part II' of the book (250). The Carthaginians, who as yet knew (almost) nothing, fell silent, more or less incapacitated by wine (265); here, the Trojans, overwhelmed by the passage of events and by their celebrations, at last, catastrophically, fall silent and sleep (cf. 9.337–8; at *QS* 13.1ff., *Triph*.498ff. there is, or has been, explicitly, heavy drinking). They have learned, thus far, nothing, save Greek deceit, while we all sit at Carthage, rent with excitement and anticipation.

sopor Cf. 8.27 *alituum pecudumque genus sopor altus habebat*. This had long been a night famed for the Trojans' deep sleep: cf. Eur.*Hec*.913ff. μεσονύκτιος ὠλλύμαν/ ἦμος ἐκ δείπνων ὑπνος ἡδὺς ἐπ' ὄσσοις/ σκί-δναται, *Tro*.550, [Apld.]*Epit*.5. 19, Hyg.*Fab*.108; the Greeks in the TH take advantage of the Trojans' slumber, [Apld.]*Epit*.5.20, probably once

part of the fuller epitome of the *Iliou Persis* (vd. West's ed.). See Robert, 1252, A. Sadurska, *LIMC* s.v. *Equus Troianus*, 816, n°29 (massacre during banquet, as in *Tzetz.Posthom.*726), n. on **249 festa ... fronde**.

fessos...artus The phrasing is of a familiar type: cf. G.4.190 *fessosque sopor suus occupat artus* (vd. Biotti's n.), *Aen.*3.511 *fessos sopor irrigat artus* (where vd. my n.; for **f.**, cf. n. on 7.298), 9.814 *fessos quatit aeger anhelitus artus*. TCD reminds us of the irony of Trojans exhausted by the labour of dragging in the TH to their own destruction.

complectitur Old, lofty idiom: cf. Laev.fr.15.1 Courtney *complexa somno corpora* and the exalted moment, Cic.*Rep.*6.10 *me...artior quam solebat somnus complexus est*, Jachmann, *TLL* 3.2083.11; *EV* does not aim to be all-embracing. Putnam, 25 (cf. Paschalis, 76; all after Knox (199–233), 386f.) is right to remark that c., like **inuoluens**, recalls coiling embraces of the serpents; see **208, 214, 218**; sleep's embrace will be as lethal to the Trojans as the serpents' was to Laoc.'s children.

254 et iam Cf. **8, 217**. For the common epic sequence *et iam...cum*, cf. n. on 7.25, and Au. here; for the synaloepha, with as often another monosyll. preceding *iam*, cf. also n. on 11.807.

Argiua phalanx Serv. and Serv.Dan. (rightly) think **p.** is synecdoche for the whole Greek (cf. 55) army; cf. 6.489, 11.92, 12.277, 544, 551, 662 for **p.** as a convenient term for a large body of men (cf. Spoth, *TLL* 10.1.1997.36ff.). **P.** is probably not used for 'fleet' (Heyne): though *exercitus* can apply to a ship-borne force (n. on 7.39), **p.**, being in origin more specific, and explicitly land-borne, is not so attested.

instructis nauibus Caes.*Gall.*5.2.2; also Cic., Liv.: see von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2. 2017.8ff.: the technical, military term altogether appropriate to the occasion (cf. also Caes.*Civ.*1.56.4, 3.100.2, 111.3). The (Macedonian) formation and the orderly ships reinforce each other in giving an impression of military efficiency.

ibat Cf. 10.213f. *tot lecti proceres ter denis nauibus ibant/ subsidio Troiae*, Serv. *ueniebat*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.2.635.30f.; *ire* perfectly common of individuals travelling by sea (cf. **111**, Cat.84.11, Hor.*Epd.*9.30), but the use with a collective noun as subj. seems not directly paralleled. Au. is convinced that the impf. is inceptive; just as well, surely, of continuous motion.

255 a Tenedo Like the serpents, as V. is at pains to make explicit; cf. **203 a Tenedo tranquilla per alta** (where the use of the prepos. is also discussed).

tacitae...lunae This line has been subjected to prolonged, and often not very profitable, discussion, since the times of Politian and Janus Parrhasius: see most recently the useful summary by Speranza and A. Barigazzi, *Prometheus* 16(1990), 227–37, R.V. Cram, *CP* 31(1936), 253–9, A.di Prima, *Paideia* 6(1951), 277–89, A.T. Grafton and N.M. Swerdlow, *CQ* 36(1986), 212–8 (summarised, my n. on 3.10), A. Pagliaro, *PP* 6(1951), 22–32 (with older bibl., 26), *id.*, *Paideia* 7(1952), 24–6. Add *EV* 3, 281 and, *multo melius*, L. Ricottilli, *ib.* 5*, 10f.. The considerable complexity of the astronomical reference and of the learned tradition behind V. was not clearly and correctly understood before 1986. It seems probable that Hellanicus (*FGH* 4F152) and Damastes (cf. DH 1.63.1, with FGH5F3 and Grafton/Swerdlow, 216) addressed the precise dating of the Fall of Troy on the basis of the literary evidence, including *Il.parv*.fr.11aDavies (fr.14West) νῦξ μὲν ἔην μέσση. λαμπρὰ δ' ἐπέτελλε[‘was rising’, as in Hes. *Op.*383] σελήνη; their arguments were then refined by Callisthenes, *FGH*124 F10a. Virgil had access (but it is not quite clear how and where; cf. also n. on 3.8) to a (growing) body of calculations to the effect that Troy was taken seventeen days before the summer solstice, the 7th. or 8th. day before the end of Thargelion, when the moon, in her third quarter, only rose about midnight; the essence grasped by TCD. The Greeks, therefore, are at sea and nearing the Troad after midnight. This line of argument had been considered previously (e.g. Pagliaro 1951, 23), but with no understanding of the relevant ancient scholarship. For stellar indications of the date of the Fall of Troy, vd. Aesch.*Ag.*826, with Fraenkel’s n.. V.’s double reference to silence is finely explained by Licinia Ricottilli, *cit.*, though Henry had made the point, with atypical brevity (‘does not tell, does not blab’; cf. Salvatore, 53): night is of course, conventionally, silent (*Aen.* 4.527, with Pease’s n., 7.87, 102, Kvičala, 152), and peculiarly well suited to military trickery (e.g. *G.*1.426, *Caes.Gall.*7.18, 36, *Civ.*3.75) but in V. the moon’s silence belongs to a general tendency to ‘humanise’ nature (cf. 3.515, 6.265, *et saep.*) and here that silence may also suggest her connivance, as a kind of celestial accomplice, at Greek trickery (R. cites *Anth.Pal.* 5.4, 5, Plaut. *Curc.* 16ff., Cat.7.7, Prop.1.4.14, Juv.8.149f. *sed Luna uidet, sed sidera testes/ intendunt oculos*, Mart. 14.39; add e.g. GP, *HE* on Meleag. Ixix). That **tacitae...Lunae** might be dat. (cf. 3.112 *fida silentia sacris*) has also been proposed; altogether unnatural in the shadow of *Il.parv.* and the long tradition of research on the date, etc.. The agricultural term *luna silens* (= ‘new moon’) is not relevant here (cf. Austin, Ricottilli) and no allusion to it is demonstrably present, either.

There will of course be several references to darkness later in the narrative (**360, 397, 420, 590, 621**, etc.): allow for cloud, if you will, or shadow within the city (buildings, temples, walls, hill), or poetic license/inattention, or even the poet's inability to follow out some summary of the implications of the astronomers' work (sensible remarks on the solution at TCD 1.194.15ff.). Not to mention the dramatic need for darkness (Heinze, 24f., *bene*). But there was certainly a moon as well, in V.'s view (**340**). The setting of the moon, at this point—after 7am, if we are thinking, let us say, of the end of May, and at Troy—is clearly irrelevant. The correction **noctis**, Giardina, *QUCC* 83(2006), 93–5, known to me from Geymonat₂, is unedifying and unnecessary.

per amica silentia Note the silence that keeps a friend's secret, at Cat.102.1 *si quicquam tacito commissum est fido ab amico* (Ricottilli, *cit.*); on all aspects (religious, public, personal) of silence and *fides*, cf. now NR on Hor.C.3.2.25f..

256 litora nota petens Cf. 3.657 *litora nota petentem* with n., where the notion of familiarity lends pathos, as Au. senses here and as is undeniable at 7.491, and, with some irony, at **401**. The Greeks return eagerly to destroy, as they have tried to before, and where the serpents have shown the way (**205**); they are assisted (TCD) both by moonlight and by familiarity. The coincidence of ictus and accent (cf. 7.632) may even suggest strong, regular pulls at the oars. Aen. reflects a Greek point of view, as he will at **401**; cf. *Companion*, 111.

flammas cum.../ 257 extulerat Cf. 10.261f. *clipeum cum deinde sinistra/ extulit ardenter*, Prop.4.8.59, Bannier, *TLL* 5.2.146.19f.. The use of fire-signals is amply attested elsewhere in the Greco-Roman military tradition, from *Il.*18.207ff. on (with Edwards on 211); for the wrecker's fire on Cape Caphereus, cf. n. on 11.260, possibly from *Nostoi*: see Aesch.*Ag.*9f., Ar.*Aves* 1161f., Hdt.7.183, 9.3, Thuc.2.94.1, 3.22.7, 80.2, Liv.29.25.11 (on board ship; Henry adds Stat.*Ach.*1.33) and perhaps best of all (la Cerda), Liv.25.9.10 (*infra*, **265**), etc., J.P. Hershbell in *Communication arts in the ancient world* ed. E.A. Havelock and JPH (New York 1978), 82 (= 116 in the Ital.tr.), Walbank on Plb.10.44.1, W. Riepl, *Nachrichtenwesen des Altertums* (repr. Hildesheim 1972), 46ff. The tradition of the signals used on Troy's last night is rather complex; distinguish between (1) Sinon signals to the Achaeans, who are still at Tenedos (*Il.Pers.*, Proclus, p.62.14Davies), (2) Lyc.340ff., Antenor signals by torch to Sinon (? hidden near Achilles' tomb), who in turn signals by torch to the Greeks, (3) schol. Lyc.340, the traitor Antenor

signals to the Greeks, (4) [Apld.]*Epit.*5.19, Sinon signals to the Greeks from the tomb of Achilles, (5) *Aen.*6. 518f., from Pergama, in a travesty of Bacchant ritual, Helen brandishes a torch, signalling to the Greeks (cf. J.O'Hara, *Inconsistency in Roman epic* (Cambridge 2007), 86f.), (6) QS 13.21ff., Sinon signals to the Greek fleet at Tenedos that it is time to sail, (7) *Triph.*495f., Helen will signal from her upstairs room to the Greeks and (8) *id.* 510ff. Sinon shows a torch from the tomb of Achilles, while Helen keeps a signal burning all night. See Au.'s good nn. here and on 6.518, Gantz, 649f., Frazer's n. on [Apld.]*cit.*, Vellay, 1, 297, Robert, 1252f., Gärtner, 228f., Vian, *Recherches*, 73 and n. on QS 13.28f.. Here, not Agam.'s signal to the Greeks to set sail (Henry, Page and others); that had happened, long since (254f.); rather, uniquely, it is the *Greeks* who signal to *Sinon* that they are well on the way, and that it is time for him to open the TH (not too long before their arrival). That he does at once; he returns yet once more to the action at 329. The signal here is not exactly inconsistent with that in bk.6: there could have been two. Both are excellently suited to their contexts, but it is the signal *here* that is the novelty, like Sinon's opening of the TH, which it brings about. Both novelties perhaps the product of a search for drama concentrated in the person of Sinon (cf. Gärtner, 228). Au. removes the comma after e., because 'the action in **laxat** follows almost simultaneously on the action in **extulerat**'; maybe, but the exact sequence and timing are not specified. The inverted *cum*-clause contains two verbs, both actions of particular importance, and distinct in time (for the tenses are contrasted), with the signal clearly prior to the unbolting; the notion that **ibat** and **laxat** are parallel, with **extulerat** alone in the *cum*-clause (so e.g. Page) appears perverse, and very difficult after **fatisque**. Speijer proposed **iam**, a neat end to unjustified pessimism, while Bachrens' **turris** for **puppis** bears tribute to a certain practised ingenuity.

regia puppis Cf. Liv.21.50.8 *transgressusque ex regia in praetoriam nauem*, 11 *regia classis*, 29.8.10, 36.44.6, 37.14.3; with ships upgraded to *puppes*, V. is using the standard language of historical narrative. Between the indices of Norden, Austin, Williams, Harrison and Horsfall, not to mention *EV*, *puppis* has escaped; synecdochic synonym for *nauis* (cf. *carina*), not prosy, Quint.8.6.20 (rightly); used by Cat.64.6, Lucr., Cic.*Arat.*.

257 fatisque deum...iniquis Cf. 3.17 (with my n.), 8.292, and 10.380 for *fata iniqua*; cf. *EV* 2, 979 for analogous expressions. For **fata deum**,

cf. 54. It is only on account of divine injustice that Sinon has survived his evil plotting; see Pötscher, 58, 83.

defensus By the will of the gods *ad Troianorum aduersa seruatus*, TCD. From **fatisque**, we have to wait until 259 for the (dramatically delayed, but fairly predictable) subject. Jachmann, *TLL* 5.1.295.33ff. compares G.3.544, *Aen.*10.708.

258 inclusos utero Cf. 20 for the TH's metaph. womb and **inclusi**, 45.

Danaos Cf. 5.

et pinea.../ 259 ...claustra So Petr.89.57 *Danai relaxant claustra et effundunt uiros*, Sen. *Tro.*430; the lofty adj. from Cat.64.10, 61.15, Lucr.4.587 (and cf. 16 **abiete**). The zeugma (Greeks and bars) regularly noted (discussed, Bell, 309; vd. indices s.v. and 259 **laxat**). The unfastening of the TH's hatch is variously narrated: V: Sinon, from outside (whence Hyg.); Petr.*cit.*: Danai; [Apld.] *Epit.*5.20: the Greeks; QS 13.39f.: Odysseus; Triph. 539: the Greeks inside; Schol.Lyc.340: Antenor; in Lyc. not specified. Cf. Gärtner, 228 and Au.'s n.. As in the case of the signal, V. prefers to innovate, concentrating the responsibility for this phase of the action upon Sinon (cf. Zintzen, 42f.).

furtim Cf. 18.

259 laxat The vb. regular of doors, etc. as might be expected: cf. van Wees, *TLL* 7.2.1072.22ff., Luc.1.295, Juv.8.260 *laxabant portarum claustra*; of 'releasing' persons cooped up more unusual and 'interesting': cf. Cic.Rep.6.16 *qui iam uixerunt et corpore laxati illum incolunt locum, quem vides*, Apul.Met.9.36 *canes pastoricos uillaticos feros atque immanes ... laxari atque in eorum exitium inhortatos immitti praecepit*, van Wees, *cit.*, 1072.73ff.. The initial spondee in tribute to a weighty action and a heavy bar, perhaps; cf. n. on 7.406.

Sinon Cf. 257 **defensus** for the postponement; 'the pause that follows is like a sigh after the suspense', Au..

illos We concentrate upon the 'captive' Danai, after the bars' brief prominence: for a moment longer, they are prisoners of the TH, who has herself to yield them (**illos**, the object) up to the outer world. We are about to come to their delighted, free action.

patefactus ad auras P. of Trojans opening the gates, Enn.*trag.*334 Joc.; also Acc.*trag.*, Cic.*Arat.*, Cat.68, Lucr.. Not the conventional hyperbole of 7.466 *uolat uapor ater ad auras* (vd. n.); the Greeks are at last released from their Stygian and airless prison (cf. G.2.363) into the airy,

moonlit night; Au. generously prints Ronald Knox's immortal elegiacs from Ulysses to Penelope, written inside the TH (p.295).

260 reddit equus In the literal sense of 'give back', 'restore', often (as here) with the implication of 'to its rightful place': cf. *EV* 2, 117, **2.543**, **740**; Serv. appropriately quotes Hor.C.1.3.5.. The TH will return to the action in a near-comic coda, **401**.

laetique A word studiously ignored by joyless readers of Virgil, except for E. Henry, Rieks, 195ff.; vd. my indices. This is good characterisation: of course the Greeks are naturally delighted to be released from their narrow and uncomfortable transport, being now but a rope's length away from combat and an end to their over-long sojourn in the Troad.

cauo...robore V. re-uses familiar language, at a distance, **53**, **230**.

se...promunt So Lazarus from the tomb, *Juvencus* 4.393, Kruse, *TLL* 10.2.1881.14; the vb. standard Latin, in high poetry from *Acc.trag.* (possibly Pacuv.), but the reflex. not common. Hom.'s ιππόθεν ἐκχύμενοι κοῖλον λόχον ἐκπρολιπόντες (*Od.8.* 515).

261 Thessandrus A diffused Lat. orthography for Gk. Θέρσανδρος (cf. Leumann, 211); a son of Polynices and eventually k. by Telephus in Mysia (thus *Cypria*; an earlier part of his story in *Acc.Epigoni*). V. borrows the name (or simply forgets T.'s death, as Serv. here apparently does) and creates a Thessandrus *bis* here. Laudizi, *EV* 5*, 144f., Höfer, Ro.5.662.33ff., at 663.61ff., Scherling, PW 10A. 2452.47ff., at 2453.47ff., G. Berger-Doer, *LIMC* 7.1.920f..

Virgil offers a meticulously-constructed mini-catalogue of the heroes within: cf. Lesky (**251**), 533–40, W. Schubert, *RhM* 139(1996), 363–5, N. Biffi, *Inv.Luc.25* (2003), 19–29. Cf. *Od.4.272* πάντες ἄριστοι, 11.524 Ἀργείων οἱ ἄριστοι; in *Il.Parv.* '3000', according to the mss. of [Apld.]*Epit.*5.14, helpfully emended to '13' by Severyns (see e.g. West on fr.12); παμπολλούς, according to Sacadas(?; the name is not certain) of Argos, *Athen.*13. 610C = Bernabé, p.87; a hundred, Stes.fr.22PMG; fifty, [Apld.]*Epit.* 5.14; thirty names, 'and many others', QS 12.314ff., twenty-three, Triph.152ff., some names present in Pausanias' account of Polygnotus' painting, 10.26.2. The number of those within proverbial, Pl.*Theaet.*184d2. Hyg largely excerpts *Aen.* here (vd. *infra*, **263**). For the tradition of the names and number, cf. Au.'s n. here, *id.* 1959, 22f., Gärtner, 174, 228, Vellay 1, 293ff., Frazer on [Apld.]*cit.*, Robert, 1228f., 1237ff., Campbell, QS 12, p.101f.. Did V.

really wish us to suppose that the TH had only contained nine Greeks? So Au., but 328f. **armatos.../ fundit equus** does perhaps, *pace* Au., suggest a larger number and the entire passenger-list does not have to be recited. at least Hom. did not think so at *Od.*4.265ff. (only five named; cf. 11.523ff.). We might note the elegance with which formal and linked pairs (Thessandrus and Sthenelus, Acamas and Thoas, Menelaus and Epeius) coexist with a clearly triadic structure.

Sthenelusque Son of Capaneus and Evadne (cf. Thessandrus' origins). A suitor of Helen; also quite prominent in *Il.* (e.g. 4.403–8, 5.111–2), often in the company of Diomedes (so e.g. 4.367); cf. Hor.*C.*1.15.24, 4.9.20. In the TH also at QS 12.316 (cf. Gärtner, 174, Campbell, 101f.). Fo, *EV*4, 1021, B. Zimmermann, *NP* 11, 998, §4, A. Kaufmann-Samaras, *LIMC* 7.1, 812ff., §II, Lamer, *Ro.*4.1523.64ff. at 1524.62, Gebhard, *PW* 6A.2471.39ff. at 2473.30ff.

duces ἄνακτες; cf. nn. on 3.122, 11.7.

et dirus Ulixes Cf. n. on **7 duri miles Ulixi**. So too, **762 dirus Ulixes**; Traina compares the *dirus Hannibal* of Hor.*C.*3.6.36 (vd. also 4.4.42) and suggests a near-etym. sense of ‘ill-omened’ (‘un castigo di Dio’, *EV* 2, 94); add Grassmann-Fischer, 104, n.33. But cf. too 3.273 *saeui...Ulixi*, with Setaioli (7), 175. After two faintly obscure names carried over from the Theban cycle, V. crowns his first trio with the prominent, active, brutal Ulysses. Inevitably in the TH; see e.g. *Od.*8.517, Triph.200ff., QS 12.316f., Paus.10.26.2 (Polygnotus). Macr. 5.17.15 perhaps wrote **dius** (Willis records: ‘om. T; *diu NP*; *dirus A*’) when citing this v.; **diuus F**; corr. **F₁**, **dirus MP**.

262 demissum...per funem Cf. Hor.*Ars* 461, Prop.4.7.17, Kieckers, *TLL* 5.1.488.61, Leumann, *ib.*6.1.1595.66f.. Echion jumped, and died; the remainder used the rope ([Apld.]*Epit.*5.20); a ladder in QS 12.333, 13.49ff. and Triph.90, 93f.. If they had jumped, remarks TCD, they might have been hurt, or the noise might have woken the Trojans. Better (Heyne) the need to use a rope gives a fine notion of the TH’s great size. See Au. here, after Robert, 1254, Vian on QS 13.53, and *Recherches*, 73. For ladders and ropes in art, cf. A. Sadurska, *LIMC* 3.1, 816.

lapsi Cf. Petr.102.1 *et per funem lapsi descendimus in scapham*, Flury, *TLL* 7.2. 782.4f.. The rope neatly divides the first trio from the second.

Acamasque A son of Theseus; non-Homeric but known probably from *Il.Pers.* (fr.4 Davies); in the TH also at Triph.177, QS 12.326, and in Polygnotus’ depiction, Paus.10.26.2; cf. 1.23.8 for the Athenian

Acropolis. Cf. Toepffer, PW 1.1143.5ff., Bernhard, Ro.1.205.33ff., E. Kearns, *NP* 1, 390, U. Kron, *LIMC* 1.1, 435ff., *EV* 1,7.

Thoasque Leader of the Aetolians, *Il.*2.638ff. and quite prominent in combat thereafter. See QS 12.318 (in the TH), C. Binder, *NP* 12/1, 465f., §3, Fo, *EV* 5*, 204f., Immisch, Ro.5.818.9ff., Scherling, PW Suppl.7.1561.40ff. The Homeric *-que...-que* particularly appropriate in this catalogue setting.

263 Pelidesque Neoptolemus The patronymic (P. is of course grandfather) only here in V.; cf. Hor.C.1.6.6, Prop. 2.22a.34. Typically, the Greek names thus disposed (the single 4th. foot caes. a consequence of N.'s metr. shape) are not in fact thus disposed in Greek (cf. Thomas on *G*.1.279, 3.550). Kenney (469–505), 224, n.6 suggests that on his first appearance N. ‘usurps’ his father’s patronymic; given the remarkable flexibility of the patronymic’s use (studied with care, Maria Assunta Vinchesi, *EV* 3, 1029ff.) in V. and elsewhere—Ach. and Neopt. are both called *Aeacides*, ‘wrongly’, for example, in both Gk. and Lat. texts—this suggestion is perhaps not very helpful and it is hardly fair to reprove commentators for ‘missing’ the point. Neoptolemus in the TH neither turned pale nor wept, as Od. tells Ach.’s ghost, *Od*.11.528ff.; for Polygnotus, see Paus.10.26.4; in the lists of QS (12.314f.) and Triph. (152ff.), as the first to board; Od. the first to emerge at QS 13.49. Cf. my n. on 3.326: valiant but markedly odious; again, the most distinguished figure caps the second trio.

primusque Machaon Son of Asclepius and brother of Podalirius, an active doctor in *Il.* (Seymour, 623, *EV* 3, 297, D. Pandermalis and I. Leventi, *LIMC* 8.1.777–80, P. Dräger, *NP* 7, 622, Höfer, Ro.2.2228.16ff., von der Kolf, PW 14.144.1ff.), probably by now dead, according to *Il.parv.fr.7*Davies (cf. QS 6.436). But his presence in the TH is also attested in Greek, once only (Hippocr.*Epist.*27, p.318Hercher; see Heinze, *VdT*, 23, n.2. Biffi, 22 gravely confused), and thus cannot quite be dismissed as Virgilian elaboration. P. has provoked no little discussion: apart from the comms., vd. *EV*, *cit.*, Lesky, Schubert, Biffi (261); emendation is no longer an acceptable option in such cases, and discreditable maltreatment of the grammar and word-order will not detain us. But M. is not first in the list (though first of his little ‘trio’, Serv.Dan.), is not evidently first out of the TH—the order of entering the TH is, in the present context, *pace* Schubert, entirely irrelevant, though it clearly could have been the order of descent inverted; vd. previous n. for interest in this detail -, and is not, or at least, is not at

all obviously ‘first’ in rank, as a hero, except for his skills as a leech. But Liv. could write *uiribus ingens bellatorque primus* (8.8.17), and L. Licinius Crassus (at least in Cic.*de orat.*2.224) *sapiens...homo cum primis nostrae ciuitatis* (*ORF* n°66, fr.45.19); cf. too 8.6 *ductores primi*, 7.107, 9.226, 785. Cf. Cunliffe, *Lex.Hom.Dialect*, s.v. , §(4)(b) and following, citing e.g. *Od.*8.180f. ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτοισιν ὅτω/ ἔμμεναι. The difficulty was faced, intelligently enough, by *OGR* 1.9 *de quo quaeri potest: quomodo potest ‘primus’ dici post tantos qui supra dicti sunt?* Verum intellegemus ‘primum’ pro principe, uel quia is ad perfectum illis temporibus circa peritiam medicae artis praecipuus fuisse traditur (and note Serv.Dan.’s account of the options). The reader retains some sense of mild awkwardness, but, collectively, the explanations suggested are enough to avert radical solutions. Neopt. is clearly climactic, so **p.** now introduces the last trio.

264 et Menelaus In the TH for Hom. (*Od.*8.518) and both Triph. (457ff.) and QS (12.315). So too in Polygnotus (*Paus.*10.26.3).

et ipse doli fabricator Cf. 34, 62, 252 for **d.** and the ‘lexicon of trickery’; here, though, used as ‘res dolo serviens, doli causa facta’, metonymically, in short, Hey, *TLL* 5.1. 1859.31f., comparing e.g. Hor.*Epd.*2.34, of bird-nets. But above all see, of the TH, *Od.*8.494 δόλον. **F.** ennobled by Lucr.3.472 *morbus leti fabricator*. Compare Tac.*Ann.*1.10 *machinator doli Caesar*.

Epeius Au. here offers a long and delightful account of the figure of E., with which I do not presume to compete; cf. also Austin 1959, 17, *EV*2, 326, M. Robertson, *LIMC* 3.1, 798f., T. Scheer, *NP* 3, 1066. His climactic position closes a narrative ‘sweep’, which began with the introduction of the TH at 13ff.; for his role as chief constructor, cf. 15. Last to board the TH, Triph.182f., QS 12.329; he helps Od. with opening the doors, *ib.*, 13.41f.. A natural climax too for V.’s third trio of heroes. Note that Hyg.108 replaces E. with Diomedes (cf. Biffi, 21, n.18); D. one would expect in the TH, and this divergence does not alter Hyg.’s general close indebtedness to V. here.

265 inuadunt Cf. 9.147 *inuadit trepidantia castra*; the common idiom of historical narrative: thus often Sall., Liv.; vd. e.g. *Or.Phil.* 10 *an expectatis, dum exercitu rursus admoto ferro atque flamma urbem inuadat?*

urbem...sepultam Cf. 3.630 *uinoque sepultus*, where vd. my n. (Ennian). The phrase’s extension to a whole city a new development here; note too Enn.*Ann.*2 *somno...reuinctus* (so Au.). ‘Weighed down’ rather than dictionary ‘buried’ (though with a strong hint that this

sleep was to be a grave to many) and corresponding to Hom. δεδμημένοι (*Illiad* 10.2, 14.353); vd. Skutsch on Enn., *infra*. Cf. Hom. οἰνοβαρείων.

somno uinoque *Nil magnum a Graecis factum* to seize a city in such condition (Serv.Dan.). Hendiadys, lacking in the Ennian original, *uino domiti somnoque sepulti* (*Annals* 288; used at Liv. 1.7.5). There does not appear to be a Greek antecedent (cf. n. on 3.630, McKeown on Ov. *Am*. 1.4.53f., G. Ramires in *E io sarò tua guida* (ed.M. Gioseffi, Milano 2000), 101ff.). Cf. at the siege of Syracuse (Liv. 25. 23.16) *inde ubi id temporis uisum quo <de> die epulatis iam uini satias principiumque somni esset*, scaling ladders appear and the assault begins. A deserter has told the Romans of a festival (the great spring festival of Artemis Lyaea, perhaps), and of the effect of ample wine on the hungry defenders' heads (§14); Liv. will indeed go on to re-use the Ennian **grauatis omnibus uino somnoque**. For the episode, compare Front. *Strat*. 3.3.2, Kern, 264, Walbank on Plb. 8.37.2. We should note also the points of contact (use of fire signals; slaughter of slumbering guards; entry of main army) between these vv. and Livy's siege of Tarentum, shortly before, (25.9.10): *editus ex composito ignis ab Hannibale est refusisque idem redditum ab Nicone signum; extinctae deinde utrimque flammæ sunt. Hannibal silentio ducebat ad portam. Nico ex improuiso adortus sopitos uigiles in cubilibus suis obtruncat portamque aperit. Hannibal cum peditem agmine ingreditur*. V. takes an ancient sequence of events (*infra*), and probably sharpens the detail in the light of annalistic narrative of two famous episodes in the 2nd. Punic War; then Liv. writes up his source material with an eye to one of Virgil's finest passages yet, whether pre-19, on the basis of a preview, or post-, after *Aen.* becomes generally available. Some contact hereabouts seems undeniable (and what Enn.'s role might have been is unclear, beyond the one common phrase). Such passages as Posid. fr. 253EK = FGH87F36 = Athen. 5.215A, *Aen.* Tact. 16.5, 29.8 (σῖα δὴ ἐν ἑορτῇ), Polyae. 8.25.1, Liv. 22.50.4, and Front. *Strat*. 2.5.12 do suggest that drunkenness on watch, in the 'real world', must have been commonplace; cf. also *Aen.* 9.326, 335ff., 346, and so a literary commonplace, too. Heyne, drily 'non moratur poeta in comissionibus Troianorum, quas adtingit tantum'.

266 caeduntur uigiles Vd. n. on **166 caesis custodibus**. Au. well notices that the pass. is altogether appropriate to the slaughter of the sleeping watch (and vd. now S. Laignéau, *Bull. Ass. G. Budé* 60(2001), 383). See 335.

portisque patentibus Cf. *Enn.var.24 caeli maxima porta patet*, and n. on 11.879 (standard language). [Apld.] *Epit.* 5.20 records ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη παρεγένοντο καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ὑπεδέξαντο τοὺς ἀπὸ Τενέδου καταπλεύσαντας (a version of events close to that at Schol.*Lyc.* 340). Cf. Robert, 1254, n.6. See too Vian's n. on *QS* 13.61, where a lacuna is likely, above all because *QS* has specified the activity of two groups of Greeks: if one group begins the slaughter (narrated), then the other (missing) is likely to be engaged in securing the gates. Zintzen, 49 suggests that they had been left open. Or are we to suppose that the Greeks flung them open (so e.g. Rossi, 179)? V. gives us no clue; therefore it did not matter.

omnis/ 267 accipiunt socios Cf. *Liv.28.6.4, 30.7.2 patentibus portis Romani accepti*, Buchwald, *TLL* 10.2.8.79. The need for a beacon to orchestrate the fleet's arrival and the opening of the TH should by now be clear.

atque agmina conscientia iungunt Cf. 4.142 *infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit*, 11.145f. *plangentia iungit/ agmina*. Cf. 8.476, *iungere castra paro*, *Liv.1.2.3 socia arma iunxit*, 39.31.1, etc. von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.659.10ff.: standard idiom in the narrative of events. Vd. 99, **conscientius**; here too 'soldiers party to the plan'; the ind.obj. implied is 'to their own *agmen*', or rather, e.g., '*manus*'.

268–97 Hector's ghost. Here, the principal literary sources of this rich and complex scene will be discussed, at 281–6 the figure of the wounded Hector, and at 289–95, the importance of Hector's words for Aeneas. Hector's appearance can be viewed both as the first in a series of revelations made to Aeneas before ever he leaves Troy (cf. 289–95, Adler, 263f., Steiner, 32f., 34) and as a vision relevant to Dido too, at one remove, the more comprehensible as a sequel, similar in oneiric character, to the direct appearance to her of the dead, outraged, unburied Sychaeus (1.353–6; cf. Walde, 263, Adler, 264, Au. on 268–97). Of principal importance is the appearance of the ghostly, still unburied Patroclus to Achilles, *Il.23.59–110* (vd. J.N. Bremmer, *Early Greek concept of the soul* (Princeton 1983), 79) and the points of contact have often been listed: vd. in particular Steiner, 35f., Kyriakou, 321ff., G. Scafoglio, *infra*, 301ff., Ricottilli, 177f. (no detailed discussion in Knauer); both parties weep (Hector, 271, Aen., 279). This moving community of tears (perhaps as some sort of substitute for the famously excluded physical contact between the dead and the living, 793) looks to derive from *Il.23.102, 106* (cf. Scafoglio, 305, Ricottilli, 176, Adler, 267f., Walde, 270). Ricottilli 178f., 181 also suggests the influence of

Od.'s conversation with Agam., *Od.*11.387ff.: again, both parties weep (391, 395), and the living speaker, as here, speaks first. Note too from Hom. (but not exclusively from the Patr.-Ach. dialogue) **270 maestis-simus Hector** with *Il.*23.65 Πατροκλῆος δειλοῖο, **272f.** (bloody dust), **273** (pierced ankles), **275** (Hector's return with spoils), **276** (attempt to fire Greek ships). Aen. hails Hector in Ennian terms (**281 o lux Dard-aniae** (in the following v., Enn. continues *cum tuo lacerato corpore miser* and vd. comms. on 6.500ff. for V.'s familiarity with the passage; see also on **286 aut**); cf. too n. on **272 raptatus**; possibly from a prophecy by Cass. (Jocelyn, p.203, Wigodsky, 77, Stabryła, 75f., Hightet, 196, Ricottilli, 177); closely comparable to the exalted tone and Ennian character of **241 (o patria...)**). On Enn.'s version of the dream of Ilia, cf. n. on **280 compellare**. With Enn.'s representation of Hector's ghost, cf. nn. on **271 uisus**, **274 ei mihi**. Lucretius may suggest **271 effundere**; his other, theoretical, contribution is crucial, and generally neglected (but see Au. on **282**, Steiner, 31 and Adler, 268f.): we see when asleep even those who have died (4.759–61), but the memory too slumbers when we are asleep and we see those whom waking we know to be dead (4.765–7); that explains much the 'mystery' of how the sleeping Aen. fails to realise that it is the *dead* Hector that is speaking to him. Indeed, there is no sign of Hector in Aen.'s waking mind, at all (cf. Berres, *VH*, 78, n.26, R. Allain, *REL* 24(1946), 191f., Guillemin, *ad loc.*, without reference to Lucr.). See Adler, 263–9 (*bene*), M.von Albrecht, *Herm.*93 (1965), 62f., J. Bouquet, *Le songe dans l'épopée latine* (*Coll.Lat.* 260, Bruxelles 2001), 23–6, R.J. Clark, *Lat.*57(1998), 832–41, Di Cesare, 45–6, B. Fenik, *AJP* 80(1959), 5–8, C. Fuqua, *CP* 57(1982), 235–40, Glei, 136–7, P. Hardie, *Epic successors of Virgil* (Cambridge 1993), 102f., Heinze, 25–8, Henry, *VP*, 45, Heuzé, 295–7, Hightet, 8, P. Kraglund, *Dream and prediction in the Aeneid* (Copenhagen 1976), 11–59, Kühn, 41–3, P. Kyriakou, *Herm.* 127(1999), 317–27, Mackie, 46–9, Puccioni, 68–9, Putnam, *VA*, 141, Raabe, 84–6, Ricottilli, 174–182, Salvatore, 55–6, S.C. Smith, *TAPA* 129(1999), 243f., G. Scafoglio, *Philol.*146 (2002), 299–308, H.R. Steiner, *Der Traum in der Aeneis* (Bern 1952), 29–37, A. Thill, *EV* 2, 416f., C. Walde, *Die Traumdarstellungen in die gr.-röm. Dichtung* (München 2001), 267–75, Williams *TI*, 106–8, 262, Wiltshire, 70f..

268 tempus erat quo Cf. 4.522 *nox erat et...* (with Pease's ample n.), 8.26ff. *nox erat...// cum*, 9.80 *tempore quo* (with G.1.61), 10.503 *tempus erit...cum*, Hor.C.1. 37.2ff. *nunc Saliaribus/ ornare pulvinar deorum/ tem-*

pus erat dapibus, Sen.*Med.*111. See my n. on 3.147 for such ‘temporal ecphrasis’ in V. *EV*5*, 86–8 not helpful.

prima quies Serv. observes *hoc loco noctis describit initium*, a fatuous remark inexplicably followed by Austin (‘early part of the night’). Hom. heroes did not retire to bed and slumber at sunset. V. is rather careful and consistent in his indications of the time here (250) and we should not forget that after the TH’s entry there have been enthusiastic celebrations. Informed readers knew that the very present moon rose at midnight on this famous night (255) and any attentive reading of these vv. suggests that, though V. appears to generalise (‘the time when people are in their first sleep’), the Trojans had on this occasion gone to bed very late, and were only now (in the small hours) in that first sleep: cf. the *prima quies* of 8.407, which banishes *somnum* (vd. Fordyce’s n.) and 5.857 *uix primos inopina quies laxauerat artus*. Not a stock phrase, but cf. too Liv.21.5.9 *cum prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit*, Ov.*Met.*8.83 *prima quies aderat*, both perhaps after V.; *Aen.*1.1723 *postquam prima quies epulis* slightly different. Fordyce, *cit.* was wrong to suggest that in such expressions *prima* replaces *primum*, though in some passages it clearly may do. As in 4, *cit.*, a poignant antithesis here of quiet night, and deep sleep, as against the imminent turmoil of the sack (298ff.). At 6.522 (of Deiphobus) *dulcis et alta quies placidoque simillima morti*, V. refers to this very night.

mortalibus aegris Lucretian (6.1), after Hom.’s formulaic δειλοῖς βροτοῖς. Cf. Reichmann/Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1510.80. At G.1.237, *Aen.*10.274 (vd. Harrison), 12.850 (so formulaic for V. too).

269 incipit Au. well draws attention to Norden, 392f. for V.’s liking for a verb at beginning and end of the verse. For the *perissologia* (after **prima**), cf. n. on 40.

et dono diuum Cf. Cic.*Arch.*18 *Ennius ‘sanctos’ appellat poetas, quod quasi deorum aliquo dono atque munere commendati nobis esse videantur*, Liv. 1.54.3, 44.33.3, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.2021.35ff.: traditional, allit. language, therefore, but not very common. In Hom., cf. (e.g.) *Il.*18.84, 19.3, 368, 20.265, *Od.*13.41, 18.142, and note too (e.g.) Hes.*Theog.*103, fr.309.1, AR 1.768; in V., note G.1.238 *munere concessae diuum*. Here in anxious proximity to **257 fatis deum...iniquis**; any gift of the gods right now will be ruinous to the Trojans; cf. Knox (199–233), 388, Bouquet, 26. Note *Il.*7.482 καὶ ὑπνου δῶρον ἔλοντο.

gratissima Taken up, Ov.*Ars* 3.695. Cf. Bulhart, *TLL* 6.2.2263.40f..

serpit Cf. Knox (199–233), 389, n.20 ‘the only parallel, so far as I know, is Plin.*Nat.*7.24[90] *somno serpente*’ (Sen.*Tro.*441 has *sommus obrepdit genis*; note *serpit...murmur*, *Aen.*12.239); he rightly draws attention to Serv.’s commendable *latenter membris infunditur*, and his case could have been further strengthened by reference to 7.354 (where vd. n.: Allecto’s serpent and the venom entering the sleeping Amata). There is evident oxymoron (or at least tension) between **g.** and **s.**: the boon of rest and its concomitant danger, creeping serpent-like.

270 in somnis Always used by V. of the [light] sleep in which a dream occurs, and was widely recognised to occur: see Au. on 9, §(e), Löfstedt, *Synt.*1₂, 55f. and my n. on 3.151; thus too *somnos*, 7.88 (my n. inadequate). So already (e.g.) *Enn.trag.*51 (Hecuba’s dream of Paris as firebrand, a passage dear to V.: vd. n. on 7.319f.), Acc. *praet.*19, Cic.*Div.*1.51ff. (*pluries*), Liv.2.36.4.

ecce A gesture by Aen. to Dido, his other Punic hearers, and us, to indicate Hector’s arrival before his sleeping gaze (cf. Kragelund, 50f.). Serv. remarks *hac particula utimur quotiens repentinum aliquid volumus indicare*.

ante oculos So of dreams, **773** (Creusa), 3.150 (Penates; vd. n.), 7.420 (Allecto to Turnus; vd. n.). Standard language for such occasions; no evident interaction between the texts of bks. 2 and 3. But not necessarily of sleeping vision (cf. Traina on 12.638).

maestissimus Hector The superl. first here in extant Latin; the adj. from *Enn.*; in *Aen.*, 36x, to *tristis*, 43x, Krieg, *TLL* 8.45.80f., 46.7ff. This note of deepest tragedy will be maintained; Hector is **m.**, evidently on account of his knowledge that the city he had defended with his life is now at last falling; that seems also explanation enough of his tears; Homer’s tears in *Enn.* are notably controversial (vd. on **effundere**, *infra*).

271 uisus adesse mihi Standard idiom: ‘I dreamed appeared to me’; cf. my full n. on 3.174 (and here note in particular *Enn. Ann.*3 *uisus Homerus adesse poeta*). Between ‘seemed’ and ‘was seen’, some confusion in Clark, 832, though he is right to insist that Aen. really did dream of Hector. TCD remarks *hic Vergilius tractat non ueras sed uerosimilis imagines uideri*, which is acute enough, but it is quite clearly not V.’s overall strategy regularly to impugn both the reality of visions and the messages they convey. **A.** belongs to prayer-language, of the presence of deities (on which that of Hector’s ghost is but a small variation):

see Liv.2.6.7, 6.29.2, Appel, 115, n. on 3.116, and the ample material quoted by Prinz, *TLL* 2.923, 79ff.

largos...fletus Cf. 6.699 (Anch. on meeting Aen.), etc. Gudeman, *TLL* 6.1.904.23f., where 3.344 (*longos*) is wrongly cited. H. evidently weeps, in the present context, for what he knows to be happening even as he speaks, the fall of Troy, the turning-point that has come to his posthumous knowledge.

effundere Here possibly in homage to Lucr.'s account of Hom.'s appearance to Enn. (cf. Skutsch, p.155f., Hardie, *CI*, 79f., Clark, 838f., Scafoglio, 304), weeping, 1.125 *lacrimas effundere salsas*. Cf. 651, Sen. *Tro*.410, Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.217.8ff., Gudeman, *cit.*, 903.66, Clausen, *THP*, 130f., n.7.

272 raptatus bigis R. used likewise of the abuse of Hector's corpse at 1.483 *ter circum Iliacos raptauerat Hectora muros*; that is the tragic version: see Eur.*Andr*.107, Enn.*trag*.79 *Hectorem curru quadriugo raptarier*, Ov.*Ibis* 333f., Heckenbach, PW 7.2. 2813.37ff. (inaccurate), Robert, 1113, n.4, and Jebb on Soph.*Aj*., p.234f.; cf. also Griffin, 138, J. de Romilly, *Hector* (Paris 1997), 190, O. Touchefeu, *LIMC* 4.1.491f.. Applied as well to the punishment of Mettus by Tullus Hostilius, 8.644f., *EV* 4, 401f.; note too that this is, explicitly, the version in V.'s mind here too, 278–9. The vb. is that used by Enn.*trag*, *supra*. The two-horse chariot rarely specified in *Aen*. (n. on 7.26; for V.'s chariots in general, see Lersch, 109f., L. Wickert, *Phil*.85(1930), 461). The *quadriga* far commoner in *Aen*. (and in Enn.*Androm*., *cit.*), the *biga* normal in Hom. (Seymour, 678f., Hainsworth on *Il*.11.699f.).

ut quondam Not the thoughts of the sleeping Aen. on the night of the Fall (285–6), but added editorially by Aen. as narrator; the waking Aen. of course has no problems with Hector's death in the sequence of events. Commas best both before and after these words ('he appeared to me as one who had been dragged by Achilles' *biga*, *as he once had been*'); the logic of Mynors' single comma I do not quite follow.

aterque cruento/ 273 puluere A. not merely of dark colour, but regularly with the strong hint of 'gloomy, sinister' (n. on 7.456); of gore, nn. on 11.646, 3.28. Here, enallage (cf. n. on 7.329 [Allecto]*tot pullulat atra colubris*), in that the adj. 'naturally' applicable to the blood is transferred to Hector as a whole. **C.** of *humum* at 11.668, where it is explained that 'bloody dust' is Homeric, κόνιος...αίματοέσσης; at 12.450 *campoque atrum rapit agmen aperto* Serv. comments *pulueris nube coopertum*. Hector's head dragged in the dust, *Il*.22.402f..

perque pedes...tumentis As James Henry, MD of Trinity, Dublin remarks, ‘dead limbs do not swell in consequence of violence’. The wounds to his ankles at least were therefore inflicted when Hector was still alive (cf. Murray, *Rise of the Gk. epic*, 118 on the growth of the macabre after Hom.), as at Soph.*Aj.*1031 (Hector), Q. Curt. 4.6.29 (Alexander and the death of Betis) *per talos enim spirantis lora traiecta sunt, religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi, gloriante rege Achilleum, a quo genus ipse deduceret, imitatum se esse poena in hoste capienda*. As a punishment for adultery, cf. Pfeiffer on Call.*fr.*94/5, Ov.*Ib.*335f. with Ellis’ note, Heracl.Lemb.*exc. polit.* fr.1Dilts (= *FHG* 2, 208, fr.3, ‘Heracl.Pont.’1.3 = Arist.*fr.ed.Rose*, p.371.7ff.). Dragging a body round the tomb actually did sometimes occur, at least in Thessaly, in slightly more normal circumstances: Arist.*fr.*166Rose, Call.*fr.* 588 (with Pfeiffer’s n.), Ov.*Ib.*331f.. The piercing of Hector’s ankles Homeric, *Il.*22.396f. (where vd. Richardson’s n.); the adj. perhaps suggestive (vd. Heyne, Ussani, etc.) either of some lost source of V.’s, or of quite another maiming, that of Oedipus by Laius, Soph.*OT* 718, Sen.*Oed.*813 *tumore nactus nomen*. At all events, a rich written tradition of (calculatedly brutal) elaboration upon Hom.’s text, of which V. takes some advantage.

traiectus lora Echoed by Q. Curt., *supra*; cf. Bader, *TLL* 7.2.1680. 64f.. The accus. in imitation of the Gk., when referring to the body or its parts; the act. would have been *traiecerunt lora Hectori per pedes* (Courtney (57), 429f., comparing e.g. *G.2.482f*, *Aen.3.427f.*, where vd.n.). Caes. has (*Gall.5.35.6*) *utrumque femur tragula traicitur*.

274 ei mihi qualis erat Ennii *uersus* suggests Serv., perhaps with reference to the first half of the line: printed as *Ann.442* by Skutsch (of the ghost of Homer, possibly). The exclam. used in com., Enn.*Ann.*, Acc.*trag.* to indicate a present grief: cf. Leumann, 63, Hofmann-Ricottilli, 111, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.2.300.38, n. on 11.57.

quantum Cf. 3.641 *qualis quantusque*, with full n..

mutatus ab The constr. standard, Tessmer, *TLL* 8.1725.4ff. and the sense equally unremarkable, Tessmer, *cit.*, 1723.14ff.. The transformation already present in Hom., in the Greeks’ mockery at 22.373f. Hector (the name run on, 374 as in 275 here) is μαλακώτερος ἀμφα-φάας θαι...ἢ ὅτε νῆας ἐνέπρησεν.

illo/ 275 Hectore Cf. Wagner, *QV* xxi, §1b, used of past time; cf. 5.191 *illas promite uires*, *OLD* s.v., §7. The name run on, HomERICALLY, in affective prominence.

qui redit Present (Leumann, 600 compares 1.171 *subit*, 10.149 *adit*);

Görler lists (*EV* 2, 272) other instances of the pres. used thus to lend immediacy to past events, and this phenomenon has indeed attracted widespread learned interest, n. on 7.363. V.'s sense here seems rather to have escaped the commentators (and Scafoglio, 303), for if we ask to what events in the text of *Il.* Virgil might here refer, we find a sort of inversion of *Il.* 17.207: Andromache will *never* receive from Hector the armour of the son of Peleus, μάχης ἐκ νοστήσαντι; he returns, indeed, but to battle, and not to his home, in his newly-won, newly-donned armour. Possibly V. has allowed a trace of 'interference' from an earlier return home, in full armour, *Il.* 6.466ff.. Cf. de Romilly, *cit.*, 135, Toucheſeu, *cit.*, 488f.. The rhythm of the v. singular (cf. Norden, 430f.): the second foot almost a second self-contained dactyl, given proclitic force of **qui** directly before vb, blurring caesura at 1½; **exuuias** obliterates any conventional caesura, and that at 4½ suffices.

exuuias...Achilli A. a regular form of the gen., n. on 3.87. For **e.**, cf. n. on 11.7, Kornhardt, *TLL* 5.2.2130.25f.. In Virgil, the wearer of another man's armour comes to a bad end: cf. *Companion*, 176.

indutus Direct obj. retained after ppp in imitation of the Gk. middle; often discussed: n. on 7.640 *loricam induitur*, Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.1267.17f., Courtney (57), 426, Harrison, p.290f., R. Thomas, *Verilius* 38(1992), 136f., Fordyce on 7.503. Donned by Hector, *Il.* 17.124, 194 (vd. Edwards on 194–209).

276 uel Danaum...puppibus P. used literally: the ships were drawn up in the normal manner with sterns to the land: cf. *Il.* 16.124, etc. and my n. on 3.71. Cf. Antoine, 156 for the dat. (= *in puppes*).

Phrygios...ignis Cf. *Il.* 16.112–129. Note the *ignis...Rutulos* of 9.128f., and the *Argolicos...ignis* of 10.56, with Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.291. 65f.. Vd. the much-favoured juxtaposition of contrasting names (vd. indices s.v. juxtaposition, n. on 11.141) and the use of 'Phrygian' simply in the sense of 'Trojan', not merely with no hint of oriental weakness (cf. n. on 11.170; *EV* 2, 593f., 5*, 293 both neglect the neutral/positive use), but of the moment in which the Trojans come nearest to driving the Greeks into the sea. Homer well recalled that hour of greatest victory: *Il.* 22.373f., quoted **274 mutatus**. On this moment, cf. too. Soph.*Aj.* 1278f., Prop.2.8.32 *feruere et Hectorea Dorica castra face*, Ov.*Met.* 13.91f., Sen.*Ag.*, cited, **285**.

iaculatus Of torches, cf. Luc.2.687, [Sen.]*HO* 872; also of thunderbolts, *Aen.* 1.42. The vb. *quinquies* in Lucr.. Cf. ἔμβαλον, *Il.* 16.122.

277 squalentem barbam Cf. 6.299 *terribili squalore Charon*, Cic.*Verr.* 2.3.31 *decumanus squaloris plenus ac pulueris*, Val.*Max.*1.7.7 (a dream) *existimauit ad se uenire hominem ingentis magnitudinis, coloris nigri, squalidum barba et capillo inmisso*. *Squales* used similarly by Pacuv. *trag.*314 (and cf. Acc.*trag.*340, 617). *EV* 4, 1004f. unhelpful. V. appears to be following here the common, but not universal, belief by which the ghost bore the distinctive aspect of the individual at death, wounds and all: cf. *Od.*11.40f., Acc.*praet.*25 (Tarquin's dream), *Aen.*6.446, 450, 494ff., Tib.1.10.38 (with Smith's n.), 2.6.39f., Prop.4.7.7, Ov.*F.*5.457f. (Remus), Tac.*Ann.*1.16.2 (Varus), with Norden on 6.446, Steiner, 26, Kragelund, 17, Heuzé, 296. Contrast e.g. Cic.'s dream of Marius, in triumphal dress, *Div.*1.59, Kragelund, 18f.. Although in Hom. Hector's corpse is first preserved by divine intervention (*Il.*23. 186f. with Richardson's n.), and then washed and anointed by Achilles' servants (24.587, with Macleod's n.; cf. Seymour, 474f.), the ghost here appears to maintain the body's appearance precisely at the point of death, in keeping with the injuries and outrages previously detailed.

concretos sanguine crinis Cf. Ov.*Met.*12.270, 14.201, Plin.*Nat.* 11.30 (the celestial origin of honey) *si qui matutino sub diu fuere, unctas liquore uestes capillumque concretum sentiunt*, [Quint.]*decl.mai.*5.9 *riget squalidi capitum concreta canities*, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.96.32ff.. Cf. Fraenkel, *Kl.B.*2, 382 for Greek scholiasts' interest in Hector's hair. The hair spread out in the dust had been specified by Hom., *Il.*22. 402–4 (esp. 402–3, Hector's head κεῖτο πάρος χαρίεν, with Griffin, 138), and Serv.Dan. here remarks *non sine ratione etiam hoc de crinibus dolet Aeneas, quia illis maxime Hector commendabatur*.

278 uulneraque illa Serv.Dan. *aut 'gerens' uelut insignia praeferens et ostentans quae a diuersis pugnans pro patria suscepérat, aut*, Serv. *quia, ut Homerus dicit, in Hectorem extinctum omnes tela iecerunt more maiorum*, citing 11.9, where vd. my sceptical discussion. In the shadow of 1.483 *ter circum Iliacos raptauerat Hectora muros*, it was difficult to argue that here V. followed the Homeric account: see n. on **272 raptatus bigis**; Ach. chased Hector round the walls three times on foot (*Il.*22. 208); three times a day round Patroclus' tomb he dragged the corpse (24.16), and it is easy to see how the tragic account (272) came into being. Serv.Dan. clearly had in mind the wounds that Hector had received in battle, here and there, prior to his last combat, while Serv. thought rather of the wounds inflicted on the corpse (*Il.*22.375, 24.420f.) by the vengeful Greeks. But the verbal parallels from these vv. found concentrated at 1.483 do strongly

suggest that the wounds are those received while he was dragged thrice round the walls of Troy.

gerens No parallels cited, Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 6.2.1932.16ff.; cf., though, Cat.64.295 (Prometheus) *extenuata gerens ueteris uestigia poenae*, *Aen.*1.315 *uirginis os habitumque gerens*.

quae...plurima Cf. 3.546, 7.217 (with n.): adj. attracted into rel. clause.

circum...muros/ 279 ...patrios Cf. 9.738, 5.624 *patriae sub moenibus*, 11.882 *moenibus in patriis* (with n.). Cf. Griffin, 112 on the pathos of wounds received not far from home, but near to home, after *Il.*22.404 ἐῇ ἐν πατρῷδι γαίῃ. This separation of prepos. and noun (*traectio*, cf. n. on 7.692) is not very common in class. Lat. poetry outside formulae (e.g. with *per*, 142): cf. *G.*4.430 *eum uasti circum gens umida ponti*, *Tib.*1.5.51 *hanc uolent animae circum*, Elsperger, *TLL* 3.1115.36ff., Kroll, *Wiss. Synt.*, 93, KS 1, 584, LHS, 398f., Marouzeau, *Ordre des mots* 3, 44. Here, both **circum** and **plurima** are given added prominence thereby.

279 accepit Cf. n. on 3.243, Hey, *TLL* 1.305.83ff. (standard Latin, perhaps a bit prosy).

ultra *Quia ratio exigebat ut loqueretur ille qui uenerat* Serv.; to be taken, that is, with **compellare** (cf. 372, 4.304, 6.499, 10.606; formulaic and quite possibly old). For **ultra**, cf. n. on 7.236, Traina, *EV* 5*, 363 (comparing 6.387): little more than ‘first’.

flebs ipse Not unheroic: nn. on 11.29, 3.10; the vb. 21x in V., *EV* 2, 540f.. Au. uncertain between **i.** used to reinforce **ultra**, as at 5.446f. (and cf. Wagner, *QV* xviii, §m, in the sense of *sponte*, quoting e.g. 7.492, where vd. my n.) and (much better) **i.** used to indicate that Aen. is himself weeping as well as (271) Hector (made explicit, *Ov.Pont.*1.4.53; cf. Wagner, *QV* xviii, §g, quoting e.g. 4.465, 7.220, in the sense of ‘gleichfalls’). Note the careful formal structure by which (next n.) Aen. passes to his own role in the dream; so too **flebs** takes up **fletus** and **ipse** signals the change of focus in the narrative, to Aen. himself, who is (also) himself weeping, and (also) present in the dream, Wagner, *QV* xviii, §b; no help from Tietze, *TLL*, s.v..

uidebar Cf. n. on 271 **uisus**. Aen. goes on to relate his recollection of his own equal role in the dream.

280 compellare uirum V. as often a lofty substitute for the undesirable *eum*, almost οὐρωπός: cf. nn. on 7.296, 757, 11.9, 224, 257. The

vb. (cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 3.2028.54f.) at Cat.64.24, but here distinctively Ennian (*Ann.*43; the echo ignored, Wigodsky, Skutsch), from Ilia's dream, *exim compellare pater me uoce uidetur*; vd. 268–97); *compellare uirum* also at 3.299, 8.164 (unobtrusively formulaic, possibly Ennian), and, as Au. remarks, used with *ultra* elsewhere in *Aen. Tacent EV*, Cordier.

maestas...uoces So 11.482, Cat.38.8, 63.49, Krieg, *TLL* 8.48.17.

expromere Cf. *Acc.trag.*499, *Lucr.*2.887, Cat.64.223: a suitably lofty sequel to an Ennian recollection; only here in V. (*tacent EV*, Cordier).

281–6 Aen. hails the paladin of falling Troy (n. on 285); in appearance, Hector is as he was at death, and not as later washed, etc. (277, Walde, 270), and the amply recounted detail of his maltreated body Aen. apparently does not recognise until 285–6, even though in his dream he knows he is speaking to Hector from the outset; this is clearly in the Lucretian tradition, as we have seen (268–97); the effect of this delayed perception is sharpened by the fact that it is Aen. himself who has just related the full, real state to which the ghost has been reduced by Achilles (282–3), also familiar to us, to Dido, to himself from the painting at 1.485 (cf. Kyriakou, 319). On the basis of TCD 1.185.16f., 33f. (the latter passage a little confused), Kragelund (25ff.; cf. Fuqua, 237, Kyriakou, 320, n.11) energetically advanced the argument that the figure of Hector itself portended the Fall of Troy. Indeed, even if Hector had said nothing, his appearance, when clearly perceived, would naturally have suggested bad news (so TCD). Aen. has not yet taken in Hector's state (281–5), and even when he does so, he does not recall/perceive the fact of Hector's death (285–6). He enquires now about Hector's state not (*pace* TCD, Kragelund) *as though* ignorant of the facts, but because for the moment he is genuinely in a state in which he does not, cannot recall them. Hector has come *ad insuandum interitum Troiae* (TCD, l.33): by his words, or by his appearance? Primarily, by the latter, which permits an easy *conjectura* (TCD, l.16, 'inference', or 'deduction'). Nothing suggests that, whether for V., or indeed for TCD, there existed a fixed correlation of wounded figure::fall of city; note the presence of wounded figures in Artemidorus of Dalda (p.4.14, 39.19, 184.9 Hercher, etc.), with corresponding meanings, but in the context of the elaborate literary tradition in which V. is writing here (268–97), it is clearly more prudent to read the significance of the dream in terms of its ample and familiar sources. Appearance and manner are *also*

employed, as often, to characterise further the contents of the speech; cf. nn. on 3.493, 7.194, with bibl., 11.251. Aen.'s words are marked by use of the the spoken idiom (**283 exspectate**, **286 aut**; cf. too nn. on **281 lux, spes, 287 ille nihil, moratur**), slow realisation of tragedy couched in intimacy between cousins.

281 o...o Cf. n. on 11.732; the second **o** here in anastrophe and chiasmus.

lux Dardaniae For **D.**, cf. n. on 3.52. Cf. Enn.*trag.*69f. *o lux Troiae, germane Hector/ quid ita cum tuo lacerato corpore miser?*, (quoted by Macr.6.2.18; vd. further, **286**); Jocelyn there quotes Acc.*trag.*163aR₃, Klotz *Hector lux Dardaniae*. A Plautine endearment (*Mil.*1344, *Stich.* 618), but, perhaps more significantly here, the familiar idiom of Homer and Gk. tragedy (φάος regularly used; e.g. *Il.*18.102): cf. Jocelyn on Enn.*cit.*; it is also significant that V. will use the same play of Enn.'s at 6.515, when he returns to the entry of the TH (cf. **237**). Cf. Wigodsky, 77, Stabryla, 75, Dickey, 338, Ehlers, *TLL* 7.2.1914.64ff., *EV* 3, 292. Kragelund, 30f. draws attention to **272 ater** and suggests that Aen. is deluding himself.

spes...fidissima Teucrum As a form of address, cf. Cic.*Fam.* 14.4.6 *et mea carissima filiola et spes reliqua nostra*, Cicero, but also once used as a comic endearment, *Bacch.* 17, *Cist.*670, etc., Dickey 157, 360. Compare Eur.*Heracl.*433f., Thuc.3.57.4 ὑμεῖς τε, ὡς Λακεδαιμονιοι, ἡ μόνη ἐλπίς, Dioscorus 27.1Heitsch. Rather ponderously, but correctly (cf. Kragelund, 33, citing e.g. 1.352, 8.580), Serv. remarks *bene per contrarium*; 'spes' enim semper incerta in Hectore fidissima' dicitur; Kragelund takes this mis-characterisation as desperate and exaggerated, a sign of what Aen. passionately wants. Bauer, *TLL* 6.1.705.71ff., *EV* 4, 995. **T.: 48**, etc..

282 quae tantae Cf. n. on **42 quae tanta insania**.

tenuere morae Cf. 1.746 (and *G.*2.482) *mora...obstet*, Ov.*Met.*1.167 *tenuit mora nulla uocatos*, 14.308. *TLL* s.v. **m.** unilluminating.

quibus...ab oris The second question in parallel form. Cf. 1.331 *quibus orbis in oris*, 369 *quibus aut uenistis ab oris?*. Au. well notes the assonant sequence of vv. ending in **ab oris, labores, tuorum**; cf. Marouzeau, *TSL*, 63f..

Hector.../ 283 exspectate uenis The thought, if not the precise wording, reminiscent of *Il.*7.7 (Hector and Paris) ὡς ἄρα τῷ Τρώεσσιν ἐελδομένοις φανήτην. The predic. adj. is drawn into the voc., as often

(likewise in Greek): 9.485, 10.327, 557, 811, 11.856, 12.947, Antoine, 31, Ernout-Thomas, 16, LHS, 24, KS 1, 255f., Löfstedt 1₂, 97f. and my n. on 7.425, with further bibl.. *Exspectatus uenire* is the idiom of spoken Latin: cf. Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.1900.70ff. (citing (e.g.) Plaut. *Amph.*658, Pacuv. *trag.*232, Cic. *Fam.*4.10.1, 16.7.1); summarised in Au.'s n.. here.. Is the notion of Hector as long-awaited meant to suggest that Aen. had been dreaming of earlier battles (but cf. Walde, 270)? Naturally enough, perhaps, after the turn in events expected to follow on the entry of the TH: Aen. had gone to sleep believing that the Greeks had gone and that Pallas' goodwill was restored.

ut te...// 285 aspicimus Cf. n. on 11.43 for the Virgilian association of sight and longing fulfilled. The verb (cf. n. on 3.443, von Mess, *TLL* 2.837.11) suitably delayed till after **post...post...**; Serv.Dan. unwisely *ut fessi aspicimus*.

post.../ 284 ...post Cf.Cat.95.1f., Tib.1.4.55f.; common enough in prose: e.g. Cic. *Cat.*3.9, *Arch.*10, *Liv.*28.43.14, *Tac. Ann.*11.24.

multa tuorum/ 284 funera Cf. 4.617f. *uideatque indigna suorum/funera*. V. takes fullest advantage of the affective force of pronom. adjs., G.4.498, *Aen.*3.489 (with my n.), 10.94, 11.560, 12.936, etc.; *meorum, tuorum* the commonest forms so used, *EV*4, 312, *bene*(Cavicchi).

uarios...labores Cf. *G.*1.145, *Aen.*11.425 *uariique labor mutabilis aei* (with my n.); the phrasing appears extremely Virgilian, but it is no surprise to discover that precise parallels are lacking. For *labores*, cf. n. on 3.459.

hominumque urbisque Brink, *TLL* 6.3.2876.79f., compares Hor. *Serm.*2.6.92 *homines urbemque feris praeponere siluis*; use of PHI adds nothing further.

285 defessi Cf. nn. on 3.78, 7.126; programmatic, though intensified *fessus* is used only *quinquies* in *Aen.*. The Trojans exhausted by the effort of keeping the Greeks at bay in Hector's absence: Ussani cited Pind. *Ol.*2.81f. Τροίας / ἄμαχον ἀστραβῆ κίονα, Sen. *Tro.*124ff. *columnen patriae, mora fatorum, / tu praesidium Phrygibus fessis, / tu murus eras umerisque tuis/ stetit illa decem fulta per annos*, and vd. Ag.743ff. *frater, auxilium Phrygum/ terrorque Danaum, non ego antiquum decus/ video aut calentes ratiibus exustis manus, / sed lacera membra et saucios uinclo graui/ illos lacertos*; on this fertile topic of Hector's prowess among the Trojans, see also e.g. *Il.*6.403, 24.243f., *Lyc.*281, 1190, n. on 11.289, Dingel on 9.155, NH on Hor. *C.2.4.11*, Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.*211, Housman on *Manil.*2.3, Heckenbach, *cit.* 2812.56ff., Lehnerdt, *Ro.*1. 2.1911.3ff..

quae causa indigna Cf. 3.32 *causas penitus temptare latentis*, 584, 11.480 (with nn.), Liv.1.59.8 *de orbitate Tricipitini cui morte filiae causa mortis indignior ac miserabilior esset*. Meister, *TLL* 3.677.70f.. **I.** and e.g. *non digna* are expressions basic to V.'s view of suffering, death, the gods, fate; short measure, *EV* 2, 66 and vd. rather nn. on 3.318, 7.653, 11.108, with bibl., *Companion*, 215. In such passages, the etym. link of *dignus* and *decet* is crucial to V.'s sense; Hector's deserts and end in no way congruous. Serv.Dan. *aut 'te indigna' aut 'crudelis'*.

serenos/ 286 ...uultus Adj. (and vb.) otherwise used by V. of fair sky, weather, etc., *EV* 4, 791f., and perhaps taking up the metaphor of **281 lux** (Serv.). But applied to the human face as to the face of heaven: cf. Cic. *Tusc.*3.31, Cat.55.8(?), Hor.1.37.26 (with NH), *Aen.*4.477 (with Pease's ample n.). Not *uoltus* here; Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 439.

286 foedauit Cf. **539 patrios foedasti funere uultus**, 3.227, 7.575 *foedatique ora Galaesi* with nn. (an old, lofty vb.) Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.997.54ff.. *EV* 2, 546 poor. In his dream, Aen. arrives at the awareness that Hector's ghost is terribly wounded; cf. Kraglund, 30.

aut cur...cerno 'For what reason'; *quid* in *Enn.Alex.* (281). **Aut** 'introducing a question that is not an alternative to the previous one' (Jocelyn on *Enn.trag.*71); *Enn.Alex.cit.* (281) in fact continues (*trag.*71) **aut qui te sic respectantibus tractauere nobis?**; cf. Au. on **520 (bene)**, LHS 498f., Vollmer, *TLL* 2.1565.38ff., *passim*, Hand, 1, 551, *OLD* s.v., §4. The idiom of spoken Latin. **C.**: Wulff, *TLL* 3.866.12, thoughtfully distinguished from *uideo* by Lamacchia, *EV* 1, 748 (c. with more of the sense of 'perceive'; also a stronger affective force).

haec uulnera Deictic, of Hector very near to hand. **Vultus FMP;** **uulnera F.** Here, either **uo-**, or **uu-**, twice, and the evidence is marginally in favour of the latter; on the point of orthography, cf. n. on 7.182.

287 ille nihil *Scilicet ad interrogata* Serv.; *dum uana superfluaque perquireret*, *non ille ad interrogata respondit* TCD. For the omission of (e.g.) *respondit*, cf. Löfstedt, *Synt.* 2, 246, LHS, 424, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 98, and, rather less elliptically, Hofmann-Ricottilli, 343. Markedly, once more (vd. not so much **281 lux, spes** as **283 exspectate uenis** and **286 aut**), the idiom of daily speech (so e.g. Plaut.*MG* 375 *paucis uerbis te uolo*).

nec me...moratur Particularly in view of the spoken tone of what precedes, no good reason to take **m.** literally ('keeps waiting') as Au. suggests, tentatively, but (*bene*, Speranza) the common spoken idiom of

nil moror, ‘I don’t bother about’, very lightly altered: cf. 5.400 *nec dona moror*, 11.364f. *et esse/ nil moror* (where vd. n.), *ter* in Hor. hexams. (Brink on *Ep.*2.1.264); Reichmann/Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1499.68ff. at 1500.29f.. Brink remarks ‘in epic style’ ; rather, *ter* in *Aen.*, V. uses idiom to suggest a colloqu. manner. Note Acc.*trag.*9 and in Cic. speeches, *semel: Phil.*13.35, quoting a letter of Mark Antony’s (vd. Malcovati, *ORF* p.468).

quaerentem uana The editorial, narrative *Aen.* recognises not only that all his questions, **281–6**, were foolish and irrelevant, but that Hector knew it too; note the severe contrast implied by the eventual **288 sed grauiter**. Even the Latin participle can be used with economy and elegance. Cf. 11.854 *uana tumentem* (where vd. n.); here, though, the adj. is not advbl., nor is it at 8.42 *ne uana putas haec fingere somnum*. Vd. EV 3, 995, and *EV*5*, 436 (Colonna).

288 sed grauiter Cf. *ENN.**trag.*184 (*Hecuba*) *grauiter gemam* (so G.3.133, *Aen.*10.789 with *ingemuit*), Bräuninger, *TLL* 6.2.2303.77f.. Cordier, *Allit. lat.*, 24 comments on the rarity of g-alliteration; PHI reveals fifteen instances of successive words within a verse beginning with g- and 6.842 is triple; note in addition the deep, dolorous vowel sounds.

gemitus...ducens Cf. *Cic.**progn.* fr.4.11 *naribus umiferum duxere ex aere sucum*, *Lucr.*6.1129, *Prop.*1.3.27 *duxi suspiria*, I. Kapp, *TLL* 6.1.1750. 47f., Hey, *ib.*5.1. 2150.35, *EV*2.652.

imo de pectore Cf. 1.371 *imoque trahens a pectore uocem*, 485 *ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo*, 6.55 *funditque preces rex pectore ab imo*, 11.377 *rumpitque has imo pectore uoces* (with my n.), 840 *deditque has imo pectore uoces*. See Negri, 202ff. for *pectus* as the seat of thoughts, sentiments in V.. In effect, a two-line introduction to a seven-line speech, setting the tone with exceptional care for a crucial statement at the very hinge of past and future.

289–95 The rhetorical foundations of these vv. are deeply rooted in problems inherent in the figure of *Aen.*, necessarily a son of Anch., a survivor of the Fall and in some versions, consequently, an actual traitor (cf. Ussani, x-xviii, Horsfall, *RMM* 14, *CQ* 29(1979), 385f., *Vergilius* 32 (1986), 16f., Erskine, 138 and vd. too Cairns, 208, and E. Harrison, *PLLS* 3(1981), 213f., 217). *Aen.* must leave Troy alive, whatever happens to his city and king, and, although he is a ‘new kind of hero’, cowardice, inebriation and gross somnolence are excluded. *Ne crimen esset ipsius Aeneae quod ipso dormiente ciuitas interisset, iusta et multiplex praetenditur excusatio* TCD; it is not *paruuus dolor...uiro forti fortem uirum fugam suadere*

Serv.. Serv. Dan offers an acute analysis of this speech as a *suasoria* (Hightet, 7f. is appalled): the *propositio* is **fuge nate dea**; the arguments are *utile* (Troy in flames), *necessarium* (the Greeks hold the walls) and *honestum* (Troy entrusts penates to Aen., though that is called *necessarium*, ad 293); Hector and Aen. have done all they can, *ad* 291 (cf. Deiphobus, 6.509, on the more limited issue of burial). Aen. is only wakened at 302, not by Hector but by the sounds of battle (*perperam*, Otis, 241, Scafoglio, 301); the detail of his father's remote and sheltered house (299f.) is well calculated, for thus the Greeks can take good hold on Troy before Aen. wakes. The Trojans' sleep after the TH's entry is deep, and traditional; Aen., as yet unaware of being the instrument of destiny, naturally shares it, and had, we infer, also shared innocently enough in the general revelry. When he is woken, he does not recall his dream, for now swept away by present events; Hector's words anyway bear on the remoter future, not on events since Aen. went to bed (Williams, *cit.*); on them, it may also be his appearance that speaks (268–97). As speaker, Hector has neither divine nor paternal authority (Kühn, 42); as the greatest of Troy's paladins, and of Priam's sons (cf. 291–2), he explains now that Troy's future will pass to the house of Anchises, and at her lowest moment predicts that Aen. will found a great city in a distant land (cf. Walde, 271, Heinze, 26). Homer gives way to Virgil, old champion, old hero to new; Hector legitimises Aen.'s role (Glei, 136f., Hardie, 290, Adler, 263). Far too much for to take in (Walde, 267). In his recollected dream-state, Aen. does not even recognise that Hector is dead (though awake, naturally, he knows (Williams, 108); woken violently, he naturally does not recall he is now charged with a sacred mission and in temporary ignorance of the facts rushes back into battle; this is classic tragic irony not irresponsible, delinquent rage. Aen. is reproved for this conduct neither by gods, nor by men in *Aen.*, but by modern critics. Hector had spoken of various sacred objects; they had been produced in the dream; awake, Aen. does not see them, does not for that matter see Hector (La Cerdá compares Sen. *Tro.*457ff.). Shortly, Panthus will appear with them (320), but by then Aen. has returned to battle, still unaware of his sacred mission (cf. Henry, *VP*, 45f.), and Panthus does not give them to Aen.; neither Venus (594–623) nor Creusa (776–89) will mention them, and with particular propriety it is Anchises (717), somehow perfectly well aware of the penates' crucial importance, who reintroduces them at last into the narrative (cf. Steiner, 34), when minds have just been properly focused by the *auspicium maximum*. Aen. is also accused of not putting his family first (Mackie, 46) on waking and dis-

covering that the Greeks have entered Troy; that is far too much to ask of an Homeric hero, whose first inclination is to fight for his kin, as Hector had done. Towards this course of action he is encouraged, explicitly, by divine inspiration (336). Only when he has lost city, home and king, and when he is about to lose his wife, does he begin to comprehend his future (cf. Steiner, 31, Kühn, 43). The widespread vituperation of Aen. for his furious return to battle seems to reflect a reluctance to study V.'s complex plotting and motivation with sufficient care (so, e.g., B. Fenik, *AJP* 80(1959), 7, Otis, 241f., Lyne, *FV*, 183, Cairns, 82, Putnam, *VA*, 141, Quinn, 21, M.R. Wright in *The passions in Rom. thought...* (ed. S. Braund, C. Gill, Cambridge 1997), 180, Mackie, 48, Williams, *Tl*, 105, Williams on 314f.), but for helpful signs of circumspection see e.g. R. Allain, *REL* 24(1946), 195f., Buchheit, 105, n.426, E. Krägerud, *Aeneisstudien* (Oslo 1968), 22f., Stahl (394), 166f., Steiner, 33f., Walde, 268, Glei, 137, Ricottilli, 175.

289 heu fuge H. (on which cf. n. on 7.594) rare with imperatives, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.3.2674.21f., comparing 3.44 *heu fuge crudelis terras, fuge litus auarum* (where vd. n.); the passages are loosely comparable in character and the parallelism is not one to be used in discussions of priority. Aen. had expected help in battle and is at once urged to flee: cf. 618, 640, 733. He has yet to come to terms with the idea that a hero can flee without cowardice; the 'justification' offered is not simply that of the 'greater mission' (vd. *supra*).

nate dea Cf. n. on 3.311 (used by Andromache to Aen.), where vd. my note: 'the one aspect (maternal lineage) in which Aen. does indeed outrank Hector'. In bidding his cousin flee, not fight, in the interests of a divinely-favoured future, Hector begins with the one detail, itself a guarantee of divine favour, which, on careful contemplation of the whole message, will rule out any long-term disobedience; at one level, then, also a message for Dido (cf. Walde, 267, 269).

teque...eripe Brandt, *TLL* 5.2.795.13 compares, strikingly, Cic. *Cons.fr.2.52f. tempa deumque adeo flammis urbemque iubebant/ eripere*. Cf. too 1.647 *munera...Iliacis erepta ruinis*, 3.476 bis *Pergameis erepte ruinis* (with n.), 711 *heu tantis neququam erepte periclis*.

his...flammis Hector's ghost gestures to the sleeping Aen.; there is no doubt, though, about the reality of what he sees nearby. The night, and the narrative, have advanced since 267: the Greeks have spread through the city and fired it. Heinze paid close attention to the motif of the firing of Troy (27f.; cf. Knox (199–233), 390f., Schwarz (41),

445f., Robert, 1274, Fraenkel on Aesch.*Ag.*818, Vian, *Recherches*, 72f.); the firing, in the Greek ‘historiography’ of the Sack, seems to have occurred towards the end: Procl.*Il.Pers.p.*62.35 Davies, Eur.*Tro.*1279ff., [Apłd.]*Epit.*5.23, Triph.680 with Gerlaud’s note, QS 14.393f.. For the smoke later rising from the ruins, vd. Fraenkel, *cit.*, Tarrant on Sen.*Ag.*458f., and my n. on 3.3. The flames as a continuous, thematic presence, from the first assault on, could have come to V. from some lost Greek source (Heinze; Au. sceptical), but are likelier to have been introduced from their regular, conventional role in the historians’ *urbs capta*: so, well, Rossi, 27f., with n.40; cf. also Austin 1959, 24 and my n. on 3., *cit.*; for flames (which are as old as the captured cities in the exemplary *Il.*9.593) in the historians’ *urbes captae*, vd. also G.M. Paul, *Phoen.*36 (1982), 147, A. Ziolkowski in *War and society in the Roman world* (ed. J. Rich, G. Shipley, London 1993), 84f. on Liv.28.20.6f., Horsfall, *SCI*26(2007), 70, Kern, index, s.v. fire; in V., cf. also 4.670f. (where vd. Pease), 12.596. No call to multiply instances further.

ait Cf. G. Highet, *HSCP* 78(1974), 213, n. on 11.24.

290 hostis habet muros Cf. Liv.1.12.4 *arcem iam scelere emptam Sabini habent*; Au. compares the extreme simplicity of Liv.9.24.9f. *quanto maxime poterat cum tumultu ‘ad arma’ et ‘pro uestram fidem, ciues’ clamitans; ‘arx ab hostibus capta est; defendite, ite.’* (a deserter, creating panic after the Romans seized the *arx* of Sora by night). Cordier (*Allit.Lat.*, 25f.) rightly points to some allit. of initial h (4.73, 12.754 *haeret hians*; PHI will in fact reveal many more instances): if it had not been generally sounded in the educated pronunciation of V.’s time (Allen, *Vox Lat.*, 43–5, A. Traina, *L’alfabeto e la pronunzia del Latino*⁴ (Bologna 1973), 49–54) such cases would have made little sense. **Hostis** collective sing. (cf. n. on 11.516).

ruit...Troia Cf. *Il.*13.772f. *νῦν ἔλετο πᾶσα κατ’ ἄκρης/ Ἰλιος αἰπεινή*, *Aen.*4. 669f. *non aliter quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis/ Karthago aut antiqua Tyros* (with *Il.*22.410f. *ἐναλίγκιον ως εὶ ἄπασα/ Ἰλιος ὄφρουσέσσα πυρὶ σμύχοιτο κατ’ ἄκρης*, Eur.*Tro.*1291f.), **2.363 urbs antiqua ruit**, 12.610 *urbisque ruina*. Cavazza, *EV*4, 603.

alto a culmine MPV, Serv.Dan., Serv. *ad G.*1.105, *Aen.*12.453, Non.p.379.34, Ps.Acro on Hor.*Carm.*4.6.3. **A** om. **F** (but inserted by **F**₁), a, TCD, Gloss.Ansil.; **alta** D’Orville, Wagner; **alta a culmine** G. Puccioni, *Maia* 6(1953), 148–54 (Geymonat unfortunately attributes to Puccioni the unlikely **alta in** and is followed by Paratore); see V. Ussani Jr., *Maia* 7(1955), 216–30, Kvičala, 18f.. We have learned

that Homeric imitation is rarely, if ever, quite decisive in such questions: here, though, note that while (ά) πᾶσα (bis) is kept back for 3.3 **omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troia**, Hom.'s ὥλετο and Ἰλιος αἰπεινή are clearly present, and κατ' ἄκρης is rendered perfectly by **a culmine**; compare also **603 sternitque a culmine Troiam** and V.'s use of *a uertice* (Conway on 1.114). Though it is also easy to argue that Troy was indeed called 'lofty' (Enn.trag 73 *Pergama ardua*, *Aen.* 2.56, 5.261, 6.515, Hor.*Carm.*4.6.3), it is just as easy to counter that roofs too are regularly called '*alta*' (see e.g. n. on 7.413). **A** drops out often enough (cf. Ussani, 228f.), even in V.'s splendid codices; haplography after **alta** does not need to be invoked. **Alta** was quite attractive, indeed defensible, but in no way mandatory. Similarly, though the omission of **a** leaves you with an irreproachable Virgilian phrase to describe **Troia** (Antoine, 196ff.), **ruit...a culmine** we have seen is even better supported. In the end, the evidence that V. wrote **alto a culmine** is excellent, and we have seen no convincing reason to suppose that he wrote anything else here. Serv.Dan. hesitates between (metaph.) *a dignitate* and (literal) *a tectis*. Schwerling, *TLL* 4.1293.15ff. implausibly favours the former, but at 1290.56ff. quotes all the evidence necessary to support an obvious enough sense of 'from the top down' (e.g. *Buc.*1.82 *summa...uillarum culmina*, *Aen.*2.410, 446).

291 sat...datum Correctly identified by Con. and Au. as the language of business (a dozen times in Cic.*Quinct.*); cf. SB on Cc.*Att.*1.8.1 *recusarat*, OLD s.v. *satisdo*, *satisfatio*: to the lawyers, the giving of security, Steinwenter, PW 3A.78.32ff., Greenidge, *Legal procedure*, 241f., *et passim*. Here, and at 9.135 *sat fatis Venerique datum*, V. uses the words in an entirely non-technical way. Hector has 'done enough' (all, indeed, that could possibly have been done) for father and country, with the hint, indeed, that he gave his own life as security.

patriae Priamoque Compare the allit. pairings of *patria* with *pater*, *parens* (Wölfflin, *Ausgew.Schr.*, 269f.), particularly since Priam was Hector's father. Note that allit. **Pergama** is about to follow, too, along with further allit. of d and p in the following v.. The effect of **344 et gener auxilium Priamo Phrygibusque ferebat** is stylistically comparable, but not quite acoustically identical.

si Pergama.../ 292 defendi possent P.: cf. 177. Note 9.511 *adsueti longo muros defendere bello*. V. does not explain how the dead Hector is quite so well informed about current events among the living, but it is much clearer why V. chooses the greatest of the Trojan dead as

mouthpiece for the gods' plan for Aeneas (cf. Kühn, 42f., Steiner, 34, Adler, 265f.). Once the decision was taken to found Aen.'s mission in the West amid the flames of Troy (cf. Walde, 271), as the Greeks seize the walls, all Hector's voice and authority were required to state at the outset that Aen.'s departure and mission, for all its divine legitimation, was also tolerable for a warrior and a man of honour (cf. Wiltshire, 70, Buchheit, 154, n.20, Kyriakou, 318).

dextra/ 292 ...etiam hac Hac deictic as Hector in the reported dream points at his own right arm (on **d.**, cf. n. on 7.474). The sense of **etiam** was energetically discussed (Serv., Serv.Dan.) between partisans of temporal ('still, even now'; Serv. cites 6.485. Cf. Friedrich, *TLL* 5.2.928.45f.) and champions of common 'even, too, as well'. Given the message that Hector is required to deliver, he can hardly begin by saying 'if Troy were defensible, my own right arm would do it' (*adrogantia* Serv.Dan., *superbia* Serv.); far better to begin, however theoretically, 'by this right arm *too*, *ut et particeps gloriae sit Aeneas*' (Serv.).

defensa fuissent 'Participial resumption' discussed in much detail by Wills, 311ff.; for V., cf. 314, citing e.g. 1.395f., 736f.. The alternative plpf. subjunc.pass. created by the addition of plpf. subjunc. to the ppp is ill-treated by LHS, 321, 43*, who deny it to V. (whence e.g. Knox on *Ov.Her.7.140*); see also *Buc.6.31f. coacta...fuissent, Aen. 4.18 per-taesum...fuisset, 327 suscepta fuisset, 11.584 correpta fuisset*. While the distinction between *amatus sum* and *amatus fui* is clear enough (Ernout, *Morphologie*, 358f., restated by Coleman on *Buc.*, *cit.*), it is much harder to perceive any actual distinction or development of meaning in the subjunc., and metr. convenience should be invoked (cf. Kenney on *Ov.Her.17.23*, H. Blass in Landgraf, *Hist.Grammatik*, 220ff.; NW 3, 142ff. understates the verse evidence; add too *Lucr.5.1046f.*). Note impf. in the protasis, plpf. in the apodosis: perhaps because Hector would have defended Troy when he was alive (past), but the city can (pres.) no longer be defended. I am obliged to Prof. J.N. Adams and Dr. W. de Melo for discussion.

293 sacra Cf. **320 sacra manu uictosque deos, 717 sacra manu patriosque penatis**, Hor. *Carm.4.4.53ff. gens, quae cremato fortis ab Ilio/ iactata Tuscis aequoribus sacra / natosque maturosque patres/ pertulit Ausonias ad urbis, Sen.Ben.3.37.1 cum complexus sacra ac penates deos religiosus senex non simplici uidentem sarcina premeret, Fugier, EV4, 629.* Speranza correctly remarks that **sacra** are not simply a synonym for *penates*; so too, apparently, Sen.*cit.*; **320** and **717** too (*supra*) suggest that either V. systemat-

ically and inexplicably accumulates synonyms in a recurrent context, or has also in mind certain other objects; their identity to be filled out (Speranza) from 296f. (fillets, fire and Vesta). Recall: (A) Aeneas' rescue of the Palladium (165–6): carried by Aen. leaving Troy on a denarius of 47BC, Weinstock, *DJ*, 253; the version adopted by DH, 1.69.4, 2.66.5, Paus.2.23.5; cf. Ziehen, PW 18.3. 183.31ff. (B) later, comparable, rescues of these or similar sacred objects: Liv.5.40.7 (the Gallic sack) *quae sacrorum secum ferenda* and Metellus' rescue (see nn. on 165f., 320) of the *sacra Vestalia* (Varr.*res div.* fr.2aCardauns; so also Ov.*F.6.450 sacra*. See Bömer on *ib.445* for *pignora* = Palladium and vd. too G. Radke, *EV* 4, 14, Koch, PW 16A. 1731.15ff., Wissowa, 159, Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, 513.

suosque...penatis Hector clearly and explicitly indicates that it is the *city* of Troy that now entrusts its own (**suos**) penates to Aeneas: national, not personal tutelary deities (vd. too *infra* on **Troia**). Cf. detailed n. on 3.12. For **-is**, against the evidence of the capital mss., cf. n. on 7.436. **P.** is delayed as far as possible to carry greatest weight. On the visual evidence for Aen. carrying the penates out of Troy, vd. *JHS* 99(1979), 40f. and cf. n. on 3.12, Aen.'s rescue of the penates. For the (standard) placing of *suus* with the second noun of a pair, cf. LHS, 444.

tibi commendat Cf. 748 (Aen. entrusts son, father and penates to his comrades), 5.771 (Aen. entrusts those who will stay in Sicily to Acestes), Leissner, *TLL* 3.1840. 82f.; Au. well compares the solemnity of Prop.4.11.73f.

Troia Not Aen.'s father, not the gods, but his native city; the very first hint of Aen. as a new sort of national hero., with a public, 'official' mission that has been entrusted to him, in this new, Roman, Virgilian epic by incomparably the greatest of the old Trojan, Homeric heroes; Serv.Dan. grasps that a major point is being made. Though Aen. is asleep in his father's house (299f.), it is clear enough that Hector refers to the state, not the family penates (cf. Montanari, *EV* 5*, 516).

294 hos...his The polyptoton also at G.2.20; cf. too *Aen.*1.106, 4.621, 5.229, 231, 6.788ff., 7.150f.. Not very common, clearly (I have consulted PHI, *TLL*, Wetmore and Merguet), and not studied by Wills (for mere gemination, cf. 76f.).

cape For *c.* used in the sense of *accipere*, Non.p.254.1ff. cites **717 tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque penatis**, and 3.488; cf. too n. on 11.590, Hey, *TLL* 3.319. 35ff.; hardly to be claimed as *simplex pro*

composito. At 314, note **arma amens capio**: when Aen. wakes, the *sacra* and *penates* he had just seen are not in fact there; that surprise, or shock must have some bearing on our evaluation of Aen.'s reactions (289–95). They will shortly arrive (320), but already in the hands of Panthus, whose role was not part of the extraordinary instructions Aen. has just received.

fatorum comites Cf. Ov.*Her.* 7.158 *fugae comites, Dardana sacra, deos*, Bannier, *TLL* 3.1772.73f., Hey, *ib.*, 6.1.367.75. Compare 3.494 *nos alia ex aliis in fata uocamur* with n., Pötscher, 39, Pomathios, 334, Bailey, 210.

moenia .../ 295 magna Cf. 3. 159f. *tu moenia magnis/ magna para* (with n.). The adj. here too both postponed and run on. Cf. Horsfall (1989), 26, n. on 3.255 for the importance of the city-wall in V's ktistic epic; walls and gods are integrally linked in *Aen.*, as Serv. rightly remarks, from 1.5 on. Particularly here (Ussani): after **290 hostis habet muros** a complete new start is required. Commas in older edd. after **quaere** (where Serv. Dan. wants to pause) or **magna** (where **M₂** and TCD 1.188.12 pause); superfluous, for **magna** will naturally be taken with **quaere**, since there is no binding reason to pause there in an unpunctuated text; further arguments in this direction offered by Henry.

quaere Cf. 1.380 *Italiām quaero patriam*, 3.4 *desertas quaerere terras* (with n.): this is V.'s very first trial with the lexicon of colonisation (cf. Horsfall (1989), 25–7).

295 pererrato...ponto The vb., surprisingly, *sexies* in V. (*semel* in *Buc.*; the first occurrence). *Ostendit erroris longinquitatem* Serv., rather well. **Ponto**: cf. n. on 7.300.

statues Cf. 1.573 *urbem quam statuo*, 4.655 *urbem praeclaram statui*, 12.193f. *moenia Teucri/ constituent*, Horsfall (1989), 17. The future marks the decisive step, after two preliminary imperatives.

quae Postponed to third word, after the thunderous partic. and the vb. (which acquire enhanced prominence); for anastrophe of rel.pron., cf. n. on 7.659.

denique Concluding an enumeration, Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.530.2; 'finally', 'at last': cf. **70**, 3.439.

296 sic ait 13x in *Aen.*; ωc ἔφατ'. N. on 11.29.

manibus Not a mere convenience: Aen. sees Hector actually take the objects out of their shrine with his own hands; that might be thought to create more of a dream-expectation that they will be present

when he wakes. But they are not there and Hector is not seen to hand them over (so too Au., Heinze, 34).

uittas Cf. nn. on 133, 168 (statue wearing *uittae*). Does V. intend us to think of an image of Vesta, *uittata*? Or is Vesta rather associated with the fire in 297, in which case the **uittae** are unexplained? The round temple of Vesta in the Roman Forum itself aniconic, but other statues of her existed (Bömer (165–6), 117 and on Ov.F.6.295, Wissowa, 159). Sacred **uittae** on their own altogether unknown and inexplicable; 296–7 do not forbid us to think of both (1) a statue of V. with *uittae* and (2) a sacred flame, but neither appears thereafter in the narrative. Further ample traces of dream-confusion hereabouts.

Vestamque potentem Cf. Kuhlmann, *TLL* 10.2.281.36, Carter, *Epith.deor.*, 103; Hestia called ποτνία at *HHAphr.*24 (Bruchmann, *Epith. Deor.*, 118). Serv. here is overly exercised by the titles of the Di Magni.

297 aeternumque...ignem Cf. not 154 (where vd. n.), but 4.200f. *uigilemque sacrauerat ignem/ excubias diuom aeternas* (where vd. Pease's n.). Such an eternal flame ‘a very ancient feature, alien to the ordinary Greek temple’ (Burkert, *Homo necans*, 122, on Delphi); for further details, cf. Süss, PW 8.1284.28ff. (Athens, Prytaneum), 1288.20ff. (Greek world); for the eternal flame, tended by the Vestals in the Rom. cult and renewed annually on 1 Mar. (Bömer on Ov.F.3.141; cf. 6.297), vd. Koch, PW 16A.1753.20ff., H. Hommel, *ANRW* 1.2 (Berlin 1972), 406ff., Wissowa 159, Latte, 108f. with n.4. Here a natural forerunner of the Vestals’ flame; introduced as a sort of extrapolation, to round off Hector’s appearance in grand and mysterious style; certainly, nothing more is heard of this Trojan flame of Vesta, whether in *Aen.* or elsewhere. The penates were once thought to be housed in the temple of Vesta (thus e.g. Au.), not, it appears, correctly: cf. G. Radke, *EV* 4, 14, after *ANRW* 2.17.1 (Berlin 1981), 343ff.; Tac.*Ann.*15.41.1 refers only to the temple of Vesta and the Penates as fellow-victims of the same fire. Naturally, the goddess of the hearth and the spirits of the larder were closely associated (cf. 5.744, 9.258f.; so too in Cic.; eg. *Dom.*144). For Lavinium, cf. F. Castagnoli, *Lavinium* 1 (Roma 1972), 109, Radke, *cit.*, and Serv.Dan. here, p.402. 11, ed.Harv.. Their proximity here is natural, not significant.

adytis...penetalibus P. established as an adj. (‘i.q. interior, intimus’, Wirth, *TLL* 10.1.1061.8): so Cic.*har.resp.*57 *abditos ac penetralis focos*, Cat.68B.101f. *fertur lecta undique pubes/ Graia penetralis deseruisse focos*, *Aen.*5.660 *rapiuntque focus penetralibus ignem*, Ov.*Met.*13.337 *rapui Phrygiae*

signum penetrale Mineruae, Wirth, 1061.10ff.. A.: cf. nn. on 3.92, 7.269, Vollmer, *TLL* 1.902.28 ('de templi cella'). Note the complex, interlaced stucture adj.₁-noun₂-verb-adj.₂-noun₁.

effert Cf. Bannier, *TLL* 5.2.140.15f.

298–317 Aeneas awakes and enters the narrative. We have already considered Aen.'s passage from slumber to battle-rage, in apparent despite of Hector's 'instructions' and the position there taken will not be re-stated (289–95). For the background of flames, cf. 289 and intro. to the admirable double simile of 304–8. These lines are in some sense prefatory, to acquaint us with what has actually been happening while Aen. slept, to return from Hector's view of future to Aen.'s perception of the present and emotional reaction, before, for the first time in the book, he actually participates in the unfolding of events.

298 diuerso...luctu L. in the sense of 'lamentation', Kemper, *TLL* 7.2.1739.40, comparing *G.4.349f. maternas impulit auris/ luctus Aristaei*, 11.38 *maestoque immugit regia luctu*, 12.620 *turbantur moenia luctu*, *Hor.C. 2.20.22*. Compare **301 sonitus**; Kemper helpfully draws attention to adjacent references to noise in *G.4* and *Aen.12* (*EV 3*, 279f. composed without reference to *TLL*). Cf. Roiron, 625f.. **D.** is used in enallage, rather as at 12.621 *ruit tantus diuersa clamor ab urbe* (of a *diuersus clamor*; vd. Serv.Dan. and Traina *ad loc.*); so here, probably for prose *diuersa moenia*. Serv. acutely remarks on the *prooeconomia* here (cf. now Beikircher, *TLL* 10.2.1937.43ff.): because Aen.'s home was remote, it took a long time for him to hear the assault, and enabled him to survive the first attack, with no hint of treachery (cf. further 359f.). **D.** therefore clearly used in the common sense of 'distant': cf. n. on 3.4 *diuersa exilia*, Hey, *TLL* 5.1.1577.37f.. 'The distant walls are filled confusedly with the sound of grief', as it might be.

interea Cf. 250; here, simply 'meanwhile'.

miscentur moenia Cf. 1.124 *magno misceri murmure pontum*, **2.486f.** **domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu/ miscetur** (Serv. *there perturbatur* and vd. n. *there* for *Liv.1.29.2*), 4.160 *magno misceri murmure caelum*, 411 *misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor* (Serv.Dan. glosses *pro 'repleri' aut 'commoueri'*), *Sall.Iug.12.5 strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere*, *Vell.2.74.3 omnia armis tumultuque miscebat*, Pfligersdorffer, *TLL* 8.1094.40ff. (*bene*), *EV 3*, 541. Compare also 12.620 *ei mihi! quid tanto turbantur moenia luctu!* For **m.**, cf. n. on 234.

299 et magis atque magis Cf. G.3.185, *Aen.*12.239. Serv. remarks *iteratione sermonis facit augmentum, ac si diceret ‘magis ac plus’, sed propter metrum non potuit.* Indeed not. Cf. Bulhart, *TLL* 8.69.17f., Klotz, *ib.*2.1071.74ff., Wölfflin, *Ausgew.Schr.* 311f., Wills, 112f. and Au. here: from Cat.68B.48, Lucr.3.546, 6.126, *G.3.cit.* For the unelided *atque*, cf. n. on 7.473.

quamquam.../ 300 ...recessit R. an extension of Cat.'s use at 64.43f. *quacumque opulenta recessit/ regia*, from 'stretches back' to 'be set back' (cf. *OLD*, s.v., §3). Thereafter thus in c.1AD prose and Stat. *Theb.*5.242.

secreta.../ 300 ...domus Cf. n. on 7.774. A reflection of the low status of the Anchisiadae and the feud with the house of Priam, it was suggested (cf. Cartault, 219, n.1). Or mere canny invention in the interests of good plotting (cf. n. on **298 diuerso**). We would do well to remember (453) that Anch. and Priam were neighbours.

parentis/ 300 Anchisae Cf. n. on 3.58 for **p.**; Hector, whose message to Aen. is national, not familial, has not mentioned Anchises, and this is his first appearance in the narrative. Note that Aen., the good son, still lives at home, while Deiph., perhaps to be thought of as older, no longer has rooms in his father's palace (Seymour, 150).

300 arboribusque obiecta Used of stars disappearing, synon. with *mergitur unda* and *latescit*, at *Cic.Arat.*382 (Paschoud, *TLL* 9.2.269.2f.; note *EV* 5*, 71) and differently by Acc.. Cf. della Corte, 24 for this 'parco', and Cartault, *cit.* for an evocation of the Neuilly of heroic Troy, or compare my n. on *Nep.Att.*13.2 for Atticus' *silua* on the Esquiline. This line with diaeresis after 2D, no caes. at 1½ or 2½ and at 3½ blurred by synaloepha; the house appeared to have slid away (vd. Au.).

301 clarescunt sonitus C. probably *bis* in Lucr.; cf. Cordier, 113, Roiron, *cit.* (298) and 197f.. *Clarus* used of sounds from Naev. on (cf. my n. on 7.141), but it is never quite clear whether the precise sense is 'sharp', or simply 'loud', Catlein, 76, 83, n. on **705f. clarior ignis/ auditur**. The increasing fracas the more startling for the quiet surroundings and the stillness of the night (255).

armorumque...horror Cf. Lucr.2.410f. *serrae stridentis acerbum/ hororem* and perhaps *Aen.*12.406f. *et saeuus campis magis ac magis horror/ crebrescit propiusque malum est.* On 7.525 *horrescit*, TCD writes *in tantum grauis horror apparebat armorum*, and for the sound of trumpets, *Laus Pis.*141 offers *classicus horror*; unsurprisingly, Ehlers quotes further similar instances from Luc. and Stat., under the general heading 'vis ter-

ribilis', *TLL* 6.3.2998.72. *EV* 2, 856 unilluminating, but Roiron, 310 compares, hesitantly, the *terroribus* of 12.617 for a sense of 'distant clash of arms'. **Armorum** clearly ἀπὸ κοινοῦ.

ingruit Serv. *inuadit*, *Gloss.* 4.446.54 *grauiter inruit*, Hofmann/Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1. 1579.44f.; compare 8.535 *si bellum ingrueret*, *Liv.* 5.21.4 *ingruentis periculi sensus esset*, 6.3.1 *terror ingens ingruerat* (where vd. Oakley), 6.6.6 *ubi quid bellici terroris ingruat*. 'The din of arms grows louder, and their clash impends'.

302 excutior somno Cf. 1.115 *excuditur* (steersman from ship in storm); Ov. then dares (*Met.* 11.621, of Somnus himself) *excussit tandem sibi se*. Cf. Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1310. 32. Strong allit. of s in this v. and (with assonance of a) in the next. 'I shake myself' (middle) Au.; or perhaps rather, 'I am shaken' (sc. by the noise; vd. Heuzé, 407).

summi fastigia tecti Cf. *G.4.385 sumnum tecti, Aen.2.458 summi fastigia culminis, 478 succedunt tecto et flammas ad culmina iactant, 758 summa ad fastigia*, 4.186 *summi culmine tecti*, 8.25 *summique ferit laquearia tecti*, 8.366 *angusti subter fastigia tecti*, Bannier, *TLL* 6.1.320.36, *EV* 5*, 72. There is typical *perissologia* in the presence of the (unnecessary) **summi** (probably used with enallage, Bell, 319); for **f.** as the ridge of the roof, cf. *Liv.* 44.9.6 *quadrato agmine facto, scutis super capita densatis, stantibus primis, secundis summissioribus, tertius magis et quartis, postremis etiam genu nixis, fastigatam, sicut tecta aedificiorum sunt, testudinem faciebant*. See on 7.170–91 for the elements present in V's quite complex vision of heroic architecture. Note that both at **303** and at **458** *Aen.* makes for the roof (different palaces); cf. *EV* 1, 686.

303 ascensu supero Cf. the nanny-goats of *G.3.317 grauido superant uix ubere limen*. Au. remarks that **a.** is not strictly necessary, because **s.** 'itself implies getting over a height'. Not at all: *Aen.* gets up to the roof (**ascensu**), and then over to the other side (**supero**), so that he can see what is happening all round. Hey, *TLL* 2.760.27f. quotes *Claud.* 7.46 *ascensu uincere montes*.

arrectis auribus asto Cf. 1.152 *silent arrectisque auribus astant*; the ears are conventional (*Plaut. Rud.* 1293, *Ter. Andr.* 933, *Aen.* 12.618, Bögel, *TLL* 2.638.43ff.); so too of eyes (**173**), nostrils (Bögel, 638.51), necks (*Aen.* 11.496), scales (of snake, 11. 754), breast (of horse, 11.639, of serpent, **2.206**). Cf. n. on 3.514 (of Palinurus) *atque auribus aera captat*, Lobe, 57: both *Aen.* here, and he, are trying to capture clearly a pre-

cise sound (cf. Liv. 38.7.9 *aure admota sonitum fodientium captabant*); Prop. has *suspensis auribus* (3.6.8). Au. suggests that V. introduced the phrase **arrectis auribus** to high poetry; true enough unless 1.152 and this v. shared a (perhaps neoteric) description of, perhaps, a dog. Cf. Varius *de morte fr.4.4 aethera per nitidum tenues sectatur odores*; here, *pace* Williams, *TI*, 254, the only dog present might be the one implied by these ears. Note that Serv.Dan. remarks *translatio ab animalibus, quae ad omnem sonum erigunt aures*. There seem to be no grounds on which to claim priority between Aen. here and the crowd in bk.1. The din of an *urbs capta* an integral element in historians' accounts: cf. Liv.5.21.11 *clamor omnia uariis terrentium ac pauentium uocibus mixto mulierum ac puerorum ploratu complet*, 42.4 *quocumque clamor hostium, mulierum puerorumque ploratus, sonitus flammae et fragor ruentium tectorum auertisset*, Paul, *passim*.

304–308 While Anderson, 2 laments the ‘fashion’ set by Heyne and Knauer for listing five similes on which V. here draws, the identifiable sources of these lines (and V.’s references here are singularly sharp and precise) are in fact notably more numerous (Roirol helpfully prints seven), both in Hom. and elsewhere (AR and Enn. certainly, and perhaps Lucr. also, prove relevant); what might thoughtlessly be condemned as a painstaking and elaborate exercise with the scissors and paste is elevated by (1) the mysterious and provocative **inscius** of 307, (2) the admirably detailed integration of simile and narrative (West), (3) the majestic universalising of the destruction of Troy by comparison to the natural forces of flood and (dominant in the whole book) fire (Schwartz, Hardie, Anderson), along with their tragic effects upon the work of men’s hands and (4) the elaborate use of rich, varied, elevated epic turns of phrase: cf. nn. on **in segetem, incidit, furentibus Austris, sata laeta boumque labores** (an extreme case; Hom. and Hes., AR, G. in a single complex development behind V. here), **praecipitis, alto saxi de uertice**, not to mention the accumulation of synonyms in 305. TCD writes well *comparans sibi pastorem, segetes uero ardentes incensae patriae, maiorem uim maiori violentiae, furentis Austros saeuientibus Graecis*. There was also criticism of V. in antiquity for mixing themes of flood and fire (*duas parabolas temerauit ut unam faceret*, Macr.5.13.13), but, given Hom.’s own fondness for multiplying similes (*Il.2.455–83* is the extreme case), the criticism is, as often, merely captious. Serv.Dan. on 304 might even derive from an answer to such negative comment here: *ubique bene uis aquae et ignis bello comparatur quia utriusque rei prope unus effectus est*. See Adler 269f., W.S. Anderson, *TAPA* 99(1968), 1–6,

Briggs (*infra*, 306), 17–9, 85f, Chew, 619, Hardie, *CI*, 192f., Hornsby 13f., 21f., Knox (199–233), 390, Roiron 198 (useful), Salvatore, 57f., Schwarz (41), 445f., D.A. West, *ORVA*, 429f., Williams, *TI*, 253f..

304 in segetem Homeric in manner, or tone: cf. (*Il.*11.560) εἰελθῶν
βαθὺ λήιον.

ueluti cum Cf. n. on 7.462 for the (Hom. and Enn.) background.

flamma.../ 305 incidit The vb. suggested by πῦρ ἀδηλον...έμπειη
ύλη (*Il.*11.155). Cf. Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.868.65f., and Rehm, *ib.*, 7.1.903.
8f., comparing *Lucr.*6.145f. *ubi e nubi in nubem uis incidunt ardens/ fulminis*,
6.296 (of *uis uenti*; cf. too *Cat.*4.21). The hostility of fire and flood and
the damage to human effort expands upon Hom. (306, Rossi, 176) and
adopts a tone of deep-felt understanding of the farmer's loss familiar
from *G.* (the motif returns, 12.451ff.); cf. in particular *G.*1.325, 444,
2.303ff. (the damage at 312–4).

furentibus Austris Cf. 1.51 *loca feta furentibus Austris*; again, no
clue to priority, but in both passages the phrasing perhaps just still
recognisable as Ennian, *Ann.*601 *furentibus uentis* (quoted by Serv. on
1.51); the detail of the change suggests that V. also preferred to avoid
Ennian -ent-...-ent- (Skutsch, *ad loc.*; *quasi asperum fugit*, Serv. on 1.51).
Then *Lucr.*6.686f. [*uentus*]circum/ *saxa furens*. Cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL*
6.1.1628.16ff.. The raging winds of the simile perhaps anticipate Aen.'s
own **furor**, 316 (cf. Anderson, 4). For the S. wind, cf. 3.61 with n..

305 aut rapidus...torrens Cf. 6.550 *quae rapidus flammis ambit torren-*
tibus amnis. The words *rapidus torrens* at *G.*4.425 are perfectly irrelevant
(vd. *infra*). **Rabidus** V.

montano flumine Schol.Ver. preserves a long note by Aemilius
Asper (late c.2AD, perhaps; see now Timpanaro, *Virgilianisti*, 108); he
glosses **m.** *magno aut quod monte decurrat rapidus* and continues with the
explanation that by *torrens* V. indicates a dry river-bed that floods in
winter, called 'torrente' in mod. Ital. and χειμάρρους in Greek (so too
*Ulp.Dig.*43.12. 1.2, *Fest.*p.482.32ff.); nothing to do with 'scorching' (and
the etym. of **t.** in the sense used here is not clear; vd. *OLD*). Cf.
A. Tomsin, *Étude sur le commentaire d'Aemilius Asper* (Paris 1952, 50, 130)
and my n. on 3.350 *arentem ...riuum*. Cf. Szantyr, *TLL* 8.1457.70f.; the
adj. maybe first here in high poetry. The abl. perhaps 'descriptive':
cf. **magno...clamore trahebant, caeco Marte resistunt**, Antoine,
196ff.. It may be significant here that *fluit* is to be heard in **flumine**;
thus, prosily, *torrens qui di montibus fluit* (cf. *Lucr.*4. 1100 *sitit torrenti flu-*

*mine potans). So Serv.Dan. here explains *quare 'rapidus'?* quia montano flumine fluxit* and Serv. compares 1.465 *largoque umectat flumine uultum*. Cf. Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.965.24f.. Pascoli and Speranza also discerned *rapit* in **rapido**, perhaps rightly. Observe that at *Il.4.452* there is an analogous accumulation of synonyms: ὡς δ' ὅτε χείμαρροι ποταμοὶ κατ' ὄρες φι ῥέοντες (cf. 5.87f.).

306 sternit agros, sternit The gemination (Wills, 104) replaces any connective and conveys the sweeping force of the torrent (so Ussani, after Marouzeau, rightly), a technique absent from Hom.'s detailed picture, *Il.5.87–92*. Cf. (with polyptoton) 10.429 *sternitur Arcadiae proles, sternuntur Etrusci* (but, surprisingly, *s.* used only once at Ov.*Met.8.340*, of the Calydonian boar; cf. too *Liv.39.31.10 haud secus ergo quam torrentis modo fundunt sternuntque percusos*). *Tacet EV*. The torrent's damage tripartite, first the fields themselves and then, more elaborately, their twofold contents.

sata laeta bouumque labores These four words repeated from *G.1.325* (see W.W. Briggs, *Narrative and simile...* (*Mnem. Suppl.* 58(1980), 17f.); note also *G.1.118 hominumque bouumque labores*. For *labor* as 'fruit of labour', cf. *G.2.155 adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem, Aen.1.455, 6.27 hic labor ille domus, 7.248 Iliadumque labor, uestes, Lumpe, TLL 7.2.795.22*; Page well compares analogous uses of *artes, manus*. Cf. also n. on 3.95 for the frequent presence in V. of the etym. association between **laetus** and manure. Richly confirmed, von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.883.79ff.; note Enn.*Ann. 468 agros laetos, Cic.de or.3.155 laetas segetes etiam rustici dicunt* and here Guillemin well renders 'gras'. But the expressions have also complex Greek antecedents: Hom. has (*Il.16.392*) of the χαράδραι, which rush into the sea ἐξ ὄρέων ἐπικάρ, μινύθει δέ τε ἔργυ' ἀνθρώπων (cited by Roiron, 198, Richter, Knauer, *bene*) and (*Od.10.98*) οὔτε βοῶν οὔτ' ἀνδρῶν φαίνετο ἔργα, and Hes. ἔργα βοῶν at *Op.46*; AR (4.1282f.) incorporates ποτιδέγμενοι ἡέ τιν' ὅμβρον/ ἀσπετον, ὃς τε βοῶν κατὰ μυρία ἔκλυσεν ἔργα. Thereafter, (e.g.) Ov.*Met.1.272f., Colum.10.330*. Note **bouumque F, bouumque MPV**. *Bouom* is quite credible in Varro (cf. Leumann, 49, 138, Holzweissig, 374, Münscher, *TLL* 2.2135.77ff.), but is, not least in view of the distribution of the evidence, to be avoided here.

307 praecipitisque...siluas The adj. lends itself to proleptic use: cf. Cat.65.23 *prono praeceps agitur decursu, Aen.3.682 praecipitis metus acer agit, 4.572f. sociosque fatigat/ praecipitis, 5.175 praecipiitem...deturbat, 456 praecip-*

itemque Daren...agit, etc., Adkin, *TLL* 10.2.416.51f.. V. may be rendering meticulously with *praecipit* is the ἐπικάρο of *Il.*16.392 (ἐξ ὄρέων ἔ.).

trahit Cf. *Il.*11.494f. πολλὰς δὲ δρῦς ἀζαλέας, πολλὰς δέ τε πεύκας / ἐσφέρεται, *EV* 5*, 248. *Hoc speciale fluuii* remarks Serv.; cf. *OLD* s.v., §3a, citing e.g. *Sall. Iug.*78.3 (*limum harenamque*).

stupet Cf. 7.381f. *stupet inscia supra/ impubesque manus* (with n.), 10.249 *stupet inscius*, *EV* 4, 1046. The shepherd as audience derives from *Il.*4.455 τῶν δέ τε τηλόσε δοῦπον ἐν οὔρειν ἔκλυε ποίμνη; cf., for the element of distant noise in these related similes, the μεγάλα στενάχουσι of *Il.*16.391. Remembered as **sedet** by Quint.8.6.10.

inscius.../ 308 ...pastor Serv. remarks rather well *non ‘ignarus’—nam uidet—sed qui non ualde sit causarum peritus, id est simplex*, ἄπειρος (vd. my n. on 3.37). Cf. Hubbard, *TLL* 7.1.1845.42ff.. In the great simile of the wounded deer, the figure of the *nescius ...pastor* will recur (4.71–2) and we might also compare 5.5 *causa latet* (E. Henry, *VP*, 70, *bene*). The ignorance or incomprehension (cf. Chew, 620f.) is an ‘original’ touch in this extremely well-read simile, but it too has a flavour of Lucretian ignorance (*o miseras hominum mentes, o pectora caeca*, etc.): the shepherd who does not understand the causes of this rather unfamiliar roar. No sheep are present and Aen. is hardly to be thought of as a (negligent) shepherd of his people (Anderson, 5f.).

alto/ 308 ...saxi de uertice Cf. n. on 7.674 *cum uertice montis ab alto*. Cic. *Progn.* fr. 3.5 has *celso e uertice montis* and Acc. *trag.*564 *ex sublimo uertice saxi*. Not necessarily an echo of Acc. here, but standard poet. idiom, after *Il.*2.456 οὔρεος ἐν κορυφῆς.

308 accipiens sonitum Standard idiom, used by Lucr. (4.611, 6.171, Hey, *TLL* 1. 306.82ff.).

309 tum uero Cf. 105. La Cerda quotes, most appositely, Liv.5.42.3 *Romani ex arce plenam hostium urbem cernentes uagosque per vias omnes cursus, cum alia atque alia parte noua aliqua clades oreretur, non mentibus solum concipere sed ne auribus quidem atque oculis satis constare poterant*. Aen. has by now reached a stage just beyond such disbelief.

manifesta fides Cf. Hey, *TLL* 8.308.21f., comparing Cic. *Fam*, 15.2.6 *dixit ad se indicia manifestarum insidiarum esse delata*. Vd. too *EV* 3, 346. The expression **m.f.** is widely used: see 3.375 *auspiciis manifesta fides* ('it is clear fact'); Liv.6.13.7 *manifesta fides publica ope Volscos hostes adiutos* ('clear proof that', Oakley, 'evidence', Kraus; very much the same date as *Aen.*2); Luc.1.523f. *addita fati/ peioris manifesta fides* ('clear proof',

Duff); *Aetna* 177 *Aetna sui manifesta fides* ('as it clearly shows' Goodyear); Stat. *Theb.* 6.638 *auditum manifesta fides* ('clear proof that he was heard' Mozley). But here there has long been doubt and discussion and Fraenkel's *TLL* article on *fides* is atypically coy here (for older bibl., vd. Au., Speranza): Serv. *non somnii, ut quidam uolunt, sed fraudis Graecorum, nam et hoc sequitur 'Danaumque patescunt insidiae'*; TCD *tunc, inquit, incertis et dubiis recendentibus manifesta ueritas patuit, tunc Graecorum insidiae dominantibus iam malis nostris evidentissime claruerunt*. Let us ignore Hector's appearance, already no longer clearly present in our thoughts. If usage of **m.f.** elsewhere be taken as a sure guide (and surely *Aen.* 2 + *Liv.* 6 = stock phrase or common source), then Au.'s 'the truth of the matter becomes clear' is on the right track. But **Danaum** is very easily, almost compulsorily, taken with **f.** too, as LHS, 835 explicitly confirms (cf. Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 94), necessitating a slightly different version, (e.g.) 'what the Danai had really done becomes clear'. More important, though, **f.** has already been used *ter* in the context of the Gk. plot (**61, 143, 161**; *fides Achaica* indeed!). So 'the honesty of the Danai is revealed' (closely parallel in sense to the second half of the v.) merits serious consideration. It could be that V. altered the meaning of a stock phrase, and later writers did not, but the weight of the parallel evidence does suggest that, despite the context, Au. is right. The two members of the line function as parataxis; Au. argues, unnecessarily, for the implied presence of an acc. and inf. construction. Comms. quote Soph. *El.* 887 τίν' ... ἴδοῦσα πίστιν, close enough, but no answer to the problems.

Danaumque.../ 310 insidiae Cf. nn. on 5 (**D.**) and 36 (**i.**).

patescunt Lucretian (5.614); 'stand revealed' (Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.703. 4f.; vd. nn. on **483**, 3.530). a glance is enough to make plain the effect of Sinon's tale, and of the TH as Aen. passes from sounds to sights. Theme and variation.

310 iam Deiphobi...ampla.../ 311...domus Iam marks the progress of the flames as Aen. watches; vd. next v.. Cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.139 *aliter ampla domus dedecori saepe domino est*, Phaedr. Appx. 16.8, Gudeman, *TLL* 1.2006.74f., Hofmann, 5.1.1966.51f.. A substantial residence, and the placing of the adj. suggests that it is, all of it, in flames. Deiphobus a son of Priam and Hecuba, dearest to Hector (22.233), fairly prominent in *Il.* as a warrior, in post-Hom. versions the third, or fourth, of Helen's husbands, who is killed by Menelaus, and may indeed already have been killed (*Aen.* 6.525, [Apld.] *Epit.* 5.21; Od. and Men. hasten to his house, *Od.* 8.517, Knauer, 171, n.2); the origins of his love for Helen are

obscure but he tries to kill Idomeneus, who was another admirer (*Il.*13.516f.). See L. Kahil, *LIMC* 3.1.362–7, T. Scheer, *NP* 3.977f., *EV* 2, 15f. (Romano), Au. on *Aen.*6. 494–534, Robert, 987ff., Ro.1.1.981.7ff. (von Sybel), *PW* 4.2404.53ff. (Wagner). For the houses of individual Trojans in flames, Gärtner, 230, 260 compares *QS* 13.432a^f (Aeneas and Antimachus).

dedit...ruinam Markedly Lucretian: cf. 2.1144f. *moenia mundi/ expugnata dabunt labem putrisque ruinas*, 5.347 *darent late cladem magnasque ruinas*, 6.801. Employed in a different sense at 12.453f. *dabit ille ruinas/ arboribus stragemque satis, ruet omnia late*. V.'s periphrastic expressions with *dare* usefully sorted, de Rosalia, *EV* 2, 116; cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1686.52f., *EV* 4, 597. Au. collects passages where fire is given as an alternative to *ruina*.

311 Volcano superante V. perhaps from Hor. *Serm.*1.5.73f. (vd. *infra* for the likely importance of this passage): *uaga per ueterem dilapso flamma culinam/ Volcano*. The metonymy standard, 7.77, n. on 7.111, Pötscher, 141, Pomathios, 274; E. Harrison, *ORVA*, 46f. argues for a non-metonymic reference to the god of fire, not convincingly. **Vo- P; Vu- MV:** the former clearly preferable in an Aug. text, Quint.1.4.11, Ribbeck, 438. With **s.**, cf. 1.537 *superante salo*, **2.759 exsuperant flammae**, 12.46. According to Ribbeck (*tacent* Sabbadini, Geymonat, Mynors), **P** reads **VOLCANESUPERANTE**, whence **ecsup-** in R.'s text, not compellingly (cf. Knox, 390, n.23). Either 'rises higher than, overtops' or 'overwhelms, defeats', or indeed a hint of both.

iam Taking up **iam 310.**

proximus.../ 312 Vcalegon U. named once as a warrior, *Il.*3.148. There has been much discussion of whether he has been revived for an etym. function: his name indicates precisely 'not caring' in Gk., and a contrast with Dei-phobus in whom δήιος and φόβος are naturally enough found. No hint, though, in the texts (as so often there is), that the names are being exploited etymologically and Hom. calls U. and Antenor πεπνυμένω, almost the opposite of οὐκ ἀλέγων. Possibly V. used U. to avoid direct reference to Antenor, an overly controversial figure in discussions of Trojan treason (cf. 289–295). Cf. Fo, *EV* 5*, 346f., Paschalis, 107f., O'Hara, 132 (with further bibliogr.). But it may be that V. simply plucked the name out of *Il.* with no further consideration. *Vicus proximus* is normal Lat. for 'next-door neighbour': cf. Ramminger, *TLL* 10.2.2033.37ff., at 45f.. Whether **p.** means 'next to Aen.', or 'next to Deiph.', or both is not, need not be, clear.

ardet There is a sort of ellipse here (*rem domus ad personam transtulit Serv.; tacet Au.*): not the owner, but the house is in flames; Bell, 222 compares 3.275 *formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo* and 552 *attollit se diua Lacinia contra* (vd. my nn. on the deities there present). Compare Ov.F.6.437f. *Vesta/ arsit* (deity = temple, as 6.191, where vd. Bömer); Page also cites well 5.498 *galeaque ima subsedit Acestes*, the lot bearing A.'s name. Cf. here in particular the spoken idiom *ab Andria, ad Vestae*, Hofmann-Ricottilli, 386, Bell, *cit.*, LHS 61, 827; for the analogies present in inn-names, cf. T. Kleberg, *Hôtels...* (Uppsala 1957), 65ff.. Hor. writes (*Serm.1.5.71f.*) *ubi sedulus hospes/ paene...arsit*; the innkeeper may have risked his eyebrows, or his inn, or both. On the *iter*, V. travelled alongside Hor., which adds to the delight of the epicising touches in Hor.; it is likely that V. here borrows verb and possibly ellipse from Hor. (vd. Au., and cf. Vollmer, *TLL* 2.484. 18ff.; all the passages in this nexus of references already cited by La Cerdá). The game was not over, as Au. explains: cf. Hor.*Ep.1.18.84 paries cum proximus ardet* (Hor. now turns to V., which supports the idea that V. had first borrowed from Hor.) and Juv. then borrows the name Ucalegon for the victim of fire at 3.198f.. Oddly, Au. (in an excellent n.) did not play a fourth card: on 2.270–9 Henry reminds us that for Shakespeare's 'so dull, so dead in look, so woe-begone', Bentley had—not, of course, on a very good day—proposed 'so dead in look, Ucalegon' (*Henry IV*, part 2, act 1 sc.1). On **ardet**, cf. Lyne, *WP*, 23f.

312 Sigea...freta lata Cf. n. on 7.294 for Cape Sigeum; add Leaf (21), 186–90, *id.*, *Troy* (London 1912), 384ff., E. Schwertheim, NP 11.537. Only 3.5km to the shore of the Thracian Chersonese, but Serv. hastens to explain *incendii magnitudinem uoluit significare, non hoc describere* and Bell remarks very helpfully (163f.) on the tendency of Latin to write 'wide' when 'far and wide' is meant. Compare *Eleg. Maec.1.45 cum freta Niliacae texerunt lata carinae*, Ov.*Met.11.749 freta lata*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1313.59f., 1316.5f., *ib.*, 7.2.1021.66f. (van Wees). Note here both the elevated adj. form and the use of two, widely separated asyndetic adjs. (of which one is geogr. in character) to qualify **S.**: cf. n. on 7.643f. *Itala...terra alma*. For the picture, Gärtner, 260 compares *QS* 13.467.

igni...relucent Cf. Tib.1.1.6 *dum meus adsiduo luceat igne focus*, Plin.*Ep. 6.16.13* (of Vesuvius). Vd. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.288.61ff. for a table of the frequency of forms of the abl. (-i far commoner in hexameter poetry down to V.). Sen. *Ag.543* writes *resplendet fretum* of the waters off Cape Xylophago (cf. n. on 11.260).

313 exoritur Cf. 3.128 *nauticus exoritur uario certamine clamor*, with n..

clamorque uirum clangorque tubarum Cf. 1.87 *clamorque uirum stridorque rudentum* and 11.192 *it caelo* followed by the same four words as here (vd. n. there and observe the alternating homoeoteleuton, Moskalew, 125). Au. suggests Hom.'s ἐνοπή rather than mere shouting, but I wonder whether the war-cry was well-suited to the scattered nocturnal brutalities of the Sack. Serv. comments not on the generalising function of such vv. in battle-descriptions (vd. 7.628), but with stimulating precision, *morem tetigit expugnationis; plerumque enim ad tubam euertuntur ciuitates, sicut Albam Tullus Hostilius iussit euerti* (cf. on 11.192 *ante enim mortui ad tubam deducebantur*). *Plerumque* has been neglected: cf. Tu.'s assault on the Troj. camp, 9.503 (vd. Dingel), Liv.25.24.3, 5, Tac.*Ann.*2.81, *Hist.*3.77, Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.*451, Wickert, 456, Malavolta, 170. Well suited to an escalade, the actual use of the trumpet does lend some support to Serv.'s remark, though the trumpet-signal (and for epic trumpets, cf. n. on 7.628) hardly emerges as a stock preliminary to the *urbs capta*. Serv.'s remark just might derive ultimately from *Il.*18.219f.. But Norden (*EuV*, 154ff.) realised that Serv.'s nn. here and at **486** (*de Albano excidio translatus est locus*) (also) pointed to V.'s use of Enn.'s account of Tullus Hostilius' *excidium* of Alba and this happy insight has been received with proper enthusiasm: cf. Rossi, 23, Skutsch, p.279f., Au. here, E.J. Kenney in *Creative imitation...* (ed. T. Woodman, D. West, Cambridge 1979), 112f., Dingel, *cit.* Perhaps a famous detail in Enn.'s *excidium Albae*, and perhaps also a familiar element in full accounts of an *urbs capta*.

314 arma...capiō Cf. 9.139 *capere arma* and n. on 3.234 *arma capessant*. Cf. Bickel, *TLL* 2.594.82ff.: standard from Plaut. on, and very common in prose, but apparently not previously attested in verse. The line begins with marked assonance and is framed by polyptoton, Wills, 429.

amens Cf. **316 furor iraque**; for **a.** elsewhere, cf. full n. on 7.460; at **2. 321** of Panthus, at **745** of Aen. again after the loss of Creusa at 3.307, of Andromache, seeing Aen. in the flesh, at 4.279 of Aen. on hearing Jupiter's message via Mercury, at 7.460 of Turnus maddened by Allecto, at 9.424 of Nisus at the sight of Euryalus attacked by Volcens, at 9.478 of Euryalus' mother at the news of her son's death, at 10.681 of Turnus, *ob tantum dedecus amens* at his repulse from the Trojan camp, at 12.742, 776 of Tu. in terrified flight. Madness in *Aen.* is not simply uniform, monochrome, and deplorable (vd. my earlier

discussion, *supra*, and Traina there cited). See 289–95 for discussion of the ethical evaluation of Aen.’s behaviour here.

nec sat rationis R. remarkably common in Caes. (e.g. *Gall.* 1.40.8 *magis ratione et consilio quam uirtute uicisse*, 7.21.1), alongside *consilium*; the skilled Roman commander (as Aen. will become) fights with his head, sagely and coolly: a lesson Aen. has not begun to learn. There is active antithesis between **a-mens** and **rationis**, as there is balance between **arma** and **in armis** (for V.’s use of repetition as framing of a v., cf. Wills, 429). Cf. *EV* 4, 405, Nisbet, *ORVA*, 378, Mackie, 48, 211, Cairns, 19. But for conflicting specialist views on the intellectual general at Rome, see Woodman on *Vell.* 2.79.1 *consultisque facta coniungens*, J.E. Lendon, *Soldiers and ghosts* (New Haven 2005), 206, and L.G.H. Hall, in *Julius Caesar as artful reporter* ed. K. Welch, A. Powell (London 1998), 11–29 (esp. 21f.), on *ratio* in Caes. *Gall.*. For **sat**, cf. n. on 3.602; *est* easily omitted.

in armis Cf. n. on 11.154.

315 sed Not enough thought, *but (rather)....*

glomerare manum bello The vb. a great favourite, *quater* in *G.*, 12x in *Aen.*, + *adg-*, *bis*; *quater* in *Lucr.* + *cong-* *semel*, *Cic. Cons.* fr. 2.35, *carm. Aesch.* fr. 2.25. *Tacet EV.* **M.** as at 6.5, 7.382, 11.34, 259; contrast 7.43, 711 for the suggestion of much larger numbers. *Tacent Pomathios*, *EV.* **B.** (dat. of purp.) not at all ornamental: this is Aen.’s plan to fight back; *fuga* is not to be contemplated. The infins. after **ardent animi** of a type very common in V., after verbs that express desire, hesitation: cf. the full discussion, Görler, *EV* 2, 271.

et concurrere in arcem Cf. 7.520 (with n.), 11.805, 12.563, Burger, *TLL* 4.107.49. Cf. 33, 41f. for the *arx* of Troy, called also *Pergama* (177, 291): conceived as the citadel, the last bastion of Troy (as Serv. grasps; this had also been the account in Hellanicus, *FGH* 4F31 = DH 1.46.1; they hold out in the citadel prior to withdrawing to Mt. Ida): on 8.1, cf. *GR* 32(1985), 203, *EV* 3, 142, n. on 11.490; on 11.477 *summas...Palladis arces* vd. full n..

316 cum sociis Cf. 3.12 with n.; possibly a hint that though Aen. begins here in a confused and unstable condition, he stands by his comrades, as he will continue to do.

ardent animi Cf. 105 for the vb. (with 1.515, 581, Vollmer, *TLL* 2.486.63f.); a fiery verb clearly in keeping with the incendiary circumstances (cf. Schwarz, 446); here cf. **311 ardet** and TCD *ardente patria*

ipse quoque ardebam furore bellandi. **A.** thoughtfully discussed, Negri, 248 (cf. 451); clearly it is only Aen. whom V. has in mind, for now, though this has been challenged. The plur. ‘intensifying’ (Negri); cf. KS 1, 80. (to be classified as an abstract, or as a part of the body?; cf. Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 150).

furor iraque On the *furor* of the warrior Aeneas, cf. *Companion*, 200, 213; I am not convinced that distinctions between *furor* and *furia* are helpful (*ib.*, 213). For his *ira*, cf. *ib.*, 213f.. Add Wright (289–95), D. Fowler, *ib.*, 30–4, C. Gill in *Ancient anger* ed.S. Braund, G. Most (= *YCS* 32, 2003), 208–28, and W.V. Harris, *Restraining rage* (Cambridge, Mass. 2001) do not consider the present passage. Cf. 289–95 for the issue of moral evaluation; certainly the lofty, laudable intent to die for Troy could be allowed to check any haste in condemning Aen..

mentem/ 317 praecipitat TCD expands quite well: *iracundia...et furor consilio deficientem praecipitabant, hoc est non quo uolebam impellabar, sed quo uellet amentia*, Adkin, *TLL* 10.2.469.28f., under the general heading of ‘notione...urgendi, accelerandi, maturandi, sim.’ (468.63f.), comparing Ov.*F.4.674 praecipitauit equos Solis* (with *ib.673f. properantius ire/iussit*). Negri, *cit.*, compares 1.26 for a similar application of both *animus* and *mens* to the same individual (Juno) at the same point.

praecipitat P, praecipitant M, Serv. TCD. cf. 3.269 *uentusque gubernatorque uocabat*, 9.44 *pudor iraque monstrat*, LHS, 433. The sing. (an evident lectio difficilior) is regularly called for when two subjs. clearly form, as here, a single concept, Madvig, *Gramm. Lat.*, §213, Ernout-Thomas, 129, Bennett, 1, 2, Gildersleeve-Lodge, 182. It is surprising that Goold prints the plur.

pulchrumque mori...in armis Repeating, thematically, the motif introduced at 314; Neither s.v. *arma*, nor s.v. *mori* any light from *TLL*; cf. (via PHI) Hom.Lat.375, Val.Max. 2.7ext.2 *mortui in armis*, Sen.Ben.5.2.3 *qui in armis moritur*. Clearly not a stock literary expression. Cf. G.4.218 and *Aen.11.647 pulchramque petunt per uulnera mortem*, *Aen.* 9.401 *pulchram properet per uulnera mortem*, with D. Lassandro, *Contr. Ist.Stor.Ant.*45(1990), 181ff., NR on Hor.C.3.2.13, Chaniotis (87), 107 in addition to the bibl. cited in my n. on 11, *cit.*: death *pro patria* as οὗ οἱ ἀεικές *Il.*15.496f. (Knauer), as καλόν, Tyrt. fr. 10.1West, κάλλιστον Thuc.2.42.4, καλῶς Xen.*Anab.*3.1.43, Eur.*Tro.*386 Τρῶες δὲ πρῶτον μέν, τὸ κάλλιστον κλέος, ὑπὲρ πάτρας ἔθνησκον (as against the captives), Iust.20.3.4 (Wagner, Con.) *Locrenses paucitatem suam circumspicientes... omissa spe victoriae in destinatam mortem conspirant. tantusque ardor ex desperat-*

ione singulos cepit, ut uictores se putarent, si non inulti morerentur. sed dum mori honeste quaerunt feliciter uicerunt....

succurrit Cf. Cic.*Fam.*16.21.6, *Liv.*2.40.7 (with dir. speech; just earlier than *Aen.*2) *non, cum in conspectu Roma fuit, succurrit: intra illa moenia domus ac penates mei sunt, mater coniunx liberique?*, Ov.*F.*5.333. *Esse* to be supplied.

318–369 Lines largely ignored by readers of *Aen.* except for (1) the artistry of the catalogue of warriors (339–42), (2) their role as pendant to discussion of Hector's dream and (3) as ammunition towards the destruction of *Aen.*'s character. Alternative readings to current expositions of (2) and (3) are here advanced. But what is V. trying to do in these vv.? Is it indeed *ever* enough in reading V. to pass swiftly over a passage merely because it is not already critically acclaimed? Heinze, 36 noted acutely that V. avoids a general description of the sack, as in QS and Triph.; note how V. limits corpses in the streets to 364–6 whereas in QS 13 they are littered throughout the city, as Gärtner, 231 catalogues, because of the artistic imperative to concentrate on *Aen.* and his immediate following. But even that was clearly not enough comment: in the absence of detailed critical evaluation, a brief reminder of the content and structure of these vv. is offered, with some clues to V.'s *modus operandi*:

(1) Panthus appears and in response to *Aen.*'s questions (322), combines a general lament (324–7) with precise information on the situation (328–35); the former similar in character to the almost choral role of 54–6, 195–8, 241–2, 501–5 (cf. 624ff.).

(2) 336–46: *Aen.* dashes towards the action and is joined by five more followers, artfully catalogued; the intensity of the action is relieved by the story of Coroebus and Cassandra. This is also admirable *prooeconomia*, given Coroebus' role as anguished witness of the rape of Cass. (402–30). Classic Virgilian use of the human interest of minor participants, as readers of *Aen.* will learn to admire.

(3) *Aen.* addresses his very first band of followers: the gods have deserted them and their only hope is to die bravely (348–54), verses of lofty rhetorical finish.

(4) They go forth into the darkness like a pack of ravening wolves (355–60), a fine simile of sombre tone, perhaps also portentous in implications.

(5) 361–9: a general picture of Troy during the Sack, as are noted elsewhere (e.g. 309–13). The concentration on an individual and his

followers, in counterpoint to brief, wider glimpses of the scene as a whole, a familiar technique in cinematic recreations of recent history, not only introduces Aen. into the action but shows V. aware of the need to avoid extended pictures of the general scene, not focused on Aen., retardatory, and potentially tedious (cf. Paul's acute discussion). Cf. Mackie, 49–51, Mazzocchini, 315–7, Klingner, 416, Cartault, 189–90.

318 ecce autem Cf. 203.

telis...Achiuum Not quite as lofty as the adj., **177 Argolicis...** **telis**, where vd. n.. Here γ (= P) gives -ομ; common thus in the capital ms. (Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 438), and sensed as a survival of the archaic orthogr.: NW 1, 186, Sommer, 348f., Leumann, 428, Holzweissig, 439f.. But where the ms evidence is divided, we should be wary of deciding that V. preferred the archaic form.

Panthus.../ 319 Panthus For the pathetic epanalepsis, cf. n. on 7.649, Wills, 153. For P. himself, cf. W. Aly, PW.18.3.778.19ff, Eisele, Ro.3.1.1557.57ff., EV 3.958 (Luigi Lehnus), B. Kreuzer, *LIMC* 7.1. 173f., M. Stoevesandt, NP 9, 272f.. First found at *Il.3.146*, in the list of Priam's companions which has just yielded Ucalegon (so too Thymoetes, 32); cf. too 17.40. The ending -ους is naturally long, after Gk. -οος, Holzweissig, 468, NW 1, 209 (Prof. Görler points out that they should have compared Hegesinus, Cic.*Luc.*16). At *Il.15.521f*. Apollo (cf. **319**) is the protector of Polydamas, Panthus' son. Serv.Dan. relates a long story about Antenor's son, who carried the lovely Panthus off from Delphi to Troy (in a shorter version, Schol.T on *Il.12.211f*); Lehnus clearly right to sense the tone and interest of Hellenistic mythography. Othrys (*infra*) will only provoke more speculation., and it is not at all clear how V. arrives at the notion of P. as suited to his peculiarly significant role, though the existence of a tribe Panthois in historical Ilium has long been noted (cf. Erskine, 104, Aly, *cit.*).

elapsus Cf. 1.242 (Antenor) *mediis elapsus Achiuis*, **2.377, 526**, Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.316.12ff., *passim*: note quasi-proverbial *ferro ac manibus alicuius elabi*, absent from Otto and Tosi, *ib.316.6f.* Serv.Dan. *uerbum aptum his qui uix euaserunt. Serpentibus quoque aptum*, we have learned.

319 Othryades Othrys familiar as the name of a Thessalian mountain (cf. n. on 7.675, a spur of Pindus), but not as a mythol. figure; cf. Paschalis, 108. Note the Spartan Othryades at Hdt.1.82.4 (EV 3, 907).

There is no case to be made for some connexion between O. and Delphi, beyond Serv.'s story of Panthus here (Lehnus, *cit.*, after Gruppe, 267, n.8); Paratore's suggestion that the patronymic conveys Delphic authority to Aen.'s 'investiture' is infelicitous. It is clear enough (and has long been) that what V. had in mind, and adapted to a different figure, was the more prominent Othryoneus (*Il.*13. 363, 374, 772), especially in view of O.'s expectation of wedding Cassandra, *Il.*13.374, Knauer, 342, n.1 (see 343).

arcis Phoebique sacerdos This coordination of person and place widespread in V. (Hahn 1930, 234ff. at 236): cf. 7.419 *Calybe Iunonis anus templique sacerdos*, 775 *nymphae Egeriae nemorique*, 11.477. At 226 **saeuaeque petunt Tritonidis arcem**, there is a similarly abbreviated expression, for the citadel is Pallas' because she has a temple there; *arx* is not, *pace* Au., used in the sense of 'temple' here, or indeed elsewhere. Here then clearly (cf. Heinze, 33) the priest of Apollo (in his temple on the) *arx* (cf. 430 **Apollinis infula**); see 40–56 on priests of Apollo at Troy.

320 sacra Not necessarily to be dismissed as a mere synonym for the images about to be mentioned (**uictosque deos**): cf. nn. on 296–7. For the motif of the rescue of sacred objects, cf. 165–6; here, Guillemin well compares Liv.5.40.7–10 (with 50.3, Plut.*Cam.*20f.; cf. Kraus (198), 276): some of the *sacra* are buried, the rest, along with the priests, carried off to Caere; so already the people of Delphi at the news of Xerxes' advance, Hdt.8.36.1. Cf. Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, 462f.; for wanderers, exiles, colonists to carry sacred objects with them is more amply attested, Horsfall (1989), 17, Weinstock, PW 19.435.5ff., T.J. Cornell, *RAC* 12.1138f.. Cf. too Hdt.4.179 (Jason carries tripod; Libyans hide it), R. Chevallier, in *Two worlds of the poet* (15), 216.

manu.../ 321 ipse trahit In view of **cursu**, *infra*, little wonder (vd. Speranza); TCD conflates the grandchild and Ascanius (723–4). There is a trace of zeugma here, for, to judge by Aen.'s own departure, sacred objects and infants are not conveyed in the same way. Cf. 717ff. for the pathetic details. *Ipse* and *manu* are very frequently used together by V. but here reversed order and separation reduce the formulaic element: see Page here, n. on 3.372; we need to be told that P. has firm hold both of the child and of the sacred objects.

uictosque deos Cf. the *uictosque penatis* of 1.68, 8.11. According to Hellanicus (315; DH 1.46.1) the ιερὰ τὰ πατρῷα of the Trojans

were kept there; according to Heinze (34), Aen. could not have brought them with him, when he came home from the citadel (634), because his bloody hands would have been a terrible pollution (cf. 718–20); whence Panthus' role, also attested on the *TIC*. But the *TIC* here very probably illustrates Virgil's text (vd. Horsfall, *JHS* 99(1979), 39; cf. 589f.), as it does at several other points. But this sort of minute *prooeconomia* seems alien to the sometimes disorderly detail of *Aen.* 2. What, exactly, happens to the penates between Hector's instructions and their presence in Anch.'s house at 717 is not at all points clear (Au. here, Heinze, 34f.). V. does not here spell out that what Panthus is carrying is the objects that Hector meant, and showed: both Serv. and Serv.Dan. refer back to 293, and Aug. *civ.dei* 1.3 likewise connects these two passages with, additionally, the *uictos...penates* of 1.68 (cf. H. Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin classics* 2 (Göteborg 1967), 389f., S. MacCormack, *The shadows of poetry* (Berkeley 1998), 170). Au. helps the text out a little: 'he receives them now, from the most holy of all human personages [Apollo's priest Panthus]'. But does he? Presumably the **limina** of 321 are Anchises'. Presumably the **sacra** are left there, for Panthus and Aen. are not encumbered by them in the fighting that now follows. Left, then, like a parcel, with the porter (as noted also by E. Henry, *VP*, 188, n.6)? It is not made explicit. If Aen. does not know in his waking state that Hector has bestowed Troy's penates on him as a sacred charge, it makes perfect sense, and perfectly suits the pace of events, that such encumbering luggage is left to await collection, with no active sense, for now, of its importance. This is a moment handled with swift realism; not a trace even of implicit disrespect and no attempt to exploit the tragic irony latent in Aen.'s behaviour or to follow up the fate of the grandchild (*infra*). Cf. nn. on 7.295, 11.402 for the motif of the Trojans drawing strength from defeat: that will not come for some time yet (but cf. already 366). Ladewig refers simply to the sacred objects of *Apollo*, whose priest Panthus is, after all; undeniably possible, but we do perhaps need some hint at how the Trojan penates were first brought to temporary safety, and it is not helpful to have another, distinct set of sacred obects (hereafter ignored) brought into the narrative.

paruumque nepotem Nameless and not heard of hereafter (unlike Panthus himself, 429); a type of Iulus to come, 723f.. Should the sight of this child remind Aen. of his own allegedly neglected duties to close kin (M. Owen Lee, *Fathers and sons* (Albany 1979), 37, 46)? Hardly, for Troy's defenders are not yet convinced that the fight is lost, nor that it is time to escape: Aeneas cannot begin his founding of Rome by bolting

from Troy, just because he is a family man.. For the pathetic use of **p.**, cf. 213 with n., 563, etc., *EV* 3, 997.

321 cursuque...ad limina tendit The common idiom of narrative prose, Hofmann, *TLL* 4.1529.28ff., citing Sall.*Iug.*91.4, Liv.31.24.2, etc.. The passage is tersely phrased but there is no reason to doubt that Panthus ran towards Anch.'s house. It is not clear why he did, or who sent him, or why a priest of Apollo should have had this task. **Cursum** a *legitur*-variant in Serv.; good Latin (5.834 is irrelevant, *pace* Speranza; vd. Lucr.5.631, Hofmann, *TLL* 4.1530.39ff. and note too 1.410 *gressum tendit*), but no improvement on **-u.**

amens Cf. 314; exactly Aen.'s reaction, which should perhaps have given pause for thought there: yet another Trojan, this time a priest and a grandfather, is portrayed as wildly determined to fight, whatever the demands of gods and family. Collective insanity, or just a natural reaction for [Homeric] heroes?

322 quo...loco Cf. Enn.*Ann.*422 *quo res sapsa loco sese ostentatque iubetque*, Plaut. *Merc.*986 *ubi locist res summa nostra publica?* (metaphorical), Ter.*Ad.* 344 *peiore res loco non potis est esse quam in quo nunc sitas*, Cato, *orat.fr.*173 *uide sis quo loco re<s> p. siet*, Sisenn.*fr.*99 *si res communis melioribus locis constitisset*, Cic.*Att.*3.24.2 *et tota res quo loco sit velim ad me scribas*, Sall.*Cat.*58.5 *nunc uero quo loco res nostrae sint, iuxta tecum omnes intellegitis*, Liv.2.47.5 *missis ad consules nuntiis quo loco res essent*, 3.68.3 *at enim communis res per haec loco est peiore; ager uritur, urbs obsidetur, belli gloria penes hostes est*, Hor.*Ep.*1. 12.25 *ne tamen ignores, quo sit Romana loco res* and Aen.9.723 *et quo sit fortuna loco*. This v. used to provoke much discussion (summary in Au.); the splendid collection of material in Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.2.1584.7ff. solves at least half the problem, for *quo res loco?* is clearly a familiar phrase at home in spoken language but acceptable in loftier contexts, 'how placed is the **res summa?**', *vel sim..*

res summa Cf. Plaut.*Merc.*986 *supra*, *Capt.*901 *rem summam creditit cibariam*, Enn.*Ann.*97 (*tacet Sk.*), Acc.*praet.*14 *rem summam et patriam nostram*, Liv.23.48.8 *rem summam agi cernentes*, 33.7.10 *committendam rerum summam in discrimen*, Man.3.43 *rem summam perspice cura*, Tac.*Ann.*13.15 *euolutum eum sede patria rebusque summis*, Quint.*decl.min.*343.9 *apud magistratum et de re summa audeat optare*. Au. is quite right to rule out Serv.'s '*res publica*' (championed by Nettleship and many others); perhaps 'crisis'. Again, spoken idiom, perfectly suited to the occasion.

Panthu I.e. Πάνθος; cf. 318.

quam...arcem Clearly not Pergama, for Panthus seems just to have left the *ark* of Troy (319; *sed iam etiam ipsa fuerat capta* TCD). A more general sense of ‘strongpoint’ is called for (*pace* Serv. *non enim plures erant arcis*): Au. cites 10.805, Liv.24.21.12. Add e.g. Liv.25.25.2 *tumulus est in extrema parte urbis...praeerat huic arci Philodemus Argiuss*, 28.6.2 *duas arcis urbs habet, unam imminentem mari; altera urbis media est* (cf. Aen.8.357), Tac.*Hist.*5.12 (Jerusalem) *templum in modum arcis propriique muri, labore et opere ante alios, Ann.*15.69 *praeuenire conatus consulis, occupare uelut arcem eius. Perperam*, Della Corte, 26.

prendimus Though tempted by a sense of ‘loca quae adeuntur, offenduntur’ (*TLL* 10.2.1162.27ff.), as in the case of 6.61 *iam tandem Italiae fugientis prendimus oras*, Suter, *ib.*1164.32f. compares Caes.*Civ.* 3.112.5 and settles for Serv.Dan.’s *occupamus*. The indic. altogether in keeping with V.’s use of the spoken idiom here: in this register, in deliberative, or, to use the specialist term, consultative questions, the indic. is normal: cf. n. on 3.88 *quem sequimur?*, and Görler, *EV* 2, 273, LHS, 308, Bennett, 1, 22ff. (asking for advice and in dialogue), Woodcock, 129ff., Allardice, *Syntax of Terence*, 78, Ter.*Eun.*811 *quid nunc agimus?* No reason to suppose that **p.** is perf.. TCD properly admires the appropriateness of this extreme brevity to character and occasion: *praedicanda uehementer est poetae nostri artificiosa subtilitas*. Cf. Setaioli, *EV* 2, 105 on the 8.8% of V.’s speeches which begin thus *ex abrupto*.

323 uix ea fatus eram So at 3.90 (where vd. n.); Knauer compares e.g. *Il.*10.540.

gemitu Cf. 413, 12.928 and notably 288 (Hector), I. Kapp, *TLL* 6.1.1752.8, Antoine, 199, and a good n. by Page on the nearly adverbial use of the abl.; *cum gemitu* equally Virgilian (*G.*3.222f.), but *cum* here is required as the conjunction. As often, a phys. symptom characterises the speech to come; Serv.Dan. *ut ostendat luctuosam rem se esse dicturum..*

cum *Cum inversum;* n. on 7.166.

alia reddit Cf. 10.530 *dixerat. Aeneas contra cui talia reddit.*

324–35 Whereas Hector spoke to Aen. about the Penates but did not produce them, Panthus produces them but does not mention them in his speech; Aen. will have to work out his task, and the learning process will be more than a sequence of increasingly authoritative divine messages (E. Harrison, *ORVA*, 50f.). For now, *pace* Mackie and E. Harrison, Panthus makes no appeal regarding the penates. To Aen.’s

cry for action (322), he offers only tragic news, in reinforcement of what Aen. has seen, and contributes nothing further to the penates' safety and future. If Aen. does not recall the vision of Hector, the unasked-for presence of the penates in his house is simply, for the moment, thrust aside; Panthus' unexplained motives for bringing them are not an urgent issue. Lines generally ignored as an entity, but cf. Cartault, 189, Mackie, 49, Schwarz, 447, K. Quinn, *Latin Explorations* (London 1963), 208–10.

324 uenit Cf. 1.283 *ueniet lustris labentibus aetas*, Posani, *EV* 5*, 488. The weight of the self-contained first-foot spondee (cf. n. on 7.406) felt here with peculiar force.

summa dies Hom.'s ρέπτε δ' αἰσιμον ἡμαρ (*Il.* 8.72f., Knauer, M. Bonfanti, *Punto di vista...* (Pisa 1985), 252ff.; cf. also the fatal day prophesied by Hector, *Il.* 6.448, quoted 248). **D.** first here in the sense 'de die intereundi, sim.', Pflugbeil, *TLL* 5.1. 1053. 26, but already used by Plaut. in less grave contexts, *Asin.* 534, *Pseud.* 374, *Persa* 34 *haec dies summa hodie est. Dies suprema* (Cic. *Phil.* 1.34, etc., Pflugbeil, 1053.35ff.) and *dies ultimus* (cf. 198) are used more generally of 'last days' in the present sense (cf. Eur. *Andr.* 101f.). Vd. *EV* 5*, 91, and cf. n. on 7.145 for some bibl. on the gender of **d.** since Fraenkel.

ineluctabile tempus A Virgilian coinage, like *irreparabilis* (Cordier, 145, Rehm, *TLL* 7.1.1291.21, *EV* 3, 273), after the manner of *inexorabilis* (Pacuv., *Liv.* 2, *G.*), used again at 8.334. It is likely to be relevant (vd. Forbiger, Au., etc.) that δυσπάλαιστος is used by Aesch. of πράγματα and Ἀρά (*Supp.* 468, *Cho.* 692), by Eur. of chance and old age (*Alc.* 889, *Suppl.* 1108), and by Soph. of ἀμαθία (fr. 924.1). Compare 10.467f. *stat sua cuique dies/ breue et irreparabile tempus/ omnibus est uitae* (with *G.* 3.284). Cf. Norden on 6.27 *inextricabilis* for words of this shape in the hexam..

325 Dardaniae Vd. 281. Probably dat. after **uenit**.

fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium Cf. n. on 7.413 *sed fortuna fuit*, LHS, 318, Ernout-Thomas, 223, KS 1, 125 for this use of the perf. ('has been and is no more'); for the gemination, cf. Cic. *Cat.* 1.3 *fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac republica uirtus* (common in Cic.; again at *Epic. Drusi* 148, where vd. Schoonhoven, Witlox). The lament is for the passing of citizens (with whom P. identifies himself) and city, which here deliberately bears a different name (cf. Quirites, Roma); the anaphora could well recall Eur. *Tro.* 582 βέβακ' ὅλβος, βέβακε Τροία (and Au. collects more

of Eur.'s similarly phrased laments on the passing of Troy). **Troes**, perhaps not, as Speranza argues, comparing Liv.2.12.11, 37.45.11, *iuentus Romana/Romani + 1 pers.plur.*, appositional ('we were Trojans once'), which is a little weak in sense, but rather (cf. von Albrecht (xxv), 114, with n.427, well comparing Cic. *Verr.*2.5.45 *fuit ista res publica quondam, fuit ista seueritas in iudiciis*) simply subject, 'we Trojans have been and are no more'.

Ilium (cf. n. on 3.3) only enters dactyl. verse with synaloepha of cretic word (n. on 11.503, Au. on 6.64f., Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 328f.). 5tr. a rare *sedes* for any synaloepha; of *-um* in a cretic word, cf. only 3.109, 6.64 (cf. Norden, *Aen.*6, p.455f.). The city blurred, or swallowed, into oblivion.

et ingens/ 326 gloria Teucrorum The third, far more substantial member of the tricolon. V. will look back to these lines when Aen. addresses the Sibyl (6.64f.): *dique deaeque omnes quibus obstitit Ilium et ingens/ gloria Dardaniae* (of no apparent interest to Sparrow, Moskalew). The greater Troy's glory, the heavier, the more inevitable her fall (so too 241 **inclusa bello/ moenia**, as the TH enters, Pomathios, 163); for *ingens gloria*, cf. Sall. *Cat.*7.6, Liv.2.16.7, 22.6, Knoche, *TLL* 6.2.2070.3ff.. **T.**: cf. 48.

ferus...Iuppiter So more fully, 617f. (with Feeney, 142), Pomathios, 320, A. Thornton, *Living universe* (Leiden 1976), 89f., *EV* 2, 502, 746. Non.p.307.15 glosses *seuerus* (*saeuus* Müller); Klee/Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.605.9f.. Not a standard epithet of gods in general (Mars apart), and certainly not of Jup.; here therefore a strong suggestion of (unmerited, disproportionate) savagery in his partiality. Serv. remarks that *summae necessitatis est* when the priest Panthus speaks ill of Jup..

omnia...Argos/ 327 transtulit Possibly a hint of the literal sense, suggesting the removal of Troy's great wealth to Greece (763ff., Robert, 1275, Zucchelli, *EV* 2, 498, citing Schol.Aesch.*Sept.*304–11), but more obviously, in an all-embracing sense. **T.** as at 1.270f. *regnumque ab sede Lauini/ transferet*. **A.** as often used as emblematic of Gk. power. Vd. n. on 7.372 *Mycenae*, *EV* 1, 308f..

incensa...in urbe Cf. 352f., 374f. **incensa.../ Pergama, 555 Troiam incensam**, 3.156, 7.295f. with n.; the vb. Ennian, but also standard in prose and poetry. Cf. 289 for the emphasis V. lays on the fire; here **i.** is given notable prominence.

Danai dominantur The vb. *semel* in Acc., *octies* in Lucr.; 6.223f. is pertinent: *praeterea saepe accidunt quoque tecta domorum/ et celeri flamma dominantur in aedibus ipsis*. Cf. 5 for the alliterative **Danai**. TCD acutely

suggests that the victorious Greeks *non pugnant adhuc*, but rather, *securi de uictoria dominantur*: swagger, we might almost say.

328 arduus.../ 329 ...equus *Altus* glosses Serv.Dan., comparing *G.* 3.79 *ardua ceruix* and drawing attention to the rope used by the emerging Greeks at 262; cf. Bannier, *TLL* 2.494.30ff. at 35f., *EV* 1, 303f. (del Chicca). Lexical choice in the interests of a favourite assonance, as 4.629 *arma armis*, 7.644 *arserit armis*, 8.299 *arduuus arma tenens* and *ter*, *Arcades armis*; allit. of *m* as well. The prolonged hyperbaton and run-on verb and subj. suggest the huge TH pouring out a great flood of Greeks over Troy (we might recall the flood of 305f.); *et ad uelocitatem et ad multitudinem. et sonore, quasi adhuc descendant* remarks Serv.Dan., well, after (Fraenkel, *Kl.B.2*, 386, comparing Eust. on *Od..8.515*) some Hom. commentary. Au. suggests the influence of Enn.*trag.72f. grauidus armatis equus/ qui suo partu ardua perdat Pergama*, not quite convincingly, given the distance between **a.** and **a.**; tacent Wigodsky, Stabryła.

armatos.../ 329 fundit The TH full of armed men, so dear to the young Augustine (*equus ligneus plenus armatis*, *Conf.1.13, ad fin.*); a neat, discreet display of wide reading: **a.** from Enn.*trag.72, grauidus armatis equus*; note 485, 6.880 for **a.** thus used as noun and cf. too **20 uterumque armato milite compleat** and 6.516 *armatum peditem grauis attulit aluo*, with Vollmer, *TLL* 2.620.51. The verb, as Serv. Dan. remarks, suggested by Hom.'s *ἰππόθεν ἐκχύμενοι* (*Od.8.515*; cf. Petr.89.v.57 *effundunt uiros*). Cf. Val.Fl. 3.499, Sil.15.369, Robbert, *TLL* 6.1.1567.46f., not milit. language (but cf. Liv.5.37.5, (?)27.41.10).

mediis in moenibus Carried up to the *arx*, as we have not forgotten: cf. **240 mediae...urbi, 245 arce**. For allit. **m.m.** thus, cf. Vitr.1.6.6; *tacet TLL*. ‘In the midst of the houses’ or ‘right inside the walls’ (vd. n. on 234)? Either sense would serve well here.

astans Cf. 303 **asto**. Serv. suggests that here V. is employing *prothesis*, i.e. *compositum pro simplici*, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 113, Serv. on 12.816 *adiuro*.

329 uictorque Sinon Even the gods are *uicti* (320). Sinon has conquered Troy, with no grand assault but only scattered episodes of retrospective bloodshed; Serv. think **u.** is used in the sense of *propositi effector*; perhaps, but here surely too pallid. Heinze (31, n.1) compares the absence of *caedes* in Liv.'s account of the Allia (5.38.7) and of a battle at the Caudine Forks (9.5.10; cf. Oakley, p.26). Here, yet again, failure excused by trickery (cf. 195–8). Whether or not Aen. had clearly

realised before now the role lately played by the TH and Sinon, this passing reference to Sinon's gloating public triumph is a brilliant coda to the long narrative of his successful deceit.

incendia miscet Cf. 4.209f. *caecique in nubibus ignes/ terrificant animos et inania murmura miscent*, Sen. *Nat.* 3.30.6 *ut ignis diuersis locis ortus cito miscet incendum flammis coire properantibus*, Pfligersdorffer, *TLL* 8.1096.41f.. We recall 298 **miscentur moenia luctu**. *Fouebat incendia hostis magis animo quam necessarie faciens*, TCD.

330 insultans 'Prancing as well as mocking' as Au. well puts it; Serv.Dan. specifies the second sense, as does Wieland, *TLL* 7.1.2043. 49f., but a literal, visual expression of his triumph would be entirely appropriate. TCD suggests a reversal of **64 certantque inludere capto**: possible, even enticing; not mandatory.

portis...bipatentibus Greek reinforcements are still pouring in through the gates, which were opened at a very early stage, **264 portisque patentibus**. The adj. Ennian, *Ann.* 52Sk., *tractus ab ostiis, quae ex utraque parte aperiuntur* (Serv. *ad Aen.* 10.5), 'with two wings [leaves] standing open', Skutsch; Serv.Dan. there suggests rather (quite unconvincingly) *quod intrantibus et exeuntibus pateant* and Serv. *quae ex utraque parte aperiuntur*, rather better. Here, Serv., helpfully *quia geminae sunt portae* (cf. the glossators' confirmation, Ihm, *TLL* 2.2000.18ff.). Compare n. on 7.607 *sunt geminae Belli portae*.

alii...// 332 ...alii Cf. 1.427,8, and the sequence 7.624, 626 (*pars...pars...pars*), with note. V. is at pains to avoid a large, detailed portrayal of the sack; its horror emerges from numerous shorter vignettes (cf. Panthus encumbered with both grandchild and sacred objects).

adsunt Cf., aggressively, **182 aderunt**, 3.225 *de montibus adsunt* (Harpies), 7.506 *improuisi adsunt* (with n.), 9.49 *improuisus adest*, *TLL* 2.918.34ff. (Prinz).

331 milia quot Q., in anastrophe, without, as often, a correlative; *OLD* s.v., §3b and cf. 4.351. V. imitated by Val.Fl.6.166f.. Cf. too Liv.45.2.4 *exponerent...quot milia ex iis caesa*. Possibly (Knauer) compare the ὅσσοι...ἕπτα' Ἰλιον ἥλθον of *Il.* 2.249. Here in appos. (technically, 'distributive', LHS, 429) to the first, even possibly the second, **alii** (cf. Ladewig, Guillemin); Serv. oddly claims anacoluthon. V. suggests (as Serv.Dan. sees) that it now seems as though none of the Greeks were killed before Troy: as many Greeks as ever came from Greece pour through the city, in their (tens of) thousands.

magnis...Mycenis Cf. 12.168 *magnaes...Romae* (cf. 5.600, 7.602, Hor. *Serm.*1.5.1); the adj. used of an *urbs*, a mountain, a river, a hero, a people, a country, but clearly rare of a named city; Bulhart, *TLL* 8.138.71f. cites Hor.C.3.5.39 (Carthage). See n. on 7.372 for the status of Mycenae.

umquam uenere The distinction between ‘original fleet’ and ‘later reinforcements’ (cf. 181) perhaps overly pedestrian; **umquam** has often (cf. 95, 247) a generalising, affective force (‘all the thousands that ever...’). Cf. 7.750 for *uenit* of coming to a muster.

332 obsedere Cf. 441 **obsessumque acta testudine limen**, 450, 802 and also n. on 11.516: the word (taking *obsido* and *obsideo* as one) standard (‘block’), but perhaps some flavour of military narrative (Lossau, *TLL* 9.2.222.12ff. at 18).

telis... 333 oppositis -itis, M_y (P here missing), TCD; Carolingian mss divided between **-itis** and **-iti**: the latter feebly defended by Forbiger, Con., Mackail; the former much more closely integrated with what follows, and better supported. In narrative prose it is the body of men that more normally blocks the way (so 9.469, Beikircher, *TLL* 9.2.769.70ff.), but an epic extension to weapons (cf. [Ov.]*Hal.*61), and to the weapon’s target, Sil.5.474, etc., Beikircher, 767.24ff.) is a natural, unobjectionable development.

angusta uiarum Cf. nn. on 3.232, 11.319, Bell, 218, 258 and Au. here for the neut.plur. adj. and dependent (partitive) gen. (perhaps with a slightly archaic flavour; Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.*84); oddly ignored by Hey, *TLL* 2.63.7ff.: *uiiae* are often *angustae* in both prose and verse.

333 stat Often of the warrior standing stoutly (e.g.12.938 *stetit acer in armis*), or of the weapon standing in the target (52); cf. also 6.300 *stant lumina flamma* (clearly enough what V. wrote there). Ovid was suitably impressed by V. here, F.3.215 *iam steterant acies ferro mortique paratae*, but the phr. is standard, Liv.27.18.7 *Hasdrubal postquam stantem pro castris hostium aciem uidit* (with 24.8.18 *stantibus uobis in acie armatis*, 23.16.10, 44.36.13, 37.2, Kempf, *TLL* 1.409.16ff.). Cf. Bell, 151f.; Serv.Dan. offers *horret*, comparing 6.300; alternatively, (well) *stantibus in medio armatis tenetur*. See further next page, *infra*.

ferri acies.../ 334 stricta Au. translates, without exegesis, ‘a sharp, glittering-pointed line’, but there is a lexical problem here and there may be complex verbal play to be uncovered. If these words refer to the drawn edges of metal swords, as they could so very easily (indeed

almost too much so), then these edges ‘stand’, **stant**, mysteriously, and not in keeping with the usage of the verb (*stare in acie* is quite another matter, Kempf, 407.3ff.). The verb should suggest menacing immobility, even (*infra*) ‘stands stiff with’ (*vel sim.*). But it is a little hard to see how the points are flashing (**corusco**), if the edges are somehow, conflictingly, immobile, and to understand why we need edges and points (?significantly) juxtaposed, when the swords are not actually in use. If, though, **acies** refers to a line of men blocking the Trojans’ passage, then, (i) **stricta**, run on, referred to the whole unit and not to its weapons, is in enallage for the **stricto** that we might prosily expect, (ii) the line of Greeks stands ‘with flashing sword-points’, yielding a fine contrast between their stoutly immobile feet and their swinging, menacing arms and (iii) with *acies* in the sense of ‘line’, there remains of course an attractive tension between **mucrone**, ‘point’ and **acies**, ‘edge’, but also often ‘line’. It is therefore not difficult to prefer ‘line’. I render: ‘a line of steel with flashing points stands there ready to kill’.

On detail, note that Pflugbeil, *TLL* 6.1.576.76 classifies **ferri** hesitantly s.v. ‘de materia ferrea’, but remarks ‘fortasse rectius ad IIB2a’, that is, s.v. ‘instrumenta bellica’ (580.9ff.). The passages he cites at 576.76 (Plin.Nat. 7.63 *ferri ictum uel aciem respuens*, 64 *acies ferri*, the gleam of a mirror, 13.142 *hebetare aciem ferri*, 19.11 *ferri aciem uincunt* of a type of net in boar-hunting) confirm that ‘edge of steel’ is conventionally correct (so too Kempf, *TLL* 1.400.13, s.v. ‘acumen instrumenti, sim’, the ‘edge’, comparing G.2.365, *Aen.*11.862 *aciem ferri* of a steel arrow-head, etc.). That does not exclude that V. could rather have meant ‘line of swords’; in support, note Liv.’s *acies, ornata armataque* (10.40.12) and *auream...atque argenteam* (10.39.13), or Q.Curtius’, *clipeata* (7.9.8), Kempf, 406.47ff.; if Liv. can write *hastatorum* (30. 34.11), or indeed *elephantorum acies* (35.35.7), then *ferri a.* is no great leap for a poet. *Stringere* is standard Lat. for ‘unsheathe, draw’: *EV* 4, 1038 (Ugenti), 6.291 *strictamque aciem uenientibus offert*, 7.526 *strictis...ensibus* with note. On *Enn.Ann.*612 *stant puluere campi*, Skutsch remarks ‘the verb... combines the ideas of immobility and density’; cf. 12.407f. *iam puluere caelum/ stare uident* (with Traina’s n.), 6.300 *stant lumina flamma* (and cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 269 for a sense of ‘is made up entirely of’). An element of *simplex pro composito* for *constare* may be present. For **mucrone corusco**, cf. Burger, *TLL* 4.1076.62, 552f. **coruscum/ ... ensem**, 10.651f. *strictumque coruscat mucronem* (*coruscare* quite common thus), 12.663 *strictisque seges mucronibus horret*. For **m.**, cf. n. on 7.665: either (originally) the point, or, synecdochically, the whole

sword. The abl. ‘of external appearance’, LHS, 115 (cf. Antoine, 188f., noting *G.3.29 nauali surgentes aere columnas*).

334 parata neci Cf. 10.259 *pugnaeque parent se*, Breimeier, *TLL* 10.1. 424.54f.. For brutal **n.**, cf. n. on **85 demisere neci**.

uix Some time has elapsed since the beginning of the Greek attack, and the ability of a few Trojan pockets to resist is dwindling.

primi.../ 335 portarum uigiles Not all killed then, at **266** (in V.’s mind here; with **266**, cf. too **330**, the open gates). Cf. **494 primosque trucidant**, 12.577 *primosque trucidant*; ‘the first they met’, prose *primum quemque* (Traina on 12, *cit.* and classified s.v. ‘*primus de loco*’, Wagner, *QJ* xxviii.2). Not all the troops stationed on the walls were killed in the first assault (TCD), but a good deal more speculative ingenuity has been displayed here, in the interests of bringing (too much) clarity into the situation; vd. Paratore’s summary. Gates and *uigiles* conventionally associated, Liv.10.32.7, 27.28.9, 37.3 et *Capuae lupus nocte portam ingressus uigilem laniauerat*, etc.. And as La Cerdá points out, the slaughter of the *vigiles* or *custodes* is a recurrent element in siege-descriptions, Liv.9.25.8, Enn. *Ann.*228; add Caes.*Gall.*7.55.5, Liv.4.55.4, 61.8, 7.36.4, 31.23.5, etc..

proelia temptant Cf. Tac.*Hist.*3.5, Marchionni, *TLL* 10.2.1655. 59f..

335 caeco Marte *Aut confusa pugna aut nocturna* Serv.Dan., well; the latter unhelpful if taken as the sole implication of the adj.. Cf. 9.518 *caeco contendere Marte*, both under a *testudo* and consumed by battle-rage (vd. Dingel), *EV* 1, 599, Burger, *TLL* 3.46.22ff.. **314 nec sat rationis in armis** should be decisive. The metonymy of a familiar type, Bailey, 114, Pötscher, 126, Pomathios, 273, n. on 11.389.

resistunt Cf. Liv.5.44.5 *ex arce Capitolioque iis exigua resistitur manu*, 25.39.9 *itaque nequaquam resisti in portis potuit*.

336 talibus...dictis Cf. nn. on 7.249, 445. The abls. in mild zeugma, the first circumstantial, the second instrumental (Au.).

Othryadae Cf. 319.

et numine diuum The expression of a familiar type (Pomathios, 352, Pötscher, 100, Bailey, 68f., n. on 3.363), but inevitably ignored by those (**289–95**) committed to severe reproof of Aen. for his conduct here, even by Mackie, 49, who is often alive to such details. We should rather remember that Aen. returns to battle with (at least some,

not necessarily kindly) divine guidance, or prompting, and perhaps, though not necessarily, protection, for reasons which have been suggested (*ibid.*); Ussani refers to the **tristis Erinys** of the next v., perhaps too far ahead; V. leaves in doubt the scope, the benevolence and indeed the very nature of this *numen*. No inconsistency with 396 (q.v.), though Serv. was exercised.

337 in flamas et in arma Cf. 353 **in media arma ruamus**, 664 **per tela, per ignis**, Bickel, *TLL* 2.599.57f., who also compares Liv.7.12.10 *deinde Romanus miles ruendo in arma ac dimicationem aliquantum Gallicam ferociam uinceret*. Both nouns clearly to be understood literally, but we should also remember that Aen. is metaphorically *fired* to fight (cf. 316, Schwarz, 447).

feror Cf. nn. on 7.381, 673, 11.623, Pomathios, 204, a medio-passive often used by V. of swift and not always willed motion (cf. Henry, *VP*, 87). The Greek caesura contributes to our sense of Aen.'s rush into the fight. Mackie, 50, n.1 acutely contrasts Hector, 289 **teque his...eripe flammis**; but we are far from sure that the waking Aen. knows that he has been given these instructions.

quo.../ 338 quo Cf. *Buc.*9.1, *Aen.*5.670, 741, 9.781, 12.677, Wills, 87f..

tristis Erinys 'Apparently a rare (though metrically handy) synonym for *Furia*', n. on 7.570; for associations with Lyssa, Eris, Discordia, etc., cf. full n. on 7.323–40. The association of Furies with war is peculiarly Virgilian, 7.325f. *cui tristia bella/ iraeque insidiaequa et crimina noxia cordi*, with n. on 326 *irae*, 10.41, 761, Farron, *EV* 2, 621 (beware confusion of Dira and Furia; see *Companion*, 211, n.129), Buchheit, 102, Opelt, 140, Thome, 177f.. The *Latii feralis Erinys* would be one day be Caligula, Plin.*Nat.*7.45. For the adj., cf. n. on 3.214 *tristius haud illis monstrum*, 7.408 *tristis dea*. Though Aen. goes to war **numine diuum**, the Furies, as demons of battle, have a share in the work.

338 fremitus For Serv. *perturbatio*, for Fr. Müller, *TLL* 6.1.1281.26f., the clash of arms ('*armorum, castrorum, proeliorum et similium rerum..*'), comparing e.g. Prop. 2.16.37 (Actium), Liv.8.38.11, 9.45.15. Actually 'clamor inconditus' is quite as attractive, not being at all excluded by the **clamor** about to be specified (*TLL, cit.* 1279. 26ff.); there Müller adduces Caes.*Gall.*2.24.3 (with *clamor*), *Aen.*9.53, Liv. 10.42.2. Cf. Traina, *EV* 2, 590f.. Decision is not required.

uocat Cf. 668 **uocat lux ultima uictos**, 4.303 *nocturnusque uocat*

clamore Cithaeron, 11.476 *uocat labor ultimus omnis*, 12.125, *pugna uocet*, Zurli, *EV5**, 636.

et sublatus ad aethera clamor Cf. 222 **clamores...ad sidera tollit**, **488 ferit aurea sidera clamor**, 5.140 *ferit aethera clamor*, 451 *it clamor caelo*, 10.262 *clamorem ad sidera tollunt* (vd. Harrison for Hom.), 11.745, 11.832f. *immensus surgens ferit aurea clamor/ sidera* (with my n.), 878 *femineum clamorem ad caeli sidera tollunt*, 12.409 *it tristis ad aethera clamor*, 462 *tollitur in caelum clamor* (with Traina's n.). A conventional, formulaic hyperbole apparently ignored by Hardie (vd. n. on **186**).

339–42 Between Panthus and Coroebus, figures of moment, four others of minimal importance enter the action: Iphitus may survive the Sack (**435**); the others named, as well as both Panthus and Coroebus, are about to die (**424**, **426**, **428**, **429**). Rhipheus and Epytus are named first, **oblati per lunam**, then Hypanis and Dymas, **et lateri adglomerant nostro**, and finally the climactic Coroebus. Mazzochini refers to the ‘drammatica concitazione’ of these vv. and Lesky to ‘eine Folge von grösster Unruhe’. The sequence of minor names is broken up to avoid tedium, but the effect of Trojans in ones and twos joining Aen. by moonlight is highly skilled sentence-structure and achieves notable narrative credibility. Are we to suppose that there were also many others, as Cartault suggests (190)? I am not at all sure. Cf. Mazzochini, 316f., Lesky (**251**), 540–2.

339 addunt se socios Cf. 6.169f. *Aeneas sese.../ addiderat socium*, 528f. *comes additus...Aeolides*, 777f. *comitem sese...addet/ Romulus*, 9.149f. *addant se protinus omnes/Etrusci socios*, 765 *addit Halyn comitem*; *TLL* s.v. labyrinthine.

Rhipheus Cf. further **394**, **426**. Apparently an invention; the name possibly suggested by the Scythian mountains of *G.1.240*, 3.382 and 4.518 (cf. on **Hypanis infra**). **Ripheus M, Riphaeus P, Rhipeus** TCD. The capital mss. tend to omit the first h (Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 423) and we are hardly free to omit the second. Höfer, Ro.4. 112.22ff., Sittig, PW 1A.921.21ff., Chiavacci Leonardi, *EV4*, 472f.

et maximus armis Cf. *Epic.Drusi 14 maximus ille armis* and cf. *Aen.1.544 nec bello maior et armis*; no obvious Greek equivalent. No very good reason for the award of so splendid an epithet to Iphitus, not to mention his prominently run-on name.

340 Iphitus Paratore. **Epytus γ** (deest in **P**); **Aepytyus M; Aephitus** TCD. In bk.5, *bis*, note *Aepytyus* was apparently an invention,

Hoefer, PW 6.266.34f., Schultz, Ro.1.1.1295. 17ff., Rocca, *EV* 2, 344f. See however *Epytides* 5.547, 579; also, at *Il.* 2. 604, an Arcadian, Aepytus, appears fleetingly. More significantly, at 2.435 V. introduces *Iphitus* and Pelias to the action. Given that Rhipheus, Hypanis, Dymas and Coroebus all reappear in the narrative (as Paratore fails to tell us), the correction here appears to be necessary. Paratore suggests that Epytus derives from Hom.; much likelier to have been under the influence of the patronymic in Aen.5. For the (respectably Homeric) name Iphitus, vd. 435; the name's Hom. antecedents can hardly be held *against* Iphitus here.

oblati per lunam Cf. Heine, *TLL* 9.2.506.23f., 7.536 *dum paci medium se offert* and my n. there for use of *se offerre* (Lucr., Cic., common in V.). Vd. 250f., 255 for the moonlight.

Hypanisque The river-name of G.4.370, mod. Bug (Bolton, *Aristeas*, 50); Rhipheus and Hypanis reinforce each other. Scarsi, *EV* 3, 11, Stoll, Ro.1.2, 2804.54f.. See 428.

Dymasque The name of Hecuba's father at *Il.* 16.718 (cf. also *Od.* 6.22, Phaeacian) Gargiulo, *EV* 2, 75, Wagner, PW 5.1877.9ff., Stoll, Ro.1.11207.67ff.. See 394, 428.

341 et lateri...nostro Pallas, at 10.160f. is *sinistro/ adfixus lateri* to Aen. (vd. Harrison), literally, his left side. Here, though, a party of four joins a party of two, and a strictly literal sense is faintly confusing, and we might wonder whether 'flank of a body of men' would not be more appropriate, Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.2.1028.26ff., without reference to this passage. Note the phr. *latera tegere* ('escort'), *Cic.Phil.* 13.4, etc., Kroll, *Kult.cic.Zeit*, 185.

adglomerant The **se** of 339 may still be felt here, as obj. (Vollmer, *TLL* 1.1312.41f.); otherwise, an intransitivisation, n. on 3.7, etc.. Non. p.36.17 glosses *implicare, coniungere*, quoting this passage; cf. 12.458. Cf. the words *axe adglomerati uniuersi stantes*, Paul.exc.Fest.p.24.6L: from a dram. poet, suggests Vollmer.

iuenisque Of an age to fight or to marry, cf. nn. on 7.672, 3.136; altogether unwelcome as a way of suggesting, here, or indeed at 394, that he is of an age to act irresponsibly in battle (rightly, Kraggerud (268), Mørland (370–401), 8).

Coroebus Killed by Diomedes in the *Il. parva* (fr.16 Davies = Paus., *infra*), and by Neopt. elsewhere. His story as told here seems to be calqued upon that of Othryoneus, who vowed to drive the Achaeans from Troy, as the price of Cassandra, εἴδος ἀρίστην of

the daughters of Priam, *Il.*13.361–9. (vd. Janko's nn., Robert, 995f.), but Paus.10.27.1 knows - independently of V. (perhaps an account deriving ultimately from the Cycle) - that Coroebus came to Troy to marry Cass.. At 13.178ff., QS appears to blend Cor. and Othr.; the possibility of Paus. having used the same source as QS here rules out simplistic conclusions about his *modus operandi*. Cor. was also famed as a *stultus* (vd. Au., Pf. on Call.fr.587, Suet. *Peri Blas.*184 Taillardat), at least from Euphorion (fr.71 = Serv. here) on, quite distinctly from his serious, and tragic passion for Cass.: merely ἡλίθιος he is surely not here. Cf. Heinze, 36ff., Robert, 1255f., Gargiulo, *EV* 1, 886, Etrem, PW 11.1421.5ff., Stoll, Ro.2.1.1384. 8ff., Davreux (246), 59f., Gärtner, 233–5, A. Ambühl, NP 6.755, E.D. Serbeti, *LIMC* 6.1.103.

342 Mygdonides M. a king of Phrygia at *Il.*3.186; a famed monument to him, Paus. 10.27.1, and the Phrygians called 'Mygdones' after him (*ib.*); we would say, an eponymous hero or ruler. The father of Coroebus from [Eur.]*Rhes.*539 on. *EV* 3, 519 (meagre), Keyssner, PW 16.997.33ff., Tümpel, Ro.2.2.3299.50ff.

illis...diebus Cf. Liv.3.5.11 *clades...illis diebus et inlatae et acceptae; septies* in Cic. and a common idiom in *Vulg.* (*quinquies* in *Evang.Luc.*). So Othryoneus, *Il.*13.364 ὅτι πάντα πολέμοιο μετὰ κλέος εἰληλούθει, and dramatic precision imposed by QS 13.175, Cor. had come χθιζός.

ad Troiam.../ 343 uenerat Cf. n. on **203 a Tenedo**: here, likewise, prepos. with a city-name, which grew commoner after the archaic period; the factors which guided usage are not clearly understood: cf. *trag.inc.*86 *ad Troiam...misi*, Bennett, 2, 236f., LHS, 49f. (an excellent exposition), KS 1, 475f.. Cf. **331** for the vb..

forte Significant chance, as Au. explains: Coroebus just *happened* to have come shortly before the Fall.

343 insano...amore Cf. Lumpe, *TLL* 7.1.1834.3, Pichon, *Ind.verb. amat.*, 172f. (cf. e.g. Plaut.*Merc.*446f. *numquam...fuit ...ille senex insanior ex amore quam ille adulescens*, *Buc.*10.44), but clearly, as Au. remarks, 'more than the merely conventional', in the context of Aen.'s battle-rage (314) and Cass.'s own mantic frenzy (345). Serv.Dan. suggests C. was mad *quia belli tempore amat* and Page grumbles that it was lunacy because love brought C. to his death, pragmatic outlooks alien not merely to poets.

Cassandrae See **246** and **341 Coroebus**.

incensus Cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.868.61, Cat.64.19, 253, Cic.*de*

orat. 1.97, *et saep*; like **316 ardent animi**, specially well suited to Troy's sinking into the flames (Schwarz, 447).

344 et gener Cf. the proleptic use of *coniunx* at 7.189, with n. and index s.v. *prolepsis*, *mariti* 4.35, 536, Bell, 204 (*bene*) and already both Serv. (*et qui est et qui esse uult*) and Serv.Dan. (*uel certe secundum spem illius*).

auxilium...ferebat Standard Latin from Plaut. on, Münscher, *TLL* 2.1619.7ff., high poetry not excluded (Enn.*trag.* 24Joc., etc.). Othryoneus (**341**) promised Priam that he would drive the Greeks away, as Cassandra's bride-price; μοῖρα brought Amphius, (*Illiad* 5.614) to Troy ἐπικουρήσοντα μετὰ Πρίαμόν τε καὶ υἱας.

Priamo Phrygibusque Cf. **191**, **291** for V.'s use of such exalted onomastic pairings (perhaps with Hom. καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐύμελ-ίω Πριάμοιο in mind); the number of synonyms available for 'Trojan' places at V.'s disposal a fine choice of sound effects. Cf. **276** for the 'neutral' use of 'Phrygian'. Compare Turnus and Latinus, nn. on 7.421, 423.

345 infelix Cf. n. on 3.321 for the *makarismos*, Duckworth, 14; Bellincioni, *EV* 2, 488 classes **i.** along with the other six cases where it is applied to persons involved in the Trojan war, but Cor. is also **i.** because of his choice of beloved: the beautiful Cass. was after all fated never to be believed, **246**. She therefore failed to save her own *sponsus* (and that was in turn because she had not yielded to Apollo). This is not classic erotic lack of *felicitas* (vd. *EV, cit.*) but disaster as a result of love, twice over, at the heart of Coroebus' tragedy. For the use of a *qui*-clause after **i.** (with subjunc./ indic.), cf. Fleischer/Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1. 1364.25ff.. This is a comment by V. himself, not by Aen.; cf. Serv.'s n. on **363**, there quoted.

qui non.../ 345 audierit For the sense of 'heed', cf. *G*.1.514 *neque audit currus habenas*, *Aen*.4.439, Sinko, *TLL* 2.1288.59f.. Of the half-line, Sparrow, 42 writes 'seems to mark a sigh', while Au. more sagely includes it (n. on **66**) under 'some look as though V. had not yet found exactly what he wanted to complete them'. This is a carefully worked-up passage (note **340 Iphitus** for the integration of details), and V. had apparently not yet found a neat but pathetic closure to the tempting but distracting topic of C.'s hopeless passion. Knauer notes Patroclus' disregard of Achilles' counsel, *Illiad* 16.686.

sponsae...furentis Serv. glosses well *uaticinantis*: for **f.** used of prophetic madness, cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1626.77f., *Cic.Div*.1.85

quid deinde causae est cur Cassandra furens futura prospiciat. V. uses *furens* of the Sibyl at 6.100; cf. comm. on *Aen.*3, p.479 for V.'s language of prophetic madness. Priam had agreed to marry Cass. to Othryoneus (*Il.*13.368f.) and likewise to Cor. (QS 13.174ff.; in a lacunose passage, the sense is not lost; ed. Vian, 135, nn.4, 5). For epic engagements, cf. nn. on 7.407, 433 and note NR on *Hor.C.*3.2.9–11, comparing Cor. and Turnus.

praecepta Cf. 3.546 (of Helenus), with n..

347 quos...confertos *Confertus* ‘thronging, together, in close order, packed, crammed, dense’ of fine poet. pedigree, Enn.*Ann.*378, *bis* in Lucr. (‘largely prosaic’, Lyne, *WP*, 117, mysteriously). But also standard milit. Latin, Burger, *TLL* 4.172.28ff.: common in Caes., and very possibly brought to V.'s attention by Livy's use (7x in the first pentad); also *ter* in Sall.*Iug./Cat.*; there is much other milit. language in this narrative, as readers would expect; Lyne, *WP*, 116–8 rather overstates the singularity of c. here.

ardere in proelia Mynors after Gronovius; codd. **audere** (with TCD, Arus.Mess., *Gramm.Lat.*7.458.8). **Ardere** is fine Virgilian idiom: cf. 12.71 *ardet in arma magis*, where vd. Traina's good n., citing for *in* thus after vbs., 6.813f., 7.445 (there vd. my n.), 10.455 *meditantem in proelia* (where vd. Harrison), 12.103, Vollmer, *TLL* 2.486. 49ff.. **Audere** also so used, by Gratt.498, etc., Heyne, *TLL* 2.1257.13f., but decidedly pallid by comparison; **ardere** is certainly in keeping both with the occasion and with the imagery of the passage: vd. **343 incensus**.

ubi...uidi Aen. immediately shows a capacity for command (*pace* Pomathios, 204); he sees he has been joined not by a few random and dispirited stragglers, but by men eager for combat and willing to fight as a body.

348 incipio...his *Id est verbis* Serv.; cf. *Buc.*5.10 *incipe Mopse, prior*, etc., Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.914.23. Cf. Hom. μύθων ἡρῷε and the like.

super They are already *ardentes*; encouragement is extra. Cf. 11.107 *insuper addit* (with n.). This is confirmed by **355 sic...additus**; cf. Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 164. Heyne had linked **super his**, though as a speech introduction V. uses, *ter*, *super haec*. Note though 9.274 *insuper his*, ‘additionally’.

348–54 Aen. as commander first emerges encouraging his men on what would now be called a suicide mission: there is no hope and they can only try to die well; this archaic Spartan (or Early Roman), view of duty should be taken tempering hasty condemnation of Aen. in his first

battle (289–95, 336; ignored, Nisbet, *ORVA*, 378f.). Cf. Heinze, 32, with n.2, Highet, 86f., 197f., Mackie, 50f., and n. on 11.14–28 for battle-speeches.

348 iuuenes At 5.349, Aen. uses *pueri*; **i.** found as an address at 1.321, 627, 8.112, 273, 9.51. Cf. Dickey, 195–7, at least in the sing. a ‘courteous and somewhat distant, formal address’.

fortissima.../ 349 pectora ‘Per periphrasin de ipso homine’, Gatti, *TLL* 10.1.916.66f., comparing Hor.C.4.14.18 *deuota morti pectora liberae*, Hom.Lat.134f. *quorum rex fortia dictis/ pectora collaudat*. For the periphr., cf. 5.729 *iuuenes, fortissima corda*, 750f. *populum.../...animos nil magnae laudis egentis* and we might also recall periphr. expressions of tragic origin such as 7.650 *Laurentis corpore Turni* (where vd. full n., Heuzé, 49ff.), which do in practice refer with special emphasis to the part of the body employed periphrastically: note the regular use of *p.* as the repository of courage (cf. 4.11, 6.261, Negri, 204, 259, 308f., n. 74, Gatti, *cit.*, 915.20ff.). *Cor, corculum* too can, at a lower level, be used as forms of address. The superl. serves almost as a gloss to underscore the sense of **p.**: cf. 5.729 *supra*, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.1154.9f., citing e.g. Cat. 64.339, *Aen.*1.100f. *ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis/ scuta uirum galeasque et fortia corpora uoluit*, 8.150f..

frustra Cf. 5.389 *heroum quondam fortissime frustra*, 11.715 (with ppp.). Aen. explicitly foreshadows both the inevitability of Troy’s fall and his hearers’ imminent deaths. Cf. Duckworth, 12f. for this lexical shorthand of anticipation.

si uobis...cupido/ 350 certa sequi The often negative connotations of the noun (Henry, *VP*, 202, n.18) are rectified by the adj. (cf. Biondi, *EV* 1, 960). The infin. (of a most Virgilian type, Görler, *EV* 2, 271, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 64) after **cupido** is already in Enn. (*trag.*222); cf. *Aen.*6.133f. *si tanta cupido/ bis Stygios innare lacus*, Hoppe, *TLL* 4.1422.84ff. *Certus* used transferred to the human spirit and to actions in late repub. prose (*Bell.Afr.*41.3, *Hirt.Gall.*8.9.1); here, cf. Ov.*AA* 3.617 (*uoluntas*), *Her.*17.38 (*mente*), Elsperger, *TLL* 3.912.1ff.. Aen. wisely checks to see if the little band are really determined to follow him to the end. **Sequi** sc. *me* **audentem**; V. could indeed have inserted *me*, but did not anticipate being mis-copied and -understood. Cf. Timpanaro, *Virgilianisti*, 122. Baehrens proposed **certa sedet** (followed by Ladewig): ingenious but deplorable, reflecting a reluctance to study and appreciate V.’s way of writing. Sabbadini, **certa est, qui** is however, even worse.

audentem extrema γινε, Serv.; **audendi** Μγω, Isid.*Orig.*1.37. 20, TCD; **auden** P ('cetera desunt' Mynors); *multi 'audendi' legunt, multi 'audenti'*. *sed neutrum procedit. ergo 'audentem' legendum est* Serv.. See Bell, 122, Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 163ff., Virgilianisti, 121f., J.E.G. Zetzel, *Lat.text.crit.*132, Funaioli, 237–40, J. Gardiner, *CQ* 37(1987), 454–7 Older work is summarised in Au. and Gardiner ; much recent discussion is flawed by an almost complete lack of intellectual contact between Italians and Anglo-Saxons. Serv.Dan. remarks only *alii 'sequi' pro 'sequendi' accipiunt* and Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 164 notes that these '*alii*' must have read not *audendi* but *audentem*; knowledge of the reading was therefore earlier than Serv., though we cannot be sure whether it was transmitted or conjectural. Serv. remarks that *obscuritas* here is caused both by the ground gained by wrong readings and by the synchysis, or extended hyperbaton, between **audentem** and **sequi**. The difficulty of reading **audendi** is seen most clearly from Au.'s notes; Zetzel, 277, n.75 remarks that the explanation he offers 'appears to be ungrammatical' (cf. Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 163f.). Your passion for daring the uttermost is resolute to follow' is indeed markedly unpersuasive and I refer to Gardiner, 455 for detailed criticism of the (quite unacceptable) use of **certa** entailed. But from Funaioli, via Gardiner, to Timpanaro, it has been quite clear how the reading **audendi** gained ground, thanks to scribes construing their text one line at a time and therefore needing a construction for **auden-** when they reached **cupido** (common enough at v.-end). The (many) virtues of **audentem** will, I hope, become clear from the notes. The grave difficulties in interpreting **audendi** provoked a rich crop of unattractive emendations (Sabbadini's pretty clearly the worst), not deserving of further discussion. Compare, for direct objects of *audere*, Sall.*Hist.*3.fr.86 *multa nefanda*, *Aen.*6.624 *immane nefas*, 10.811 *maiora...uiribus*, 12.152 *si quid praesentius*, 814 *pro uita maiora*. For **e.**, cf. 3.315 *uitamque extrema per omnia duco* (with n.), *Liv.*2.44.9, 7.29.2, Hilt-brunner, *TLL* 5.2.2007.62.

350 quae sit rebus fortuna Hey, *TLL* 6.1.1181.51f. compares *fortuna laborum*, *G.*3.452 and the rather different *Aen.*7.559 (where vd. n.). for **f.**, cf. Pomathios, 342 ('situation'), within the wide range of implications carried by V.'s use of **f.** (Bailey, 234–40). **Rebus** is best understood as dat. 'of reference' (Antoine, 105ff.), if not simply 'possessive'.

uidetis He appeals to his hearers' own perception of the scenes around them. Cf. 11.309 with n..

351 excessere Cf. Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.1206.9f.; placed with grim prominence. Serv. remarks *quia ante expugnationem euocabantur ab hostibus numina propter uitanda sacrilegia* (cf. Basanoff (165f.), 17, 21); similarly, Macr.3.9.1, 7 (with Basanoff (165f.), 17ff.). For the usage of *evocatio*, cf. n. on 179; there has been, and will be, no *evocatio* at Troy (though the gods indeed depart), but V. writes inevitably with (veiled) awareness of the notion of gods leaving a city about to fall or being ritually invited, by *evocatio* (154–94 (*ad fin.*), 165f., 244) to leave it (cf. Highet, 197, n.13). It is not clear that Soph. wrote a play called Ζωανηφόροι, but Schol.Aesch. *Sept.*217, 304 refer to a scene ἐν Σ. Σοφοκλέους in which the gods were seen to leave Troy carrying their statues (Radt, p.374). Probably a scene, not an entire play. Such behaviour by the gods at Troy is familiar: cf. Aesch.*Sept.*217f., Eur.*Tro.*26f. (compared with V., Macr. 5.22.7), Triph.508f. (where vd. Gerlaud's n.), Petr.89.53, Robert, 1225f.. Compare (1) Baal/Apollo at Tyre, Q. Curt. 4.3.21, DS 17.41.7, P. Green, *Alexander of Macedon* (Harmondsworth 1974), 259 with n.40 (and the gods were later tied down, as often elsewhere, Plut.*quaest.Rom.* 279A2, Gruppe, 982, n.2, Tarn, *Alexander*, 2, 341, Faraone, 136ff.), (2) the Athenians who left the city when the sacred snake on the Acropolis (Burkert, *Gk.Rel.*, 229) did not eat the monthly honey-cake ως καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπυίς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, Hdt. 8.41.3, Plut.*Them.*10.2 and (3) at Jerusalem, Tac.*Hist.*5.13 *apertae repente delubri fores et auditæ maior humana vox excedere deos; simul ingens motus excedentium*, Jos.*BJ* 6.299f.. Cf. further Hor.C.2.1.26 (Carthage; cf. NH, Sil.2.365), Plut.*Ant.*75.4f. (Alexandria; see Pelling's excellent n.). St. Augustine repeatedly employed this passage of V. to polemic ends, Hagendahl (320), 390f..

omnes.../ 352 di V. often places the weighty monosyllable first in the line, but here multiplies effects with the addition of a preceding, generalising adj., with running **di** on (cf. 536) and with the (admittedly light) pause directly after (cf. 6.264, Winbolt, 8).

adytis arisque Cf. 404 **a templo...adytisque Minervae** and n. on 7.269 for **adytis**. Cf. the allit. noun-pair *altaria ara*, Wölfflin, *Ausgew.Schr.*, 254.

relictis The abl.abs. restates the action of the main verb, specifying shrines and altars. V., as will happen, is a little short of material with which to fill out the line between the indispensable pillars, initial verb and delayed subj..

352 quibus Serv offers *subaudis ‘auxiliantibus’* or, much better, ‘*per quos stetis*’, abl. of cause, Antoine, 189ff.. Gk. πολιοῦχοι θεοί; cf. Highet 197.

imperium hoc Hallowed, familiar phrasing: cf. Liv.27.10.9 *harum coloniarum subsidio tum imperium populi Romani stetit*, or (Au.) Cic.Sest.42; add *Vat.24*, *Cael.1*, not to mention e.g. Cic.*Dom.73* *nec stare potuisse rem publicam*.

steterat Possibly after —ultimately—Enn.*Ann.156 moribus antiquis res stat Romana uirisque*; compare **163 Palladis auxiliis semper stetit**, 1.268, **2.56, 88, 163**, and vd. Bartalucci’s useful discussion, *EV4*, 1027. Had stood in some past now remote.

succurritis urbi/ 353 incensae The vb. *novies* in *Aen.* (cf. n. on 11.335); standard Latin, *septies* in Caes., *ter* in Sall., *quater* in Liv., 1–5. The participle both last (cf. 295, Marouzeau, *Ordre des mots* 1, 106ff., 123) and run-on, for formidable emphasis. The motif of the city in flames maintained; cf. **327**.

moriāmur V. closes a short speech of the highest quality with a double epiphonema, the second arrayed with elaborate alliteration and assonance of a and r. Cf. Eur.*Tro.1282f.* (Hecuba) φέρ' ἐς πυρὰν δράμωμεν· ώς κάλλιστά μοι/сùн τῆδε πατρίδι κατθανεῖν πυρουμένη, Cic.Phil.3.36 *ad decus et ad libertatem nati sumus: aut haec teneamus aut cum dignitate moriamur*, Liv.21.44.8 *uobis necesse est fortibus uiris esse et, omnibus inter uictorianam mortem certa desperatione abruptis, aut uincere aut, si fortuna dubitat, in proelio potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere*, 22.60.11 *moriāmur, milites* and cf. Oakley on 10.35.14 *ut fame potius per ignominiam quam ferro, si necesse est, per uirtutem moriamur*. Much attention has been devoted to the supposed hysterion-proteron here (for bibl., vd. n. on 7.7, LHS, 698f., Bell, 270f., Maurach, *Enchiridion*, 100, *id.*, *Dichtersprache*, 194f., McDevitt (208), 319; Zaffagno, *EV 2*, 872 unpersuasive): the end is put before the means and ‘the important thing first’ (Au.), with the explanation added in parataxis. That much is generally agreed; the terminology, or emphasis, remains in dispute.

et in media arma Cf. G.2.283 *mediis Mars errat in armis*, *Aen.11.815 mediis se immiscuit armis*, Cic.*Mil.33*; by no means a stock phrase.

ruamus For Liv.7.12.10 cf. **337**. Compare G.2.503f. *ruuntque/ in ferrum*, *Aen.7.782 in bella ruebat*, 8.648 *Aeneadae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant*, 9.182 *in bella ruebant*, 11.461 *illi armis in regna ruunt*, 886 *inque arma ruentum*: a favoured formulation. Cf. Cavazza, *EV4*, 603.

354 una salus For the antithesis *unus-nullus*, cf. Cic.*Verr.2.5.115 condemnari tot homines uno tempore nullo crimine, red.pop.15, nat.deor.1.70*, Liv.30.4.9,

Ov.*Tr.*5.13.13. S.: cf. **387f. salutis/...iter, 710 una salus ambo-bus erit** with *EV* 4, 668, 11.362 *nulla salus bello* with n., 12.637 (Tu.) *aut quae iam spondet fortuna salutem?*, *Liv.*7.35.9 *una est salus erumpere hinc atque abire* (where vd. Oakley), *Just.*20.3.4, *Tac. Ann.*1. 67.1 *unam in armis salutem* (where vd. Goodyear). Oakley, *cit.*, after Weiss.-Müller, well draws attention to Gell.'s version of Cato's account of Caedicius, *alia nisi haec salutis via nulla est*, *fr.83P* = Gell.3.7.8, *Sen. Phoen.*89f., *Med.*163, *Tac. Ann.*11.26 *Silius, siue fatali uae cordia an imminentium periculorum remedium ipsa pericula ratus*, *Veg.*3.21, et alia multa apud Cerdam. On **s.**, thus, *OLD* s.v., §6a., Hight, 198, noting Cat.76.15 *una salus haec est* (possibly germane).

uictis Cf. n. on **320 uictosque deos.**

nullam sperare salutem Cf. 1.451 *sperare salutem*. Possibly with stock *insperata/ desperata salute* in mind. For the polyptoton, cf. Wills, 213 ('with pointed separation between the repeated words'); the allit. reinforced by the vb.. Hight, 86f. acutely drew attention to Rutilius Lupus, *RLM* p.8.14ff. Halm: the first *salus* indicates 'salvation', the second 'survival' and that figure of anaphora with change of meaning (cf. full n. on 7.554, Au. on **505**, Wills, 469f.) is called *diaphora* (vd. Lausberg, 1, 333–5). Or, as further refined by Ps.Rufin.*de schem.lex.*24, *antistasis*, or *contentio*, quoting this very line (Halm, p.54.1). Aen. returns to the theme of **317 pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis** (vd. n.). Heinze, 32, n.2 explains admirably that this is not the expression of a wild hope that desperate courage might yet save the day; rather, 'uns bleibt nichts als der Tod'. For the Virgilian *gnome* or *sententia*, Prof. Görler reminds me of the collection of material offered by Polara, *EV* 4, 772–6.

355 sic Summarising the effect of a speech; apparently not thus elsewhere in V..

animis iuuenum I. perhaps taking up Aen.'s address, **348**; for *furor* in the *animus*, cf. 5.202, 8.228, Negri, 129. Roughly comparable to *Il.*2.142 (Knauer).

furor As in the case of Aen., **316**, where vd. n..

additus Cf. *Sall. Jug.*75.9, *Aen.*9.184 *dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt?*, 717f. *animum uiisque Latinis/ addidit*, Kempf, *TLL* 1.586.12f., de Rosalia, *EV*2, 116..

inde Cf. n. on **2**; pause at 4D, then final monosyll., *infra*, **ceu**.

355–8 To readers convinced that Aen. has failed entirely to heed Hector's instructions, has failed to take responsibility for the Penates

Panthus has brought, and by his maddened rush into battle has endangered father, son, gods, city, future and reputation (note, Otis 242), this simile presents few problems. Wolves are bad, and blood-thirsty, and so too are the Trojans by association; in particular, Aen. should be attending to his own lair and *catulus*, but has preferred to rush madly into battle with his men, sheep in wolves' clothing, to be killed by their own side. It would be easy to continue (vd. in particular Hornsby, Mackie). In fact, Aen.'s comrades are killed by the Greeks (424–9, *pace* Hornsby, 10) and this simile, in many details far from the narrative (as even West allows), comments from a distance. Trojans and wolves are both driven by *furor* or *rabies*, but the imperative of hunger and the unreasoning desire to defend their homeland are linked only by the absence of *ratio*, which does not of itself reduce the two impulses to moral parity. Some attempt has already been made (289–95) to explain why Aen.'s behaviour is not necessarily reprehensible, and though 357 **catulique relicti** may suggest Ascanius' claim to protection (vd. Lyne), we might also wonder whether the threat to Aeneas' 'lair' is not best countered by a brave attack on those who might threaten it; certainly, in the terms of the lion of Il.18.318–22 (and note AR 2.123–9), the Trojans' lairs are now at risk from the Greek hunters, but the Greeks are themselves at risk from the Trojans: both Trojans and wolves are seized by desperate bravery, and it may simply be that Aen., systematically unmindful of Hector's message, has not yet reached the onset of his first moments of heightened ethical awareness. See Mackie, 50, Knox, 392, Lyne, *FV*, 212–4, Clausen, *THP*, 162, n.19 = *V4*, 191, n.16, Hornsby, 9, 63f, Horsfall, *Companion*, 113f, Salvatore, 60, Pöschl, 131, West, *ORVA*, 434, Schenk (94–6), 196f.. Might one also think of the portentous character of wolves seen in the city, here, arguably, another portent of Troy's fall? See Liv.3.29.9, 27.37.3, 32.29.2, 33.26.9, 41.9.6 and often in Obsequens: see Mynors on G.1.485f. *et altae/ per noctem resonare lupis ululantibus urbes*, Bömer on Ov.F.4.766, Luterbacher, 28, Richter, PW Suppl.15.972.13ff.. Note Sil.13.130ff. *subito incursu saeuorum agitata luporum/ qui noctis tenebris urbem* (**miserabile bello/prodigium**) *intrarant*; as supplement or pendant to Laoc., such an interpretation would clearly be welcome, though scarcely mandatory. Ailsa Crofts kindly draws my attention to the wonderful extended simile of the outlaw as wolf in the pre-Islamic *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab*, Alan Jones, *Early Arabic poetry 1* (Reading 1992), 158ff. (commentary), 262f. (translation).

lupi.../ 356 raptores Cf. Ov.*Met.*10.540, Vell.2.27.2 (Telesinus *adii-*
*cien*s *numquam defuturos raptore*s *Italicae libertatis lupos, nisi silua, in quam*
refugere solerent, esset excisa), Lanciotti, *TLL* 7.2.1857.18f., and cf. use of
rapax, Hor.C.4.4.50, *Epd.*16.20. The noun in comedy, Varr.*Men.*, then
 here, Hor.C.3, 4, Prop.3, 4. Elevated first perhaps by Velleius' annalistic
 source (note E. Dench, *Romulus' asylum* (Oxford 2005), 126). Cf. Holz-
 weissig, 537f. for the common adj. use of verbal nn. in *-tor*, *-trix* (e.g.
uictor, *ultor*). But though the language chosen may have Italic associa-
 tions, it also has learned Greek roots: Clausen drew attention to Hom.
 ἀρπακτῆρες, *Il.*24.262, whence, of wolves, Lyc.147 and Leonidas of
 Tarentum, GP, *HE*, 2477. Hom. also uses *σίνται* in the same sense.
 The verse appropriately, grimly, spondaic.

ceu Cf. *Il.*11.72, 16.156 λύκοι ὁσ, as here (Wills, 21), in anastrophe
 (for Serv. and the Grecism, cf. Mayer, *ALLP*, 159). In Lat., **ceu** at
 Enn.*Ann.*361 (vd. Skutsch), Cat.64 *semel*, Lucr. *quinquies*, 24x in *G.* and
Aen. and Hor.C.4, under V.'s influence; also Varius fr.4.1 and not prose
 till c.1AD. Cf. Norden, 439, Hey, *TLL* 3.977.62ff.. For final monosyll.,
 cf. indices, s.v. monosyllable. Au. notes that the effect of this ending is
 kept up by the marked clash of ictus and accent in **356**.

356 atra in nebula N. 'mist', or 'fog' and 'cloud' only in the sense
 of 'cloud of dust'; here cf. 8.257f. *plurimus undam/ fumus agit, nebulaque*
ingens specus aestuat atra, Bannier, *TLL* 2.1020.38. Edgeworth, *passim*,
 translates 'cloud', without explanation. Here V. could have employed
 the familiar *atra in nube* (cf. n. on 3.572, Pease on 4.248), had that been
 his meaning. As it is, the wolves take advantage of the mist, whose
 darkness is absorbed into the simile from the night and smoke of the
 narrative; cf., though, the foul weather in the lion simile, *Od.*6.130–4,
 the lions in the Doloncia, *Il.*10.297, who prowl διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν,
 a passage we shall see V. has in mind at **358 per tela, per hostis** (so,
 Heyne, already) and the wolves of AR 2.124 ἥματι χειμερίω. We
 are probably expected to recall these words at **360 nox atra caua**
circumuolat umbra.

quos.../ 357 exegit Cf. Liv.10.27.8 *cerua fugiens lupum e montibus*
exacta, Maurenbrecher, *TLL* 5.2.1450.62f..

improba uentris/ 357 ...rabies The material reworked and ex-
 panded for the wolf at 9.59ff.: 62 *ille asper et improbus ira...63f. col-*
lecta fatigat edendi/ ex longo rabies et siccae sanguine fauces. For the ex-
 tremest pangs of hunger, cf. *Od.*6.133 κέλεται δέ ἐ γαστήρ (with
 18.53f. γαστήρ/...κακοεργός and the sated stomach of *Il.*16.163),

Aesch.*Sept.*1035f. κοιλογάστορες / λύκοι, AR 1.1245 λίμωδ' αἰθόμενος. I.: O. Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.692.8f., s.v. ‘immoderatus, insatiabilis’ (691.76); compare G.1.431, *Aen.*10.727, *Phaedr.*1.1.3, *EV* 2, 930. For non-hydrophobic *rabies* in dogs, cf. n. on 7.479, *EV* 4, 387: their **rabies** here in harmony with the **furor** of Aen. and his followers (316, 355).

caecos The adj. used predicatively after **e.**; cf. 244 **caecique furore**, where vd. n..

catulique relictī So Florus 1.1.3 of the she-wolf, who left her cubs to feed Romulus and Remus, Probst, *TLL* 3.622.12; we might also compare the lion, Claud.26.323f. *sic ille relinquens/ ieunios antro catulos immanior exit*. The devotion of the larger, fiercer carnivores to their young was well-known long before nature films: cf. G.3.245, Sen. *Ep.*74.21, Hor.*C.3.20.2* (with NR), Plin.*Nat.*8.51, QS 7.464ff., 509, Probst, 621.66ff., *passim*, and the peculiarly Virgilian emphasis on the helpless cubs left hungry and waiting in the lair may derive from the more familiar motif of the cubs seized while the parents are away (sc. hunting), *Il.*18.319, QS 7.468f. (with 505–8). *KIP*. s.v. *Wolf* a useful repository of ancient wolf-lore; PW Suppl.15.960.11ff. (Richter) feasts amply on the material. Of course TCD’s *improbissimum genus est animalis* reflects a general view, but here V. successfully exalts and exploits their desperation.

358 faucibus...siccis Cf. 9.64 *siccae sanguine fauces* (8.261 quite different). Plut. *Quaest.conv.*6.1(686E) considers why the fasting suffer more from thirst than from hunger (la Cerdà). More to the point is the connexion of food with the life-fluid (Onians, 221ff., engrossingly), which leads to frequent references to hunger in terms of drought (*Od.*10.463, Hipponax fr.10.1West, Soph.*Phil.*952ff., Aquilius fr.1.9 *aridi...fame*Ribb., Hor.*Ep.*1.17.12, etc.).

exspectant Compare 11.738 *exspectate dapes*, Liv.44.27.4 and of cattle, Cat.*Agr.*54.5; Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.1895.45 and 1896.3ff.; also of the hungry parasite, *intrans.*, Enn.*sat.*16.

per tela per hostis Oakley on Liv.9.39.8 *per arma, per corpora euaserint* collects a number of comparable phrases, in particular 7.35.11 *per corpora sopita uadetis*. S.G. Stacey, *ALL* 10(1898), 51 had already suggested a poet. antecedent (vd. *infra* for the markedly poetical **uadimus**). Actually anaphoric, asyndetic *per* is dear to V. in a number of comparable passages: 527 repeats the present pairing and cf. too 664 **per tela, per ignis**, 1.204, 6.461f., 588, Hor.*C.4.4.59*, *Ep.*1.1.46. The principal poet. antecedent is clearly *Il.*10.298 ἀπ φόνον, ἀν νέκυας, διά τ' ἔντεα

καὶ μέλαν αῖμα (or some later variation upon it). It is surprising that Williams, *Tl.*, 258 claims these words as ‘common’ to both simile and narrative. They require a verb of motion (**uadimus**) and can never have been taken of the cubs waiting in their lair.

359 uadimus Oakley on Liv.6.8.2 expounds the poet. character of this vb. (‘suggesting energetic movement’) in notable detail; add *EV* 5*, 415.

haud dubiam in mortem Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.89, Petr. 19, [Front.] *Strat.* 4.1.17 (Clearchus the Spartan) *exercitui dicebat imperatorem potius quam hostem metui debere, significans eos, qui in proelio dubiam mortem timuissent, certum, si deseruissent, manere supplicium.* West *cit.* draws attention to the parallelism with **353 moriamur et in media arma ruamus.**

mediaeque.../ 360 urbis iter Cf. 9.391f. *perplexum iter.../fallacis siluae*, 10.162 *noctis iter*, Tessmer, *TLL* 7.2.540.22ff., 46ff., *OLD* s.v., §1a Caes. *Civ.* 1.4.5, Ov. *F.* 1.262, 544, Manil. 5.654 (of a tightrope walker) *caeli meditatus iter* for the obj. gen. after *iter* (derived, if not formally deverbal, from *eo* after all; **387f.** is different); ‘through’ perhaps in all three Virgilian passages, though here at least ‘to’ is also possible (cf. Dingel on 9, *cit.*). Cf. **299f.** for Anchises’ slightly isolated home; this proves in the end to have been careful *prooeconomia* (vd. **298**), for there is now a brief pause, or digression, or perhaps rather, choral interlude, after the manner of **195ff.**, **241ff.**, to offer us a wider view of the Sack, while Aen. and followers seek out the actual fighting (**370ff.**). Cf. **240**, 7.384 (with n.) for **m.u..**

tenemus Cf. Pacuv. *trag.* 226, *Aen.* 1.370, 9.377 *quove tenetis iter?*, 5.1f. *medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat/ certus iter;* for *cursum tenere*, cf. n. on 3.686; also *uiam t.*, *OLD* s.v. *teneo*, §14, Tessmer, *TLL* 7.2.544.35f.. *EV* 5*, 100 poor.

360 nox atra Cf. 1.89, 4.570 (vd. Pease), 5.721, 6.272, 866, Hor. *Epd.* 10.9 (vd. Watson), Bannier, *TLL* 2.1020.67ff., Edgeworth, 74, André, 356. The moon has for the moment been suspended or mislaid: this enterprise requires darkness. **Nox** refers clearly enough to Night, not to the darkness of death, *pace* Henry: cf. **361, noctis** and Page’s remarks on the impossibility of juxtaposing metaph. and literal senses; the blackness of night may of course *prefigure*, symbolically, the Trojans’ death (Page, again). The monosyll. noun a gift to the ingenious: **mors** Peerlkamp, **nex** Baehrens.

caua...umbra The shadows of night carefully listed, Negri Rosio, *EV* 5*, 381; add, *ib.* 3.770f.. The adj. is challenging: used also of *nubes* in

Lucr. (6.127, etc.) and in *Aen.* 1.516, 5.810 (Hoppe, *TLL* 3.716.50ff.); on the application to **u.**, Serv. comments here *naturale enim est ut obscurum sit omne concuum* and cf. too Stat. *Theb.* 5.753 *caeloque cauam nox induit umbram* with schol. *omne enim quod cauum, obscurum est...aut cauam inanem*, Sil. 13.894 *Erebique cauis se reddidit umbris*, Hoppe, 718. 59ff.. Night is seen as a great hemispherical cover, keeping dark all that lies within. Goold's 'sheltering shade' altogether too friendly. Au. 'enveloping', better. Perhaps something like 'night flies abroad with the dark dome of her shade'. Cf. Catrein, 123.

circumuolat First used not at 3.233 (where vd. n.) but perhaps rather at Hor. *Serm.* 2. 1.58 *seu mors atris circumuolat alis*, likely to be a little earlier (cf. too Cordier, 85). Night is quite often described as winged, whether in her chariot or free-flying: Eur. *Orest.* 177, Enn. *Ann.* 414 *nox... uolabit* (with Skutsch's n.), GP on *HE* 563 (Antipater), *Aen.* 6. 866 (with Norden's n.), 8.369; for the wings of such personages, cf. n. on 7.561.

361 quis...quis.../ 362 explicet Hiltbrunner compares (*TLL* 5.2. 1733.77ff.) Cic. *Tim.* 37, Sen. *Phoen.* 137; used literally, G.2.280, 335 (and therefore hardly to be classified as 'prosaic', Lyne, *WP*, 126f.). The latent metaphor here clearly that of unrolling (Hiltbrunner, 1727.69ff.; standard usage); in that case, implicitly, *Aen.* refers to V.'s readers unrolling their copies of *Aen.* to learn of the night's dead. V. is in general sparing of such double rhetorical questions: cf. *Buc.* 9.19f., G.4.315, *Aen.* 1.565f., *Od.* 3.113f. ἄλλα τε πόλλα' ἐπὶ τοῖς πάθομεν κακά· τίς κεν ἔκεινα/ πάντα γε μυθήσαιτο καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων is often compared; cf. also Dem. *fals.leg.* 65 οὐδ' ἂν εἴς δύναιτ' ἐφικέσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ἔκει κακῶν νῦν ὄντων, Cic. *Phil.* 11.6 *quis est qui pro rerum atrocitate deplorare tantas calamitates queat?*, Vell. 2.75.2 *quis fortunae mutationes, quis dubios rerum humanarum casus satis mirari queat?* (with Woodman's n.), Plin. *Ep.* 8.4.3 *una sed maxima difficultas, quod haec aequare dicendo arduum immensum, etiam tuo ingenio, Q.* Curt. 4.16. 10 *quis tot ludibria fortunae ducum, agminum caudem multiplicem, deuictorum fugam, clades nunc singulorum nunc universorum aut animo adsequi queat aut oratione complecti?*, Triph. 664f. (with Gerlaud's n.); La Cerda cites further instances from Silver epic and Ael. Aristides. Note further, similarly enough, *Il.* 2.484–93 with *Aen.* 6.625ff. (where vd. Austin) 'not if I had a hundred mouths, etc. could I tell of...'; so too Aeschylus (*Pers.* 429–32; G. Scafoglio, *AC* 70(2001), 73), Hostius, Ennius (vd. Skutsch on *Ann.* 469f.), 'Lucretius', G.2.43 (vd. Mynors), etc., Barchiesi, *EV* 1, 737f.. Again, V. is present as author: cf. Heinze, 372, *Aen.* 12.500, **2.345**.

cladem illius noctis Au. well compares Ov.*Tr.*1.3.1 *cum subit illius tristissima noctis imago*, and there seem to be no closer analogies. The repet. of *nox* in successive vv. has provoked uninformed criticism; Virgilian usage is extremely tolerant (n. on 7.554).

funera Apparently not elsewhere so paired with *clades*.

fando Telling in counterpoint to unrolling, the spoken poem and the written text interwoven: cf. use in both act. and pass. senses, 6, 81. Here strictly superfluous but strikingly alliterative.

362 aut possit Theme and variation; rich reading or happy invention has helped V. out, in a way that shows up those occasions on which he has sometimes been unable to carry the line to a successful conclusion after a run-on word, leaving lesser poets to try their hands unhappily in our mss. (cf. Sparrow, 27, 46f.).

lacrimis aequare labores Cf. von Mess, *TLL* 1.1021.33f., ‘match’ (tears are clearly abl., as comparison of 3.671 *fluctus aequare sequendo*, Sil.12.388f. confirms) and compare Sall.*Cat.*3.2 *facta dictis exaequanda sunt*; for tears, cf. 8, and for toils, cf. 11. When Serv. suggests that there is hypallage here, for *laboribus aequare lacrimas*, it is only because he has taken **lacrimis** as dat.. *Et bene interrupta narratione exclamauit, ut affectum moueret* Serv.Dan.. Macr.5.1.10 remembers **labores** as **dolorem**.

363 urbs antiqua Cf. n. on 137 for the strong affective value present in the adj.. Apart from Aesch.’s πόλις γεραιά (*Agam.*710), the city’s venerable years apparently not a stock epic/tragic theme, though they are implied occasionally by the use of παλαιός in *Il.*. V. has lamented Troy’s fall to a mere trick, after so long a siege (195–8); now, after so long a reign, the city crumbles. Cf. Liv.1.29.6 *unaque hora quadrin- gentorum annorum opus quibus Alba steterat excidio ac ruinis dedit* (cited by Au. in a good n., Rossi, 31f.: an Ennian antithesis? Cf. further Tarrant on Sen.*Ag.*626, Skutsch, Enn.p.441 for some history of the ‘all lost in a single night’ motif); note too Cic.*Sull.*73 *haec diu multumque et multo labore quaesita una eripuit hora. Sane hoc dolentis est, non narrantis* (Serv.Dan.).

ruit Cf. n. on 290; **ruit** a short, swift word for a great fall.

multos...per annos Cf. n. on 7.60; convenient, obvious, even ‘formulaic’. Hardie, *CI*, 190, n.85 draws attention to the contrast of many years[cf. 195–8] and (361) one night, suggesting acutely that it might derive from Lucr.5.94ff. *tria talia texta, una dies dabit exitio, multosque per annos sustentata ruet moles et machina mundi*; we are about to see that

Lucr. is much in V.'s mind hereabouts. Cf. Rossi (2002), 238 for the importance of 'now and then' to V.

dominata First here 'de imperio iusto', Dittmann, *TLL* 5.1.1899. 20f.; cf. Sen. *Clem.* 1.4.2, of Rome *idemque huic urbi finis dominandi erit*.

364 plurima.../ 365 corpora Cf. Lucr. 6.1264f. *multa siti prostrata uiam per proque uoluta/ corpora...strata iacebant*; use of this passage will become clearer (vd. Ussani, Speranza). Not quite the conventional phrasing of Lat. battlefield descriptions. The superlative is given notable prominence by hyperbaton.

perque uias.../ 365 ...perque domos Cf. 358 **per tela, per hostis**; here the effect diversified by means of the addition of **-que**....**que** and of the separation, over two vv.; cf. 1.537, 4.671 *culmina perque hominum uoluantur perque deorum*, 7.499 (with n.), 11.696.

sternuntur inertia Unexpectedly tricky: Serv. offers *aut non repugnantia, ut*[4.158] *aut inertia dum occiduntur*[G.2.172] and Serv.Dan. adds *aut per somnum inertia*. TCD *interfectorum corpora*. So too Rehm, *TLL* 7.1.1309.40ff. 'i. senum puerorum mulierum', Au., etc.. Or proleptic, as Ov. *Met.* 10.716 *moribundum stravit harena*, or *Aen.* 11.485 *pronum sterne solo*, 5.481 *sternitur examinisque tremens procumbit humi bos*. V. is predictably alive to the plight of the defenceless (cf. 4.158 *pecora inter inertia*, 10.595f. *inertis...palmas*, Au. here; *EV* s.v. *iners* poor): it may be that proleptic **i.** (as in G.3.523) offers a contrast with the previous vigour of those just killed and we may note in Lucr.'s plague (*supra*) 6.1265 *corpora silanos ad aquarum strata iacebant*. Certainly prolepsis a more vigorous interpretation, better suited to the tone and movement of the passage.

passim Cf. n. on 11.385; note again the plague, Lucr. 6.1267f. *multaque per populi passim loca prompta uiasque/ languida semanimo cum corpore membra uideres*, Liv. 39.31.13 *caeduntur passim Hispani per tota castra*, Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.610.76f..

365 et religiosa deorum/ 366 limina Cf. Lucr. 6.1272ff. *omnia denique sancta deum delubra replerat/ corporibus mors examinis onerataque passim/ cuncta cadaueribus caelestum tempa manebant*. Temples protect neither against the plague, nor against the foe, despite conventional expectations: close reading of Lucr. interacts with the common narrative/tragic detail of the ineffectiveness of the right of sanctuary on such occasions, discussed at 514; for V., a motif of major importance in the Sack (as TCD realised, 1.197.18ff.): cf. too 173, 404 (Cass.), 166 (Palladium), 425 (d. of Coroebus), 523, 663 (Priam, Polites). The weighty phrase,

with run-on noun, a further indication of thematic importance: for **r.** (*OLD* s.v., §5a; not in *Lucr.* but old in verse, Morel, *FPR* p.6, Büchner, p.7, from an *antiquum carmen ap. Gell. 4.9.1*), cf. nn. on 7.172, 608, Bailey, 70; the first vowel lengthened from sheer metr. necessity, Norden on 6.61, E. Bednara, *ALL* 14(1906), 330, Postgate, *Prosod. Lat.*, 54. For adjs. in *-osus*, cf. n. on 7.566. Meijer, *TLL* 7.2.1405.47 offers no parallels for the phrase, but cf. 3.91 *liminaque laurusque dei* (with n.). Serv. and Serv.Dan. remark, well, *gradatim ascendit*; Serv.: *uias, domos, templia*.

nec soli...Teucri Cf. 9.138f. *nec solos tangit Atridas/ iste dolor, solisque licet capere arma Mycenis* and Acamas to the Argives, *Il.*14.481f. οὐ θην οἴοιςί γε πόνος τ' ἔσεται καὶ ὀίζυς/ ἡμῖν, ἀλλά ποθ' ὥδε καταστενέεσθε καὶ ὑμμες (and note 6.339 νίκη δ' ἐπαμείβεται ἄνδρας, 17.363, *infra*). Trojan resistance an old motif (vd. Vian on QS 13.145, Robert, 1255); *Il. Parv. fr. 15* Davies (Paus.10.27.1f.), then the sources of Polygnotus' *Il. pers.*, Paus.10. 25.5f., the Vivenzio hydria (see e.g. M. Pipili, *LIMC* 5.1.652, n°11) and Dio Chrys. 11.29. For resistance to an assailant within the walls, cf. W. Barry, *GRBS* 37(1996), 55–74 (limited, however, to the use of roof-tiles; for the wider issue of resistance enraging the (Roman) besiegers, cf. Kern, 323ff.). Given the motif's rich and varied antecedents, the similarity between this v. and QS 13.145 οὐδὲ μὲν Ἀργείοιςιν ἀνούτητος πέλε δῆρις (after Il.17. 363 οὐδ' οἱ γὰρ ἀναιμωτί γε μάχοντο) loses much of its supposed significance for the debate on QS and *Aeneid* (Gärtner, 230ff.; cf. also Triph.587f.).

poenas dant sanguine Cf. G.1.405 *poenas dat Scylla*, *Aen.*4.386 *dabis, improbe, poenas*, 6.585 *crudelis dantem Salmonea poenas*, 8.538 *quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis*, 10.617 *det sanguine poenas*, and 11.592 *mihi pariter det sanguine poenas* with n. (Ennian phrasing). *Moriuntur indigne; hoc enim proprie significat* Serv.: V. offers no rational explanation of why the Trojans should be paying a penalty with their lives; certainly he was careful to make it clear that Laoc.'s attack on the TH was *not* deserving of punishment.

367 quondam For the use of **q.** in similes in the sense of 'sometimes', cf. n. on 7.699, *EV* 4, 385; this passage suggests that V. was free to use the word in the sense of *interdum* or *aliquando* in narrative too; cf. *OLD* s.v., §3.

etiam uictis Cf. Tac.*Agr.*37.2 *quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti offerre*[cf. 353] *passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus*[cf. 364f.] *et aliquando etiam uictis ira uirtusque*: a noble reworking. See on **320**

uictosque deos *ad fn.* for the theme of victory in defeat.

redit in praecordia Cf. n. on 7.347 for **p.**, and for lungs/heart/φρένες as seat of the conscious mind (and emotions). To the material there collected, add Negri, 211–3. Conventional renderings ('diaphragm', 'midriff') of no value in such physiological locutions: poetical associations (both Greek and Latin) incomparably more important than human anatomy, literally understood. **R.** as at Hor.C.4.8.14f. *spiritus et uita reddit bonis/...ducibus.*

uirtus Prominent and elaborate play of sound and sense (paronomasia; O'Hara, *TN*, 60ff. with n.316) with both **uictis** and **uictores**, as at **452 auxilioque leuare uiros uimque addere uictis**. Compare too *G.3.9 uictorque uirum uolitare per ora* with O'Hara, *TN*, 275 and n. on 3.342 *in antiquam uirtutem animosque uiriles*, 10.757 *uictores uictique*, 12.936f. *uicisti et uictum tendere palmas/ Ausonii uidere*, after Enn.*Ann.513 qui uincit non est uictor nisi uictus fatetur* (with Wills, 315). *Virtus* is of course linked to its neighbours by sound alone and not by etymology.

368 uictoresque...Danai Cf. 5. The proud molossus offset by the iamb **cadunt**; the Greeks die though victorious, in their moment of victory.

cadunt Cf. **426**, 11.668; instances in V. listed at *EV* 1, 598 (with discussion of Hom. πίπτε; so rendered, *Cic.carm.Hom.7.1*). See Hoppe *TLL* 3.23.9ff.

crudelis.../ 369 luctus Kemper, *TLL* 7.2.1742.53 (cf. Hoppe, *ib.*, 4.1227.27) cites *CLE* 587.8; cf. *EV* 3, 279, **2.298** (with n.). Heyne compares *saeuus dolor*, well remarking 'qui in nos saeuit' and note too **561 crudeli uulnere**. Allit. of p will follow that of c.

ubique/ 369 ...ubique Singular how little gemination of *ubique* (cf. LHS, 200) follows V.: cf. (e.g.) *Sen.cons.Helv.9.2*, *Stat.Theb.4.721f*, *SHA Prob.20.6*. For the advb. at v.-end, cf. Norden, 400ff. and Au. on **18**.

369 pauor Cf. nn. on 3.57, 7.458. On the lengthening of the o by diastole, cf. n. on 7.174, Cupaiuolo, *EV* 2, 43f.. For the coexistence of endings in *-or* and *-os*, cf. Leumann, 179, Holzweissig, 312, Ernout, *Morphologie*, 79, Sommer, 368, NW 1, 262ff.: Au. suggests (correctly) that long o here is retained from that in (original) *pauos* (*Naev.trag.43*, if not *Pacuv.trag.82*) but strangely does not make it clear that all the instances of long *-or* that he cites occur at 2/3/4 foot caesura (diastole), so that prosody and morphology tend in the same direction. Asper (Schol.Ver. on 9.402) wrote *ubique pauorque* to restore conven-

tional metre, and reveals a tendency to similar hyperorthodoxy on other occasions: see Tomsin (305), 41, 130.

plurima mortis imago *imaginem τὴν φαντασίαν* Serv. on 8.557, citing this passage, Petr.124.257 *lurida mortis imago*, Sil.14.617 *eadem leti...imago*, 17.481f. *aspera pugna nouas uaria sub imagine leti/ dat formas*, Tac.*Hist.*3.28 *uaria pereuntium forma et omni imagine mortuum*, O. Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.413.77f. and for Christian echoes of V. here, vd. Au.. Compare too 6.405 *tantae pietatis imago* (with 9.294, 10.824), 8.557 *maior Martis iam appetet imago*, 12.560 *pugnae...maioris imago*, 665 *uaria confusus imagine rerum* and above all (Page) Thuc.3.81 5 πᾶς τε ιδέα κατέστη θανάτου. Raabe, 206, having taken these words as the title of his book, does little to explain them. ‘Many an image (or ‘vision’, or ‘spectacle’) of death’, as it might be. Perret is of course right to remind us (p.162) of V.’s fondness for using **plurimus** in a sense suggestive not of mere number, but of intensity: cf. e.g. 6.659 *plurimus... amnis*, with Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1607.80ff., *EV* 3, 616, Mackail’s n. here.

370–401 Some discussion is offered here of the Trojans’ resort to *fraus*; we have just seen that the Trojans’ wild rage to defend their homeland was not simply a matter for ethical reproach (289–95), and that the comparison of Trojans to wolves (355–8) is not entirely and necessarily to their discredit; we are about to discover that the snake simile of 379–81 does not immediately brand the Trojans themselves as serpentine deceivers. Swift and simple moral judgements (e.g. Abbot, 66f., Rauk, 293) lead frequently to unsatisfactory conclusions in studying *Aen.*; some discussion of the complexities and ambiguities of *dolus* is likewise called for (cf. *Companion*, 196f. for V.’s appetite, and his readers’ for ethical problems):

Consider (i) Trickery in *Aen*: cf., further to Coroebus’ plan, Pygmalion’s killing of Sychaeus (1.350), the Greeks’ use of the TH (nn. on **18 furtim**, **34, 390 dolo**, **36, 65, 195, 310, 421 insidias**), Nisus’ tripping of Salius in the foot-race, 5.342 (note Farron, 2f.), absence of trickery in *Aen.* in the Underworld (Sibyl to Cerberus, 6.399), lack of *fraus* in Turnus (who would never steal Palladium or hide in the TH, 9.149ff.; cf. Schenk, 69, n.96), Nisus and Euryalus (9.237, 350, 397, 428), Turnus’ projected ambush (11.515, 523) and some minor instances on the field of battle, 10.754, 11.717, 12.494; also, more generally, 7.326, 12.336. See TCD 1.200.9ff., Abbot, Farron, *infra*, *EV* 2, 122f. (Speranza), nn. on 11.515, 522.

(ii) The use of disguise, as here, in war: cf. Xen.*Hell.*4.4.10, Paus. 4.28.7 (with reflections on the effect of Hector in the arms of Achilles,

*Il.*17.192), Opp.*Hal.*3.360–5, Polyae*n*.2.3.1, 2.4.3, Liv.22.1.3, Front. *Strat.*3.2.3–11 (numerous instances), Heinze, 36f, Speranza, *cit.*, Chaniotis (87), 98, 108.

(iii) The use of another man's armour. To wear such armour in battle ends badly in *Aen*: see also Nisus and Euryalus (9.373ff.), Pallas and Turnus (12.940ff.). It is unfortunate that modern discussions accept Hornsby's argument and conclusions unmodified, for Roman and Greek usage do in fact differ sharply. In Hom., such stripping and re-use was normal, whereas at Rome, stripped armour normally, but not quite always, belonged to the gods and might not be used again; V. does not tell us which set of criteria to use, just as in the case of Turnus' death. Certainly those who wear alien armour in *Aen*. die as a result, but it is by no means clear that their deaths are all to be considered as the fit results of bad deeds. Cf. R. Hornsby, *Phil. Quart.* 45(1966), 347–59 (gravely misleading and undeservedly still cited), Mørland, 9, E. Henry, *VP*, 20–9, Cleary (*infra*), 15–29, *Companion*, 175ff., 205, n. on 11.5–13, W.R. Barnes, *PCPS Suppl.*22(1999), 60–70.

(iv) Disguise and the unity of the epic world. There is something inexplicitly different between Greeks and Trojans here (see nn. on 376f., 423): their languages sound different, and it will soon emerge that some discrepancy between speech and arms might—naturally and with no need for explanation—be observed by either side. Such an outlook towards speech and armour develops after Homer and is revealed both in the Hom. scholia and in tragedy; here it is the sort of narrative detail that V. seems at pains not to work out fully. Cf. nn. on 3.306f., 7.167f., 11.769, E. Hall, *Inventing the barbarian* (Oxford 1989), 19ff., Griffin, 3f..

(v) The traditional Roman view of *dolus* and the familiar language of condemnation. In 172/1, the returning legates, A. Atilius Serranus and Q. Marcius Philippus, boasted before the Senate *ut nulla re magis gloriarentur quam decepto per inducias et spem pacis rege*. A majority approved, *summa ratione acta*; but *ueteres et moris antiqui memores negabant se in ea legatione Romanas agnoscerre artes* (Liv.42.47; cf. Plb.13.3.2, 36.9.9, DS 30.7.1). The traditionalist minority then listed those ways of making war (with historical precedents) that they deplored, as disguise most certainly would have been. Compare too Amm.Marc.17.5.6 (Sapor's reproaches against Rome), Toynbee, *Hannibal's legacy*, 2, 468, Gruen, *Hellen. world* 1, 245, Petrochilos, 45, Rossi, 101f.). This debate, closely enough comparable for date and moral interest to that on raising the young revealed at Ter.*Ad.*40–77, Plb.39.1.3, seems to shed brilliant light on an ideo-

logical turning point, but proves on consideration to be, at least in part, the remote descendant of an Iliadic polarity, that between the bowman and the ἄγχιμαχητής, *Il.*11.385–90 (vd. Hainsworth, and cf. Lendon, 33f., Wheeler, 105; note 5.171ff., the powerlessness of the archer Pandarus against Diomedes, *Od.*11.120, Archil.*eleg.*3 West, and cf. *Aen.*12. 320). For the Romans as heirs to Diomedes' preference for a straight fight, cf. Plb.13.3.7, Caes.*Gall.*1.13.6 (Helvetii share this outlook), Liv.1.53.4, 25.24.3, Tac.*Ann.*1.59.3, 2.88.1 (with Goodyear's nn.). Note also *Bell.Afr.*73.2: after fighting Gauls, the Romans were unprepared for war in Africa. Even the Greeks (cf. Wheeler, 44ff.), for all their admiration of *metis*, maintained a vein of disapproval of outright trickery (as at [Eur.]*Rhes.*510; Lendon, 78ff.); the proem. to Polyaenus, a veritable *laudes doli*, richly rewards attention.

(vi) The 'alternative view' of *dolus* and the semantics of deceit. Disapproval of night attacks upon sleeping enemies (Q.Curt.4.13.8f., Farron, 4f., Wheeler, 44, 82) balances disapproval of drunken sleep while on watch (265). Is the Roman commander *really* obliged to let his adversaries sleep off their drinking, to avoid the charge of *fraus*? Won by *fraus*, victory was no victory (so at Troy, Varr. *ap.Serv. ad Aen.*11.306; cf. Goodyear on Tac.*Ann.*2.3.1, Farron, 4); an enemy's use of *fraus* can help excuse defeat, or be made to suggest that he could win no other way (cf. Flor.1.33.17, Val.Max.7.4ext.2, Oakley on Liv.9.2.9, 31.12, Goodyear on Tac.*Ann.*2.3.1). Rome, in practice as deceitful as the situation required, claimed to have had been forced into trickery by the Carthaginians; an apt pupil, indeed, already competent enough: Plb.13. 3.7, 36.9.10, Flor.1.22.26, Lendon, 194, Wheeler, 51. The commander dismissed as *uafer*, *uersutus*, or *dolosus* naturally proved *prudens*, *sagax*, or *callidus* to his friends and supporters (cf. Abbot, 63ff., Wheeler). One man's *fraus* is another's *consilium*; the ample evidence in Val.Max. and Florus, studied semantically by Wheeler, is not given here. Those who rush to censure Coroebus have not done enough to grasp Latin/Roman usage.

(vii) Even a Q.Mucius Scaevola used *dolus* (Flor.1.4.5); indeed, Roman generals employed stratagems by the dozen, over the centuries (cf. Wheeler, 50ff.) and even the tediously patriotic Florus recorded the *dolus*, *ars* or *fraus* of one old Roman hero after another (1.6.9, 28.7, 36.10, 38.15), with only the rarest disapproval (1.36.17). It might therefore be time to suggest that Coroebus' use of *dolus*, and the Trojans' resort to disguise are by no means matters for automatic condemnation

on the part of the cautious and informed reader. See J. Rauk, *TAPA* 121(1991), 287–95 on Androgeos and B. Harries (401), 136–41 for 400f.; note too Abbot (34), 65–8, Büchner, 330.27–38, Cartault, 191f., V. Cleary, *Vergilius* 28(1982), 16f., S. Farron, *Vergil's Aeneid. A poem of grief and love* (*Mnem.* Suppl. 122, Leiden 1993), 2–5, Heinze, 37f., Henry, *VP*, 28f., Kraggerud (288), 56–8, Mazzochini, 317f., H.Mørland, *SO* 48(1973), 7ff., Rossi, 26, Salvatore, 61–3, Stahl (394), 167. For the wider issue of *dolus* in war, see further, Lendon (314), ch.4, *et passim*, with (full, critical bibliography) 411f., Wheeler (34), N. Petrochilos, *Roman attitudes to the Greeks* (Athens 1974), 93ff..

370 primus...Danaum ‘First’ (cf. 40); primacy (cf. 32) hardly germane here. The gen. presumably to be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with both **D.** and **caterua**.

se.../ 371 ...offert nobis Cf. 59ff.

magna comitante caterua A formula re-used from 40, where v.d. n.. Elaborate links between Androgeos and Laoc. proposed by Moskalew, 127, unpersuasively.

371 Androgeos Homonym of Minos’ son (6.20), otherwise unknown. F. Graf, *NP* 1, 688f., *EV* 1, 166, Toepffer, PW 1.2145.21f., Roscher in Ro.1.343.60f., Paschalis, 82f. (highly speculative; likewise Rauk, 291f., Kraggerud (288), 57 on possible associations between the homonyms).

socia agmina credens Either *nos esse soc.ag.* or *agmina esse socia*; either way, adj. loftier than *socium* (n. on 7.723): cf. 613 **socium...agmen**, 267 and contrast 727 **aduerso... agmine**.

372 inscius Given prominence by position, run on; Kraggerud (*EV* 4, 728) compares 4.72, 6.711; cf. too *TLL* 7.1.1844.61f. (Hubbard). Hom. νήπιος, similarly run on at e.g. *Il*.2.38, 873. Au. also well compares run-on *demens* at 6.172.

atque ultro Not only approaches the Trojans but goes so far as to address them unsuspectingly, *EV* 5*, 363 (Traina).

uerbis...amicis Cf. 147 **dictisque ita fatur amicis** (with n.); simple, formulaic setting of the tone of what follows.

compellat Cf. 280.

373–5 Knauer compares Agamemnon to Mnestheus, *Il*.2.340–4, beginning τίπτε καταπτώσσοντες ἀφέστατε, μίμνετε δ’ ἄλλους; Rauk draws attention to 6.326–31 (Hector to Paris), and there are indeed

many speeches of energetic admonition in *Il.* (e.g. Agam. to Menestheus, 4.340–2, Iris to Achilles, 18.170–80). A blunt soldierly tone has been suspected in some details, perhaps wrongly. Cf. Rauk, 289; listed under “commands”, Highet, 306, who offers no comment.

373 *festinate* Cf. n. on 7.156 (Enn.*trag.*, comedy, prose), Lackenbacher, *TLL* 6.1. 615.47.

uiri Serv. comments *increpantis est Serv.Dan., ut solet in milites dici (tacent* Dickey, Mosci Sassi, *Il sermo castrensis*); cf. Serv. on 3.471, 8.653 *militare uerbum*, 10.241, 279, 314, 428, H.D. Jocelyn, *PLLS* 2(1979), 141, n.262, and cf. Serv. on 3.291 and Jocelyn’s next n. for *nauticus sermo*. But the note gives cause for disquiet, for usage of *uiri* in general (Dickey, 291, 292, n.25; note Cic.*Mil.*101 *fortissimi uiri* (Dickey, 290), Liv.3.67.11, with Tac.*Dial.*14.3) does not suggest reproof (Dickey, 364f.) and certainly the other passages in which V. uses *u.* carry nothing of the implication here suggested: *G.*1.210 (‘an encouraging address’, Mynors), *Aen.*2.668, 4.573, 9.158, 252, 376, 10.737 (vd. Harrison), 11.14 (with n.), *EV* 5*, 552 (Laurenti). On 9.376, Hardie does not make a good case for a ‘blunt colloquial tone’; it is not distinctively present in *-ue* (vd. LHS, 503, Wagner, *QV* xxxvi, §3, Dingel on 9.228, Fordyce on 7.131), while in *uiri*, it rests on Serv. here). So while ‘*uiri*’ may well be how an officer sometimes addressed his men, alongside ‘*milites*’ (Dickey, 341f., etc.), or at least a way in which writers could credibly represent an officer speaking, Serv.’s remark on the tone of reproof looks rather like an inference from the tone of Androgeos’ speech here, perhaps reinforced by a sense of how commonly soldiers were subjected to *increpitus*.

nam quae At *G.*4.445, introducing ‘an impatient question’ (Mynors), less so here and at the doubtful 12.637 (Traina); archaic, colloquial and by now uncommon (thanks to the rise of *quaenam*) in high poetry (*nam* first word when strengthening an interrogation): KS 2, 116f., LHS 504, Leumann, 473, Hand 4, 18ff.

tam sera Cf. 8.509 *serae ad fortia uires*, Liv.*praef.*11, *EV* 4, 804; here almost ‘causing lateness’ (note *G.*3.42f. *segnis...moras*), or alternatively, enallage for **seros**, / proleptic.

moratur Cf. Reichmann/Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1499.53f., *EV* 3, 585.

374 *segnities* Comic and probably not Ciceronian (Scotti, *EV* 4, 755); Au. discerns a ‘blunt soldier tone’, but in view of the high poet. history of Lat. abstr. nouns (Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 134ff., Ferraro, *EV* 1, 379, Cordier, 160f.), I suspect that the noun may just as well have seemed

lofty (and tragic, rather than epic, Jocelyn, p.195, etc.) as colloqu. or bluntly military. Cf., in particular, Acc.*trag.*278 *tarditie et socordia*. For forms in *-ia* and *-ies*, cf. NW 1, 560ff. and Holzweissig, 403f.: in general the 5th. decl. forms are older and more poetical. For the advanced degree of sloth entailed, La Cerdá cites Liv.22.12.12 (Minucius against Fabius) *dein propalam in uolgas, pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, adfingens uicina uirtutibus uitia*, Sen.*Ira* 3.11.6.

alii ‘Adversative asyndeton’ (Au.; cf. his index to *Aen.*1, s.v., LHS, 830): rich comparanda, Hey, *TLL* 1.1628.47ff. (G.2.503ff. (vd. Thomas), *Aen.*6.847, etc.).

rapiunt...feruntque Cf. *Il.*5.484 φέροιεν...ἄγοιεν, Eur. *Tro.*1310 ἀγόμεθα, φερόμεθ', Ael.Arist *2Leuctr.*440.16Dind. τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος στρατείαν ἐπὶ Τροίαν μιμούμενοι, Φαρνάβαζον ἥγον καὶ ἔφερον and a stock phrase in Gk. (*LSJ* s.v. ἄγω, §I3). Caes. uses *agere et portare*, and Liv.22.1.2 *raparent agerentque*. For *rapere* thus with *ferre*, cf. Acc.*trag.* 450 *amentia rapior ferorque*. For the histor. sense, Hey (*TLL* 6.1.556.25f.) compares Tac.*Hist.*5.19 a variation on common *agere ferre*; see further Oakley on Liv.10.34.4, Hey, *TLL* 1.1369.11ff.. In all these phrases, one verb for livestock (here not pertinent) and captives and one for portable goods. In the context of so many Lat. variations on the Gk. phrase, I doubt that Oakley's hypothesis of a Livian calque is quite correct; for the wider phenomenon of paired synonyms in Lat., cf. LHS, 786ff. (fascinating), Haffter, *Altlat.Dichterspr.*, 53ff.

incensa.../ 375 Pergama Cf. 327, 343, a *Leitmotiv*. Now, even the citadel, home of Troy's gods, is in flames; the specific sense perhaps likelier here than a general use as ‘Troy’ (cf. n. on 7.322).

uos...itis Serv. *itis pro 'uenitis'*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.2.638.59f..

celsis...a nauibus Cf. 4.397f.; the adj. also of *puppes, rates* in V. (Spelthahn, *TLL* 3.772.65ff.); at Ann.128 ‘the variant *celsis* deserves no credence’ (Skutsch).

nunc primum Cf. Pacuv.*trag.*362 *nunc primum opacat flora lanugo genas*, Lucr.2.1033 *nunc si primum* (so too Plaut., Ter., Cic., Prop.1.12.13, Breimeier, *TLL* 10.2.1364.7ff.), Breimeier, 1366.35.

376 dixit, et exemplo Cf. G.4.499 *dixit et ex oculis subito, Aen.2.692 uix ea fatus erat...subitoque*; for *e.*, cf. n. on 176, Hand 2, 671.

neque enim Eleven parentheses in V. introduced by *neque enim*, Squillante Saccone, *EV* 3, 972; standard usage, Hand 2, 381f. (Cic., etc.), Friedrich, *TLL* 5.2.584.4ff. at 15, Fordyce on 7.581 (*male*, Horsfall). At 100 quite different.

responsa dabantur/ 377 fida satis For **r.d.**, cf. *OLD* s.v. *do*, §27b, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1687.28, *Buc.*1.44, *G.3.491* (*reddere*), *Aen.*5.706, 6.672 (*reddidit*), 7.102f. (*male*, Horsfall). For the adj., cf. Bauer, *TLL* 6.1.705.75. Serv. *ut ostenderet symbolum quo utebantur in bello*. Serv. might be right to think of some form of spoken password (Au. cites *Aen. Tact.* 24.13 for the dangers of confusion; cf. too *id.*, 24.1, 16); there might, just as well, have been something suspicious about the Trojans' speech (Au.; cf. 423). For the use of passwords, cf. E.E. Best, *CJ* 62(1966), 122–7, W.V. Harris, *Literacy*, 166f., K. Regling, *PW* 9A.851.44ff., Riepl, *Nachrichtenwesen*, 39. Schmit-Neuerburg refers only to 'eine unglaublich-würdige Antwort' (233), but there is no recorded dialogue; 423 refers to a later stage in the episode, and TCD naturally enough refers to *dissimilitudo linguarum* here. For **s.**, cf. n. on 3.318

sensit 'Realise by experience'; cf. 4.541f. *necdum/ Laomedontae sentis periuria gentis*, Mastandrea, *EV* 4, 778.

medios...in hostis Cf. n. on 3.283.

delapsus Cf. Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.415.6; the verb standard Latin. A notorious Grecism, ἥπτεται ἐμπειρῶν (Goodwin, *Moods and tenses*, §904), and nothing analogous in Lat. syntax before Apuleius: Löfstedt, *Syntaxica* 2, 428, n.3 cites *Met.*4.34 *percussi... sentiis* (imitation, rather than confirmation: vd. Kenney). *Se delapsum esse* would not similarly have excited the reader. 12.634 *neququam fallis dea* (Görler, *EV* 2,270) is not exactly comparable, but hardly less audacious, or less Greek; note too Fordyce on *Cat.*4.2 *ait fuisse nauium celerrimus*. Cf. Lunelli-Kroll, 10, Lunelli-Leumann, 159, LHS, 364, Maurach, *Dichterprache*, 61, Bell, 131–3.

378 obstipuit *Semel* in *G.*, 16x in *Aen.*, of good pedigree, n. on 3.48.

retroque Cf. 169 **retro...referri**, n. on 11.627f.: a common disposition of sounds; cf. LHS, 797f. for the common use, from Plaut. on, of *rursus* to intensify *re*-compounds. The resulting allit. perhaps also in some way suggestive of A. reversing step and checking speech; perhaps after **retro** we expect a verb of motion, and **repressit** is therefore in some degree surprising (Salvatore, *infra*). Apparently not a conventional physical reaction.

pedem cum uoce A particularly neat and memorable zeugma, LHS, 833, citing *Tac. Ann.*2.29.2 *manus ac supplices uoces...tendens* (where vd. Goodyear). Cf. too 688

palmas cum uoce, 3.177 *cum uoce manus* (where vd. n.), Leo, *Sen. trag.*1, 198f., Catrin, 156.

repressit *Quater* in *Aen.*, in various senses (*EV* 4, 256). Standard Latin; note *Enn.Var.11 sol equis iter repressit unguulis volantibus*. Though Androgeos checks his step, it is too late; he is just as deeply committed as the wayfarer who steps on the snake: the snake hisses, A. will die for his temerity.

379–381 In mind here are (i) *Il.3.33–5* ὡς δ' ὅτε τίς τε δράκοντα ιδὼν παλίνορκος ἀπέστη/ οὔρεος ἐν βῆσσῃ, ὑπό τε τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα/ ἄψ δ' ἀνεχώρησεν, ὠχρός τέ μιν εἶλε παρειάς (with schol.; vd. *infra*), where it looks as though the wayfarer escapes unpoisoned (as Paris also escapes) and (ii) *G.3.421 tollentemque minas et sibila colla tumentem*. Here, it will emerge that Androgeos is killed (391–3 for his armour), but the simile is in itself entirely unexplicit (*pace* Williams). Hom. is interested in the detail of the wayfarer's (sudden) terror, but there is no physical contact between him and the snake (nor, for that matter, description of the snake), while V. depicts the snake and underlines both the contact and the unexpectedness of the encounter. West has pointed out the interesting anomalous correspondence of **pressit-repressit**, while Schmit-Neuerburg most valuably draws attention to the evident importance of Schol. AbT on *Il.3.33* ὄφις δὲ ἐγγὺς γεγονότι **παραδόξως** ὥρᾶται δ συνέβη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, a detail not immediately obvious in Hom., but well noticed by schol., critical to V., and spelled out in **improuisum**. Given the parallel phrasing in 40 and 370 ('significant' or merely formulaic?), the presence of serpents both in the Laoc. narrative and here (however different in appearance and behaviour) and the tendency of interpreters to 'read' all serpents uniformly, there is a modern orthodox view of the simile's meaning (Knox, Otis, 242, Williams, Briggs, Hornsby; cf. Rauk, 293): the Trojans have adopted Greek *dolus*, they are disguised, and are about to take on the skin of the serpent; the serpents have fought for the Greeks and destroyed Laoc., and so now the Trojans' venture into serpentine deceit is about to lead to their own destruction (cf. too Abbot, 66f.). If, though, we are not alerted by 370 to the possible analogies between Laoc. and Androg. and if we give proper weight to the evident differences between the 'marine pythons' that destroyed Laoc. and the rustic viper (*vel sim.*) of the simile (distinguish the monstrous and the familiar, for a start), then, given the delicate moral ambiguity in *dolus* used in a good cause (370–401), it becomes less easy to rush to judgement and the cautious reader may be readier to limit the application of the simile to its immediate context. See Briggs (306), 65f., Harries (401), 139, Hornsby, 61, Knox, 391f., Lobe 46, G. Mar-

coni, *EV* 3, 741, Rauk, 290, Salvatore, 61, n.55, Schmit-Neuerburg, 232–4, 358, West, *ORVA*, 433f., Williams, *TI*, 256.

379 improuisum...anguem Cf. 182, n. on 7.506.

aspris...sentibus The syncope in **a.** apparently ignored by Bednar, *ALL* 14(1906), 336ff.; see Holzweissig, 443, NW 2, 15, L. Mueller, *Res metrica* (repr. 1967), 456, Platnauer, *Lat.eleg.verse*, 69, Lindsay, *Lat.lang.*, 176. Probably not at *Enn.var.35*, but found at *Stat.Theb.1.622* and in later poets. Cf. Hey, *TLL* 2.807.7ff.. The sequence of consonants not only metrically convenient but an admirable source of serpentine sibilants. Cf. *Buc.3.89 rubus asper*, *G.2.413f. uimina*. Compare the *densi...sentes* of *G.2.411*, *Aen.9.382*, G. Maggiulli, *Incipient silvae...* (Roma 1995), 153.

ueluti qui Cf. 5.439 *uelut...qui*, 10.693; cf. *Il.12.299*, 15.579, 22.308f., *Od.22.402f..* The form (*uel)uti* (NW 2, 657, *OLD* s.v. *ut*) in old inscr., *ter* in *Enn.*, *bis* in *Plaut.*, appreciated by the poets for metr. convenience and faint flavour of archaism.

380 pressit Cf. *Ov.F.2.341f. ut saepe uiator/ turbatum uiso rettulit angue pedem*, *Juv.1.42f. et sic/ palleat ut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem*. Glossed *calcare* by Non. in his impressive survey of the meanings of *p.*, p.365.32; Pade, *TLL* 10.2.1170.12f.. Cf. KS 1, 132f., LHS, 318, Blase in Landgraf, *Hist.Gramm.*, 166, **2.497 exiit**, 9.564, 566, 11.810 *abdidit*, for the use of the gnomic perfect in similes ('perfectum comparativum'); the ease of collecting new instances suggests that this perf. is not rare; further instances in Speranza. Clearly enough, the scene is of a man not trying to squash a snake underfoot, but rather recoiling from a snake which he chances to find under a foot. West notes that **p.** takes up **378 repressit**, verbally, but with no analogy of sense, in counterpoint to the multiple correspondences.

humī nitens By no means (Serv.) *incedens per humum* (unfortunately accepted, Tietze, *TLL* 6.3.3125.61f.). No reason why *n.* should not bear the common sense of 'lean, press, heavily': cf. 12.303 *impressoque genu nitens terrae applicat ipsum*, with 8.237 *in aduersum nitens*, 12.398 *in hastam*, *OLD* s.v., §1a, *EV* 3, 740f., followed by loc. for abl. (which is also of course understood with **pressit**); Tietze lists numerous passages in which loc. is used for *ad humum* (*cit.* 3125.70ff.), such as 9.754, 10.696. Serv. remarks *et est adverbium* ('heavily'; cf. 12.303); for such a use of pres.part., Au. well cites Conway on 1.191 *agens*.

trepidusque As La Cerdá already saw (cf. Crevatin, *EV* 5*, 264),

suggested by the fear present in *Il.3.34* ὑπὸ τε τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα; the word often suggests haste in addition to fear.

repente refugit For *re...re-*, vd. *supra*, 378. For **repente**, cf. n. on 7.399 and for the ‘double closure’ rhythm at v.-end, cf. n. on 7.27 *repente resedit*. Here perhaps expressive of the wayfarer’s jumpy withdrawal. **Refugit:** so (vd. 379–81) *Il.3.33* δράκοντα ιδών παλίνορκος ἀπέστη. Cf. 7.618 *auersusque refugit*, 12.449 *tremefacta refugit*.

381 attollentem iras Imitated, Colum.8.2.11 *attollentem minas serpentinem*, Münscher, *TLL* 2.1151.28ff.; *Gloss.Lat.4.10.53* paraphrases *ad tollentem elato capite minantem* and compare further the *sibila colla/ arduus attollens* of 5.277f.. Plur. *irae* contain exciting possibilities for V. and lead him to several striking phrr.: Stiewe/Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 7.2.365.51ff., Laurenti, *EV* 3, 20f. and see nn. on 7.15 *iraeque leonum*, 755 *mulcebatque iras* (snakes). Au.’s explanation of the uses of (*at*) *tollere* out of which V.’s phrase emerges is of high quality. The two parts of the v. form in the end an elaborate, single, compound image: the serpent raises its blue-black neck, swelling with rage (cf. Ov.*AA* 3.503, Sen.*Thy.*737, *Tro.*586).

et caerula colla tumentem Cf. G.3.421 *tollentemque minas et sibila colla tumentem*, Cic.*Vatin.4* *repente enim te tamquam serpens e latibulis oculis eminentibus, inflato collo, tumidis ceruicibus intulisti*, *EV* 5*, 313 (Mancini). *Caerulus*, alongside *caeruleus* essential to the poets (choice depends simply on gender and case), Goetz, *TLL* 3.103.83ff., E. Bednara, *ALL* 15(1898), 224, Lunelli-Leumann, 163f.. For the colour meant, cf. Edgeworth, 107 (‘blue’), André, 166, n. on 7.346 (again, a snake). For the plur. used specially of parts of the body, cf. n. on 57 **terga**. The acc. thus used with intrans. verbs ‘is purely Greek’, Courtney (57), §11, comparing *Lucr.3.489 tremit artus*, G.3.421 *supra*, *Aen.12.386 aegro nitentem poplite gressus*, etc.. See more amply C.F.W. Müller, *Synt. des Nom. u. Akk.* (Leipzig 1908), 115, G. Landgraf, *ALL* 10 (1898), 213f.. For the framing partics., see on 570.

382 haud secus Cf. n. on 11.456.

Androgeos The repetition of the name marks the re-start of the narrative after the simile, as it had the commencement of the episode.

uisu tremefactus Cf. 212 **uisu exsangues**; here responds to 380 **trepidus**. V. has used **t.** of the Trojans at the sight of Laoc.’s end (228).

abibat Perhaps inceptive, or conative, ‘was making to get away’.

383 inruimus Cf. 757, 6.294, 9.555, Primmer, *TLL* 7.2.449.84. Standard Latin; unlike *inrumpere*, occasional in Cic. and Liv., not in Sall.. Note Liv.5.21.12 (sack of Veii, a familiar episode) *patefactisque portis cum alii agmine inruerent*, *alii desertos scanderent muros*.

densis...armis Cf. 409; V. has just used (3.23) *densis hastilibus*; cf. too G.2.142 *nec galeis densisque uirum seges horruit hastis*, Jachmann, *TLL* 5.1.547.9.

et circumfundimur **Et** postponed; cf. n. on 7.761, Au. here (Hellenistic mannerism). V. has in mind 64 **circumfusa ruit**; both verbs re-used here (here, **c.** as a middle, as at 3.634f., with n.). **Circumfundimur** Mhry, **circumfudimus** P; **circumfundimus** ω.

384 ignarosque loci Cf. 1.332 *ignari hominumque locorumque/ erramus*; a commonplace of milit. narrative, Sall.*Jug.*12.5, Liv.22.31.4(?), 37.27.7, 38.12.6 and Caes.*Gall.*5.9.8 *loci naturam ignorabat*, Civ.1.66.3, Wiese, *TLL* 7.1.273.17ff..

passim A sharp Trojan riposte to their own scattered corpses, 364.

et formidine captos Cf. 4.194 *cupidine c.*, 11.49 *spe*, Hey, *TLL* 3.341.44 and I. Kapp, 6.1.1097. 63. ‘Struck’, ‘affected’; Bartalucci, *EV* 1, 653. F.: cf. nn. on 400, 7.608, Kapp, *cit.*, Rieks, 97. Cic.*Tusc.*4.19 (an unimpressive passage) remarks *formidinem metum permanentem*, in contradiction to the clear force here.

385 sternimus Cf. n. on 11.373. ‘The pause is dramatic and final’ Au.; cf. Winbolt, 13ff. for pause at 1D. A reversal of 364 **sternuntur**.

adspirat Cf. 9.525 *uos, o Calliope, precor, adspirate canenti*; no reason to assimilate the d in the face of ms evidence (Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 400 for *ad + sp* in general). Oertel, *TLL* 2.841.26f..

primo...labori Nothing suggests that **p.** should be separated from 1. and taken adverbially (so Au.) and that is confirmed when we reach 387 **prima...fortuna**; the words are naturally seen and heard together (cf. G.3.182, 4.340, Cic.*Verr.*2.5.26, Hor.*Serm.*2.6.21, Wagner, *QV* xxviii, §3a); the opposite of *labor extremus*, 3.714 (where vd. n.). ‘Adventure’, almost, except that 1. suggests a graver, more Roman and Stoic, tone.

fortuna Luck, Pötscher, 80, Pomathios, 340, n. on 11.180.

386 atque hic Cf. 796, n. on 7.29, Wagner, *QV* xxxv, §22: indicating a surprising turn in events.

successu...animisque Page and others correctly remarked that the two abls. are slightly different in character (and there is therefore almost zeugma); cf. Negri, 138, n.49, Hahn 1930, 7–9. **A.** the seat of courage, as elsewhere of e.g. pride; cf. nn. on 316, 11.438, 491, Negri, 135. Abl. of place, therefore (as often with *animo*, *animis*, Antoine, 212). **S.** *quinquies* in *Aen.* (*tacet* Cordier) doubtful at *Caes.Gall.2.20.2*, not in Sall., but *ter* in *Liv.1–5*, which could well have drawn it to V’s attention, perhaps as a word with a marked historical flavour. The abl. of cause, Antoine, 194.

exsultans Cf. 11.491 *exsultatque animis* (where vd. n.), a passage which rather confirms Au.’s sense that a state both physical and mental is suggested here. I. Kapp, *TLL* 5.2.1949.41f..

Coroebus Nothing merely silly, it should be repeated, in his passion for Cass., nor, we have seen, in his use of Greek armour (370–401), though the contrary seems to be suggested, Guillemin here, Abbot, 66. Excitement, in war and love, is quite another matter, Cartault, 191.

387–91 Brief, excited, admirably characterised; note affective **o**, three lines opening with verbs, two run on, closing epiphonema. S.v. ‘persuasions’, Hight, 313; it might be to some extent significant that it is not Aen. who suggests the use of Greek armour: youthful audacity and potential moral ambiguity even at this early stage may not sit entirely well on his shoulders, Mørland (370–401), 9.

387 o socii Cf. 1.198, 3.560 (with n.); without *o*, 10.369. See too Dickey, 291f., 359.

qua.../ 388 ...quaque Cf. G.3.349ff., *Aen.* 1.121, 5.397.

prima...fortuna Cf. 385 **aspirat primo fortuna labori.** Cf. Bailey, 236, Pomathios, 340, 345. For *primum*, Serv., vd. Ussani, sanely.

inquit For such postponement, cf. 7.594 with n..

salutis/ 388 ...iter Cf. 6.96 *via prima salutis*, Plancus, Cic.*Fam.* 10.8.2 *expeditius iter communis salutis quam meae laudis esse uolui* (‘path of’ Sh.B.), Petr.102.13 *aliquid iter salutis quaerendum est*, Tessmer, *TLL* 7.2. 543.24, Coccia, *EV* 3, 51. **359f. mediaeque.../urbis iter**, the path *to* or *through* the **m.u.**, is quite different. Here the way is that suggested by, pertaining to, *salus*; it is not their personal safety *at which* the Trojans are at this moment aiming, as in Sen.*Clem.* 1.3.3 *si per stragem illi humanam iter ad salutem struendum sit.*

388 monstrat Cf. Cic.*Fin.*1.45 (*sc.sapientia*) *omnis monstrat vias, quae ad quietem et ad tranquillitatem ferant*, Lucr.5.1447 *qua ratio uestigia monstrat*, Reichmann, *TLL* 8. 1441.10f..

ostendit se dextra ‘Pro acc. ponitur nom.’ Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1130. 62, citing Sen.*Ep.Mor.*66.7 *haec eius est facies, si sub unum ueniat aspectum et semel tota se ostendat* and cf. Liv.28.43.11 *cum quaesitus ad id bellum imperator nemo se ostenderet praeter me*. Cf. too **408 sese...iniecit periturus**, 1.314 *mater...sese tulit obuia* (where vd. Ladewig), 3.310, 6.879 and the ample discussion by Bell, 321 (with Antoine, 29), though ‘epithet’ is not rightly used here.

sequamur Cf. **753f.**, 3.114 *diuum ducunt qua iussa sequamur*, 12.625, 677.

389 mutemus clipeos An elaborate compound phrase: **m.** (cf. *EV* 3, 645) corresponds evidently to **aptemus nobis**, and **clipecos** to **insignia**; there is no call to seek **insignia** anywhere but on the Greeks’ *clipei* and this perspicuous indication is further confirmed by **392**. For **c.**, cf. n. on 7.639.

Danaumque insignia Developed, **392 clipeique insigne decorum** (Hahn 1930, 207 finds one more abstract than the other, inexplicably); **i.** quite common as ‘distinguishing mark’ of a warrior, 7.657 and 11.334, with nn., *EV* 2, 990 (Tais); *TLL* s.v. opaque and omission. Cf. nn. on 7.657, 796 for shield-devices, Lammert, PW 3A.425.17ff., M. Albert, DS 1.2.1252f., Wickert, 299f. but above all G.H. Chase, *HSCP* 13(1902), 61–127 for the Greek material (for Hom., see, though, Hainsworth on *Il.*11.36f.), familiar to V.’s readers above all through repeated reference in *Eur.Phœn.*: tragic usage corresponded to Roman (Fiebiger, PW 3A.916.58ff. for generals’ names on shields in the civil wars). No reason to suppose that Greek and Trojan shields differed except in the devices they bore. Older edd. were also concerned to point out that helmets too were distinguishing or bore distinguishing marks, - vd. Caes.*Gall.*2.21.5 Liv.27.33.3, Tac. *Hist.*1.38 (with Damon’s n.), - which is very true, but not relevant here, given V.’s tight and lucid phrasing. For the wider issue of the ‘unity of the epic world’, cf. nn. on 7.167f., 11.769, 3.306f. and see **370–401**.

nobis/ 390 aptemus Cf. 7.731, *EV* 1, 243, Prinz, *TLL* 2.324.21f..

dolus an uirtus Cf. *Od.*1.296 the disguised Athena to Telemachus, bidding him kill the suitors ἡὲ δόλω ḥ ἀμφαδόν, Lucr.5.863, 858 (not thus opposed), Caes.*Gall.*1.13.6 *ut magis uirtute quam dolo contendenter*, Bell.*Afr.*73.3 *contra Gallos homines apertos minimeque insidiosos, qui per uir-*

tutem, non per dolum dimicare consuerunt, Flor.1.38.15 addiderat uirtuti dolum, Liv.42.47.8 plus profici dolo quam uirtute, Culex 326 dolis Ithaci uirtus quod concidit icta, Stat. Theb.6.628–30, Sil.15.327. For detailed discussion, cf. **370–401**. Ellipse of *sit*, again (cf. **157**).

quis...requirat Potential subjunctive; the phrasing surprisingly not hallowed by imitators.

in hoste Cf. **541 in hoste...Priamo**; ‘in the case of’ (see Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.781.10ff.), cf. Cic. *Verr.*2.1.3 *si fortes fueritis in eo* (where Schol. Gron. cites this v.), *Cat.*4.12 *in his hominibus...si uehementiores fuerimus, Sest.*7, Macer fr.20P, *Catal.*13.12 *in fratre parsimonia*, LHS, 273.

391 arma dabunt ipsi Cf. 9.273, Bickel, *TLL* 2.595.62. On **a.**, Serv.Dan. remarks *subdistingue, ut sit quasi interrogantis. et responsio ‘dabunt ipsi’*. Neat, but not mandatory; **ipsci** clearly enough indicates the corpses, even with a jerk of the thumb, though future victims are of course included. At all events, ‘they themselves will provide them’; *we* do not have to look far afield for Greek weapons (cf. Wagner, *QV* xviii, §2). Cf. n. on 11.196 *ipsorum clipeos et non felicia tela*.

sic fatus deinde Cf. 7.135 *sic deinde effatus* with n..

comantem/ 392 ...galeam Cf. n. on 3.468 *cristasque comantis*; for plumes, vd. n. on 7.785.

392 Androgei M_Y (*deest P*) ω, Serv.Dan., grammarians; the Greek gen. *Androgeo*, though, at 6.20: see NW 1, 209, Holzweissig, 468, etc.. See **371** for the perplexing name.

cliique insigne decorum See **389; d.** “significa fondamentalemente ‘bello’” Laurenti, *EV* 2, 11. The adj. Lucretian, Cic.*carm.*, Hor.C.; of arms, Sall.*Cat.*7.4, Liv.7.10.7, etc. and cf. n. on 11.194 *ensisque decoros*. As so often, synecdoche of part (device) for whole (shield), as Serv. realised. Au. here, accepted by Oakley on Liv.9.40.1 (and cf. Anderson *ad loc.*), remarks that apparently *insignia* seems to be used sometimes of conspicuous armour in general (Liv., *cit.*, Tac.*Hist.*4.29.1); here, though, that is not the sense.

393 induitur Cf. LHS, 36, 7.640 *loricam induitur*, with n., to which add now Courtney (57), 426 (an extension of the middle use found with *indutus*).

laterique...accomodat L. an unspecific ‘flank’ (presupposing the wearing of a baldric), as 3.581 and often. Lucil.144 has *quam dextrae gladium dum accommodet alter*; the vb. *bis* in Acc.*trag.*.

Arguum...ensem E.: poetical, n. on 7.640. The adj. indicates 'Greek' (254)

394 hoc...hoc A neat way of indicated that all the Trojans did the same thing: two names selected, and bound by gemination (Wills, 77), with the generalising **o.i.** tacked on to suggest the whole body. Serv. writes of **hoc ipse** *multi hic distingunt et ad Aenean referunt* (apparently known also to Serv.Dan.). TCD suggests rightly that we suppose naturally that Aen. includes himself; certainly, he takes part in the movement at **396**. Heinze, 37 suggests stiffly that Aen. is not to be thought of in borrowed arms and Stahl (*Areth.* 14(1981), 167) suggests that Aen. takes part in the attack (**396 uadimus**) but is not disguised (which would simply have betrayed his comrades' intent, and indeed actions, and reduced his leadership to farce). Virgil, however, is careful not to include specifically a disguised Aeneas in the narrative. The suggested punctuation after **ipse** is deplorable (cf. Mørland, 8).

Rhipheus For name and orthogr., cf. **339**.

ipse Dymas Cf. **340**. For **i.**, cf. G.2.98 *rex ipse Phanaeus*, picking out one name in a list, *Aen.* 7.187, Wagner, *QV* xviii, §i. We have no idea why D. should be picked out; perhaps V. himself had no idea, except for variation.

omnisque iuuentus Cf. 7.812 *omnis tectis agrisque effusa iuuentus* (for **i.**, cf. n. on 7.672). See **341** for the absence of ethical exculpation.

395 laeta facit Cf. n. on 7.288 for Lyne's polemical assertion (*WP*, 182f.) that for V. *l.* connotes, or may connote '*disaster-prone* happiness'; indeed it does, *sometimes*, as here (cf. 1.34 - storm to come -, 7.288 - war to come -, etc.; further instances, Lyne, 183); Lyne correctly notes imminent disaster here, but we might prefer to think of V. occasionally, and typically, tempering joy and expectation with disappointment, and worse. Cf. too (judicious) E. Henry, *VP*, 204, n.19.

spoliis...recentibus R. used regularly by V. of *tumulus* and *caedes* (Guerrini, *EV4*, 410); for the *spolia*, cf. **370–401**, n. on 11.5–13.

se quisque...armat The pronouns thus only *quater* in *Aen.*; for the vb., cf. n. on 7.648.

396 uadimus Vd. **359**. Aen. clearly expects his hearers to think of him as participating, and it is strange that the contrary has been suggested; so Lyne, *FV*, 212, n.10, rightly.

immixti Danais Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.463.77ff. compares Varr. *res*

hum. ap.Serv.Dan. on 12.121, of the *agmen quadratum, quod immixtis etiam iumentis incedit*, Tib.1.3.63, *carm.bell.Act.fr.2.4*Garuti, etc.; ignored, *EV* 3, 541. Liv.39.31.7 *sed longe acrius Calpurniani equites pugnabant, et praetor ante alios: nam et primus hostem percussit, et ita se immiscuit mediis, ut uix, utrius partis esset, nosci posset* and *Il.5.85f.* Τυδείδην οὐκ ἄν γνοίης ποτέροις μετείη/ ἡὲ μετὰ Τρώεσσι ὅμιλέοι ἢ μετ' Ἀχαιοῖς have long been cited. According to Serv. on 1.488, Persius' friend Cornutus (cf. *EV* 1, 897f., Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 71–5, *Virgilianisti*, 26–35) saw in this line a reference to Aen. as traitor (cf. Horsfall, *RMM*, 14), unhelpfully. **M₁** corrects **immixtis** to **immixti**; **P** **inmixti**.

haud numine nostro It is generally supposed that the *numen* involved is that of the divine power which is (not) watching over the Trojans, corresponding closely to the **numine diuum** of 336, but I have wondered (cf. Serv. *aut quia in scutis Graecorum Neptunus, in Troianorum fuerat Minerua depicta*) whether we ought not to be looking more closely at the arms just ‘borrowed’: Trojans could not fight well bearing the device of (e.g.) Neptune, or Argive Hera, and arms may also carry some *felicitas* or *faustitas* of their own (11.196, with n., Ammann, *TLL* 6.1. 447.12ff., Perret here; the sense at e.g. Liv.2.49.7, 31.7.14, Sen.*Suas*.5.2 may, though, be limited to a simpler ‘successful’). But if the *numen* involved refers (as is perhaps more probable) to a general sense of divine surveillance or prompting, then cf. Serv. *aut diūs contrariūs* which Serv.Dan. explains as ‘*non nobis utili*’, citing 402 and 12.539f. *nec di texere Cupencum, / Aenea ueniente, sui* (cf. further 5.832, 12.187, [Tib.] 3.3.28 Ov.*Her*.12.84, Watson on Hor.*Epd*.9.30 *uentis iturus non suis*, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.918.8ff., *OLD* s.v. *meus*, §8, s.v. *noster*, §9, s.v. *suus*, B, §13, s.v. *tuus*, §6b, LHS, 179, KS 1, 599f.). Con.’s ‘protection not their own’ is over-explicit. Though 735 **male numen amicum** is of course explicitly hostile, 336 **numine diuum** too proves, on reflection, not friendly (contrast 703 **uestroque in numine Troia est**). Here, then, **non...nostro**, conveys the recollected absence of that comforting sense of ‘Gott mit uns’. *EV* 3, 781, Bailey, 67, Pötscher, 101, Pomathios, 352. Of course there is explicit anticipation of failure/defeat in the phrase, but that - *pace* the complaints by Con. and Au. here - is a common element in Virgilian narrative, in the loftiest Hom. tradition (here, see in particular Il.17.201ff., Zeus’ view of Patroclus putting on the armour of Achilles), as has been clear since Duckworth’s dissertation (here, see p.9).

397 multaque...proelia Cf. n. on 11.631 for *p.* as ‘skirmishes’; of an individual heroic combat, cf. 12.570, Liv.1.10.4, 25.9, 11, Val.Max. 6.3.6, Marchionni, *TLL* 10.2.1651.42ff..

per caecam...noctem Cf. **357, 360** and n. on 3.203 *caeca caligine*. for *caeca nox*, cf. Acc.*trag.*33, Cat.68.44, Lucr.1.1115, G.3.260, etc., Burger, *TLL* 3.44.72ff..

congressi Cf. 10.540, 12.12, 233, Hoppe, *TLL* 4.286.54f.; this absol. use as old as Acc.*trag.*321 *Mauortes armis duo congressos crederes*.

398 conserimus Of *proelia*, cf. Liv.5.36.5 (just earlier than *Aen.*2, perhaps) and later, Marchionni, *TLL* 10.2.1655.59f.; of *pugnam*, Plautine. ‘Soldierly, but not too soldierly’, Lyne (*WP*, 112), perhaps rightly.

multos Danaum Cf. Cat.66.9 *multis...deorum*, Liv.2.41.2 *multos...patrum*, 7.37.13 *pluribus hostium*, Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1610.68ff., KS 1, 424, LHS, 54, Antoine, 73 for this uncommon use of the part.gen..

demittimus Orco Cf. **85 demisere neci** (with n.), 9.527 *demiserit Orco*; the dat. of goal (cf. J.H.W. Penney, *ALLP*, 262, W. Goerler, *EV* 2, 266, LHS, 100f.: archaic, poetic) favoured (indeed very much developed) by V. when speaking of death, heaven, earth, sky, here as at **85** the domestication of an Homeric idiom. For **O.** cf. West on Hes. *Theog.*231, 400 (personification of the oath taken by men, originally a curse to take effect if that sworn is false); by V., less often the ruler (G.1.277) than the place (the gods swear by Styx, as men by (H)orcus, Hes. *Theog.*805); Casertano, *EV* 3, 878f.. **Deay₁**; **di-** the rest of the transmission; a neat instance of the way in which the Carolingian mss. can preserve the evidently correct reading.

399 diffugient Cf. 212.

alii.../400 ...pars A ‘Mischform’ of partitive apposition, much favoured by Sall.; cf. *Buc.*1.65, LHS 428f., Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.454.48ff..

ad nauis Like the TH (**329, 400f.**), still an active part of the poet. landscape (cf. **375**).

et litora.../ 400 fida Cf. **256 litora nota petens**; here the adj. is run on for prominence suggesting that these Greeks can only feel themselves safe on board their own ships. Note **22 statio mala fida**, and 6.524, *f.* of a sword, Bauer, *TLL* 6.1.705.47.

cursu Cf. **321**, though now it is, briefly, the Greeks who panic in the night and smoke.

400 petunt Cf. 215, 226.

ingentem.../ 401 ...equum The adj. given marked prominence; cf. 20 of the TH's *cauernae*.

formidine turpi V. has just used the noun (384); the adj. applied to *f.* at Sall.*hist.1*, fr.38 , quoted by Serv. here *Carbo turpi formidine Italianum atque exercitum deseruit*, I. Kapp, *TLL* 6.1.1097.54; in *Aen.*, cf. 4.194, *turpique cupidine captos*, Caviglia, *EV5**, 338. A strong word.

401 scandunt Having emerged down a rope (262), they clamber laboriously back in; for the first-foot spondee, cf. n. on 7.406. The verb used at 237, of the TH clambering into Troy. There are traces of humour in *Aen.* (cf. nn. on 7.814, 3.190); serious enquiry into the point of the episode (B. Harries, *LCM* 14(1989), 136ff.), risks missing the sense, which may be no more than a narrative paradox ('they *even* fled back into the TH') and a brief moment of light relief. 'Most unconvincing' and 'hyperbolical conceits' complains the outraged R.D. Williams (cf. *sensum meum offendit*, Heyne), inexplicably; the tyranny of epic dignity is not quite all-pervasive. Plur. after *pars* in such cases is normal, LHS, 429, since *pars* presupposes *Danai*. Cf. 5.108, Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.454.68ff..

rursus The first time they entered having been much earlier on, well before the Trojans found the TH on the shore.

et nota...in aluo A return to the womb, of sorts, and nothing more. The imagery is entirely traditional and conventional: cf. 20 and 51 for the use of **a..** For the affective use of **n..**, cf. 256, 3.657, 7.491 (where vd. n.), 500, 11.195 (vd. n.): at as 256, we find *Aen.* reflecting a fundamentally Greek point of view, *Companion*, 111.

conduntur Cf. 7.303 *optato conduntur Thybridis alueo* (with nn.); Harries, 140 acutely compares the snakes who return from their *Strafexpedition* against Laoc. to hide under Pallas' statue (227), and argues, less perusasively, for an active, extended parallelism between snakes and Greeks. An admirable closure, with a strong touch of ring-composition, reverting as it does both to the TH herself and to the familiar imagery.

402–452 The glimpse of Cass. lends a strong element of high tragic drama to an episode of military adventure: Cass. fails to raise her hands and Coroebus and companions fail to rescue her permanently from the Greeks' clutches; force and gods are against the Trojans and the innumerable tragedies of the city's fall are all focused in this diptych of helplessness, as viewed by *Aen.*, here still more of a spectator than a spec-

ifically active participant. The Trojans begin (410ff.) and end (428f.) the attack on Aen.'s band; the Greeks, in two distinct bodies, join in too (412 **tum Danai, 420 illi etiam**). Only when Aen., increasingly alone (cf. *Companion*, 110), moves from Pallas' temple to Priam's palace (434–7) does he glimpse at last a possible way of lending active aid to his people, as the Greeks concentrate on assaulting doors and roofs (438–53), in an almost-successful split narrative. See Au. on 414, Cartault, 191–3, Mazzochini, 317–33 (in particular on 424–30). Williams (R.D.) p.241 offers a captious and unconvincing analysis of V.'s alleged lack of finish here. Certainly, V. is not yet an experienced writer of battle-narrative and there are some tricky moments (not indeed those W. lists) in the Latin: see 422 **mentita**, 434 **meruisse manu**, 444 **fastigia**, 446 **quando ultima cernunt**, 450 **has**. I refer to passages in a carefully-articulated military narrative in which the precise sense is perhaps rather less clear than the reader might wish. It is not easy, in hexameter epic, to lend compression, drama, passion, even, to military narrative, while also integrating a complex structure of literary allusion; here perhaps V. is not consistently successful, despite some wonderful phrases and moments; perhaps, though, what we see may be better understood as immature striving for effect; it is not always a good idea to invoke the state of the poem to explain all manner of inexactly-defined difficulties in the text: 'unfinished' is not always the right explanation. Some edd. print a paragraph-break after 437; that involves both dividing 438 **hic** from its antecedent and breaking up the sequence of 1plur main verbs, 434, 441; in any case, the crucial *physical* move occurs not at the end of 437, but before 434 **diuellimur**.

402 heu *Initium ab ecphonesi*, Macr.4.2.4, with n. on 7.293 (add Lepre, *EV* 2, 994f.): V. enjoys this powerful beginning of a speech or section with an exclamation of lament (cf. 69). The thought of this line has been pursued (a little loosely) into early Greek poetry, beyond Eur.*Suppl.*496ff., *Orest.*1545f. (vd. Willink) to Hes.*Erga* 473–5, 668f. (vd. West), *Theog.*660, *Pind.Ol.*13.104, *Nem.*10.29. Divine hostility means that Trojan *dolus* can enjoy no lasting success; no suggestion that the gods are currently opposed to the Trojans' efforts *because* they have practised *dolus*.

nihil...fidere Bauer, *TLL* 6.1.695.49; **n.** adverbial, as often, n. on 11.801.

inuitis...diuis The absence of comment in *TLL* rather suggests that Bauer understood these words as dat., as do many comms.. The

expression *inuitis diuis* is conventional, almost formulaic (cf. Kröner, *TLL* 7.2.235.3ff., as often in Cic.; Cat.68B.78, 76.12, *Aen.*10.31 *inuito numine* and note Otto, 225 for *inuita Minerua*), in the abl.. However, *fidere* does of course normally govern a dative, Bauer, 695.43ff. and the dat. is probably felt here too. It is clear from Serv.'s n. that this v. refers to what follows: the failure of Coroebus' *dolus*, and the rape of Cass., despite her *sacerdotium*. Note *Il.*12.8f. θεῶν δ' ἀέκητι τέτυκτο/ ἀθανάτων τὸ [the Greek wall] καὶ οὐ τι πολὺν χρόνον ἔμπεδον ἦεν.

fas Cf. 157f.; the acc. and inf. is standard, Vetter, *TLL* 6.1.294.15ff..

quemquam 34x in V.; *EV* 4, 317, LHS, 195.

403 ecce Cf. 57, 203, 270. The whole narrative breathes the immediacy of direct, ocular testimony.

trahebatur Cf. 58, 1.477, etc. (and we might recall the Hom. ἐλκηθμός, *Il.*6.465 (of female prisoners in general), εἴλκε, συνεφέλκεται, Procl.*Il.Pers.*p.62.23f.Davies, Eur.*Tro.*70, with 616f., 881f. and [Eur.]*Phoen.*565, Paus.5.19.5, 10.26.3), *Sen.Contr.*2.5.3; Cass. is now seen as she is being dragged off to the Greek ships, bound and manhandled, after a peculiarly sacrilegious rape; TCD explains the numerous, distinct grounds for outrage at some length, 1.202.19ff.. We have already learned of the rape of Cass., by implication (163, 170, 173) and Pallas did not protect her from outrage in her own temple; once more, the goddess' sinister role is brought to our attention. We would expect rape to be a standard feature of the *urbs capta*; certainly that is what stories of the mass suicide of women on such occasions suggests: P. Loman, *GR* 51(2004), 43, Chaniotis, 114, D. Schaps, *CPh* 77(1982), 200f.; for Rome, cf. Ziolkowski (289), 73, 88, Harris, *War and imperialism*, 53. Apparently, there are very few explicit references to rape in Greek *urbs capta* scenes (Schaps, 203f.), whatever the explanation for this near-silence (vd. Schaps); Roman texts are another matter (e.g. Liv.29. 17.15, 32.21.24, 38.24.3). This mythical account is perhaps so appalling in its details precisely because its symbolic role is so important; the apparent absence of precise *historical* parallels is not necessarily significant. Cf. P. Ducrey, *Le traitement des prisonniers de guerre* (Paris 1999), 295ff.. Here, the violation of the *adyton* corresponds closely enough to the violation of the altar when we reach the story of Priam's death.

passis... 404 crinibus Cf. Enn.*Ann.*349 *aegro corde, comis passis* (with Skutsch's fine n.), 1.479f. *interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant/ crinibus Iliades passis*, Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.195.80ff., Beikircher, *EV* 3, 952. The sense of Cass.'s loosened hair here (see in general nn. on 7.394,

403) is clearly enough that she is to be thought of as having untied her hair to beseech Pallas to come to her aid, in vain (vd. *infra*); her prophetic powers have been invoked (Serv.Dan. *quod sic uaticinari solent*, cf. *Aen.*3, p.477) but here have, almost certainly, no relevance, and, given the functionality of the present detail, it is hardly relevant that she is recorded as having lovely hair (Ibycus, fr.22. 2PMGPage). For untied hair in supplication, cf. Liv. 1.13.1, 3.7.8, 7.40.12, 26.9.7, Petr.44, Hopkinson on Call.*Hymn.Dem.*, p.41 and Bömer on Ov.*F.*3.257, both with full discussion, Eitrem (133), 398f., Sittl, 185f. with n.5, Appel, 203, n. on 11.35 (mourning). *In sacris nihil solet esse religatum*, Serv. *ad Aen.* 4.518. La Cerdá suggests that V. has in mind the familiar scene of women dragged by their hair: cf. Aesch.*Supp.*909, Eur. *Andr.*402, 710, *Tro.*882 (vd. Lee), *Hel.*116, DS 17.35.7, Ov.*Met.*13.410 *tractata comis antistita Phoebi*, etc.. Certainly not an association to be ruled out.

Priameia virgo Already used at 3.321 (Polyxena), where vd. n.; 'high epic periphrasis'.

404 a templo Cf. 165; the Palladium has been stolen, and Cass.'s sanctuary not respected.

Cassandra For bibl., cf. 246 (here, in particular, vd. Davreux, 59f., Robert, 1266f., Vellay 1, 277–81, Gantz 2, 655), and for her rape in Pallas' temple, see above on **trahebatur**. V. is peculiarly discreet and tactful in his handling of the fate of the surviving women of Troy.

adytisque Mineruae The inner room of the temple, where Pallas' ineffective statue had been, 297.

405 ad caelum tendens Cf. 687f. **at pater Anchises oculos ad sidera laetus/extulit**, 3.176f. *tendoque supinas/ ad caelum cum uoce manus*, with note, 5.508 *pariterque oculos telumque tetendit*, 8.69f., 9.403, 10.251, 12.196, 930f.. Naturally, you direct gaze and, if possible, hand (for the latter, vd. n. on 3., *cit.*) where you address the words of your prayer, Appel, 197f., Sittl, 193 with n.4, Neumann, 78; Hom. οὐρανὸν εἰκανιδόν (see Janko on *Il.*16.232), St. Jerome cited by Au. on **nam...palmas**. Cf. Lobe, 165–7, Berres, 66. Serv.Dan. remarks *quod est manuum oculis dedit; solent enim homines in magnis motibus manus ad caelum tendere.*, which seems rather to underrate the instances of 'directing gaze', while Bell, 310, Catlein, 104 claim actual zeugma here. Whereas Sinon was able to raise his recently-freed hands to heaven at 153, Cass. is bound and cannot (**406 nam...arcebant**; note (so Heyne) Eur.*Andr.*572ff., Androm. prevented by her bonds from embr-

cing Peleus' beard. At least Cassandra's eyes are still free to appeal for divine help. Cf. Heuzé, 611.

ardentia lumina For fire in the eyes, as a sign, above all, of wrath, and possession/ madness, cf. full n. on 7.448f. *flammea...lumina*. Compare 5.277 *ardensque oculis*, 9.703 *ardentem oculis* (with Dingel's n.), 12.670 *ardentis oculorum orbes*, after Enn.*trag.*32 *oculis... ardentibus* (Cass.), Vollmer, *TLL* 2.484.69ff.. Cf. n. on **uincula**, *infra*, for speaking eyes.

frustra A melancholy afterthought, reducing to nothing all her desperate efforts, Duckworth, 9, Marouzeau, *L'ordre des mots* 3, 27.

406 lumina A fine instance of the pathetic force of epanalepsis, as at **318f.** (Wills, 154): cf. nn. on 7.586, 649, Wills 8, 146, 166, n.94 and Au. here; the repetition in the first dactyl is frequent, not compulsory.

nam...arcebant Enn.*Ann.*556 *omnia per sonitus arcet* (glossed by Serv. Dan *ad Aen.* 1.31 *continet*; vd. Skutsch's comm.: this pretty clearly the original sense of the verb). Oertel, *TLL* 2.442.66, *OLD* s.v., §1b, Rocca, *EV*1, 296.

teneras...palmas The adj., in contrast to the bonds, adds to the pathos created by the repet.; cf. 11.572, 578 (lips and hands of the infant Camilla), *Buc.*10.49 *teneras... plantas*. The suggestion reported by Garbarino at *EV* 5*, 104, that t., as used of Cass. under the gaze of Coroebus, might have an erotic implication seems ill-conceived; in the context of her violation, such considerations are peculiarly inappropriate.

uincula Cf. **57, 146–7**. Her speech is not reported, but she does not appear to be gagged; contrast Iphigenia, Aesch.*Ag.*235ff., who likewise speaks with her eyes, 240f.. Note, for various kinds of eloquent eyes, Tib.2.6.43 (vd. Smith), *Ov.Am.*2.5.17f. (vd. McKeown), *Aen.*4.364 *luminibus tacitis* (vd. Pease), Meleager, GP, *HE*, 4455, 4564, Catrein, 87. Leo (*Ausgew.kl.Schr.*2, 59) suggests oddly (and quite unnecessarily) that we might think of bound prisoners in Rom. triumphal processions, over and above the general usage of tragedy and epic (cf. n. on **57**).

407 non tulit Cf. **144** and 3.327 with nn.; in the sense of *pertulit*, Don. on Ter.*Andr.*142; vd. Zucchelli, *EV*2, 493, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.535.81.

hanc speciem This sense, 'sight', 'spectacle' old and of distinguished antecedents: *OLD*, s.v., §1a, citing Liv.*Andr. trag.*7, Acc.*trag.*275, Lucr.1.321. Cf. *EV* 4, 978. Serv.Dan comments well *iniuria faciem, quod sacerdos, quod ab adytis, quod religata, quod passis crinibus trahebatur*; not to mention Coroebus' personal, emotional reaction to the scene.

furiata mente Serv. remarks *furiosus est, a quo furor non recedit, furiatus, qui furit ex causa*. Found also at the not clearly datable Hor.C.1.25.14 (*nouo uerbo usus est Ps.Acro; cf. Cordier, 163*). See Negri, 172, Hofmann, *TLL* 8.735.79f. and compare 4.105 *simulata mente*; for the passage to Ital./Fr. advbl. forms, vd. Hofmann, *ib.*, 737. 68ff., VVäänen, *Intr. au Lat. vulgaire₂* (Paris 1967), 98f., Au. here. The present passage the source of **f.** at 588.

Coroebus After 341ff., his involvement was inevitable, once Cassandra appeared in such a plight.

408 et sese...iniecit Cf. Cic.*Dom.*64 *audieram et legeram clarissimos nostrae ciuitatis uiros se in medios hostis ad perspicuum mortem pro salute exercitus iniecisse*, Scaur. 47 *illius L. Metelli, pontificis maximi, qui, cum templum illud arderet, in medios se iniecit ignis et erupuit flamma Palladium*, (used by Enn. *Ann.* and *trag.*, Acc., Cat.64), Pfligersdorffer, *TLL* 7.1.1613.56f. Synaloepha across the caesura at 2½ as often an indication of speed.

medium...in agmen Cf. 8.587f., 9.28, 728, 10.721, 11.762, 12. 683, Hey, *TLL* 1.1343.84ff., Bulhart, *ib.* 8.584.52; also common in narr. prose and possibly to be sensed as ‘military’ in tone here. Of course **sese medium** could be understood together (cf. Bell, 321), except for the experienced reader’s sense of how the words are likeliest to be arranged in the line, in the familiar pair *medium agmen*.

periturus Cf. 424; was it Coroebus’ intent to save Cass. or die in the attempt, or is V. telling us as narrator that this will cost Coroebus his life? Thus, subtly, Au.. For such fut. partics., cf. 511, 675, 4.383f., 8.576, 9.400, 554 (vd. Hardie), 10.811, 881, 11.82, 741 (with my n.), Duckworth, 13, etc.. Serv. is understandably relieved that Coroebus at this point goes to fight, not to make a speech. For the vb., cf. *EV* 4, 21 and full n. on 3.606. Nom., rather than acc.; cf. n. on 388 **dextra**.

409 consequimur cuncti Here at least there is no doubt at all that Aen. too takes part; first-person verb, *cuncti*, alliteration suggest a decisive moment. Cf. Lommatsch, *TLL* 4.404.50.

et...incurrimus Cf. n. on 11.613, the usage of good military prose. O. Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.1085.77ff.. ‘Charge’.

densis...armis Cf. 383 **densis et circumfundimur armis**; we need always remember that the modern ear is over-sensitive to such reuse within a short space; vd. full n. on 7.554. No grounds for charging V. with careless writing (so e.g. R.D. Williams). Clearly enough abl. of

means (as at 383 and cf. 3.222 *inruimus ferro*), rather than dat. of goal, though the latter has been (inexplicably) championed.

410 hic primum Cf. 1.451, 4.252, 6.243, 9.110, 11.852, Breimeier, *TLL* 10.2. 1366.51f.. The first episode in a long chain of catastrophes, as the Trojans' Greek disguise plays out in disaster; cf. 413, 420.

ex alto...culmine Cf. 290.

delubri Cf. 225. The topography of these scenes not important to V.; indeed he seems not yet to sense that an appearance of clarity could contribute positively to the narrative. Coroebus will die at Pallas' altar, 225; the temple is presumably, therefore, also Pallas'. Note therefore that the Greeks (402ff.) have only just emerged from the temple, that Aen. and his companions have reached the citadel, and that, though Cass. has been seized [and raped] inside, there are (?and were all along) Trojans on the temple roof. Perhaps the reader is expected to be less interested in the detail, but it is present and seems not to have been thought through in its implications.

telis/ 411 obruimur Cf. 9.808, 10.808, 11.162 (with n.), Lossau, *TLL* 9.2.151.64f.; the verb used by Enn.*Ann.* and *trag.*, Pacuv.*trag*, and P. Pomponius Secundus. *trag.* 7 *obrue nos Danaosque simul*, Lucr., Cic.*Arat.*, Sall. (*ter*), Liv.47x (14 in first decade). For the lengthening of *-ur* at caes., cf. G.3.76 (where vd. Mynors), *Aen.* 1.668, 4.222, 5.284, 12.68. See Au. on 563, and on 1.308, 4.64, 222 with further bibl., Williams on 5.284, Norden, 450ff., Nettleship, in Con., *Aen.* 7–12₃, 488 and Skutsch, Enn., p.58f.. **369 pauor** is *not* closely comparable, since there the original orthography, *-os*, and prosody, naturally aid the lengthening in *Aen.*. There remain, still fundamentally unexplained, a surprising number of 'irrational' lengthenings in *Aen.*; here, there is no help from some original prosody or orthogr. (vd. Skutsch), or from a Gk. antecedent (vd. Norden), but the syll. is *in arsi*, there is a faint pause in sense, suggested also by **-que**, and a (main) caesura which (probably) contribute to the freedom V. felt. See N. Adkin, *Herm.* 134(2006), 399, an interesting illustration of what can happen if every ancient judgement of every element in a sequence of sounds is taken approvingly to heart; cf., for example, n. on 7.18 for V.'s many untroubled breaches of Fortunatianus' 'ban' on repet. of *-orum/-arum* (vd. 412, Adkin, 399f.). Is the *Aen.* a pullulating mass of often strange sonic effects? Or were some of the late antique classroom dogmas not altogether well founded?

oriturque After II.13.122 μέγα νεῖκος ὅρωρεν (even, therefore, a sound-imitation in the first syll.). Repeated at 11.885 (where vd. n.),

and cf. [Sall.] *Rep.* 2.13.6, [Sen.] *Oct.* 143 *hinc orta series facinorum: caedes...*, Hoppe, *TLL* 3.52.52, Löschhorn, *ib.* 9.2. 996.80ff..

miserrima caedes The positive *misera* used by Cic. of *caedes*, Hoppe, 54.74, citing *Flacc.* 60 and *Cat.* 4.2. *Quia inter ciues*, Serv., well.

412 armorum facie Cf. G.4.361 *curuata in montis faciem...unda*, 5.767f. *aspera.../ ...maris facies*, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.50.3ff.. ‘The whole external appearance’ Hahn, 1930, 198f.. Cf. **370–401**, (iv) for the appearance of Greek plumes. Note the sequence of **-orum...-arum...-ore...-arum**, with some comment from Adkin, 399f..

et Graiarum...iubarum Cf. **148**, **157** for the adj.; **412** and n. on 7.785 for plumes. I. perhaps first here as ‘plume’, Baer, *TLL* 7.2.571.15f. (as ‘mane’, Ennian), *EV* 3, 55.

errore For the objective gen. following, cf. Antoine, 84; ‘defining gen.’ (Au.). ‘I.q. de aliqua re’, Hey, *TLL* 5.2. 820.25ff. (very common). At **370–401**, (ii), Liv.22.1.3 was cited to illustrated the use of disguise; note *et mutando nunc uestem nunc tegumenta capitiis errore etiam sese ab insidiis munierat*; so too Front. *Strat.* 3.2.4 (Au. after Heinze). ‘Because of the appearance of the armour and because of the confusion about the Greek plumes’; there is a nice formal inconcinnity here, noted by Con. and Hahn, for prosaic logic requires e.g. ‘errore e facie armorum et iubarum orto’ (Con., Hahn); we are not required to take f., with Mackail, as an archaic gen..

413 tum Danai For as long as it takes the Greeks to re-muster, Trojans slaughter Trojans. Then at last the Greeks resume the offensive. **D.: 5.**

gemitu Common in V. (35x in *Aen.*, **53**, etc.: see *EV* 2, 652, I. Kapp, *TLL* 6.1.1750.49); here linked in an elaborate compound phrase (‘angry bellowing’): cf. Hahn 1930 172, n. on 7.15 *gemitus iraeque leonum*. Many edd. pondered solemnly whether **g.** might not be Cass.’s; since **ira** was clearly not, then **g.** could not be, either, as should have been plain; Adkin, 401 not illuminating.

atque ereptae uirginis ira Common obj.gen. (though the terminology is disputed) after *ira*, Stiewe/Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 7.2.363.74ff., citing Sall. *Ep. Mithr.* 3 *ira in Tigranem recentis belli*, *Hist.* 1. fr. 145 *ira belli*, Liv. 1.30.7 *bellorum iras*, 2.16.9, 62.3, *Aen.* 9.736 *mortis fraternaे feruidus ira*. The partic. might suggest that for a moment Cass. is actually recovered from the Greeks; that would lend further poignancy to the situation. But Speranza revives an old suggestion that ppp is used here in lieu of the non-existent pres.part.pass.: several instances are attributed to V., of

which perhaps the most convincing is 5.113 *et tuba commissos medio canit aggere ludos* (of the beginning of the games); cf. further KS 1,758 (citing also 9.565, 11.694), LHS 391, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 60f., Dingel on 9, *cit.*, Thomas and Erren on G.1.206, Sidgwick, 2, 496 s.v. ‘past with present meaning’. A present sense (inevitably to some extent conative) would clearly be just as dramatic and very well-suited here. Decision seems hardly possible. **E.** is used with notable economy (Serv. *non enim dicit a Troianis sublatam, sed intellegendum reliquit*); in such expert hands, no need for a clause (cf. **465 lapsa**, nn. on 7.117 *ea uox audita*, 11.268 *deuictam Asiam subsedit adulter*, Page on **2.643 captae...urbi**, Woodcock, 75f. LHS 393). **E.:** cf. 3.330f. *ereptae.../coniugis*; the snatching away reinforced by synaloepha at caes.. Adkin, 402 ‘hears’ *uirginitatis* suppressed, after Mart.Cap.5.518. Note the same verb used of both of snatching away (and implicit rape) and of recovery. If Cass. was for a moment again in Trojan hands, that increases, notably, the pathos of the scene and of the frantic Coroebus’ end. Once more, we find V. at pains to assign to the narrator a strong hint of the Greeks’ point of view, *Companion*, 111.

414 undique collecti Cf. 7.582 *undique collecti coeunt Martemque fatigant* (where vd. n. for **c.**); handy formula re-used. Again synaloepha at 2½ caes., with clash of ictus and word-accent in successive feet, and two successive molossi, also.

inuadunt Cf. **265**.

acerrimus Ajax Cf. 9.176, 12.226 for *acerrimus armis*; clearly here Oilean Ajax (as Serv. realised; *sine dubio*, he remarks), who had snatched Cass. from Pallas’ altar and now clearly risked losing her for good (*EV* 1, 16, n. on **173**). It is very noticeable that whereas Aen.’s comrades here are figures of minimal importance on the field of battle (**339–41**), the Greeks present are warriors of the very first rank.

415 et gemini Atridae Cf. **500**, 6.842f. *geminos, duo fulmina belli/ Scipias*, Ov.F.4.1 *geminorum...Amorum* (Amor and Cupid; vd. Fantham); ‘two’, when (vd. Serv. here) naturally paired and similar, *OLD* s.v., §4b, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.1742.25ff. at 32f., perhaps after δίσκοις Ἀτρεΐδας, Soph.*Aj.* 57. Note too Hor.C.4.7.5 *Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus* (there were three Graces, but they were also triplets, Hey, 1741.18ff.). The singularity of **g.** used thus is much overstated, Adkin, 401. **A.:** cf. **104**.

Dolopumque 7, etc..

exercitus omnis Formulaic: cf. 11.171 with full n.. Use with gen. is perfectly standard (Hey/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1394.84ff.); for a division,

or contingent, cf. (with nn.) 11.171, 598 (Etruscans) and note too 7.39 (Trojans arrived at the Tiber mouth).

416–9 Cf. *Il.* 9.4ff. ὡς δ' ἄνεμοι δύο πόντον ὄρινετον ιχθυόεντα/ Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος..., 16.765ff. ὡς δ' Εὔρος τε Νότος τ' ἐριδαίνετον ἀλλήλουν..., *Enn. Ann.* 432–4 *concurrunt ueluti uenti, quom spiritus Austri/ imbricitor Aquiloque suo cum flamine contra/ indu mari magno fluctus extollere certant, G.1.318 omnia uentorum concurrere proelia uidi, Aen.1.84ff. incubuere mari totumque a sedibus imis/ una Eurusque Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis/ Africus, 10.356ff. magno discordes aequora uenti/ proelia ceu tollunt animis et uiribus aequis.* A complex situation: the disguised Trojans have just been attacked by their own side and now for a moment rescue, or nearly rescue, Cass. from the Greeks. With the Greeks' angry bellowing, cf. the *stridor* of the woods; with Greek *ira*, cf. Nereus' *saeuitia*. The Greeks **inuadunt**, the winds **configunt**: the winds attack no one human or group of humans but three-sidedly fight—cf. n. on **417 configunt**—among themselves (as here, two groups of Trojans + Greeks); my emphasis differs slightly from West's. Note the ascending tricola both of winds and of attacking Greeks. Williams, *TI*, regards Nereus' (perfectly conventional) trident as a mannered rococo detail, while Hornsby draws attention to Neptune's calming trident of 1.145f., in an over-elaborate 'cosmic' reading of the present storm. Cf. Putnam, 15f., Briggs (306), 16f., Hornsby, 22ff., 38, Labate, *EV* 5*, 495, Williams, *TI*, 255f., *TORP*, 695, Lyne, *WP*, 118f. D.A. West, *ORVA*, 430, Skutsch on *Enn.cit..*

416 aduersi...uenti *E contrario flantes*, correctly, Serv.; we are not at sea, and there are no headwinds; they simply oppose each other, from all quarters, and in a *turbo*. See Kempf, *TLL* 1.866.43 and (*bene*) *OLD* s.v., §2a, citing *G.2.526 inter se aduersis luctantur cornibus haedi*, *Lucr.6.117*, *Hor.Serm.1.1.103*.

rupto...turbine Cf. 9.91f. *turbine uenti/uincantur*. Strati (*EV* 5*, 320) acutely notes the likely influence both of Hom. ἄνέμων...θύελλα, ἄελλαι/ παντοίων ἄνέμων (*Od.* 5.317, 304f.) and similar expressions and of *Lucr.6.153 turbine uenti* (*turbo* of winds, *G.3.470*). The vb. (cf. *EV* 4, 600) used comparably, 8.391f. *tonitru cum rupta corusco/ ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos*, 9.671 [Jup.] *caelo caua nubila rumpit*, 11. 548f. *tantus se nubibus imber/ ruperat*, with my n.. Gk. βραγεῖc; cf. Hom. ὑπερράγη ἄσπετος αἰθήρ.

ceu quondam Cf. n. on 7.699.

417 configunt Cf. B.A. Müller, *TLL* 4.239.65f.; the vb. Lucretian (clash of atoms). For the battles of the winds, cf. the ample n. of NH on Hor.C.1.3.13. The phase of combat introduced by the arrival of senior Greek reinforcements is not narrated, except by means of this simile, and in particular by c., which belongs primarily to the *narrative*; cf. Lyne, *cit.* for the useful concept of ‘trespass’.

Zephyrusque Notusque et.../ 418 Eurus Z.: n. on 3.120; N.: n. on 3.268; E.: n. on 3.533. Labate’s article, *venti*, in *EV*, is of particular value; cf. too Wills, 374.

laetus Eois/ 418 ...equis For the winds as, or as associated with, horses, cf. *Il.*16.150, 20.224, *Eur. Phoen.*211f., Hor.C.4.4.43f. *Eurus/... equitauit*, Gruppe, 2, 838, Robert, 1, 473, H.G. Wackernagel, *TLL* 5.2.737.15ff. and n. on 7.26 (chariots of the Dawn/Sun/ Moon), *trag.*inc.183 (?Apollo): possibly here easier because associated with the East, and thus with the more equestrian dawn and sun. For **E.**, cf. n. on 11.4 (the initial vowel is shortened for convenience, as in Gk.); the adj. little more than ‘Eastern’, ‘oriental’, *G.2.115*, *Aen.6.831*. **L.** here strongly reminiscent of Hom. ἵπποιςιν/ πτῶλοιςι...ἀγαλλόμενος and ἵπποιχάρμης (‘fighting on horseback’) is, *pace* Speranza, irrelevant: von Kamptz hardly right to suggest that 1. is really an ‘epithet’, *TLL* 7.2.886.27. Compare Hor.C.1.21.5 *uos laetam fluiis et nemorum coma*, 3.29.49 (*tacent* NH, NR).

418 stridunt siluae Cf. 4.443 *it stridor* (simile of the oak), *EV* 4, 1035 (Traina); **s.** may cover both the whistling of wind in the branches and the creaking of all parts of the wood; in general, a word of very wide application. Apparently not discussed by Roiron. Note the very marked alliteration (cf. 354); consultation of PHI shows that the unbroken sequence s-...s-...s- is not specially rare (here, though, note also a fourth s-, **spumeus**; cf. 639, 642, 6.641, etc.) and seems not always to aim at alliterative effect (e.g. 3.471). *Stridere* has 3conj. forms in Enn. and Pacuv., Holzweissig, 774, NW 3, 272f., Leumann, 544, but 3conj. (as against ‘normal’ classical 2decl.) here apparently not distinctively archaic, though Serv.Dan. comments *quidam antique declinatum tradunt* (in contrast with *nos...dicimus*).

saeuitque Cf. Stat. *Theb.*9.667 (with *sagittis*); apparently rare with instrum.abl. but not at all hard or striking. *EV* 4, 645 much confused.

tridenti Standard armament for marine deities: Neptune at 1.138, etc., Gruppe, 1160, n.4, A. Reinach, DS 5, 440ff., *EV* 5*, 267f..

419 spumeus As a result of his efforts, he is covered with foam; a family of words V. much enjoys, *quinquies* in *Aen.*3, for ex.: vd. G. Franco, *EV* 4, 1003f.. Here the adj. stands last in the phrase, with adverbial effect and run on, but is clearly to be understood also with **ciet**, just as Nereus is clearly subj. of both **saeuit** and **ciet**. Au. quotes (gratefully but incorrectly giving credit to James Henry) 7.464f. *furit intus aquai/fumidus atque alte spumis exuberat amnis* (where vd. my discussion). Henry does cite, appositely, 11.625f. *nunc ruit [sc. pontus] ad terram scopulosque superiacit unda/ spumeus extremamque sinu perfundit harenam*. Discussions of hyperbaton and ἀπὸ κοινοῦ (e.g. Housman, Leo, Bell, Maurach) apparently do not find these instances singular enough.

atque...ciet aequora Cf. 7.325 with n., *EV* 1, 781. Here, note 4.122 *tonitru caelum omne ciebo*, Spelthahn, *TLL* 3.1054.54f.. **Aque** Baehrens, Parroni (cf. Geymonat₂).

imo...fundō Re-used 7.530 (of *mare*) *inde imo consurgit ad aethera fundo* (with n.), and (reversed) 5.178; Robbert, *TLL* 6.1.1574.83f..

Nereus Cf. *Buc.*6.35, *G.*4.392, *Aen.*8.383, 10.764: the son of Gaia and Pontus, and himself likewise a (generally) benevolent old man of the sea (Bauzà, *EV*3, 706ff., West on Hes. *Theog.*233).

420 illi etiam Not only, that is, the Greeks of **413–5**, but even those scattered in the fighting of **396–401** have now had time enough to regroup and join in the attack on Aen. and his companions. It is they, after they had been deceived at the outset, who now definitively unmask the Trojans.

si quos Cf. n. on 7.225f..

obscura nocte Words judged worthy of re-use to open the great passage 6.268ff. *ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram*. *Tacet* Moskalew. Unsurprisingly a common combination of noun and adj; Kuhlmann, *TLL* 9.2.168.20ff. cites *Enn. trag.*257, *Cic. Arat.*404, *Varr. ap. Non.*p.50. 10, *Sall. ter*, *Aen.*4.461. These words, and **421, agitauimus** resume the narrative of **397–9** and the phrasing of **397 per caecam... noctem**.

per umbram O.n. not dark enough for V. who therefore adds a prepos. phrase ('theme and variation, with change of construction'). So *G.*1.366 *noctisque per umbram*. Hardie (**268–97**), 59, n.3, after Putnam, 30–48 suggests that there is something (systematically) hellish, infernal about Troy's last night; such an association would hardly be incredible but does not seem clearly and demonstrably present as a motif in the text.

421 fudimus insidiis F. part of the language of the *elogia* (App.Claudius, Marius) and in the sense of *fugare* well established in narr. prose (cf. 11.665); used thus by Acc.*trag.*126, but perhaps here a slight ‘military’ tone. Robbert, *TLL* 6.1.1568.75f.. **I.** used repeatedly of the TH and Sinon from **36** to **310** and now by the Trojans of their own *dolus*, n. on **370–409** (vi), Wheeler, 81f..

totaque...urbe Cf. n. on **439 tota...in urbe**; here an abl. of extension, which often overlaps with the use of *per*, Malosti, 66f..

agitauiimus Cf. *G.3.409*, *Aen.12.248*, 803, etc.. Hey, *TLL* 1.1330. 65f., *EV* 1, 56: ‘hound, pursue’.

422 apparent Cf. **484**, **622**, 11.605, 12.850; in V., slightly commoner of things and places. These Greeks have headed for the fighting and now, inconveniently, materialise.

primi They are the first to recognise the ruse. **Priami** P, Ribbeck. Con. remarks with restraint that the Trojans are not called ‘Priam’s men’ by V..

clipeos mentitaque tela Cf. **389**, **392**. Serv. paraphrases ‘*quae nos Graecos esse mentiebantur*’ and this sense is preferred to pass. by many edd.; Serv.Dan. also suggests ‘*per quae nos mentiebamur*’. Bulhart (*TLL* 8.779.41ff.) cites for the vb. used actively e.g. Prop.2.18b.28, Gratt.91; it is odd that the humanist [Aus].*epigr.*135.5 (Peiper, p.431, = *epigr.*23, p.259Schenkl) *saepe ego mentitis tremui noua femina somnis* was so much as mentioned. Flobert, 356, n.2 rightly complains that you do not look for such an active sense in the ppp, whereas for pass. ‘false’, see e.g. Prop.4.7.58, Ov.*Met.*10.439, Bulhart, 780.77ff., Flobert, 356. The arms are real arms (*arma* covers both arms and armour; **tela** are offensive), but they are not real *Greek* arms; simple ‘false’ seems slightly preferable, though Serv.’s sense is not to be ruled out. **M.** clearly applies to both nouns. We also learn, only now, that the Trojans have picked up Greek *weapons* for use (**395** might be a hint), but it is harder to work out just what could be perceptibly Greek, or indeed Trojan, in a spear, sword, or bow; armour is clearly another matter. Cf. **370–401** (iv).

423 agnoscunt Cf. n. on 11.910.

atque...signant OLD s.v. §5a, ‘draw special attention to...’, comparing 6.780 *uiden ut...pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore*, 12.3 *se signari oculis*. *EV* 4, 846 not satisfactory. The real Greeks mark out, draw attention to singularities in what they can hear of the “Greeks” way of speaking.

ora sono discordia D. (*'discrepantia'* Serv.) Lucretian (5.894); Hey, *TLL* 5.1.1344. 67ff., Tessmer, *ib.*9.2.1082.49f.. (of ο, 'respicitur lingua'; vd. the index to Ramage's *Urbanitas*, s.v. *os*). Even in Hom., we have seen, there was sometimes something odd in the speech of the Trojan allies (*Il.*2.804, 4.437f., *Od.*8.294, Hall, 19; cf. *HH Aphr.* 113ff. with Hall, 19f.); such linguistic variation spread of course in comedy, but was present explicitly even in tragedy (Hall, 118; vd. Aesch.*Cho.*564, Soph.*fr.*176, [Eur.] *Rhes.*297 for dialectal variations of Gk.). Here then not at all odd; in V., Hom.'s epic world has been partly rewritten. Au. well draws attention to two military anecdotes which turn on a similar reaction to perceived speech-variation, *Liv.*10.4.8–10 (regional distinctions in Etruscan speech, on which see J.N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Lat. language* (Oxford 2003), 168 and Oakley *ad loc.*) and 23.34.6 (Macedonian envoys in Punic dress betrayed by speech; cf. N.J.A. Austin and N.B. Rankov, *Exploratores* (London 1995), 18, 54ff.).

424 ilicet 'It's all up'; cf. n. on 7.583, *EV*2, 912.

obruimur Cf. 411.

numero Cf. 12.230ff.; the Greeks have achieved a fatally superior local concentration of forces.

primusque Coroebus As he was the first to propose the use of disguise (386) and, naturally, to react at the sight of Cass.' removal (407); his prominent death was to be expected from the outset and appropriately is the first to occur.

425 Penelei dextra P. a leader of the Boeotians, *Il.*2.494, occasionally present in the narrative. Killed by Eurypylus, *Paus.* 9.5.15. Coroebus in turn was killed, in the popular tradition, by Neoptolemus, but in Lesches' painting, by Diomedes (*Paus.*10. 27.1). So why by Pen. here? Perhaps because in V.'s narrative Diom. is almost entirely absent (for he is held back for his decisive non-intervention in bk.11) and possibly too because Neopt. is being kept back for Priam and Polites. At all events a minor figure, though not deeply obscure, about whom there was a flexible tradition: ideally suited, therefore, to the occasion. Cf. L. Käppel, NP 9.517, *EV* 4, 17, E. Wüst, PW 19.459.14ff., Türk, Ro.3.2.1900.19ff.. **D.:** cf. n. on 11.267.

diuae armipotentis A fine archaic compound epithet: cf. *Acc. trag.* 127 (Minerva), *Lucr.*1.33 (Mars), Bickel, *TLL* 2.617.10ff., Cordier, 22, Highet, 203, etc.. Pallas is not actually named; cf. Cat.64.268 *sanc-tis...diuis.* For all her temple, and divinity, and arms, she has protected

neither Cass. nor Coroebus; for her warlike antecedents, cf. Roscher, Ro.1.678.60ff., Robert 1, 214ff., Gruppe, 2, 1207ff., etc..

ad aram In the very sanctuary, then, from which Cass. had herself been torn (n. on 170), and anticipating the altar at which Priam would be slaughtered, 550.

426 procumbit The molossus weightily run on; cf. Cat.64.389 *centum procumbere tauros, ter* in Lucr., 19x in V., *tacent* Cordier, EV. Wild, TLL 10.2.1567.27f.. Both Macr. (4.3.14) and Charis. (*Gramm.Lat.*1.92.15Keil, p.117.7Barwick) read **procubuit**, unacceptably.

cadit et Rhipheus After Coroebus, the rest of Aen.'s companions begin to fall. For postponed *et*, cf. n. on 7.761; for **c.**, n. on 11.668; for **R.**, cf. 339, 394.

iustissimus unus Cf., of Aen. himself, 1.544; V. will re-use *iustissimus unus* at 7.536, of Galaesus (see n. there), with the same pathos and hint of a deep-rooted injustice. At Hor.C.4.7.15, Lucr.3.1025 (vd. Heinze, Kenney) the righteous die, for all their righteousness (vd. Latimore, 254f., NH on Hor.C.1.28.7); here, virtues and merits do nothing to save the warrior in battle (cf. n. on 7.756 for the motif).

427 qui fuit in Teucris Slight postponement of rel. pron. (cf. on 7.659 for some more striking cases). At 7.537 too, V. will continue *qui fuit*; note also 10.563f. *ditissimus agri/ qui fuit Ausonidum*, where Harrison cites Il.20.220 δὸς δὴ ἀφνειότατος γένετο θυητῶν ἀνθρώπων. **In**, Hom. μετά or ἐν.

et seruantissimus Pres. part. as adj. raised to superl. and governing gen.; common enough in com., occasional in Cic., including e.g. Fam.13.3.1 *obseruantissimum studiosissimumque nostri* (cf. Lumpe / Szantyr, TLL 9.2.216.83ff.), Antoine, 93, KS 1, 450f., LHS, 80. Possibly, therefore, a borrowing of neat prose usage, and also a case of *simplex pro composito*.

aequi Cf. n. on 7.203 (the Latins); otherwise a virtue of Jupiter, 6.129, 9.209 (but note 4.372). A concept not clearly defined in V. (but note of fair shares, a fair fight, or treaty, fairly matched boxing-gloves, a fair outlook, 9.234). EV2, 978f. not helpful.

428 dis aliter uisum Cf. 3.1f. *postquam res Asiae Priamique euertere gentem/ immeritam uisum superis* (with n.), Hor.C.1.33.10 *sic uisum Ven-eri* ('a pompous remark suited to the higher styles of poetry', NH), Ov.Met.1.366. θεοῖς...ἔδοξε (Soph.Aj.489); comms. point also to *Od.*

1.234 νῦν δ' ἔτέρως ἐβόλοντο θεοὶ κακὰ μητιόωντες. The formulation *aliter uisum* is in fact common, Hey, *TLL* 1.1654.5ff., quoting Plaut.*Epid.*599, Cic.*Brut.*76, *Leg.*1.35, *Fin.*2.55, *Liv.*25.7.4, 26.13.14 *itaque quoniā aliter dis immortalibus est uisum*, and the list is easily enlarged (e.g. Cic.*Fin.*3.44). *In ingenti indignatione* Serv. (cf. Williams, *TI*, 251, 261); Sen. (*Ep.*98.4f.), careless of the context, recommends the words, to be repeated *frequenter et sine querella* amid the troubles of life. The juxtaposed fates of Rhipheus and Cass. offer an extremely uncomfortable view of the gods' role; I do not see why (Williams, *TI*, 251) this ref. to Rhipheus' goodness must be 'ironical'; in V., virtues regularly fail to protect the practitioner (V.'s sense here, clearly enough, though 'the gods did not think much of R.'s virtues' could not be excluded): Aen.'s complaint here is, given V.'s outlook, an inevitable element in the human condition. Cf. NH and Romano on Hor.*C.1.24.11*, Witlox and Schoonhoven on *Cons.Liv.*129ff..

pereunt Cf. n. on 408.

Hypanisque Dymasque Cf. 340; V. is working rapidly down the list of Aen.'s luckless companions; the repeated names frame the episode (cf. Moskalew, 119).

429 confixi a sociis Cf. n. on 11.883 for the vb.; these *socii* on the temple roof failed to protect Cass., inflicted serious losses on their own side (admittedly disguised; 410–2), failed to work out from the Greeks' assault on them that Aen.'s party were in fact Trojans (422–3), and now continue to slaughter their comrades.

nec te.../ 430 ...texit Compare 12.539f. *nec di texere Cupencum/ Aenea ueniente sui*; no joy, *EV* 5*, 71. Cf. n. on 3.156 for the (naturally allit.) polyptoton **te...tua** (note too 7.1 *tu...3 tuus*), which here reinforces the pathetic apostrophe (cf. nn. on 7.1, 759f.). La Cerda compares *Il.*1.28 (Agam. to Chryses) μή νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμῃ σκῆπτρον καὶ στέμμα θεοῖ, Eur.*Or.*955; cf. too the Lat. near-formulaic *quid prodest* (cf. 9.92, Sen.*HF* 117, Reineke, *TLL* 10.2.2248.35f.), with next n..

tua plurima.../ 430 ...pietas Cf. 4.3 *multa uiri uirtus*, 11.312 *potuit quae plurima uirtus esse* (with n.), Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1608.33ff., Traina, *EV* 4, 95, Bell, 166f. A regular display of *pietas erga deos* should in theory lead to the legitimate expectation that those *dei* will look favourably upon the person responsible, but in V., that is not always the way in which the world works: cf. n. on 7.21, Bailey 81f., *Aen.* 1.253, 603, **2.690**, 3.265f., 5.783. Priestly figures in V. have been strangely neglected, and the material is therefore gathered here quite fully: cf.

Lersch, 165; Beringer's discussion of 'Die Priester', 44ff., entirely omits *sacerdotes*. In Hom., there are no priests active in combat; seers, though, are quite another matter: Ennomus (*Il.2.858–60*) was killed, while Helenus and Calchas were not. The seer who knew of his sons' death is a recurrent theme: *Il.2.831ff.*, 5.148ff., 11.329ff., 13.666, *Aen.10.417* (with Griffin, 125f. Seymour 519). Perhaps the first priest-warrior was the Cyclic Amphiaraus (Norden on 6.484); note also the seer Idmon, AR 1, 139f.. In *Aen.* Umbro came to fight with Turnus, and dies (7.750ff.; his insignia are specified, 751); at 9.327ff., Rhamnes, augur and king, is killed; the *haruspex* Asilas seems to survive (10.175); Haemonides wears *infula* and *uitta*, but is killed by Aeneas; Chloreus, a *uates* (11.774), once a priest of Cybele (768) and still outlandishly dressed, is killed by Turnus, 12.363; Arruns is not saved by his devotion to Apollo (11.786, 798); likewise, Opis is not protected by her devotion to Diana (11.843f.), and the augur Tolumnius dies in battle, 12.460. There is clearly nothing odd in a priest fighting; he will even, normally, wear (some of) his insignia; they do not, normally, protect him, and there seems to be no special opprobrium attached to the killing of a priest, though there may be some expectation that the gods should work harder to protect their servants. TCD remarks that if even a priest in his insignia is killed, this shows how opposed the gods are to saving Troy.

Panthu We recall **318 arcis Phoebique sacerdos**; cf. 322 for the form of the voc.. A heavily allit. sequence, running into **430**: the effect presumably pathetic.

430 labentem Cf. 11.818, with n.. Here probably proleptic: 'did not protect him with the result that he fell'.

nec Apollinis infula Cf. n. on **319** for Panthus as priest of Apollo at Troy (and note 3.80 for Anius at Delos). See also full n. on **133**; clearly the *i.* was some sort of woollen band, but we have no exact notion of its use and appearance. Was P. (?also) wearing a Greek helmet? Not a question that we are encouraged to answer, or indeed to ask. Cf. the end of Haemonides, at Aen.'s own hands; he too will wear the *i.* in vain (10.537f.).

431 Iliaci cineres The ashes of Troy are exalted by use of adj., not gen., by the choice of a lofty adj. (n. on 11.255), and by the presence of a possible Catullan echo, 68B.90 *Troia uirum et uirtutum omnium acerba cinis*. These remains of Troy then become a conventional theme, 5.787,

10.59, Sen. *Tro.*28f., Hoppe, *TLL* 3.1071.56ff., etc.. Au. is of course right to remark that **c.** could refer to the ashes of individual dead Trojans too (citing 4.34), but the geogr. adj. works, initially at least, against the active presence of such a meaning.

flamma extrema meorum TCD (1.207.21ff.) talks of the *extrema flamma* being that which still burns while any combustible matter remains (cf. 9.352). But in such contexts, **e.** does strongly suggest death; Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.2002.83ff. compares the *facem* of [Sen.] *HO* 1660 and the *igni* of *Thy.*1091 (and **e.** common of e.g. *hora*, *munus*). Or indeed destruction: cf. Sil.3.565 *Troiae extremos cineres*. Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.866.32f. compares Mart. 4.44.4 (of Vesuvius) *cuncta iacent flammis et tristi mersa favilla*. See Schwarz, 448, Raabe, 114. The last pyre of the city is indeed the pyre of many Trojans. The **cineres** are primarily the city's (*supra*) and the **flamma** explicitly her citizens', but thus juxtaposed they must be allowed, even encouraged to interact, to some extent. Cf. nn. on 283, 3.488f. for the affective use of pronom. adjs. by V.; here, the ref. must be primarily not to kin but to comrades.

432 testor Cf. nn. 154f., 7.593, 3.599, Appel, 67, Martino, *EV* 5*, 148. Ignored by Hickson, 123, perhaps because Aen. calls to witness not the gods but the remains of his city and kin. Compare above all (la Cerdá) Liv.28.8.2 (Philippus) *testatus deos hominesque se nullo loco nec tempore defuisse quin ubi hostium arma concrepuissent eo quanta maxima posset celeritate tenderet*. See also Sen. *Tro.*28–31 and Sil.6.113–5 (Martino), Dem. *cor.*208 (oath by the dead of Marathon; Au.); also NH on Hor.C.2.8.9 (oath by *matris cineres*), Fedeli on Prop.4.11.37 *testor maiorum cineres*. No object is specified, because it is so easily supplied from the preceding apostrophe Aen. is not asked to swear this oath, but offers it (TCD). Not so much an answer to the old charge (*criminosum* TCD) of treason, or collusion laid against Aen., which surfaces slightly too often in ancient and modern discussions of the Sack (cf. 289–95), but a reply to any sense of doubt (on the part of Dido? Of his companions? Of V.'s readers?) about how a warrior prince might survive such a night without an intolerable sense of guilt (so Serv.Dan. on 434 *sic dixit, quasi accuset quod non perierint*); cf. 1.94ff., *o terque quaterque beati....* For Williams, *Tl*, 252 an ‘anxious and shame-faced appeal by Aeneas for belief in his courage’; he continues, rather more credibly, ‘almost a witness speaking before a jury in his own defence’: this narrative is indeed aimed to convince both his audience and V.'s readers, within the limits of the known story; cf., less polemically, Wiltshire, 70f.. *Me* omitted.

in occasu uestro Compare *Aen.* 1.238 *occasum Troiae tristisque ruinas*; a usage familiar in Cic., [Sall.], Liv., at e.g. *Cic.Cat.* 3.19, *Liv.* 4.9.10; Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2. 341.39. Though **u.** may refer formally to **flamma** and **cineres**, behind them there stand, respectively, *Ilium* and *mei*, Aen.'s kin, and it is clearly of them that V. is writing here.

nec tela nec ullan/ 433 ...uices Danaum D., to be understood with what precedes (*infra*), created problems of its own (Peerlkamp, Henry), though it may be no more than an accident of survival that leaves us able to cite instances not of *uices* + proper name/adj. thereof, as here, but only of *uices* + pronoun, *Cic.Leg.* 2.48, *Fam.* 4.5.3, 11.19.1, *Curt.* 5.8.15 *nec immerito mitiores uices eius* [sc. *Fortunae*] *exspecto*. It seems, therefore, that **D.** is to be understood primarily with **tela**, but V. has expanded **tela** with **u.** (for this sort of zeugma, cf. LHS, 833); for V.'s use of **u.**, cf. nn. on 3.376, 634. Serv.Dan. glosses '*pericula*' and Serv. '*pugnas*', continuing *quia per uicissitudinem pugnabatur* and citing Sall.*Hist.fr.inc.* 37. Aen. avoided neither the actual fighting (**tela**) against the Greeks nor the changes and chances (**uices**; cf. 3.376) of battle against them.

433 uitauisse 16x in *Lucr.* (standard Latin); used also at 3.367 (vd. n.). **Me** omitted: vd. n. on 25 (colloquial). The first of three (different) alliterative pairs of words in a line and a half. If we discount the unhelpful reading **manum**, known to TCD, there are two issues present in the punct. and interpretation of 433: (i) whether **ut caderem** 'goes with' **meruisse** or with **fata fuissent** and (ii) whether **Danaum** 'goes with' **uices** and **tela** or with **manu**. Note that Serv. takes **Danaum** with **uices** and **tela** and that Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius (**M₂**), imposing the same arrangement, punctuates at **Danaum**. See G.B. Townend, *PVS* 9(1969–70), 80 and the ample nn. of Peerlkamp and Henry. (i) is clearly enough an illusory issue; it is good to see Speranza stating explicitly that **ut caderem** should be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ and that is the easiest and most natural way of understanding the words. (ii) is more difficult: the reader of an unpunctuated text, on reaching **Danaum**, perceives no reason for detaching it from what precedes and on reaching **manu**, might suspect that **manu... Danaum** is also tolerable, even inviting. But is it, really? Or can the agent present in **manu** contrive *not* be the subject of **meruisse**? Speranza quotes 9.144f. *moenia Troiae/ Neptuni fabricata manu considere in ignis*, to no effect: **manu** is found 86 times in V. and his use nowhere seems to suggest that it could, naturally and normally, be dissociated from the adjacent

infin. (with which it clearly *can* be understood here). There is no compulsion in the structure of the sentence that induces us to think back to **Danaum** when we reach **manu**; juxtaposition with the infin. suggests a sense natural and unambiguous to the reader of V. and **Danaum** in the previous v. should not be allowed to exercise its siren song in the face of the natural word-order. Bell's claim (189) that **manu** is used for *pugna*, not *manu mea* is not at all convincing.

433 si fata fuissent Cf. 54.

434 ut caderem For the use of **ut**, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.361.50ff. compares Cic.*Sest.*72, Sen.*NQ* 2.38.2. Cf. KS 2, 244, LHS, 645. C.: cf. 426, n. on 11.668.

meruisse manu Note 690 **pietate meremur**, Ov.*Pont.*2.6.31, Tac.*Hist.*1.30.1. While *manu* is often Virgilian for 'with an effort', *vel sim.*, when used, as here, to qualify *mereor*, the sense has to be, if not 'by *this* hand', then at least 'by my effort(s)' (no strain on the word; cf. perhaps 8.289). See Bulhart, *TLL* 8.807.64 and Serv.'s n. *testatur me meruisse, id est, fortiter dimicasse; hi enim merentur occidi* (*fortiter* indicating his reading of *manu*).

diuellimur inde Cf. 8.568 (from embrace), Bauer, *TLL* 5.1.1570. 34f.; note Liv. 37.10.10 *diuellere se ab hoste cupientes*. The agency that tears away Aen. and his companions is left studiously unclear; they are the pawns of some external force. Possibly the shouting of 437 may be the answer. A change of direction in the narrative, properly signalled.

435 Iphitus et Pelias P. not attested as a Trojan in Hom., or elsewhere; cf. *EV* 4, 7. The name is, though, familiar as that of the king of Iolcus, *Il.*2.715, *Od.*11.256.

mecum Pelias is introduced as another member of Aen.'s little band of comrades; not present elsewhere in the narrative. The names are then repeated, divided, in the same sequence; cf. 9.544f. with 556, 10.697–700, Wills, 184.

quorum Iphitus See 340. A Trojan Iphitus, so presumably the one known from *Il.*8. 128 (note also the Iphitus of AR 1.86; see *EV* 2, 900, Ro.2.314.28f. (Weniger). This use of the partit. gen. with names apparently rather uncommon, LHS, 57 (but vd. 5.298).

aeuo/ 436 iam grauior Cf. 9.246 *annis grauis atque animi maturus Aletes*, Hor.*Serm.*1.1.4f. *grauis annis miles*, Liv.9.3.5 *iam is grauis annis non militaribus solum sed ciuilibus*, Bräuninger, *TLL* 6.2.2283.75f.. The phr.

probably Gk. in origin (Oakley on Liv.7.39.1, Gow on Theocr.24.102) and present in both poetry and prose. **Iam** ‘often used with expressions denoting age to show the time of life which someone has reached’ (Oakley on Liv.6.8.2; Hofmann, *TLL* 7.88.29f. compares *G*.3.95, *Aen.* 12. 616).

Pelias et Not only not a young warrior (348), but (also) wounded, as TCD explains at some length.

uulnere...Vlixi The gen. of origin/subjective gen. (spelt out, Gell. 9.12.17; see Antoine, 81f.) so used, Prop.1.1.13, *OLD* s.v., §1b (cf. 12.5, nn. on 11.41, 792). After the theft of the Palladium, Ulysses here returns to a passing role in the action (cf. 762): not a leading figure in V.’s narrative.

tardus Cf. 10.857 *uis alto uulnere tardat*, 12.746f. *tardata sagitta/...genua*, Riganti, *EV* 5*, 41. **T.** used with abl. of cause (cf. Antoine, 193ff.); here neater and notably more interesting than a partic. would have been; Au. illustrates its later popularity.

437 protinus Cf. n. on 7.408 ‘straight’ (with *ad*, 4.196).

ad Priami sedes Cf. 11.44 *ad sedes...paternas*. See E. Wistrand, *Opera selecta* (Stockholm 1972), 356–60 = *Klio* 38(1960), 150–4, Della Corte, 31–5, Scagliarini Corlaita, *EV* 1, 686f., Anderson, 31ff. for modern views of V.’s conception of the design of Priam’s palace.

clamore uocati Cf. *G*.3.43 *uocat ingenti clamore Cithaeron*, *Aen*.4.303 *nocturnusque uocat clamore Cithaeron*; ‘call with a shout’: *G*.1.347, *Aen*.5.167, 12.312. *TLL* s.v. and *EV* 1, 808f. help us not at all to determine whether the sense is ‘summoned by the shouting’ or ‘summoned with a shout’; creditably, both possibilities recognised by TCD (1.209.6), so the uncertainty is apparently inherent in the Latin and not created by the expectations of an English speaker. Knauer compares how Od. went to the terrible fighting at the house of Deiphobus, *Od*.8.517 (with 171, n.2).

438 hic uero Cf. *G*.4.554, *Aen*.2.699, 8.219; **hic**, as following **nusquam** guarantees, strictly local (cf. Wagner, *QV* xxiii, §2a), and **uero** simply adversative.

ingentem pugnam Perhaps surprisingly, not at all a standard expression (PHI), whereas *proelium ingens* is Livian (25.13.14; cf. Vell. 1.9.4), and *bellum ingens* prominent in Virgil and elsewhere (*G*.2.279, *Aen*.1.263, B.A. Müller, *TLL* 2.1847.60ff.). These words taken up by **440 Martem indomitum**, where we find a verb: not at all problem-

atic; indeed, a lithe, elegant arrangement. Cf. the δριμεῖα μάχη of *Il.* 15.696.

ceu With subjunc., ‘as though’, Hand, 2, 47f., LHS, 634, Hey, *TLL* 3.979.36ff. (for impf., plpf.; 979.14ff. for pres., perf.); Hey cites no other Augustan instances (let alone Repub.) with subjunc. (‘in comparationibus hypotheticis’; Gk. ως εἰ); common in e.g. the elder Pliny and Sil..

cetera.../ 439 bella B. in the sense of ‘pugna, proelium’, particularly in the poets (from Enn. on), B.A. Müller, *TLL* 2.1824.69ff. Ladewig remarks that c. has the sort of advbl. force (‘sonst’) often found in *prima*.

nusquam/ 439 ...forent N. *sexies* in *Aen.*; ‘indifferent’ word at v.-end (vd. 18). F. an alternative, perhaps slightly archaic, to **essent** (which would, just, be possible here), n. on 3.417.

439 nulli...morerentur In V., n. commoner in dat. or as pronom. adj.; cf. *EV* 4, 316. Note 12.597 *nusquam acies contra Rutulas, nulla agmina Turni*. The sequence *nusquam...null-* solidly Ciceronian, *Brut.*274, *Sull.*20, etc..

tota...in urbe Cf. **421, 611**, 4.68f., 300, 401, 592, 8.716, 11.349f., 468, 12.594. **Nulli tota** a fine *juxtapositio oppositorum*.

440 sic As a consequence of **ceu...nusquam**.

Martem indomitum For i. , cf. n. on 7.521; used by Acc., Cat., in G.. **Martem** used for *pugnam*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.1225.1f.: note Sen.*Ag.*604 of *bellum*. But I wonder if *TLL* is quite right; surely rather ‘warlike spirit, pugnacity’: cf. 6.165 *Martemque accendere cantu*, 12.108, *OLD* s.v., §5, and see Pötscher, 126, Pomathios, 273, Bailey, 113ff.. Cf. *Od.*8.519f. (of Od. himself) κεῖθι δὴ αἰνότατον πόλεμον φάτο τολμήσαντα/ νικῆσαι.

Danaos ad tecta ruentis Cf. 11.142 *ad portas ruere*, 6.305, 9.695, 11.625, 12.690. Knauer compares *Il.*12.137f. οἱ δὲ ιθὺς πρὸς τείχος.../ ...ἔκιον. The **tecta** are (437) Priam’s **sedes**. D.: 5.

441 cernimus Cf. **696** and 3.677. As TCD remarks, Aen. saw it all, but V. limits the number of times he actually says ‘I saw’.

obsessumque...limen The last and longest member of the tricolon of things seen. Cf. **332, 450** for **o..** L.: cf. n. on 7.343 (*limen* of Amata and Latinus).

acta testudine *Agere* is standard Lat. applied to war-engines, from

Plaut.*MG* 266 *uineas pluteosque agam*; cf. Caes.*Gall.*..2.12.5, Sall.*Iug.*94.3 *testudine acta*, Hey, *TLL* 1.1373.69ff.. V. as often relished the immediacy lent by an anachronism in milit. narrative (cf. indices s.v. anachronism, *Alambico*, 135ff., *EV* 1, 151–4, Rossi, 184; cf. also J.-A..Hild, DS 4, 211, Wickert, 458, Kroll, *Studien*, 181. There remains, though, an insoluble and recurrent problem (cf. Malavolta, 175f., NP 12.1, 191 (auctor incertus), Oakley on Liv.10.41.14, FH. Sandbach, *ORVA*, 459, Gärtner, 116): does V. refer to the familiar shield-formation, or to the wheeled leather protective screen also called **t.**? Is the verb marginally in favour of the ‘mantelet’ sense (Sandbach)? As also the proximity of **scalae**? We cannot tell; if V. had a clear perception of both senses of **t.**, it could well be that he did not very much mind. Might V. possibly have known of Philip’s heroic model when he invented the Macedonian phalanx (DS 16.3.2; cf. *Il.*13.131, 16.215 (with Hainsworth on *Il.*12.105); la Cerda, and Gärtner, 115f., Lendon, 124 on the passage from Homeric shield-wall to Roman *testudo*)? Some of this lore is indeed present in Schol.T on *Il.*13.131, and this association might make the shield-*testudo* just preferable here. Certainly the shield-formation, and indeed the whole narrative situation described at QS 11.358ff. are markedly similar, as indeed one sort of shield-wall is to another; for meticulous discussion, including the closely comparable scene, *Aen.*9.503ff., vd. Gärtner, *cit.*.

442 haerent...scalae Indeed, the whole scene is familiar: cf. Liv. 10.43.5 *ipse scalas ferri ad muros ab omni parte urbis iussit ac testudine ad portas successit* (capture of Cominium). **H.** not, though, at all technical, Bulhart, *TLL* 6.3.2495.11, Bartalucci, *EV* 2, 829. The subjects change briskly: after **cernimus**; V. passes smoothly to the scene described; Enn. might have written *adclinant muris scalas* (for historical descriptions of the scene conventionally include the attackers who place the ladders against the walls), but V. prefers short sentences and swift alteration of subj and viewpoint. Scaling-ladders another post-epic anachronism: cf. Rossi, 184f., Wickert, 457, G. Nicole, DS 4.2.1108, Kern, 12, *et passim*, Walbank on Plb.9.19, Hug, PW 3A.348.14ff. (attested from c.5).

parietibus Standard for ‘house-wall’; cf. *G.*4.297, *Aen.*5.589. For the synizesis, cf. Sebastiano Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 881.

postisque sub ipsos For **p.** (either ‘posts’, or ‘leaves’; even ‘doors’, in general; vd. n. on 7.622, and Krömer, 230.64ff.). Cf. Krömer, *TLL* 10.2.231.3ff.; V. is concerned neither with the carpentry of the

building, nor with the precise trigonometry (vd. Wallbank, *cit.*) of setting the ladders; the picture is perfectly clear, the exact sense is not. Serv. comments *si circa portam, ‘sub postibus’; si circa fenestras, ‘circa postes’*. That must surely be corrected, perhaps to *sub fenestras*; whether a textual error, or a mental slip by Serv.. Krömer, 231.5ff., cites Prisc.*Gramm.Lat.*3.53.27, and Don., *ib.*, 4.365.32 on *sub + acc.* in the sense of *ad/ante/per*, note KS 1,571, and e.g. Tac.*Hist.*5.11 *Iudaei sub ipsos muros struxere aciem*. Before the slip in Serv. was pointed out, it was thought, unhelpfully, that V. might be referring to window-frames (vd. Speranza); that is not now confirmed by Krömer's material. Given the range of meaning sometimes present in **p.** (Krömer, 233.82ff., citing e.g. 9.537, *Stat.Silv.*1.3.60), Eichler's old suggestion, trailed by Au., that there might be a ref. to roof-beams here, cannot be called simply impossible, but it does not cohere with V.'s usage, or with that of his age. Priam's palace doors are themselves Homeric, *Il.*7.346.

443 nituntur gradibus ‘Press on’, perhaps (cf. 12.552, 783, Marconi, *EV* 3, 740). The suggestion (la Cerdá, Au.) that the steps could be those leading up to the raised palace door, as is the case at 1.448, is here very unhappy, since **g.** is placed between **442 scalae**, and **444 fastigia**; the front steps are not a natural path to the roof, if the doors are closed. Because they are closed, massively, the Greeks, who will eventually perhaps use a ram (492) are, for now, making for the roof, up the rungs of the ladders; if they were on the palace's front *steps*, they could hardly be grasping (444) the roof. **G.** standard Latin for the rungs of a ladder; Knoche, *TLL* 6.2.2150.12ff. cites Varr.*LL* 9.69, Caecina, Cic. *Fam.*6.7.3, *Stat.Theb.*10.841.

clipeosque ad tela.../ 444 ...obiciunt **C.**: see n. on 7.639. *Clipeos obiecit* Liv.31.39.10. Lumpe, *TLL* 9.2.59.51f. suggests that **ac** is a v.l., in Serv.. It is, but vd. **ad** ωγ₁, **ac** Φ₄ΜΡΑγ. **Ac** is bad; the Greeks hold shields, not shields *and* (here useless) spears, swords, etc., in the way of the Trojans' missiles (and Serv. notes the problem of **ac**). The Spaniards who fought with sword in the right hand, and both spear and shield (*a parma tripedalis*) in the left (Liv.28.21.13; ‘scomodo almeno’, Ussani) do not inspire confidence here. **Ad** (Serv. glosses *contra*) is useful, if not essential, to give specific point to **obiciunt**; cf. *G.*2.352 *hoc effusos munimen ad imbræ*, Curt.9.5.1 *laeuam, qua clipeum ad ictus circumferebat*, Lucr.4.847 *obiectum parmai*, von Mess, *TLL* 1.512.1f.. Another nice instance of the occasional importance of the c.9mss..

sinistris/ 444 ...dextris Cf. 5.457. The Greeks hold their shields in the normal hand.

444 protecti Cf. 8.662 *scutis protecti corpora longis*, 10.800 *parma protectus*; standard idiom in Caes. (e.g. *Gall.*5.44.6, *Civ.*1.25.10) and Liv. (e.g. 2.6.9f.) and perhaps to be sensed here as military in flavour; it is possible that **p.** also to some extent governs **clipeos** (Page). Claimed (e.g. by Pascoli, Speranza) as proleptic ('to protect themselves'; cf. Bell, 204ff.. **430 labentem** not identical), but such a sense is hardly mandatory.

prensant fastigia For **fastigia**, cf. 302. Goold translates 'battlements'; Page suggests 'parapet'. We might indeed expect a word that indicated the *edge* of the roof, for the verb (Ciceronian; first in poetry here) perhaps suggests that the ladders are rather short and the Greeks clutch as best they can at something above them; Holmes, *TLL* 10.2.1186.65ff. and note the *prendere* of 9.558, *Sall.Jug.*60.6 *et iam scalis egressi milites prope summa ceperant*, *Tac.Ann.*1.68.2. The problem, though, lies in the range of meanings attested for **f.**: not, indeed 'battlements' *vel sim.* (cf. n. on 7.159); however TCD here does note helpfully that **f.** can indicate the highest point of a wall. Cf. Bannier, *TLL* 6.1.320. 73ff., citing 9.565 *taedas alii ad fastigia iactant*, *Sen.Tro.*652 *celsa per fastigia missum* (Astyanax); then quite common in Curt. and in Flavian epic. So here the Greeks do not make first for the roof-tree but for the very top of the wall, which, after all, is also the very edge of the roof; *that* is where the Greeks' hands do need to be.

445 Dardanidae contra D: vd. 59. Cf. n. on 7.552; both in oratory and in action, the advb. much used in sharp marking of transitions; Spelthahn, *TLL* 4.739.73, Hand, 2, 114ff.. It is extraordinary that Mackie, 51 can refer to the 'scarcely defended building'; di Cesare's 'parody of resistance' is little better (49).

turris Vd. fully on 460.

ac tota domorum/ 446 culmina Tota Py, TCD, **tuta ar, tecta** **FMP₂ωγ₁**, grammarians. Serv. '*tecta*' *participium est; aut eandem rem bis dixit, quamuis legatur et 'tota'*. The paradox can be interpreted, in more than one way, even, as a variation upon conventional **culmina tecti** (695, 4.186; cf. 12.132 *tecta domorum*, *Buc.*1.82.). Thus Henry takes *turris* and *tecta* as an (allit.) noun-pair, qualified by **domorum culmina**. Equally, **d.c.** could qualify **tecta**. **440 tecta** and 12.132, *cit.*, 'roofs' do not bear on the textual issue here. If **tecta** here is taken as adj./part.

(more likely than noun) it is not a particularly interesting or attractive expression; note *G.1.379 tectis penetralibus*, but of the underground home of the ant, that is much easier. **Tecta domorum culmina** might as a whole be understood (Heyne) as referring to the roof-tiles, so often employed in desperate defences of this kind (Barry, *infra*), but as a poetical reference to tiles, it is fuzzy, and generally unsatisfactory. There is an easy (almost *too* easy, it might be said, but I do not wish to be suspected of arguing for **tecta**), faintly hyperbolic, alternative to hand in **tota** (compare *G.3.377f. totasque/ aduoluere focus ulmos*), and it is hard to see why awkward **tecta** was so often printed. The *entire* roof, beams, tiles, and all, is broken up for use (and it seems as though the defenders on the roof have broken through to the beams inside); for the use of tiles, cf. Barry (365f.) and compare e.g. 7.43 for similar ‘expanding’ use of *totus* in the second member of a pair.

conuellunt Cf. 464, 507; cf. Cic.*Pis.52 ipsa Roma prope conuolsa sedibus suis*, Hirt. *Gall.8.26.4*, Tac.*Ann.4.62* (collapse of crowded building), Wulff, *TLL 4.818.69f., EV 5**, 474. Standard in prose and poetry.

his se.../ 447 ...defendere telis *Armis defendere* the standard expression, 8.493, Jachmann, *TLL 5.1.299.80ff.*, Caes.*Gall.6.34.1 se armis defendaret*, 2.31.6. The hyperbaton **his...telis** lends prominence to the appalling compulsion under which the Trojans are compelled to destroy their king’s palace in order to try to defend it.

quando ultima cernunt The sense of **u.** entirely clear thanks to following **extrema iam in morte** For **u.** thus, *OLD* s.v., §6d is most illuminating, comparing *Luc.10.467*, *Sil.7.221*, *ultima rerum*, CS 3.91 *ultima[nom.]rerum*. For **c.**, cf. Wulff, *TLL 3.871.1f.*, but the obvious ‘see, behold’ is challenged by J.C.B. Foster, *CR 22(1972)*, 304, who argues well for a sense of ‘decide’, as at 12.709, *inter se coiisse uiros et cernere ferro*; 12.218 is problematic, but cf. *Enn. Ann.185 uitam cernamus* with Skutsch’s n. and Jocelyn on *id.*, *trag*, 232. Labelled as *simplex pro composito[decernere]* by *Sen. Ep.58.3*. The sense established (and not in discussion) for **ultima** remains unchanged with an improved **cernunt**. For V.’s use of causal **quando**, Prof. Görler notes Au. on 1.261, 4.291, 315, 6.50, 106, 188.

447 extrema iam in morte The phr. used again, 11.846. Perhaps after *Cat.76.18 extremam iam ipsa in morte tulistis opem*. Hiltbrunner, *TLL 5.2.2002.49f.*

parant Some hasty demolition, preparatory to the use of fragments as missiles; la Cerdá cites *inter multa et varia*, Tac.*Hist.2.22 dispositos ad id*

*ipsum molaris ingenti pondere ac fragore prouoluunt, 3.71 ambustasque Capitolii fores penetrassent, ni Sabinus revulsas undique statuas, decora maiorum[echoing V., *infra*], in ipso aditu uice muri obiecisset, Amm.Marc.31.15.13, Quint. decl.min.369.4.* So also in assaults, DS 13.86.1, Kern, 169. Of particular interest (cf. Lersch, 103f.), Veg.4.23 (with Milner's n.), on what to do against rams, *interdum bases columnaeque marmoreae vibrato impetu iaciuntur e muris arietesque confringunt*. Note too the use of large stones in Hom. battles, e.g. *Il.*12.161. There are occasions, of course, on which **p.** is used to indicate little more than 'are going to', 'are intending to', but at 4.118, *in nemus ire parant*, Aen. and Dido are clearly contemplating the hunt, rather than having their clothes laid out.

448 auratasque trabes A sign of Priam's wealth, and also a slightly heavier missile; their actual use in the fighting a neat symbol of Troy's desperate straits; cf. G.B. Conte, *PCPS* 45(1999), 21. Compare 1.726 *laquearibus aureis*, Lersch, 225, Münscher, *TLL* 2.1520.38f..Note Lucr.2.28 *laqueata aurataque templia*. For gilded ceilings, a refinement of Hellenistic extravagance, adopted at Rome after the defeat of Carthage, cf. Thédenat, DS 3, 902f., Plin.*Nat.*33.57, and Au.'s n. on 1, *cit.*

ueterum...parentum Cf. Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.358.48f. ('forbears') and 357.17f., Évrard, *EV* 5*, 525 for 5.39, 576 ('kin').

decora alta D.a. used at 1.429 of *columnas*, and **d.** also at 5.262 of *lorica*, 10.135 of *gemma*, 12.83 of *equos*, Leissner, *TLL* 5.1.241.39ff. For the adj., cf. 12.603 *trabe...ab alta*; 'lofty' does not exclude a hint of 'ancient'. Mantovanelli, *EV* 1, 121f. gives some idea of the word's complexity. **illa FPanry;** **alta F₄M_{ωy₁}**, Prisc.7.79. Stat. *Theb.*5. 424 reads *magnorum decora alta patrum*, but Geymonat, though citing that passage, prints *illa* here; **503 quinquaginta illi thalami** is indeed a more appropriate analogy, but here, **imas**, following, removes any need for further discussion: a straightforward spatial antithesis is clearly appropriate. Echo-corruption from 1.429 could indeed have led to **alta** here, but **alta** is in fact a necessary part of the visual structure of the scene.

449 deuoluunt Molossus run on well conveys the tipping of a weighty missile over the edge. **D.** a notably well-chosen word, used by Caes. *Civ.* 2.11.1, 2 for missiles used against a *musculus* (another kind of mantelet); note also Curt.4.3.25, Sil.14.303, Tafel, *TLL* 5.1.869.80ff.. Note 9.512 *saxa quoque infesto uoluebant pondere*.

alii The Trojans waiting, invisible, on the inside of the main doors, against the moment at which (479–94) the Greeks will finally succeed

in breaking through. We will return to them at 485, 491f. and 494; inevitably, slaughtered after a token resistance. They are invisible to Aen., but less so to the omniscient reader, if we stop to think (which as readers we do not). These **alii** are taken by Cartault, 193 as referring to Greeks, on the outside; given that the sentence begins focused on the Trojans (445), **alii** is quite unsuited to a change of side, and is naturally applied to a passage from one body of defenders to another. But C.'s understandable lapse of comprehension might be taken as indicating that the articulation of V.'s narrative is not perspicuously clear here.

strictis mucronibus M.: vd. 333; s.: vd. 334, 7.526.

imas/ 450 ...fores V. draws the eye down from the Trojans tossing gilded beams off the roof (**decora alta**) to Trojans still on the ground awaiting the final assault on the doors.

450 obsedere Cf. 332, 441. Here Serv. paraphrases '*praesidio tenebant*'.

has seruant Cf. 6.556, 11.506 (with n.), etc.; the Trojans inside cannot contribute actively to the palace's defence, for the present; they will indeed be swept aside in a moment (494–5). It is hard to see an advantage in the abrupt final member, the asyndeton and the (superfluous) pronoun, and Wagner's explanation, *eas ita obsessas*, QV xx, §2ad fin., hardly adds to its charms; Ribbeck's suggestion of **ac seruant** is elegant, even rather attractive; V. will not have written **asseruant** (**P₁**); the asyndeton remains abrupt and unwelcome and **as-** may just be an acoustic error (Speranza) rather than a hint that some scribes had real difficulties at the beginning of this v..

agmine denso Formulaic and traditional: 9.788, 12.442; cf. Lucr. 6.100 *denso... agmine*, and Varr.*res hum.*25.fr.104Mirsch ap Serv.Dan. *ad Aen.*12.121 on *agmen*. But no evidence for *densus* as a tt. (Eng. 'close order', as against 'open order'). However, by Liv.30.34.8, 33.8.14 *ordines densare* ('close ranks') is regular milit. idiom. (not Caes. or Sall., though vd. *Hist.*2.fr.103 and n. on 7.794).

451 instaurati animi For the difficult verb, cf. full n. on 3.62, though the sense here is clearly very different. After the failure of Coroebus' enterprise, Aen.'s spirits will clearly have been at a low ebb. Aen. guesses at the Trojans waiting inside for the final assault on the doors; what he can see is the mass of attacking Greeks and his spirits are lifted by the thought of the havoc he will be able to wreak from the roof. Henry, 2, p.374 ignores, eloquently, the subtle development of mood and event, as does Mackie, 51, who neglects entirely the middle of bk.2.

Cf. Alt, *TLL* 7.1.1976. 77f., *EV2*, 991. For **a.**, cf. Negri, 144, 292, n.40: we are probably to think of Aen. as, for the moment, alone; he will rediscover comrades once he has entered the palace (cf. 459, 464 for this clear progression). Cf. 316 for **a.** in the sense of ‘spirits, courage’.

regis...tectis Cf. 7.585, Cat.64.75; an obvious way of expressing ‘palace’ in vv..

succurrere Cf. 352; the constr. easy, for **inst. an.** are equivalent to e.g. *ardent*, cf. Görler, 2, 271, 10f. **amor...cognoscere**. Knauer compares *Il.6.361f. ὄφρ' ἐπαμύνω/ Τρώες*.

452 auxilioque leuare uiros Cf. 4.538 *auxilio leuat arte leuatos*, *EV3*, 199, Koster, *EV7.2.1230.7f.* **V.:** cf. nn. on 146, 158; **a.:** 216, 344. This seems a rather important moment, in that Aen. passes from concern for the comrades immediately about him to a sense that he must lead and succour the defenders of the palace; he is turning into his people’s leader.

uimque addere uictis A splendid epiphonema to close the scene (vd. *infra* for the verbal effects). *Addere*, used as at 355 **animis iuuenum furor additus** where vd. n., Kempf, *TLL* 1.586.3ff., comparing Liv. 8.9.14 *addiderantque uires hastatis ac principibus*, 9.27.9 *repentino consilio Poeteli consulis additae uires*. **V.** rather in the common sense of *uires* (‘strength’, 50, 170, 615), comparing 9.532, 12.799 *uim crescere uictis*, Squillante Saccone, *EV5**, 569. V. is reaching towards the important idea of the (eventual) triumph of the defeated, full n. on 7.295 *num capti potuere capi*. For the triple allit. in the second half of the line (as old as the Saturnian, and possibly an inheritance from it), cf. n. on 7.190, Fordyce, p.289, Cordier, *Allit.*, 54f., G. Pasquali, *Preist. della poesia romana*₂ (Firenze 1981), 153ff..

453–68 See Cartault, 193f. M. Gioseffi, in (ed.M.G.) *E io sarò tua guida* (Milano 2000), 180–6 (on TCD’s analysis), Pomathios, 36, Puccioni, 83f., Putnam, 33, Salvatore, 64, Wistrand (437), 150–4 (architectural issues). For the moment the Trojans fight off the Greeks’ assault on the palace, but the end is clearly very near. Even the palace’s partial destruction (use of the tower as a missile) achieves virtually nothing. But into this scene of action V. has inserted the twofold presence of his beloved Andromache, first by means of a parenthesis on the peacetime use of the palace’s back door (455–7; Heyne does not miss the wonder of so banal a theme carrying so heavy an emotional charge, while Mackail, amazingly, deplores ‘a certain languor’ in

these vv.), and secondly, by means of the Homeric references present in his account (461–2) of the tower's use as a point from which to view the battles. Everything that involves Andr. is touched with deepest pathos and here too, though only for a short spell, in the contrast between desperate defence and bygone domesticity, the emotional level of the narrative is raised to new heights; TCD did well to perceive the merits of V.'s account, as did Gioseffi to perceive those of TCD's analysis.

453 limen erat Cf. 7.170ff., 11.522 and n. on 7.483 for such extensions of the *est locus* formula. Here V. eschews a resumptive 'by this way', that would bind the description verbally to the narrative. **L.** *omnis ingressus*, in Non.'s analysis of the range of meanings, p.336.4ff., citing also *Varr.Men.*568.2 *limina nidi*[and note G.4.188, 257], Meijer, *TLL* 7.2. 1403.47ff.. At 7.613 (where vd. n.) less palpably 'entrance' than here. Thematic in this narrative, **441, 469**, etc., *EV* 3, 226.

caecique fores *Gloss.Lat.* 4.432.26 comments 'caecae fores': *occultae ianuae et absconditae*, *ib.*32.30 *occulta*; cf. Brandt, *TLL* 6.1.1059.78ff., Burger, *ib.*3.45.60f.; note 5.589 of the walls of the labyrinth and for V.'s usage, *EV* 1, 598f.. Au. cites *Varr.LL* 9.58, *c.* of a windowless bedroom, but that is not at all the same thing; here, Serv., in keeping with the comments of *Gloss.Lat.* remarks, illuminatingly *non omnibus notae* and TCD, with laborious acumen, *quae sic fuissent institutae, ut praetereuntes has uidere non possunt*. Under the general heading of *de eo quod non cernitur*, Burger quotes, e.g. *G.*1.89, 4.237, *Aen.*3.706, 4.2, 209, 10.732, for various 'passive' senses. The Lat. for 'back door' was *posticum/-a*, Korteweg, *TLL* 10.2.227.48ff. and for back-doors in the Rom. world, cf. Blümner, *Privataltertümer*, 41, n.5. Note *Liv.*39.51.7 *postico, quod deuium maxime atque occultissimi exitus erat*.

et perius usus S.v. 'de eis quae transeuntur, permeantur', Foucher, *TLL* 10.1.1878.29f., comparing *Ter.Ad.*578 *id quidem angiporum non est perium* (a wonderful passage; vd. U.E. Paoli, *Vita romana* (Firenze 1976), 128), *Cic.Nat.*2.67 *ex quo transitiones periae iani...nominantur*, *Sen.Tro.*179, 433, [Sen.] *Oct.*402; the Forum Nervae was also called the *Forum Transitorium*, and, apparently, at *Aur.Vict.Caes.*12.2 the *F. Pervium*. Gk. διαβατός. Paratore claims that **p.** means that the passage was much used, but that implication is entirely absent from the attestations. As has been realised, at least from Serv. (*via uerbum iuris*; cf. Fraenkel, *Kl.Betr.*2, 364f. on *Dig.*8.3 and related texts) to Au., V. here dips into legal idiom; vd. *OLD* s.v., §4a, 'the use, by legal right (of property

owned by another), or the right of making such use' (cf. Alan Watson, *Roman private law* (Edinburgh 1971), 92): vd. in particular Just.*Inst.*2.3.pr. *via est ius eundi et agendi et ambulandi* (cf. *Dig.*8.3.1.pr.), and *Dig.*33.2.15.1 on *ius transeundi...in agris*. Though we are not encouraged to work out just what a passage with right of way might signify inside Priam's palace, the tone here is markedly Roman and quotidian. *EV* 5*, 409 not helpful.

454 tectorum...Priami With admirable honesty, Au. remarks 'the genitive is difficult to explain'. See n. on **359f. mediaeque../ urbis iter**; the presence of **peruius** here makes the objective gen. a likelier explanation, and indeed the **t.** may depend rather more easily on adj. rather than on noun: **p.** after all signifies here *quae uiam per tecta habet* (cf. Antoine, 87ff.). **T.: 440, 451.** Serv.Dan. and TCD (1.211.31ff.) suggest that there were two *domus*, Priam's and Hector's, with a passage between them, and they have had many recent followers (Gioseffi, 182, n.76, Scagliarini Corlaita, *EV*1, 686, in a most unsatisfactory account). Wistrand, 358 remarks that TCD and Serv.Dan. cannot be quite right here, for V.'s clear point is that Aen. enters by Andromache's usual route, from the *outside*, by the hidden *fores*; the **peruius usus** therefore lies *within* Priam's palace, and is perhaps to be thought of as that leading to the women's quarters, on the Greek, not the Roman, view of a large house's design. This sort of passage was called *andron* in Lat., *mesaulos* in Gk., Vitr.6.7.5, Fraenkel, 365 (on the reconstruction of Serv.Dan.p.437. 6Harv.). Wistrand may be pressing too hard V.'s familiarity, in the epic, with the Greek and Roman styles of house (so already Sandbach, *ORVA*, 454). The description here is a typical paratactic accumulation of near-synonymous details: *limen, fores, usus, postes*; the **postes** of **454** and the **fores** of **453** refer naturally to the same door, with the corridor from that door and leading right through the palace [sc. with access to the roof over the front entrance] interposed. To invoke a walk external to the palace, leading from Hector's quarters to Priam's (*EV*, *cit.*, etc.) does scant justice to V.'s helpful and surprisingly lucid account. Hom. (*Il.*6.312–7) tells us only that Hector, Paris and Priam lived in palaces close together in the citadel (the domestic arrangements at 6.378, 383, with *Od.*3.396, are different; cf. Seymour, 197); his more momentous contribution to **455–7** will emerge shortly, in the vignette of Andromache's domestic life that V. is about to offer, in the manner of *Il.*6. TCD is happy to explain how Aen., as a Trojan prince, knew about the secret door, 1.211.14. If V. had in mind here the ὄρcoθύρη of

*Od.*22.126, then he might also have had in mind that Hom. there went on to write that ἦν ὁδὸς ἐξ λαύρην ('passage': Seymour, Cunliffe).

inter se V. uses *inter se(se)* frequently (see PHI, Warwick): a standard expression of reciprocity (LHS, 177, Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.2141.49ff.). 'Loosely appended adjectivally' Au.; the position, added to the reciprocally active forces as a coda, is found also at e.g. 1.455 *artificumque manus inter se*, though it is far commoner placed on the 'inside' of the whole reciprocal expression. The sense here is clearly that the **peruius usus** serves as (reciprocal) communication from one part of the *tecta* to another. Because **i.** is a prepos., and therefore proclitic, the two words form a single metr. unit and the unfavoured self-contained spondaic second foot is avoided.

postesque Cf. 442; necessarily synonymous with 453 **fores**.

relicti The partic. provoked speculation, for Serv. offers two interpretations, TCD paraphrases '*desertum*', and Speranza lists a number of modern suggestions. Henry argues for 'abandoned, out of use', comparing *G.*4.127, *Aen.*3.123, even though Andromache here has used the door regularly; Serv. more convincingly proposes that **r.** indicates the door's being neglected (cf. 453 **caecae**; typical repetition of a significant detail), ignored by the marauding Greeks.

455 a tergo A stock expression, used adverbially, *OLD* s.v. *tergum*, §5b (with *Lucr.*4.194, etc.), LHS, 255, Lommatsch, *TLL* 1.21.5ff. ('certae formulae'). These words present a difficulty, generally ignored in the comms.. Here clearly TCD, James Henry, and many comms. can hardly be right with the claim that the words are to be taken with all the architectural details of 453f.; they do not explain how eye and mind can pass back beyond **relicti** to what went before. The issue is simpler, and bears on the punctuation: are we to understand **a tergo** as run on, to be understood with **relicti**, or as introducing a new line of thought, and taken with **se... ferre... solebat**? The reader who reaches **relicti**, at v.-end will naturally enough assume that the phrase is complete: of course adverbs are often enough postponed (Marouzeau, *L'ordre des mots* 3, 20ff.; cf. 405, for ex.), and run on too (cf. strikingly *nequiquam*, 8.232): that, however, occurs in cases of particular effect and pathos, which clearly does not apply here to 'at the back'. Should we not then rather remove the comma at **Priami**, remove the unnecessary emphasis given to **postes**, sacrifice the enjambement, and begin anew '[it was thus] from the rear that Andromache...?' Paradox, pathos, discretion in Hector's wife using the back entrance, which is here given modest prominence.

infelix.../ 456 ...Andromache Cf. discussion of 3.294–505(c), for the formidable role of Andr. in the *Aen.*, in inverse proportion to her slender presence; she brings to the text all the accumulated dignity and sorrow already lavished on her by Hom. and Eur., and on her V. bestows some of his most memorable writing (cf. *Aen.*3, xviii^f). The adj. is thrust into early prominence (Marouzeau, *L'ordre des mots*, 1, 112ff.) and though the declension disguises the gender, there is no doubt that **i.** will eventually refer to Andr.; it is one of V.’s preferred words for anticipating a tragic end, Duckworth, 13, with n.33. Serv. and TCD 1.211.21ff. think V. refers to Andr. *infelix* after Hector’s death, with no-one to care for herself or her boy; there is no reason to think that the word’s force is thus to be limited, and these visits could perfectly well have begun at a much earlier stage, with Hom.’s references to her domestic life in mind (so Paratore, sensibly).

qua se.../ 456 ...ferre...solebat By the back door and the *andron* (*supra* on 454 **tectorum**). *Se ferre* is studiedly flat standard language (though also Ennian), at 1.503, 2.672, 5.290, etc., Hey, *TLL* 6.1.560. 75ff., *EV* 2, 494f. (Zucchelli). Andromache’s regular walk is spread discreetly over two lines with enough circumstantial detail to give marked point to the pathos; even habit acquires poignancy when it is about to be brought to a violent end; cf. 30, 462, comm. on 7.487–92.

dum regna maneabant Used at 22; compare 5.724 *dum uita manebat*, repeated then at 6.608 and 661. A formula, therefore, and indeed one re-used elsewhere over a much shorter space; not, therefore, a sign of V. using stopgaps (so Au.) in an unfinished passage. Mackail objects to successive vv. ending **-bant**, **-bat**, **-bat**. For successive endings in **-bat**, cf. 6.468f., 518f. (both with a third preceding **-bat**, not at v.-end) and 8.646ff., endings successively in **-bat**, **-bat**, **-bant**; preceding **-bant** here clearly does not make rhyme; note too 11.544f., 3.140–2. A little tinkering with PHI reveals no dislike of such sequences in V..

456 saepius Cf. *Buc.*1.20 *saepe solemus*; for *saepe*, Charis.p.353.30 Barwick, but see LHS, 168 for ‘often rather than rarely’, and here placed well before **ferre** for weight. Cf. *EV* 4, 641f., Gioseffi, 185. With **solebat**, pleonastic; cf. *Lucr.*4.606, *Buc.*1.20, *G.*2.186, *Tib.*1.9.18, etc..

incomitata Varr.*RR* 2.10.9 of *uirgines quos appellant* in Illyricum, whom custom allowed even at 20 *ante nuptias ut succumberent quibus uellent et incomitatis ut uagari liceret et filios habere*; also used by *Lucr.*, 6.1225 (of funera). Serv.Dan. comments *ut et ad soceros iret saepius et non quaer-*

eret obsequia famulorum; nullis in obsequio comitibus, hoc est deductoribus TCD. Actually, more correctly, *pedisequae* (and *-qui*), nor indeed so much *baiuli* (*id.1.212.18*), as *nutrices*, if the child was to be carried: vd. S. Treggiari, *PBSR* 43(1975), 53, *ead.*, *AJAH* 1.2(1976), 81, Becker-Göll, *Gallus* 2 (Berlin 1881), 154, Marquardt-Mau, *Privatleben*2, 147f. Blümner, *Privataltertümer*, 445, A. Hug, *PW* 19.1.36.15ff.; the suite of a rich female set upon ostentation could be spectacular: Plaut. *Trin.*252ff., while Andr.'s propinquity, and modesty, permitted her to dispense entirely with a suite (on such modesty, overstated by TCD, cf. Giuffrè, 182f.). Just possibly V. is consciously answering an Homeric scene, for at *Il.6.399f.* Andr. has gone further abroad and there she is accompanied by a nurse to carry the child (present also, *ib.*, 467; earlier commentators grouse that **i.** is therefore an actual error); cf. too *Il.3.143*, Helen goes out, accompanied by two servants (for Hom., cf. C. Murgia, *HSCP* 101(2003), 421, n.32, with further bibl.). V.'s occasional hints at familiar Roman manners in *Aen.* have tended to pass ignored (cf. nn. on 7.812, 11.501); such studied anachronisms of *mores* will have been recognised with delight. We recall that, in Hom., Andr. used to visit Hector's sisters and his brothers' wives, *Il.6.378*, 383.

457 ad soceros The plur. describes the two parents-in-law, *socer* and *socrus*, *OLD* s.v., §b; this is perfectly normal usage: cf. *patres* for 'father and mother', *fratres* for 'siblings', etc., n. on **579 patres natosque**, LHS, 19, Leumann, 283 (a good list), Löfstedt, *Synt.* 1₂, 69, n. on **501 nurus** (though it is not quite clear how the **centum** is made up), Bell, 19 (**s.** here 'a dual'), 56.

et auo Note the masc.sing.; Andr. is taking her son to his grandfather; whether or not Hector is alive, the old king must hold converse with his son's son; Astyanax has been taken to see the fighting, *Il.6.388f.*, but is of course still afraid of his father's plume, *ib.*, 469. Note M. Bettini, *Anthropology and Rom. culture* (Eng. tr., Baltimore 1988), 53f. on the relaxed and indulgent relationship of grandfather and grandson, quoting Porphy. on Hor. *Epd.*1.34. For the variation **ad...auo**, vd. Au..

puerum Astyanacta As Ascanius too is *puer*, 3.339 (with n.), etc., Moseley, 50. Cf. Holzweissig, 366, NW 1, 465f. for Lat. decl. of Gk. nn. in -x (cf. too Ceyx, Corax).

trahebat The child unable to match the adult's pace a recurrent source of amused pathos: cf. here **320f. paruumque nepotem/ipse trahit** (of Panthus), both preparing the way for Iulus' **non passibus aequis** (724); Scaffai, *EV* 5*, 248, Giuffrè, 184f. on TCD's affectionate

reconstruction of the domestic scene, 1.212.16ff.. Note also the important theme of Ascanius and Astyanax as contemporaries, nn. on 339, 491. T. also applied to much more energetic and brutal hauling, 58, 403, Sen. *Tn.*1089.

458 euado Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.989.35 quotes *Corp.Gloss.*2.293.40, Non. p.293.21 for the (evident) sense of *ascendere* here, as at 6.128 *superasque euadere ad auras*. The *perius usus* has led Aen. to the front of the building and he then climbs to the roof. Of course the vb. can bear a sense of ‘go through (to)’ (cf. 531, 12.907; vd. Henry), but Aen.’s goal does here seem strongly to suggest upwards motion.

ad summi fastigia culminis ‘Indeed one of the very few things in this Book that can be criticised is the amount of time spent by Aeneas on roofs’; so Au. here, memorably. The language is very familiar: cf. 302 **summi fastigia tecti**, 444, **fastigia** (of wall), and 446 for **culmina**. Note Liv.40.2.3 [*tempestas*] *fastigia aliquot templorum a culminibus abrupta foede dissipauit*.

unde Cf. nn. on 18 **furtim** and 438 **nusquam** for ‘indifferent’ words at v.-end, and Norden, 402 for *unde* thus, comparing 8.78 *unde est* (so already in Lucr.).

459 tela...inrita T. probably covers both weapons and the less conventional missiles of 445–9. Now we learn that the Trojans’ efforts have hitherto been, and will be, to no avail (cf. Duckworth, 9, with n.23); cf. n. on 11.735 *tela inrita*, Centlivres, *TLL* 7.2.43517ff.; *tacet EV*. A corrector of F writes **irrita**, but otherwise the capital mss. do not write *irr-* for *inr-* (Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 433), and I should not have done so, misleadingly, in comm. at 11.735. *Nihil profutura* Serv..

manu...iactabant Cf. 11.893 *tela manu...iacunt* with n., Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.49.39f.; Serv. glosses *spargebant*. Ennian idiom (*Ann.*70).

miseri...Teucri Cf. 42, 199, 248, 411; as Aen. makes his way to the roof, the grandeur and pathos of the narrative is wisely, for a moment, relaxed and V. descends to an appropriate idiom.

460 turrim For acc. in *-im*, cf. n. on 224, **securim**. Interesting that Serv. thought he had to tell readers on 463 *et est ordo ‘turrim conuellimus impulimusque’*; the distance (28 words) from obj. to main verb is not in practice excessive or problematic. Is this tower part of the wall, or palace, like the **turris** of 445, or is it a wooden defensive tower, like that of 9.530ff., as Mansuelli claims, without argument, *EV* 1,

805? The issue obscured or ignored at Rossi, 182f., Kroll, *Studien*, 181, Wickert, 457, Lersch, 103f., Sandbach, *ORVA*, 459; Malavolta, 176f. and in *EV* 5*, 139 is clearly right to distinguish two types of tower, and some clarification is called for: in Hom., πύργος is most commonly used in the sense of ‘wall’, but ‘tower’ is also attested (Cunliffe, s.v.; cf. H. Graillot, H. Frère, DS 5, 545, n.25, Kirk on 7.338, Leaf (21), 153, etc.) and towers as part of the walls of heroic Troy should not be dismissed as a (perfectly tolerable) anachronism. Towers in the Troy of TIC, Sadurska, 35; cf. Hor.C.4.6.7 *Dardanas turris*. At **445 turris ac tecta domorum**, the towers are most probably those of Priam’s palace; **domorum** (i.e. palace) rules out both those of the wall and indeed wooden defensive towers. It would be difficult to pass fifteen lines later to a different kind of tower. The towers of Rom. villas of V.’s period are well known, P. Grimal, *Les jardins romains* (Paris 1943), 276f.; for Suet.*Ner.*38, see on **461**, *ad fn.*; at Plin.’s Laurentine villa, there were two, *Ep.*2.17.12, 13 (where vd. Sherwin-White), Mart. 3.58.46, Graillot and Frère, 551. Here, the tower is clearly part of the Palace (cf. Wistrand, 152), whatever its material, and has nothing in common with the wooden defensive towers of the Trojan camp in bk.9, apart from the name. For the historical use of towers, both defensive and offensive, vd. Kern and E.W. Marsden, *Greek and Roman artillery* (Oxford 1969), indices, s.v.. The tower is what faces Aen. once he gets to the palace roof; Paratore on **463** is quite wrong to say that the ancient comms. there (vd. *infra*) take Aen. as climbing to the top of the tower, but his sense that Aen. stays firmly on the palace roof is quite correct. There is no need at all for him to climb the tower in order to bring it down.

in praecipi stantem Serv. *in alto, unde quis potest praeceps dari*. Cf. also Juv.1.149 *omne in praecipi uitium stetit*, Adkin, *TLL* 10.2.419.49ff., schol. Juv.3.192 on *proni Tiburis arce, in praecipi posita* (irrelevant that this misunderstands Juv.’s *p.*), *EV* 4, 1026 (Bartalucci).

summisque.../ 461 ...tectis Cf. G.4.385 *ad summum tecti*, *Aen.*2.302 **summi fastigia tecti, 695 summa...culmina tecti**, 4.186 *summi...culmine tecti*, 8.25 *summi... laquearia tecti*. Familiar, even repetitive language, then, but the sense perhaps not entirely clear. Au. proposes that ‘the tower projected skywards above the roofs of the palace’, but usage in the parallel passages cited lends little support to that interpretation; Alternatively, cf. 3.134 *arcemque attollere tectis*; no reason (cf. Ussani, Speranza) why the *tecta* here should not be those of the tower itself and the abl. one of means and that is what the disposition of the words around **sub astra eductam** suggests as natural. It is paradoxical that Au.,

alongside a remarkable note on V.'s cheerful acceptance of repetition (on 505; cf. my n. on 7.554), should here complain of the proximity of **458 summi**.

sub astra/ 461 eductam Cf. **186 caeloque educere** (so too 6.178), 12.674 *turrim compactis trabibus quam eduxerat*. The partic. run on for augmented hyperbolic effect. Hey, *TLL* 5.2.121.72ff. collects usefully the comments in Serv. and TCD on how these passages were interpreted.

461 unde...uideri/ 462 ...solitae Sc. *sunt/erant*. Not *uidere solebant*, with *solere* (and e.g. *posse, debere*, LHS, 365), this use of the personal pass. of *uidere* is standard, Cic.*Div.Caec.8*, 67, Mur.27, 49, *Flacc.33*, *de or.1.1*, 2.108, 146, 180, 290, etc., KS 1, 705, Krebs-Schmalz, *Antibarbarus*, 2, 739, Catrein, 48.

omnis Troia From the top of Samothrace, Posidon gazed: (*Il.13.14*) φαίνετο δὲ Πριάμοιο πόλις καὶ νῆες Ἀχαιῶν; just possibly **omnis** is suggested by **πᾶσα** μὲν Ἰδη in the previous v.. Note too 13.772f., νῦν ὀλετο **πᾶσα** κατ' ἄκρης/ ***Ιλιος** αἰπεινή, used by V. at **290**. V.'s image of the view is perhaps also influenced by *Il.21.526f.* ἐστήκει δ' ὁ γέρων Πριάμος θείου ἐπὶ πύργου [vd. above on **460 turrim**] /έc δ' ἐνόης' Ἀχιλῆα πελώριον. Cf. too *Il.6.388f.* (*supra*, on **457 et auo**), *Aen.12.131–3*, 595–7, P.-J. Miniconi, *Etude des thèmes ‘guerriers’* (Paris 1951), 168. Chaniotis, 107 writes of the *Il.* and the Nereid Monument at Xanthus ‘representing women anxiously watching from the city walls a battle that might determine their fate’. Multiple female spectators in Hom. but the relief shows only one that I can see, Picard, *Manuel*, 2.2, 869, fig.352, W.A.P. Childs, P. Demargne, *Fouilles de Xanthos* (Paris 1989), 88f.. We might also recall Suet.*Ner.38 hoc incendium e turre Maecenatiana prospectans*, as a prelude (itself with clearly significant literary echoes) to the emperor's performance of his *Halosis Ilii*; cf. E. Champlin, *Nero* (Cambridge, Mass. 2003), 49 (with ch.7).

462 et Danaum...naues Homeric νῆες Ἀχαιῶν, *supra*. For **D.**, see 5.

et Achaica casta Cf. n. on **27 Dorica casta** for the issue of the *cacemphaton* (F here reads **Achaia**, which Diehl explains is no more than a form sometimes attested in codd. of authors, for *Achaicus*, *TLL* 1.384.10. Printed by Geymonat, nevertheless). The adj. **A.** also at 5.623, Hor.C.1.15.35, *Catal.5.1*, common in prose (Cic., Liv.) Diehl, *ib.20f.*; occasional in Hom. (e.g. *Il.9.141*; used as epithet of λαός, ***Ἀργος**), and in V. clearly a metrically convenient, slightly obscure vari-

ation on Lucretian *Achaeus* (6.1116). See Pugliese Carratelli, *EV* 1, 21f. and n. on 11.266 for **Achivi**. Cf. n. on 27 **Dorica castra**.

463 adgressi ferro The vb. used of bridges, walls, *castella*, *munitioes et sim.*, Zimmermann, *TLL* 1.1317.9ff.. **F.** may be employed of any metal instrument, *Pflugbeil*, *TLL* 6.1. 578.48ff..

circum, qua The defenders are to be thought of as having access to the three inner faces of the tower; V. now indicates their awareness of just where (**qua**) the weak point is.

summa.../ 464 ...tabulata **T.** standard for indicating the storeys of a siege-tower, *Enn. Ann.* 388, *Caes. Gall.* 6.29.3, *Hirt. Gall.* 8.9.3, *Bell. Hispan.* 19.2, *Liv.* 28.6.3, 32.17.10, *Curt.* 4.3.4 *non <imae> modo Macedonum turres, sed etiam summa tabulata conceperant ignem*. The number of storeys (as regularly specified in the passages cited) clearly indicates the besieger's skill and determination; here, though, the situation is different, for V. clearly does not suggest that the defending Trojans are trying to detach solely the topmost stories of the entire tower from their position (indeed, from the roof of the palace, they cannot); rather, it is the whole of the tower projecting above the roof of the palace that is their objective, and their concentration upon the unsteady *iuncturae* suggests that the tower is either wooden, or built on a wooden frame, somehow insecurely fastened to, or in, the stone wall/roof of the palace. Comms. seem unfamiliar with the problems (modern/ ancient) of securing wooden structures to a stone (or concrete) base; see Philo, 79.2 (ca. 200 BC, Marsden (460), 3, Lendon, 286f.) for the need for good tower foundations. For **summa**, Serv. glosses unhelpfully 'extrema'[of the tower, presumably], while Serv.Dan. comments *summum autem est quod tectum sustinet* [palace or tower?] and TCD explains *abscissis iuncturis omnibus quae magnitudinem tantae altitudinis retinebant*[true enough, but only a partial answer]; the top of the tower is out of reach and irrelevant to the Trojans' task; the bottom cannot be called **summa**. **S.** seems to be applied to all the tower projecting upwards from the roof; the Trojans realise that the tower's height, storey after storey, renders it unsteady, and this V. expresses economically by the single word **s.**, the whole upper part, stretching skywards from the roof (460f.), as perceived from that roof. Page suggests that the lower stories of the tower form part of the palace; this makes excellent sense, if we envisage those lower stories as forming some sort of bastion in the palace wall.

abantis/ 464 iuncturas...dabant Cf. *Vitr.* 2.8.3 *proruunt et coag-mentorum ab ruina dissolutis iuncturis dissipantur*, *Sen. Ep.* 30.2 *ubi tamquam in*

putri aedificio omnis iunctura diducitur, von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.650.45. With the partic., cf. *Lucr.*6.1153 *uitai claustra lababant*, Flury, *TLL* 7.2.778.11f., Bartalucci, *EV* 3, 84; Serv. comments *faciles ad resolutionem*. **D.** not easy, for the tower apparently tottered already before the Greek attack; not therefore ‘made’ and *predic.* adj., and perhaps rather ‘manifested’, ‘provided’. Thus 12.69 *talis virgo dabat ore colores*, *Liv.*22.47.8 *cuneus cedendo etiam sinum in medio dedit*, *de Rosalia*, *EV* 2, 116, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1684.5f., 1685.47ff., and vd. **482** (with n.). The first of five consecutive run-on lines; from the Trojans’ assault on the tower, to its final, and fruitless, fall is but one continuous, forwards-lurching movement.

464 conuellimus As **445f. ac tota domorum/culmina conuelunt**, **507**. Here, the tower is prised off its foundations: cf. *Cic.Pis.*52 *ipsa Roma prope conuulsa sedibus suis*, *Hirt.Gall.*8.26.4 *nullam partem munitiōnum conuellere potuisserit*, *Alf.Dig.*39. 2. 43 *ut quamvis firma aedificia conueleret [uentus]*, Wulff, *TLL* 4.818.66ff..

altis/ 465 sedibus Probably the sense is that the *sedes* are themselves set high up upon the roof of the palace; possibly the *sedes* are thought of as running deep down into the palace’s structure. **S.** as ‘foundations’: cf. **611**, *Sen.Ag.*485, *OLD* s.v. §10a, Spallone, *EV*4, 750f..

impulimusque Used 8.239 of Hercules finally heaving off the roof of Cacus’ cave; of a tree, *Hor.C.*4.6.10, and cf. *Luc.*6.36f. *extruitur quod non aries impellere saeuus, / quod non ulla queat violenti machina belli*, Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.538, 76f.. The vb. standard Latin (‘adamant epicī’, Hofmann, but common in prose), 24x in *Aen.*; *tacet EV*. The perf. between presents, the so-called ‘instantaneous’ perf.: Quinn, 91, citing e.g. 1.82 *impulit in latus*, to express a fresh turn in a sequence of hist. presents.

ea lapsa With **ea**, the tower, from obj., becomes subj., and its movement will dominate the rest of the description. Note once again the extremely economical use of partic., **ea lapsa** for ‘the fall of the tower’; cf. n. on **413 ereptae**. Compare **463**: from ‘falling’, ‘falls’.

repente Cf. nn. on 7.399 (*repente*) and 7.27 (assonance and double closure thus).

ruinam/ 466 ...trahit Cf. **631**, 8.192, 9.712f., Scaffai, *EV* 5*, 248 and vd. *ib.* 4, 598; note *Hor.C.*2.17.8 *ducet ruinam* with NH. I do not presume to try to improve upon Au.’s acute and sensitive discussion of the admirable sound-effects of this remarkable v.. But it is also worth noting that such occasions are of a familiar type, and represent a great

gift to the writer: the bigger the tower, the more dramatic its end and the greater the drama, and the call for descriptive effects. See 9.540f., Tu. destroys a Trojan defensive tower, and compare *Bell.Hisp.* 13.7, 19.2, *Liv.* 23.37.4f., 32.17.16f., 34.29.6, *Curt.* 9.8.12 and particularly *Caes.Civ.* 2.11.4 (with 12.3f., 14: Massilia; Marsden (460), 112f.): the public that devoured Caesar's account of the siege of Massilia, or their children (not to mention, e.g., DS 17.25.4 and notably 18.70.5), will clearly have appreciated this moment in V. Possibly V. also had in mind Hom.'s account of the damage Sarpedon wrought upon the Achaean wall, *Il.* 12.397ff., a long row of ἐπάλξεις torn loose.

466 cum sonitu Of heavy body hitting ground, discussed in much detail, Roiron, 200–4. The phrasing only *quater* in all of V., rather surprisingly.

et Danaum super agmina *A.* thus with gen. of people: cf. *Aen.* 1.490, 5.675, 9.113, etc.. The Greeks are so numerous that the fall of the tower has no visible effect on the attack; the failure of this last joint undertaking is peculiarly chilling.

late/ 467 incidit Cf. 9.517 *quae stravit Rutulos late* (a well-dropped boulder), 12.454 *ruet omnia late*. The (common) vb. at *Caes.Civ.* 2.11.1 of stones on the roof of a mantelet.

ast alii subeunt For **ast** cf. n. on 7.308. V. says nothing of the slaughter the fall of the tower provoked: they were replaced (*hic ostendit priores perisse Serv.Dan.*), and the attack went on (cf. 331 for Gk. numbers). That is admirably concise. For the vb., cf. 216.

nec saxa Paratore is convinced (as others have been) that these are not the Trojans' miscellaneous missiles of 445–9, but refer necessarily to stones thrown up against the defenders by the Greeks on the ground. Given the studied imprecision of what follows, we might wonder whether that is necessarily quite right: on the epic battlefield we encounter similar references to non-specific sketches of combat, (e.g.) 9.664ff., 11.601f., 633–5, 12.283–4: here, a similar sketch would be welcome; certainly, after 445–9 and our general awareness of the tactical situation, it would be difficult to rule the Trojans out here, especially given the reference to 'all kinds of weapon' so soon after the unconventional missiles used by the Trojans. For rocks used by the besieged, cf. 9.512, *Il.* 12.154–9 (with Seymour, 672f.), *Liv.* 44 *infra*, Rossi, 182, Mazzochini, 249, n.11, *Aen.* 11.529 *grandia uoluere saxa*, with n., Lersch, 104f., citing *Caes.Civ.* 2.11.4. For some more later instances, vd. next n..

nec ullum/ 468 telorum...genus Cf. 9.509f. *telorum effundere contra/ omne genus Teucri*; Rossi, 185 quotes Liv.26.44.7 *ingens enim iam uis omnis generis telorum e muris uolabat*, 44.35.21 *ab ea multitudine...quaes...in turribus stabat omni genere missilium telorum ac saxis maxime uolnerabantur*. Add Liv.27.15.5 *partim tormentis et saxis omnique missilium telorum genere instruit*, 27.18.11 *telorum primo omnis generis uis ingens effusa in eos est*, 28.6.3 *turre instructa omni genere telorum et tormentis machinisque ad oppugnandam eam ex nauibus expositis*, 34.15.5 *saxisque et sudibus et omni genere telorum*, 38.26. 44 *telorum omnis generis ut aeque magna uis ad manum esset, curauit*, 42.65.11 *cum et hoc et alio omni genere telorum*. Unsurprisingly, this proves to be Caesarian idiom, *Gall.*7.41.3, *Civ.*1.26.1, *Bell.Hisp.* 13.6 and (?)11.2. Here, clearly, identifiably milit., if not specifically Caesarian, idiom. For ‘pathetic’ *ullus*, cf. nn. on 3.214, 11.148.

interea cessat In the time it takes for the tower to fall and for Greek replacements to come forward, the battle continues uninterrupted. Cf. Liv.30.33.15 *nec pila ab antesignanis cessabant*, Bannier, *TLL* 3.961.1f., *EV* 1, 721. For discussion of the half-line, cf. Günther, 14, n.9, 40, n.85, Berres 95f., 105, 115, Au. on 66, Sparrow, 38, Cartault, 194. There is no general agreement about the genesis of this hemistich and the conclusions to which it might lead. By the time we reach 468, Aen. is already on the roof: that might be thought of as giving him an opportunity to witness much, if not quite all, of what follows. It might also be thought enough (vd. Au., Sparrow) to suggest that V. had not worked out how to close the episode of the palace’s defence from the roof; the run of thought from mid-467 did not run to the end of 468 and the situation did not call for a further extension, in general terms, of the scene of combat. But mere local tinkering is not enough for (e.g.) Günther, who notes other hemistichs in the vicinity of similes (40, *cit.* and Berres, 95f., 105; cf. my n. on 7.702). The usual complaint (Heinze, Cartault) is that Aen. has not been given enough to do in the narrative, and that these vv. are a first attempt to augment his role. That might, or might not, be true; the conviction that you know better than V. seems rather dangerous.

469–505 An elaborately-structured piece of ring-composition (vd. the diagram, Kenney, 115, and note the discussion, *EV* 4, 1043–5). V. has nearly reached the book’s first climax, Priam’s death, and the reader here arrives at his setting of the scene and the emotional overture: Neopt.’s long, violent assault on the gates harnesses touches of

obscure technical realism: Hector's easy triumph over a similar barrier (*Illiad* 12.453–62; cf. 492 **ariete crebro**) would never do here, and the slow, the laborious opening of a first hole in the gates' timbers, 479–82, is essential to the creation of rising panic within. Death is approaching, irresistibly, given terror and menace by a balancing pair of admirable similes. Perhaps we do not understand all the technicalities to perfection, and there are a lot of doors, but the multiplicity of *limina* and *postes* may, we shall see, tend to the creation of calculated ambiguity (500). Norden's remarks (*EuV*, 154ff., Skutsch, p.279f.) on Enn.'s account of the sack of Alba, in the wake of Serv.'s n. on 486, perhaps slightly misled later studies; we are learning that V.'s *urbes captae* are rather more complex (cf. Rossi (2002), 231ff., 237, Rossi, 31f., *et passim*); between epic, tragedy and history, it is clear enough that V.'s image of the palace's interior has complex and varied origins (cf. my remarks, *SCI* 26(2007), 70, n. on 289, Paul, 149 and for Serv. on such topics, vd. *Alambicco*, 80, with n.15); as so often, we find that the presence of a strong tragic element, Greek, Roman, or as here both, carries V. to his greatest heights. A. Bowie, *CQ* 40(1990), 470–1, E.J. Kenney in *Creative imitation and Latin literature* ed. T. Woodman and D. West (Cambridge 1979), 103–120, 224–9 (a fine stimulus both to improved insight, and to some dissent), Scafoglio (5), 196–7, R.J. Sklenář, *Herm.* 118 (1990), 67–8, Heinze, 39–41.

469 uestibulum ante ipsum Compare 6.273 *uestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci* (where vd. Au.), n. on 7.181, *EV* 5*, 285, 519f., E. Wistrand, *Eranos* 68 (1970), 197ff., 221f.: there is development in the sense of *u.*, and unexpected flexibility in the sense of *a.* (not only 'in front of', but 'in the front part of'). Here, *u.* seems to indicate not any part of the palace but the heroic equivalent of the space in front of a Roman front door shielded laterally by the wings of the house: cf. C. Aelius Gallus fr.7Fun. *locum ante ianuam domus uacuum, per quam a via aditus accessusque ad aedis est* (and numerous instances cited by Wistrand). Pyrrhus has very clearly (*pace* Heinze) not yet passed the front door (480), so *u.* cannot refer to any sort of chamber inside (contrast 6.273, where the *u.* serves as rough sleeping quarters). When his comrades arrive (476) and try to fire the roof, Pyrrhus will try to force the doors (cf. Wistrand (437), 152); before that point, there is no difficulty in giving the two prepositions their conventional values; whether or not he is actually within the space flanked by the palace's wings seems of little interest or importance.

primoque in limine Cf. 485 **limine primo** (also at 6.427, 11.423). Perhaps here the step from the street to the outer courtyard. *Limen* itself has varied senses: for ‘threshold’, cf. nn. on 7.343, 598, and for the range of meanings, from ‘step’ to ‘building’, *EV* 3, 225ff., Meijer, *TLL* 7.2.1403.36ff.; for Hom., cf. Anderson, 34. Claimed as ‘theme and variation’ by Au., not quite convincingly, for the juxtaposed references in this v. do not point to quite the same place. Cf. C. Bullock-Davies, *GR* 17(1970), 135–41 for the thematic presence of the *limen* in 2: certainly the invasion and destruction of Troy is marked by the breaching of one *limen* after another.

Pyrrhus On the fragile presence of Achilles’ son in Hom., and on his status in the *Cycle*, cf. Edwards on *Il.*19.326f.. For general discussions, cf. Anderson, 38ff., J. Scherf, NP 8.330–2, O. Touchefeu-Meynier, *LIMC* 6.1.773–9, *EV* 4, 121–3, Robert, 2.3₄, 1218ff., Weizsäcker, Ro.3.167.53ff. and 3360.22ff., K. Ziegler, PW 16.2. 2440.12ff. (*optime*), von Geisau, *ib.*24.1.106.42ff.. For his two names, and for V.’s markedly hostile portrait, cf. n. on 3.296. On Pyrrhus’ later years in Epirus, cf. introd. to *ib.*294–505 and for his death at Delphi, n. on *ib.*332.

470 exsultat Cf. nn. on 386 and 11.491. It is suggested that V.’s choice of verb here alludes to Pyrrhus’ role as the inventor of the Pyrrhic dance; that just might be right. Note also Pind.*Paean* 6.115, using ἐν]θορόντα of him, and *id.Ol.*8.40 (vd. 471–5), allegorically, ἐνόρουσε, along with Nic.*Ther.*138, *infra* (471–5). See P. Ceccarelli, *La pirrica nell’ antichità...* (Pisa 1998), 196, n.35, Kenney, 106, Annibaldis, *EV* 4, 121.

telis et luce...aëna A complex compound expression: Hahn explains (1930, 177) how an object may be correlated with its shadow, the light that emanates from it, or the sound it produces; for the second of these, she also compares 4.167 *fusere ignes et conscius aether*. Here, t. refers only to offensive weapons (422); armour is ruled out, and V. focuses our attention on sword and spears. This use of *lux* for ‘gleam’ is not uncommon: Ehlers (*TLL* 7.2.1913.37ff.) compares, notably, 7.526f. *aera fulgent/ sole lacessita et lucem sub nubila iactant*. Note *EV* 3, 292. Compare, closely, *Il.*13.341 αύγὴ χαλκείη κορύθων ἀπὸ λαμπομενάων; informed readers may also have recalled Eur.*Andr.*1146 ἔστη φαεννοῖς δειπότης...ὅπλοις (cf. Bowie, 471, Scafoglio (5), 200). Naturally, the aetiological colour of Pyrrhus’s hair, the red gleam of the bronze and the background of leaping flames are all here more or less present in

the imagination, alongside the evil play of the snake's scales in the sunlight; here 'Neoptolemus' would never have done: vd. Annibaldis, *supra*, Knox, 393f., O'Hara, *TN*, 133, Scafoglio, *cit.*, Schwarz, 448. Of **a.** (Bickel, *TLL* 1.1445. 56), Gell.2.3.5 relates that he had been shown a *librum...miranda e uetustatis* said to have been V.'s own in which the h had been added *supra lineam*; cf. my note, *Vergilius* 41(1995), 57–9, on the evidential status of these novelettish fantasies about V.'s alleged mss.; their power of seduction has been inappropriately high.

coruscus It was realised in antiquity that this was a slightly tricky word: so Serv. on **172** *alias fulgens, alias tremulum est* and Burger, *TLL4*. 1076.31ff. quotes at length a survey of the scale of meanings from *Dub. nom.*, *Gramm.Lat.5.573.16f.*. Here clearly 'glittering', rather than 'gleaming'.

471–5 A simile of the highest quality and complexity, which has attracted appropriate attention: Bowie, 471, Putnam, 33f., Schwarz, Scafoglio and Knox, *cit.* (**470**), Kenney, 106–9, Hornsby, 61f., Mills (**506–58**), 162f., Williams, *TI*, 256f., Hügi, 133, R. Thomas, *Reading Vergil and his texts* (Ann Arbor 1999), 125f.:*HSCP* 90(1986), 183, Briggs (**306**), 63, 66f., D.A. West in *ORVA*, 432. TCD explains with relish how appropriate the comparison to a snake is to the characterisation of Neopt., *nam ut serpens non uirtute, sed ueneno confidit*, etc.. West has charted meticulously the many correspondences between simile and narrative and they will be noted, *infra* (though he does not refer, unlike Henry, to Neopt.'s long 'hibernation' on Scyros, from which he has just emerged fresh and gleaming); V. adds one easy but splendid leap of the imagination: at **500**, and **549**, the killer of Priam and Polites is called NEOptolemus (a worthy heir to his father on the battlefield, *Od.11. 503ff.*, Ziegler, 2443.66ff.), and here, the snake, after hibernation, sheds its old skin and emerges new and reborn (the phenomenon of wide interest to poets; *G.3.437*, etc., Gossen-Steier, *PW* 3A.498. 66ff.); cf. West, Kenney, 108f.. Note too the three snakes who leaped into the newly-built walls of Troy (Pind. *Ol.8.37ff.*), of whom only one survived, clearly neither Aeacus, Laomedon's helper, nor Achilles, but Neopt. (schol. on 8.52): a conceit that Didymus thought original to Pindar (schol. on 8.41; vd. Lehnus there; cf. Kenney, 226, n.24, after E.K. Borthwick, *CQ* 26(1976), 203 for Neopt. as serpent at Lyc.185, 309, 327). Cf. Vellay, 55, 285, Kenney, 109, Gruppe, 90, Robert, 2.2₅, 74f., Gunning, *PW* 12.1. 751.39ff.. At **471**, **mala gramina**, we seem to have identified a trace of curious snake-lore, but the detail is most likely to have

reached V. via the Hom.-scholia. For the rest, V. draws on Hom., Nic. and himself, with a possible touch of Eur. (vd. **470 telis...**): first, then, G. (Briggs, Kenney, 107): initial **nunc** here in place of G.3 *cum* excepted, **473** is taken from G.3.437; **474** begins **lubrica conuoluit** for G.3.426 *squamea conuoluens* and both vv. end *sublato pectore terga* and **475** is identical with G.3.439. The *chelydrus* of G., Thomas reminds us, is a *pestis acerba boum*, preparatory to the great plague, and the context there contributes to the menace here. Behind G., Nicander (Kenney, 106f., Thomas, Mynors on G.3.414–39, Gualandri, *EV* 3, 719f.): as Plin.*Nat.*(8.99) too tells us, the snake sloughs its skin after a dose of fennel-sap, which makes it (*Ther.*34) ὠκύν τε καὶ αὐγήντα; cf. 138 ἄψ ἀναφοιτήῃ νεαρῇ κεχαρημένος ἥβῃ and the new skin of 392 ὑπ’ ἡελίοι. Note also (Kenney, 108) the menacing rearing of Nic.’s asp, *Ther.*164–7. Finally, Hom., thoughtfully ‘corrected’: at *Il.*22.93–6 Hector awaits Ach. as a snake awaits a man. Here, though, uniquely, the snake is the aggressor, and will emerge victorious (Bowie, 471, n.13, Kenney, 106). The father returned Hector’s body to Priam; the newly refreshed serpent son will kill both Polites and Priam himself; on the image of odious, brutal violence, cf. Hornsby. Bowie suggests that the brightness of the snake here is influenced by Hom.’s use of light-imagery for the victorious Achilles (471, with n.10), but here it is primarily a contribution of Nicander’s (*Ther.*34, 392). ‘All that is malevolent in animal nature’, Kenney, 109; the grand and magnanimous Achilles, in short, reborn as a snake (cf. Knox).

471 qualis ubi Cf. n. on 11.492.

in lucem Cf. Cic.*carm.Hom.*1.18 *qui luci ediderat*, after Hom. ἵκε φόωσδε (*Il.* 2. 309), Ehlers, *TLL* 7.2.1909.59f.. In the slowly uncoiling sentence the main verb, **conuoluit**, will not appear till **474**, and the theme of **ad lucem** will be restated at **475 ad solem**; this is the first sign of light as the snake awakens, as Neopt. is now first treading the forecourt of the palace (West).

coluber Cf. n. on 7.352, *EV* 4, 798.

mala gramina Cf. Tib.1.2.51, Hor.*Epd.*3.7, Prop.2.1.53, 2.4.8, Ov.Am.1.8.7, etc., Krieg/Rubenbauer, *TLL* 8.224.30, Schuster, *ib.*6.2. 2168.56f.. Both noun and adj. carry a strong suggestion of ‘poisonous, noxious’. In mind was Hom.’s sinister βεβρωκώς κακὰ φάρμακ’ (*Il.*22.94; of exactly the same metr. shape), but **gramina** is clearly a ‘correction’; that derives from the notion that a snake’s venom derives from its venomous diet: cf. Kenney, 107, Gossen-Steier, 499.48ff.,

Paus.9.28.1 ('grasses and roots'), Ael.*HA* 6.4 (diet of poisonous roots and grasses, when it wants to ambush a man). Ael. refers back to Hom., and the same doctrine is present in Schol.T on *Il*.22.94 (cf. too Arist.fr.372R, Plin.*Nat.*11.281 for further traces): V.'s use of such material is now well-established. So V.'s **gramina** are the πόας of the Gk. writers, and they convey a strong implication that Pyrrhus is waiting at the palace door, prepared and with intent to kill, perfectly in keeping with V.'s image of his nature.

pastus In trag., Lucr., but not Cat., Cic.*carm*, Hor.*C.*; some 50x in V.; here cf. Krömer, *TLL* 10.1.601.58: contrast *G.3.314*, 4.181 ('feed on' as against here 'comedere, devorare', Krömer). Also found with abl., as at *G.3.231*, *Aen.*10.710, Krömer, 599.76ff., Flobert, 413f.. See Kenney, 225, n.18 for a critique of I. Gualandri, *Acme* 23(1970), 149–51 (who takes *in lucem...pastus* together, herbal remedies for snakes' eye-problems).

472 frigida...bruma Cf. Bannier, *TLL* 2.2208.27f., Rubenbauer, *ib.* 6.1.1327.30, who quotes *Gloss.Lat.*5.104.18 *gelida hiems*. Cf. too Petr. 132.8, v.5, [sc. *mentula*] *namque illa metu frigidior rigente bruma*. The disposition of words opposes the chill of winter to the snug shelter that the snake had found under ground; for their hibernation, cf. Gossen-Steier, 497.62ff..

sub terra...quem...tegebat Cf. *G.4.43* *sub terra souere larem*, Plin. *Nat.*11.59, 71. The rel. pron. delayed to fifth place; for such anastrophe, cf. n. on 7.659; prominence given to the chill of winter. **T.** is used in a nicely paradoxical way: the chill of winter actually protects the snake by forcing it to stay underground and asleep; so **159 tegunt** refers to some extent (Serv.Dan.) to the Greeks hidden inside the TH (cf. too **401 conduntur**).

tumidum Cf. Cic.*Vat.*4 *repente enim te tamquam serpens e latibus oculis eminentibus, inflato collo, tumidis ceruicibus intulisti* (where cf. too **2.381=G.3.421** *caerula colla tumentem*), Ov.*Met.*1.460 *tumidum Pythona*, 3.33 *corpus tumet omne ueneris*, 10.313, Mancini, *EV*5*, 313. Hor. cleverly uses this *vox propria* of the ground containing the serpents, *Epd.*16.52 *nec intumescit alta viperis humus* (where vd. Watson's n.). But it is hard to credit that just here V. indulges in a flat, conventional epithet: rather, he suggests perhaps both that the snake had passed the winter swollen with *mala grama* and as a result emerges in the spring swollen with vicious, poisonous rage, or at very least one of these meanings. A notable sequence of **-um** sounds, perhaps dully menacing.

473 nunc Adversative, really (as often; cf. e.g. 7.602), in opposition to **bruma**; cf. Hand, 4, 333f..

positis...exuuiis So already *G.3.437*; then note *Luc.9.718*, *Suet. Nero* 6.4, *Apul.Apol.51*, etc., *Isid.Orig.12.4.47*, *Kornhardt, TLL* 5.2.2129. 43ff.; *Schol.Ver.* questions the propriety of the metaphor, but since *e.* is also used of the skin of an animal (*Plaut. Most.882*, *Acc.trag.256*, etc.) it is hardly problematic here; *spolia* so used by *Lucr.* 4.62, *OLD* s.v., §1. And in referring to the son of the man who stripped Hector's *exuviae*, V.'s choice of word, possibly an extension, but hardly surprising or unusual, can hardly be other than carefully pondered. **P.** not to be claimed as metrically useful *simplex* for *depositis*; this is a common use of the *simplex*, *OLD* s.v., §6b. For ancient views of the snake's sloughing, cf. Mynors on *G.3.437*, *Gossen-Steier*, 497.66ff..

nouus Newness as part of a natural cycle, *Nosarti, EV* 3, 769, citing e.g. 6.206, 7.720. But also appropriate to Neopt.'s youthful energy (cf. West, 432), and to his role as the Greeks' new champion (cf. 4.10 *nouus...hospes*), unwearied by ten years of siege.

nitidusque iuuenta N. of horses, 7.275 *nitidi in praesepibus altis* (with 6.654f.), *G.4.337* of hair and cf. *G.1.153 nitentia culta, Aen.4.150 tantum egregio decus enitet ore; EV* 3, 738f.. Plin.'s use of *n.* at *Nat.8.99* presumably a Virgilian echo, as Mynors notes the Virgilian *trisulca* at 11.171. For **i.**, often (as here) a metrically useful alternative to *iuuentus* (from *Cat., Cic.carm.*), cf. *Au. here, E. Bednara, ALL* 14(1906), 346f., *Heck, TLL* 7.2.740.78ff.; *EV* 3, 75 uninformed. Jackson acutely remarks that γῆρας, *senecta/-tus* are the technical terms for the sloughed skin of a snake; V. thus applies to Neopt. a word easily applicable, technically, to a newly-sloughed snake: cf. *G.3.437*, *Heck., cit.*, 741.62ff..

474 lubrica...terga *G.3.426* begins *squamea...*; neither adj. particularly interesting or distinctive; for **l.**, cf. *Heus, TLL* 7.2.1687.47ff., *Lucr.4.60, Cic.Arat.218*, n. on 7.353, 5.84, *Milani, EV* 3, 256f.: conventional language. **T.** of serpents, 208.

conuolut Cf. *Manil.1.433, Val.Max.1.8.2, Plin.Nat.10.197, 12.142* similarly of serpents, *Spelthahn, TLL* 4.888.56ff..

sublato pectore Cf. 206 for the **p.** of serpents. At *G.3.426 sublato corpore*; so too of human bodies *G.4.174, Aen. 2.153*, 5.375, *De Vivo, EV* 5*, 206.

475 arduus ad solem So already *G.3.438*; cf. *Aen.5.277f. sibila colla/arduus attollens*. Note the snake's liking for the sun's warmth at *Nic. Ther.*

370 (for 392, cf. 471–5). It towers erect like a warrior and the implicit gleam of the sun on its scales suggests the glitter of armour.

et...micat ore Cf. Cic.*carm.Marius* fr.3.4, of the wounded snake, *et uaria grauiter ceruice micantem*, G.3.84 (horse's ears), Lambertz, *TLL* 8.929.52f.. For the snake's tongue, cf. West on Hes.*Theog.*826. Senis, *EV*3, 518 sees not merely flickering here but also a play of light, surely improbable when applied to a snake's slender, black tongue (cf. Gossen-Steier, 496.48f., quoting Lucian, *Alex.*12). **Ore** locative, **linguis**, abl. of means.

linguis...trisulcis The adj. already *bis* in Varr.*Men.*; at 54 of *fulmen*. The Greeks had long known that the snake's tongue was *two*-pronged: Nic.*Ther.*228, Arist.*Hist.an.*508 a25, but Gossen-Steier persuasively suggests (496.53ff., whence, presumably, Mynors on G.3.439) that Arist.'s reference to the tongue as **τριχωδες**, thin as a hair (*Part.An.* p.660b8), led by a banal misunderstanding to the simply erroneous idea of *three* prongs. Beside this admirable line of argument, Au.'s suggestion that the application of **t.** to lightning contributed to its use of the snake's tongue tends rather to pale, though it should not be excluded, especially since West, 432 observes that **micat** too, like 470, **coruscus**, can be applied to lightning; that pattern of association would bind the two ends of the simile very well. V. uses plur. not only because he often does of parts of the body (Kraggerud, *EV*4, 150), but in homage to the three forks of the tongue (Bell, 74).

476 una.../ 477 ...una Cf. 5.830f., 8.104f..

ingens Of the individual warrior, cf. 6.413, 1.99, 12.927, etc., Grillo, *EV*2, 968.

Periphas A name used of two figures in Hom.; the Greek had been killed long since, but Höfer (whence, clearly, *EV*) acutely notes that this Aetolian victim of Ares is twice called (5.842, 847) **πελώριον**, whence V.'s epithet. *EV*4, 26, H. Treidler, PW 19.1. 838.9ff., G. Berger-Doer, *LIMC* 7.1.326f., Höfer, Ro.3.2.1971.25ff..

et equorum agitator Achillis *Auriga secundum usum communem* Serv.Dan.; indeed: cf. already Plaut.*Men.*160, Lucil.1305 (cf. further Lyne, *WP* 123–5). But with the gens., V. elevates the familiar word to the grandeur of an epic compound epithet, Hom. **ἱππηλάτα**.

477 armiger Cf. n. on 11.32. 6.485 confirms that the roles of charioteer and armour-bearer were conceived as overlapping. (cf. *Il.*24.574f. for Automedon as a valued **εταρος** of Ach.).

Automedon Son of Diores, charioteer to Patr. and Ach., and also active in battle. Gargiulo notes that his name is already antonomastic for ‘a fast driver’, Cic.*Rosc. Am.*98, with Landgraf’s ample note, Mayor on Juv.1.60. ‘A Jehu’ once in English. F. Graf, NP 2, 360, A. Kossatz-Deissmann, *LIMC* 3.1.56ff., *EV* 1, 426 (Gargiulo), Escher, PW 2.2.2605.11ff., Stoll, Ro.1.1.737.23ff..

omnis Scyria pubes For **p.**, cf. n. on 7.105; **o.** exactly as at **415**
Dolopumque exercitus omnis. Scyros named only four times in Hom.: it was from S. that Od. fetched Neopt., *Od.*11.509 and it had been there that Thetis had concealed the infant Achilles. S. lies to the E. of northern Euboea, Barrington 55, GH3. A rich article in Smith, *Dict. Geogr.s.v.*; cf. also Fredrich, PW 5A.690.12ff., *EV* 4, 730, N. Boncasa, *PECS*, 846, A. Külzer, NP 11.643.

478 succedunt tecto The vb. and phr. do not necessarily imply hostile intent; cf. 1.627 *tectis...succedite nostris*, 11.146 *succedere tectis*, *EV* 4, 1055. T.: **302, 440**, etc..

et flammas Cf. **289** for the firing of Troy and for flames in the *urbs capta*.

ad culmina iactant The vb. at **459**; the roof of the palace by now very familiar to us: cf. **410**. Agathias Scholasticus will write of the Ἀτρειδᾶν ὁροφηφάγου...πῦρ, *Anth. Gr.*9.152.5. For three lines after the snake simile, V. relieves, slightly, the tension of the narrative, as we perceive from the more lightly deployed verbal resources. We might think that there were already enough Greeks, but their resources seem endless, and yet more arrive (as at **467**): with the son of Ach., his driver and the men of Scyros, as though to underscore the implication that Ach. is, in some sense, once more on the battlefield.

479 ipse inter primos Cf. n. on 7.783; **i.** ‘indicates respect for Neopt.’s standing’. *Inter primos* also after *Aeneas* at 8.586; The repetition of handy expressions creates, intentionally or not, a faintly formulaic effect.

correpta...bipenni **B.:** cf. n. on 11.135; **c.:** cf. nn. on **167, 217**.
dura.../ 480 limina *Hoc est fortia et quae facile superari non possunt* TCD; note 11.890 *duros obice postes*. For the range of **limen**, cf. **469**: thick wooden leaves and jambs, along with stone lintels amply justify **dura**; cf. n. on 7.622 for some technical matters and Blümner, *Privataltertümer*, 16f. (with E. Pottier, DS 3.1.603ff.; at 607 not satisfactory on *postis*) for detailed discussion. A succession of three run-on lines con-

tributes to our sense of Neopt. forcing his way with dogged violence through the doors; cf. 463. If we pause to wonder, Aen., from the roof, can still presumably see Neopt. in the forecourt.

perrumpit At G.1.98, *Aen.*9.513; used in the hexams. of ‘Liv.Andr.’ fr.40 Büchner, *Cic.carm.Aesch.*2.8, Lucr. *bis*, Meijer, *TLL* 7.2.1409.18, Kruse, *ib.*10.1.1666.60f.

postisque.../ 481 aeratos Cf. the gilded beams of 448; the **postis** here are clearly to be understood in the narrow (but not exclusive) sense of ‘jambs’, the revolving vertical posts at the side of a door; though here the presence of **cardine** might seem to exclude other senses of **postis** (for which vd. full n. on 7.622 and, briefly, 490, *infra*), even here we can hardly exclude an attack on the whole door, jambs and leaves, *postes* and *ualuae*, a far more practicable and promising means of assault; Sabbadini and Benoist offer accounts recommended to lovers of the farcical, in which Pyrrhus is solemnly presented as attacking stone threshold and lintel, to free the *cardines*. Cf. Enn.*Ann.*226 *Belli feratos postes portasque refregit* (where vd. Skutsch), *Aen.*7.622, Krömer, *TLL* 10.2.234.22ff.; for bronze, cf. Varr.*LL* 5.163, Tib.1.3.72, with Smith’s n., Ov.*F.*2.785, 6.363 (with Bömer’s interesting n.), von Mess, *TLL* 1.1059.30ff. and above all, *Aen.*1.448f. and Plin.*Nat.*34.13 *prisci limina etiam ac ualuas in templis ex aere factitauere; uectes* of bronze (or bronze-clad) at 7.609 (where vd. n.). For (Enn., etc.) *ferrati postes*, cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.572.28ff., Amm.*Marc.*30.5.17. Display and defence, against human foes, and (Blümner) against worm.

a cardine uellit For the senses of **c.** in V., cf. n. on 7.621, and note Jocelyn on Enn. *trag.*88: here clearly enough ‘socket’ (sc. in which the *postis* turns). But technical descriptions in V. prove often, as here, to be problematic (cf. Romano, *EV* 5*, 473 for a helpful summary; the issue of no interest to recent commentators): this line describes how Neopt. **uellit** one or both the armoured jambs of the palace doors out of its/their socket(s), and that would be fully sufficient to permit entry; it is, though, taken literally, an extraordinarily difficult way of forcing an ancient, or modern, door (cf. Headlam on Herondas 2.65, citing Lys.3.6 ἐκκόψας τὰς θύρας εἰς ἡλθεν εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν, Plb.4.3.10 ἐ. οἰκίας, n. on 7.622, P. Howell, *Philol.*112 (1968), 132ff.). Can we really suppose that Neopt. began by forcing the jamb(s)? He goes on (credibly, sensibly) to hack a hole in the leaves (481–2); after a detailed account of the view opened up, both inwards, and out, Pyrrhus sets to, again (**instat**, 491); after hard pounding (492), the bars give (491f.) and (492) the jambs fall from their sockets; at this point, finally (493),

fit uia ui. Con. and Henry, as often, differ: the latter supposes that V. begins with a statement of the completed act, after which he goes on to narrate the detailed stages; the former (on 479) suggests that **perrumpit** recounts Neopt.'s continued action: Aen., that is, sees him hewing determinedly at the leaves of the door, to permit the creation of a hole, through which his men can both see their objective (483–5) and assault the inner structure of bars (Pottier, 608: *repagula*, technically), in the end, successfully. The sight and sound of the leaves yielding are fully enough to reduce the women of the palace to extremes of distress: 486–90 are precisely complementary to 483–5, as Henry well remarks; note how Liv.1.29.2 (Alba) refers to *effractis portis* as a source of *pauor*. It is unusual for Con. to grasp correctly a sequence of actions 'in the real world', as here, but to interpret the two presents of 480 as continuous or conative (KS 1, 121, Hightet, 115) is easy and elegant, and does not detract (as Henry's interpretation does) from the climactic character of 493 **fit uia ui.** Serv. writes well of **uellit non deicit - nam sequitur paulo post** (quoting 492), *sed mouet* and Serv.Dan., on the same track, offers *uel certe 'uellere uult'*. Given V.'s use of *uellere signa* with n., 566 *de caespite uellit*, Romano, *cit.*), its application to Neopt.'s efforts to force pivot from socket (on which Quintus, *Posthom.* 3.27, 11.391 is helpfully explicit) is bold, but not difficult. The old uncertainties of 500 **limina** and 504 **postes** may now prove easier to resolve.

481 iamque Cf. 132, 209, J.B. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.109.12f..

excisa trabe Should be written with *exs-*, not *ex-*, Cass.*Gramm.Lat.* 7.204.10, but the mss. do not concur; Mynors not consistent; vd. Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1240.23ff.. See 177 for this strong, much-liked vb.. Not even the gods could *excindere bello* (6.553) the *porta aduersa ingens* of Phlegethon. Some edd. (e.g. Con., Williams) offer the flaccid 'plank' (and 'panel' is hardly better): clearly this palace door was properly made, of beams, or balks, of timber, as *OLD* s.v., §3a makes perfectly clear; the root sense is 'tree-trunk', after all; at the problematic 1.449, **t.** is used differently (vd. Au. *ad loc.*). At *Gall.*7.50.4, Caesar writes *cum portas excidere conatus esset*, but that refers to the forcing of the *portae*, which we have just seen is a larger operation, of which the present axe-assault is only a significant part; Kapp/Meyer, *cit.*, 1244.24, 28.

firma.../ 482 robora Cf. Lackenbacher, *TLL* 6.1.815.19f., s.v. 'solidus, durus, difficilis ad destruendum', comparing Plin.*Nat.*13.127. **R.** : cf. 186, stout beams of oak.

cauauit Cf. n. on 7.632, Hoppe, *TLL* 3.654.83f.; note the horse pawing the ground violently at *G.3.87*.

482 et ingentem...fenestram The adj. a tribute to Neopt.'s efforts (and we should not suppose that his comrades rested on their shields); a large hole means more of the *clastra* exposed and a better view for both attackers and occupants. **F.** used often too of the slits left in walls and towers for the users to fire or hurl weapons, Wulff, *TLL* 6.1.480.55ff., *Aen.*9.534; even for *tomenta*, Caes.*Civ.*2.9.8. See O. Hey, *ALL* 9(1896), 202 for the transference. V. ought to have written *cauernam*, TCD, who goes on to explain that the hole was not large enough for a man to enter, but permitted a view of the inside. **F.** is the climactic word; the whole assault has led up to this moment, the opening of the first breach, at v.-end, with strong pause and change of direction, after a long sequence of run-on vv.; cf. Kenney, 116.

lato...ore Describing the *fenestra*; it had a wide aperture. Compare the *ora* of *columbaria*, Varr.*RR* 3.7.4, of beehives, Colum.9.7.4. Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1090.36f.

dedit in the sense of 'faciunt, formant'; cf. 12.575 *dant cuneum*, *EV* 2, 116, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1685.58ff.; not that distant from the 'provide' of Cat.95.8 (fish-wrappings).

483 apparent...intus.../ 484 apparent The vb. (cf. 422) at the beginning of successive vv. (cf. *G.1.77f.*), with the anaphora (with 'verb-shift') interrupted by **patescunt** (not the same as Wills' 'resumption after interruption'). Prof. Görler well compares 8.241f. *at specus et Cacai detecta apparuit ingens/ regia et umbrosae penitus patuere cauernae*. Wills, 294 suggests that V. here reflects the φαίνετο...φαίνετο of AR 1.583, but that seems quite unpersuasive. Aen. as narrator here briefly steps aside and the reader looks through the hole at Neopt.'s side into the heart of the palace (cf. Worstbroek, 137f., Kenney, 116, Reed, 179). The anaphora serves to suggest something of the scale of the prospect now opened up within the doors. The advb. 15x. in *Aen.*, *bis* in *Enn.Ann.*, 26x in *Lucr.*, *semel* in *Cat.* (61); not in *Hor.C..*

domus The word altogether appropriate to a royal palace (as indeed to rather humbler dwelling), Hofmann, *TLL* 5.1.1955.4ff.. The line's singular rhythm seems to suggest the long sequence of courts and buildings receding uninterrupted: pyrrhic with diaeresis in second foot, trochee in third foot, giving 'Greek' caesura; self-contained dactyl in fourth foot, again eliminating any conventional caesura, and closing

the line in a smooth flow of three concidences of metrical beat and word-accent.

atria longa On Wistrand's view (152), the two courts, those of the *andronitis* and *gynaecoritis*, now become visible; though V.'s conception of the palace's design may contain a Greek element (454), the terminology is firmly Roman (cf. Sandbach, 454); cf. 1.726, 4.666, 7.379, 12.474, Münscher, *TLL* 2.1102.15ff.; for a summary of recent views of what a Roman of V.'s time might have envisaged as an *atrium*, cf. A.J. Brothers in (ed. I.M. Barton) *Roman domestic buildings* (Exeter 1996), 34ff. (a hall towards the front part of the house with a central courtyard open to the sky); Polites, fleeing Pyrrhus (528), **porticibus longis fugit et uacua atria lustrat**. Length is appropriate to the majestic scale of a royal palace.

patescunt Used of an abstr. subject at 309; here Serv.Dan. remarks *aperiuntur ac per hoc uidentur*. Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.702.66ff.

484 Priami et ueterum...regum Priam is repeatedly presented as the symbol of Troy's venerable majesty (22, 56, 191, 437, 454, etc.), just as the city itself is presented as venerable (56 with n., 241f. with n., and in particular 363 with n.). Note the **ueterum** *effigies ex ordine auorum* in Latinus' palace (7.177, with full n.). For **u.**, cf. n. on 448.

penetralia Cf. 508, n. on 7.59, Hor.C.4.4.26 ('Augustus'), Wirth, *TLL* 10.1.1062.23ff.. Kenney writes (116) “[i] Pyrrhus' breach of the door is made to appear the first stage in the profanation of a holy place: [ii]not only because mention of the *penetralia* implies the women's quarters, [iii]but because to a Roman all houses were holy, being the abode of gods, the Penates, with whom the word *p.* is etymologically connected”. [ii] is perplexing, for Priam's women (489f., 515–7) will be seen gathered about the altar; that of Zeus Herkeios was found in the αὐλή, E. Saglio, DS 1.1, 348, Jessen, PW 8.686.15ff., etc., and for Hom., cf. (with the comments of Athen.p.189EF) Seymour, 183, Hans Schwabl, PW 19A.309.49ff.; the altar of the Penates remained in the *atrium*, even after the hearth itself had moved to the kitchen, Wissowa, 162. Cf. Wistrand, 153. There seems no hint that the women's domestic privacy, specifically, is violated; their quarters are not, on ancient definitions, inherent in the term *penetralia*. [iii] The altar of the Penates/Zeus Herkeios will turn out to be located **aedibus in mediis** (512) in keeping with Greco-Roman usage (*supra*), and V. is leading our eyes and hearts inexorably towards that altar (501) but by a complex and indirect route; indeed **Penates** do lurk in *penetralia* (Serv. here,

Val.Max.1.8.7, etc., Paul.exc.Fest.p.231.1). But V.'s first reference here to the very heart of the palace does not jerk our thoughts at once to the fatal altar; the narrator has yet some way to go and the word is not compellingly sacred in its associations (which do, modestly, exist: 297, Paul.exc.Fest.p.89.26f.). That said, it is of course true—cf. [i]—that we have just now begun to watch appalled the final desecration, violation, rape, if you will, of Priam's palace, symbol of old Troy. But Enn.'s concentration upon the destruction/violation of Troy's religious sites (Jocelyn, Enn.*trag.*, p.244) seems to be a good deal more insistent than V.'s own.

485 armatosque The Trojans first mentioned at 449f.; they have nine lines to live; the partic. useful (vd. 328). Note Livy's *cursus per urbem armatorum* (1.29.2).

uidet V. has directed Pyrrhus' gaze to the heart of the palace, and only now back to the foreground, immediately inside the doors (cf. the movement of our attention, 500–2 with Kenney, 117). Geymonat did well to draw attention to the reading **uidet** (ed., after *SCO* 14(1965), 88f.), present in Vn; after the change of subject, the sing. here brings the reader back to the singulars of 479–82, and it is easy to see how the plur. here could be no more than an ill-considered consequence of the plurals in the previous verse. The plur. in all edd. save Geymonat gave rise to uncertainty: at 228, n.55 Kenney answers with patience, but firmly enough, two very weak arguments for a change of subject here to 'the Trojans' (Williams' comm.) or to '**penetralia**' (L.M. Fosse, *SO* 49(1973), 93f., and others; vd. Paratore). If, though, V. wrote, as I rather think he did, **uidet**, all such discussions are eliminated.

stantis in limine primo Their role in the story has been marginal (cf. 449f. for details); Kenney, *cit.*, calls them 'grim and motionless' and I could only wish that V. had lent these nebulous figures that much colour. They have had a long wait, increasingly tense as the timbers of the gates began to yield; they cannot be standing upon the *limen* proper, for that is occupied by the gates themselves (480), but they are waiting close enough to strike at the Greeks as they enter the breach. That there is a grim fight (so Au. on 486) at the gate, which V. does not narrate (Kenney, 117) seems improbable; the Trojans who remained to defend the main doors are surely just swept aside (**494 primosque trucidant**), as was Aen.'s own attempt at resistance in the streets; 334f. was another matter, but may have led to later confusion.

486 at A transition of tone, of place and of point of view. No longer do warriors gaze on warriors, but, passing swiftly from the space immediately inside the doors to the heart of the palace, the narrator is permitted to gaze (through the hole) at the women of the palace, and their servants, even if the ‘real’ Aen. is still located on the roof.

domus interior Cf. 1.637f. *at domus interior regali splendid luxu/instruitur* (for this repeated formula interpreted as though significant, cf. Berres, *Entstehung*, 96, n.28), 4.494 *tecto interiore*, Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.1.2209.15ff.. The three words are well suited to the context in both places, and have a baldly formulaic character, ill-suited to resolving questions of priority. Serv. comments famously *de Albano excidio translatus est locus*; cf. Liv.1.29.2 (siege of Alba) *quae[legiones] ubi intrauere portas, non quidem fuit tumultus ille nec pauor qualis captarum esse urbium solet...*; cf. Kenney, 112f. for the ‘obvious, though it must also be added superficial, similarities’ in the Livian passage, probably available to V. by the time he wrote *Aen.2* (*Aen.3*, xxvi^f). These similarities may lead back, in part at least, to Enn. (Norden, *EuV*, 154ff., Skutsch, p.279f., Rossi, 42ff., Wigodsky, 70), and Enn.’s name will indeed appear in my nn. on the next vv., but both Enn. and V. also draw upon the wider conventions of the *urbs capta* motif (vd. **469–505**): we have no idea of just how much of the present passage V. felt to be primarily Ennian.

gemitu miseroque tumultu G. no longer the angry bellowing of **413**, but the much commoner lamentations of **73**, **288**, **323**. The adj. (to be taken with both nouns) pallid and overworked, **248**, **411**, **459**, etc.; V. is progressing towards a great climax with, for now, plain language and modest effects. T. suggests a general chaos and disorder, 12.269, nn. on 3.99, 11.225, that passes beyond mere ululations, as it may well at **122**. At 11.447, 662, 12.757 noise seems dominant. *EV* 5*, 313f. sorts the material rather capriciously. Note once again Liv.1.29.2 (Alba) *supra*, 22.54.8 (news of Cannae reaches Rome) *numquam salua urbe tantum pauoris tumultusque intra moenia Romana fuit*. ‘Panic’ might render some of t.’s force.

487 miscetur Cf. n. on **298 miscentur moenia luctu**, Sall. *Jug.* 12.5 *qui postquam in aedis inrupere, diuorsi regem quaerere, dormientis alios, alios occursantis interficere, scrutari loca abdita, clausa effringere, strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere*, Pfligersdorffer, *TLL* 8. 1094.42f..

penitusque Cf. **19**; a word (cf. *longe, alte*) to V.’s taste, as it achieves a slight intensification at low cost.

cauae...aedes With hollow spaces inside, Hoppe, *TLL* 3.716.66ff., *Aen.*9.46, 534; cf. 53 **insonuere cauae gemitumque dedere cauer-nae, 360 caua...umbra**, Traina, *EV* 1, 717, Roiron, 161, 206f., 489: the courtyards and galleries of the palace are huge enough to echo, and amplify, the women's cries. A reference to the coffered roof (*tecta camerata*), Serv., *male*. When Vitr. refers to the *caua aedium* (6.2.5, 3.1, 5.1), it is in the context of the various ways of roofing part-open spaces; synonymous with *atrium*, except that *c.a* is perforce open (Marquardt-Mau, *Privatleben*2, 223, E. Saglio, DS, s.v., Hoppe, *TLL* 3.623.78ff. and 718.34ff., Sherwin-White on Plin.*Ep.*2.17.4f.). I fail to see why Au. objects to this elegant reference to a familiar technical term (now called *cavaedium*), attractive here in terms of both style and sense.

plangoribus.../ 488 femineis P. (used by Lucr., Cat.64) often passes from breast-beating to simple crying and howling, Reineke, *TLL* 10.1.2315.29ff., at 34f. (note **487 clamor**); compare Cic.*orat.*131 ('de miseratione suscipienda') and Amm.Marc.28.6.15 *moenia Lepcitana, funestis plangoribus resonantia feminarum*. For the adj. thus, cf. 4.667 of *ululatu*, and see nn. on 7.345, 11.782. Lamenting women a strong, stock element in the *urbs capta*: cf. (e.g.) *Il.*6.455, *Plb.*2.56.7 (= Phylarchus, *FGH* 81F53), *Liv.*1.29.5 *uocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur, mulierum praecipue* (therefore Ennian; Skutsch, perhaps rightly), 5.21.12, 5.42.4, 26.9.7, Quint.8.3.68 *et infantium feminarumque ploratus*, Paul, 152f., Rossi 46f., Au. on **486ff.**, nn. on 11. 213ff.; it would be easy and tedious to expand the list of instances, especially from Euripides. The adj. is anyway loftier than the intractable gen..

ululant The personification (vd. Au. here, Fordyce (7/8), Hardie (9), Harrison (10), Traina (12), and my own *Aen.*7, indices, s.v., Pöschl, *EV* 4, 37, §1, Lunelli, *Lingua poetica*, xxix, LHS, 752f., Nisbet on Cic.*Pis.*21 *templa gemerent*) is of a common type, with ample Greek origins (such as *Il.*17.265; here cf. Soph.*Trach.*205(?), Eur.*Alc.*78, *Hel.*859 and in particular Eur.*Tro.*28f. πολλοῖς δὲ κωκυτοῖσιν αἰχμαλωτίδων/ βοῶς Σκάμανδρος); Troy screams as though raped, Kenney, 113. Note 4.689 *stridit... uulnus*. These echoing laments apparently overlooked by Roiron, 451, 486ff., 501ff. (s.v. 'cri humain-constructions'). But not only personification in this very rich phr., as Prof. Görler points out: also a form of hypallage, by which the building becomes the subject and the shouts are relegated to the abl.; see his remarks (with numerous comparable instances, such as *horrere...colla colubris*), *Wü.Jhb.*8(1982), 74f., and *Vergilius Suppl.*2(1982), 58ff.. For the (onomatopoeic, Ennian) vb.,

cf. n. on 7.395, *EV* 5*, 364ff. (helpful but likewise apparently ignoring this passage).

ferit...clamor Expanded at 11.832f. *tum uero immensus surgens ferit aurea clamor/ sidera* (vd. n.; Moskalew does not discuss); cf. too 5.140 *ferit aethera clamor/ nauticus*, Bannier, *TLL* 6.1.513.18f., Cattein, 137, of sound striking (cf. 759 **furit**). Vd. 186 for V.'s vertical-axis hyperbole, particularly common of sounds: cf. *Buc.*5.62, 6.84, 9.29, *Aen.*5.451, 9.504, 10.262, 11.192 (with n.), 745, 12.409, 462, etc.; it would be superfluous to continue.

aurea sidera Vd. n. on 11.*cit.*; an evident contrast here between the still, gleaming stars and the horrors within the palace; cf. Clausen on *Buc.*2.68. Many, according to Serv., thought the words a reference to the coffered roof, *quod stultum est*. Indeed. Kenney objects at length (226f., n.42) to this half-line: ‘the proper setting for this cliché is the open air’. But the observer *Aen.* is on the palace roof and some of the women are in the palace courtyards (501), while others, looking at their rooms for the last time, will be echoed through the vast palace (486–7). The rhythm, adds Kenney, ‘gives a curiously facile effect’, ‘hurried and perfunctory’; present whenever there is a self-contained dactyl in the fourth foot, and indeed approved by Kenney himself at 483 (228, n.56). His further deductions on the ‘unfinished state’ of the whole section are hardly persuasive.

489 tum Kissing/embracing the columns presented as an expression of emotion, or an act *beyond* mere lamentation.

pauidae...matres Cf. 766, 8.592, *Liv.*4.40.2 *pauidaeque matres ac coniuges* (anxious at the return of a defeated army), *Liv.*28.42.11 *euntis in proelium pauida prosecutur coniunx*, 30.33.11 *moenia patriae, di penates, sepulcra maiorum, liberi cum parentibus coniugesque pauidae*, Zoppi, *TLL* 10.1.814.28ff. (*bene*). Possibly an annalistic turn gratefully taken up by V.; for the *pauor* of *Liv.*1.29.2, see on 486 **tumultu**.

tectis...ingentibus The language entirely conventional (t.: cf. 440, 451, etc.; i. suggested equally by use of *longus*, 483, 528). Abl. of extension (cf. Malosti, 67 on 528, 93 on 7.491).

errant They may be the women who will seek sanctuary at the altar, 501, 515; for now they are roaming desperately through the palace. Cf. *Liv.*1.29.3 *nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas ultimum illud uisuri peruagarentur*, Quint. 8.3.68 *aliorum fuga incerta*, with A.J. Woodman, *CQ* 22(1972), 156.

490 amplexaeque tenent Cf. Amm.25.9.5 *turba flebilis postes penantium amplexa uel limina*. Fully discussed, n. on 3.351 (Aen. embraces the *limen* of the ‘Scaean gate’ in Epirus); add App.*Mithr.*88, cited on **502 sacrauerat**. Wistrand bizarrely (152f.) takes Dido’s kissing the nuptial couch (4.659; cf. AR 4.26f., couch and doors) to mean that the *matres* here are all in their bedrooms, each kissing their own *postes*; the gesture is evidently universal, and they kiss on departure (from Troy, from life) any of the doors or door-posts of the great palace in which they have lived (cf. too Plaut.*Merc.*830f., last greeting to the *limina* of home), naturally preferring those of their own quarters, if they are still accessible.

postis. **P.**, it should be repeated, can also be used of the leaves of doors, or of doors as a whole, n. on 7.622, Howell, (**480**), Krömer, *TLL* 10.2.230.64ff. (notably alert to the problems).

atque oscula figunt Cf. Plepelits, *TLL* 9.2.1111.36ff., Lackenbacher, *ib.*, 6.1.710.77, *Aen.*1.687, Luc.6.565. Not, perhaps surprisingly, a conventional expression.

491 instat...Pyrrhus A deliberately abrupt change of direction, from women to war, from inner palace to the gates, from sentiment to violence, from an anonymous collective to Pyrrhus (last present at **482**): marked to the reader’s ears by the crash of a first-foot self contained spondee (cf. Au. on **80**, Kenney, 117, Winbolt, 107, citing 1.423 *instant ardentes Tyrii*) as we return to the leader of the Greeks’ assault, who has hardly been idle in the mean time.

ui patria Cf. **471–5** for Neopt. and Achilles. Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.758. 62ff. s.v. ‘de eis, quae a patre originem ducunt’, comparing Acc.*trag.*591, Cic.*Phil.*5.23 and *Aen.*7.766 (where vd. n.). V. taken up, **494 fit uia ui.** Force, $\beta\alpha$, Squillante Saccone, *EV*5*, 568.

nec...nec A neat way of expressing that neither the palace itself nor its defenders can resist any further. For the second **nec** (thus **P $\omega\gamma$**), **M** reads **neque**; cf. Wagner, *QJ*xxxii, Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 436.

claustra Bolts or bars: cf. 7.185 with n., Cat.61.76, *Carm.bell.Act.* 62, Hey, *TLL* 3. 1319.66.

ipsi/ 492 custodes Cf. **485** for this force; **c.** used much as at **166**.

sufferre Only here in V.; the vb. used by Acc.*trag.* and Lucr.; TCD and Zucchelli, *EV* 2, 498 take the obj. as [*uim*]; why not [*Pyrrhum*]? In practice, “Pyrrhus’ attack”.

ualent ‘Have the strength to’, occasional virtual synonym of *possum* (cf. 3.415, 8.403, 12.798, etc.); Enn.*Ann.*, *trag.*, Lucr., Cat., etc.; cf. Vinchesi, *EV*5*, 420f..

labat.../ 493 ianua Cf. Enn.*trag.*385 *labat*[?sc. *murus*], *labuntur saxa, caementae cadunt*, Cic.*Verr.*2.4.95, Flury, *TLL* 7.2.777.72f.. **I.** standard Latin for the main door of a house, Varr.*Men.*143 *in ianuam ‘caue canem’ inscribi iubeo*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.134.62ff..

ariete crebro Hoppe ‘crebris ictibus arietis’, *TLL* 4.1119.38f.; whatever the sense of **a.**, cf. **627 crebrisque bipennibus**, Colum. 4.14.1 [the *fossor*] *crebris bidentibus...soli terga comminuat*. Does V. refer to a battering-ram, or to repeated blows? Or is the issue left open? Au. suggests that the anachronism might tell against a literal sense of ‘battering-ram’ (vd. Marsden (**460**, index, s.v. ram). Not at all: the poet revels in the modernity of his siege-warfare, Sandbach, 459f., Rossi, 182ff., Malavolta, 174, Wickert, 457 (and note the ram of 12.706). What might tell against the use of a ram is V.’s concentration upon the efforts of Pyrrhus in person; an unseen team of lowly soldiers carrying, or pushing the ram is markedly unheroic; the attentive reader will find in some comms. the conviction that this, or that (cf. **448**, **481**) piece of timber was used as a ram. But the sense ‘repeated blows’ might well - despite Page’s usual rough and informed common sense - be possible: cf. (clearly echoing V.) Curt.4.4.12 *crebris arietibus saxorum compage laxata munimenta defecerant*, Stat. *Theb.*2.492f. *aut celsum crebris impulsibus urbis inclinare latus*, Ausfeld, *TLL* 2.573.45f., ‘instrumentum pro actione’ (for the linguistic context, cf. Adams, *Latin sexual vocab.*, 19ff., Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 138ff.). Note too Plaut.*Capt.*796f. *nam meus est ballista pugnus, cubitus catapultast mihi, / umerus aries*, with *Truc.*256 (*arietat*) and indeed *Aen.*11.890 *arietat in portas* (‘hammers’, of a fierce attack). Kenney (113) suggests that the ‘ambiguous’ ram here might have been transferred from ‘an originally more appropriate context’, such as that of Liv.1.29.2 *stratisue ariete muris*. I wonder: the transference of *aries*, the machine, to the prodigious efforts of a single Greek, and the creation thereby of a pseudo-anachronism (Achilles’ son achieves the effects of a post-Homeric ram) is a touch of splendidly inventive writing, and it is not at all clear that such inventivity must be ‘imported’. Hector, *Il.*12.453–62, hurls a single boulder to break down a pair of gates; Neopt.’s assault more technical, effortful, even credible. For the (necessary) synizesis, cf. Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 881, E. Bednara, *ALL* 14(1906), 335f. (below his best), Lunelli-Janssen, 91, with n..

493 emoti...cardine C. (480) the socket in which the jamb revolves. Cf. *emoto cardine* Stat.*Theb.*1.349, Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.526.3f.; the vb. not common (Plaut., Nigidius, Liv., Hor.*C.*4), but *quater* in *Aen.*

procumbunt A favoured compound (19x in *Aen.*); cf. 505 (again of **postes**), 9.541, Caes.Civ.2.11.4 (tower), Wild, *TLL* 10.2.1569.11f..

postes Cf. 480, 490: the same uncertainty between ‘jambs’ and ‘doors’, or indeed ‘gates’.

494 fit uia ui An excellent *sententia*, exceptionally terse, alliterative (cf. 1.69, 5.754, 6.168, 11.160, 386) and suggesting paronomasia (O’Hara, 61, n.13; cf. 1.566 *uirtutesque uirosque*, 4.3, 8.500). Cf. 10.864 *aperit si nulla uiam uis* (with Harrison’s n.), 12.913 *quacumque uiam uirtute petiuit*, and in particular the contemporary Liv.4.38.4 *quacumque incedunt, ui uiam faciunt* and 22.50.9 *ferro atque audacia uia fit quamuis per confertos hostes* (not a stock phrase), Norden, *EuV*, 155, n.1 and Au. here; use of Enn. far from proved. Of **fit**, La Cerdá well remarks ‘nota verbi huius elegantiam’.

rumpunt aditus Cf. 7.622 *Belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postis* (with n.); Cavazza, *EV* 4, 600 suggests usefully comparison with 10.372f. *rumpenda...uia* (‘open a way’), less so with 129 **rumpit uocem** (q.v.); ‘break open a path in for themselves’ may be present (cf. Liv.2.50.9 *eo nisi corporibus armisque rupere cuneo uiam*), but Dittmann, *TLL* 1.696.40 classes the present passage s.v. *locus, aedificatio*, and quotes numerous instances of an unchallenged literal sense (such as Cic.*Dom.*121, Ov. *Met.*12.44): do the Greeks ‘break down the entrance’ or break themselves open a way in? Or indeed both? I am in no hurry to decide.

primosque trucidant For these supposedly grim but clearly nebulous victims, cf. 491f.. The phr. used again, 12.577; *p.* as noun and without part. gen. dependent not at all common in V. (cf. 7.783 *inter primos*, 9.309; vd. Merguet s.v., §B, Breimeier, *TLL* 10.2.1355.17ff.). Lyne’s account of **t.** is curiously omission (*WP*, 125f.): unpoetic, avoided by Caes., *semel* in Sall., indeed. But note first that Sall. *Cat.*58.21 and Liv.5.44.7 both write ‘butcher like sheep’, because the vb. (*OLD* s.v., §1) seems to have been used originally of slaughtering animals, as it probably is at *Bell.Afr.* 26.5 (*uillas exuri, agros uastari, pecus diripi, trucidari*[but Klotz inserts *homines* before *t.*; badly, however, with *dirui deserique* to come], *oppida castellaque dirui deserique, principesque ciuitatum aut interfici aut in catenis teneri* etc.), and secondly, that *trucido, trucidatio* are older words than L. might seem to imply, *ter* in *ORF*, including the elder Cato, fr.59. Very strong, but perhaps slightly archaic, even rural, too.

495 immissi Danai Cf. 9.758, 10.40, Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.468.57; ‘let loose inside’, as Cael.ap.Cic.*Fam.*8.10.2 *et Arabas in prouinciam immisisse*[sc. Cassium].

et late loca milite compleat V. reuses **20 uterumque armato milite compleat**. The *delectus verborum* is yet more conventional/formulaic (cf. Bell, 163): cf. G.4.515 *maestis late loca questibus implet*, and vd. 6.265, 8.24, 9.190 for *late loca*. The vb. Enn., Lucr., but standard Latin; cf. also 5.107, Wulff, *TLL* 3.2092.41f.. The phrasing seemed Ennian to Norden (*EuV*, 155), archaic to Au.. Neat and alliterative in expression, grand and vague in content (for **late**, cf. van Wees, *TLL* 7.2.1023.59, *et passim*); little wonder that V. returned often to the formulation. ‘An undifferentiated mass of soldiery flooding into every corner’, Kenney, 112, well (cf. Putnam, 35).

496–9 This comparison of the Greeks’ entry into the palace to a flood breaking the dykes in the countryside to cause widespread damage derives from three stages of interrelated reading. First, Hom., in particular, *Il*.5.87–92: vd. in particular **497 oppositas...moles**; Hom.’s rather diffuse and rambling picture then attracted Lucr. 1.280–9, whose massive, monumental effects are well characterised by Kenney, 110, though Lucr. divides the damage between farmland and hills, trees and rocks. V. is attracted by the use of *molibus* (Lucr.1.287; cf. again **497, cit.**); it is interesting to note that Lucr. offers a literal rendering of Hom.’s γέφυραι, with 1.285 *ualidi...pontes* (bridges indeed unable to resist the flood, but that is certainly not Hom.’s point), whereas V., correcting Lucr., we might feel, scrupulously renders the sense of ‘dyke’ (**497**). V. now concentrates the sense of two long similes into a single, taut (Kenney’s good word) sentence, whose many points of contact with the narrative were excellently surveyed by West (doors/barriers broken, widespread damage, the spreading forces of Greeks and water, the *furor* of both, **498 furens**, **499 furentem**, with Wills, 349, who compares 5.215, 219, *uolans...uolantem*). The human force now sweeping away the last remains of old Troy is largely concentrated on Neopt. (but see **494f.**), is presented as even greater (the point of the singular **non sic**) than that of a great natural onslaught. But it is very odd that, after such concentrated work on these vv., V. himself is not given more prominence among his sources here: see not so much **497 exit**, as **498–9** after G.1.482f. (two successive half-lines), already clearly with *Il*.5, *cit.* in mind; *Buc.* and *G.* are just as much a poet. source of *Aen.* as Cat. and Lucr.; the thoughtful reader will of course recall **305–6**: the first rush of Greeks into the city and their later breach of the palace gates are both compared to an irresistible natural force, after the manner of *G.1.*, *cit.* (cf. R. Thomas, *HSCP* 90(1986), 183). Cf. Williams, *TI*, 257, Kenney, 109–

12, West, *ORVA*, 430f., Hornsby, 24, 127, Hardie, *CI*, 207f., Schwarz, 449.

496 non sic...cum A rare negative form of the simile: cf. variously Diotimus, GP, *HE* 1725, Triph.369, *G.3.470f., 4.80f., Aen.5.144ff., 12.921f.*. Compare too *non aliter...* (reversal of negative comparison), Erren on *G.1.201* (with *G.4.176, sexies* in *Aen.*), Col.10.364f.. Such rarity increases the force and surprise of the opening. Worse even than the damage caused by a great flood, explains Serv., correctly.

aggeribus ruptis Cf. Varr.*RR* 1.14.3 *ad uiam Salariam in agro Crustumino uidere licet locis aliquot coniunctos aggere cum fossis, ne flumen agris noceat*, Sen.*HF* 287, Luc.6.272, Plin.*Nat.*35.169, etc., Vollmer, *TLL* 1.1308.46ff.. **R.:** cf. *G.2.480 obicibus ruptis*, and note *Aen.7.569 ruptoque Acheronte*, with n., *EV* 4, 600. Vd. further on **moles**, *infra*.

spumeus amnis Compare *Il.5.599, 21.325, Aen.7.465* (with n.), 11.547f., 12.524, Franco, *EV* 4, 1004, Gudeman, *TLL* 1.1946.72ff...

497 exiit Cf. Serv.Dan. *et proprie plena flumina, cum extra alueum suum crescunt exire dicuntur, G.1.115f. amnis abundans/ exiit*, with Serv.Dan. *exire proprie dicuntur flumina, cum abundant extra ripas, ut “cum spumeus amnis exit”*, Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.1360.20ff.. The first *i* of the perf. shortened (as against *molossus exiuit*; vd. Serv.); cf. n. on 7.223. The run-on dactyl conveys the water beginning to break through the dykes: this commentator remembers very clearly the Thames just beginning to lap over the retaining walls (which held, where I was looking) in the great floods of 1953. The **exit** of c, Schol.Bern. ad *G.1.116*, and Non.p.296.24 excited Wagner and Ribbeck, on account of the exotic form; it has not been shown that the last syll. of such contracted perfs. is long, and it is no recommendation of **exit** that it introduces a self-contained first-foot spondee, in lieu of the rushing run-on dactyl: cf. Lachmann and Munro on *Lucr.3.1042*, Con., excursus on *G.2.81*, Dingel on 9.418, Leumann, 600.

oppositasque...moles Cf. *Lucr. 1.287 molibus incurrit ualidis cum uiribus amnis* (vd. 496–9), Cic.*Off.2.14 agrorum irrigationes, moles oppositas fluctibus, portus manu factos*, Plin.*Nat.6.139 flumina id oppidum expugnauere...oppositis molibus restituit nomenque suum dedit*, etc., Beikircher, *TLL* 9.2.766.55. Here, clearly enough some sort of embankment, like **aggeribus** (cf. Kenney, 111), though unfortunately bridge-piers have been suggested, too (vd. 496–9). Cf. *Il.5.89f. τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἄρα ἔρκεα ἵσχει ἀλωάων ἐριθηλ-*

έσων. The ἔχματα πέτρης of *Il.*13.139, are, *pace* Kenney, 226, n.30, very different in character, and not the work of human hands. **M.**: cf. Cic.*Off.*, *supra* and *Verr.*2.4.118 [Arethusa] *fons aquae dulcis, ...qui fluctu totus operiretur nisi munitione ac mole lapidum diunctus esset a mari*, Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1341.39, *EV* 3, 559.

euicit Cf. Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1042.57f.; an application apparently unique in class. Latin. The molossus takes up massively the work of dactylic **exiit**, Kenney, 111; the second syll. takes up the **ui** of **494** (*ib.*); the vb. not certain in either Caes. or Hirt., so this just might be the first generally known instance; Kenney suggests a milit. flavour, which is clearly possible, but was not necessarily present to V.'s readers: used by Liv. in bks.2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10 (cf. also Hor.*Carm.*2.15.5), texts, some of them at least, likelier to be known to V. than to his wider readership when bk.2 was written. On the repeated prefix **ex-...eu-...**, cf. Kenney, 111, though the quite distinct sounds of the two prefixes should be noted.

gurgite For 'de amnibus tumefactis', thus, G. Meyer (*TLL* 6.2.2362.19f.) compares Ov.*Am.*3.6.8 *et turpi crassas gurgite uoluis aequas*; *EV* 2, 821 (Marchetta).

498 fertur..furens The vb. as often used of uncontrolled, violent motion; cf. **337**, 3.11, 7.381, 594, 673, 11.623 with nn., Zucchelli, *EV* 2, 495. For pass. *feror* of water, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.563.71ff.; for *furens*, *furo* (here alliteratively), likewise of water, Rubenbauer, *ib.*, 1625. 7ff., 1628.26ff., *Aen.*1.107 *furit aestus harenis*, 7.464 (with n.), *Dirae* 57.

in arua Cf. 5.215 *fertur in arua uolans*.

cumulo Cf. 1.105 *insequitur cumulo praeruptus aequae mons* (Serv., *exuberante fluctu cum cumulo*), *TLL* 4.1385.42f. (Schwering), *EV* 1, 957.

camposque per omnis From *G.*1.482; allit. of c, too. They are often cultivated, which is not so clearly the case with **arua**, unless both nouns are simply used as synonyms for 'plain'.

499 cum stabulis armenta Cf. (of the Eridanus) *G.*1.482f. *camposque per omnis/ cum stabulis armenta tulit*; **cum** used rather as at *G.*2.209 *antiquasque domos auium cum stirpibus imis/ eruit*, **2.378 supra**, **pedem cum uece**, 6.735 *cum lumine uita*, etc., as though there were present an implicit *cumque re omni reliqua*. Stables and herds in natural proximity, *G.*1.355, 483, 3.352, *Aen.*8.213f.; both animate and inanimate, like the palace and its occupants, Kenney, 112, well.

trahit So of the torrent, **307**, where vd. n.; cf. *Il.*5.92 πολλὰ δ' ὑπ'

αύτοῦ ἔργα κατήριπε κάλ' αἰζηῶν. It is curious that Williams, *Tl*, 257 should refer to the ‘highly unusual’ ending of the simile in mid-verse: cf. (after a brief search) G.3.100, *Aen*.9.120, 566, 10.604, and ending with a half-line, 5.595, 7.702, 10.728.

499–505 It should be stressed that this brief transition, which reintroduces the narrative as personal observation by Aen. (vd. 465, where is was left), and offers another brief tragic choral reflection (vd. 318–69, §1 for others) upon the action is some of the finest, grandest writing to be found in the whole book. Cf. 501 **per aras** for the function of these vv. as a bridge between the sack of the palace and the death of Priam.

499 uidi ipse Cf. 5 (with n.), 347, 501; Kenney, 104f. sagely remarks that the reader must believe, implicitly, that Aen. was a witness of these events, even if (s)he cannot quite work out how. More important (cf. Wigodsky, 78, Bowie, 472, Reed, 102), V. is quoting a famous (cf. the many citations on which Joc.’s ed. depends, and Plautus’ parody, *Bacch*.933) passage of Enn. *Andromacha* quoted by Cic. *Tusc*.3.44 *uidi ego te adstante ope barbarica* (*trag*.89; for *uidi*, cf. too 78, 92), on which V. drew at 241f. and which will also contribute the **barbarico** of 504 (cf. too perhaps 480 **cardine**). As explained at 5, this is the manner of the Greek tragic messenger’s speech; edd. have also drawn attention (cf. Au., Scafoglio (5), 196) to Hecuba’s concentration on autopsy, Eur. *Tro*.481–3, Sen. *Agam*.656–8, with Tarrant’s n.. And not only tragic, perhaps: Morgan (506–58), 55, after J. Marincola, *Authority and tradition...* (Cambridge 1997), 63ff. suggests that there may also be an historiographic influnce (especially that of Pollio) at work in the account of Priam’s death. But narratorial autopsy in *Aen*.2 is primarily tragic; cf. 5, n..

furentem/ 500 caede Cf. 9.760f. *sed furor ardentem caedisque insana cupido/ egit in aduersos*; for c., cf. n. on 11.634 and for *furere* thus with abl., Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1628.62ff. compares 10.578 *tanto feroce furens*, Sen. *Tro*.185, 446. Cf. n. on 244 **caecique furore** for such ‘madness’ in *Aen*.2.

Neoptolemum So now Aen. himself beholds the new [phase of the] war within the very walls of the palace. N. had been battering his way in at 469f. and has by now forced his way far into the palace (cf. Kenney, 115). Of **ipse** Serv. Dan. remarks *hac particula addita miseriorem se ostendit, cuius ante oculos casus patriae suorumque fortuna constituerat*.

geminosque...Atridas They have reappeared from 415.

in limine Which? Cf. (offering an elegant schema of ring-composition) Kenney, 117f., and see too *EV* 3, 225f., Bullock-Davies (469) for the Virgilian *limen*. At 480, 485, clearly enough those of the main entrance to the palace, but at 490, the **postes** are of chambers deep inside. However, at 491 the action moves briskly back to Pyrrhus' onslaught and the **postes** of 493 are likewise those of the main entrance; the Greek attack then spreads in every direction, and 495 **late loca milite complement** suggests that the reader's attention is swiftly carried back into the heart of the palace. That is where we were, 483–90, and where we return, 501–5, but just as 504 **postes** flaunts its ambiguity, so the evident uncertainty of **limine** here perhaps contributes to a picture of the Greeks, like the river, flooding in, from door to door, from the main entrance to that of the altar court.

501 uidi Hecubam Gemination of the crucial 'I witnessed'; we are reaching the awful climax of the Sack: the two verbs bind killer, victim and widow. For H., cf. n. on 7.320 (parentage), Höfer, Ro.1.2.1878.26ff., Sittig, PW 7.2.2652.14ff., Guida, *EV* 2, 166–8.

centumque nurus Daughters and daughters-in-law, it is said, but the fifty daughters are simply a modern fantasy (not before Heyne, Guida, *EV* 2, 168; even Löfstedt seduced, *Synt.* 1₂, 69; Priam knows that his sons' wives will suffer terribly when the city is sacked (*Il.* 22.65), his daughters, too (*ib.* 62); for the (12) daughters, cf. *Il.* 6.247f., Anderson, 32, Caviglia, *EV* 4, 263f.; vd. **503 quinquaginta... thalami**: the fifty sons an Homeric detail, but Serv.'s n. (five explanations suggested) shows that there was thought to be a real puzzle. Bell, 56f. is probably right to argue for fifty pairs of sons + daughters-in-law (cf. Löfstedt, *cit.*, n. on 457 **ad soceros** for this idiom); Homer assigned the twelve daughters (and husbands) quarters of their own. Some edd. prefer to take **n.** in the (Ovidian) sense of 'a young woman' (*OLD*, §2), but that seems needlessly weaker than the interpretation suggested. Schol. Vet. Eur. *Hec.* 421 refers to syllepsis.

Priamumque He has had a modest role in the action so far (147); the symbolic function of his name has been much more prominent (22, 56, etc.).

per aras For the plur. of a single altar, cf. n. on 115 **adytis**. The relationship of 501–2 to 550–3 is delicate: cf. Quinn, 3, Salvatore, 69, n. 71, Au., Paratore on 506, Sklenář (469–505), 67–8, Scafoglio (5), 197, Heinze, 41, Perret, 163 (n. on 506): the event is first announced (it is a

fixed, major detail, and surprise cannot come into it), then narrated (**506 forsitan et Priami fuerint quae forte requiras...**; cf. 1.750, of Dido, *multa super Priamo rogitanus*: cf. Paratore, Salvatore). Aen.'s long, selective, passionate narrative is followed by a single episode in great detail, recounted with much care, but 'objectively' (Kenney, 113), in the third person, not the first (Perret). We might be tempted to wonder how Aen. 'knew' just how Priam donned his armour; less so, if it is not Aen. who narrates events in the direct sequence of **uidi...uidi** (Heinze). Dido had seen Priam depicted in the temple (1.461): she had clearly wanted to know more from the first (1.750), and **506ff.** in a sense answers that v.. Aen. here says he saw Priam's death, but he does not narrate it as a witness, thus permitting a change of tone without entirely forfeiting the authority of a witness; at the end of the Priam-narrative, he passes directly (**559**) to his own involvement in events (Sklenář). The address to Dido is an ingenious, not an elegant, bridge.

502 sanguine foedantem Cf. Lucr.4.844 *foedareque membra cruento*, Sall.*Hist.*1.fr.47 *cum arae et alia diis sacrata supplicum sanguine foedarentur*, quoted by Serv.Dan. here, Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.997.39f.; the verb much to V.'s taste (*EV* 2, 546 inadequate). **F.** very close to the *turpari* of Enn.*trag.*93 *Iouis aram sanguine turpari* (cf. Stabryła, 81).

quos...ignis The antecedent as often attracted into the rel.clause (cf. n. on 7.348, 409, 477). Cf. 1.704 *cura penum struere et flammis adolere penates* (where vd. Conway; see too n. on 7.71, Macr.1.24.22, A. de Marchi, *Il culto privato* 1 (repr. Forlì 2003), 97f., Wissowa, *RKR*, 162, n.1, 417). The flame that of the domestic altar of the Penates/ Zeus Herkeios (cf. n. on **484 penetralia**), though we might fairly suspect that much of what was written about it pertained in fact to the old domestic hearth, now relegated to the kitchen.

ipse sacrauerat Cf. n. on 3.305. So Simon (nearly), Laoc., Coroebus, Priam, Polites die at the altar (cf. Anderson, 37, Harrison, *ORVA* 54, n.38, R. Smith (**57–76**), Joc. on Enn.*trag.*94), sacrificed successively to the gods' hatred of Troy. The motif of the sacrificer's death is discussed at **202**; that of human blood as a polluting agent, at **167**, **cruentis**. It should also be noted that in these cases the altar provides, in practice, no protection (cf. **515, 523, 550**), and before discussing the scene of Priam's death in detail, I offer a summary of the beliefs thus outraged: killing not only of suppliants but of a priest *inter ipsa altaria* at Siris, a Trojan foundation, Just.20.2.4 (Pompeius Trogus), Strab. 6.1.14, Lyc.984–92 (the goddess shut her eyes as the young priest died):

on this exceptionally complex story, see Bérard, *Colonisation grecque*, 350ff., Malkin, *infra*, D. Musti, *Arch. Class.*33 (1981), 17ff.. Cf. comparable narratives about Sybaris (Heracl. Pont.fr.49Wehrli, I. Malkin, *Returns of Odysseus* (Berkeley 1998), 228f.) and (amid confusion) about Thracian Siris (Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, 1, 343f., Schol. Ov.*Ib.*379f.). The desire for a developed historical analogy to the story of Cassandra's rape clearly complicated the tradition here, but the modern parallels cited cannot have been, and indeed were not, alien to readers' experience: cf. App.*Mithr.*88, the Ephesians and Pergamenes killed the Romans who fled to the temples and embraced the statues of Diana and Asclepius (vd. also 517), Thuc.3.81.5 (Corcyra), Curt.7.5.33 (disregard for suppliants at sack of Branchidae) and the ample material provided by Ducrey (403). Decrees and grants of *asylia* were not always ignored, but when they were, along with shock at the profanation (cf. Sall.*Hist.*1.47, quoted by Serv.Dan. here, Serv. on 12.290, Ov.*Met.* 7.602, 2*Chron.*23.17, Beringer, 28, 31), there was no surprise. See Stevens on Eur.*Andr.*43, Parker (167), 146, 181–6, J. Gould, *Myth, ritual memory...* (Oxford 2001), 28, E. Schlesinger, *Asylie* (Giessen 1933), P. Stengel, *Die griech. Kultusaltertümer*, (München 1920), 30f., E. Lupu, *Greek sacred law* (Leiden 2005), 293f., J.-M. Moret, *L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique italiote* (Rome 1975), 240ff., and for the historical evidence, Ducrey (403), 325–30, Chaniotis, 154–65, Kern, index, s.v. temples, violation of.

503 quinquaginta illi thalami Cf. 501 centumque nurus. Specifically Homeric, and tragic too: *Il.*6.244 (θάλαμοι ξεστοῖ λίθοι), 22.63 (Priam knows they will be ravaged; vd. Anderson, 32), 24.495 (with Richardson's n.), Eur.*Tro.*135f., *Hec.*421, with schol.vet., M.C.van der Kolf, PW 22.2.1846.7ff., Seymour, 197, *EV* 1, 687, 4, 263f. (Caviglia), 5*, 159. Note Hall's interesting remarks on traces of P. as an oriental polygamist, 43 (cf. Serv. *quia barbarorum fuerat*; note Con.'s disquiet). *Illi* in the sense of 'famous because mentioned by Hom.'; cf. 1.617, 2.540, 4.215, 6.27, Wagner, *QV* xxi, §6, Bulhart, *TLL* 7.1.344.45ff..

spes ampla nepotum Ampla Pry; tanta Mωγ₁, Serv.Dan. (and at 5.645), TCD. **Ampla** is supported rather strongly by Prop.3.22.41f. *ampla nepotum/ spes et uenturae coniugis aptus amor*, which could quite easily have been influenced by *Aen.*2 (cf. too *spes amplior* Sall.*Jug.*105.4, *amp- lissima* Val.*Max.*6.3.1d). 'Suits the tone of the passage better' (Au.) is no defence of **tanta**, nor is it any great encouragement to learn that

this is fairly common *prose* usage: Cic.*Fam.* 11.14.1, *Att.* 3.19.2, 15.20.2, Liv.6.9.9, Sen.*NQ*, 5.15.3 *Ep.* 102.2, Curt.4.1.19. **Ampla** thus definitely preferable. **Spes** of offspring, *Buc.* 1.15, *G.* 3.73, 473, 4.162, *EV* 4, 995; **n.**: cf. 194. No children explicitly present and visible (though all the line is not wiped out, 5.564. Note Höfer, Ro.3.2. 2937.33ff., M.C.van der Kolf, PW 22.2.1844.7ff., Anderson, 28, Vellay, 2, 446–9, for details of the many descendants); in particular, no Astyanax. The *nepotes* will turn out to be Romans, of Aeneas' line. Panthus' *nepos* disappears from sight; Iulus will of course be saved. Wistrand's remark that 'the innermost court and the children represent the future of Priam's house' (153) is perplexing (*pace* Kenney's approval, 118): on the tragic contrast of Aeneadae and Priamidae, see Horsfall, *RMM*, 12. The Julio-Claudians were not Priamidae, and the absence of children here is eloquent; the **spes** of these **thalami** had once been, but is not any more, **ampla**. Cf. G.B. Conte, *PCPS* 45(1999), 20f. on the succession of minute imitation of Hom. and Virgilian sentimental sympathy; for the apposition, cf. Wagner, *QV* xxxiii, §3(d).

504 barbarico...auro An old problem: the adj. (also 8.685, Antony's eastern allies; used in Gk. by Thuc., Choerilus, Call.*H.*, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, etc.) for V. here a public bow to Enn.*trag.* 89 (where vd. Joc.) *ope barbarica* (cf. Wigodsky, 78, Stabryła, 81); Serv. and Serv.Dan. realise that it can refer either to (a) Trojan (i.e. as at 448 **auratasque trabes**), or (b), captured from barbarians by the Trojans: used as in (a), at 11.777 *barbara tegmina crurum*, with full n. (though here in the mouth of a Trojan, and about his king; for the Trojans as barbarians, see Hall, 9, 19, etc., Erskine, 6–9, 51–4, Reed, 106, and n. on 11.769. (b): once you reached Troy, you were indeed in a distant corner of the Mediterranean and it was clear to Hom. that some of the Trojans' neighbours (from whom Priam might easily be thought to have captured gold, **auro spoliisque**) were even odder than they were themselves: so *Il.* 2.804, 867, 4.437f. (and note the Thracians of *Aen.* 3.13f., where vd. nn.). Enn.'s *ope barbarica* (*trag.* 89) does not *impose* sense (a) here too. Either way (and the expression is left as ambiguous), the Trojans are presented here as wealthy and luxurious (cf. 4, with n., 763, Griffin, 4, Hall, 127f. and Erskine 74 for the wealth of Troy in tragedy).

postes More seriously, and perhaps no less deliberately, ambiguous: no question, door-posts are meant here (exactly as at 7.183, *infra*), as often in this narrative, but if the reader pauses to consider the geography of the palace, it is less than clear (see Wistrand, 153, Kenney,

115f.): we did not know quite where we were at 500 **in limine**, and no more do we here. *Postes* bearing *spolia* belong conventionally to the front doors of the Roman house/palace (*infra*), but that is hardly where V. wishes us to think we are, less than a line after he mentioned **thalami**: if both nouns are subjs. of **procubuere**, it becomes likely, though not mandatory, that the **postes** are indeed those of the **thalami** (cf. Kenney, 116 for the apparent asyndeton). Why should not captured gold be used to ornament the entrances of the **thalami**, as well as those of the house? Perhaps only because that is definitely not the clear and common association of *spolia* with *postes* present to V.'s readers: it might, though, do no harm to think of *both* sets of *postes*, as in the case of **in limine**.

spoliisque Cf. full n. on 7.183 *sacris in postibus arma* and *Companion*, 176 for the dedication of spoils on the *postes* of a palace or temple. See too 370–401, (iii). **S.** clearly stand in a compound expression with **barbarico...auro**, and 'booty of gold', we have seen, points to **barbarico** as having the sense of 'captured from the *barbari*'.

superbi Cf. 556f. **tot quondam populis terrisque superbum/regnatorem Asiae**, 3.2f. *superbum/ Ilium* (with full n.), *Il*.24.546 (Ach. himself to Priam) τῶν σε, γέρον, πλούτω τε καὶ ίάσι φασὶ κεκάθαι, A. Traina, *EV* 4, 1072f. Wealth, pride, antiquity, spoils, forbears, sons, and any pride therein taken perish on this day, but E. Henry's interpretation of these spoils as a display of arrogance, misused as ornament when they should have been dedicated (22) misunderstands complex ancient usage (vd my discussions just cited).

505 procubuere A lexical aristocrat (426), Cat.64, *ter* in *Lucr.*, *semel Buc*, *quater*, *G.*, 15x, *Aen.*; *tacet EV*. This grand and powerful verb is then lent extra weight by the ending in *-ere* (cf. n. on 7.760, old and poet.) and the run-on position; for this (uncommon) pause at 2tr., cf. Winbolt, 25. At 493 **procumbunt...postes** are clearly the result of Pyrrhus' assault on the main entrance; it is not helpful to insist that by ring-composition we must still be thinking of that same entrance (vd. Kenney, 116).

tenant Danai The section closes as often with a wider, more general view of the scene; Prof. Görler compares 488, 759, 1.107, 11.635, 12.454. **T.:** cf. 613, *EV* 5*, 100.

qua deficit ignis **Q.:** 387, 455, 463, etc.; **d.:** cf. 9.352, Leissner, *TLL* 5.1.333.18; cf. 664 **per tela, per ignes**, 5.4, *OLD* s.v., §3a, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.291.47. Both vb. and noun *deficiunt* in *EV*. At the

end of 502, **ignis** is applied to altar-fires; Au. offers an exceptional n. on repetition with change of sense; some further detail in my n. on 7.554.

506–58 Priam’s death No handy summary of the vast bibl. on these vv. is here offered; rather, an outline of some potentially helpful approaches and a brief warning against the reverse. Heyne as so often grasps and outlines an episode’s essential virtues: ‘tota narratio, intexta in primis Polita caede, egregia cum arte elaborata est ad summam miserationem cum horrore...’. First, Priam’s death is for V. an evident climax to the entire book; that does not correspond to its function in previous/parallel accounts of the Fall of Troy, but in V., its place has long been realised (cf. so e.g. Büchner, n. on 556). The collapse of the tower, the fall of the palace, the death of the king, the fall of the city interact intimately. With, probably enough, Pollio’s account of the fall of the republic and the death of Pompey (554–8, Mills 165, Bowie 470, Moles, A. Pomeroy, *The appropriate comment* (Frankfurt 1991), 142–5; cf. 255–7 on the city-necrology). Secondly, Aen.’s own role as remote spectator/ narrator of the scene is often enough viewed as farcical, to be treated with scorn (cf. Heinze, 41, Cartault, 1, 197f., Au. on 506, 519ff.). Aen. is about to return to the narrative of his own actions (559ff.); since 468, V. has been experimenting with the use of his protagonist-narrator in the role, almost, of a Greek tragic messenger (cf. 506, 507 after Au.): that has been hugely successful in terms of the presentation of events, but less so in the eyes of readers determined to view the protagonist exclusively as such, even when he is so very clearly employed as impersonal, all-seeing, all-hearing messenger. Thirdly, this is the most Homeric scene of the book. A. Bowie’s excellent summary (470–2) makes it unnecessary for me to survey anew the list and range of V.’s principal debts to *Il.* 22 and 24 (for behind V.’s death of Priam stands above all Hom.’s death of Hector); they will of course be indicated, *infra*, above all in the context of Pyrrhus’ ‘failure’ in *Aen.* to treat Priam according to the standards set towards the king by his father Achilles in *Il.*. Alongside Hom., tragedy. Though Eur.’s extant Trojan plays do not include narrative of Priam’s death, there is a strong tragic presence in the scene (cf. n. on 514 for Troy-tragedies at Rome, and Priam’s death at the altar and 557 for Pacuv. on the death of Priam): note nn. on 506 **requiras** and 507 **uti...uidit** for the manner of Messenger-speeches, with 554–8 on the claim to autopsy in such narratives. Cf. further 531 on the tragedians’ use of the motif of

a parent actually seeing a child's death, 547 for the role of one about to die to serve as messenger to the already-dead and 554–8 for tragic elements in V.'s 'obituary' on Priam. This is not the place for surprises in the plotting (cf. Mills, 163f); the exact spot at which Priam dies is a variable, as is Polites' role, but what happens in this scene might seem to leave V. little space for innovation, except in the tone, colour and detail. Recent work on the contribution of Pompey's death to V.'s presentation of Priam's has led to profitable concentration on Pollio's account of Pompey's death (cf. 554–8), but there remained motifs from the narratives of triumviral *exitus illustrium virorum* to be uncovered; in a context in which a familiar tone of recent savagery strikes the informed reader, it becomes rather easier to view correctly Serv.'s suggestion about the death and beheading of Pompey, as part of a wider nexus of references to the brutality of the civil wars: see nn. on 531 (children and parents beholding each other's deaths), 552 (seizing of illustrious victim by hair), contrast of death of Pompey with his former glories (554–8 with 556, 557 on the old realms of Priam and Pompey in Asia), autoptic accounts in tragedy and in Pollio (554–8), the use of *finis* and *exitus* to signal obituaries in the historians (554), **ingens...truncus** as an allusion to the cognomen Magnus (557), the image of the headless corpse on the shore (*ib.*), and the actual beheading of the victim (558). It has been noted, lastly, that there are many deaths by altars in bk.2 (R.M. Smith (57–76); cf. n. on 202). This recurrent motif is often called 'sacrifice', and here a claim has even been made, energetically, for human sacrifice (Heuzé). But such emotive language is best employed with greater precision: Priam's death-wound (553) corresponds not at all to the fatal blow administered in a Roman sacrifice (vd. n. on 224), and human sacrifice correctly understood, does not resemble, significantly or helpfully, what happens here (vd. n. on 11.82 for a summary of recent work by historians of religion). I am reluctant to consider further the results of analysis undertaken on such shaky foundations. Bibliography: F.R. Berno, *Maia* 56(2004), 81–7, A.M. Bowie, *CQ* 40 (1990), 470–81, Büchner, 331.6f., Cartault, 1, 195–8, Gärtner, 236–41, Heinze, 42–4, Heuzé, 142–51, S. Hinds, *Allusion and intertext* (Cambridge 1998), 8ff., Knox, 394f., König, 254f., Lee (320), 37–40, M. Leigh, *Lucan. Spectacle and engagement* (Oxford 1997), 118ff., D.H. Mills, *CW* 72(1978), 159–66, J.L. Moles, *CW* 76(1983), 287–8, L. Morgan, *JRS* 90(2000), 52–5, E. Narducci, *Maia* 25(1973), 317–25 (with *id.*, *ANRW* 32.3(1985), 1546, *La provvidenza crudele* (Pisa 1979), 44f., n.23, circumspect and informed), M. Orban, *LEC* 47(1979), 11–26, Quinn, 3–8, *id.* (324–35), 229–38,

Reed, 161, Rossi, 31, 44–6, 48f., Rossi (2002), 247ff., Scafoglio (5), 197–205, Sklenář (469–505), 67–75, Wistrand, 153. On accounts of Priam’s death, see in particular Anderson, 28–48, F. Caviglia, *EV* 4, 266f., Gantz, 2, 655f., Höfer, Ro.3.2. 2964.16ff., Jackson Knight, *Vergil’s Troy* (Oxford 1932), 95–7, M.C. van der Kolf, PW 22.2.1887.3ff., J. Neils, *LIMC* 7.1.507–22, Robert, 1257–9, Vellay, 1, 305f., E. Narducci, *Lucano* (Bari 2002), 111–6.

506 forsitan...requiras Cf. *G*.2.288 *forsitan et scrobibus quae sint fastigia quaeras*, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.1140.38ff.. An old expository formula, of *anteocupatio* (of the natural question, ‘and how did the king die?’; vd. the next note) ; cf. Landgraf on *Cic.Rosc. Am.* 5 *forsitan quaeratis*. ‘Close relationship between narrator and audience’ (Thomas on *G*., *cit*.); here, though, it is clearly Dido (a figure rarely in our thoughts in the narrative of 2, but cf. **65 accipe**, and the occasional **ecce**) that Aen. in the first instance addresses, perhaps with 1.750 *multa super Priamo rogitans* in mind, though of course V. is also addressing *his* audience too (cf. **501**). Pascoli subtly suggests that Aen. may be reacting to a gesture or movement by Dido in reaction, on her part, to **505**; that might be correct. **F**. only here in *Aen.* (*quater* in V., as in *Lucr.*); common in Ov.. For the competing words for ‘perhaps’, cf. Axelson, *UW*, 31f.; the use of subj., rather than indic., apparently not significant (LHS, 334f.). **R**.: cf. **390**.

et...fuerint quae Anastrophe of the relative, placing a slightly greater emphasis on ‘how *did* Priam die, too?’ Attention has been drawn (Au., Scafoglio, 198) to the affinity between this question attributed to Dido and the question in Greek tragedy which the Messenger’s interlocutor employs to set in motion the disclosure of news: Au. cites Soph.*El*.679, Eur.*El*.772f., *Med*.1134; we might add e.g. Aesch.*Pers*.336, 352, 446, Eur.*Hipp*.1171.

Priami...fata Cf. 554 **haec finis Priami fatorum** (ring-composition enclosing the scene); Aristotle’s Πριαμικαὶ τύχαι (*Eth.Nic*.1101a8), or Hor.’s *fortunam Priami* (*Ars* 137). **F**. as the destiny of the individual under a wider plan, here clearly hostile to Troy, shading here as often into ‘death’; *EV* 2, 478, Pötscher, 39, Pomathios, 334, Boyancé, 43, Bailey, 208–10. There may be a sighing expulsion of breath in the triple allit. of **f**-; **507** will continue with the insistent **c-...c-...c-**.

507 urbis...captae Cf. **643**, 12.22, Hey, *TLL* 3.325.48, Horsfall, *SCI* 26(2007), 70, Paul, 150f., Rossi, 28f.. Long a stock theme: for this wording, cf. (e.g.) Cat.62.24, Cic.*Dom*.98, Sall.*Cat*.52.4, [Sall.]*Ep.ad*

Caes. 2.3.4, Prop. 4.8.56. *Bene omnia collegit, et captam et dirutam et incensam,* Serv. Dan..

uti Au. well compares the ἐπεί-clause with which so many Messenger-speeches begin (Soph. *OC* 1590, Eur. *Andr.* 1085, etc.). For **uti**, cf. n. on 7.528; used temporally first here, LHS, 635.

casum Cf. 1.623f. *casus...urbis/ Troianae*, on which (Hey, *TLL* 3.582. 11) vd. *Gloss. Lat.* 4.433.15 *interitus et ruina ciuitatis*: cf. also *cecidit* 3.2.

conuulsaque.../ 508 limina tectorum C.: see 446, 464. **L.t.** an *ad hoc* combination, Meijer, *TLL* 7.2.1404.22, which in the context must apply primarily to the main gate or door of the palace, through which Pyrrhus has burst, 491–4.

uidit Pyrrhus looked through the breach in the gates, saw Priam, and the guards in the gateway (483–5); Aen. saw Pyrrhus and the Atridae raging through the palace, saw Hecuba, the Priamidae, and their wives, saw last of all Priam slaughtered at the altar (499, 501). Now Priam himself sees (and we have embarked on third-person narrative) that the gates have collapsed, and in their fall have unleashed Pyrrhus upon the palace within.

508 et medium...hostem Compare 1.698 [sc. se] *aurea composuit sponda mediamque locauit*, 5.76 *ibat...medius comitante caterua*, 10.56 *medium fugisse per ignis*, 117 *medium quem ad limina ducunt*, 379 *medius densos prorumpit in hostis*, Milani, *EV* 3, 451, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.582.44f., and Au.'s lucid n.. **M.** and **in penetralibus** reinforce each other; pleonastically, if you insist. **Medium MP₁**; **mediis P₂**; the c.9 mss divided. Serv. writes, with **medium** as lemma *hypallage est, hoc est 'in mediis penetralibus'. si autem mediis' legeris, non stat uersus, nisi excluso s.*

in penetralibus Cf. n. on 484.

509 arma diu...desueta The adj. should not have been claimed as a Virgilian invention (n. on 7.693): note Titin. *com.* 46, Liv. 3.38.8 (much the same date as *Aen.* 2, perhaps); neat and pathetic, its force increased by the allit. advb. (and then indeed by **senior**), often found thus qualifying adjs./partics., Hofmann, *TLL* 5.1.1565.51, *G.* 1.197, *Aen.* 6.738, etc.. The collocation of shoulder (s) and **arma** suggests a shield (Ussani: cf. 10.700); a breastplate has also been proposed (Con.; cf. 12.88).

senior Cf. nn. on 7.46, 535; on 7.531, Serv. writes well *mouet miserationem ab aetate*: that could well be said here (as it is again at 11.42, of Pallas). Au.'s account of V.'s accumulation of pathetic detail is admirable.

trementibus aeuo/ 510 ...umeris *Non timore* remarks Serv., pertinently; on **508** *et bene Priamum non nisi in extremis armat periculis* was also acute. V. alert to the effects of age, **435**, 8.307, 11.85, Scarcia, *EV* 2, 397, Martina, *ib.*, 4, 769. For the shaky limbs of age, cf. **550**, 5.431, Juv.10.198 *cum uoce trementia membra* (where not even Mayor multiplies instances, but see e.g. Eur.*HF* 228ff. with König, 254, Radt on Eur.*fr.*876, T.G. Parkin, *Old age in the Roman world* (Baltimore 2003), 43, 82, 85, B.E. Richardson, *Old age among the ancient Greeks* (Baltimore 1933), 89ff.), with Juv.10.267f., his memorable reworking of the Virgilian Priam, *tunc miles tremulus posita tulit arma tiara/ et ruit ante aram summi Iouis ut uetus bos*; on the proverbial quality of Priam's age, cf. Landgraf on Cic.*Rosc.Am.* 90. *Tacet Traina*, *EV* 5*, 261–3. Shoulders (delayed to give prominence to the adj.) regular in arming-scenes, of which this is a sort of pathetic alternative version: cf. 1.318, 11.575 (with n.), *Il.*16.40, 64, etc. (etym. play on *arma-armi*, as in Fest., has been suspected; cf. O'Hara, *TN*, 236); König, *cit.* compares the arming of the aged Iolaus, Eur.*Heracl.*680–747. Note too Cassandra, Eur.*Tro.*402 on the importance καλῶς ὀλέσθαι; Serv.Dan, will write (on **534**) *bene Priamo animositatē regiam dedit ut mori honeste uelit*; cf. TCD 1.219.15f. *ut moreretur potius quam captiuitatis ludibriis subiaceret*.

510 circumdat Cf. **218**, **792**, 8.458, 12.88, Bannier, *TLL* 3.1131.3.

nequiquam We know that Priam is about to die; V. now makes quite explicit the futility of his last hopeless, gallant gesture: cf. n. on 7.589 for **n.** in the poets and for V.'s lexicon of imminent doom, Duckworth, 9 (*bene*).

et inutile ferrum Serv. laboriously explains *ipse inutilis. ferrum enim de his quae a coniunctis sumunt epitheta, ut uenenum*; I. Kapp compares (*TLL* 7.2.274.71ff.) the similar comment at *Gloss.Lat.*4.448.32; because P. is too old to fight, his sword is naturally of no use to him or to the Trojan cause and he will not indeed have time to draw it. Note P.'s **telum imbellē** at **544**; here P. puts on the sword he will not use (vd. **511 cingitur**); there he has just thrown a spear to no effect. Cf. **647** (of Anchises) and 10.794 (of Mez.).

511 cingitur Cf. nn. on 7.640 *accingitur* and 11.486 *cingitur*. For accus. used after middle vb., as though direct obj., cf. **392**, 7.640 with n., E. Courtney, *CJ* 99(2004), 427, and note in particular *Il.*23.130 χαλκὸν ζώνυμοςθαι. Gärtner, 237 draws attention to the armour on the altar

in Polygnotus, Paus.10.26.5; the arming-scene is therefore likely to be well-established in Greece (cf. Anderson, 250f.)

ac densos...in hostis Cf. 10.379, 729, *Catal.*9.39, Jachmann, *TLL* 5.1.547.8. Handy, formulaic.

fertur Cf. G.3.236 *praecepseque oblitum fertur in hostem*, *Aen.*1.476, **2.498**, 7.381 (with n.) and often of hasty and not perfectly controlled motion.

moriturus Cf. 11.741 with n., Duckworth, 13; does **m.** indicate (editorially, but rather boringly) that P is going to die soon (as we all know) or does it suggest that with his world in ruins, the old king arms himself with the intention of dying in combat? Though both answers might seem to be possible, and though V. so often prefers ambiguity, that is not so here, as Prof. Görler remarks (with *EV*2, 270): at 11.741 and 12.602 the fut.part. conveys clear intention, and that too is clear at 4.308, 415, 519, 604, 12.55, 602; the suicides of Dido and Amata); at 9.400, 554, 10.881 heroes engage, intending to die; only at 10.811 does Lausus intend to win, and survive, while at 11.741 Tarchon intends to die, though he will not do so. ‘Mere’ foreshadowing of death will not therefore do. This clarification from Prof. Görler is very welcome. Serv.Dan. on **508** notes how Priam enrages his opponent: the plot requires his death, and Priam as a prisoner would be difficult.

512 aedibus in mediis Cf. Cic.*Verr.*2.51, *Aen.*8.467f., 12.92f., Liv. 1.57.9 *in medio aedium*, Prinz, *TLL* 1.909.65f.. For *Il.*24.306, vd. **514 penatis.**

nudoque sub aetheris axe *Hoc est sub diuo, quod impluuium dicitur* Serv. (or rather *compluuium*). *OLD* s.v. **n.**, §5b, ‘providing no shelter, open’, citing later epic instances, *EV* 3, 775. Just why should this *nuditas* be significant? Not so much the lack of roof, which is to be expected in the *impluuium*, but perhaps rather a bareness consisting of the absence of potentially kindly moon and stars. Nothing up there to suggest that there might be presences friendly to Troy looking down. Prof. Görler draws attention to the metaphor of the sky being clothed with clouds (5.13) or spears (11.611). But absence of clouds hardly seems to assist the narrative here. It has been claimed that the absence of roof aided Aeneas’ view down (Ussani) and the upwards passage of the Trojans’ supplications (Heuzé, 148), but such considerations are hardly welcome. Cf. Varr.*Atac.*fr.15.1 Courtney *aetherio...axe*, *Aen.*6.536 *iam medium aetherio cursu traiecerat axem* (and note too 790 *magnum caeli uentura sub axem*), 8.28 *gelidique sub aetheris axe*, *EV* 1, 442f. (rather obnubilated): in such passages (but by no means always) the sense of ‘vault of heaven’ or ‘sky’ is clear

enough (see Norden's helpful n. on 6.535f., *OLD* s.v., §5a); not, though in such passages as the present a *genitivus inhaerentiae*, since the *axis* is sensed not as a synonym of **aetheris**, but as the hemispherical vault of heaven, or πόλος.

513 *ingens ara fuit* Size typically in keeping with majesty and moment, though oddly out of keeping with the ancient intimacies of domestic cult at Rome. This altar of Zeus Herkeios (so in the *Cycle, infra*), found in the αὐλή of the palace (484), was easily and naturally associated with the old altar to the penates in the Rom. *atrium* (*ib.*, Wissowa, 162); an opening in the centre of this hall, where the altar and tree stood, fitted easily with Roman ideas of what houses had once been (Brothers (483), 38f.); Au.'s anxieties about the bay growing indoors are misplaced; we are clearly out of doors just here, 488, 512, **514 *umbra***). This location an ancient narrative detail, and the stylistic form equally traditional (cf. nn. on 7.563, 601; note **fuit** taken up by **516 *hic*** at the end of the ecphrasis; the *topothesia* indicates a new focal point in the action—7.59ff., 170ff., 563ff. with 601ff., an impressive sequence: καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος μὲν ἀποκτείνει Πρίαμον ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐρκείου βωμὸν καταφυγόντα, Procl.*Iliup.*p.62.19f.Davies. But Lesches, *Il.parv.*fr.17 Davies = Paus.10. 27.2 related that he did *not* die there but ἀποκτάθεντα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ was killed by Neopt. at the doors (vd. n. on 557 **litore**) of his house (which is what *Il.*22.66 suggests); vd. Anderson, 38 for the relationship of *Il.*, *Iliup.* and *Il.Parv.*. For Serv.'s alternative version(s), see on 557–8.

iuxtaque What follows is an entirely Virgilian elaboration; the ancient tree lends poignant sanctity to the old palace; the ensemble an apparent dark, still sanctuary in the midst of turmoil, soon to prove unable to protect those who shelter there. I. 22x in V., but apparently very rare in earlier poetry (*semel*, Cat.66), for no significant reason.

ueterrima laurus Cf. n. on 7.59 for the (sacred, Augustan) associations of the bay-tree; the superl. much in keeping with V.'s insistence on the ancient majesty of Troy and its royal house (n. on 484). In particular, note Suet.*Aug.*92.1 *enatam inter iuncturas lapidum ante domum suam palmam in compluuium deorum Penatium transtulit, utque coalesceret magno opere curauit*. Not indeed a bay-tree (which would have been far too heavily 'Augustan' for V.'s tastes), but a tree associated by Aug. himself with the penates in his own home. The superl. only here in V..

514 incumbens areae The vb. 28x. in V. (cf. n. on **493 procumbunt**); Rehm, *TLL* 7.1.1072.41f. compares *Stat.Silv.* 1.3.17f. *nemora alta citatis/ incubuere vadis*. With the use of **i.**, of **iuxta**, and of the repet. **ara...areae**, V. dwells insistently on the way in which altar and tree form but single unit.

atque umbra complexa Cf. 1.693f. *ubi mollis amaracus illum/ floribus et dulci aspirans complectitur umbra*, 8.369 *nox...tellurem amplectitur alis*; Catrein, 124f. draws attention to the synaesthesia entailed in the embraces of light and shade. Jachmann, *TLL* 3.2084.77f. also compares 5.31 *et patris Anchisae gremio complectitur ossa*; imitated, *Ciris* 4. The verb appropriate to a tender and domestic scene; note in particular the altar embraced, **amplexae**, **517**. Cf. Wagner, *QJ* xxix.3 for the tense of the partic. (perf. in the sense of ‘grasped and still grasps’, rather than perf. for pres.).

penatis The location of the murder at the altar of Zeus Herkeios probably reached Rome via the tragic stage (cf. Eur. *Tro.* 17, 483 with *Hec.* 23, *Enn. trag.* 94 *Iouis aram sanguine turpari*, Ov. *Ibis* 283f., Sen. *Ag.* 448, Luc. 9.979, Juv. 10.268); we recall a great profusion of Rom. dramas on Trojan themes, *SCI* 26(2007), 70. Homeric (cf. 16.231, 24.306 μέρως ἐρκετός) and Roman usage evidently converged, and ‘altar of the penates’ followed naturally (cf. the (con)fusion at Liv. 24.26.2). Cf. Schwabl, PW Suppl. 15.1147.37ff. for a dedication to Zeus Herkeios from Troy. Henry and la Cerda argue for ‘the whole palace’; perversely, in the context.

515 hic Hecuba et natae H.: 501. After **501 centumque nurus**, we might be inclined to take **n.** as referring to both the twelve daughters and the fifty daughters-in-law; certainly, we can hardly suppose that the latter were in some way excluded.

nequiquam Cf. **502** for the uncertain efficacy of sanctuary. Note **510** for the use of **n.** as an economical means of anticipating a tragic outcome; V. re-uses **n.** rather soon: the objection is not so much stylistic as to the premature re-application in identical terms of an emotive effect. First Priam, now Hecuba: is that variation sufficient?

altaria circum For **a.** of a single altar, cf. Nettleship, *Contr.Lat.lex.*, 140, in admirable detail. Cf. too Plenkers, *TLL* 1.1727.45f., Montanari, *EV* 1, 120. V. uses **altaria** again at **550**, **aras** and **ara** at **501**, **513**, of one and the same altar: here, if not everywhere, the words do appear to be used as synonyms (cf. Bailey, 293f., Beringer, 39–43, Lehr, 67), and in many cases, as here, Aug. poet. usage does not permit the

application of Servius' distinctions (*altaria* for *di superi*, *ara* for *superi* and *inferi*; cf. Plenkers, 1725.55ff.). Anastrophe, as often in the case of disyll. prepositions (n. on 7. 673).

516 The simile very short, and quite complex; there is no general agreement on how it should be related to the narrative. Three antecedents are generally cited, *Il.*21.493f. φύγεν ὡς τε πέλεια / ἢ ρά θ' ὑπ' ἵρηκος κοίλην εἰσέπτατο πέτρην... (as Achilles pursues Hector, Bowie, 471), Aesch.*Suppl.*223f. ἐν ἀγνῷ δ' ἐσμὸς ὡς πελειάδων / ἵζεσθε κίρκων τῶν ὅμοπτέρων φόβῳ (cf. Rossi, 47), Eur.*Andr.*1140f. οἱ δ' ὅπως πελειάδες / ιέρακ' ἰδοῦσαι πρὸς φύγην ἐνώπιον. Here V. has trimmed the detail to a minimum (but might possibly have decided to expand the simile later); the doves plunge down (**praecipites**), as the women rush to the altar; there they huddle (**condensae**) as do the famously sociable doves: so West (*ORVA*, 432f.); further alleged analogies he dismisses with scorn, and they are indeed not actually present in the text. Those curious to see where the further associations present in references to doves/pigeons elsewhere might lead a less critical reader should consult Briggs, 59f., Hornsby, 12, 24, 55, Scafoglio (5) 200f., Williams, *TI*, 258f., Lyne, *FV*, 54, Sklenář (**469–505**), 69; for *columbae* in V., vd. Capponi, *EV*5*, 347f., P.d'Hérouville, *À la campagne avec Virgile*₂ (Paris 1930), 3–12, W. Warde Fowler, *A year with the birds* (London 1931), 220. A wood pigeon? Some sort of rock-dove? No certain answer seems possible, or really necessary (vd. Capponi).

516 praecipites...columbae *Festinae propter tempestatem* Serv.; cf. Lucr. 6.744 *praecipitesque cadunt* (birds), G.3.547 *praecipites alta uitam sub nube relinquunt* (birds), Plin.*Nat.*10.8 *librans ex alto sese uisoque in mari pisce praeceps in eum ruens*, of the sea-eagle, Adkin, *TLL* 10.2.413.42ff.

atra...tempestate Cf. Lucr.6.258f., *Aen.* 5.693f., 3.572 *atram ... nubem* (volcanic; vd. n.), 11.596 *nigro turbine* (with n.), André, 49, Edgeworth, 30, 75. We might think of the great flood of **496–8**.

ceu Cf. 355, **416, 438**, etc..

517 condensae *Septies* in Lucr.: ‘confertus, densatus’, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.126.48f..

diuum...simulacra Cf. **172, 232**; note Lucr.5.75 *simulacraque diuom, 6.419 et bene facta deum frangit simulacra*. It is singular that students of the passage ignore these words entirely. What are these statues? Where are they? What is their relation to the altar? Is the asylum of the altar

reinforced by an appeal to the statues of some additional gods? Does V. refer to images of the penates, or of other deities standing in the palace court? I can offer no helpful answers to any of these questions, but remain convinced that they should be raised, at least in passing.

amplexae Cf. 490: such recurrence perhaps appropriate to the tone of the occasion; perhaps captious to note that it is rather soon since the last such scene. But here the gesture is slightly different, an appeal to unspecified deities expressed by embracing their statues: cf. Appel, 193f., Sittl, 179 (embracing altars, statues), 283, Lobe, 167f., C. Picard, DS 4.2.1472 (and cf. *ib.*4.1.480, fig.5673, Gantz, 2, 655, Canciani, *EV* 3, 941, *LIMC* s.v. *Ilioupersis* nos.21–3 for such embracing in Palladium-scenes), Aesch. *Septem* 98, 258, Eur. *Andr.* 115, Pind. *Nem.*8.13f. (perhaps metaph.; vd. Sittl), Plaut. *Rud.*559, 694f., Ov. *Met.*5.103, 6.99, 9.772, *F.*4.317f., Just.20. 2.4 (Siris; see n. on 502), App. *Mithr.*88, 90 (Romans in Greek world; 502), Lobe, 167f..

sedebant P, tenebant M (corr. **M₂**). The latter because a scribe, looking at **amplexae**, wrote **tenebant** to continue the sense (Speranza, after Havet). At *Od.*22.379 Od. and Telem. sit by the altar of Zeus, expecting death. For sitting suppliants, vd. Aesch. *Suppl.*189, Soph. *OT* 15f. προσήμεθα/ βάωμοι, Eur. *Heracl.*33 ικέται καθεζόμεθα βώμιοι θεῶν, 508, 955, *Suppl.*93, fr.554a.2 = 1049.2, Tac. *Ann.*3. 61, Sittl, 176; also (cult of Isis) Tib.1.3.30, with Smith's n.. Touching the altar would also, as it happens, be ritually correct, and is widely attested (4.219 with Pease's n., 6.124, Sittl, 192, Lobe, 168, Appel, 194, etc.).

518 ipsum...Priamum Note the dramatic effect of Priam arming and hurrying off to fight at 509–11; V. passes there to the women gathered round the altar, and only now returns to Priam, who is still comfortably within earshot and returns (524–5) to his wife's side (cf. Sklenář (469–505), 69); such touches of familial domesticity lend special poignancy to his last display of heroic intent. An intimacy no less Homeric than Alexandrian.

autem V. shifts our gaze away from women and altar and returns to concentrate on the old king.

sumptis...iuuenalibus armis The adj. perhaps at Lucil.1360 (vd. Claassen, *TLL* 7.2. 728.16ff.); no distinction of sense between **i.** and *iuuenilis* (standard prose, one c.9 ms. here), but the form in *-a-* seems that employed by the poets; *quater* in *Aen.*, 25x., Ov. *Arma sumere, trag.*inc.35, etc., Bickel, *TLL* 2.595.3ff..

519 ut uidit Vt temporal; vd. Merguet, s.v., §A.v. Vd. on **ipsum...** **Priamum**, *supra*.

519–24 Hecuba's speech What Serv. would call a *dissuasio* (on 7.359, etc.; lumped together with persuasions, Highet, 313f.). Page's atypical misconception of the tone of these vv. (see 523) was long ago noted and answered; Hecuba speaks with intense (519) and tender concern; her actions are profoundly familial and domestic (vd. Au. on 521, *bene*). Hector's death prefigures Priam's; Pyrrhus the serpent is emerging as a greater peril and as a far lesser man than his father. Knauer compares Agam. to Menelaus, *Il.*7.109–19, and Hecuba to Priam, about to confront Achilles, 24.301–5 (indeed, note too Priam himself to Hector, 22.38–76). The language showing small touches of the prosy (521) and colloquial (523). P.A. Perotti, *Lat.*61 (2002), 641, M. Orban, *LEC* 47(1979), 11–26, Bowie, 471, Sklenář (469–505), 69f.; *tacet* Highet.

519 quae mens tam dira Hecuba begins in mid-verse (cf. Highet (13), 197–200, n. on 13) with direct question and apostrophe; no doubt at all of her intensity and urgency. Cf. Cic. *Lig.*9 *quid enim, Tubero, tuus ille destrictus in acie Pharsalica gladius agebat? cuius latus ille mucro petebat?* *qui sensus erat armorum tuorum? quae tua mens, oculi, manus, ardor animi?*, Hofmann, *TLL* 8.725.76. **Mens** here used in the sense of ‘decision, plan, intention’; Negri, 173f., 301 compares 1.676, 4.319, 595, 5.56, etc.. Serv. remarks *dira modo proprie; dira enim est deorum ira*, Tafel, *TLL* 5.1.1273.11. A. Traina compares (*EV* 2, 94), for this sense of ‘unnatural’, ‘against nature’, 9.185 *an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido*, 6.373, 721 *quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido*.

miserrime coniunx M.: cf. 5, 411, 655 (the superl. used, therefore, with some restraint). The address to c. standard between spouses in high language, Dickey, 276ff., 317 (for Dido at 4.324, see also *Companion*, 128).

520 impulit At 1.11, Schol. Ver. glosses *coegerit*; cf. too Hor. C.3.7.14. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.540.69. No need to specify *te*.

his...telis Cf. 422: Hecuba refers to her husband's weapons, not to his armour.

cungi Cf. 511; also 749, 11.188, 536, Bannier, *TLL* 3.1063.50.

aut See on 43. Colloquial usage.

quo ruis Cf. 5.741 *Aeneas quo deinde ruis? quo proripis?* *inquit*, 10.811 *quo moriture ruis maioraque uiribus audes?*, 12.313 *quo ruitis?*. Infinitely

preferable, as Henry explains, to *quo ruis cinctus his telis, vel sim*; ‘sufficient, not too much, space both for ease of numbers and ornament of thought’. Ser. remarks *aut ‘festinas’, aut ‘incedis semiliter’*; the latter would have set up an interesting ambiguity, if valid, but it is not, at all. The sequence **quae...aut quo** is claimed by Lyne, *FV*, 55 as ‘colloquial, intimate Latin’, without the desirable discussion or justification (cf. Hofmann-Ricottilli, 244; no proof that such anaphora is distinctively colloquial).

inquit Note G.D’Anna’s useful discussion of V.’s use of *inquit*, *ait*, *infit*, etc., *EV2*, 986–8.

521 non...nec A memorable, weighty formulation, the second member perceptibly weightier than the first. Hecuba echoes Hector’s words to Aen., 291f. **si Pergama dextra/defendi possent etiam hac defensa fuissent**; she is about to talk of Hector.

tali auxilio Evidently with reference to Priam’s warlike preparations; cf. Cic.*Fam*.2.17.6 *solitum dicere quiduis se perpeti malle quam uideri egisse auxilio meo*, Sall. *Cat*.1.7 *ita utrumque per se indigens alterum alterius auxilio eget*, Münscher, *TLL* 2.1621.47ff.

defensoribus istis The old man’s youthful panoply, again, taking up **his...telis**, rather than himself; though we might think also of the king himself as defender, the potential disparagement present in **istis** would in that case be entirely unwelcome. Note the plural; Jachmann, *TLL* 5.1.311.51f. should surely have listed this passage too s.v. *de rebus*, along with Caes. *Gall*.4.17.10 (vd. Ussani). Used by Hor.*Sat*., Ov.*F* and *Met*., but perhaps first here in high poetry. A word familiar in prose, which might suggest that *auxilio egere* in fact shares that flavour (not, that is, *just* conventional language). Austin (cf. on 523) explains thoughtfully that the tone is tender, not contemptuous; sad that it was necessary for him to do so. **Istis** probably deictic, Ehlers, *TLL* 7.2.499.8ff., *iste post phaselus*.

522 tempus eget Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.2.237.65f. compares e.g. Liv. 6.27.3 *censoribus... eguit annus* and Sall.*Cat.*, *supra*. A [critical]time: cf. (e.g.) 6.37, 11.303.

non *Non tantum ipsum ... subuenire non posse, sed ne ipsum quidem Hectorem, si etiam tunc mansisset incolumis TCD; et subaudis ‘posset defendere’ Serv.Dan..* An ellipse of the apodosis there clearly is; its content is no mystery, unlike its exact wording (vd. Speranza).

si...adforet I.e. *adasset* (perhaps a slightly archaic alternative form

here); cf. n. on 3.417. Synaloepha of monosyll. **si** : cf. nn. on 59 and 11.807, and Norden's splendid analysis, 456–8. Au.'s observation that V. uses *si* in synaloepha in speeches and narrative moments of strong emotional content is curious: I find it hard to credit that there really were minute distinctions of emotional tone between those monosyllables which it was/was not permitted to treat thus which were actually observed.

ipse meus...Hector Cf. Prop.2.18d.35, 2.34.25 *Lynceus ipse meus*, Ov.*Am*.3.11a.18 *ipse tuus custos, ipse uir, ipse comes*, Mart.2.18.5 *sum comes ipse tuus*. A rare combination. The emotional level is clearly very high (*ut matris exprimeretur adfectio Serv.Dan.*): cf. Clausen's fine n., *THP*, 155, n.37, on the force of *meus* alone. Bowie, 471, compares Priam's plea to Hector on the latter's inferiority to Ach., *Il*.22.38–76; Knauer and Bowie also note Hec. to Priam, *Il*.24. 201–5. Compare above all 543; Hector dominates in death as in life.

523 *huc...concede* The tone of everyday speech: Plaut. *Trin*.517, Cae-cil.fr.227, Ter. *Ad*.635, etc. Hey, *TLL* 4.7.75ff..

tandem So with imperative Hor.C.1.23.11, 2.9.18, 3.15.2, *Epd*.17.6; comms. refer to 'impatience', there and here, but Au. is quite right to insist, against Page, that Hecuba does not speak with 'impatience and anger'. Perhaps rather a touch of loving exasperation; 'merely adds a note of pleading to the imperative' (Au., perhaps downgrading the adverb's force a little too far): so e.g. Ter.*Ad*.794 *tandem reprime iracundiam atque ad te redi* ('oh do calm down', Martin), *HT* 163.

haec ara See n. on 515.

tuebitur omnis Cf. 188, Mosci Sassi, *EV* 5*, 308. We know that the altar will not provide protection, and the mythological 'fact' has been heavily reinforced by Virgil's intimations of the certainty that the Greeks will not respect the sanctuary here sought. Neither altar nor king will provide protection.

524 aut moriere simul Either the altar will protect us *all*, or we will die *together*. Hecuba does not know, as all readers of Euripides do, that she will be disappointed. Cf. Ov.*F*.2.403 *nata simul, moritura simul*.

sic ore effata Cf. 3.463 *sic ore effatus amico est*. The vb. *ter* in Enn.*Ann.*..

recepit/ 525 ad sese An affectionate gesture, not compatible with Hecuba's alleged impatient irritation; V. could have used *arripuit, vel sim.* (cf. 551); for such a sense. Cf. Plaut.*Pseud*.795 *quin ob eam rem Orcus*

recipere ad se hunc noluit, Ter. *HT* 567, Caes. *Gall.* 1.5.4 *receptos ad se socios*, Liv. 27.17.3 *tutus receptus ad Romanos*, etc.. Note that husband and wife sit side by side on the *TIC*, Sadurska, 28f..

et sacra...in sede Cf. 1.681 *sacra sede*. Mills suggests that Hecuba ‘attempts to restrain him and succeeds to the point of getting him to sit on the sacred seat of the altar’. A schema found in Greek representations of the scene (*LIMC* s.v. *Ilioupersis*, nos. 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, etc., Gantz, 2, 656f.), but hardly present in the Latin here. The altar is *ingens* and though Hecuba and daughters are indeed seated (517), they sit **altaria circum** (515). And a *sedes* need not indicate a place where one sits: see M. Spallone’s acute discussion, *EV* 4, 750 (‘in un luogo sacro’ here, comparing 6.203 *sedibus optatis*, ‘in un luogo desiderato’, and the forger, at 568). V. may indeed have envisaged Priam and Hecuba seated on the great altar, but that detail is not explicitly present in the Latin. **Sacra:** note 9.408 the *sacra...fastigia* of a temple of Diana, *EV* 4, 629 (Fugier).

longaeum Cf. n. on 7.166; a Virgilian coinage, probably, first used here (Cordier, 279; possibly on the model of *grandaevus*, found in Lucil. and then V.). **-uum M, -uom P, PSI** 7.756.

locauit ‘Ubi sedeant vel accubent’, Kemper, *TLL* 7.2.1561.75, comparing e.g. 1.697f. *aulaeis iam se regina superbis/ aurea composuit sponda mediamque locauit*, 8.176, 367. There is profound tenderness in this scene of Hecuba settling the old king down next to her in an (imagined) place of sanctuary.

526–58 See on **506–58**. The new para. conventionally indicated here hardly marks a significant break with what precedes. For V.’s Polites, see **526**.

526 ecce autem Cf. **203, 318**; suggestive of the ocular experience of Aen. as eye-witness, Williams, *TI*, 250.

elapsus Cf. Caes. *Gall.* 5.37.7 *pauci ex proelio elapsi* (?*lapsi*), Liv. 24.33.5 *qui ex media caede elapsi*, Hoppe, *TLL* 3.53.59f., Leumann, *ib.*, 5.2.316.15.

Pyrrhi de caede Cf. 9.342 *nec minor Euryali caedes*, Hoppe, *cit.*, 48.23. Subjective genitive, Antoine, 82f.. V. refers again perhaps (cf. **491f., 494**) to the brief, brutal fighting inside the main gates, of which no narrative is provided.

Polites P. a son of Priam, but of very minor importance, in *Il.* (2.791f.; vd. on **528 fugit**); in the elder Cato, the founder of Politorium, just outside Rome (and thus perforce a survivor of the Sack);

at *Aen.*5.564 father of a young Priam. QS 13.214 has Polites attacking Pyrrhus, so QS and V. do not here use a common source. As Troy falls, the name of Priam's son, *Polites*, has been thought significant, not entirely without reason (Paschalis, 89). In many vase-paintings, a slaughtered child is seen beside Priam on/by the altar; on RF vases often identified as Astyanax (Gantz, 656f); the localisation possibly an influence on V. It does look as though V. chose a son of Priam to set this scene into its final motion and decided to exalt the son's active importance in the interests of the emotional mechanics of his scene; see Serv.Dan. on 531 *hoc ideo describitur, ut et contra propositum Priamus incitetur* and on 534, *infra*. See A. Kossatz-Deissmann, *LIMC* 7.1.424, §1, Caviglia, *EV* 4, 167f., Gärtner, 237, Gantz, 2, 653, 657, H. Herter, PW 21.1397.50ff., J. Ilberg, Ro.3.2.2620.38ff., Knight (506–58), S. Zimmermann, NP 10, 27.

527 unus Cf. *Buc.*6.65, *Aen.*1.329, also with *e(x)*, *de*, ‘a’ ([:quidam]); Degl’Innocenti Pierini, *EV* 5*, 397f., LHS, 193, Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen*, 2, 151.

natorum Priami Cf. 1.654 *maxima natarum Priami*. For the fifty sons, vd. n. on 503 **nepotum**.

per tela, per hostis The formula repeated from 358.

528 porticibus longis Cf. 12.476 *porticibus uacuis*, with Traina’s n.. Such arcades again at 761: cf. n. on 3.353 and *EV* 1, 687 and (better) 4, 222f. for these grand peristyles; the adj. conventional (cf. 483). An abl. of extension, very like 7.491 *errabat siluis*, with Malosti, 67, 93. Priam’s palace has porticoes on the *TIC* too: Sadurska, 29.

fugit Polites has just managed to escape from the fighting elsewhere (cf. n. on 526 **de caede**); only, though, for the length of one or two courts, for death is at his heels. It is quite possibly relevant (already, La Cerdá) that Hom. describes him (*Il.*2.792) as fleet of foot.

et uacula atria Odd that Au. misses the sense of **u.**: surely that the occupants of the palace have fled from wherever they had been previously to take sanctuary round the altar (Serv.Dan.’s first explanation): that court is now relatively crowded, the rest of the building virtually empty (now *sine defensoribus* Serv.Dan. Or else, so large it was hard to fill, Serv.); Williams (R.D.) is quite wrong to think of the palace as full of men fighting. Cf. Pinotti, *EV* 5*, 414f.. Au., after Wistrand, 154, suggests that Priam and his household are gathered round the altar in some inner court, in the women’s quarters; see though nn. on 484

penetralia, 513 *ingens ara* for an alternative location, less remote from the entrance, in the σύλη or *atrium*.

lustrat In V.'s mind still at 12.474 *alta atria lustrat hirundo* (on Putnam's hariolations, 172f, see Włosok, *RHRD*, 293, n.30); thus already at *Buc.*10.55 *lustrabo Maenala, G.4.517ff. solus Hyperboreas glacies Tanaimque niualem/ aruaque Riphaeis numquam uiduata pruinis/ lustrabat*. Standard usage (a synonym of *peragrare* at Cic. *Fin.*5.87; cf. *Tusc.*4.44); Clavadetscher, *TLL* 7.2.1875.81. Cf. n. on 3.377, *EV* 3, 287. Though the vb. has a wide range of senses, here no more than 'pass through'; the refinements of sense suggested by Au. are not supported by the evidence of usage.

529 *saucius* Adj. (vd. Pinotti, *EV* 4, 689) postponed for greater emphasis (vd. 295, 353); also run-on (with pause at 1D; cf. index, *Aen.*7, s.v. pause), and a continuation of the vowel-sound present in **uacula...lustrat**.

illum An economical means of changing focus; cf. 1.116, etc., Wagner, *QV* xxi. So too *hunc*, 3.49. For V.'s brilliantly swift changes of perspective in these vv, cf. Quinn (324–35), 233f, after Henry.

ardens...Pyrrhus Fire in his hair, in his name, in his spirit, in the city; cf. O'Hara, *TN*, 133, Schwarz, 450.

infesto uulnere TCD's *Pyrrhi uulnere letali percussus* is clearly wrong. Serv. *bonum schema*: 'uulnus' pro 'telo'; Serv.Dan. *an 'uulnus' quod inflxit, an quod infigeret?* Usage of *infestus* is helpful: of *fulmine*, *Lucr.*6.418, *Aen.*5.691, *hastis* *Liv.*2.19.8, *arma*, *ib.*1.15.1, 2.20.3 *spiculo*, 4.19.4 *cuspide*, *Aen.*5.582 *tela*, 9.512 *pondere* (of *saxa*), 10.877 *hasta*. Cf. *EV* 2, 964, Lambertz, *TLL* 7.1.1407.9. Here therefore Serv.'s explanation seems correct (for the metonymy, cf. Bell, 343, and the sumptuous discussion, 174ff.; for *uulnus pro telo*, cf. 7.533 with n.); the narrative rather suggests both that (532 **multo...sanguine**) Polites is *already* badly wounded, and that he will perhaps be further attacked as well (**premit hasta**).

530 *insequitur* Run-on again, in keeping with Pyrrhus' pursuit, though the position is also best-suited to the word's shape. Of *fortuna, casus*, 1.241, 616; on the battlefield, 12.465f, 748, Kröner, *TLL* 7.1.1865.69ff..

iam iamque Cf. 8.708 *laxos iam iamque immittere funis*, 12.754f. *iam iamque tenet similisque tenenti/ increpuit malis* (cf. too 12.940 *iamiamque magis*), Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.120.5f, LHS, 809, Wills, 107; doubt-

ful in Plaut., common in Cic.*epp.*; also Caes. *Civ.*, Cic. *Fin.*, *Tusc.* (vd. *TLL*). The idiom Catullan (63.73 *iam iam*) too, and not necessarily colloquial, or prosy, in feel; cf. Wölfflin, *Ausgew.Schr.*, 314. There is a strong feeling among comms. that V. casts the scene as though it was one of hunting a beast on foot (for which, NH on Hor.C.1.37.18); cf. 12 *supra*; if there were significant parallels of idiom, beyond **premit** and **tenet** (as neutral a pair of words as can be), the case would be stronger.

manu tenet ‘Grasps with the hand’ seems mandatory: cf. Fab.Pict. iur.7 Huschke, Cic. *Cael.*65.2, *Div.*1.46, *Liv.*22.1.8, 40.37.3. For the hunting field, cf. *Aen.*12, *supra*.

et premit hasta Serv.Dan. writes well *urget, ut*[1.324] ‘*apri cursum clamore prementem*'; *alibi* ‘*premit*', ‘*interficit*', *uel* ‘*opprimit*', *ut*[9.330] ‘*armigerumque Remi premit*'. The second meaning also at 8.249 *telis premit*; cf. Pade, *TLL* 10.2.1172.71ff.. Though the sense of ‘press hard’ is good military idiom (cf. Pade, 1171.2ff., Caes. *Gall.*3.4.2, 5.37.5, *Aen.*10.232, etc., the verb and context suggest that the final thrust is imminent and Serv.Dan.’s second sense (‘despatch’) is welcome; for a contrary view, vd. Henry, not totally convincing. The sequence of events seems to be pursuit—(any moment now, **iam iamque**) grasp and fatal thrust—a few more steps (perhaps)—collapse at altar. This is entirely clear in Binder and Scarcia, rather less so in West, Goold/Fairclough and Perret; Page (against Con.) perspicuous, but *EV* 4, 255 less so. Serv.Dan. on 532 thinks that that line might refer to a second wound; probably not, but it is far from certain that Polites has only received one by the time he reaches the altar; that wound is inflicted, rather, during the lapse of time indicated by **ut tandem**. Henry faces honestly the difficulties here present in the narrative sequence. After caesura at 3tr., Au. makes much of the pyrrhic in 5D, but it follows proclitic *et* (as at *G*.3.84), which greatly reduces any metr. effect here; this pyrrhic in 5th. foot rather common, Winbolt, 137–9. Au.’s ‘oddly breathless effect’ should perhaps be reassessed. But the clash of metr. beat and word-accent in the 4th. foot, **manu tenet**, is powerful.

531 ut tandem ‘When at last’; cf. *Liv.*21.58.10, *Luc.*4.645, *Val.Fl.* 7.579, *Curt.*5.11.4, 10.10.12, *Suet.Aug.*42.3, *Tib.*62.1: by no means common with temporal *ut*.

ante oculos... et ora parentum Cf. n. on 11.887 *exclusi ante oculos lacrimantumque ora parentum* (with n.): in V., the formula first at *G*.4.477

impositique rogis iuuenes ante ora parentum, then expanded here; *ante ora parentum* at 5.553, 6.308 (**263 ante ora patris**); *ora parentum* alone also at **681**, 5.576. The conceit of seeing a child's death is in origin apparently Greek and tragic, epigrammatic and epigraphic, n. on 11.cit., citing *Epigr. Gr.* 327.3, 5Kaibel (= 739 Peek), Lattimore, 188. Add Eur.*HF* 323f. (with *Andr.* 1214 ὡς κακὰ παθῶν ιδών τε δυστυχῆς γέ-*pov*), *Anth.Gr.* 7.335.2, with Callim., GP, *HE* 1198, 1244, QS 2.263f.. Unsurprisingly, it surfaces in accounts of the horrors of proscription and civil war at Rome, Plut.*Sull.* 31, Cass.Dio 51.2.6, etc., Jal, 394. This horror reawakened in Turnus' evil wish, 10.443 *cuperem ipse parens spec-tator adesset* (where vd. Harrison). Perhaps therefore best not taken as a Rom. elaboration of Hom., as several comms. on *G.4* and *Aen.6* suggest. There is less horror in Hecuba's account of seeing Priam die before her eyes, Eur.*Tro.* 482f., Rossi, 45.

euasit Cf. **458**; *peruenit* Serv.; Non.p.293.21, oddly, *apparere*; in Serv. Dan. mere silliness ('inepte', Leumann): see Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.988. 17ff..

532 concidit Cf. 11.245 *concidit Ilia tellus*, with n., perhaps the Hom. κάππειν; at Enn.*Ann.* 411. Hey, *TLL* 4.31.30. Note the additional force lent the first-foot dactyl, though not strictly run on.

ac...uitam...fudit The vb. of blood, Acc.*praet.* 4; in Lucr., of the *ani-ma*, 3.700, 1033; of *uita* apparently first here, Robbert, *TLL* 6.1.1564.25. Life and blood (vd. Onians, 255) finely interwoven (cf. Hahn 1930, 152) in the word-order too.

multo...cum sanguine Cf. **551 in multo lapsantem sanguine nati**, **662 multo Priami de sanguine Pyrrhus**. Also at 5.736, 6.87, 11.421f. (where vd. n.) and Liv.1.23.9 *sine multo sanguine*; at that point, almost surprising that on 6.87 No. did not suggest an Ennian antecedent.

533 hic Priamus At the moment of his son's death, before his very eyes, Priam, last seen by his wife's side, on(?) the altar (**525**), intervenes, despite the evident dangers (**534 non tamen**); admirable dramatic sense and characterisation.

quamquam... iam...tenetur Taken up by **abstinuit**, only three words later (a familiar type of repet., Wills, 319f., 349, 443ff.; see **378, 380, repressit...pressit**, 7.458f.). Note also the (common) sequence -te te- (*EV* 5*, 101); compare in particular 3.388 *condita mente teneto*, 4.90 *peste teneri* (there are further instances with variation of prosody).

The contrast between the peril of Priam's situation (**iam**: the sack has finally reached him in person; the climax of the narrative) and the freedom of his speech underlined.

in media...morte Cf. Cat.64.149 *in medio uersantem turbine leti*, Bulhart, *TLL* 8. 586.41f. (of *mors*, Cic. *Verr*.2.5.12, *Cat*.4.18, and cf. many comparable expressions cited by Henry), Serra Zanetti, *EV* 3, 592. Note *G*.3.486 *in honore deum medio stans hostia ad aram*, and compare **446 extrema iam in morte**.

534 non tamen Cf. 11.845 (with n.); V. in general unsurprisingly sparing of bulky and often inessential particles.

abstinuit Much used by Ov., both with and without abl.; *EV* 5*, 101, Vollmer, *TLL* 1.197.42f., A. Weinhold, *ALL* 6(1899), 509–26 at 524ff. Sc. *uoce iraque*. At this grand moment V. accumulates synonyms (cf. *Sen.Ep*.114.7 *pepercit gladio, sanguine abstinuit*), and deploys, *infra*, one of his rich compound expressions (best not ‘hendiadys’; cf. Hahn, 1930, 151).

nec...pepercit Korteweg, *TLL* 10.1.331.65 compares *Plaut.Pers*.682 *tace, parce uoci*; note also *G*.2.339 *hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri, Aen*.1.257, 9.656, Korteweg, 330.68.

uoci iraeque Serv.Dan. comments well *bene Priamo animositatem regiam dedit, ut mori honeste uelit*. Priam has faced Ach.'s anger (as had Hector), and seen it to bend (cf. *Il*.24.206ff., 568ff., W.V. Harris, *Restraining rage* (Cambridge, Mass. 2001), 132ff., Anderson, 45, etc.), but Pyrrhus will not bend before Priam's own anger (Homeric, evidently; Stoicism does not come into it), which is apparently ignored in recent studies of Virgilian rage. Cf. K.C. King, *MD* 9(1982), 34, G. Aurelio Privitera, *EV* 1, 25.

535–43 Highet, *cit.* (and Caviglia, *EV* 4, 265; cf. Rossi, 48) point out that the sequence insults (to provoke the foe) which lead to cast of spear is that of the Hom. hero (of which tradition Priam had been a forerunner); the old king has risen up from the altar for one last untimely, imprudent, magnificent gesture: Cartault, 1, 196, Salvatore, 73f., Highet, 117. To some readers, however, mere ‘futile bravado’ (Lyne, *FV*, 55).

535 at Introducing, as often, an imprecation, *OLD* s.v., §11b, Wagner, *QV* xxxvii, §5, Hand, 1, 441f., Ihm, *TLL* 2.995.4, 18ff., LHS 488; Ihm 995.3 cites Don. on Ter. *Andr*.666 *principium increpationi aptum*, who com-

pares this v. (cf. Jul.Rufinianus 15 Halm, ‘*exsecratio*’). Cf. Cat.3.13, 28.14, Hor.*Epd*.3.19 (with Watson’s n.), 5.1.

tibi...// 537 persoluant grates dignas Cf. 1.600 *grates persoluere dignas...*[605] *praemia digna ferant*, 9.252f. *’quae uobis, quae digna, uiri, pro laudibus istis/ praemia posse rear solui?*, 11.856f. *capias ut digna Camillae/ praemia*; standard phrasing, Foucher, *TLL* 10.1.1712.68ff., at 1713.11; cf. e.g. Cic.*Planc*.80 *nisi qui meritam dis immortalibus gratiam iustis honoribus et memori mente persolvunt*. Serv. remarks here that **g.** are used *uel in bonis, uel in malis*. Cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 6.2.2204.53ff., Bögel, *ib*.5.1.1148.10ff.. Note that here the grammatical forms chosen and their prosodic shape lead, appropriately, to a more solemn effect than at 1.600 *cit.*; Moskalew, Sparrow and Berres ignore the natural parallelisms of expression. **Tibi** thrown far forward into prominence; the vb. and dir.obj. not until 537.

pro...pro The anaphora in keeping with the excited tone the occasion requires; conveys the full weight of the compound expression, ‘*pro tali scelere audacter commisso*’, *vel sim.*

scelere ‘Misdeed’, as **125, 164**; limited profit at *EV* 4, 697.

talibus ausis Repeated, 12.351. The ppp. of the semidep. vb. solidly pass., Flobert, 497, Hey, *TLL* 2.1258.72; Serv. on 12.351 did not know who had used the word thus before V.. Marked spitting allit. of dentals, **tibi, talibus, di, talia**.

536 di Cf. 1.603, 3.265, 5.235, 6.264, 7.259 etc. for this powerful opening. **536–7** inscribed on *CIL* 6.18296 = *CLE* 816.

si qua Cf. full n. on 7.4 *si qua est ea gloria*, a traditional and widespread type of formula in statements about life, death and the gods, conventional in character (cf. the many prayer-formulae beginning *si...*; NH on Hor.*C.1.32.1*), and quite clearly not explicitly sceptical, *pace* Williams, *TI*, 212. Knauer cites the attractive parallelism of prayer-structure, *Od.17.475f.* (with 484).

est caelo Presumably a local abl., but there might equally be a case for possessive dat..

pietas Cf. 4.382 *si quid pia numina possunt*, 5.668f. *si quid pietas antiqua labores/ respicit humanos*, Boyancé, 80, Bailey, 84f., Traina, *EV* 4, 95. Divine pity conceived as recognition of human piety.

quae talia curet Cf. Buc.8.35 *nec curare deum credis mortalia quemquam, G.1.504 hominum...curare triumphos*, Lommatsch, *TLL* 4.1502.61.

537 praemia reddant/ 538 debita Cf. Cat.64.157 *talia qui redditis pro dulci praemia uita*; Massaro, *TLL* 10.2.718.11 (s.v. ‘praemii loco est malum’, as in Cat., *cit.*, 720.5, *EV* 2, 117. The adj. reinforces the verb (cf. Mertel, *TLL* 5.1.104.6f.); the sense of ‘due repayment’ is very strong.

qui...me cernere.../ 539 fecisti This constr. with *facere* dear to Lucr. (3.100, 301, 5.662, 703, etc.), Hey, *TLL* 6.1.115.47, LHS, 354 and, in ample detail, P. Thielmann, *ALL* 3 (1886), 177ff.. The indic. in a causal rel.-clause at this date unsurprising, LHS, 559, Bennett, 1, 137f., 291f., Handford, *Lat.subjunc.*, 166.

nati...letum Cf. n. on 11.846 for the lofty and archaic *letum*.

coram With *cernere*, Lucr.1.134, etc., Hey, *TLL* 3.874.78. Cf. Tac. *Ann.*12.47 *illi cupido regni fratre et filia potior animusque sceleribus paratus; uisui tamen consuluit, ne coram interficeret*, and vd. **531** for the theme.

539 patrios...uultus Appropriately loftier than *patris*; cf. **658**, 6.33, etc., Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.758.21f..

foedasti funere Cf. **53**; Serv.Dan. strangely writes *crudeles impiosque fecisti*, and takes **funere** to mean ‘corpse’ (so 6.150, 510, 9.486, n. on 11.3). Cf. Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.997.55f., *id.*, *ib.*1605.40f.. A sense of ‘death’, should not though be excluded (cf. **284**, **361**, etc.), and may coexist with the concrete ‘corpse’. ‘Has wounded Priam’s sight’ Au.. No; rather ‘has polluted’ (by the monstrous sight of his dead son): cf. not so much Plut.*coh.ira* 456C on how salacious reading καταρρυπταίνει young readers, as Artemis’ words at Eur.*Hipp.*1437 οὐδ’ ὅμια χραίνει θανατίμοισιν ἐκπνοαῖς. So not only does the blood pollute the altar but the sight of Polites’ corpse pollutes his father’s gaze; Serv. Dan. *quia iure belli Politen occiderat. sed cur ante oculos patris?*. So too Cic. *Vat.*32 *nisi id fecisses quod fas non fuit, nisi uiolasses templum Castoris, nomen epuli, oculos ciuium, morem ueterem, har.*resp.26 *uiolatis oculis*, Ov.*Her.*17.1 *nunc oculos tua cum uiolarit epistula nostros*. For the very common syncopated form of the perf., cf. E. Bednara, *ALL* 14(1906), 350f..

540 at non Not at all the same as 7.363 *at non sic...* (where vd. n.); here as often with the full normal force of both **at** and **non**: cf. Wagner, *QV* xxxvii, §1b, Ihm, *TLL* 2. 1001.67. So e.g. 11.148, 725, 736.

ille...Achilles I. in the sense of ‘the famous’, *EV* 4, 314, n. on **503**.

satum quo te The unimportant relative in discreet anastrophe, and

‘son’ in consequent prominence. For **s.**, cf. nn. on 7.152, 656 (archaic, perhaps tragic). So Patr. had reproached Ach. with being no son of Peleus, *Il.*16.33 (cf. 203).

mentiris Simply because he does not live up to his father’s standards of magnanimity, *Il.*24.155–8, etc.; Pyrrhus’ additional scorn for the rights of sanctuary will lead to his own death by the altar at Delphi (n. on 3.332; an end in part the fulfilment of Priam’s curse at 537: Duckworth, 23); reader and author explore continuously a chain of binding and terrible consequences. Compare Dido on Aen.’s paternity, 4.365, with Pease’s ample n., *Il.*16. *supra* (but Dido and Priam are making slightly different points). *EV*3, 486 notes two instances of **m.** in V., not including this one.

541 talis...fuit Cf. Cic. *Verr.*2.4.81 *talis ille uir fuit*, Liv.34.22.9 *et in uos talis fuit ut nobis*.

in ‘In the case of’ (Schol. Gron.B on Cic. *Verr.*2.1.3 (Stangl, 343.10ff.) thought V. should have written *Priamum*), Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.781.23, KS 1, 563, LHS, 273, n. on **390 in hoste**.

hoste...Priamo When we were enemies; when Priam visited the man who had just killed his son; when, that is, we were still openly at war. This was a scene that Dido had before her eyes in Juno’s temple, 1.484 (cf. **1, 501**). O. Toucheſeu, *LIMC* 4.1., 492ff., Horsfall, *JHS* 103(1983), 145. For the speaker’s use of his/her own name, vd. full n. on 7.401 (strong pathetic force), J. Kvičala, *Vergil-Studien* (Prag 1878), 17ff. (ample raw material). For **h.**, *EV*2, 864.

sed Not only did he not show me violence, but granted what I asked for.

iura fidemque/ 542 supplicis A pair assembled *ad hoc*; the **iura** those of a suppliant: n. on **502**, Tessmer, *TLL* 7.2.688.42f., Catalano, *EV*3, 66f. (and for the Gk. material, J. Gould, *JHS* 93(1973), 74ff., with my n., **502**); note in particular the formulation, *Od.*16.422ff.. Of *fides* (cf. *EV* 2, 510), Fraenkel writes (*TLL* 6.1.664.44f.) ‘ius fidei quod supplici debetur, cum in fidem alterius se commiserit’, amid a sumptuous array of comparable instances, including (e.g.) Sall. *Cat.*35.6 *nunc Orestillam commendo tuaeque fidei trado* (so Reynolds’ text). Note 4.424 *atque hostem supplex adfare superbum*.

erubuit Cf. *Buc.*6.2, Prop.3.14.20, Liv.38.59.11, but not common with acc. (‘had respect for’, an attractive transference), Hörmann, *TLL* 5.2.821.61f.. For such transitivisations in V., cf. n. on 7.581. The blush of respectful modesty, clearly: Edgeworth, 126, R.O.A.M. Lyne in *Virgil*

ed. I. McAuslan and P. Walcot (Oxford 1990), 165, n.7, Brink on Hor.*Ep.*2.1.267.

corpusque exsangue.../ 543...Hectoreum On the adj. form of a name, in place of gen., cf. Au. here, n. on 7.1, Marouzeau, *Ordre des mots* 1, 16ff.; the poets happily multiply adjs. to qualify a single noun (yet *uitiosum* for Serv. on 392), especially when one derives from a proper name (LHS, 161, Munro on Lucr.1.258 citing e.g. *horridamque Thraciam Propontida, trucemue Ponticum sinum*, Lunelli-Kroll, 58, n.62); note too that only **H.** replaces a gen.; Homeric (*Il*.2.416, etc.) and tragic, but possibly first here in Lat., n. on 3.304. For the adj., see 212; the tendency of the capital mss to omit the s does not mean that we need do so too, when it is clearly required P. Schmid, *TLL* 5.2.1824.15, Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 445.

sepulcro/ 543 reddidit Cf. *Il*.24.560ff., 599 οὐδὲ μὲν δῆ τοι λέλυται, Acc.*trag.*667 *immo enim uero corpus Priamo reddidi, Hectorem abstuli.* Cf. 11.103, *EV*2, 117f. for the concurrent senses of ‘give back’ and ‘put in the right, due place’.

meque in mea regna remisit When both Priam and his realm were not quite yet at their very last gasp; before Ach., Priam was an humble suppliant, but thanks to Ach., he can return home as king. Elaborate play of sound (for the polyptoton of pronoun and pronominal adj., cf. Wills, 266); note 5.800 **meis te fidere regnis**. Observe the use of *remittere* of sending bodies back for burial, 10.828, 11.206; Serv.’s *comitatus usque ad Troiam est* would be interesting if true, which it is not. Bowie’s suggestion of an allusion to Ptolemy Auletes’ restoration by Pompey (477) is hardly binding.

544 sic fatus Cf. n. on 3.118.

senior Cf. 509.

telumque imbelle ‘De telo sine vi misso’, Haffter, *TLL* 7.1.420. 70f.; *ipse inbellis* Serv.Dan. (also true, and here implied, but not what V. actually writes), so used, also Stat.*Theb.*8.584. Serv. and TCD usefully compare **510 inutile ferrum**. Note *Il*.11.390 κωφὸν γὰρ βέλος ἀνδρὸς ἀνάλκιδος οὐτιδανοῖο, 13.505 ἄλιον...βέλος.

sine ictu Hitting the target (*ut destinata percuterent*, TCD on 7.165 *cursuque ictuque lacesunt*; the real target is of course Pyrrhus’ person), while *iactus* points rather to motion through the air, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.164.4ff., 36f., *OLD* s.v., §1a. Cf. LHS, 272 for *sine* to render Gk. privative adjs..

545 coniecit Used by Enn.(*Ann.*68) and popular with Lucr.; intensified *iacere*.

rauco...aere The adj. often of trumpets, n. on 7.615: thus *G.*4.71 *Martius ille aeris rauci canor*; the adj. strictly applies not to the bronze, but to the noise made (a sort of enallage). See Tartari Chersoni, *EV* 4, 406 (the dull sound of shield stuck by spear; ‘clang’). Au. states confidently that **a.** is used for ‘shield’, and at *TLL* 1.1073. 74, Bickel cites five passages in V. with, apparently, just that sense. But they all have in common the specific mention of *clipeus*: the present passage, 3.286, *aere cauo clipeum*, 10.336, 482 both refer to layers of bronze in the construction of a *clipeus*; 10.784 refers to layers of linen, leather and bronze in the construction of the *orbis* of a shield. At Enn.*trag.*2 Joc. writes ‘outside the phrase under discussion there is no clear example of it standing metonymically for a particular shield’. Just so. The sequence -re re- at v.-end, with or without metr. variation, is not uncommon; at 5tr., as here, cf. **108, 607, 704** and PHI easily provides further instances.

quod...repulsum Cf. Ov.*F.*4.184 *aeraque tinnitus aere repulsa dabunt* (cymbals).

protinus Hits the *umbo* not hard enough to penetrate significantly, but from the very first (**p.**) just hangs from the boss (so Sil.10.114f.), which is the strongest part of Pyrrhus’ shield, as Henry points out (contrast 10.477). Pyrrhus carries a *clipeus* (**546**), ‘the round Homeric (or indeed hoplite) shield’, n. on 7.639; at its centre, the *umbo*, or ‘boss’, for which, vd. *infra*. For the conventional noisy bronze (whether outer layer, or principal material, Seymour, 636) of the heroic shield, cf. n. on 7.722 *scuta sonant*, Wickert, 297, Dingel on 9.666f., Roiron, 258, C. Saunders, *Vergil’s primitive Italy* (New York 1930), 143, F.H. Sandbach, *ORVA*, 455, 456f..

546 et summo clipei...umbone The Hom. ὁμφαλός a depression, for Seymour, 642, but see Kirk on *Il.*6.117f., 7.267 and, decisively, Janko on 13.190. This sense coincided with conventional Rom. usage (Wickert, 300); cf. Liv.4.19.5, 5.47.4, 30.34.3, Val.Max. 3.2.23, 5.1.3, Tac.*Agr.*36.2, *Hist.*2.42, 4.29, *Ann.*4.51, 14.36. An actual boss in the centre of the shield, clearly often used for shoving in close-quarter action (and useful too for protecting the hand behind it, Walbank on Plb.6.23.2 with further bibl.), though sometime a synecdochic sense of ‘shield’ seems rather likelier; so in V., e.g. at 7.633 (where vd. n.) and vd. Mastandrea, *EV*5*, 377f.. See too Malavolta, 135. *Nonnulli hic faciunt inanissimam quaestionem dicentes non posse pendere quod repellitur* TCD,

a ‘problem’ which also exercises Serv.Dan. at tedious length; cf. Bell, 291. If Priam’s spear is repulsed but hangs, that surely confirms that V. thinks of the shield as layered; the spear penetrates enough into the outermost layer to secure the point, but fails to pierce it, and is therefore ‘repulsed’. For **summo** thus, cf. 7.808 *per summa uolaret/ gramina*, 5.819, 12.376 *summum degustat uulnere corpus*, 434, Ov.Met.8.382, *OLD* s.v., §3a.

nequiquam Not the ‘tragic’, anticipatory **n.** of 510, 515; here, simple failure.

pependit Cf. *EV* 4, 16. Reineke, *TLL* 10.1.1030.22ff. cites, ‘de sagittis non penetrantibus’, Ov.Met.5.68, Sil.10.401.

547 cui Pyrrhus Cf. 6.46 *cui talia fanti*, 10.580 *cui Liger* (vd. Günther, 51), 611 *cui Iuno summissa*. Though Highet’s definition of the speech, 535–43, as simply a curse, (3), 198 (cf. Hickson, 161), is not fully satisfactory, the contrast there drawn between Priam’s regular opening and Pyrrhus’ rough response at 2Sp. is helpful (‘curt, contemptuous, and off-hand’)..

547–50 A brief reply, disposed in studied disorder (vd. on **cui Pyrrhus** and cf. the anomalous caesuras of 548, 549), but rich in Homeric and tragic topics. The elements of heavy sarcasm detected by Au. are here interpreted as simpler expressions of epic wrath, peculiarly appropriate to Priam’s imminent death.

referes...haec The ability of a character about to die to act as messenger a Euripidean conceit (with a wide variety of tone): to *Hec.*422, add 877, 1003 (vd. Collard); ‘convey’ a common sense of the vb.; cf. 7.267, 10.491, 11.176, Zucchelli, *EV* 2, 498. Au. rightly insists that this is a real future (as an alternative to imper., it is anyway too polite for the occasion, NH on Hor.C.1.20.1), spoken by a man who knows that Priam will very soon be dead. Serv. *sarcasmos est, iocus cum amaritudine*, comparing 12.359.

ergo So Plaut., e.g. *quin ergo imus?* (specially common with imper./jussive; the fut. occasional in Plaut., *Poen.*1053, *Stich.*292, then common in Cic.*Ep.*). Here probably a calculated colloquialism, in the sense of ‘well, then...’, *vel sim.* (sc. since you call me no son of my father). Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.768. 21f., Hand, 2, 453

et nuntius ibis Was Au. right to suggest Pyrrhus’ contempt for Priam’s role as errand boy? That might be a misreading of **n.**, used by Androm. of Aen. himself, 3.310. Cf. *EV* 3, 798f.. The point is rather

that Pyrrhus is telling Priam to his face that he is about to be able, *as a corpse*, to take Achilles a message; there was a memorable precedent at hand, for Odysseus, was—exceptionally—able to take Ach. a famous message about Neopt.'s *virtues*, *Od.*11.505ff.; cf. Sil.1.398, QS 1.765. La Cerdà notes the horrid travesty, Suet. *Tib.*57.2, on taking messages to Augustus.

548 Pelidae genitori For **P.**, cf. 263; the (nearly) Homeric patronymic particularly suited to the context, though absent from *Od.*11. Here we recall, precisely, Priam's own injunction to Ach. to remember his own father Peleus, *Il.*24.486. **G.** is elevated diction, nn. on 7.306, 360, Lyne, *FV*, 58. Synaloepha at 3½, with strong pause, as at 3.652 (Au.).

illi Cf. Wagner, *QJ*xxi, §5 for this common form of ref. to a specified antecedent.

mea tristia facta So *tua...facta*, 8.516, 10.791. **T.**: Hey, *TLL* 6.1. 131.39, *EV* 5*, 272 (but cf. rather *OLD* s.v.). A sense both of 'grim' towards Priam, and—ironically—'unhappy, deplorable', to his father-Ach. (so Au., Speranza).

549 degeneremque Neoptolemum *Non respondentem moribus patris* Serv.. Neopt. would hardly wish here to recognise the the grandly generous Ach. of *Il.*24, as lately recalled by Priam, as his own true father. Cf. G. Aurelio Privitera, *EV* 1, 25. For N.'s use of his own name, cf. on 541; Priam and N. name themselves in studied balance. That is how N. as speaker would wish to see himself right now, as the new man of war (cf. Paschalis, 90), his father's peer. The only caesura is in the fourth foot; that at 2tr. hardly counts: N.'s furious words spill out in studied disorder; we recall the caesura in the previous v. **D.** apparently a Virgilian coinage first found here: cf. 4.13, Cordier, 143f.. *Non respondentem moribus patris* Serv.; 'per ironiam', Bögel, *TLL* 5.1.379.70. The theme of sons and the level set by their fathers is old-established: cf. *Il.*6.209 (vd. Kirk's n.), 476ff., *Od.*24.508, 512, Soph.*Aj.*550, Acc.*trag.*156, *Aen.* 12.435, Rossi, 48, n.104, Hightet, 31, n. on 3.342, and for Rom. views of children improving upon parents, cf. *Prudentia* 8(1976), 84 with n.101.

narrare memento For **m.**, cf. n. on 7.126; 'another gibe; the messenger must be sure not to forget his lines' (Au.); hardly the tone of *Il.*24, *supra*, and N.'s use of the common epic turn, 'remember', using necessarily the lofty perfect imper., may suggest simply solemn insistence: 'you will be dead, but even then do be quite sure to tell

my father' (for Eur., cf. 547). Cf. 9.742 (Turnus to his victim Pandarus; there Serv. cites the present passage) *hic etiam inuentum Priamo narrabis Achillem*; cf. too 1.390f. *classemque relatam/ nuntio*, Polara, *EV* 3, 663, King (534), 34f.. Au.: 'again carefully chosen to suggest a long, comfortable gossip (cf. G.4.345), another sneer'. Really? In other poet. texts such a sense of *narrare* is found, but here note rather the grand epic narrative, worthy of the scale and context of N.'s deeds, suggested by n. at 3.717, 4.79, 8.625. Quinn too (324–35), 236 accelerates the movement and coarsens the tone in his translation; this four-word hexam., though, is hardly 'contemptuous rhetoric' so much as majestic formulation calculated to close discussion, and life. After **mea tristia facta**, *narrare* + acc. is a much more economical explanation than the suppression of *esse*, *OLD* s.v., §2a.

550 nunc morere Abrupt command closes speech at 1D (vd. 547); cf. 10.600, 743 *nunc morere* (with Highet, 187); so Achilles to Hector, *Illiad* 22.365 τέθναθι.

hoc dicens Cf. 10.744 (where vd. Harrison), 856, 12.950; Hom. ὁ^c ἄρα φωνήςας. *ecce breuitas necessarie posita* TCD.

altaria ad ipsa Cf. 515; one (large) altar. The seeker after sanctuary at last, as seemed inevitable for some time, becomes victim.

tremen tem/ 551 traxit Words V. will re-use at 6.396 (Hercules and the quivering Cerberus). Strong alliteration (cf. Traina, *EV* 5*, 262). *Trahere* much as at 321, 457; cf. *EV* 5*, 248.

et in multo...sanguine nati Cf. 532 **multo...cum sanguine**, where vd. n.. Polites' role in the mechanics of this scene hideously reinforced. Furthermore, we are invited to think also of the more familiar scene of the ground about the altar running with the blood of victims, 4.201f. (vd. Pease's rather scanty n.), 5.328f., Lehr, 71.

lapsantem Cf. Buchwald, *TLL* 7.2.955.24f., Bartalucci, *EV* 3, 85. A frequentative of *labor*, first attested here (Cordier, 145), attractive to Sil. and Tac..

552 implicuitque comam *Tenuit omnis comas Priami et sinistra manu implicauit* TCD. **Coma laeuam P**, against the **comam laea** of M and the majority of the c.9 mss., with the neat and desirable balance of juxtaposed **laea dextraque**. Rehm, *TLL* 7.1.643.78ff., Leissner, *ib.*, 3.1751.17. Neopt. seizes Priam by the hair, Neils, n^{os}.104, 128,134(?); *ib.*, n^{os}. 99, 101, 113 not quite the same. An established Greek schema (cf. of female captives, 403f., *ad fin*). Au. does very well

to cite here *Comm. pet.*10 [Catiline; see F. Münzer, PW 14.1827.41f.] *qui hominem carissimum populo Romano, M. Marium, inspectante populo Romano uitibus per totam urbem ceciderit, ad bustum egerit, ibi omni cruciatu lacerarit, uiuo stanti collum gladio sua dextera secuerit, cum sinistra capillum eius a uertice teneret, caput sua manu tulerit, cum inter digitos eius riui sanguinis fluenter.* Could the hideous death of M. Marius Gratidianus in 82BC (the nephew of C. Marius; cf. n. on 558 *infra* for the son). actually have influenced V. here? If it did (as I rather think it might, without being entirely sure), then *this* historical reference might bear quite strongly on how we interpret 557f. (La Cerdá cites App. *Civ.*4.67 and Suet. *Vit.*17.1 *reducto coma capite, ceu noxii solent* for similar means of execution; note too Luc.2.119ff.). But there is a neglected oddity in V.'s narrative here, which misled ancient readers: TCD 1.224.26 writes *tenuit omnis comas Priami et sinistra manu implicauit dextraque extulit, ipsas scilicet comas procul dubio cum capite abscidit*, and Serv. both here (*ad fin.*; κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον) and on 506 (vd. Fraenkel, *Kl. Beitr.*, 2, 370) refers to the beheading of Priam, presupposed at 557f., but nowhere narrated. Here, Pyrrhus' actions are not altogether easy to follow, for he grasps Priam's hair, only to plunge his sword into the king's side. No beheading in the narrative; TCD, *cit.* is simply wrong at (not least because the obj. of **extulit** is so clearly, *pace* TCD 1.224.27, **ensem**, not **comas**). For another way of forcing back the neck, cf. 10.535f.; note too the suggestion (Pascoli, etc.) that **c.** might refer to the plume of Priam's helmet, which is ingenious (and indeed Homeric, *Illiad*3.369f.) but curiously inappropriate to the present circumstances, not least because we are not invited to view Priam as armed in full panoply (509f., 518).

laeua dextraque So 1.611, Ilioneus in Aen.'s right arm, Serestus in his left.

coruscum/ 553 ...ensem Cf. 470 **telis et luce coruscus aena.** Burger, *TLL* 4.1076. 64f.. The adj. thrown forward and separated from the noun, for a brighter flash.

553 extulit Drew from the scabbard, Bannier, *TLL* 5.2.140.45f., oddly. He compares Tac. *Ann.*1.35 *ferrum a latere diripuit elatumque deferebat in pectus*, where the sense is quite clearly 'raised on high' (since Tac. has a perfectly good word for 'drew'); that is what TCD seems to convey (for his probable sense here, see on 552), and Bannier's other instances of 'unsheathe' are not germane. Decisive, as Woldemar Görler remarks is 10.261f., *clipeum cum deinde sinistra/ extulit ardente*.

ac lateri...abdidit For **l.**, cf. 19, 341, n. on 11.489. For **a.** used thus, cf. Ov.*Met.*4.720, 10.716, Sen.*Tro.*48, Hey, *TLL* 1.57.16f.; for datives used for metr. convenience when an abl. might be expected, cf. No. on 6.350; note too Antoine, 153, who suggests dat. of motion.

capulo tenuis Cf. 10.536 *capulo tenuis applicat ensem*, Bannier, *TLL* 3.383.11f., with developments in later poets, Saunders (545), 165, Malavolta, 123, Wickert, 443. For **t.** (largely poet.), cf. Wölfflin, *ALL* 1(1884), 415ff. at 418, LHS, 267f. with further bibl., neatly summarised by Au.. V., unlike Lucan on Pompey, at pains not to narrate the beheading; P.'s end as it is quite tragic and bloody enough.

554–8 Priam's epitaph. Cf. nn. on 7.1–4, 532, Barchiesi, *EV* 2, 344, Williams, *TI*, 196–201, Heinze, 44, n.1, Currie (554), *infra*, for epitaphs and commemorations in *Aen.*; for detail, cf. **554 finis, exitus**. Useful work on V.'s probable reference to Pompey here (*supra*) has tended to ignore the presence of other more or less clear references to Rom. history in the narrative of *Aen.*: cf. 135 on Marius and Sinon (affinity to this passage claimed by Serv. there *notandum sane Vergilium sub aliorum personis causam exequi nobilium, ut hoc loco Marii, item paulo post Pompei*; cf. Thomas, 243f.), *Lat.* 33(1974), 80–6 for Turnus and Hannibal, the Arae Perusinae, allegedly (n. on 11.82), the younger Cato in the simile 1.148–56, *Companion*, 163, with further bibl.. Not all instances cited are, even remotely, of equal weight: anthologised, Camps, *Introduction*, 95ff., 137ff., Griffin, *Lat. Poets...*, 183ff.. Opelt, 145 and Griffin, 191 illuminated the Rom. habit of comparing an individual to figures of history or myth (e.g. Antony as Hannibal) and E. Champlin, in *Myth, history and culture in republican Rome*, ed. D. Braund, C. Gill (Exeter 2003), 295–319 has explained, most entertainingly, elements of re-enactment of the Trojan War in late repub. and triumviral life and language, including e.g. the nickname of 'Agamemnon' for Pompey, 297 (cf. Berno, 82). Whence, ultimately, Dio 42.5.3ff. on the death of Pompey, once master of a thousand ships, 299 (with Moles, 288). The convergence of the exemplary force of contemporary and mythol. figures is now no surprise: the *peripeteiai* of Pompey and Priam (on which vd. already Arist.*EN* 1100a8, 1101a8; see also Mayor on Juv.10.258–71, Courtney's ed., 299, J.de Decker, *Juvenalis declamans* (Gand 1913), 41ff.) were evidently analogous; note the comparison present in Cic.*Tusc.*1.85f. (the only close and direct juxtaposition), with *Div.*2.22, Manil. 4.50ff., 64 *Priamique in litore truncum*, Juv. 10.258ff., 283ff., Bowie, 474f., Hinds, 9, after Narducci, Woodman on Vell.2.48.2. The analogy drawn in

Cic. *Tusc.* makes it likelier, as Narducci realises, that in V. Aen.'s claim to autopsy, particularly in the case of Priam's death, at 499f. and at 560 should be compared to Pollio's own (Morgan, 51–69 at 54f., with n.21). Such a claim is *also*, we should remember, recognisably, even insistently, tragic (5f.). Concentration on Pompey and Lucan (8.536–711) has led to the accumulation of numerous arguments in favour of the Priam-Pompey analogy, of very uneven quality. Note first that some of the details in V.'s obituary of Priam do not altogether suit Pompey: see 556 **superbum**; the play in 557 **ingens** is old and neat, not mandatory; the body lying without honour on the beach does not quite square with the facts of Pompey's end. Some wider-ranging analogies between the last days of Pompey and Priam have been proposed and parts of Bowie's discussion are almost as wayward, or fanciful, as Horsfall 1974, *supra*. There are, though, some details solidly in favour of the analogy: cf. 554 **finis, exitus, 556f. tot quondam populis terrisque superbum/ regnatorem Asiae**, the theme of former glories in the epitaph, the headless corpse. That is probably enough to clinch the argument, even without 557 **litore** (q.v.). Not only Lucan, but Manilius and Juv. too (*supra*) clearly thought that V. had Pompey in mind here; it is also likely that if V. wrote **litore**, he did so with Pacuv. in mind (see 557 **litore**), though we have no idea of how the idea came to Pacuv., except perhaps via a (possibly original) wish to associate Priam's end with the tomb of Achilles. Cf. further my paper 'Pictures from an execution' forthcoming in the *Festschrift* for J.N. Bremmer's retirement (ed. J. Dijkstra, etc.; pub. 2009 anticipated).

554 haec finis Discussion of fem. *finis* from antiquity (Gell.13.21.2, Serv. here) to recent times (R. Renahan in *Style and tradition. Studies...Clausen* (München 1998), 216f., n. on 3.145, Bauer, *TLL* 6.1.787. 33ff. at 45, mis-cited (792.3) and mis-classified) does not clarify to anyone's satisfaction why, on a given occasion, V. used fem. (avoidance of the long sequence of -i- sounds was suggested; cf. 'Probus', Gell.13.21.12); clearly singular, and striking. Tac. writes of Agr. *finis uitae eius nobis luctuosus* (Agr.42.1), and *finis uitae* is indeed standard language, Bauer, 791.67ff. (from Acc.; Lucr.3.912, 1093, etc.). Asinius Pollio had described Pompey's death in similar terms: cf. Vell.2. 53.3 *hic...uitae fuit exitus*, 2.72.1 *hunc exitum M. Bruti* with Woodman's nn., Moles, 288 (with Gk. analogues, Plut.*Pomp.*80.5, Cass.Dio 42.5.1, of Pomp.), Morgan, 52; the historiographical flavour already indicated in e.g. Weidner. Pollio's chosen word is about to follow here, in an anaphoric sequence

which binds the long theme and variation, **hic exitus**, and the anomaly of gender may perhaps alert us to the allusion; the odd phrasing V. used for the fatal stroke (552) may have had a similar intent.

Priami fatorum Cf. 506 **Priami...fata** (where vd. n.); readers and hearers, modern and heroic, have at last their answer. Ring-composition eliminates any doubt about punctuation (**M₂P₂** correctly; also Gell.*cit.*, Schol.Ver. *ad Aen.2.165*), **fatorum exitus**, [Prob.] *Gramm. Lat.4.210.3*, Charisius p.351.19 Barwick: for unacceptable **fatorum exitus**, with a comma before **f.**, vd. Pötscher, *infra*; the combination **fatorum sorte** (even worse; thus Ladewig, Benoist) has also been suggested. Henry argues, amply, for the right combination of words. Serv.Dan. suggests that according to *quidam*, **exitus sorte** stands for *e. sortis*; if I understand the Latin, it is not to Serv. Dan.'s credit.

hic exitus In Vell., not only of Pompey and Brutus (*supra*), but also (2.87.3) of Antony and Cleopatra; cf. Liv.39.51.4 (Hannibal). A locution dear to Tac. (e.g. *Hist.1.3*, 49) and the younger Pliny, 5.5.3, 6.16.1, 8.12.4 *exitus illustrium uirorum* (with A. Ronconi, *SIFC* 17(1940), 3ff., *RAC* s.v. *Exitus...*). Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1535. 73ff. at 1536.18: strongly, not exclusively historiographical. Cf. too H. MacL.Currie, *Lat.48*(1989), 346–53.

illum/ 555 sorte tulit For *abstulerunt*, Serv. remarks at *Buc.5.34 postquam te fata tulerunt (simplex pro composito)*; cf. 600, 4.679 (with Serv.), 5.356, Hey, *TLL* 6.1. 559.14f., Bartalucci, *EV* 2, 496. S.: V. makes not much of the lot of the individual in *Aen.*; cf. Pomathios, 339, *EV* 4, 950, n. on 11.165, Pötscher, 39f..

Troiam incensam Cf. 352f. **urbi/ incensae**, 374f. **incensa.../ Pergama**.

et prolapsa.../ 556 Pergama The city fired and the citadel (after **Troiam**, the limited sense of **Pergama** seems likely) in ruins; majestic duplication, and a certain variously alliterative prolixity (see too **tot...terrisque**), justified by the solemn grandeur of the context. Of **prolapsa** Hajdú, *TLL* 10.2.1811.21f. writes ‘collabuntur, procumbunt’, comparing e.g. *Nep.Att.20.3*, *Luc.8.426*, *Tac.Ann.14.27*.

uidentem Priam's last *sight* is (not so much of Polites or Hecuba, but) of his world in ruins; cf. *Aen.3*, index, s.v. *sight*, primacy of, and *supra* note e.g. 407, 538, 539 (with 137, 286, 441, 446, 461, 485, and R.A. Smith, *passim*); contrast (so Prof. Görler) 4.655 *urbem praelaram statui, mea moenia uidi*. So *Il.22.61*, Zeus will kill Priam, on the threshold of old age, κακὰ πολλά ἐπιδόντα, with (Hecuba) Eur. *Tro.482*, (Andr.) *Tro.626*, *Andr.9*.

556 tot quondam populis terrisque The abl. of cause, to explain **superbum**, Antoine, 193; dependence on **regnatorem** ('ruler over') is notably unpersuasive (whether as dat. or as abl.; see Con.), for **r.** comes only after **superbum**, and the abl. of cause is perfectly natural. **Tot** an ancient part of the lexicon of epic hyperbole, Hom. τόccον. The theme of Troy's former riches and greatness a constant under-current, 22, 241 325, etc., but **q.** (cf. 3.49) V. is careful to use with moderation (cf. n. on *olim*, 7.537). Cf. Liv.34.58.9 *principi orbis terrarum populo; populi* and *terrae* are not a conventional pair. V. seems interested elsewhere in the former spread of Priam's realm and allies, 504. So had Achilles been, *Il.*24.543f.; cf., usefully, Weizsäcker, Ro.3.2941.38ff.. More important, the theme of former glories in the epitaph: apparently, in Pompey's case, an inheritance from Pollio (cf. Moles, 288: in all our texts apart from Plut.; vd. also Bowie, 472f., after Au. on 554); compare, in particular, Liv.1.29.6 (with Rossi, 31f. and vd. also Rossi (2002), 239), App. *Civ.*4.82, on Cic., Woodman on Vell.2.53.2, 66–7; on Tac. *Ann.*3.30.1, Woodman and Martin summarise the history of the Rom. historians' obituaries (cf. Sen. *Suas*.6.21 with Winterbottom's nn., n. on 7.532 for V.). Above all, note Ammianus on the death and mutilation of Constantius Gallus, *cadauer est relicum informe, paulo ante urbibus et prouinciis formidatum* (14.11.23). In the present context, Aesch. *Pers.*323ff. perhaps less germane. On 554–8, Au. refers to Heinze, 44, n.1, who compares the moralising conclusions to some Greek messenger-speeches, but in V.'s 'obituaries' on Troy herself, 195–8 and 241–2, it has become clearer that V.'s tone should be recognised as that of the *cantica* of Rom. tragedy (vd. too Sen. *Tro.*54ff.), and beyond them, cf. e.g. βέβακ' ὄλβος, βέβακε Τροία (Eur. *Tro.*582 with e.g. *Tro.* 1312ff., *Hec.*905ff.); here, we might look to a *Kreuzung* of historical and tragic origins. Not least because the death of Priam is, in a very real sense, the death of Troy (Büchner, 331.13f., Quinn, 5, etc.): certainly, the climactic point of V.'s narrative.

superbum Cf. 504, 3.2, Traina, *EV*4, 1072f., for this currently contentious attribute. It is easier to find elements of *superbia* in Pompey's conduct (Bowie, 475) than actual references to him as *superbus* (Helleghouarc'h, 439–41).

557 regnatorem Asiae Cf. Naev. *Bell.Pun.*10.3 *regnatorem marum*, 18 *deum regnator*, Plaut. *Men.*408ff. *natus esse in Sicilia, / ubi rex Agathocles regnator fuit et iterum Phintia, / tertium Liparo* (palpably grandiose), Acc. *trag.*32 *deum regnator*, Bartalucci, *EV*4, 1062. The suggestion that these words refer to

Pergama, rather than **illum** (see R.D. Williams) is notably infelicitous. A.: cf. n. on 3.1 *res Asiae*. Clearly, V.'s language here would suit Pompey very well: Bowie, 475 (citing e.g. Plin.*Nat.*7.97f., 99, Sen.*Ep.*94.65). Note Cic.*Div.*1.89 *Asiae rex Priamus*.

iacet Cf. 1.99 (Hector), 6.149 (Misenus). Not much time elapses between Pompey's body being washed on to the beach and its rough burial: vd. Rice Holmes, *infra*, PW 21.2.2202.31ff. (Miltner). As at 661 word-end and foot-end coincide in the second half on the v.; a slow and solemn effect (Au.).

ingens...truncus Cf. 12.382 *abstulit ense caput truncumque reliquit har- enae*, 9.332, 10.555; Lucretian (3.404, 654). After Serv.Dan. expands Serv.'s bald *Pompei tangit historiam* (on nn. of this type, cf. Alambicco, 57, n.9, C. Lazzarini, *MD* 12(1984), 130) with *cum ‘ingens’ dicit, non ‘magnus’*. O'Hara, *TN*, 134 and Bowie 473 suggest that **ingens** might be a sort of gloss on the *cognomen Magnus*. That suggestion cannot be *proved* as being decisively right or wrong, but increased familiarity with the passage and the issues it raises leads to a sense that it is very probably to be accepted. Hom. refers to Priam as μέγας, *Il.*24.477. Note the extended imit. of V. in Curt.6.9.28 *uelut truncum corpus dempto capite sine spiritu, sine nomine aliena terra ludibrium hostis futuros*.

litore A suggestive venue, if **litore** is what V. wrote. Narducci, *EV* 5*, 306 (with further bibl) draws attention to [Aesch.] *PV* 363f. καὶ νῦν ἀχρεῖον καὶ παράορον δέμας / κεῖται στενωποῦ πλήσιον θαλασσίου (of Typhoeus). In Virgil (and, comparably, Naevius), note the sequence Misenus-Palinurus-Caieta (nn. on 7.1–4 and *SCI* 18(1999), 46); also Polydorus (3.21) Note too the famous tombs of Achilles and Ajax (Sigeum, Rhoeteum; Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, 2, 405, P. Bleisch, *Class.Ant.* 18(1999), 194. Leaf (21), 164–6). Not to mention the many, complex literary associations considered by NH in their comm. on Hor.C.1.28, in particular the convention of burial by the shore of those lost at sea, Lattimore, 199ff.. Surely significant too was the grief of Pyrrhus' father for Patroclus, who (22.386; cf. Caviglia, *cit.*) κεῖται πὰρ νήσσῃ νέκυς ἄκλαντος ἀθαπτός. In the story of Priam, his death seems to have remained firmly attached to the interior of his palace, if not always to the altar of Zeus Herkeios (see 513, Robert, 1258, etc.), until (see e.g. Caviglia, *EV* 4, 267, D'Anna, *ib.* 3, 919, Gärtner, 237) Pacuv.*tr.inc.fr.* xxxiii, quoted by Serv. here (cf. Wigodsky, 83): *respicit quod in Pacuuii tragoeadia continetur*; Serv.Dan. continues *Priami corpus ad litus tractum*. The rest of Pacuv.'s version may lurk in Serv. on 506 (a credible first part of the story): *ad tumulum Achillis occisus tractusque est*

iuxta Sigeum promonturium, but Fraenkel, *Kl. Beitr.*, 2, 370 makes it clear that details in the remainder of the note—notably P.’s head carried about on a pike—are unlikely, *pace* (e.g.) D’Anna, *cit.*, to be Pacuvian. If we accept the notion that V. wrote **litore**, but remain doubtful that he used it in the sense of ‘shore’, with Pacuv., Pollio and Pompey all in mind, then we are forced into unusual senses of *litus*, as Serv. realised, Bowie, 473. To welcome the inconsistency in the narrative, and to accept with enthusiasm the presence of Priam/Pompey’s corpse on the Trojan shore is what Serv. did, but it is also a modern way of reading *Aen.*: cf. O’Hara (256f.), 86. Some earlier readers were greatly troubled by **litore**, though it was clearly in the text by the time of Manil.4.64 and Sen. *Tro.*141, and there is no trace in the transmission that V. might have written anything else: Burmann conjectured **limine**, easily, and **limine** has surfaced more recently too in the literature (vd. Speranza, Ussani for details). **Litore** could have been a very early error under the influence of neighbouring **regnatorem**, and **limine** is not only entirely in keeping with V.’s insistence upon the *limen* in the narrative hitherto (cf. n. on 468), but is neatly in harmony with Priam’s death as narrated in the *Il.parva* (513; cf. too *Il.*22.71, Priam foresees his own death κείσοντ' ἐν προθύροις, with Anderson, 34ff., 38 on the ‘threshold of old age’ metaphor). Paradoxically, even if we were to remove **litore** from the text of *Aen.*2, enough analogies remain to support a reference to Pompey here: a king dead in a doorway is not that distant from a triumvir dead on a beach, not least when there are only three letters’ difference between **litore** and **limine**. **Limine** can hardly be promoted to the text by an editor with some hopes to be thought generally sane; if it were printed, though, it is curious how little would change.

558 auulsumque umeris caput A.: cf. 165, 9.490f. *aut quae nunc artus auulsaque membra/ et funus lacerum tellus habet?*, Plin. *Ep.*2.5.11 *auulsum statuae caput*. EV 5*, 473f., Ihm, *TLL* 2.1305.83. Decapitation in Homeric battle apparently routine (a son of Priam, Lycaon, *Il.*21.117f., Caviglia, 266; also e.g. 11.146, 13.204); also an ancient punishment at Rome (cf. E. Cantarella, *Les peines de mort...* (French tr., Paris 2000), 144ff.). In the civil wars, as a means of slaughter and display, it befell, amongst others, the younger Marius (552), P.Sulpicius Rufus (Vell.2.19.1), Cicero (cf. S. Butler, *The hand of Cicero* (London 2002), 1ff.), Pompey, Helvius Cinna (Suet. *Caes.*85.1), Brutus (allegedly: Suet. *Aug.* 13.1f.), and Crassus’ son (at Carrhae, Plut. *Crass.*26.3f., not to men-

tion the tragic use to which the father's head is put, Plut.*Crass.*33.4). In addition, later, the emperor Galba (Suet.*Galba* 20); instances are not here multiplied unduly, but for mythology, cf. too Apld.*Bibl.*2.1.5, [Apld.]*Epit.* 2.5, F. Graf, in *Interpretations of Greek mythology*, ed. J.N. Bremmer (London 1987), 87f, 92ff, J.N. Bremmer, *ZPE* 55(1984), 274, E.R. Dodds, Eur. *Ba.*2, xxxiv. Some further discussion of recent Rom. usage, Jal, 420f., Woodman on Vell.2.66.3, D.G. Kyle, *spectacles of death* (London 1998), 132, 220f. *et passim*.

et sine nomine corpus Cf. Cic.*Fato* 5 *naufragum illum sine nomine in riuo esse lapsum*. We should recall that Pompey's body was promptly enough cremated and the remains buried: Strab.16.2.33 knew where (which suggests, if not a full-scale tomb, then at least some kind of inscription, as App.*Civ.*2.362 implies): T. Rice Holmes, *Rom.Repub.*3 (repr. New York 1967), 178. The narrative here passes on from Priam's desecrated remains, left at least here without honour or burial, though Weidner refers to the *bustum* of Priam at Hor.*C.3.3.40*; cf. GP, *GP*, 373f. (*tacet Pfister*). At 7.4 (where vd. n.), 6.235 and 6.381 the *nomen* is that of the deceased, which survives in the toponym; at 6.507, there is a cenotaph for Deiphobus, *nomen et arma locum seruant*. Here Serv. writes *sine agnitione* ('recognition'), Serv.Dan. *aut sine dignitate, aut simpliciter* 'sine nomine'; *a capite enim quis nomen ducit?* The *nomen* may suggest both 'dignitas' and a funerary inscription. So Sil.10.208f. *fundoque uolutus/Hadriaca iacuit sine nomine mortis harena*.

559–66 Aeneas returns to the action

The use of Aen. on the palace roof as an observer, to narrate what happened within the palace proves in the end not entirely convincing (or at least not so to modern tastes), and the source of a practical problem, in that (cf. 564) Aen. has now, finally (or so we might hope) to be got off the roof or must at least take a more active part in events. These eight lines provide the motivation, excellently, for they come, credibly provoked by the sight of Priam's corpse, from *within* Aen., from his conscience, even his imagination. The brevity with which this sudden major change in Aen. is treated does not permit us to suggest that a fuller account was to follow in a later version, for this was never going to be the moment for a profound analysis of the hero's soul. Action was urgently called for, but here, there proves to be something gravely awry in the state of our text: see HE, introduction, §5.

559 at A major change of direction in the narrative signalled, as at 486, 4.1 *at regina*, with Ihm, *TLL* 2.1005.1ff.; Wagner, *QV* xxxvii, §5 suggests an implied antecedent, ‘antea nulladum eiusmodi cura subierat animum’, but that may be excessively subtle. Au. oddly thinks of the sense ‘thereupon’, but **at** precedes **me** directly and on it depends the transition from Priam to Aeneas.

me...circumstetit Cf. 4.561 *nec quae te circum stent* [if not *circum stent*, with prepos. in anastrophe over the caesura] *deinde pericula cernis*, 10.905, Probst, *TLL* 3.1174.43; used quite widely of abstracts, *Cic. Verr.* 1.52, *Phil.* 10.20, *Liv.* 3.38.6, 21.55.10, etc. and in particular 6.2.4 *itaque cum tanti undique terrores circumstarent* (where vd. Oakley; so too *terror*, 6.9.10, 21.28.3, 42.65.8). Not very close to the black cloud of ἄχος which enfolds Achilles at *Il.* 18.22.

tum primum So 8.222, 9.590 and Cat.64.56; standard Latin.

saeuus...horror Cf. 755, 3.29, 4.280, 12.868, Ehlers, *TLL* 6.3. 2999.80f. for **h.**; the adj. applied exactly as at 12.406f. *et saeuus campis magis ac magis horror/ crebrescit* (where Traina refers to his n. on 1.99 in the same anthology for this sense of ‘fearful, terrible’; it may be that the epithet is transferred from the circumstances that provoke *horror* to the *horror* itself, Bell, 318ff.). Cf. *EV* 2, 856, 4, 645.

560 obstipui Cf. 774 (ghost of Creusa) = 3.48 (portent; vd. my nn.), 120 (oracle), 378 (serpent), Heine, *TLL* 9.2.260.46f., *EV* 4, 1047. Aen.’s *horror* and dumbstruck state is not here, formally at least, reaction to a portent (cf. Grassmann-Fischer, 115), but Priam’s death and the hint of his body abused (whereas at the last Hector’s had been honoured) have the force and effect of a disarrangement of the natural order, after so many years of his reign.

subiit...// 562 ...subiit Cf. *Aen.* 10.371 *spemque meam, patriae quae nunc subit aemula laudi*, 824 *et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago* (with Harrison’s n.), *Ov. Trist.* 1.3.1 *cum subit illius tristissima noctis imago*, *EV* 2, 323, *OLD* s.v., §12a. Apparently a Virgilian extension of the verb’s range. The anaphora suggests the crowding of images, all suggestive of his conflicting duties, upon Aen.’s mind.

cari genitoris G.: cf. 548. The adj. used thus, 1.677, 689; cf. 1.646 *parentis*, 9.84, Probst, *TLL* 3.503.1. Standard usage: cf. Cat.66.22 and Probst, 502.52ff..

imago Compare 3.489 *o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago* (with my n.), 4.84 *genitoris imagine capta*, O. Prinz, *TLL* 7.2.409.28f.; the sight of Priam naturally recalls the image of his contemporary and cousin

Anchises and we may even be invited to attribute to Aen. imagination enough to have conjured up the sight of his father reduced to Priam's state, though that is a little more than the Latin actually imposes; cf. Allain 1946 (589–633), 192.

561 ut...uidi Both tragic and historical autopsy, as we have seen: 5, 499, 554–8.

regem aequaeuum The adj. also at 5.452, a Virgilian coinage, apparently, like *grandaevus*, *longaeuus* (but *primaevus* is Catullan); note (*Od.* ὁμῆλιξ: cf. Cordier, 46, E. Colonna, *EV* 1, 865 (*bene*)). We have returned to *Il.* 24, where (486f.) Priam reminds Ach. of Peleus' age; cf. Scarcia, *EV* 2, 398. The technique is what Macr. 4.6.9 calls *homoeopathia, quotiens de similitudine passionis pathos nascitur*, citing 12.933, 9.294, 1.628 and the present passage; in his useful collection of material, Mazzarino (p.xv), 87f., n.1 compares Macr. 4.1.1, 2.2, 3.3, 3.6, 3.8 (*bis*), 4.14 on V.'s *pathos* in bk.2. **-um M; -om P.**

crudeli uulnere Surprisingly, not elsewhere in V., but use at [*Laud.Tur.*] 2.17 shows that it is conventional language, though not attested in lit. texts.

562 uitam exhalantem For the vb., cf. n. on 7.84 (Pacuv., *Lucr.*); a verb of long history and varied use, Maurenbrecher, *TLL* 5.2.1402.77ff. at 1404.44f.. For ideas about breath and life, cf. Onians, 170f..

deserta Creusa Cf., variously, 4.330, 677 (Dido), 11.412 (Latins alone on the battlefield, Diom. having chosen not to assist), 843 (the infant Camilla), and 2.714 (temple of Ceres). **Deserta** and **direpta** present fears as facts; an admirable stylistic economy. Aen. how also realises that the time spent as a spectator on the palace roof was time spent not protecting his own wife, son and home. Andromache and Astyanax are absent from V.'s account; just possibly, the mention of Creusa and Iulus here should make us think that they are after all present, as in many versions (cf. 526), but simply not mentioned. For Creusa, vd. 738.

563 et direpta domus The verb extremely common in prose narrative (122x in Liv., Dittmann, *TLL* 5.1.1261.4); G.4.214, *Aen.* 1.211, Hor.C.3.5.21, Tib.1.6.54, but 15x in Liv.'s first pentad and 14x in the second might perhaps suggest that the vb. had been used in Enn./trag.. The state to which Priam's palace has now been reduced begins to convey to Aen. that his own home may be in a similar condition. The

lengthening of **-us** in arsi at the caesura is of a common type; cf. Nettleship, in Con. 3, p.489, and n. on **411 obruimur**.

et parui casus Iuli Cf. 320 (Panthus), **674, 677, 710, 723** (Iulus), *EV* 3, 997, Moseley, 48ff.; the epithet stock but affecting; neither Astyanax nor his corpse is altogether absent to the thoughtful reader below. Cf. n. on **507 urbis...captae casum**; here, though, the sense of ‘lot, what has happened to’ is mandatory (*aut interitus aut captiuitas* Serv.Dan.); Pomathios, 341, *EV* 1, 598. The line cited by Macr.4.3.3 to illustrate *pathos*, *quod est uel in aetate uel in debilitate...ut ex omni aetate pathos moueret*, s.v. *a pueritia*. For the name Iulus, vd. n. on 7.116, with bibl..

564 respicio Aen. has been gazing fixedly at events in the palace courtyard; now at last the all-seeing tragic/historical narrator is reverting to his role as a mere narrating character, Aeneas actually looks away from the courtyard at what is happening around him on the roof. Cf. Au. on **615**, *EV* 4, 451.

et quae me circum sit copia Standard anastrophe of disyll. prepos.; ‘i.q. multitudo, frequentia, magnus numerus’, Gudeman, *TLL* 4.904.30ff. at 38f., and (still in sing.) as ‘manus, exercitus’, 905.18ff., citing e.g. 11.834 *omnis copia Teucrum*. Compare Acc.*trag*.371 *socium in portu est copia*, Cic.*Rep*.1.67 *est tibi ex eis qui adsunt bella copia*. *EV* 1, 882 is hardly right to suggest that we in some sense need to supply *sociorum* though it is clearly to comrades that V. refers.

lustro Vd. *EV* 3, 288, and s.v. ‘intueri, inspicere’, Clavadetscher, *TLL* 7.2.1878.57ff., comparing 1.453, 5.611 (and note that here instead of the dir.obj. there is a clause). The sense repeats that of **respicio**; Au.’s ‘obvious sense of movement’ baffles me.

565 deseruere omnes Cf. on **562**; fatigue in Aen.’s comrades and mental distraction in Aen. (or V. himself) have left both Aen. himself and Creusa deserted. For now, Aen.’s first essay in leadership has come to a sad end; his last companions have, some of them, even taken their own lives, Pomathios, 205.

defessi Cf. nn. on 3.78, 7.126; used at **285**. Serv. refers to fatigue as an excuse for desertion, acutely, in the context of their leader’s narrative; defeat, remarks TCD, is itself exhausting.

et corpora.../ 566 ad terram misere Cf. Fleischer, *TLL* 8.1166. 48ff., Ov.*Met*.8.39ff. *est impetus illi/ turribus e summis in Cnosia mittere corpus/ castra*; *corpus* as subj. an unattractive idea advanced by Heuzé, 51, which clearly did not enter Ov.’s mind (and vd. *Lucr*.5, *infra*); not

a conventional phrase. Heyne and Guillemin suggest that the fire has reached the roof and that these comrades have leaped down to escape the flames. Not a hint in the text and indeed Aen. does not himself finally descend until 632. TCD, however, takes the first half of 566 as referring to suicide just as much as the second, *aut praecipites se dederant*, etc.; App.Lib.612 (Carthage) refers, explicitly at least, to accidental falls, not suicides, but such leaps would have been a recognisable method of suicide to V.'s readers: cf. e.g. Cic.*Scaur.*4, *Tusc.*1.84, Watson on Hor.*Epd.*17.70–3, while Grisé, *infra*, 117f. cites Liv.23.19.6 and 23.37.5, which would also support TCD here. However, V.'s verb, **misere**, is far too weak for such fatal leaps and suits much better a jump to escape from the roof of a building now in Greek hands, to which suicide in the flames is presented as an alternative.

saltu Cf. n. on 262, Lucr.5.1318 *irritata leae iaciebant corpora saltu.*

566 aut ignibus...dedere Cf. Cat.36.7 *scripta tardipedi deo daturam*, G.3.378, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1670.36. For (on top of the allit. in *d-*) the triple rhyme in *-ere*, to Au.'s fine n., add *EV* 4, 22f., Wilkinson, *Gold. Lat. artistry*, 32ff., Marouzeau, *TSL*, 58–65, Wölfflin, *ALL* 1(1884), 350ff. at 365, Jocelyn on *Enn.trag.*94. The ‘suicide par combustion vive’ discussed by Y. Grisé, *Le suicide...* (Paris 1982), 120–2 is different, entailing as it does the construction of a pyre, etc. (so App.*Civ.*4.57, as the context should have made clear to Au.), and Jal, 354–7 provides no exact analogies; The fire at Liv.21.14.1, cited by La Cerdá, was one lit by the Saguntines themselves.

aegra Weary, as at 5.468 (a boxer's knees), 10.837, Kempf, *TLL* 1.939.27, *EV* 1, 33f..

For 567–588 vd. 553–586.

589–633: the appearance of Venus Following as it does directly after HE, this splendid scene presents, unsurprisingly, quite numerous problems. It was never enough to insist that of course it was Aen.'s rage shown towards Helen (and indeed in the HE) that Venus now appears to check, nor that the reference ‘back’ to Helen herself at 602 demonstrated irrefragably that HE was in fact in its correct place. That is discussed more fully elsewhere (cf. 592, 593, HE, §5, *infra*). The use of **dolor** to describe Aen.'s state of mind (594) is suggestive: it may be that Aen. is in a great rage above all against himself, on account of his failure at his first trial as a leader of men and as a defender of

Troy; it is natural for a hero in such a plight (awareness of his own insufficiencies, let us say) to try to pin guilt upon the obvious villains of the piece, Paris and Helen. So the speech is formally dissuasive (see 594–620), a term Serv. does use occasionally (cf. Highet, 124ff., running together persuasion and dissuasion), and the magnificent portrayal of four deities in battle-array against Troy is present with the rhetorical function of convincing Aen. that resistance is useless and anger against mere humans is simply irrelevant when four senior deities are violently active on the Greeks' side. The next aim of Venus' persuasion (607, 619) is to convince Aen. to obey her and to flee from Troy (note 620, first steps on the long path to Lavinium), an argument first opened by Hector (291–5), difficult for a warrior to accept at any time, more so when his city is falling, and yet more, when he appears to be aware that his own role so far has not been specially creditable. The character and content of the scene is in many ways Homeric (the mist, 606, the gods arrayed in battle against Troy, 604–18), but it has recently become clearer that there are also highly significant elements of Lucretian detail (603, 622, 623, in addition to substantial lexical indebtedness); Venus, who reveals to Aen. that which he could not normally see with human eyes acquires a philosophical, or intellectual dimension through thoughtful employment of key ideas and passages from V.'s beloved *DRN* 3, above all. The scene is not 'merely' strange and dramatic; the sensory 'cloud' that hid the hostile deities is in some sense also the intellectual cloud that still hides Aen.'s future from him. Bibliography: Adler, 273–5, R. Allain, *REL* 24(1946), 189ff., *id.*, *LEC* 17(1949), 321ff., Berres, *VH*, 42f., 91f., Cartault, 199–201, M.L. Delvigo, *MD* 55(2005), 61ff., R. Egan, *EMC* 15 (1996), 379ff., V.A. Estevez, *CJ* 76 (1980/1), 318ff., Feeney, 142, 183, Fleck, 74–9, P. François, *Hommages... Deroux (Coll.Lat.266*, 2002), 208ff., Gärtner, 253–6, Grassmann-Fischer, 98, 112f., Hardie, *CI*, 213, E.L. Harrison in *ORVA* 47–51, Heinze, 51–3, W. Hübner, *Dirae im röm.Epos* (Hildesheim 1970), 42–5, Kühn, 44–7 (with Włosok, *RHRD*, 347, 349), Mackie, 53–7, Putnam, *V4*, 143f., 147f., 190f., 207f., Traina, *L'utopia e la storia*, 67–9, Williams, *TI*, 24–5, 283–5.

589 cum See HE, §5 for this notorious inverted *cum*.

mihi se...uidendam/ 590 obtulit The gerundive with *offerō* thus will become quite common (Heine, *TLL* 9.2.508.24ff.); apparently first here, but such a predicative use of the gerundive is standard with *praebeo*, *do* and similar verbs (LHS, 371f.).

non ante As often **a.** as advb. in the sense of *antea*, Hey, *TLL* 2.129.6, comparing 6.105, 11.302, Hor.*C.1.29.3*, 3.29.2, etc..

oculis tam clara *Gloss.4.181.18* (see Probst, *TLL* 3.1273.69f.) explains *tam manifesta*; first here in just this sense, possibly by a sort of enallage from the more obvious *clara luce*. Cf. 11.343 *rem nulli obscuram*, Antoine, 137–9. Note e.g. 6.34, 145 for similarly superfluous eyes: clearly, inevitably, Aen. had seen *with his eyes* his mother in majesty and on a severe view either **o.** or **uidendam** is superfluous.

590 pura...in luce Serv. *in nimbo, qui cum numinibus semper est*, and see on **616**

nimbo effulgens. Cf. full n. on 3.151 (add G. Lafaye, DS 4.1, 84f.). P.: clear, limpid, rather than simply ‘bright’; *OLD* s.v., §6, Lucr.2.1030 *caeli clarum purumque colorem*, Hor.*C.2.5.19* (moon), Prop.2.26.56 (stars). *EV* 4, 358.

per noctem Vd. **135**. Superhuman radiance against the night, irrespective of moon and/or flames. There are two prepos. phrr.: cf. **135**, 6.268: Venus appears in both darkness and light.

refulsit *Sexies in Aen.* (notably, 1.588 *Aen. claraque in luce refulsit*); from Cic.*Arat.*, apparently (cf. Cordier, 99); vd. fr.7.2 (*Arat.* 40); also taken up at much the same time by Hor., *C.1.12.28*, 2.17.23. *EV* 2, 605.

591 alma parens Cf. **664** (a reproachful echo) and (Cybele) 10.252, *alma Venus*, 1.618, 10.332. The epithet traditional and widespread: already Plaut.*Rud.694*, Lucr. 1.2, with Munro’s n., Laev.fr.26.1, with Courtney’s n., von Mess, *TLL* 1.1703.39ff., Kruse, *ib.*, 10.1.356.11f., del Chicca, *EV* 1, 117. *Tacent*, Bailey, Wlosok. Cf. n. on 7.644: the sense of **a.** is not limited to ‘kindly, benevolent’, but here as often the etym. link with *alere* is sensed, not least when the the epith. is addressed by son to mother.

confessa deam A notably neat and attractive idiom, though hardly, *pace* Au., a Virgilian invention: Löfstedt traces the usage back to Plaut.*Most.890* *ferocem facis, quia erus te amat* and it is found with a wide range of verbs (note the choice Apul.*Met.10.28* *talem parentem praebuit, qualem exhibuerat uxorem*); quite close is Petr.52.9 *erectis supra frontem manibus, Syrum histrionem exhibebat* and *confiteri* at Petr.41.6, Stat.*Theb.2.121f.* (the simplex, Ov.*Met.12.601*). Cf. Löfstedt, *Synt.1₂*, 244ff. at 246 (fascinating), LHS, 751, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 100, 144. Note *deam* where the pedant would expect *diuinitatem*; Löfstedt compares e.g. Sulp.Sev.*Dial.2.11.1* *monachum professus*. Or indeed Hor.*Ep.1.19.12f.*

si quis uoltu toruo et pede nudo ...simulet...Catonem. Perhaps an idiom raised by V. into high poetry. Burger, *TLL* 4.231.32f.. Compare Venus, 1.405 *uerā incessu patuit dea* and vd. Hopkinson on Call.*HDem*.58.

qualisque.../ 592 ...et quanta Cf. n. on 3.641. Deities of course larger (cf. *Il*.21.407) and lovelier than heroes: so of Priam reacting to Ach., in this v.'s clearest linguistic antecedent, *Il*.24.630 ὥστε οἵης τέ, for he resembled the gods. Cf. Liv.1.7.9, Bömer on *Ov.F*.2.503, 4.861 (*bene*), Oakley on Liv.8.6.9, Lundström (705–95), 23–8, 115, n.17, and 773 *infra*. Cf. also 6.49f. *maiorque uideri nec mortale sonans* (the Sibyl under divine afflatus, with bk.3, p.478). Ghosts likewise of superhuman size, Val.Max.1.8.8, Mayor, Courtney on Juv.13.221f., Walde, *Traumdarstellungen*, 449. Heroes, too, larger than mortals, n. on 11.130, *attollere*, and now add J. Boardman, *The archaeology of nostalgia* (London 2002), 43f.. Is Cr. larger because prophetic? Or because divinised? Or for both reasons? The curious reader may wish to dwell on such questions (vd. Lundström, 24f., 27); V. is at pains to avoid specifying Cr.'s actual status; cf. n. on 790 **deseruit**.

uideri/ 592 ...solet V. probably a real passive ('be seen'), rather than the alternative 'appears'; cf. *EV*5*, 536f., Catrein, 58–66.

592 caelicolis For the Ennian adj., cf. n. on 3.21. Dat. of agent.

dextraque prehensum *Ea corporis parte qua ictum Helenae minabatur, quae in templo Vestae stabat ornata Serv.* Cf. G. Garbarino, *EV*4, 253f. for the question of whose right hand is meant: Serv.'s remark is appropriate, if we suppose that Aen. is threatening deadly action of some kind with his sword-arm (*infra*), but Garbarino rightly notes that *manu/dextra prendere*, 'seize with right hand' are often enough joined, citing 3.624 *prensa manu*, 9.558 *prendere tecta manu*. But is it realistic to try to distinguish between **dextra...continuit** and **dextra...prehensum**? We are surely meant to suppose, (and the wording no more than hints; this is no verbal compulsion) that Venus with her right hand grasps Aen.'s right hand/arm. For the form *prehen-*, cf. Cic.*Arat*.116, *Aen*.11.719, Suter, *TLL* 10.2.1160.35. Much more interesting is the question of what Aen. may be supposed to be on the point of doing: Serv. has not merely transmitted HE but here writes as though it is in front of him, or present in his thoughts immediately previous to commenting upon these vv.. TCD considers suicide among the flames or death in battle, with 559–66 in mind and not much thought for Aen.'s precise wording here: see Körte, 146, Heinze, 49, Au. on 592, Austin (1961), 195. We really cannot pass straight from 566ff. to 589ff., *pace* Körte,

147, Williams, *TI*, 283f.); Aen's awareness of the need to help his family comes too close to Venus' injunction to permit that direct passage. Something there must have been in between, and it may even be that V. had intended there to be a passage about Helen here, something indeed quite like the HE, perhaps. But, as it is, we have no idea of the precise reference of these words.

593 continuit Though we have seen (HE, §7(iii), *supra*) that the restraining role of a deity is, in various ways, common enough, the rarity of this specifically restraining gesture is striking: cf. 10.685f. *ter maxima Iuno / continuit iuuuenemque animi miserata repressit* (but there is no actual, physical holding back). Neither *Il.1.361* (stroking) nor 1.197 (holding by hair) is really analogous, though both passages are often cited. The gesture is apparently absent from Sittl, Neumann, Ricottilli and Lobe, while Heuzé, 487, n.1 refers to it in passing as ‘un peu redondant’. Venus is about to explain to Aen. his true circumstances: with the gods arrayed against Troy, his *dolor*, *ira* and *furor*, wherever directed, are irrelevant and untimely; this is the time to show *cura* for his mother (594) and proper care for his family (596–8). The gesture is not in itself loving, but what prompts it is (cool) maternal affection.

roseoque...ore Cf. 9.5 *roseo...ore locuta est* and note 1.402 (Venus herself, again) *rosea ceruice*. On 9, *cit.* Dingel draws attention to *r.* used of lips, Cat.63.74, 80.1. Cf. also *purpureo ore*, Cat.45.12, Hor.C.3.3.12, André, 112f., Edgeworth, 155 (who suggests, as did la Cerda, that the connexion of Venus and roses might be germane: Gruppe, 1356, n.3). For V.’s pink feet, vd. Kenney on Apul.*Met.4.31*. Whether we should really be thinking here also of the (pinkly) erotic Helen seems, *pace* Adler, 273, rather doubtful.

haec insuper addidit Cf. 11.107, 12.358 *haec insuper addit*, 7.451 *rabidoque haec addidit ore* (with n.).

594–620 Further to 589–633, vd. Highet, 272f., Mackie, 54f., Heinze, 47ff.. The speech, as a speech, altogether neglected, it appears. The two elements, dissuasion and description, are tightly linked, and the concluding words of instruction and reassurance (619–20) take up 596–600, assuring the unity of the whole. From four questions, to check Aen.’s anger, in tandem with her restraining hand, Venus passes to her own care for his family, and to the irrelevance of mere human rage or blame, when it is in fact the gods themselves who are bringing down Troy. Their activity is described in detail (604–18), before

Ve. returns to her own care for her son. Sequence and structure are worked out with care. 351–4 are often compared (e.g. Delvigo, 62ff.), but there the departure of the gods from their Trojan sanctuaries is asserted by Aen. in a speech of encouragement to his followers: it is evident, there, that the gods have deserted Troy, because the enemy are within the walls; Aen.’s words are a natural deduction from events, entirely in keeping with Rom. views of gods deserting falling cities. That passage does *not*, apparently, narrate something that Aen. has actually beheld; we are not at all compelled to suppose (Allain 1946, 190) that the gods’ desertion was something he learned later. It is the grandeur of his vision there that links it to what Venus relates here. Cf. Gärtner, 258 for the broadly analogous passages in QS and Triph..

594 nate Cf. nn. on 289, 3.182, 311, 7.124; only here and at 619 used by Ve. to Aen.. See too Dickey, 344. The opening word sets a primarily affectionate tone.

quis...tantus dolor Cf. G.4.495 *quis tantus furor*, Aen.6.561 *quis tantus plangor*, 12.621 *quis...tantus...clamor*, Wagner, *QV* §xxii(3). Perhaps here to be associated with those cases in which *dolor* prompts the hero to action in combat, etc. (Ogawa, *EV* 2, 121f., citing e.g. 5.172, 8.219f., 9.66 (where vd. Hardie, Dingel), 10.397f., n. on 11.709). Often associated with anger; *OLD*, s.v., §3 suggests ‘resentment’ and ‘indignation’, both of which are well suited here. Aen. has an excellent motive for rage and distress, one that has nothing to do with Helen; his beloved city is in ruins, and he has, as perhaps he begins to realise, been able to do very little towards saving it (cf. Kraggerud, 22, n.43), between deep slumbers and ineffective hours spent on the palace roof. Venus’ explanation of the divine forces arrayed against Troy will do something to assuage the warrior’s troubled conscience. If he were to have begun once more to think of death in action (so Heinze, 49), that would be neither new (317), nor incomprehensible here, but it is not an idea present, or suggested, in the text. Now, it is flight, not combat, that is his duty, towards both gods and men (cf. Adler, 275, Delvigo, 64f.): *pietas* as obedience, however little that coincides with Aen.’s current inclinations or with Homeric ideas of heroic conduct. Serv.Dan. writes on 688 (vd. Delvigo, *cit.*) *fugae defensio est, ut uideatur non solum utilis et necessaria, sed et honesta, quoniam diuina suadebant. nam et ideo inducitur noluisse, ut quod uincitur et consentit, argumentum uoluntatis diuinæ sit.*

indomitas...iras Cf. 440, 7.521; similar applications at Hor.*Epd.* 12.9 (*rabiem*), *C.3.24.28 (licentiam)*, and also Sen. *ira* 1.9.3 *effrenatam indomitamque*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.1225.20f...

excitat Cf. Cic.*de orat.*1.53 *mentibus...ad iram...incitandis*, 2.208 *in iracundia uel excitanda uel sedanda*, Liv.3.40.4 *sed ex magno certamine magnas excitari ferme iras*, Sen.*Const.Sap.*9.3, *caret autem ira sapiens, quam excitat iniuriae species*, Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1259.52, 1261.29. Cf. HE, §9(i), *supra* and ICS, 25f. for anger in and near the HE; Aen.'s motives here are very far from clear (*supra*) and his emotions here are not necessarily comparable to those at 314ff..

595 quid furis? Cf. 316 and (HE)588: it is not at all difficult for the author of HE to work out what Aen.'s state of mind should be: cf. HE, §5, *supra*. See *EV* 2,1000 (Pascucci), Ernout-Thomas, 28, 156, LHS, 458 for **q.**; 'relative to what', i.e. 'why', originally but by no means exclusively colloquial.

aut Linking questions, *OLD*, s.v., §4, Hand, 1, 551ff., LHS, 499f..

quonam...tibi...recessit The interrogative only here in *Aen.*; interrogatives in *-nam* not common in high poetry, and not clearly understood as a group, LHS, 584, n.1, Leumann, 473, EM, s.v. *nam* (suffix augments indeterminacy). **R.** a good Lucretian verb (nn. on 3.311, 11.70) of *uita, anima*, etc.; hitherto in prose of e.g. *causa, inuidia*, *OLD* s.v., §6. Traina compares *G.4.324f. quo tibi nostri/ pulsus amor?*

nostri...cura Cf. 599 (Venus for Aen.'s family), 1.646, 662, Prop. 1.11.5 *nostri cura* (with Shackleton Bailey's n.), Gudeman, *TLL* 4. 1458.55f. *Et hoc loco, ut solet, unam se de Aeneae familia facit, ut...* (Serv., citing 1.251). Cf. Rieks, 213f.. The sense becomes clearer with TCD's remarks, that Aeneas, thanks to his current lack of familial concern, is placing at risk Anchises, once her beloved, not to mention her daughter-in-law and grandson. Approved by Au., Paratore (misrepresented by Fedeli, *EV* 1, 962); however, Knight (*Vergil's Troy*, 66) is right to remark that Ve. shows no other concern for her mortal family. Allain (1946, 193) suggests a much wider reference to 'us gods'. If, though, Venus refers to herself (thus at *Ov.Her.*16.85; cf. KS 1, 87f., LHS, 20f.), then she reminds her son thereby both of his duty to the gods (and thus not just to his own emotions and impulses) and to his family (in the first place, to the speaker herself, his divine mother, and also, as she is about to explain, to all the rest of them). These words perhaps a discreeter form of the general injunction *pietatis memor esto*.

596 non prius aspicies ‘Aspiciendo quaerere, eligere’, von Mess, *TLL* 2.831.46, comparing Plin.*Ep.*6.16.17, *Ev.Marc.*15.47. The neat formulation **non p.** apparently not specially common: cf. Breimeier, *TLL* 10.2.1341.54, comparing (not closely) Nep. *Att.*11.6, Hor.C.1.18.1. For **non** introducing (impatient) questions, cf. LHS, 460, KS 2, 503f., 516f..

ubi.../ 597 liqueris ‘The real meaning being, where he, whom you left behind [cf. 10.509] at home, may be now’ (Con.). Aen. had rushed from his home at **337**. Note use of simplex for *reliqueris*.

fessum aetate Cf. Sen.*Ira* 3.9.4 *ualetudine aut aetate fessi*, Pflugbeil, *TLL* 6.1.610.24. Comms. cite **435f. aeuo / iam grauior**; note too Dido’s ironic *confectum aetate parentem* (4.599), Scarcia, *EV* 2, 396. For V.’s use of **f.**, cf. on 3.78. Similarities between **596–600** and Liv.22.23.4 are pursued by P. François, *Hommages à C. Deroux* (*Coll.Lat.*266, 2002), 208ff., altogether unconvincingly.

parentem/ 597 ...Anchisen Cf. 299f. **parentis/ Anchisae**.

597 superet Cf. n. on 3.339 *quid puer Ascanius? superatne et uestitur aura?* Cf. 3, xxxvii for the priority of bk.3, in general. Here, the earlier passage appears expanded. Subjunctive in dependence on **aspicies** (q.v.).

coniunxne Creusa Cf. **651, 738** (where vd. n. for the names of Aen.’s wife). Cf. KS 2, 504f. (and Brink on Hor.*Ep.*2.2.65) for the rather unusual postposition of *-ne*, giving appropriate prominence to Cr., Aen.’s *wife*.

598 Ascaniusque puer Cf. n. on 3, *cit.*, Moskalew, 83. In his study of V.’s use of pathos, Macr. cites (4.3.3) this v. alongside **674** and comments *ut non minus miserabile sit periculum in paruo quam in filio*. Speranza cites Veturia’s words to her son Coriolanus, Liv.2.40.7 *intra illa moenia domus ac penates mei sunt, mater coniunx liberique?*.

quos omnis.../ 599 circum Common anastrophe of dissyl. prepos.; see indices s.v.. To attach **omnis** to **acies** (see e.g. Con.) is rather perverse; **quos omnis...circum** is a natural and complete unit and the reader sees no good reason for suspending the application of **o.**; **M** reads **omnes** but there is no way of telling whether this was intended as nom. or as acc..

undique Cf. 3.634 *una undique circum* (with n.), and cf. 4.416f.. Sil.9.228 and 13.604 do not, *pace* Elsperger, *TLL* 3.1140.3 and many comms., prove that V. wrote *circumerrant* (necessarily with internal syn-

aloepha; possible: Leumann, 224). Hypermetric anastrophe no more singular (cf. n. on 11.149) than hyperm. tmesis (n. on 3, *cit.*). Serv. Dan. writes on **circum errant** *mire, quasi quaerentes*, but that is no decisive argument on a delicate issue of word order.

Graiae/ 599 ...acies On **G.**, cf. n. on 11.289 (archaic/poetic) and add *EV* 2, 800; prominence added by the distance of adj. from noun. It is the enemy that prowl around Aen.'s family. For **a.** of 'a body of troops', cf. n. on 7.695.

599 errant So of Agam. with his army, Cic.*Flacc.*72; the prefix is not required by the sense. Use of the vb. elsewhere (1.32, 756, 3.200, 6.68, 329, etc.) suggests a picture here of the Greeks roaming through the great city by night, victorious, but also lost and confused.

et, ni...resistat Cf. *EV* 4, 449 and next n.; see next v. for the tricky conditional.

mea cura Cf. **595** (q.v.); now Venus' for her son. For use with *resistere*, Gudeman, *TLL* 4.1458.60 compares Liv.40.9.9.

600 iam Cf. *TLL* 7.1.85.45f. (Hofmann). Hand, 3, 113f.; 'by now'.

flammae tulerint For compound *abstulerint*; so e.g. Serv. on 4.679 *ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset*. Cf. **555** with n., Hey, *TLL* 6.1.559.13. Is **t.** perf.subj. or fut.perf.indic., and what is the construction? The common view cautiously formulated by Woodcock, 155: "present and perfect subjunctive represent a hypothetical condition more vividly by not excluding the idea of fulfilment" (cf. Handford, *Lat. subj.*, 121f.). Au. suggests, however, that **t.** is fut. perf. used for fut. here 'to give a nuance of certainty'. H. Blase, *Tempora und modi*, in Landgraf, *Hist.Synt.*(1903), 186 quotes *G*.2.49ff. *si quis/ inserat aut...mandet.../ exuerint*; so here (vd. Mynors' n. on *G.*, *cit.*) 'will prove, when you look[which you have not yet done], to have carried off...were I not defending your interests'.

inimicus...ensis Lofty adj. for gen. *inimicorum*; cf. 8.117 *tela...inimica*, 10.795 *inimicum hostile*, 11.809 *tela inimica*, Frei, *TLL* 7.1.1628.77. The unusual shape of **i.** (with postponed **et**; cf. n. on 7.761) creates a notably swift movement in the second half of the v. For **e.**, cf. on 7.640.

et hauserit An old problem. Serv. *aut 'percusserit'*, *ut[10.314]latus haurit apertum, aut 'uorauerit'*. In favour of the first, more general sense, cf. both (Pianezzola) the formally parallel and adjacent **tulerint**, markedly general in sense, and Serv.Dan.'s gloss of *ferit* on *haurit*, 10.314. That sense clearly present at *Lucr.*5.1324f. *latera ac uentre hauribant supter*

equorum/ cornibus; note also Claud. Quad.fr.10bHRR *atque Hispanico[sc. gladio] pectus hausit*, with Liv.7.10.10 *ictu uentrem atque inguina hausit* (where vd. Oakley). The various lurid senses of ‘devour, drain’ sometimes clearly present in **h.** are hardly mandatory here, though they should perhaps not be excluded. Pianezzola, 839, Timpanaro, 390f. develop the attractive old argument that this sense is a calque of Gk. ἀφύσσειν, a vb. often explained in the scholia as e.g. κόπτειν. It is very far from clear that Serv.Dan., *cit.* describes the word as belonging to *sermo militaris*; cf. Timpanaro, 388f., Pianezzola, 838 (notably lucid), M.G. Mosci Sassi, *Il sermo castrensis* (Bologna 1983), 135, W. Heraeus, *Kl.Schr*, 153; Harrison on 10, *cit.* quite misrepresents the issue (contrast Au.’s caution here). *EV2*, 838 (E. Pianezzola; an updated summary of *Scritti in onore di Carlo Diano* (Bologna 1975), 311–23), offers a thoughtful critique of Brink, *TLL* 6.3.2573.74f.; above all, vd. S. Timpanaro, *Contr. di filol. greca e latina* (Firenze 2005), 385–92.

601 non tibi On **t.**, Au. remarks admirably ‘a gesture, a tone, a look’.

Tyndaridis...Lacaenae T.: cf. HE, **569** (where vd. n.: Euripidean); L.: 13x. in Eur.’s intact plays. H. is ‘the Laconian dau. of Tyndarus’ at *Tro*.34f., and ‘the Laconian’ alone at *Andr*.486, etc. (vd. Au. here, 6.511, Lunelli-Leumann, 159, n. on 3.629). **569** could so very easily have drawn on **601** for the patronymic. These words are no decisive proof that a reference to Helen, even the HE itself, must have preceded, though inevitably the contrary has often been claimed. HE does not mention Helen’s beauty at all, though it is perhaps destructively latent. Here, Venus advises Aen. to come to terms with the fact that it is the gods, not mortals, not even Paris and Helen, who have destroyed Troy; that does not mean that Aen. has just been blaming Helen, though clearly the author of HE thought that it did. Cf. HE, §5, *supra*, ICS, 15, and for the casting of blame upon Helen in tragedy, Heinze, 50, with nn., citing e.g. Eur. *Tro*.766 (her eyes), 1213.

facies inuisa F. not the *imago* of Helen: Serv.Dan., citing *Il*.5.451 (a confused and fanciful reading of V.: see Au., Aricò, *EV2*, 454). That note was printed here by Thilo, but perhaps belongs rather to the end of Serv.Dan.’s long n. on **592**: vd. ed.Harv.). Serv.’s *pulchritudo Helenae odiosa* is clearly right (cf. Austin 1961, 189 and n. on 7.650 *corpore Turn*). Note 9.734, the *faciem inuisam atque immania membra* of Tu.; here, *inuisa* is clearly enough the source of HE, **574 aris inuisa sedebat**. Heinze (prev. n.) notes Eur. *Hel*.72 ἐχθίς της, but Helen is not a play which seems to have interested V. that much.

602 culpatusue Paris Not a clue taken up by the author of HE; a hint by V. at what was really to have preceded, or merely a general reflection? We have no idea; *ICS*, 15, *HE*, §5, *supra*. Heinze, 50 suggests that V. was influenced by the blame laid upon Paris at e.g. Aesch.*Agam.*1156; cf. Soph.*Phil.*1426, Eur.*Andr.*103. **C.**: cf. *EV* 1, 950, Schwingen, *TLL* 4.1315.2f., who cites *Gloss.*4.436.25 *criminatus*. Perhaps introduced to high poetry by V.; then Hor. *C.3.1.31(tacent NR)*, 4.5.20; frequent in Ov., not Prop.. Au. oddly takes **c.** as ‘adulterous’ (not a natural sense of the wd.); Williams’ ‘wicked’ is no improvement; such senses not present before silver epic); rather, **c.** balances **inuisa**: Helen is loathed, Paris blamed (and presumably vice versa too) for all that has befallen Troy.

diuum inclem̄tia, diuum So **M**; **-om...-om** **P**. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 438. For the anaphora, cf. 9.642, but *dis...deos* quite lacks the thunder of this v.: adversative asyndeton (Au.), anaphora, and the bulk of the interposed, coined noun; *tacet* Cordier, but see Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.938. 2f., Au., *EV* 1, 822; first at *G.3.68*. For the disposition of words, Traina compares 12.948 *Pallas te hoc uulnere, Pallas*. Cf. **618**; entirely in keeping with the consistent hostility shown in **2.1–566** (e.g. **202, 225, 226, 396, 402**), and absent from the HE, where theology is superseded by the potency of sex. Alternative motivations, indeed, but here nothing is made of the opposition; contrast e.g. the interaction of Amata, Turnus, Allecto, Juno. Priam says to Helen οὐ τί μοι αἰτίη ἔσσι, θεοί νύ μοι αἴτιοι εἰσιν, *Il.3.164* (whence QS 13.412, close to V.: vd. Gärtner, 255). Heinze dwells, 50f., on V.’s evident familiarity with Eur.’s response to Priam’s words here, at *Tro.*895ff.: again, the Helen-episode is not necessarily presupposed by these words. *Il.19.86ff.* and *Od.11.558ff.* shows heroes shuffling off responsibility onto gods. Hec. on the gods at Eur.*Tro.*612f. and *Andr.*, *ib.* 775f. are likewise close to Ve. here. The pursuit of a Greek term nearer, literally, to **i.**, in a play (Soph. *Trach.*) little, if at all, in V.’s mind in **2** is not very helpful, H. Gasti, *CQ* 56(2006), 629f.. Ussani, xxxvii argued for the φθόνος of the gods at Aesch.*Pers.*362 but *inclem̄tia* hardly seems a satisfactory equivalent to φ.. Serv.Dan. notes that Venus has her very own motives for putting forward this argument, so as not to incur any guilt on account of Paris’ passion for Helen.

603 has...opes Cf. **4 Troianas ut opes** with n..

euertit Cf. 3.1 *postquam res Asiae Priamique euertere gentem*, with n.; source of HE, **571 euersa ob Pergama**. The line divides very easily into theme and variation.

sternitque...Troiam The key word last in the sentence; **s.** of things, individuals, peoples in V. (*tacet EV*) but only here of a city; cf. Liv.1.29.2 *stratisue ariete muris*, *OLD* s.v., §6a. The vb. common enough in *trag.* (note inc.61, Acc.557 of a warrior); it would be no surprise if we learned that the usage had been Ennian.

a culmine Cf. n. on **290 ruit alto a culmine Troia.** Vd. **619** for a further echo of Hector by Venus.

604–18 The cloud is solidly epic, **606 nubem**, but what the removal of the cloud reveals has not been much explored: Au. cites *Il.12.17ff.* (where vd. Hainsworth), Posid. and Apollo who seek to destroy the Greek wall by flood; also 20.47ff. (the gods enter battle): see Delvigo, 72, n.34. A clear (and exquisitely paradoxical) verbal debt to Lucr.'s radically unVirgilian view of the *sedes quietae* of the gods (3.18; vd. **622f.**) suggests that a further analogy between the cloud here dispersed (**604–6**) and the removal of obstacles to a clearer view of the *natura rerum* is to be pursued (Fowler (**617**), 231, Delvigo, 65ff. at 69, Mayor on Juv.10.4). Cf. further Lyne, *FV*, 76ff., Heinze, 51–3, Adler, 274f., Gärtner, 256–9, n. on **606 nubem**.

604 aspice A gesture reinforces speech, Serv.Dan.. ‘Pulcerrimus, et ad meum iudicium, sublimis locus’ Heyne.

namque Cf. Hand, 4,6ff., Squillante Saccone, *EV* 3, 973 and R.J. Tarrant in *Studies ...Clausen* (**110**), 154 for V.'s use of long explanatory parentheses introduced by **n.** (*Buc.6.6f., Aen.1.65, 3.362*, etc.).

omnem...// 606 ...nubem Extended hyperbaton to increase the force of the revelation when it comes (**608 hic**). V. renders exactly enough the ἀχλύν which Athene removes from the eyes of Diomedes (*Il.5.127*); Vinchesi, *EV* 3, 773 adds 15.668 νέφος ἀχλύος and the ἀχλύν of 20.341 (cf. 321), so the expression is solidly epic (cf. further Gärtner, 257), though clearly V.'s more philosophically cultivated readers will have picked up elements of the *remota erroris nebula, supra* (**604–23**). For Fenik, *AJP* 80 (1959), 7f. ‘a visual and dramatic representation of the nature and effect of *furor*', in addition to the explicit, primary role of permitting Aen. to see what is *really* happening. But that *furor* has already been stayed by Venus' restraining and calming hand (**592f.**); the narrative sequence retains some importance.

quae nunc The present, as against fut. **eripiām** (**606**).

obducta tuenti **O** of curtains, night, dust, darkness, mud, etc., Halter, *TLL* 9.2.39.76. **T.** (cf. 4.362, 9.65; also *Buc.3.8*: the witness

is lightly sketched in; Antoine, 103f.) should not be taken in agreement with **tibi** in the next v. (so Wainwright, Guillemin); the separate dats. have work enough to do, and grammatical elaboration is unwelcome.

605 mortalis...uisus Cf. 1.327f. *uultus/ mortalis*, *TLL* 8.1512.24f. (Reichmann/ Lumpe), *EV* 3, 596.

hebetat...tibi The vb. also at 6.732 *terrenique hebetant artus*; cf. Groth, *TLL* 6.3. 2585.14f.. A coinage (Cordier, 144). Norden on 6, *cit.* suggests Greek antecedents or models (*ἀπαμβλύνειν, ἀμαυροῦν*). V. reminds Aen. that his power of sight is, as a mortal, limited; **tibi** points the human weakness of her interlocutor.

et umida circum Cf. *G.1.417 caeli mobilis umor*, *EV* 5*, 386. Cf. 8 and n. on 11.201 for moisture and night, and full n. on 7.699 for the concentration of moisture in mist/ cloud. The advb. intensifies discreetly, ‘all around you’.

606 caligat Cf. *G.4.468 caligantem nigra formidine lucum*; the vb. already at Cic. *Arat.*205 *atque Aram tenui caligans uestiet umbra*, 246 (both possibly transitive), *Lucr.*3.156 and (probably; transitive as here) *Pacuv.**trag.*58. Note Col.1.5.4 *amnes aestate uaporatis, hieme frigidis nebulis caligant*.

eripiam N. between two substantial vbs.; synaloepha as often renders audibly the act of removal. Cf. 1.88 *eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque*, Brandt, *TLL* 5.2.789.73f., *EV* 4, 401.

tu Venus for her part will tear away the veil of cloud; let Aen., on the other hand.... Au. well draws attention to the common use of *tu* to lend additional weight to an imperative, solemnly employed, quoting 6.95, 365f.; cf. n. on 3.388.

ne.../ 607 ...neu Cf. *G.1.180, Aen.1.413, 6.832, 9.91, 12.823, LHS*, 337f.. For *ne* + imper., vd. n. on 48.

qua parentis/ 607 iussa Q: Merguet, 579. Cf. nn. on 247 for *iussa* of Apollo, 3.114 (*iussa diuum*), 7.368 (of Faunus). The relevant para. at *EV* 3, 56f. appears to have been removed authorially/editorially. Note 7.368 *Faunique premunt te iussa parentis*, Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.355.60, *EV* 3, 971.

time Cf. 729. Venus’ *iussa* are limited to 619f.; it is the circumstances, of the gods’ now-declared commitment to the destruction of Troy, which are the likelier source of fear; she tells her son that *despite* these circumstances she has no alarming instructions for him. No word in Mackie of the hero’s possible fears; Serv. envis-

ages that Aen. might be afraid to flee [sc. the Troad; only *fugam* is specified], but Venus' order to flee his homeland is never uttered: no surprise. for Serv. is much exercised by elaborate rhet. strategies thought to be present in *Aen.*, e.g. V.'s supposed campaign to exculpate his hero from any charge of cowardice or (cf. 289–95) treason; note too TCD 1.231.11. Exculpation a line of argument not absent from *Aen.2*, but nowhere near as important, explicitly at least, as Serv. suggests.

praeceptis parere Standard phrasing, Breimeier, *TLL* 10.1.380.22, citing Cic.*Acad.*1.5, *Tusc.*5.36, *Fam.*9.1.2. Not only alliterative, but, with **parentis**, paronomastic: cf. O'Hara, *TN*, 61, n.316, 134, comparing e.g. 1.646 *cari stat cura parentis*.

recusa Cf. 5.749 *iussa recusat*; with simple infin., *OLD* s.v., §3a (first here in verse).

608 hic, ubi So, right over the terrain devastated by the Greeks, as they fought their way through Troy, the gods themselves now take a direct hand.

disiectas moles **M.** as often of the blocks of stone used for building walls, towers, cities: cf. 5.439, 9.35, 516, 542, 711, 11.130 (with n.), Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1341.79, Salemme, *EV* 3, 559. For **d.**, cf. 8.191, 290, as well as G.1.283. Standard usage, as e.g. *Bell.Alex* 63.4 (of *munitiones*) suggests; cf. Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.1381.80ff. at 1382.7.

auulsaque saxis/ 609 saxa Polyptoton used to point up the destruction, blocks sundered from blocks, with verse-end underlining the separation, Wills, 213. *Dicendo ‘saxis saxa’ renouauit narrandi magnitudinem* Serv.Dan., *bene*. Cf. 3.575 *auulsaque uiscera montis*, with n., *EV* 5*, 473. The phrasing splendidly Lucretian, 4.140f. (Hardie, *CI*, 212f.) *interdum magni montes auulsaque saxa/ montibus anteire*.

uides Venus appeals first, as happens so often in V., to Aen.'s *visual* awareness of the situation.

mixtoque...puluere Walls and towers have collapsed; the dust still hangs in the air, mixed with the smoke. Cf. *EV* 3, 541, Pfligersdorffer, *TLL* 8.1085.64. There is a sort of enallage for what the prosier hand would have expressed as *fumum puluere mixtum*; cf. Bell, 266. For the (standard) masc. *puluis*, cf. Renehan (554), 222f..

undantem...fumum *In modum undarum attollitur* Serv.. Cf. 8.257f. *qua plurimus undam/ fumus agit*. At 9.237, Serv. remarks *signum est sopitorum ignium, quotiens maior fumus erigitur*. So perhaps here too a sign that we are to think of the actual blaze of destruction as past its peak.

Cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1540.83, 1544.43ff., 1545.26f., well comparing Liv.4.33.8 *puluis elatus mixtusque fumo lucem ex oculis uirorum equorumque aufert*. For **u.**, cf. *G.1.472 uidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam, Aen.12.673*, Bartalucci, *EV* 5*, 391. Of the sea, *Enn.trag.179*, *Acc.trag.401*; at *Enn.Ann.316* note the splendid *praeda exercitus undat*. So here an Ennian grandeur most appropriate to the situation (vd. Lunelli-Leumann, 175).

610 Neptunus Cf. **201**. For his building of the walls of Troy, and later hostility, cf. n. on 3.3, Pomathios, 282. *Ipsi enim fundamenta sunt consecrata* writes Serv.; a familiar activity (related to his connexion with earthquakes), also outside the Troad, and, in general, the mythol. world: cf. Gruppe, 1139, n.2 and (much fuller), Wüst, PW 22.1. 481.16ff.. So N. assails ‘his’ walls, just as Pallas does ‘her’ citadel. Juno’s personal enmity is familiar and only Jupiter’s motives are unclear, just as his specific, active role—except as a supervisor of his junior colleagues—is slightly vague (cf. Lyne, *supra*). The four deities directly involved are meticulously articulated (cf. Berres, *VH*, 193)—Neptune **608–12**, Juno, **612–4**, Pallas, **615–6**, Jupiter, **617–8**—perhaps surprisingly in so clearly unfinished a passage.

muros Cf. 12.706 *imos pulsabant ariete muros*, Liv.24.34.7 *turres contabulatas machinamentaque alia quatiendis muris portabant*, Ehlers, *TLL* 8.1685.71.

magoque...tridenti Cf. **418**; here, from *G.1.13 magno percussa tridenti*, of the earth struck by Neptune, W. Frentz, *Mythol. in Vergils Georg.* (Meisenheim 1967), 29. Present also in Hom.’s vision of the flood, *Il.12.27*.

emota.../ 611 fundamenta F. standard Lat., elevated by Lucr. (*quinquies*). Cf. 1.428 *fundamenta locant alii*, Robbert, *TLL* 6.1.1550.67f.. E.: cf. **493** (q.v.), Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.526.3f.. Trident and foundations interlock massively, but for the quaking blow itself we have still to wait. The foundations of the wall at *Il.12.28* (*supra*) might be germane.

quatit *Concutit, commouet* Serv.Dan., in expansion of **emota**; cf. 1.69 *submersas...obrue puppes*, Görler, *EV* 2, 270 for proleptic use of partic.. Cf. 9.608 *quatit oppida bello*, *EV* 4, 367.

totamque...urbem Typical grandiose generalisation; cf. **421, 439**.

a sedibus The picture elaborated at 1.84f. *totumque a sedibus imis/ una Eurusque Notusque ruunt...*; cf. 3, xxxix-xl, for the as yet unsolved issue of priority between bks. 1 and 2.

612 eruit Cf. 5; *duodecies* in V. but mysteriously absent from the good *EV* article on *ruo*. Here, vd. Brandt/Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.845.75f., Vell.2.27.2 *dictitansque adesse Romanis ultimum diem uociferabatur eruendam delendamque urbem*, Manil.1.508 *quot post excidium Troiae sunt eruta regna*.

hic Juno Cf. 604 *aspice...* 605 *tibi...* 606 *tu...* and in particular the formally parallel 608 **hic** for Venus' energetic involvement in her exposition; 615 **respice** and 619 **nate** are yet to come. Juno/Hera, slighted by Paris and patroness of Argos has ample reason for hatred of Troy, Buchheit, 18ff., Feeney, 146f., *id.*, *ORVA*, 345, Bailey, 130–2, *Aen.*7, index, s.v. and in *ORVA*, 129f.; also, as Serv. Dan. on 614 rightly remarks, adducing 1.16, she is a warrior goddess.

Scaeas...portas Cf. n. on 3.351 (Homeric antecedents, and use of plur.); cf. also Buchwald, *TLL* 10.2.9.38f.. The plur. is not automatically ‘poetic’; Cf. Skutsch, 404f., and my nn. on 7.607, 621; when gates are generally known to have two leaves, *portae* have good reason to be plur. and Löfstedt’s discussion, *Synt.*1₂, 43, should be viewed with some caution.

saeuissima Cf. n. on 7.592 *saeuae...Iunonis*.

613 prima Cf. nn. on 11.380 *primus ades*, 786 *primi colimus* and cf. above all 1.23f. *ueterisque memor Satunia belli/ prima quod ad Troiam pro caris gesserat Argis*. ‘In the forefront’, as would be expected of her. Wagner, *QV* xxviii, §2. Epperding’s gloss πρόμαχος is rightly approved, Heinze, 52, Speranza, etc..

tenet In the hostile sense familiar from 505.

sociumque...agmen Cf. 371 **socia agmina credens**.

furens Cf. 5.788, 10.63, 12.832, *EV*2, 621.

a nauibus.../ 614 ...uocat Cf. 375 **uos celsis nunc primum a nauibus itis**. At this stage in events, it is a little strange that Juno is still calling up more Greek reinforcements, or (Au.) urging them to hurry. Such a task in itself Homeric, e.g. *Il.*13.83ff.. The fighting is essentially over, and the surviving Trojans are thinking if anything of escape. Just possibly, Ju.’s untimely words are actually meant to suggest her *furor*. We should not pause to ask exactly *how* she summoned any laggardly Greeks.

ferro accincta Cf. 235 **accingunt omnes operi**, 671 **ferro accingor**, 6.184 *paribusque accingitur armis*, 570 *accincta flagello*, n. on 7.640 *fidoque accingitur ense*, 9.74 *atque omnis facibus pubes accingitur atris*, Klotz, *TLL* 1.302.58. Henry, citing 6 and 9 *citt.*, is surely right to conclude that here too Juno is *holding* a sword (as against ‘girt’ at 671, 7,

cit., 11.489), as evidently required by the drama of the scene. The supplement *saeuasque accedit ad iras* present only in (c.9/10) n; cf. Sparrow, 46f.. The sequence of hemistichs, **614, 623, 640** is unique: nowhere else are there three instances within thirty lines, and nowhere else are two as near as **614** and **623**. That indicates a passage in a markedly unfinished state and lends support to the conclusion that there is a substantial lacuna after **566** (HE, §5, *supra*). Cf. Günther, 14, n.9, 47, Berres, *VH*, 192ff.. Whereas **623** shows V. trying to close a whole dramatic scene, the problem here is that of rounding off the account of Juno without giving her disproportionate space; cf. Goold, 156f..

615 iam Though Aen. has been told of the **inclemencia diuum**, he can hardly be expected to have grasped what their work of destruction might amount to, until the point at which Ve. draws back the veil of unknowing, and he can actually see what is happening.

summas arces Cf. **41, 166**: standard; formulaic, if you prefer. For the temple of Pallas in the citadel of Troy, cf. **166**.

Tritonia...Pallas See **171**, n. on 11.483. For Pallas and the Trojans, cf. **163**: before the Palladium was stolen, she was, for all the Trojans' veneration of her, no good friend to them, and even now she joins in the city's ruin. Vd. Wilhelm (**15**), 76.

respice Cf. 7.454 *respice ad haec*. The idiom of spoken Latin, though not used parenthetically, as here, in Plaut. or Ter. Serv.Dan. *dicendo 'respice' ostendit uere iam caliginem ab oculis eius esse sublatam*.

616 insedit 'C. respectu obsidendi, possidendi. In re militari'; standard language (and *sexies* in *Aen.*), Wolf, *TLL* 7.1.1884.54ff. at 56f., comparing e.g. Sall.*hist.* fr. 1.11, 1.97, Liv.3.50.13. Note Apollo, *Il*.5.460 ἐφέζετο Περγάμῳ ἄκρῃ.

nimbo effulgens For **e.**, cf. 5.133, 8.677, Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.213.76f.. Possibly a Virgilian coinage and first here in Lat. lit., Cordier, 144, Kapp/Meyer, 213.23f.. **Nimbo** the reading of codd., Serv.Dan. *ad Aen*.9.110, TCD, PsAcro *ad Hor.C.1.15.11*; **limbo** an *alii-*variant in Serv.. N. the *vox propria* here (see nn. on **590**, 3.151: an aura of light, *en route* from the Hom. cloud to the Christian halo; in V., it can be either bright, as at 8.608, or gloomy and menacing, as at 12.416, as Traina here remarks), as Ribbeck, Henry and Hirtzel may not have realised, in their support for **1: 1.** the hem of a garment, and by synecdoche, the *peplum*, here a feebly erudite antiquarian refinement, which may have crept into Serv. as no more than a scribal oversight, not rejec-

ted by copyists unaware of the unanswerable virtues of **n.**; hardly to be claimed as an ancient and respectable variant. For Serv. etc., on the *nimbus*, cf. K. Sittl, *ALL* 11 (1900), 119–21.

et Gorgone saeuia For the G., cf. nn. on 7.341, 450, with further bibl.; vd. also I. Krauskopf, S.-C. Dahlinger, *LIMC* 4.1.285ff.. Is the adj. (cf. **612**: rather routine, but suited to Gorgons: Gk. δεινή, σμερδνή, *Il*.5.742, [Hes.]*Scut*.223) nom. or abl.? The abl., dependent on **effulgens**, provides an attractive zeugma, for there is nothing particularly shining about the hideous aegis, the nom. offering an attractive word-pattern and conforming to usage (Au. cites for **s.** and abl. 6.824 *saeumque securi*, 9.651 *saeua sonoribus arma*; 7.608 was added in error). With **G.** immediately preceding and with **s.** (trochaic, or spondaic) at v.-end (cf. Winbolt, 154), the abl. is maybe very slightly preferable. Henry perhaps *ought* to be right in saying that after **612 saeuissima** V. would not use the same adj. in a lesser degree of another Olympian, but V.’s actual usage is surely more elastic. Page’s n. here exceptional.

617 ipse pater Cf. *G*.1.328, 353; also 3.610 (Anch.), 7.327 (Pluto), 11.469 (Latinus), 11.558 (Metabus) and note too *pater ipse*, 5.241 (Portunus), 6.780 (Jupiter), 7.92 (Latinus) and *G*.1.121 *pater ipse colendi*. D. Fowler, *Roman constructions* (Oxford 2000), 228ff. (= *PVS* 22(1996), 44ff.) argues eloquently that this title of Jup.’s should not be rendered ‘Father of the Gods’, but simply, ‘Father’, rather after the manner of *Il*.17.630 πατὴρ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς. If, on Venus’ exposition, even Jup. himself is against Troy, then Aen. has every reason to leave honourably: so Serv., doggedly in pursuit of his preferred rhet. strategies (vd. n. on **607 time**).

Danais.../ 618 sufficit The vb. *ter* in *Lucr.*, as one might have expected; ‘supply’, ‘provide’. *OLD* s.v., §A1.

animos uirisque secundas A in the common sense of ‘courage’, as 5.640 (*a. ministrat*), 7.42, 475, etc., Negri, 132. While it is easy to envisage (cf. *EV* 4, 747) favouring winds (7.23), or passage (3.460), or indeed *haruspex* (11.739), or *fortuna* (9.282), ‘strength’ that is favourable is harder to envisage (not faced, *EV* 5*, 569), and it seems likely that we should suppose that there is enallage, by which it is the *pater ipse* who, as a sign of favour (cf. 3.529, 4.45, 8.682, 10.21f), supplies courage and strength. Au.’s ‘strength to win’ is very neat as an expression, but less in keeping with the strong root sense of ‘favouring’ present in **s.**.

618 ipse Gemination, asyndeton, a parallel verb; Jupiter's intervention given majesty and substance: he works upon men and gods alike. Cf. Tietze, *TLL* 7.2.331.36f..

deos...suscitat Always in this form, on account of the vb.'s awkward shape, but much favoured: *bis* in *G.*, *decies* in *Aen.*; *Enn.trag.*343, *Acc.trag.*393, *Cat.68B.80*, *Lucr. semel. Tacet EV.* Jup. urges on the gods much as Tu. does his Rutulians, 9.463, *OLD* s.v., §3b.

in Dardana...arma Cf. n. on 7.219, *EV* 5*, 292 for the adj. form **D.** is extremely handy in some cases: cf. 6.57 *Dardana qui Paridis direxit tela*, 5.119.

619 eripe...fugam 'Raptim capesse', Brandt, *TLL* 5.2.791.63f. (cf. *Serv.Dan. uel 'eripe te fuga'*), *EV* 4, 401 (unilluminating). Val.Fl. will return to the phr. (5.271 *rapit inde fugam*), a fine improvised phrase, on the basis of Hector's more conventional words, **289 teque his...eripe flammis;** vd. **603.** V. may be reworking material, or creating links between Hector's words and Venus' or indeed both.

nate Cf. **594**; the repeated address a remarkable sign of maternal affection.

finemque impone Cf. 4.639, 5.463; the expression, apparently first attested here, then enjoys an ample diffusion in both prose and verse, Bauer, *TLL* 6.1.797.5f., Hofmann, *ib.* 7.1.658.77ff.. Hofmann suggests that the expression is of Virgilian origin, and does not mention Liv.4.24.7 (noted only by Bauer; vd. also 4.24.4 *modum imponere*), 5.4.10 (in Hofmann, but not at *loc.cit.*), one or both of which could be as early as *Aen.2*; that both Liv. and V. use the expression in the same years suggests some common source (*Sall.*, *Enn....*).

labori Note 7.117f. *laborum/ ...tulit finem.* Cf. **11, 284, 362.** Aen.'s efforts in combat as part of Troy's sufferings.

620 nusquam abero N.: vd. **438.** Cf. 6.90f. *nec Teucris addita Iuno/ usquam aberit*, Klotz, *TLL* 1.209.8f.. The deity here volunteers her presence, so often invoked with the formula **ad sis**, Appel, 115ff., n. on 3.116. **Numquam** M, *Serv.Dan.* on **801**; but V. is here writing in terms of place, not time. At *Od.16.170f.* Athena will help Od., 'I shall not long be absent' is less comforting than Ve.'s formulation here.

et tutum...te...sistam Cf. 3.117, 6.676, *OLD* s.v. *sisto*, §4b, *EV* 4, 1028, 5*, 309; cf. *Cat.64.237 cum te reducem fors prospera sistet*, *Liv.29.27.3* and note too (Au.) *Suet.Aug.28.2 = Aug.edicta fr.xMalc..* The predic. adj.

is common with *sistere* in comedy and Cic.*Epp.*: cf. *OLD* s.v., §3, citing e.g. Plaut.*Poen.*1083 *suam sibi rem saluam sistam*.

patrio...limine Cf. **634 patriae...ad limina sedis**, 4.602 *Ascanium patriis epulandum ponere mensis*, Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.758.29f.; 3.332 is different, and difficult. After Aen.'s prolonged tarrying about the various *limina* of Priam's palace, it is high time that he was escorted home to his own. Venus' elaborate assurance of protection is significant; these few yards through the ruins of Troy are Aen.'s crucial first steps on the road to Lavinium (and on account of the story of Dardanus' origins, Italy too may be claimed as ancestral: so Wlosok, 80, Speranza, Traina, perhaps correctly); as yet, he is not even surrounded by his own mortal family.

621 dixerat et Cf. 3.607, 7.212 (with n.), etc..

spissis noctis...umbbris For **s.** cf. *EV* 4, 1001, Sen.*Herc.Fur.*710 *quem graubus umbbris spissa caligo alligat*, *Thy.*993; only to a poet can darkness appear 'thick' in the same way as, let us say, porridge, Catrein, 127. **V.**: see Negri Rosio's careful account, *EV* 5*, 381. *Noctis umbra* is commonplace, *Buc.*8.14, Cat.63.41, *Lucr.bis*, etc.; the adj. is distinctive, and almost beyond imitation.

se condidit Cf. 7.619 *caecis se condidit umbris*, with n.; *se condere* much to V.'s liking, *Buc.*9.52, *G.*4.66, 473, *Aen.***2.24**, **696**, 5.243, 8.66, 9.32, 39, 12.886. Cf. *EV* 2, 117 (de Rosalia).

622 apparent After *Lucr.*3.18, *infra*. Cf. 8.241, 557, 12.850: 'there emerged' on occasion has far greater suggestive force than the crude 'I saw', not least in the context of the vast violent, shapes at work destroying the city. Venus has already shown and told; now they are explicitly visible to Aen. in narrative. It is not clear to me why Mazzocchini, 332 should refer to the gods' action as 'invisibile'; for as long as Venus lifts the cloud, Aen. can see, as can we, the gigantic and destructive figures of the gods.

dirae facies Cf. 8.194 (Cacus), Tafel, *TLL* 5.1.1270.34f., Hey, *ib.*6.1.47.66, *EV* 2, 94, 454; Serv.Dan. unhelpfully suspects a ref. to the Dirae themselves. Typically, V. creates horror and menace by the use of simple words (**dira**; but V. is careful not to clarify whether the sense is 'cruel', or 'horrible' or 'ill-omened') and studied vagueness (**facies**, like the **imago** of 369).

inimicaque Troiae I.: cf. 5.356 (fortune), 12.150 *Parcarumque dies et uis inimica*, *EV* 2, 978, Frei, *TLL* 7.1.1629.5; the adj., as one might expect, used of hostile deities in Plaut. (*Mil.*314, *Most.* 563) and Cic.

(*Phil.* 2.65). Au. well draws attention to *Tac. Ann.* 13.41 (of Artaxata) *quod moenibus cingebatur ita repente atra nube coopertum fulgoribusque discretum est ut quasi infensantibus deis exitio tradi crederetur.*

623 numina magna deum V. closes out the picture in just the same tone of simple but threatening imprecision: clearly after *Lucr.* 3.18 *apparet diuum numen* (cf. 4.1239); see Hübner (594–620), 43 for *Lucr.* (with n. on **ex imo infra**) and Traina here. In V., **numina magna** is a phr. already used *ter* in bk. 3(264, 633f., 697; cf. 7.310 and vd. *EV* 3, 781, Pomathios, 352, E. Harrison, *ORVA*, 47f.); *nos magna precati/ numina* has already just the right tone. The addition of **deum** is more of a contribution to the tone and feel of the v. than to its literal sense; we should compare 4.204 *numina diuum* (with Bailey, 65f.): the expressions are both instances (as is *Lucr.*, *cit.*) of the ‘genitiuus inhaerentiae’ (vd. indices s.v.), in which the synonymous gen. reinforces the sense of the noun on which it depends, and it would be misleading to try to excogitate some theological explanation. V.’s admirable phrasing ran to a line and a half; further contemplation might have led to a brief, dazzling conclusion, such as that well found at 633, after **expedior**, or to some prolix and ample expansion; that is a situation familiar to students of the half-lines. It is extraordinary that Sparrow, 31 should write ‘indeed it intrudes strangely into the context’: Venus shows her son the gods active in their task, then disappears, to leave her son to gaze, alone, at their vast and menacing shapes. Though 623–4 could be removed without our being able to detect their absence (Günther, 47f.), V. had detected the possibility of a wonderfully felicitous expansion (cf. Au., Berres, *VH*, 100). Berres, 105 notes the proximity to a simile: contrast, though, n. on 7.702; his instances do not constitute a significantly uniform group. Here, we cannot indeed be quite sure whether the half-line indicates mere inability to finish the verse or dimly reveals (also) some further and as yet uncomprehended problem with the structure of the whole passage. Perhaps the difficulty lay just in how not to duplicate what Venus had related in recounting what Aen. then saw; the unsympathetic Williams, *TI*, 262, merely comments ‘vague’ (cf. *ib.*, 24f.); the passage is after all unfinished.

624 tum uero Vd. 105.

omne.../ 625 Ilium I.: vd. 241, here given particular prominence by hyperbaton and enjambement.

mihi uisum ‘Seemed’, or ‘was seen’, or is the antithesis in fact less starkly conceived? Cf. *EV* 5*, 535–7, Catrein, 58–66 (*bene*). Eng. ‘appeared to’ might be better suited to the expression’s inherent ambiguities.

considere in ignis Re-used, 9.144f. *at non uiderunt moenia Troiae/ Neptuni fabricata manu considere in ignis?*; cf. Sen. *NQ* 6.14.4 *in ipsam... cauernam fundamento spoliata considit, Ep.Mor.71.15* and memorably Tac. *Hist.* 3.3 (Cremona) *cum omnia sacra profanaque in igne considerent*, Remme, *TLL* 4.435.67f.. Henry compared Pind. *Ol.* 10.38, of Troy, ίζοιςαν into a more figured end. For the motif of the flames, vd. 289; still very much present: 600, 609, Schwartz, 451.

625 et ex imo uerti Cf. 5.810f. (Neptune speaks) *cuperem cum uertere ab imo/ structa meis manibus periurae moenia Troiae*. Compare Lucr. 3.38 *funditus humanam qui uitam turbat ab imo*; note **622f. apparent...numina deum** from the same source: two small, even subconscious, debts reinforce each other). Similarly, Hardie, *CI*, 193 draws attention to Lucr. 5.162 *ex sedibus* (with **611 a sedibus**) and 5.163 *ab imo uertere summa* (with the present passage). H. and I would clearly agree that the passage is rich in observation of Lucr.. See Fleischer/Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.1399.72ff. (not very common phrasing). This use of *uertere* probably *simplex pro composito* for *everti*: cf. *Il.* 13.772 ὀλετο...κατ' ἄκρης (with V.’s own **a culmine**, 290, **a sedibus**, 611), 1.20 *Tyrias qui uerteret arces*, 2.652, 7.407, 10.35, 88, and perhaps 11.264 (vd.n.); cf. Garuti, *EV* 5*, 508.

Neptunia Troia The phrasing from 3.3 (where vd. n.); note also N.’s active role as recently as **610–11**. Goold, 156f. is troubled by Neptune’s appearance on both sides, so to speak, but it is precisely because of Laomedon’s bilking him of his reward for the building of the walls (ApId.Bibl.2.5.9, with Frazer’s nn., *EV* 3, 118f., Gantz, 1, 400–2, Vellay, 1, 55–7, Robert, 2.2, 547ff., etc.). Undeterred, Laoc. then deceived Heracles of the monster sent by Pos. and Apollo in punishment for the original deceit) that he is now eagerly taking part in the city’s destruction: the repetition of the name is surely pointed and deliberate: Aen. *delicta maiorum immeritus luit*.

626–631 An ample and exceptionally successful simile, even by the exalted standards of the sequence in bk.2. The evident (but not very close) models are *Il.* 4.482–7, 13.389–91 (Worstbrock, *cit.*, Clausen), 16. 482–4, AR 4.1682–6 but further *comparanda* will emerge from comm..

The ash, like Troy herself is *antiqua*; the country people seek to *eruere* the tree, as Neptune does Troy (West): above all, the tree is elaborately personified (Briggs suggests a debt to Cat.64.105–111) and we share in the suffering of its/the city's fall (Pöschl); the republic's too, it has been suggested. It is curious that Goold, 156 should have suggested any inconcinnity between the activities of the **numina magna deum** and the **agricolae**; in their own context, their work is every bit as destructive, and we have just seen that the repetition of Neptune's name is anything but awkward. Briggs, 33–5, Clausen, *V4*, 94f., Estevez, 319f., Hornsby, 25, 79f., Hügi, 29, Pöschl, 58f., Putnam, 38f., Salvatore, 81ff., D.A. West in *ORVA*, 431f., Williams, *T1*, 253f., Worstbrock, 141f..

626 ac ueluti *Quinquies* in *Aen.*, *semel* in *G.* (possibly with Hom. ὡς τε in mind); as at 4.402, there is no (e.g.) *sic* to which **uelut** may correlate (Sparrow, 32, Au. here, Berres, 91f., Estevez, 320; the metaphor 'apodosis' has been used, well enough). There too, there is a half-line (4.400), while at 6.707 we find *ac ueluti* again without correlative but with no neighbouring half-line. It is of course true (Williams, *T1*, 254f.) that simile and narrative interact, but that interaction does not here serve as substitute for the missing 'apodosis'. The line re-worked at 10.766, of Orion, *aut summis referens annosam montibus ornum*.

summis...in montibus Cf. n. on 11.836 (formulaic).

antiquam...ornum O. the manna-ash, n. on 11.138. The adj. used of Troy herself, 363 (and of things Trojan, cf. e.g. 188, 635, Évrard, *EV* 1, 196) and the application to Troy clearly significant here; the venerable age of trees remarked, *Buc.*9.9, *G.*2.209, *Aen.* 10, *cit.*, 2.513, 714, 6.179, 282, 7.178, Évrard, *cit.* Estevez suggests that V.'s choice of tree is somehow prompted by the application to Priam, *ter* in *Il.* of the epithet ἔυμελίης, of the good ash-wood spear, which is acute and ingenious, but hardly mandatory here.

627 cum...instant Concise means of conveying vigorous commitment to an action, from *Lucr.*3.1064, etc. (and possibly *Pacuv.**trag.*249), Kröner, *TLL* 7.1.2002.68f..

ferro...crebrisque bipennibus Compound expression, material + specific object: cf. Hahn (1930), who cites nothing exactly parallel, but could easily have done (e.g. 1.293 *ferro et compagibus artis*, 3.467 *hamis auroque*). Hoppe, *TLL* 4.1119.39f. well compares 492f. **labat ariete crebro/ ianua** (cf. *EV* 1, 922). B.: cf. n. on 11.135. We may wish to recall Juno's assault, 614 **ferro accincta** (Putnam), but it is the echo

of more distinctive words that has the sharper effect.

accisam Cf. *TLL* 1.299.3f. (Hey); prob. of trees at Caes. *Gall.* 6.27.4 and certainly at *Liv.* 26.41.22, while *Ov. Met.* 8.329 should not have been cited.

628 eruere Cf. 5 (Greeks), 612 (Neptune) of the damage wrought upon Troy. Serv. comments *pro deicere et est acyrologia*. Improper, that is, because apparently the axe-men are trying to cut the tree down and **e.** suggests uprooting. Cf. Brandt/Kapp/ Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.844.28f.. Compare (as Briggs stresses; for use of this passage, cf. also 635) *G.2.209f.* (of the *arator*) *antiquasque domos aiuum cum stirpibus imis/ eruunt* (the clearing of old woodland to grow wheat; Mynors), not to mention 4.443, of Aeneas/ oak tree, which the winds *eruere inter se certant*. Clausen, *cit.*, draws attention to run-on *eruunt* at *Cat.* 64.108 (the effect of a whirlwind) but surprisingly ignores the two parts of the operation: you saw or hack down the trunk, and then tediously and laboriously dig out as much as you can of the root-system, with spades, and crowbars, or try ropes (cf. *Ov. Met.* 8.774ff. *labefactaque tandem/ ictibus innumeris adductaque funibus arbor/ corruit* and oxen, or, particularly as (still) in Africa, you use fire. Clausen suggests that V. uses *eruere* because of the desired parallel with 612, but I would add that *eruere*, in the real world, is an essential part and sequel to the operation begun with the felling. Cf. *Col.2.2.11f.*, *Pallad.* 1.6.13, 2.10.1, R. Billard, *L'agriculture*, 38, Heitland, *Agricola*, 227, White, *Rom.farming*, 142f., M.S. Spurr, *Arable cultivation...* (*JRS Monographs*, 3 1986). 57, 139, Meiggs, *Trees and timber*, 373, 384f.. At all events, not (with Con., and, very surprisingly, Au.; cf. Estevez, 323, n.28) ‘tearing’ (their word) the tree from the stump with ropes, and, presumably, teams of oxen. That is not how it was (or is) done, least of all on mountain ridges (**iugis**). Ropes are indeed used, whether the tree has been attacked by axes or by saws, either (a) to break the ‘hinge’ of the tree, if it does not break naturally, as the deep second cut gets ever nearer the (slightly lower) first cut, or alternatively, (b) by applying directional pressure far higher up the trunk, to guide the fall of an awkwardly placed tree. *Macr.* 5.11.9 remarks *magno cultu uester difficultatem abscidendae arboreae molis expressit, uerum nullo negotio Homeria arbor[Il.13.389–91] absciditur*. I am most grateful to Ailsa Crofts, who has sometimes allowed me to haul on a real rope, for technical instruction.

agricolæ Rather less the men who felled trees as the young V. watched (Au.; ‘country memories’, Jackson Knight, *Roman Vergil* (Penguin ed.), 216) than a complex and attractive lit. tradition, if you con-

sider the simile's sources as a whole: so *Il.* 4.485 ἀρματοπηγός, 13.390 τέκτονες ἄνδρες, AR 4.1684 ύλοτόμοι, in addition to V.'s own *arator* at G.2.207.

certatim Emulation between the axe-men, to strike the heaviest, or the fatal, blow.

illa...minatur Cf. Lucr. 5.1237 **concussaeque** *cadunt urbes dubiaeque minantur*, and *TLL* 8.1028.1 ff., where Rubenbauer compares this v. and comments 'sc. ruinam? an i. imminent, inclinantur?'. Some uncertainty in Serv., indeed *aut 'eminet' ... aut 'mouetur'*; at this stage in the assault of the *agricolae*, 'threatens to fall' clearly far more apposite than 'towers'. Au.'s note on the use of *illa* and change of subject within V.'s similes (and his predecessors') is of high quality; here, in the company of strong synaloepha at 4th. foot caesura.

usque//630 ...donec Correlative ('right on until'), P. Thielmann, *ALL* 5(1888), 449, KS, 2, 373, LHS, 629.

629 tremefacta comam For **c.**, cf. n. on 7.60, with Leissner, *TLL* 3.1752.75ff. at 1753.6f.; in *trag.*, *Cat.*, *G.*. Note that κόμη of the foliage of a tree is Homeric, *Od.* 23. 195; cf. LSJ s.v., §II, Speranza. **T.: 228** (*ter* in bk.2). This use of **t.** with acc. is simply an extension of that found with parts of the body and passives, such as *uultum... mouetur, adsueta manus*; see E. Courtney, *CJ* 99(2004), 428f..

concuesso uertice For **u.**, cf. n. on 3.679. The vb. (Lucr. some twenty times: 5.1237, primarily; vd. on **628 minatur**) often so used of trees, Gudeman, *TLL* 4.118.52f., *G.* 1.159, 4.81, *Aen.* 4.444.

nutat Cf. 9.681f. *consurgunt geminae quercus intonsaque*[the same humanised vision of the tree's 'locks'] *caelo/ attollunt capita et sublimi uertice nutant*, A. Traina, *EV* 3, 800 (*bene*). The use of **n.** already at *Enn. Ann.* 5.11 *capitibus nutantis pinos*, *Cat.* 64.290.

630 uulneribus...euicta **E.: 497**, Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1042.17ff.; **V** reads **uicta** (corr. **V₁**), **MP euicta**. The use of **uulnera** well-suited to the humanised image of the tree (-warrior/city); cf. *EV* 5*, 610, *OLD* s.v., §2: the first time, apparently, that the word is so used, and no surprise that it should have been **V.**, and in such a context, to do so.

paulatim Cf. n. on 7.529.

supremum Cf. **11**, 3.68 (with n.), 11.61, Battegazzore, *EV* 4, 1081. Au. remarks that **s.** might be advbl. (as 3.68) or internal accus. (vd. Görler's fine account, *EV* 2, 267f.).

631 *congemuit* Lobe, 86f. compares human groans at the fall of Troy, **288, 323**, 1.485, 6.483. The vb. from Lucr. 3.934 *quid mortem congemis ac fles?*; only here in V. Cordier, 172, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.274.74f., *EV* 2, 652. Lyne, *WP*, 120–3 quite fails to establish **c.** as a colloquialism in both Lucr. and here. The last groan of the falling tree (groan they do; this is not poet. fancy) is run-on to augment the drama and tension.

traxitque...ruinam Repeated from **465f.**. Language clearly applicable to trees and cities alike.

iugis Cf. **626 *summis in montibus***, Baer, *TLL* 7.2.643.82. The peaks and ridges of a mountain not obvious terrain for arable crops, but the self-quotation and the careful description of both the felling of a tree and of the subsequent clearing of the ground do rather point to some such context. Next to **auulsa**, it is natural to take **i.** as ‘from the ridge’, but local abl. cannot be excluded, though it is not what the reader would expect coming upon **i.** directly after **traxit**.

auulsa Cf. **558** (Priam’s head), **608** (the very stones of Troy, rent one from another; to be compared here), etc.; Ihm, *TLL* 2.1305. 75f.. Are we meant to think that here too ropes have actually been used (Henry; *tacet* White)? Not at all to be excluded, though it would be rash to limit the application of **a.** to the removal of the stump from the ground.

632 *descendo* Cf. HE, §5, *infra*. Aen.’s home was clearly not in the immediate proximity of the Palace (**299f.**), but he and Anchises and their neighbour Deiphobus (**310**) are hardly presented as being so insignificant as to merit homes in some modest quarter of the lower city.

ac ducente deo Ducente unremarkable phrasing, as at 6,194; cf. *EV* 2, 148. **Deo:** the tradition is divided here to a singular degree, both (1) capital mss: **de P;** **deo M₂V₁,** **dea MP₂V,** (2) c.9 mss: **deo** abdy, **dea** the remainder of the c.9 mss and γ₁ and (3) the grammarians: **deo** Macr.3.8.1, Serv. here, on 4.228, 7.498, Serv.Dan.1.382, Schol.Ver.5.467, Charisius p.154.14Barwick, **dea** TCD, Sacerdos, *Gramm.Lat.* 6.447.16; both readings known to Schol.Ver. here, while Macr. *cit.* deplores **dea**. See Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 144f., *Virgilianisti*, 114f., *Contributi*, 544f., Goold, 113–5, Courtney on Calvus, fr.7, Hollis on fr.32, Perutelli, *infra*. Note too E.L. Harrison, *ORVA*, 48 (= *Phoen.*24(1970), 322), suggesting that the *deus* in question is no less than Jupiter, Pötscher, 109, Williams, *TI*, 284, n.30, G. Scafoglio, *Lat.*64(2005), 631ff.. The fem. is clearly a ‘correction’ or simplification introduced by plain-thinking readers convinced that the deity could only be Venus, who was of course female; masc. is clearly much more

difficult and interesting, and should be printed even though we are not quite certain of the reasons for V.'s choice. It has long been clear that *deus* can be used of fem. deities in good Latin (Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.890. 16ff., Courtney, *cit.*), especially 'notione numinis praevalente' (Gudeman), exactly as in the case of Θεός (note of Aphrodite, mother of Aen., at Soph. fr.373.1); in the case of Venus, easier on account of her Cypriot androgynous cult (Courtney, Timpanaro, *Virg.*, 115, n.169; cf. Laevius, fr.26.2, again with Courtney's n.). Whether V. was alluding learnedly to Ve.'s 'masculinity' or more generally to the non-specific 'divine power' that was escorting Aen. is not quite clear. 'Virgil never uses *deus* of a goddess', Goold, 115: that is by no means as clear today as it seemed to G., and is discussed in some detail in n. on 7.498 *nec dextrae erranti deus afuit*, with further bibl.; the typically minute discussion by my lamented friend Alessandro Perutelli, reprinted (from *Disiecti membra poetae*, ed. V. Tandoi, 3 (Foggia 1988). 87–99) in his *Frustula poetarum* (Bologna 2002), 114–22, is surprisingly ignored by Timpanaro. For full discussion of the interrelationship of our anc. *testimonia* on this passage and for the role of Haterianus, I refer to Goold, Perutelli and Timpanaro. See further on 810 for Venus' star as Aen.'s guide in Varro, and 587, n.6 for Scafoglio's ingenious but unfounded approach.

flammam inter et hostis Typical anastrophe of disyll. prepos.; cf. (with coupled nouns) 681, 10.778, *Lucr.* 1.619, Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.2147. 32. Compare *Hirt. Gall.* 8.42.4 *telis hostium flammaeque se offerebat*. Here reminiscent of Hom. phrr. such as *Il.* 5.167; an old epic flavour improvised out of simple ingredients.

633 expedior Under the general heading of 'impeditum aliquem...per difficultates perducere', Hiltbrunner paraphrases here 'i. liberum iter habeo', *TLL* 5.2.1606.39, comparing *Hor.C.4.4.78*, *Liv.35.30.4 iter tale, per quod uix tranquillum ab hostili metu agmen expediti posset*.

dant tela locum The rest of the v. arranged chiastically with **flammam inter et hostis**. Cf. 7.676f. *dat euntibus ingens/ silua locum*, *EV* 2, 116 (de Rosalia, suggesting that **d.** is used nearly enough in the sense of *praebent*), *Ov.F.4.800 innocuum uicto cui dedit ignis iter*; cf. too the *spatiumque dedere* of 12.696, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1679. 67ff.. Virgil returns to this image of divinely-imposed safety amid perils (an extension, or transposition, of the Homeric protective cloud; cf. Gruppe, 996, n.1, Seymour, 410f.) at 6.110f. *illum ego per flamas et mille sequentia tela/ eripui his umeris* (cf. *Ov.F.4. 37f.*). Note too how Charon's ire subsides at the sight of the Golden Bough, 6.407.

flammaeque recedunt Cf. 791, 5.526, *OLD* s.v., §2a. The same two motifs of harmless flames and ineffective weapons paired in QS 13.328–32; Gärtner, 244 remarks that in both passages fire is mentioned twice (**flammam**, **flammae**); as near as we will get to a presumption that QS may have used V. directly.

634–78 (i) The transition between Aen.’s encounter with his mother and the double portent is developed with tragic intensity to create an impossible conflict of loyalties and intentions, requiring a double divine intervention for its resolution (vd. Otis). Anch. will not leave his home and Aen. will not leave without his father; we are faced for a moment with the (rather theoretical, perhaps, to us) danger that both will be slaughtered among the ruins. The whole scene is tightly anchored in previous events: Aen. (664f.) asks why his mother troubled to bring him safely home (596ff., 632f.); he also fears (662f.) that Pyrrhus is about to proceed from his slaughter of Priam and Polites (526ff.) to that of Anch. (and himself?). And Anch. harks back both to the first sack of Troy (642f.) and to his own affair with Venus (647–9). Not to mention Aen.’s recurrent impulse to rush to arms, 337, 655. The irresolute dilemma is possibly rather theatrical; similarly, the use of Iulus to reinforce Creusa’s appeal to Aen. (674) might at first sight appear to a Roman listener as a rather surprising use of an old, hack courtroom prop, ignored by commentators but amply attested. See Berres, *VH*, 196ff., 201ff., Büchner, 334.50ff., Cartault, 201f., di Cesare, 53f., Heinze, 55, Klingner, 417, Mackie, 57f., Otis, 244ff., Pomathios, 235, Quinn, 119f., Raabe, 114ff., 128, Salvatore, 85–7.

(ii) Clearly, a new section of the narrative begins here; less clear is where it should end: perhaps at 678, immediately before the omens, which change entirely the tone and direction of Aen.’s account. In modern printed edd. there seem to be too many paragraphs marked within this section (e.g. 650, 671); they are not required at the beginning and the end of each and every speech.

(iii) I have already written too much elsewhere about Aeneas’ departure from Troy and shall try, so far as possible, to avoid repetition here (for summaries, cf. *RMM*, 12–24, *EV* 2, 221–8); recent work does not contribute much to our understanding (except at some points to our perceptions of the historical/diplomatic contexts of new developments or directions in the account): see Erskine (2001), with my remarks, *Hermathena* 171(2001), 95–9, Anderson, 62–74, E. Gruen, *Culture and national identity* (Ithaca 1992), 1ff., T.J. Cornell, *Beginnings of Rome* (Lon-

don 1995), 63–8, Vanotti (**165f.**; on DH's version), Wiseman (**165–6**), 16–21. To the group-scene of Aen. departing with Anch. and Iulus we shall come shortly (**721–4**); here, we need to notice the importance of Mt. Ida as an old-established (cyclic, indeed) stage between the fall of Troy, and Aen.'s departure (see n. on 3.6), at which V. hints strongly enough, **635–6**.

634 atque ubi iam Cf. *G.1.312 atque, ubi iam breuiorque dies et mollior aestas, / quae uigilanda uiris?*, 3.130.

patriae...ad limina sedis Surprising to discover that **limina sedis** occurs only here in V.; note **620 patro...limine**, 11.881f. *nec miseram effugient mortem, sed limine in ipso/, moenibus in patriis atque inter tutu domorum*. The paternal home, in Aen.'s own native city, ought if anywhere to be a symbol of safety (cf. M. Bonjour, *Terre natale* (Paris 1975), 58f.). A. Deremetz is quite right to draw attention (*REL* 78(2000), 82) to the ring-composition between this v. and **673**, but we should bear in mind the thematic importance of the *limen* throughout *Aen.2*: cf. nn. on **469, 556** for further discussion; there are hints of the door as symbol of the home itself, and of the door used to suggest the first thing seen on entering. Multiple associations are particularly welcome in such a case. Little joy at *EV* 3, 225f..

peruentum Cf. *G.4.374f. postquam est in.../ peruentum*, *G.3.98, Aen. 4.151, 6.45, 8.362, 10.710, 12.739, 803*. For the impers. pass. in *Aen.*, cf. n. on 7.553, with bibliogr.; here too perhaps the typical milit. tone discernible. Cf. *EV* 5*, 489, Reineke, *TLL* 10.1.1844.43f.. For the omission of *est*, in a subord. clause, with a pass. vb., Au. cites Leo, *Sen. trag.*, 1, 188f..

635 antiquasque domos So *G.2.209f. antiquasque domos auium cum stirpibus imis/ eruit* (cf. Briggs, 34). Still in the shadow of the tree-simile, **626–31** (note esp. **626 antiquam**, conventional—cf. **6.179**—but here, strikingly near at hand), the self-echo (not discussed either by Briggs or by Moskalew) may be thought to contribute here, at least to the acute reader, an additional element of pathos in Aen.'s affection for his old home; perhaps pride too, as the plur. (not *metri causa*) might suggest (cf. 11.140, *tecta, stabula*, Reed, 135, Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 150, Löfstedt, *Synt.*, 1₂, 31f., Bell, 72, but apparently no discussion from Hofmann, *TLL*, s.v.). For the use of **a.**, cf. **363**.

genitor Dramatically separated from the verb, **637 abnegat**. For **g.**, cf. n. on **548**.

quem tollere ‘Lift’ or ‘carry up’ (or ‘off’), as often, 1.692, 6.370, 11.206, De Vivo, *EV* 5*, 206. The sense of raising suggestive both of the height of the mountains and that of Aen.’s shoulder.

in altos/ 636 ...montis Cf. *Buc*.1.83, *Aen*.3.644 (my n. inadequate), 4.151 (with Pease’s n.), *Cic.Arat*.344, *Lucr*.6.963, von Mess, *TLL* 1.1774.11ff.. These lofty mountains a natural place of refuge, safely remote from the city, and their role traditional in the story of Aen.’s flight from Troy (**634–678(iii)**).

636 optabam ‘Express a wish, desire, pray for’, *OLD*; cf. *EV* 3, 862, Keudel, *TLL* 9.2.825.70ff..

primum...primumque *Praecipuum* Serv.; *ante filium et uxorem* Serv. Dan.. Advb. or adj.? Not that there is in practice much difference, Serv. and Serv.Dan. seem to favour adj.; rightly, I would say. Paratore finds the first advb., the second adj., not convincingly. The repetition to show *plenum...adfectum* towards his father, TCD. Does the primacy thus assigned to Anch. constitute a reference (so Con.) to the version reported by *Varr.res hum*.2.fr. 10 (= Serv.Dan. here) that when Aen. was given the option of taking what he would with him, he chose not gold, but his father? This suggestion, often adopted after Con., is most unlikely to be valid, for Varro’s story belongs to that ample group of accounts in which Aen. treats with the enemy. V. avoids them altogether and *Aen.* may indeed contain a fair amount of passing polemic against them (cf. **289–95**); it would be entirely atypical and untimely to find the exception here. Aen.’s first thought is indeed to save his father, but not because the Greeks have given him the chance to do so safely, which would ruin altogether the moral strategy of V.’s narrative. The ponderous anaphora (cf. *G*.2.408, *Aen*.4.169; 7.118—where vd. n.—and 9.696 are a bit subtler), with assonance and/or homoeoteleuton, lends weight to this first sign of practical, reborn *pietas*.

petebam Pro ‘appetebam’ et ‘optabam’ Serv.Dan.; cf. *EV* 4, 51, Dubielzig, *TLL* 10.1. 1955.11ff..

637 abnegat In one word, the paradox: Anch. himself does not *wish* to be saved. The situation could now unfold in a splendid display of rhetoric, contrivance and artificiality, after the manner of a Senecan *suasoria*; in fact V. is about to turn it into just about his most solemn statement of the gods’ role in the future of Aeneas and Rome. For the vb., used with a convenient variety of constrs., cf. **654**, 7.424 (where vd.

my note; the apparent Virgilian coinage (G.) ignored by Cordier). Cf. Wölfflin, *TLL* 1.111.11f., *ALL* 4 (1887), 574.

excisa...Troia The vb. used at 481, of the destruction of Priam's palace gate; for use of cities, cf. 12.762 *excisurum urbem*. Used thus in Cic., Sall., Liv., Vell., Val.Max., Tac.: Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1244.30ff. at 42; Con. is still attracted by the old conjecture (if that is quite the right word) *exscissa*. Copyists and audiences are clearly likely to have confused the perfs. of *excido* and *exscindo* and it may be that poets took advantage of the closeness in sound of *excisus* and *exscissus*, but here there seems to be no reasonable doubt about what V. wrote and meant.

uitam producere Cited by Non.p.372.24 for the sense *longius ducere*; cf. Ramminger, *TLL* 10.2.1639.43. A common sense: compare *Rhet.Her.4.34*, *Varr.RR 3.14.3*, *Bell. Afr.24.4*, *Nep.Att.21.6* (Att. to his friends) *namque his diebus quidquid cibi sumpsi, ita produxi uitam, ut auxerim dolores sine spe salutis*. Found throughout the poets, from Enn. on, but never often (except in Manil.; cf. Ramminger, 1631.5). Note the motif of unwillingness to survive the fall of your city, Eur.*Tro.1282f.* (Hecuba proposes rushing into flames *εὐν τῆδε πατρίδι κατθανεῖν*, with n. on 566), Vellay, index, s.v. 'suicide' and (Speranza) *Liv.5.41.1 regressi aduentum hostium obstinato ad mortem animo exspectabant*, with TCD here *non dixit hominem uiuum sed corpus, utpote eius qui non uiuendi sed moriendi desiderio duceretur*. Here, discussion is limited to suicide as reaction to an *urbs capta*, but if military defeat, in the field, is included, the range of comparanda is greatly increased. I am most grateful to Jo-Marie Claassen for notably prompt and helpful discussion; not even *Ov.Pont.4.14.11f.* (the Styx preferable to the Hister) states as clearly as V. does here that death is preferable to exile.

638 exiliumque pati Cf. Kapp, *TLL* 5.2.1485.61f., Kruse, *ib.*, 10.1.722.52f., comparing *Publil.E12*, *Luc.1.278f..* For the orthogr., cf. on 3.4.

638–49 Anch. is given an exceptional speech, excellently suited to the development of a dramatic moment, of strong moral and religious significance: the sequence of Anch.'s speech, the general response (650–6), Aen.'s reply (657–70), and Creusa's reaction (671–8) are the necessary preliminaries to the double portent. Between staying and going, fight and flight, warrior's instincts and duties to kin and gods, an irresoluble conflict is developed; V.'s answer, the double portent, smacks rather of the *deus ex machina*. Anch.'s refusal to leave leads directly to his

actual departure (vd. Wlosok, Otis, Highet): this is the point at which (paradoxically benevolent) divine intervention and human obedience are introduced as dominant motifs of the poem. Tightly argued and nobly phrased lines (vd. Williams), widely misunderstood (**646**, Highet), but less obscurely phrased and argued than has been suggested. Cf., in addition to works cited at **634–70**, Bonjour, 276, Williams, *TORP*, 740f., Highet, 121–3, Wlosok, *RHRD*, 68f., Otis, *Virgil*, 244ff., Poma-thios, 235. Adler, 276 suggests, unpersuasively, that Anch. is trying to shame Aen. into standing and fighting. St. Augustine's letter 228, also inserted by Possidius into his life of Aug., on whether bishops should flee when their sees are under attack, is worth comparing with the dilemma of Aen. and Anch..

638 uos, o, quibus...// 640 uos The admirable structure and word-order of these vv. has escaped proper comment (notably at Wills, 79ff.) except in Speranza's nn.: note first the gemination **uos...uos**, separated by eleven words (cf. *Buc.* 1.3f., *Aen.* 1.200f., **2.154f.**, 3.156f., 10.676f., 12.646ff.), but unmistakable; the first **uos** is lent pathetic interest by **o** (cf. n. on 7.360; cf. 9.146 *sed uos, o lecti...qui*) and is then given notable weight by the addition of a rel. clause to the first of the two pronouns while to the second **uos**, the prominent **me** is then opposed (**641**; ‘adversative asyndeton’, Au., *bene*), though we can have no clear idea of what might have happened once the half-line was dealt with. For the use of pron. with imper., cf. n. on **606**.

integer aei/i/ 639 sanguis The solemnity of the moment calls for Enn., *deos aei/i integros*, *trag.* 401 (ignored, Wigodsky, Stabryła); cf. 9.255 *integer aei/i*, Plaut. *Merc.* 550 *sanguis integer*, *Pseud.* 203 *aetas integra* (with Suet. *Cal.* 25.3), Prop. 4.5.59 *dum uernat sanguis, dum rugis integer annus*, Kempf, *TLL* 1. 1166.66, Kuhlmann, *ib.*, 7.1.2079.45, Scarcia, *EV* 2, 397. The gen. ‘of sphere’, 5.73 *aei/i maturus* (vd. Williams), 9.246 *animi maturus*, Antoine, 87ff., KS 1, 443ff. at 444, Maurach, *Dichterspr.*, 48, Ernout-Thomas, 57, LHS, 75, Löfstedt, *Synt. I₂*, 172f., Görler, *EV* 2, 266. There appear also to be some traces here of physiological thinking: perhaps that the heat that gives courage has passed out of the body (cf. Gudeman, *TLL* 3.152.5ff., Rubenbauer, *ib.*, 6.1.1326.1ff.), with the onset of the chill of age (cf. nn. on 11.21, 338f., Cels. 2.1.5, Onians, 46. n.6). Serv. also suggests—correctly, it appears—that, according to the *physici*, blood is diminished with age (cf. Onians, 221 and Powell on *Cic.Sen.* 34), which might also be germane.

ait Cf. n. on 11.24, Highet (1974), 213.

solidaeque...uires An echo, perhaps, of Enn.*Ann.*253 *solida ui;* Häussler (244), 316 compares Quint.2.5.23 *solida ac uirilis ingenii uis deterso rudit saeculi squalore*; a restatement here of the point made by **integer...sanguis:** TCD remarks *qui laborem ferre non alienis, sed propriis adminiculis possunt.* Indeed, Anch. is in some sense correctly anticipating the toil he will cost his son. *EV* 4, 927. Every word here contributes to the notion of old Anch.'s pathetic envy of his companions' (relative) muscular energy.

suo...robore Cf. *G.3.235 post ubi collectum robur uiresque refectae, EV* 4, 513. Elsewhere only at [Ov.]*Hal.*57. It is not the 'you' who have *robur* (the ref. of *suus* to second-person can with some trouble be justified), but the **uires** who have their own *robur* normally.

stant Cf. 10.771 *mole sua stat,* Bartalucci, *EV* 4, 1027. A robust synonym of *sunt*, specially appropriate here, with the suggestion of 'standing firm'. It may be that V. had in mind the Homeric βίη τέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη (*Il.*23.629, with wished-for long-gone youth). Both this v. and **642** contain marked allit. of s, though Anch. is hardly hissing.

640 agitate fugam Cf. Sall.*Hist.*1.fr.102, quoted by Serv.Dan. here, *traditur fugam in Oceani longinqua agitauisse,* Hey, *TLL* 1.1337.8, Rubenbauer, *ib.*, 6.1.1469.70; not an actual Sallustian echo, but perhaps the hint of an historical tone (cf. Flor.4.2.51). Serv. Dan. also offers *disponite, cogitate* for **agitate**. V. could have continued easily (e.g.) *ac uestras exquirite terras*, but did not wish to; *et rebus seruate secundis* (from 1.207) is in fact attested as an attempt to complete the v. (Sparrow, 46). Günther, 48, n.124, 58 rightly points out the other, ample evidence for the unfinished state of the passage (cf. *ib.*, 51, Berres, *VH*, 196). Au.'s 'some[half-lines] look as if V. had not yet found exactly what he wanted to complete them' (on **66**) is much better than Günther, 14, n.9 allows, particularly in view of how very easy it would be to complete metre and sense here. With prolonged study, the need to differentiate between various types of hemistich becomes ever more apparent, though no set of definitions has met or is likely to meet general approval.

641 me However the hemistich was to have been concluded, a pronoun of the second person had to be prominent, as indeed is the case at present.

si...uoluissent Cf. 4.340f. *me si fata meis paterentur ducere uitam/ auspi- ciis.*

caelicolae Cf. n. on 3.21.

ducere uitam Lucretian (but perhaps not memorably so); cf. n. on 3.315. For analogous uses of *ducere*, cf. *EV* 2, 147.

642 has...sedes His home, and, perhaps, the city too, as often; cf. Spallone, *EV* 4, 750. The pron. perhaps to be understood as recalling a gesture by Anch. towards the house and city in ruins.

michi seruassent Cf. 160; for the place of *seruare* in Rom. prayer-language, see 702, Hickson, 79f., Appel, 176f.; Anchises is not here at prayer, but the word's associations with prayer is relevant to the tone here. *EV* 4, 814 not satisfactory. The revelation to Aen. at 604–23 of the gods' active role in the destruction of Troy was not necessarily shared by Anch.; his remarks here could very well indicate simply that, from the city's fall, he infers the gods' hostility.

satis...superque Possibly, a colloquialism in direct speech, Watson on Hor. *Epd*.1.31, 17.19, citing Fordyce on Cat.7.2 (who calls it 'commonplace', not 'colloquial'), Priap.77.11. Cf. too Plaut. *Am*.168. Cic. *Att*.16.6.2. However, the pairing (after all, an allit. word-pair, Wölfflin, *Ausgew. Schr.*, 274) is also standard at higher levels, and indeed, in texts not specially friendly to colloquialisms (Cic. *rhet.* and *philos*. in addition to *orat.*, Sall., Liv., Tac.). Standard Lat. usage, perfectly compatible, though, with the spoken context.

una.../ 643 ...excidia Cf. 625 for the first sack. A very stong wd. (from *ex-scindo*, EM); of Troy, from Plaut. *Ba*.944 (with Fraenkel, *Elementi*, 65) on (see 5.626); *semel* in *G.*, *sexies* in *Aen.* (Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1232.72). Note Liv.1.29.6 (Alba), 29.1.13 (Carthage). The plur. *metri causa* (cf. Maas, *ALL* 12(1902), 488ff., Bednara, *ib.*, 14 (1906), 532ff., *EV* 5*, 397; note, though, that the sing. would be possible in dactyl. verse), 'vi quodammodo auctiva', Kapp/ Meyer, 1231.84f.. Note 637 **excisa**: the noun here used on account of its notable force, as was the verb; the repet. (with variation) should not necessarily be thought deliberate or significant.

643 uidimus Typically Virgilian insistence on the primacy of sight and ocular testimony. Cf. nn. on 507, 555.

captiae...urbi 'The capture of the city'; cf. n. on 413 **ereptae uirginis ira** and Page here for this economical and elegant use of the partic.. Note 507 **urbis...captae**.

superauimus Cf. 11.244 *casus superauimus omnis*, with n.. The (old) use with dat. is rare; cf. Plaut. *Aul*.702, *Stich*.279, LHS, 32, Bennett, 2, 116, *OLD* s.v., §5b.

644 sic o sic Cf. 4.660 *sic, sic uiuat ire per umbras*, Wills, 118; here, the **o** intensifies further. Repeated *sic* then used by Sen.trag.. Further marked gesturing: the exact sense of *positum* is not perfectly clear, and it is no clearer whether or not Anch. is already lying on the ground, or just gesturing, proleptically, if you will. This degree of uncertainty perhaps goes a little beyond ‘mere’ challenging ambiguity. TCD (attractive but superficial) *non dixit hominem uiuum, sed corpus, utpote eius qui non uiuendi, sed moriendi desiderio duceretur.*

positum...corpus Note 4.681 *sic te ut posita...abessem* (Dido is still alive), 6.508 *patria decedens ponere terra*, 11.30 *corpus...positum*, with detailed n. (*simplex pro composito*). Compare *Il.18. 236 κείμενον* and see Garuti, *EV* 4, 200, Highet, 122, Salvatore, 86, n.104. But Anch. is not yet quite a corpse; he has not actually been laid out (the technical sense of *deponere* and often enough of *ponere* too; vd. 11, *cit.*), nor has *conclamatio* yet taken place, *pace* Richardson (646), 97: the old man’s imagination/ expectation/ anticipation not to be taken as statements of completed ritual, or of fact. Henry (p.304; cf. 306f.), comparing Eur.*El.*1325f., may perhaps be right to conclude both that Anch. throws himself to the ground, thus inviting his kin to treat him as though already dead, and that **p.** may *not* refer, in the technical sense, to ‘laying-out’, but only to ‘lying on the ground’, as at 4, *cit.* Ov.*AA* 2.524, *Met.*3.420, 13.543 *nunc positi spectat uultum, nunc uulnera nati* (add *Aen.*1.173, e.g.), showing in detail the verb’s application in this simple sense to both the living and the dead. Does Anch. now throw himself to the ground? That is by no means clear; Au. writes on 645 ‘644 is not to be taken literally’ and Anch. now indeed passes to the intention of provoking his own death in combat (‘I will fight till I force them to kill me’, Henry, p.304). If he does throw himself down, that confirms the rather stagey tone of several details in the passage, while if he does not, merely sketching with his hands, perhaps, how he will lie upon the floor of the palace, that suits much better the princely invalid’s dignity. If Anch. really does throw himself to the ground, his determination, in the very next line, to die in combat rather verges upon the ludicrous..

adfati Serv. paraphrases ‘*praestate ... funebre solarium*’. *hoc est, ‘adfamini me’*, *ut dici mortuis solet ‘uale, uale, uale’*. Cf. nn. on 3.68, 11.97f. for what actually happened; Serv. seems to ignore that the words were in practice *alue...alue*. See Zimmermann, *TLL* 1.1246.39f.: farewell to the corpse apparently not a standard sense of the verb (cf. Sil.10. 571); for **a.** of final address to corpse, Au. adduces 9.483f., where the sense is not

comparable (vd. Dingel's thoughtful n.) and Stat.*Silv.* 3.3.181f. (indeed a corpse is addressed, but a speech follows, not a couple of (ritual) words.

discedite Cf. 11.46, etc., Graeber, *TLL* 5.1.1278.26.

645 ipse manu Cf. 3.372 with n., Henry and Au. here; Anch. must refer to his own death, which is to be procured in battle, or at least at the enemy's hands, not least on account of the discreetly pervasive analogy between himself and his cousin Priam, 561; we should hardly ask whether Anch. 'actually knows' that his cousin is dead, but naturally allow that the earlier scene is intensely relevant to this one. TCD *aut ego me, inquit, occidam* [rather modern for the context] *aut non deerit qui feriat*. Serv. is wrong to comment (on **mortem**) *autem ego manu hostis inueniam*, for although a Greek hand will bring about Anch.'s death, the phrasing **ipse manu** makes it quite clear that the initiative must be Anch.'s own (cf. Page, Au., well). Hightet, 122f. and others (e.g. Heyne and, most surprisingly, Bell, 189) do not recognise that **ipse manu** must stand together and point unanswerably to Anch.'s *own* efforts or initiative (as Con. rightly notes); Anch. is indeed in some way crippled, but here expects to be at least as able as Priam had been to provoke a Greek (Pyrrhus, in all likelihood) to kill him. Hightet compares the Rom. senators awaiting death at the Gauls' hands, Liv.5.41.1 (cf. Kraus, (198), 277); for Anch. there is no life without Troy, just as for Camillus, Liv.5.52, life and Rome are synonymous (vd. J.D. Chaplin, *Livy's exemplary history* (Oxford 2000), 86ff.); the (probable, if not definitive) double interaction of *Aen.*2 and Liv.5 here is challenging, but I do not comment here on relative chronology.

manu mortem M_{ωγι}, Serv., TCD; **manum mortem** P_{ιαγ}; **manum morti** PV (the reading of V is not clear). The step from irreproachable **manu** to **manum** is mere oversight, under the influence of the first letters of **manu** and **mortem**; **manum morti** looks like a subsequent attempt to extract sense from this oversight ('will find a hand for the purpose of death'): sense and language breathe feverish ingenuity, as against the solidly familiar Virgilian idiom of **ipse manu**. Au. adds a depressing selection of horrid attempts at emendation (and there is worse in Geymonat's apparatus); sense and situation do require, rather, a moment's cool thought. Vd. A. Pagliaro, *Helikon* 1(1961), 139–47, Hightet, 122.

mortem inueniam Van Nes/Hiltbrunner comment obscurely 'saepe' (*TLL* 7.2.145. 79). Cf. Stat.*Theb.* 8.526, Tac.*Ann.* 1.61 *ubi infelici dextera et suo ictu mortem inuenerit*; there, Goodyear notes that the paral-

lel is illusory, for V. hardly refers to suicide, and for Tac.'s sense of 'encounter', he compares *Sall.Cat.*55.6 *dignum...exitum inuenit*. At all events, *TLL*'s 'saepe' can hardly be taken to mean 'common in Latin'.

miserebitur hostis Not clearly understood in antiquity: (1) *si misericordia ductus solas exuuias tollet*, TCD (possibly with Pyrrhus' decapitation of Priam in mind); (2) *affectu eius qui cupiebat interimi dixit, ut eum hostis quasi miseratus occideret*, Serv., citing 9.495; (3) *id est, quod illi hostili animo fecerint, ego misericordiae loco ducam* Serv.Dan. (quite subtly), favoured, comprehensibly enough, by Page, Au. and Ussani. **H.: 290**, etc.; Au. quotes, most pertinently, *Cic.Att.*9.12.4(20/21 Mar.49): *nulla re iam possum iuuari, qui ne quod optem quid iam habeo nisi ut aliqua inimici misericordia liberemur*; note too Sen. *Tro.*329.

646 exuuiasque petet Cf. 11.790f. *non exuuias pulsae tropaeum/ uirginis aut spolia ulla peto* (where vd. n.; cf. Dubielzig, *TLL* 10.1.1948.47, 1965.51); Kornhardt, with 'aliter', *TLL* 5.2.2130.28, distinguishes explicitly between the two passages: the distinction to which she twice refers is that between (here) some Greek actually seeking spoils after killing Anch. (hardly a great triumph for a warrior, but a necessary and kindly preliminary to stripping his armour) and (bk.11) Arruns telling Apollo that he is not seeking to despoil a mere female, a low enterprise in which he would not ask for divine help (*petere* there essentially in two senses).

facilis iactura sepulcri A locus vexatus. Cf. the largely helpful nn. in Au., Speranza, Ussani, Paratore and L.J.D. Richardson, *Proc.Roy.Ir.Acad* 46(1940), C, 85–101; see also *EV*2, 455, 877 and 4, 782, Pagliaro, *supra*, 144ff., Salvatore, 85f., n. 103, Bannier, *TLL* 6.1.57.1f., Hofmann, *ib.*, 7.1.65.38ff.. Serv. begins by remarking *quasi obiectio est* to 'sed spoliatum linquet cadauer', Anch. replies **f.i.s.**. Serv. continues *aut secundum Epicureos, qui dicunt nihil superesse post mortem*. Serv.Dan. continues *aut facilis contemptibilis ... sapienti uiro, ut sit iactura dispendium* and Serv. concludes *aut hoc dicit, facilis sepulturae iactura est quam potest ruina praestare*. TCD ploughs typically on, doggedly but sanely, *si miseria ductus solas exuuias tollet, uel si remansero insepultus, iactura ista me non sollicitat*. We are all agreed that in the ancient world burial was, normally, of the highest importance, its loss an appalling blow: cf. NH on *Hor.C.1.28.23*, with my n. on 3.62); the merit of TCD's paraphrase is to recognise that **f.i.s.** is not to be understood in isolation, but within its rhetorical context: **miserebitur hostis**, **exuuiasque petet** and **f.i.s.** are clearly the three results of **ipse manu mortem inueniam** and should therefore

be understood, if possible, as parts of a single development of thought, with the third member (not formally parallel) as in some sense an epiphonema to what precedes. Anch. will arm, enter battle, and die. That will be a mercy for him, [even though] his corpse will be stripped. Of course, in the circumstances, he will not be buried, but that loss will be easy to bear: after loss of bodily strength (when punished), of home, city, life, arms, *even* the loss of burial becomes tolerable. Not so much, therefore, philosophical denial of the importance of burial (vd. e.g. Sen.*rem.fort.* 5.1, quoting this very passage, *Ep.Mor.* 92.34f., quoting Maec.*carm.fr.1* André, fr.8 Courtney (where vd. his n.), *Lucr.* 3.871f.; cf. *Aen.* 6.365f., 9.213ff., *Luc.* 5. 668ff., etc.) as paradox, and bitterness, perfectly suited to Anch.'s present circumstances, and not a general observation, admirably lending contrast to the imminent, positive, revelation of divine favour and purpose. The contemporary *Liv.* 5.39.12 (and priority cannot be established) *facilem iacturam esse seniorum relictæ in urbe utique periturae turbæ* might even suggest a common (almost necessarily Ennian) source. Cf. further, **653**. Henry's citation of *Fest.* p.190. 5ff.L on the excluded status under the 'laws of Numa' of those struck by lightning is fascinating, but, I suspect, unhelpful; note too *Serv.Dan.* on **649** (writing evidently in the Etruscan tradition) *sane de fulminibus hoc scriptum in reconditis inuenitur quod si quem principem ciuitatis uel regem fulmen afflauerit et superuixerit, posteros eius nobiles futuros et aeternae gloriae* with C.O. Thulin, *Etr. Disziplin* 1 (Göteborg 1906), 77f., Beaujeu, ed. *Plin.Nat.* 2, p. 213.

647 iam pridem Cf. n. on 7.693.

inuisus diuis For Anch. and Aphrodite—a story known to Hom. (*Il.* 2.819–21, etc.)—see *HHAphr.* 45ff., *ApId.Bibl.* 3.12.2. Zeus inspired Aphr. with love for Anch.; Anch. then, despite warnings, boasted (circumstantial detail in *Serv.Dan.*; a common mythol. motif) of his experience and was variously punished (cf. Au., Robert, 1002f.); already at *HHAphr.* 188 he prays not to be left ζῶντ' ἀμενηνὸν among men, and at Soph.*fr.* 373 he is carried on Aen.'s back. The picture in *Aen.* is studiously unclear, for Aen.'s conception in *HHAphr.* had been a cheerfully erotic jewel of early mythol. narrative, entirely unsuited to the rather chilly decorum of early Aug. epic. V.'s sense of Anch.'s actual age and condition is typically elusive (cf. Au., Richardson, 87, R.B. Lloyd, *TAPA* 88(1957), 49f., Heyne, exc. xvii to bk.2), just as there is no clear view of the precise nature of the injury done to Anch. as punishment (*supra*). The stout old commander of bk.3 (vd. n. on 472f.) is hardly *confectus aetate, fessus*[save in the posthumous 3.710], and *inualidus*, as he is

called elsewhere (already ‘past his prime’, Acus.*FGH* 2F39); the scene at 8.161ff. might very easily predate his affair with Aphrodite. In *Aen.*, he has to be dead before bk.4 (cf. n. on 3.708–15) and his age and condition seems to be malleable, in keeping with the circumstances of the plot. See West on Hes. *Theog.* 1009, *EV* 1, 158, Gantz, 2, 559, Vellay, 2, 427, Robert, 999–1003 (admirable), Wörner, Ro.1. 337. 65ff., Grassmann-Fischer, 12, Pomathios, 236. **I:** vd. 601.

et inutilis Cf. Kapp, *TLL* 7.2.277.70, comparing 10.794, where Serv. Dan. remarks that *i.* is used in the sense of *uulnere debilitatus*; Kapp further adduces ‘de sauciis’ *Liv.* 21.53.9, 43.19.10 (‘et al.’). Note *Il.* 18.104 ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης, [Aesch.] *PV* 363 ἀχρεῖον...δέμας.

annos/ 648 demoror Serv. *quasi festinantes diu uiuendo detineo*, Stöger, *TLL* 5.1.510.28f.. Cf. n. on 11.177 *uitam moror inuisam*.

ex quo Cf. 163.

me.../ 649 ...adflauit Serv.Dan. (in a copious, learned n.) *quia scit non iaci fulmina nisi cum flatu uentorum*, Zimmermann, *TLL* 1.1240.47ff., quoting (e.g.) Ov.*Tr.* 1.9.22, Sen.*NQ* 2.40.4, Plin.*Nat.* 2.142. *Adflatu* one of the many stock Lat. expressions for ‘struck by lightning’ (cf. *Liv.* 30.6.7, Serv. here), Wölfflin, *ALL* 11(1900), 4 (with *ib.*, 212, 511), citing e.g. Oros.5. 19.18, Iul.Obs.56, Thulin, *ib.* 14(1906), 385, 389; note too *Liv.* 28.23.4 *alii ambusti adflatu uaporis. Mouit pathos misericordiae et ex debilitate* writes Macr.(4.3.8).

diuum pater atque hominum rex Cf. 1.65, 10.2, 743; Ennian (*Ann.* 203; vd. Sk.), and then Livian(1.53.3), after Hom. πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε; cf. Wigodsky, 50f., Moskalew, 86. Grandeur altogether appropriate to the occasion; the final monosyll. typically Ennian.

649 fulminis...uentis Cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1529.32f. and Serv.’s remarks, just cited; see too [Aesch.] *PV* 359, Soph.*Ant.* 136f., Lucr. 6.274ff., Plin.*Nat.* 2.104 (with Beaujeu, pp.184–6), Sen.*NQ* 2.58.1 and Schol.Ver. here *Epicurei autem ita tractant, ut poeta elocutus est, uentumque igneum fulmen vocant*, for views of the role of wind (which clearly takes up **adflauit**) in the creation and effect of lightning and thunderbolts, with R. French, *Anc. nat.history* (London 1994), 159 and 173ff.. *EV* 2, 606 inadequate. Note the presence of *Auster* in the visual representation of *fulmen* at 8.430.

contigit igni ‘Hostili animo, vi attingere, petere, laedere, violare’ Lommatsch, *TLL* 4.713.84ff. at 714.2f.; so Amm.Marc. 17.4.15 *ui ignis diuini contacta*, 23.5.13. For **i.**, cf. 1.42, 3.199, Hor.C.1.34.6, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.290.17.

650 talia...memorans Cf. Enn.*Ann.*35, *Aen.*1.631 *sic memorat*, 5.641 *haec memorans*, 743, 6.699, 8.79, 9.250, 324, 10.680. O. Prinz, *TLL* 8.689.26f. Tacent Highet, *EV*. Also used at the beginning of speeches, n. on 3.182.

perstabat Perhaps first here in poetry (then dear to Ov.), though common in repub. prose. Erwin, *TLL* 10.1.1752.14f. havers between ‘perseverat, perdurat’ in an opinion and (1751.20ff.) ‘pendent structurae indicantes quo in statu, qua in actione quis (quid) permaneat’: note 43ff. ‘locut. praedic.’; comms. grumble that V. ‘should’ have used the common infin., but usage with *manere* confirms that there is nothing odd here (cf. e.g. *Liv.*41. 26.1). Clearly V. could intend a meaning intellectual, or physical, or indeed both, but it may be significant not only that V. is about to concentrate on the intellectual but that the crippled, aged Anch. is hardly the man to be represented as standing squarely (in the literal sense) in the face of all opposition.

fixusque manebat *Lucr.*3.548 has, differently, *locoque/ fixa manet certo. Fixus, hoc est immobili sententia* TCD; V.’s **nos contra** confirms that this is correct, that is, that Anch. remains firm in his decision in the face of the **omnis domus**, tears, infants and all. The words’ sense is therefore primarily mental, not physical (though in the context of a massed appeal like that now essayed a clear distinction is scarcely viable, and indeed 654 suggests that it should not be attempted); cf. n. on 7.250 *immobilis haeret*. Tietze, *TLL* 8. 282.14f., Lackenbacher, *ib.* 6.1.716.49f., 719.32.

651 nos contra *Aen.* himself (as the polysyndeton makes quite clear) the first element in a quadruple assault on Anch.’s resolution; the tears not to be thought of as exclusively *Aen.*’s (on heroic tears, vd. full n. at 11.29). The advb. an invaluable instrument in the articulation of V.’s narrative, n. on 445.

effusi lacrimis Cf. 271 **largosque effundere fletus**, 3.312 *lacrimasque effudit*, 6.686 *effusaeque genis lacrimae*, 10.790 (with *uolutae*). See Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.217.8f., *EV* 2, 610. Compare 12.131 *studio effusae*; this mediopassive use (equivalent to *se effundere*) notably common in e.g. *Liv.*, Leumann, 220.40ff., KS 1, 107; the verb itself greatly to V.’s taste, 45x.. In act. the prose/prosy author might write *se in lacrimas effundunt* (Leumann, 226.11ff.), or, yet more drably, *effusis lacrimis* (not to mention, even, *lacrimas effuderunt*); this terse pass. version, without *sumus*, Au. suggests, under the infl. of *Od.* 10.415 δακρυόεντες ἔχυντο; there, the sense is ‘poured round’ (Cunliffe, s.v., §7) and the evident change of meaning

might seem rather in his favour. The abl. of means, perhaps (manner, Bell, 329), comparable to that often found with *uoce*, *clamore*. But the interesting, significant grammatical point is that the conventional *lacrimas effundimus* has been passivised inventively into **effusi lacrimis**; ‘we’ should not, in conventional grammar, still be the subject, but ‘we’ still is. These inversions of grammar (hypallage, of a sort) have been explored by Woldemar Görler, *EV* 2, 276f., *id. Vergilius Suppl.* 2(1982), 58ff., *id. ALLP*, 278f., *Wu.Jhb.* 8(1982), 80, and in prolonged discussion.

coniunxque Creusa Cf. 738 for V.’s deeply significant approach to the names of Aen.’s wife. Note 597; here, C.’s first role in the action.

652 Ascaniusque Even before he leaves Troy *non passibus aequis*, he has this neglected moment of activity, joining his parents in pleading with his grandfather to join them in flight.

omnisque domus Cf. 7.407 *consiliumque omnemque domum uertisse* *Latini* (where I should not have missed the close parallel), 12.59 *in te omnis domus inclinata recumbit*.

ne.../ 653 ...uellet Cf. 6.436 *quam uellent aethere in alto...*, 11.111 *equidem uiuis concedere uellem*, *EV* 5*, 616. We might wish to tr. ‘prefer’; the vb. which governs the **ne** clause not specified, but easily implicit in **651 effusi lacrimis**.

uertere secum/ 653 cuncta Vd. 7.407 *supra*, 625, and often, simplex pro composito *euertere*. *EV* 5*, 508.

pater This is a moment even more difficult than has been suspected: Anch. wants to stay, in the face of Hector’s apparition and Venus’ obscure hints; worse still, for the present, in the teeth of the expectations of *pietas*, father and son are entirely opposed. There will never be another such clash.

fatoque urgenti Cf. *Liv.* 5.22.8 *postremo iam fato quoque urgente*, 5.36.6 *ibi iam urgentibus Romanam urbem fatis*, 22.43.9 *urgente fato*; for the convergence of *Aen.* 2 and *Liv.* 5, see 646, with Kraus (198), 272, n.28, Horsfall, *Aen.* 3, xxvi^f; here, an (Ennian) original might apply. Cf. Pötscher, 31, Pomathios, 334.

incumbere Serv.Dan. comments with atypical vigour *simile est ut ‘currentem incitare’ ‘praecipitantem impellere’*. Cf. *Plaut.Aul.* 594 *non enim quo incumbat eo impellere*, *Liv.* 3.16.5 *ad id prope unum maxime inclinati rebus incubuit*, Rehm, *TLL* 7.1.1073.39f. and on ‘*currentem incitare*’, cf. now Tosi, 222f., n°480, in addition to Otto, 102f.. There are many proverbial variations on the idea: for ‘*praecipitantem impellere*’, Cic.*Clu.* 70, cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.538.58ff., citing e.g. Tac.*Hist.* 2.63 *impulit ruentem*.

Henry does well to raise the issue of the latent metaphor here; it seems as though **urgenti** and **incumbere** must be near synonyms, perhaps suggesting putting your shoulder to a fate that is already pressing on its own account.

654 abnegat As at 637, with the infin. omitted (Wölfflin, *TLL* 1.111. 11f.), though the sense is altogether clear. The vb. first at *G.3.456*; note too *Hor.C.1.35.24*. The repetition of the vb. a nice indication of Anch.'s stubbornness (cf. too 650).

inceptoque Cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.922.52f.: so at 1.37, 4.452, 5.678, 714, etc. good prose idiom and also *bis* in *Lucr.* A good way of saying 'intention', without slipping into obviously abstract lang. 'The word implies something monstrous', writes Au.; rather, the word is entirely neutral and can be used of monstrous intentions, when that character is clear from the context.

et sedibus...in isdem Au.'s suggestion that **s.** might (also) mean "the 'bedrock' in which his purpose is set" is not helpful. The double meanings in this v. are perspicuous, as it is. **In** is easily supplied with the preceding **inceptoque**: Speranza compares 5.512, 6.416, 8.143.

haeret Cf. Bulhart, *TLL* 6.3.2498.83f., *EV* 2, 829. Synaloepha at 3sp. and no secondary caesurae perhaps contributing to the sense of static perplexity. The syllepsis of concrete and abstract (cf. n. on 11.583, Calboli, *EV* 5*, 657–9); Au. compares 378), often called zeugma, and noted by Hofmann, *supra*, benefits from the frequent use of *haerere* in senses both physical and intellectual (cf. 7.250, with discussion, Bartalucci, *EV* 2, 830).

655 rursus in arma feror Cf. 401. The ref. back is clear and specific, to 337 **in flamas et in arma feror** (where vd. nn.). Exactly the same problems of heroic-vs.-modern/ethical evaluation apply here; morally, nothing has changed since Aen. awoke. Cf. 289–95, 348–54. Aen. does not carry out this return to battle, and comms. therefore refer to his *intentions*, but he does (671f.) make towards his actual weapons (*arma*, after all), and indeed begins to put them back on, so the statement is to some extent literally true.

mortemque...opto Cf. 645 (of Anch.); *mortem optare*, Cic.*Clu.*171, *Phil.*2.119, etc., Keudel, *TLL* 9.2.828.71ff.; no distinction between suicide and death sought in action is to be drawn. Cf. Raabe, 115; Au. remarks that Aen. seems already to have forgotten his mother's words of comfort, but they had been (619) slender and obscure, and Aen. is

hardly to be blamed on that score. We are back to the state of mind of 317, 353; cf. Pomathios, 201. Serv.'s *contra fatorum uim et matris auxilium* puts it very well.

miserrimus For the superl., cf. already 5, 411, 519.

656 nam A ‘narratorial comment’? Or a ‘reformulation of the thoughts he had at the time’? An (irresolvable) uncertainty acutely noted by Laird, 106. V. spares another line to deepen Aen.’s dilemma yet further before he begins to speak.

quod...consilium With *dare*, extremely common, Gudeman, *TLL* 4.453.73ff. at 80; V. then extends the banal phrasing, easily and inventively, with the addition of **fortuna**.

aut quae...fortuna Cf. *Enn.Ann.233 fortibus est fortuna uiris data*, *Nep.Eum.1.1*, *Liv.21.41.4 conserendi manum fortuna data est*, 26.11.4f., 13.14, 39.24.1, *Sen.Phaedr.584 quo se dabit fortuna?* (cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1698.57, 1672.66ff.); the sense of ‘what chance, what outcome was on offer?’ (cf. Pomathios, 340, 345) is perfectly clear, and proves to be likewise standard Lat. idiom.

iam...dabatur Another case of zeugma (vd. 654), given the wide difference in sense between **consilium** and **fortuna**. Right now, **iam**, neither is at hand.

657–70 Aen. is challenged by his father’s mutiny in the face of his first request (634–8) and offers a passionate outburst in reply, addressed successively to father, mother, and men (657, 664, 668), uniquely among the speeches of *Aen.* (Hight). He had arrived at his home with the excellent intention to evacuate his family to the mountains (635f.); his father will not move, and is deaf to all pleas; as when Aen. had woken to find the walls breached and his city in flames (314; see 289–95), his reaction is to rush to arms, but it is the impulse of a moment, for his entire world is about to change, with both the gods’ intervention and the loss of Creusa. Au. compares, admirably, the younger Pliny’s response to his mother’s injunction to flee, *Plin.Ep.6. 20.12*; Pliny can hardly not have had the present vv. in mind. Cf. Adler, 276, Cartault, 201f, Hight, 146, 316, Mackie, 57f..

657 mene...posse The addition of the particle lends yet more point to the pronoun, first word of the speech (Hand, 4, 75, LHS, 461). An advanced degree of subordination (infin., with attendant abl.abs., dependent on infin., itself dependent on main vb.); altogether easy to

follow (cf. *Companion*, 231). Serv.Dan. attracted by Aen.'s *deliberatio*; Aen. begins with considerations of what is right (**657f.**) and passes (Ussani) to what is fit (**659–63**). Bell, 210 acutely compares 9.560f. *euadere .../sperasti te posse*: the addition of *posse* is a neat way of evading the cumbrous fut. infin..

efferre pedem Standard Lat.: Plaut., Cic., Enn.*trag.*(215, 244), Bannier, *TLL* 5.2.140.63ff. at 68. Perhaps Eur.'s ἐκβάλλειν πόδα, and so common an expression as probably not to be considered as an Ennian echo here.

genitor Cf. 635.

te...relicto Cf. 3.190, with n.: 'leaving behind' will emerge as a recurrent element in colonisation-narratives. The contrast of the pronouns TCD remarks as having a *grauissimum pondus*.

658 sperasti Just the use of the perf. found at 4.305f., *dissimulare etiam sperasti, peride, tantum / posse nefas*. So too 9.560f..

tantumque nefas Cf. 4.305f. (previous n.), *EV* 3, 677; Serv. glosses *scelus*.

patrio...ore Apparently unparalleled, with the appropriately lofty adj. for gen.; note *patriis...ab oris*.

excidit Cf. Cic.*Sull.*72 *ex ore huius excidit*, *Dom.*104, *Phil.*10.6, Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1236.43f., 6.686 *excidit ore* (Norden's case for an Ennian origin not strong), Ov.*Met.*7.172, Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1079.80, Kapp/Meyer, 1236. 54f.. ἔπος φύγεν ἔρκος ὄδοντων is really not quite the same idea, but might have influenced V. here, though the use of *excidere* is clearly standard usage in Rom. oratory by his time. Serv. remarks *bene excusat patrem dicendo excidit, et ipsam temperat obiurgationem*: the suggestion is that Anch. had not quite known what he was saying, and this display of understanding moderates the tone of Aen.'s response. Strong synaloepha at 4D: very rare in V. (Norden, 455).

659 si nihil...relinqui Relicto at v.-end two lines previously, without change of sense: cf. Au. on 505 (*bene*), and full n. on 7.554 *arma*. No effect intended, apparently, nor any flaw, by ancient standards, to be sensed. TCD greatly admires this passage: *artificiosa dictio satisque subtilis*, to attempt to persuade Anch. not to remain in *eadem cessandi prauitate*.

ex tanta...urbe Cf. Cic.*Verr.*2.4.118, *ND* 3.92, *Liv.*1.4.1, 34.34.3, 40.19.3, 45.25.13, etc.; not specially common

superis placet With *dis*, from Plaut. (cf. *Liv.*8.5.4), with *fortunae*, Sall.*Jug.*102.9, *Aen.*1.282 *sic placitum* (Jup. himself; cf. 10.15, 12.503),

Reineke, *TLL* 10.1.2262, 44ff. at 54f.. For *superi*, cf. n. on 7.312, *EV* 4, 1081.

660 et sedet hoc animo For **s.**, cf. also 4.15, 5.418 and 7.368, 611 with nn.; well discussed, M. Spallone, *EV* 4, 750; cf. *OLD* s.v., §11. An idiom apparently invented by V., and rather to his taste. For *animus* as the will and the seat of decision-making, cf. Negri, 142, comparing 4.15, 7.216, etc..

perituraeque...Troiae Cf. *G.2.498*, *Aen.2.408, 675*, 11.856 for V.'s unsurprising liking for **p.** (vd. LHS, 390). Aen. has not yet clearly understood that he, his father and his son are not to be victims of the fall of Troy, though as much has been hinted to him by Hector (289–95) and Venus (619); vd. 655.

addere Simply, ‘add’ as at 355, 452; *EV* 2, 116f..

661 teque tuosque Cf. 8.144, 10.672; simple juxtaposition of *te* and *tuus*, *me* and *meus*, etc.. For the variations of this coupling, see Wills, 265.

iuuat Cf. 27. With the idea, Con. acutely compares 4.606 *memet super ipse dedissem*.

patet...ianua Cf. 557 for the rhythm. Lucretian (5.373ff.) *haud igitur leti praeclosa est ianua caelo/.../ sed patet*. Note also 6.127 *noctes atque dies patet atri ianua ditis*. But this is also common parlance, Plaut.*Asin.*242; cf. too Hor.*C.3.9.20*, Liv.*6.25.9*, Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.658.30ff. at 33. These metaphorical doors, or entrances are widespread: Rubenbauer, *ib.*, 7.1.137.49ff. (s.v. ‘*c. genet.*’, which is bewildering here), citing also e.g. *Lucr.1.1112*. *EV* 3, 599 misleading; Henry distinguishes sharply between the Gates of Death and the Gate open *for* Death to enter (in the garb of Pyrrhus; H.'s preferred sense), to the inexplicable exclusion of the Gate leading *to* Death. In the context of Anch.'s wish for death within his home, Aen. tells him that the way to it, whatever **isti** means exactly, is open, and its certain agent is on his way, whereas to introduce the idea of the arrival of Pyrrhus as Death seems slightly to distract attention from Anch.'s grim, and internal, will to die: perhaps *patere* + dat. thus only here (Kruse, *cit.*), an attractive extension, with a vb. only implicitly of motion, of V.'s notably flexible use of the dat. ‘of motion to’, Antoine, 149ff. and Görler's admirable survey, *EV* 2, 266; see also R.G.G. Coleman, *ALLP*, 80, J.H.W. Penney, *ib.*, 262f., Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 51f..

isti...leto Perhaps excessive anxiety over the sense of **i.** in Speranza

and Au.; Anch. is looking for death for himself, 645, and Aen. tells him that it will be easy to find, and for his kin too, in the later stages of the Sack. Whether **i.** means ‘the death you mentioned’, or ‘that squalid and unheroic end, butchered in some bedroom’ (*uidebo his in cubiculis uagantem hostem intentum nostris* TCD, 237.1) is left unspecified.

662 iamque aderit...Pyrrhus ‘I.q. .‘statim”, J.B. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1. 109.31f.; cf. **182 improvisi aderunt**, Eur.*Hec.*141 ἥξει δ' Ὁδυσεύς. Since 560, the analogy Priam-Anchises has been explicitly present (cf. 596f., 645); though Anch. is still alive, to judge by what happened to Priam, that could end any moment, not least because Priam’s killer is roaming the ruins of Troy.

multo Priami de sanguine Cf. 532, 551. Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.49. 55f. suggests either that we supply ‘ueniens’, or that ‘potest etiam temporaliter accipi’. For the local sense, cf. *G.4.160 lenthum de cortice gluten*, *Ov.Pont.1.3.34 fumum de patriis posse uidere foci*; alternatively, ‘inde, ab, post’, Gudeman, 65.11ff., *Lucr.5.651f. aut ubi de longo cursu sol ultima caeli/ impulit*, Cat.63.44. In practice, such decision on the reader’s part is not called for. ‘Much blood’: cf. *Acc.trag.151, trag.inc.209, Cic.Sest.12, Fin.2.97 , Lucr.4.1236, 6.1285, Liv.1.23.9*, etc..

663 natum ante ora patris Cf. 531 **ante oculos...et ora parentum**, with n. on phr. and theme, 538f. **qui nati coram me cernere letum/ fecisti**. **Natum PV, gnatum MV_i**; cf. n. on 11.167; here insufficient evidence for introducing *gn-*. The point, as TCD remarks, is that Pyrrhus knows, from recent experience, indeed, that he will cause greater distress if he kills the son first.

patrem...ad aras Cf. n. on 502 **ipse sacrauerat** for murder at the altar. The variation of prosody in **patris, patrem** is very striking, the lengthening (bearing metr. ictus; in thesis at *G.1.343*) before mute + liquid being (cf. Kroll on *Cat.62.63*) still, in V.’s time, unusual: cf. Holzweissig, 227f., Au. on 4.159, Norden on 6.791, Skutsch, p.55f., Leumann, 243, and above all, Sebastiano Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 232–5 (instances involving *-que...-que* are ignored); for the prosodic variation as a styl. feature in general, vd. above all NH’s excellent discussion, including the Gk. antecedents, *Hor.C.1. 32.11*. For plur. **aras**, cf. n. on 501.

qui obtruncat Cf. n. on 3.55. To Au.’s helpful n. on the ‘registering’, or ‘annualistic’ present, add LHS, 306, and my n. on 7. 363, with further bibliogr.. For the synaloepha of the monosyll., vd. Norden, 457.

664 hoc erat The **o** of **hoc** long, from original *hodee*, Leumann, 220. For the use of the impf. ('was this all along...'), cf. n. on 7.128. **Hoc** is the predicate, about to be expanded by **ut...ut**: cf. Haffter, *TLL* 6.3.2731.69ff., LHS, 640, Au. here; the terse Lat. idiom requires some expansion in Eng., 'meant this, that', 'was for this, that', for example. Compare Prop.2.24.17 *hoc erat in primis quod me gaudere iubebas* ('was it for this', Goold), Plaut.*Asin.*864 *hoc ecastor est quod ille it ad cenam cottidie*, *Stich.* 127 *hoc est quod ad uos uenio* (cf. Sh.B., *infra*).

alma parens Cf. 594; vd. Dickey 122f., 347 for **p.** in direct address, probably affectionate in tone.

quod me.../ 665 eripis 'The fact that...'; for **q.** used thus, see Sh.B., *Propertiana*, 112, n. on 11.177, LHS, 573f.. Cf. 134, 289, 619
eripe, nate, fugam. Saved, and continue, in some way, to save; cf. n. on 663 **obtruncat**.

per tela per ignis Cf. 9.129 *non tela neque ignis*; cf. 358, 527 **per tela, per hostis**, 632 **flammam inter et hostis** (with Fleck, 78). Here perhaps also a whiff of Hom. ἀπ...ἀπ. Here, note **ignes γ** (= P, here defective) V, and by easy echo-corruption **hostes** b, TCD (lemma, not text, which reads **ignes**), Prisc.12.25 (but **ignes**, 13.9).

665 ut...utque/ 666 ...cernam So is Venus her son's saviour only for him to have to behold Pyrrhus at his horrid work a second time? Cf. 286, 441, etc.; the *sight* (typical Virgilian primacy) of Pyrrhus within the walls of his home will of course be the end of it all for Aen. and the Aeneadae, as it has been for the house of Priam. For geminated *ut* (I list both *ut...ut* and *ut...utque*), cf. *Buc.*5.32, 6.65f., 8.41, 80, G.3.24, 4.261f., *Aen.* 1.298, 486, 8.3, 12.815; *tacet*, for once, the indispensable Wills. See 18 **furtim** for 'indifferente Worte am Versende'.

mediis hostem in penetralibus Contrast 508 **medium in penetralibus hostem**; cf. Bulhart, *TLL* 8.586.25, comparing G 3.466 *medio procumbere campo*. Note also 512 **aedibus in mediis**, etc., *EV* 3, 451. The positioning of **hostem** fixes Pyrrhus' inevitable penetration to the very heart of Aen.'s home. For **p.**, cf. n. on 484.

666 Ascanium patremque meum Another lengthening (bearing the metr. ictus) of the **a** in **patrem** (663). Cf. 596–8, 651–2, 723–5 for V.'s use of the accumulated impact of family. The structure of the verse distinguishes, weightily, the three members of Aen.'s family. Cf. 9.302 *matrique tuae*; the inconvenience of these iamb-shaped pronom. adj. contributes to the rarity of the phrasing.

iuxtaque Creusam V. is careful to hold back Creusa' entry into the action (675ff): contact between her and Aen., in this life, is minimised, Feeney, *ORVA* 182, n.67, Mackie, 58, **675–8**) but her passive, or inexplicit, contribution (vd. previous n.) is there.

667 alterum in alterius Cf. Hey, *TLL* 1.1746.46, Wills, 224. Plain *alter..alter* at Enn.*Ann.*238; here cf. G.2.32 (apparently the first instance in high poetry), [Tib.]3.1.168 *alter et alterius uires necat aer*, Prop.1.5.30 *alter in alterius mutua flere sinu*, Ov.*Her.*3.11 *alter in alterius iactantes lumina uultum*. Synaloepha of cretic word (625); here the only way in which **a** might be used, and if the rhythm be thought in some way rough or brutal, that would not be out of place. Bell, 42 is excited to find *alter* used for one of three: not so; V.'s expression suggests that any one of them may be slaughtered in the blood of one of the others and the phrasing includes all three only by implication.

mactatos sanguine A good, small instance of the virtues of the Carolingian mss.: **mactato MPV**; **mactatos V₁, ωγ. M.** often used by V. in the basic sense of 'sacrifice' (202), but here, as at 8.294, 10.413, an occasional, brutal synonym (slaughtered, indeed, like beasts) for 'kill', *EV* 3, 305, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.22.71. As often, we note the hovering precedent of Priam and Polites (cf. **551 lapsantem sanguine nati**), the strong hint of death as sacrifice (506–58), and as elsewhere in 2, there is a strong association between the death of humans and the sacrifice of beasts (202, 502, 506–58, Heuzé, 94, 146f.).

cernam Cf. 643 for V.'s concentration on the visual; the vb. *septies* in 2. After **erat** one might have expected impf., in careful prose; here, after **eripis**, pres. is no surprise.

668 arma...ferte arma The repeated call to arms ancient and widespread: cf. full n. on 7.460, Wigodsky, 14. Bickel, *TLL* 2.596.68ff. at 72f., Hey, *ib.* 6.1.541.17. A standard formulation in both prose and verse: for V., *G.1.511*, *Aen.9.56f.*, 133, 12.586.

uiri See 373.

uocat Cf. **338 quo fremitus uocat**, Catrin, 87f., Watson on Hor.*Epd.*16.22 and Zurli's useful survey of V.'s widely-varied use of the vb., *EV* 5*, 637, s.v. employment with a range of abstr. subjcs.. **Arma...** and **uocat...** are linked by strong allit.; a hurried movement conveyed by caes. at 3tr; Au.'s 'staccato' perplexes me, as does Bell's claim, 284, that we should supply *ad mortem*.

lux ultima Cf. 248f. **ultimus.../...dies**. *Summa, suprema, nouissima,*

extrema also thus used, Ehlers, *TLL* 7.2.1911.13ff. at 17f.; cf. 6.735, *EV* 3, 291.

uictos Cf. 320, 354; not for a long time will the Trojans take pride in having survived, and escaped, though defeated at Troy.

669 reddite me Danais Simply ‘restore’, as at 740 (cf. *EV* 2, 117, 10.60f. *Xanthum et Simoenta/ redde, oro, miseris* and for **D.**, vd. 5); what makes the phr. so striking and paradoxical is that Aen. asks to be restored to contact with the Danai, his fiercest enemies, from whom Venus has just saved him, as Serv. well remarks. If Anch. will not accompany him in flight, death in battle is his only alternative.

sinite...reuisam Such parataxis common with verbs expressing longing, permitting, Görler, *EV* 2, 273, KS 2, 228, 229, LHS, 530, etc., J.H.W. Penney, *ALLP*, 257. A conjunction thus avoided, and a swift, smooth movement is imparted to the line. *Sinere* thus also at *Buc.*9.43, G.4.90, *Aen.*5.163, 717, 12.828. Compare too perhaps 10.744 *uiderit* ('see to'), *EV* 5*, 538.

instaurata.../ 670 proelia ‘Renew’; often of battles *uel sim.* in prose: Cic. *Verr.*1.11 *scelus illud pristinum renouauit et instaurauit, prov. cons.*19, Liv.10.29.1, Alt, *TLL* 7.1.1976.17ff. at 23f.. Also of *epulas*, 7.146 (where vd. n.). Con. points out that the fight has not ceased, but in Aen.’s view is restarted by his return to it; proleptic, therefore

numquam...hodie N. a reinforced negative, with much faded temporal value; here and quite often itself to be reinforced by the ‘asseverative’ ('beteuerndem', Hofmann, *LU*) *hodie*; Hofmann-Ricottilli cite, 154, Don. *ad Ter.Ad.*215 ‘*hodie* non tempus significat, sed iracundam eloquentiam’ (cf. too Bell, 243): Aen. speaks in the idiom of Plaut. and Ter. (*Pers.*218, etc.; Naev., too, *trag.*14f.), a speaker using spoken lang., Ehlers, *TLL* 6.3.2851.14ff., Hofmann-Ricottilli, 209, Hand, 4, 328f., Highet, 146, n.88.

omnes...moriemur Cf. 4.659f. *moriemur inultae, / sed moriamur*. On *Ter.Ad.*215, TCD points out that the reference is not only to the warrior Aen. but to the *remansuri* too.

inulti Aesch.*Ag.*1279 is often cited: οὐ μὴν ἄτιμοι γ' ἐκ θεῶν τεθνήξομεν (e.g. Au., Scafoglio(361) 81; for *Aen.*4.625, vd. Fraenkel, p.596, n.1 and cf. too *Il.*22.304, Sall.*Cat.*58.21 *cauete inulti animam amittatis*), but it is far from clear that there is (also) a Roman tragic version, *pace* Stabryla 26–8, 108. The tone and level of i. are intriguing (a good n. in Au., after Reichmann, *TLL* 7.2.241.41ff.): first, *pace* No., p.370, n.1 and Muecke on *Hor.Serm.*2.8.34, it is not at all clear that Enn. is the

phrase's origin. In Hor., *cit.*, *nos nisi damnose bibimus, moriemur inulti* refers (cf. 93 *ulti*) to symposiac brawling (vd. Muecke, *cit.*), written up in language recognisably epic/tragic. Colloqu. usage (far more widespread than Au. tells us; cf. Reichmann, 240.81.ff., with Plaut.*Amph.*1041 comparing *Epid.*328, *Men.*521, *Lucil.*287, Hor.*Epd.*17.56, etc.) suggests that this is the standard spoken Lat. way of saying 'and gets away with it'; particularly if the word had once been common on the trag. stage (*decies*, Sen.*trag.*; the influence of ἄτιμοι might be suspected), then it is easy to see how it penetrated into both epic and (via tragedy to comedy) spoken idiom.

671 hinc In the sense of 'dein', 'postea', Rehm, *TLL* 6.3.2796.21f., comparing 1.194, 8.342, 9.120, 760.

ferro accingor Cf. 614 **ferro accincta**.

rursus Cf. 657–70.

clipeoque sinistram/ 672 insertabam Cf. 443 and 11.10 with nn.; the frequentative coined here simply because *inserebam* would not do to begin a hexameter, Wölfflin, *ALL* 11(1900), 507; the converse is *receptare*, as Serv. Dan. on 10.383 realises. In Gk., πόρπαξ indicates the loop through which the arm is passed, and ἀντιλαβή (Strab.3.3.6) the handle which the warrior may grasp. For the 'invention' of handle(s) inside the shield (as against the strap round the neck), cf. Hdt.1.171, Plut.*Agis* 32.3, *Mor.*193E; use depends both on the size/weight of the shield and on the number of hands required to wield the weapon employed. Compare Sen.*Phoen.*481 *laeva se clipeo inserat*, M. Albert, DS 1.2.1251, A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek arms and armour* (Edinburgh 1964), 61, 66, H. van Wees, *Greek warfare* (London 2004), 48ff.; comms. (La Cerdà excepted) prefer not to admit that a real world exists; already TCD writes *induebam scutum umero meo*, misleadingly. Serv.Dan. suggests that by the impf. V. means to convey Aen.'s *cunctatio*, which is scarcely credible.

aptans Partic. and main verb similar in sense; best not to specify clearly which noun is obj., and which ind. obj., of which verb. Prinz, *TLL* 2.324.53f..

meque...ferebam Cf. 455f..

extra tecta E. only *ter* in *Aen.*, but not specially unpoet.: used sporadically in Enn. *Ann.*, *trag.*, *Lucr.*, *Ov.*

673 ecce autem Cf. 203, 318, 526, etc..

complexa pedes The verb at 514, etc.; of embracing feet, Luc.

10.89, Jachmann, *TLL* 3.2082.68; of knees, Val.Max.5.3ext.3. For the knees so used, vd. n. on 3.607, but for the suppliant embracing feet (decidedly less familiar; Sittl quotes no class. Greek instances), cf. N. Holmes, *TLL* 10.1.1897.66ff. at 69, Prop.4.8.72 (with Hutchinson's useful n.), *Rhet.Her.*4.33, *Cic.Sest.*54, [*Laud.Tur.*]2.14, *Ov.Her.*16.272, *Am.*1.7.61 (ignored by McKeown), *Sen.Thy.*518ff., *Plin.Ep.*9.21.1, Sittl, 164f.; some instances of suppliant prostration before feet (Sittl, 161, citing e.g. *Il.*22.221) with no specific contact are included. Ignored by Lobe, 174f. For Speranza, feet used loosely for knees, and Sittl does allow that there may actually have been an ambiguity of expression between the two; V. could as well have written *genua amplexus, pro limine...*, and feet are clearly so embraced at times. We should probably not ask how we are supposed to view this gesture, occurring as it does simultaneously with the holding-out of Asc. (674).

in limine coniunx When Venus escorted Aen. home, he **patriae peruentum ad limina sedis** (634; cf. 620); there is no explicit indication that he got any further, except that, at 672, he is said to be on his way **extra tecta**. There may perhaps be an attempt to link the scene thematically with Priam's death, n. on 557; cf. Bullock-Davies (469), 140.

674 haerebat Cf. 3.607f. *genua amplexus.../ haerebat*, 8.558f. *dextram complexus euntis/ haeret*, Bulhart, *TLL* 6.3.2495.47, *EV* 2, 830. Creusa's solitary act of maternal initiative does help check Aen.'s new futile rush.

paruumque...Iulum Cf. 563; *quinquies* in *Aen.*2. Macr.4.3.3 notes the *pathos ab infantia*.

patri tendebat For the vb. used thus, cf. (of *munera*) G.4. 534f. Hector's last encounter with Astyanax (*Il.*6.399ff.) should really not have been cited by way of comparison, despite the appeal to show pity to Astyanax, *Il.*6.408, eight lines after we see the nurse carrying him (Lobe, 185, n.667, Speranza, etc.; I note Cartault's doubts on the relevance of that scene, though soon enough V. will clearly have *Il.*6. in mind). Rather more to the point, the scene is unexpectedly Roman and quotidian: cf. Cic. *orat.*131 *ut puerum infantem in manibus perorantes tenuerimus* (with Kroll's n.), *de orat.*1.228 (with Cato, orig.fr. 107P), *Sull.*89, *Sest.*10, *Juv.*7.146 (weeping female relatives also so employed; see Courtney, Mayor), Quint. 6.1.30, 11.3.174. So too the best Athenian usage, Ar. *Vesp.*568ff., and drily rejected by Socrates, Plat. *Apol.*34c. The embracing of Aen.'s feet is perfectly in harmony with the tone of this slightly theatrical appeal. But V. has been working

steadily at this threefold claim upon Aen. (cf. 652, 666); Serv.Dan. notes acutely that since Creusa has right now little faith in Aen.'s devotion to wife and home, she hopes that he may at least still have some paternal instinct. here Asc. is held out to his father *also* because he will shortly have to trot at his father's heels. Asc. is not held out to *Aen.*'s father, of course, as the concentration of the plea upon Aen. himself makes entirely clear. Note that Serv. writes *sed non manibus eum gestans*, suggesting that if Asc. could trot, he was too big to be picked up and held out. But his size is clearly to some extent variable, dependent of the circumstances, very much as his grandfather oscillates between helpless age in 2 (cf. Au. on 649 and nn. on 647–9 *supra*) and a certain vigour of mind and speech in 3. For a moment, the demands of *pietas* are split; Creusa's advancing the claims of their son also serves to complicate the demands that Aen. seems for the moment to have to resolve. The child, therefore, has a clear and positive role, and it may be that I am over-alert to the contemporary, courtroom, negative associations of such a scene.

675–8 The voice of family solidarity: they will leave all together, or Aen. will stay to defend them all. A proper alternative both to Anch.'s determination to stay and to Aen.'s rush to return to combat. But the moment for Aen.'s complex dilemma is over almost before it has begun. Lyne, *FV*, 147f. (*et alibi*), Hight, 27, 313, Cartault, 202 and Mackie, 58 add little; vd. 666. Lyne draws attention to V.'s suppression of any response by Aen. to this appeal; the scene develops swiftly, at the expense of any developed relationship between Aen. and Creusa. 'Aen. fails to respond to her' (176); 'he is, I suggest, controlled by his inhibited character' (*ib.*); 'Aeneas does not respond. The portent intercedes [= 'intervenes'?]' (184). There is more. But it should be clear that L. does not appreciate V.'s sense of timeliness; there is something decidedly theatrical, or contrived, about this moment (638–49, (i)), for in the face of Aen.'s decision to return to the fight ('despairing, heroically egotistic and for her potentially disastrous', Lyne, 184), we see a crescendo of familial appeals, verbal and physical. I agree entirely with Lyne and Heinze (405) that the speech is deliberately cut off. Heinze suggests, to avoid delay (409); I would say, not to build up a picture of Aen. as heartless brute, but rather to pivot the scene around the most dramatic of climaxes. No human response is really possible, nor does any occur; this is the point at which Jupiter commands and at which the drama of Aen. moves onto its more openly theological plane. Clearly Lyne would prefer to see the good husband explaining everything to

his wife, patiently and affectionately, but V. is more concerned, like it or not, with Rome's theodicy than with Aeneas' marriage.

675 si periturus abis Cf. n. on **660**: V. not slow to exploit the doom-laden possibilities of the fut.partic. (*EV* 2, 323, Serra Zanetti, *ib.* 3, 595f., Duckworth, 13, n.42). **A.** reminds us of Aen.'s plan to flee to the hills, **635f.**

et nos rape...tecum Us *too*. ‘Snatch up/carry off unceremoniously, even violently’; cf. 1.28, 5.810, 7.484, 12.737, etc.; *EV* unhelpful.

in omnia Cf. n. on the controversial *quae memet in omnia uerti*, 7.309, Liv.6.39.2 *in omnia...consulere*, 25.24.7 *pertinente in omnia*, 28.17.10 *magnum in omnia momentum*, Ov.*Trist.*3.9.21 *dum uersat in omnia uoltus*, Sen.*contr.*2.1.20 *in omnia patri parendum*, Vell.2.83.1, etc.. Here, suggests Con., euphemistic.

676 sin aliquam...spem ponis *EV* 4, 996 compares 11.308f., but there (vd. my n.) *ponite* is clearly used as though *deponite* (*OLD* s.v., §10). With the sense here, cf. (Garuti, *EV* 4, 200) 11.411 *si nullam nostris ultra spem ponis in armis*, Plaut.*Capt.*957, *OLD* s.v., §21/ 22. **A.:** ‘any’, **48, 81, 89**, *EV* 4, 315f.; for the argument, vd. *supra*, **675–8**.

expertus ‘i. experientia hodiernae pugnae doctus’, Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1674.26f.: good Ciceronian usage without dir.obj., *dom.*11, *Cael.*42, etc. (but the vb. in Enn., Acc., Lucr., Cat. and not at all prosy). *EV* 4, 28. Does Creusa refer to Aen.'s record before Troy, or to the night's encounters? We may incline to prefer the later, even though Aen. has hardly had time yet to recount them.

sumptis...in armis Cf. **518**. Note that prepos. + noun + partic. is used here as often in lieu of an abstract, ‘the taking up of arms’: cf. nn. on **571**, 11.279f..

677 hanc primum...domum Creusa very properly points out that even if Aen. is determined to fight, not flee, his first duty remains to his own home and kin. Breimeier, *TLL* 10.2.1364.73f. rightly classifies **p** as ‘of importance’ (as against place or time), comparing 3.437, 4.342.

tutare Cf. n. on 7.469.

cui.../ 678 cui...relinquor? Anaphora and hyperbaton bind in dignified tension the three close relatives who depend on Aen.; Serv.Dan. on **678** comments on how their varied ages contribute to the pathos. V. here meditates upon Androm.'s words to Hector, *Il.*6.407–9, 411–13: Hector has no pity for his child, or for his wife, for he will soon leave,

to be slain in battle, and will leave entirely alone Androm., who has no father or mother. A sequence V. had already put to memorable use, 453–7; see Fernandelli 1996, 189. The verb naturally in first person (**coniunx** the nearest subj.: Ernout-Thomas, 129); we supply *relinquitur* twice. **Relinquer M**, corr. **M₂**; **relinquor FPV**. For **r.**, cf. 659, *EV* 3, 229 and cf. also 4.466f. *semperque relinqu/ sola sibi*.

paruuus Iulus Cf. 674.

678 cui pater Cf. 657 **te...relicto**; of course Aen. had no intention originally to leave his father, but he could not have expected that Anch. would refuse to come.

et coniunx quondam tua dicta Cf. 4.323f. *cui me moribundam deseris hospes/ (hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat)* with 431 *coniugium antiquum*, [Tib.]3.1.26f., all perhaps after the Homeric ‘to be called your own ἄκοιτος’, *Il.*3.138; Serv. comments well *quasi nunc uxor non sit quae relinquitur*[for Creusa reasonably considers that her husband’s first duty is to protect her], while TCD less happily suggests that Creusa will shortly be widowed if he now returns to the fray.

679–704 The ancient Anch., only willing to stir a limb if it takes him to his death, passes directly and crisply to a crucial role, while, most appropriately, the future of his line and his nation is focused on the infant Iulus.

(i) Anch. interprets an omen at 3.539–43 and a prophecy (badly) at 3.103–17; cf. also n. on 7.122f.. He had clearly once been revered for his skill as a seer: vd. Naev.*Bell. Poen.*fr.8Strz. (text and reference uncertain; vd. fr.50Mariotti); cf. fr.9Strz. (Venus gives *libros futura continentis* to Anch.) and fr.25Strz. (Anch. takes auspices); also Enn.*Ann.*15f. *Venus quem pulcra dearum/ fari donauit, diuinum pectus habere* (with Sk., who rules out *doctus Anchises* in first part of *Ann.*15). Cf. Lloyd (647), 46, 49, *EV* 1, 159. But if Anch. is a seer, that hardly qualifies him as an interpreter of portents in the Roman manner (not the same sort of thing at all), though the concentration of refs. in Naev. and Enn. does make him in some looser sense specially well suited here. What Serv. Dan. made of his expertise, of Aen.’s, of the Trojans’ (cf. on 3.537, 5.7, Boyancé, 102) is important rather for the understanding of V. and paganism in his age, or in that of his sources.

(ii) Flame (682–91). Compare two close and distinguished analogies: the flame about Lavinia’s head, 7.71–80 (with full discussion), and that which played about the head of the infant Servius Tullius (Liv.1.39.1f.

puero dormienti, cui Seruio Tullio fuit nomen, caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu); that does not necessarily indicate a common (Ennian) source (Wigodsky, 46). Cf. too Grassmann-Fischer, 19ff., Weinstock, 373, A. Momigliano, *Quarto contributo*, 457f., Pease on Cic.*Div.*1.121, Wiseman (165f.), 45, 315, H. Boas, *Aeneas' arrival in Latium* (Amsterdam 1938), 165–7, Schwegler, 1, 704, J.N. Bremmer, *RMM*, 56f. (who remarks that not all the further instances cited by Pease/Boas and comms. here are quite germane), Borszák, *cit.*, on analogies applied to Alexander. The light that surrounds Jason's head at AR 3.1017f. is if anything a distraction in so intensely Roman a context.

(iii) Shooting-star, or meteor (692–8; cf. *Enc.Brit.*11 s.v. *Meteor*); the meteorites familiar in portent-lists (*lapidibus pluit*, etc.; discussed by Pease on Cic.*Div.*1.98, Oakley on Liv.7.28.7, Luterbacher, 23) are a common type of meteor, whose remains reach the earth's surface. Ancient views of the shooting-star proper have apparently not attracted Virgilians (the standard discussion of prodigies in V. fails entirely here) and the lack of a fixed terminology does create obstacles; see, though, Gundel, PW 6A. 2439.64ff. (2440.61ff. for the Lat. terminology), Beaujeu, p.181ff. on Plin. *Nat.* 2.96, 100, Pease on Cic.*Div.*1.18 *Phoebi fax*, and *Nat.Deor.*2.14 *facibus... caelestibus*, Luterbacher, 22, Lersch, 198, von Engelhardt, 459ff., Thulin (646), 3, 90f., Jachmann, *TLL* 6.1.404.9ff. (a rich collection of *faces*). Note as a weather-sign at G.1.365ff. (366) *praecipitis caelo labi, noctisque per umbram/ flammorum longos a tergo albescere tractus* (where vd. Mynors) and in the simile *Aen.*5.526–8 *caelo ceu saepe refixa/ transcurrunt crinemque uolantia sidera ducunt*; cf. also *Lucr.*2.206f. *nocturnasque faces caeli sublime uolantis/ nonne uides longos flammorum ducere tractus*, in the tradition of *Il.*4.76f. (cf. Hügi, 38), AR 3.1377ff. (difficult; vd. Vian). But also a regular portent: cf. (e.g.) Liv. 29.14.3, 41.16.6, 21.13, 43.13.3, Plin. *Nat.*2.96, Ov. *Met.* 15.787, Manil.1.859, Iul.Obs.45 *fax ardens Tarquinii late uisa subito lapsu cadens, 71 fax caelestis*, Amm.Marc.25.2.4f., Lydus *Ostent.*4.14c–16a; the *fax* probably to be thought of as more particularly the trail of the meteor (splendid images visible on line; search s.v. meteors). Wonderfully well suited here, therefore, to the intensely Roman religious context. Some students of this passage, misled by the meteorology or by the slightly casual Lat. terminology, have striven hard to confuse the issue: note Pomathios, 130 ('comète'; cf. Henry, *VP*, 58, Quinn, 120, O'Hara, *DOP*, 59, Klingner, 417, Brenk, *infra*, etc.), Thulin (646), 3, 92, n.2 ('Blitz') and von Engelhardt, who discusses all details as though of a meteorite, without recognising that in V.'s account the *sidus* never actually *lands*. O'Hara, *TN*, 134f. passes from the hair of Iulus to the 'hair'

of a comet, ingeniously enough, but the two portents have long, distinct histories, and for the meteor here V. does not use the language appropriate to comets. For the thunder of 693, vd. *ad loc.*. This *confirmatio* of an *augurium* (Serv. on 691) is *secundum Romanum morem* (*ib.*); the confirming, requested omens are called *impetratiua* (cf. Serv. Dan. on 702), those sent unsought, *oblatiua* (Serv. on 6.190, 194, etc.; they may occur by chance during a regular seeking of *auspicia*). Cf. Bailey, 19, Grassmann-Fischer, 106, 109, Bell, 418f., Heinze, 56, and for the wider motif of the ratification of portents, O'Hara, *DOP*, 58; for the technicalities of *auguria oblatiua* and *impetratiua*, however, vd. Mommsen, *St.R.1₃*, 77f., Bouché-Leclercq, DS 1, 555, Wissowa, *RKR*, 531, Latte, *RR*, 202 with n.3, Catalano, *EV* 1, 403. But it should not be thought that V.'s detail is all correctly, primly augural here; as we say, he has slightly over-egged the pudding, at an exciting moment: the flame-prodigy, after that for Serv. Tullius, perhaps, confirmed by an *auspicium maximum*, not to mention a meteor. Two portents, to announce, and to confirm, would have been quite enough. The event is both exceptional and supernatural on the one hand, and at the same time not so strange that a Roman reader cannot work out what is happening. Bibliography: Bailey, 16ff., Büchner, 335.7–20, I. Borszák, *Listy Fil.* 106(1983), 33–7, Boyancé, 98, Buchheit, 95, Cartault, 202f., W. von Engelhardt, in *Das Altertum u. jedes neue Gute (Festschr. Schadewaldt)* (Stuttgart 1970), 459ff., Grassmann-Fischer, 9–28, T. Halter, *Form u. Gehalt in Vergils Aeneis* (München 1962), 39–45, P.R. Hardie, *CQ* 34(1984), 409–12, Heinze, 55–7, Lehr, 99f., Lersch, 198, Luterbacher, 22, O'Hara, *DOP*, 58f., Salvatore, 87f..

679 talia uociferans The vb. Lucretian, n. on 7.390; as speech-end found also at 10.651 ('appropriately suggests excited shouting'. Harrison). See Zurli, *EV* 5*, 637.

gemitu...replebat So 7.502 (where vd. n.) *tectum omne replebat*. The vb. thus at Lucr.5.992. **G.** often but not entirely of lamentations, *EV* 2, 651–3, n. on 11.37.

tectum omne Cf. too 757; in bk.7, the stables of a royal palace, here the palace itself. The multiple pressures upon Aen. expressed as a wave of wails and howls so great as to spread through the whole building, where the entire family for now remains.

680 cum...oritur Cf. Löschhorn, *TLL* 9.2.994.61ff., who cites Serv.'s remark *oriuntur diuina, ut Sol*[the rest of the n. corrupt]; the vb. indeed used of the heavenly bodies, Löschhorn, 992.74ff.. For the application

to portents, Szantyr, *TLL* 8.1447.66f. cites nothing, but from Löschhorn's instances, 994.58ff. I extract the portentous *Liv.*37.3.3 *Nursiae sereno satis constabat nimbum ortum*, 39.22.3 *ignesque caelestes multifariam orti*. Add (after some detailed enquiries) *Iul.Obs.*1 *nimbi orti*, 2 *tenebrae ortae*, 3/4 *ignesque caelestes multifariam orti*; clearly, therefore a recognisable term of portent-language, as an occasional synonym of *fieri*, Luterbacher, 43f.. Cf. PL. Schmidt, *Iul.Obs. und das Problem der Liv.-Epit. (Abh. Akad.Mainz* 1968.5), 16. *EV* 3, 888 poor; *tacet* Grassmann-Fischer.

subitum...monstrum An element of speed typical of portent-descriptions, nn. on **680**, 7.120 (with instances from Hom., V., and *Liv.*), Grassmann-Fischer, 55, n.4. For **m.** in the common etym. sense of 'id quod monet', cf. nn. on 7.81, 270. **Subitum** **F_iωγ_i**, TCD 'in interpr.'; **subitu** **F_a**; **subito** **MPVgbdhnr**, TCD 'in lemmate'. *Subitum pro subito* Serv.. The idiom is clear: cf. *G.4.554 subitum ac dictu mirabile monstrum*, *Aen.*5.522f. *hic oculis subitum obicitur magnoque futurum/ augurio monstrum*. **Subito** introduced by scribes unfamiliar with the adj. use, but used to the advb..

dictuque...mirabile Familiar in the poet. version of *Prodigiens*, n. on 7.64 (cf. 3.26).

681 namque Common not in synaloepha, n. on 7.765. *Nam/namque* regularly used for the introduction of prodigies, 5.525, Luterbacher, 58, Oakley on *Liv.*7.28.7 *namque et lapidibus pluit et nox interdiu uisa intendi*. Once more the appropriate language.

manus inter Anastrophe of disyll. prepos. as at 1.455 (but not regular Lat. idiom); Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.2147.30f. (and vd, Serv.). It is not suggested that Iulus is passed round the family; Au. suggests that the child is in some way between Aen.'s hands and Creusa's, but that is hardly imposed by the Latin. Serv.Dan. is troubled by the infant's size: here clearly portable, shortly to be toddling desperately, in a very few years, riding to hounds and wielding the bow in combat; there are better questions to exercise the reader of *Aen.*.

maestorumque ora parentum Note **531 ora parentum** with n., 11.887 *lacrimantumque ora parentum*. Cf. too 10.840 *maestique ferant mandata parentis*. Both parents are present, and still *maesti* at the horror of the situation; the adj. hardly appropriate as a reaction to the wondrous flame. Hardie, 410 claims an echo of *Lucr.*1.89f. *et maestum simul ante ante aras adstare parentem/ sensit*, whence an implicit threat to Iulus, analogous to that to Iphigeniea; the verbal parallel seems insuf-

ficient to bear that weight. “While we were holding Ascanius in our arms and pressing his lips to ours” is a bizarre fantasy of Con.’s., and Lyne’s ‘the text is not very clear’ (*FV*, 150) perplexes me; that V.’s sense has been confused here does not mean that it is confusing.

682 ecce Not to be confused with **ecce autem** (n. on 303). *Prodigiensstilisierung*, Grassmann-Fischer, 55, n.4. Cf. 8.81 *ecce autem subitum atque oculis mirabile monstrum*, Hand, 2, 347, *EV* 2, 995, and notably Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.27.82f., who make it clear (27.72ff.) that *ecce* is not part of *Prodigiensstil*, but is widely used to place in relief the suddenness of an event, and suddenness we have indeed seen to be typically portentous (**680 subitum**).

leuis.../ 683 ...apex The choice of adj. alone enough to point to the obvious answer to a very minor problem. Serv. eagerly embraces the sense *in summo flaminis pilleo uirga lanata* (cf. Lehnert, *TLL* 2.226.48ff., citing Serv. on 10.271, Paul.exc.Fest.p. 17.6L), but V. shows no partiality for this register of technical language (*Alambicco*, 115, *Aen*.7, index s.v. ‘religious language’, etc.), which would here strike a dully pedantic note; that Serv. claimed Iulus as the inventor of the *apex* points only to the way in which *Aen.* would come to be read. Why, anyway, should such an *apex* be marked out as *leuis*? On the other hand, **a.** is good Latin (though denied by Hardie, 411), clearly as from Ov., and unobjectionably here, for ‘the tip of a flame’ (Lehnert, *cit.*, 227.27ff., citing e.g. Ov.*F*.6.636, *Met*.10. 279); this is how, as Au. explains, V.’s imitators understood the passage and it is also how TCD took it, *apice ipso incendii procederet lumen* (Con. apparently misunderstands); compare too Harrison on 10.271. If (Hardie) the use of *apex* in V. was novel, its application to fire is particularly easy, in the immediate context of V.’s fire-portent, so close in its general appearance to that recently recounted for Serv. Tullius by Livy. The adj. very well suited to this sense, Koster, *TLL* 7.2.1205.17ff., citing *Cat.agr*.107.1, *Sen.NQ* 1.14.2, [Sen.] *Octav*.191, etc. The miraculous flame plays lightly and innocuously about Iulus’ head. *EV* 1, 217f., Quinn, 388f., Hardie, 410ff..

summo de uertice...Iuli Standard pairing: cf. 4.168, 11.526, after *Lucr*.3.1001, 6.701; in plur., *Hor.C*.3.24.6. For Iulus, cf. n. on 7.116; the choice of name, for the focal point of the first manifestation of clear divine favour towards the Aeneadae/Iulii, is clearly significant.

uisus Cf. the portentous 1.395f. (with *uidentur*; note too *G*.1.477f.);

Catrein (61) draws attention to Liv.3.10.6 *ardere uisum*, Iul.Obs.14, 46, 60a. Cf. R.A. Smith, 179, Catrein, 61. Not in any sense ‘seemed’, for as at **271 uisus** (the dream of Hector) the veracity of the vision is not to be called into question; rather ‘was seen to’.

683 fundere lumen As Catrein naturally remarks (116), ‘pouring light’, as though a liquid, a familiar synesthesia (and the Greeks regularly shed ($\chi\epsilon\pi\omega$) voice/mist): from Enn.*Ann.*606, *Lucr.*2.114f., 147f., etc., to *G.*2.432, *Aen.*3.151f. (where vd. comm.), 9.461, 10.270f.. *EV* 2, 610 thin stuff by comparison.

tactuque innoxia Cf. Sen.*NQ* 3.14.2 *ignem uocant masculum, qua ardet flamma, et feminam, qua lucet innoxius tactu, Ep.*79.3 *foratum pluribus locis solum, quod sine ullo nascentium damno ignis innoxius circumit*, Wieland, *TLL* 7.1.1721.33; the adj. used similarly of the beneficent serpent representing the *manes/genius* of Anch. at 5.92. There, the snake does no harm to the Trojans; here Page wonders whether it is the flame that does no harm when it touches or when it is touched by the Trojans; the former sense clearly much more in keeping with usage elsewhere; so TCD *nec tamen puerilis comas...ipsa percurrens exureret aut saltem leuiter laederet*. Certainly the Trojans’ reactions, **685f.**, suggest that they cannot believe that these flames do not harm Iulus. Note Liv.43.13.6 *L. Atrei hasta...interdiu plus duas horas arsisse, ita ut nihil eius ambureret ignis*, as Serv.Tullius (and Lavinia too, *Aen.*7.71) were unharmed. Con. (against Henry) is perhaps right not to wish to compare *G.*3.416f. *mala tactu/ uipera* (pass. supine); Henry notes the *uoluitur attactu nullo* of 7.350 (clearly active, but that is not decisive here). The abl. perhaps of means or manner, as often with *cursu, coetu, motu, saltu*.

mollis/ 684 ...comas Molli V, TCD in lemmate; **mollis FMP**, TCD in paraphrasi. After **leuis**, we do not need to be told that the flame also operates **tactu...molli**, though after **tactu**, V might be forgiven for having written **molli**. M. extremely appropriate to the hair of a child: cf. Hor.*Ars* 33, Tib.1.8.9 *molles...coluisse capillos*, Ov.*Met.*14. 554, Sen.*Ag.*712 *mollis horrescit coma*. Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1374.34ff., Heuzé, 284, *EV* 3, 562 (with care).

lambere Contrast Etna which at 3.574 *sidera lambit* (vd. n.). *Pace TLL* 7.2.900.32 (Hübner), probably not at *Lucr.*5.396, but see of flames Hor.*Serm.*1.5.74 *flamma... summum properabat lambere tectum*, [Sen.]*Herc. Oet.*1754, Gratt.458, etc.; the *degustant* of *Lucr.*2.192 in the same area of metaphor. For hungry, devouring flames, cf. **758**. *EV* 3, 102 had no business to bring Enn. into the discussion here; at **692**, there is some

possibility of direct influence, but here that is entirely hypothetical, as Wigodsky, 46 remarks, against S. Timpanaro, *SIFC* 23(1948), 48–52. The verbal similarities between V. here and Liv.1.39.1ff. on Serv.Tullius (679–704(ii)) will turn out to be minimal, and the portent is anyway of a familiar *type*, which should incline us to avoid too strong a preference for any one source.

flamma A little more than the mere **apex** of 683; V. seems to envisage a persistent, gentle flame playing about Iulus' head, which harms him not at all.

circum tempora Cf. 133.

pasci Serv. glosses *crescere*, ‘vix recte’ (Krömer, *TLL* 10.1.598.69ff., drawing attention to *Gloss.Lat.* 1, Ansil.PA668 *dilabi*, *diffundi*); of fire, cf. Ov.*Met.*9.202, Sen.*NQ* 7.21.2 (with 7.1.7).

685 nos 685–6 balance 687–8, nos matches **pater Anchises**.

pauidi Cf. 489.

trepidare metu Cf. 6.491 *ingenti trepidare metu*. Page here refers to ‘the two ideas of trembling and eagerness’; fear, as Crevatin acutely points out, *EV* 5*, 263, has to be specified; twice, indeed. See n. on 11.142 for the hist. infin.; here we do not pause to enquire whether **m.** is to be taken with adj. or infin.: clearly, with both.

crinemque flagrantem The tongue of fire has spread to give the impression that all his hair is ablaze.

686 excutere Ov.’s phrasing less adventurous, *Met.*12.280f. *aidum de crinibus ignem/ excutit*; likewise, Quint.9.3.71 *comas excutientem rotare*. Here, though, V. may suggest ‘shake the blaze off the hair’ (cf. Wainwright), or even (cf. Au.) ‘shake the blaze off (*ex-cutere*) his hair by pouring water over him’; Bell, 204ff., Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 106ff., Görler, *EV* 2, 270 show that this is by no means impossible; note in particular Ov.*AA* 1.235 *ille quidem pennas velociter excutit udas* (Cupid shaking off the wine from his wings; vd. Hollis’ n.); also Pers. 1.118 *excusso...naso*. Cf. Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1312.54f., 1313. 62f..

et sanctos...ignis Cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.293.75f.. Note the sacrificial *sanctos ignis* of 3.406 (where vd. n.); the character of the fire an authorial comment, for Anch. has not yet enunciated the fire’s divine origin. Whether an allusion to Lucretian *sacer ignis* is also helpful may be doubted (Hardie, 409, n.19). Serv. offers the lemma **sacros** here, but it is more of a distracted gloss than a reason for rejecting a perfectly acceptable reading offered by **FMPV**. The line closes most satisfactor-

ily; work, or inspiration, fills the space from **et** to v.-end. Contrast **640**, where Hippocrene ran dry too soon.

restinguere Standard Latin for ‘to put out a fire’, from Plaut. on; used by Lucr. (5.120) and by V. also at 5.698.

fontibus Lofty for ‘water’, Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.1024.41f. (*tacet EV*; cf. G.3.529, 4.376, etc.; typically Virgilian ‘writing up’ (‘euphuism’) of a realistic, quotidian action (cf. *Maia* 41(1989), 251–4). Note Liv.1.39.2 *cum quidam familiarium aquam ad restinguendum ferret, ab regina retentum*, and cf. the familiar tale of Sir Walter Raleigh’s servant, who used a tankard of ale to extinguish his master’s pipe, seen for the first time in use; children who read this story do not realise that tobacco had already been in use in England for some time. Grassmann-Fischer, 13.

687 at pater Anchises Cf. 6.679, n. on 3.9, Moseley, 71: at the moment of revelation, Anch. speaks as father of Aen., and of the Trojans at large.

oculos ad sidera.../ 688 extulit Like hands, hearts, and shouts, eyes are raised to the heavens: note the closely comparable **405 ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra** (where vd. n.), Lobe, 161, Ricottilli, 119f., Heuzé, 619, Kuhlmann, *TLL* 9.2.445.72, Bannier, *ib*.5.2.145. 56f.. Weapons too, of course, **552**, etc..

laetus One of those occasions on which 1. reveals its ample thematic importance: Anch. feels a great joy, and shows it: cf. nn. on 3.169, 7.288. An immediate and entire reversal of the situation. Serv. remarks that the portents are also moral justification of Aen.’s *fuga*, which is true enough; important in the context of the omens seen as omens for the journey to the West.

688 et caelo...tetendit Cf. 1.93 *duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas*, 10.845 *ad caelum tendit palmas*, 10.667 *et duplicis cum uoce manus ad sidera tendit*, 12.196 *tenditque ad sidera dextram*, 3.176f. *tendoque supinas/ ad caelum cum uoce manus* (where vd. full n.); ignored, *EV* 5*, 95f.. Here, **caelo** a dative of direction (vd. J.H.W. Penney, *ALLP*, 262, nn. on **398**, **661**) The zeugma entails both hands thrust skywards palms-up (vd. n. on 3.176f.) and prayer uttered loudly (Appel, 209; often specified, as at 4.680f.) to the heavens; vd. n. on 7.514 *Tartaream intendit uocem* (of a horn).

palmas cum uoce Cf. 3.177, 10.667 (*supra*), **2.378 pedem cum uoce** (where vd. n.), Bell, 310.

689–91 Anchises' prayer. He had been crippled by the god (647) to whom he now appeals; the coincidence significant to Heinze, but whereas Anch. was punished by Zeus for his indiscreet slight to Aphrodite, he prays here for confirmation of the first portent: to Jupiter, as supreme, and as lord of thunder, which was the sort of *augurium oblativum* now called for. See Hickson, 138, Highet, 120, 232, Heinze, 56, Cartault, 202. Hickson explains, too insistently, that V. avoids the language of actual prayers. Of course; that is his normal way: we expect to find styl. analogies for V.'s usage in other poet. prayers, and so we do, in (e.g.) Cat. and Cic..

689 Iuppiter omnipotens Cf. 4.206, 5.687, 9.625 and 4.25 *pater omnipotens*. Literary: Enn.(*Ann.*447 with Skutsch's n., *trag.*150), Cat.64. 171, Lucr.5.399, calqued on Greek παγκράτης/ παγκράτωρ (which are visibly unsuited to dactylic verse) and apparently not cultic, Fraenkel on Aesch.*Agam.*1648, p.779, n.3 with *Elementi plautini*, 196ff., A. Włosok, *RHRD*, 373. See Carter, *Epitheta*, 53, Beikircher, *TLL* 9.2.604.16ff. at 77.

precibus si flecteris ullis For **f.** thus, cf. Liv.2.1.9 *ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regiis posset*, Klee, *TLL* 6.1.893.34, Morelli, *ib.* 10.2.1223.14. If Jupiter is moved by any prayers at all, then he will be moved by Anch.'s, a familiar conditional expression of modest confidence (for **si**, cf. n. on 7.4), as at Cat.76.17f. *o di, si uestrumst misereri, aut si quibus umquam/ extremam iam ipsa in morte tulistis opem* (where vd. Fordyce), *Aen.*1.603–5, 5.687–9 and of course **2.536 si qua est caelo pietas, quae talia curet.**

690 aspice nos Cf. Cat.76.19 (the poetic recasting of prayers, rather than strict religious usage), Appel, 118, von Mess, *TLL* 2.836.73ff.; vd. too Sittl, 343f., Pease on 4.208 and above all Headlam on Herond.4.73 for the gods who cast a kindly eye upon human affairs. Greek too, as was to be expected, as at Aesch.*Sept.*106, Suppl.206 and cf. too the Anglican 'look [down] upon'. Hickson, 36, 138,143.

hoc tantum Cf. **79 hoc primum**, 9.636 *hoc tantum Ascanius* (at speech-end; vd. Dingel), Prop.4.6.64 *hoc unum* with Hutchinson's n., Haffter, *TLL* 6.3.2726.31ff. (usefully excerpted by Au.). Parenthetic and limiting 'at least thus far', occasional in high poetry in V. and later (and Plaut., *semel*). This sort of modest limiting of a prayer or an appeal at e.g. 6.371, 8.78 *adsis o tantum*, Liv.24.26.11; later instances in Henry, p.327.

et si pietate meremur Compare Cat.76.26 *o di, reddite mi hoc pro pietate mea, Aen.2.429f.* **nec te tua plurima Panthu/labentem pietas nec Apollinis infula texit**, where vd. n.) with Bulhart, *TLL* 8.807.68, Hillen, *ib.*, 10.2.2088.65. A neat formulation of Virgil's view of *pietas* as in part a relationship involving mutual services: see NH on Hor.C.1.32.1, Appel 151 and full n. on 11. 786 for the commemoration of human services to the gods included in prayer-language so as to secure divine benevolence; for this aspect of *pietas*, cf. Feeney, 143, Pomathios, 219, A. Traina, *EV* 4, 95f., Boyancé, 80f., modifying Bailey, 82. It is not clear (nor do we have to decide) whether Anch. refers to himself alone or to himself and his son. Certainly *pietas* is more appropriate to son than to father (though vd. Enn.*Ann.*28f., Naev.*Bell.Poen.*fr. 10.1Strz.).

691 da...auxilium auxilium codd.; **augurium** PsProb. *ad Buc.*6.31, 3.2.336.15Th.-H, Serv.Dan. *ad Aen.*3.89. The Trojans are terrified both by their circumstances and by the flames which gird Iulus' head; naturally, Anch. asks for *auxilium*, for though the flames are a sign (**omina**), Anch. is about to ask for confirmation and in a speech so short does not need to do so twice; Serv.'s *non enim unum augurium uidisse sufficit, nisi confirmetur ex simili* is, *pace* Geymonat, a note on the augural issue, not textual evidence. **Augurium** (present at 703) is a reading naturally introduced on account of the subject-matter, and here appears too much a *facilior lectio*. *Auxilium dare* standard Latin, e.g. Cic.*Tusc.*3.35, Luc.9.891, [Sen.]*Herc.Oet.* 1829; cf. Münscher, *TLL* 2.1621.8f., Rubenbauer, *ib.*5.1.1672.42f.; likewise *augurium dare*, *Aen.*3.89 (where vd. n), so choice is a matter not of usage but of transmission and context/content.

deinde No more than 'next'; cf. 6.756f. *Dardaniam prolem quaeque deine sequatur/ gloria*, 4.561, 5.741, 9.781, 12.889, etc. with Hand, 2, 247, E. Wistrand, *Opera selecta*, 374 = *Eranos* 59(1962), 108, Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.407.74f.

pater Cf. 617 **ipse pater**, with n., particularly appropriate in view of the imminent thunder on the left, 693.

atque haec omnia firma Cf. Cic.*Marius* fr.3.13 *sic aquilae clarum firmavit Iuppiter omen* (eagle kills snake; then the *pater ipse* thunders on the left); possibly a direct echo, possibly a poetic representation of the validating effect of the second omen, but not, apparently, current religious language. 8.78 *adsis o tantum et proprius tua numina firmes* is not in a context of confirmation of omens. Pease quotes (on Cic. *Div.*1.106) this

passage in his exegesis, though Marius of course does not appeal for a second omen (cf. Fowler (617), 229); possibly therefore what Sen.*NQ* 2.49.2 calls *fulgura attestata, quae prioribus consentiunt*. Note at *Od.*20.100f., Od. prays for both φήμη and τέρας ἄλλο; the thunder is promptly confirmed (and Pease, *cit.*, further compares *QS* 12.55ff.). Cf. Oomes, *TLL* 9.2.576.60, Bacherler, *ib.* 6.1. 811.55. For the confirmatory portent, vd. *supra*, 679–704, (iii).

692 uix ea fatus erat Cf. 323.

senior Cf. 509, 544.

subitoque fragore Again the typical suddenness of the portent, as at 680. Cf. 8.525, Liv.1.16.1, Sen.*NQ* 2.27.3 *talia eduntur tonitrua, cum conglobata nubes dissoluitur et eum quo distenta fuerat spiritum emittit. hic proprie fragor dicitur, subitus et uehemens*, Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.1234.2ff.. Standard Latin, common, and also ritually correct here. For the constr. after **uix**, cf. 11.296, with n., Wagner, *QV* xxxv, §6, Norden, 378ff., LHS, 481 (for *et*, cf. 705, *atque*, 4.663, for simple parataxis, 172) and for the loudness of thunder, n. on 7.141. The sound of the meteor hissing through the heavens heard here.

693 intonuit laeuum The vb. here impersonal, as Ov.*Met*.14.542; vd. Kapp, *TLL* 7.2.27.68f.. *Tonuit* impers. at Enn.*Ann*.541 (where vd. Sk.). Personal at e.g. 7.142. Thunder on the left the *auspiciū maximum* in the Rom. view (Serv.Dan.); *quae enim nobis laeua sunt <diis> dextra sunt* (*ib*). Cf. further my n. on 7.146, Heinze, 55 and in some detail, Pease on Cic.*Div*.1.12 (*ad fin.*), with 2.82. **L.** accus., used adverbially, Montefusco, *TLL* 7.2.892.26, as in Enn., *cit.* (cf. Wigodsky, 46f.; formulaic, I agree). At 9.631 too the formulaic **i.1.**; Harrison, *ORVA*, 59 suggests that there is significance in the echo as recognition of the prowess in battle of the no-longer-infant Iulus. Perhaps; the expression is, though, entirely conventional.

et de caelo lapsa Cf. 7.620 *tum regina deum caelo delapsa*. Here ‘correctly’ used as part of the technical language of prodigies: cf., with 5.722 *caelo facies delapsa parentis*, 2.695, 8.664, G.1.366, Liv.41.21.13 *et faces eadem nocte plures per caelum lapsae sunt*, Iul.Obs.14, 45, Cic.*Marius* fr.3.9 (*Div*.1.106). It would be easy to extend the list (cf. Flury, *TLL* 7.2.780.58ff., Grassmann-Fischer, 35, n.46, Bartalucci, *EV* 3, 84), but we do also need to bear in mind that **1.** is the simplest way of recounting what happens in Latin; the technical and the obvious here coincide. Knox, 396f., Putnam, *Poetry*, 39, Hardie (409, n.19) suggest that V.

continues the imagery of the gliding snakes here (cf. also Grassmann-Fischer, 11 on *lambere*, 211, 684, and *pasci*, 215, 682); here the nightmare of Troy's fall, introduced by the serpents, seems to be over (though Creusa has yet to vanish), but its imagery lives on. Von Engelhardt, 463 takes the thunder and the *fragor* as having been made by the meteorite (they can indeed be very loud), but that is both to excise the *auspicium maximum*, and to reduce the force of **intonuit** to mere thunder-like noise.

per umbras Also at 6.452, 461, 490, 619, 12.864, 881, etc.; in sing. too; see A.M. Negri Rossi, *EV* 5*, 381 (*bene*): formulaic gloom.

694 stella Applied both to comets, *Ov.Met.* 15.749, *Suet.Iul.* 88 (with *crinis/coma* added), and to meteors (as here; cf. 6.528, *Sen.NQ* 7.23.2, Gundel, PW 6A.2440. 61ff.); *OLD* pellucid, unlike *EV* 4, 1018. See further **679–704**, (iii).

facem ducens For **f.**, vd. **679–704**,(iii). For **d.** thus, Hey, *TLL* 5.1.2162.58ff. cites *Lucr.* 2.207f. *nocturnasque faces caeli sublime uolantis/ nonne uides longos flammarum ducere tractus?*, 4.137, *Ov.Met.* 10.279. The tail of the comet at Arat. *Phaen.* 926f. (cf. AR 3.1377), whence *Lucr.* 2.208 *supra*, *G.* 1.365ff....(366) *praecipitis caelo labi, noctisque per umbram/ flammarum longos a tergo albescere tractus* (with *Sen.NQ* 7.20.1; vd. Mynors on *G.*, *cit.*, Gundel, PW 6A.2443.41ff., for further attestations and von Engelhardt, 465–7 for modern *comparanda*).

multa cum luce Cf. *cum lumine, cum sole, cum uoce, cum clamore*, and also *de more, ex ordine*, etc., Antoine, 200f., though the tendency in Aug. poetry was to eliminate the prepositions, Ernout-Thomas, 88f., Görler, *EV* 2, 269.

cucurrit Common of all manner of heavenly bodies, Hofmann, *TLL* 4.1513.57ff. at 1514.2f.; cf. *Sen.Thy.* 698f. *e laeuo aethere/ atrum cucurrit limitem sidus trahens.*

695 illam.../ 696 cernimus V. passes back smoothly from 3rd. person narrative to the Trojans as observers of the portents (vd. **685–6**). The vb. rather more coloured than *uidere*; n. on 11.703.

summa super...culmina tecti Cf. 7.512 *ardua tecta petit stabuli et de culmine summo*, 4.186 *summi culmine tecti*, **2.458 summi...culminis**, with *Buc.* 1.82, *G.* 1.402.

labantem Cf. **693**; the repetition not sensed as in any way awkward; cf. nn. on **505**, 7.554.

696 Idaea...silua The stately adj., which V. likes, 3.105, 7.207, 11.285, etc.; the forests important for shipbuilding (note, both timber and pitch), historically, and in *Aen.*: vd. nn. on 3.6; that will be the Trojans' first stop, after they leave their own city.

claram Regular of 'real' stars from Plaut. on: Probst, *TLL* 3.1272. 2ff. at 27f..

se condere Cf. 621; common phrasing.

697 signantemque uias Marking its own path? Or the Trojans' path? And is **signantem** really parallel to **695 labentem**, or is it a metrically handy substitute for **signare**, parallel to **condere**? See Henry, Speranza; the partic. best taken as altogether participial and the balanced partics. which frame *condere* are attractive. At 5.525, *signauitque uiam flammis* indicates to Acestes what he is to do with his arrow and Henry draws attention to Sen.*Agam.*429 *aurata primas prora designat uias* (a flare gives the signal for departure, Tarrant) and Prud.*Cathem.*12.53 *claramque signabat uiam* (the star which led the Magi). Probably, therefore, if not definitively, the Trojans' path, as AR 4.295ff. would also suggest: ὡς καὶ πάντες ἐπευφήμησαν ιδόντες / στέλλεισθαι τήνδ' οἷμον: ἐπιπρὸ γὰρ ὄλκος ἐτύχθη/ οὐρανίης ἀκτῖνος, ὅπῃ καὶ ἀμεύσιμον ἦν (cf. Nelis, 29). In his n. at 801, Serv.Dan. refers to Varro (not specifically *res div.*, as Au. claims) as relating that the Trojans were guided as far as the *ager Laurens* by Venus' star (cf. *Vergilius* 32(1986), 9, *Alambicco*, 97, Cartault, 229, n.7), but the link between Lucifer and V.'s meteor seems rather tenuous, though here at least the meteor indicates the route the Trojans are to take (cf. 696 **Idaea**). Plur. **uias** perhaps on account of their importance here (or because the Trojans' path to Rome is not single and unitary); cf. 3.695, 8.113.

tum As often of another element in a description, Wagner, *QV* xxv, §6c, comparing *G.3.357*, *Aen.6.20*, 278, 578, 7.76, 448, etc..

longo limite As often noun and adj. thus in abl. stand for compound epith.: vd. Au., with Antoine, 188f., Görler, *EV* 2, 268, LHS, 117f.; 1. the line drawn by the meteor across the sky, von Engelhardt, 469f..

sulcus The ὄλκος of AR 4.294, just cited. Of a meteor, cf. Luc. 5.562, 10.502; vd. too Plin.*Nat.*2.236, Amm.21.1.11 *siderum sulci*. Unsurprisingly, n. and vb. common of the wake of a ship. For the trail itself, cf. on 694 **facem**.

698 dat lucem Cf. n. on 569.

et late circum Cf. G.4.113; 7.104 *circum late* is not analogous, for *circum* is in tmesis. Cf. *TLL* 3.1114.31 (Elsperger); apparently not common.

loca sulphure fumant Cf. *Buc.* 1.82, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1538. 72f.; the use of *loca* to indicate ‘area’, ‘neighbourhood’ in grand, vague language much to V.’s liking (though not to the *EV*s): cf. *Aen.* 1.51, 2.495 (with n.), 6.434, 462, etc.. But it is the smell that sheds light on V.’s methods: meteorites can indeed contain sulphur (*Enc. Brit.*₁₁, s.v.), and von Engelhardt, 470f. collects several modern accounts of the strong smell of sulphur found to accompany some meteorite-strikes. But not meteorites alone; at *Il.* 14.415 (lightning) Janko remarks helpfully ‘gives off a fearful smell of sulphur (actually ozone from the electrical discharge’ (vd. the recent evidence collected by Au.); note too *Od.* 12.417, *Soph.* fr. 538.2; *Lucr.* 6.219–21, *Sen. NQ* 2.53.2 of *fulmina*, that is, normally, lightning-strikes. This is not the place to analyse terminological confusion between lightning and meteors/meteorites in Latin, German and English: while Cic. maintains a clear distinction between juxtaposed meteor and lightning (*Cons. fr.* 2.20ff., 23ff.), it remains true that Lat. can use *fulmen* of both phenomena (Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1529.79ff.; cf. Luterbacher, 22f., Thulin 1, 50ff., *id.*, *ALL* 14(1906), 369ff., 509ff.) and V. enjoys his usual freedom of lexical action. The stench of sulphur nothing, strictly speaking, to do with shooting-stars or meteors, which do not strike the earth and give off such smells; whether or not he is aware of the element of terminological confusion (cf. *OED*, *ed. mai.*, s.v. thunderbolt for some details), he is quite free, poetically, to blend an alien element into his description of the meteor.

699 hic uero Cf. 438 (here of course **hic** temporal, there local).

uictus Not merely overcome, or convinced (a common use of *u.*, but not with the strongly positive associations here present: cf. e.g. 7.440, 12.29, *EV* 5*, 546), but altogether transformed, mentally and indeed physically.

genitor Cf. 635, 637, etc..

se tollit ad auras Serv. here writes *uerbum augurum, qui uisis auspiciis surgebant ex templo*. A note of a familiar type (H.D. Jocelyn, *PLLS* 2(1979), 116; here, cf. in particular Serv. on 1.92, Thomas, 268f.); on nautical lang., he is perhaps unreliable (see n. on 3.291; also vd. *ib.* for technical lexica in Serv., in general) and here too, perhaps, given the scholiasts’

determination to over-promote the religious content of the text: it is more likely that augurs too (as well as mere authors, usually on loftier occasions, but notice Apul.*Met.*2.4. of a dog on its hind legs) used *se tollere* for ‘get up’ when they rose from the seated posture in which they normally worked (*CR* 34(1984), 227 surveys the evidence; cf. Heinze, 57). *Se tollere* thus also of normal rising at 5.369, 8.541, of horses too, 10.892, 12.114, De Vivo, *EV* 5*, 206, *OLD* s.v., §8a (and cf, §4a). Note that Parg here read **tollere**, hist. infin. (printed by Geymonat); the agitation suggested by mixed infin. and indicis. hardly appropriate here. It has been suggested that up to this point we have been visualising Anch. as lying on a bed or couch, but that is not a correct inference from 644. Heinze, 57 also notes that the portents occur at the end of the night, when Roman augurs take the auspices.

ad aurās, ‘skywards’ (cf. 259, 7.466—where vd. n. -, etc.), where his next words will be addressed; cf. 153.

700 adfaturque deos Though used as vb. of prayer here, of no interest to Hickson, Appel, *EV*. Serv. *agit diis gratias*; Serv.Dan. *uel certe inuocat*. Used of prayers (cf. 7.91, 9.83), lofty poet. language (from Acc., Laevius; cf. Cordier, 134, etc.; Au. hardly right to to call it archaic).

et sanctum sidus Cf. 696 **sanctos...ignis**. ‘Virgilio allude al *sidus Iulium*, la cometa identificata con Giulio Cesare divinizzato’ Brenk, *EV* 4, 673, on the basis of V.’s use of **Iulus**, **sanctum** and **sidus**; contrast the circumspection of Montanari Caldini, *ib.*, 842. Cf. Drew, *Allegory of the Aeneid*, 43ff., Bailey, 128, Grassmann-Fischer, 24ff., Binder, 227f., *id.*, in (ed. G.B.) *Saeculum Augustum II* (*Wege der Forschung* 512, Darmstadt 1988), 270–2), Weinstock, 370–84 (with R.A. Gurval, *Actium and Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1998), 284), Galinsky, *Augustan culture*, 313. Another passage (cf. 554–9) in which the possibility of a contemporary reference in the text arouses interpreters to extremes of caution, and of audacity: the comet (*stella crinita*, Suet.*Iul.*88) seen during the last seven days of the *ludi* in July 44BC had impressed the young Virgil (*Buc.*9.47 *Caesaris astrum*) and was widely reported (cf. Rice Holmes, *Architect*, 1, 19, Levi, *Ottav. capoparte* 1, 98): believed to be Caesar’s *anima* when he was *in caelum receptus* (Suet., *ib.*); Aug. had the star placed on all the statues he erected to Divus Iulus and (Serv. *ad Aen.*8.681) *in honorem patris stellam in galea coepit habere depictam*. Whence (of Oct. at Actium) *Aen.*8.680f. *geminas cui tempora flamas/ laeta uomunt patriumque aperitur uertice sidus*. Note also 10.270–3 (of Aen. himself), and the meteor of 5.522–8. To return to Brenk’s claims: Iulus is not present by name in the meteor-scene; **sanc-**

tum refers (cf. 686) to Venus' crucial role as mother and protectress, while **sidus** can also suggest Venus' guiding star (697), familiar from Varro. But there are readers of Aen. who find Augustus wherever they look, and they will no doubt want to here too. More important, perhaps, the gods have given ample, clear, unambiguous omens for the departure of Aeneas and his family. Creusa's imminent disappearance represents a degree of divine spite compatible with the Trojans' grievous experience thus far this night, but immediately after the portents that is a further tragedy for the moment not anticipated.

adorat Cf. 3.437 *numen adora* (where v.d. n.; not technical).

701–4 Anch.'s second short prayer: the first (containing a singular Stoic reference) and last lines refer to Anch.'s personal readiness to obey (which Highet suggests is addressed to his son; the gods, though, need to be told that Anch. is now actively cooperative), while the two central vv. of prayer proper are linked by marked gemination in both. Grassmann-Fischer, 16f., Highet, 120, 315, n.41, Cartault, 202. The Trojans' terrible dilemma (cf. 638–49) was of Anchises' making, and Otis, 245f. rightly remarks how proper and essential it is that the Trojans' acceptance of the gods' intervention shall come from a (restored and revived) Anch., head of *domus* and, now, *patria* too.

701 iam iam Cf. 530.

nulla mora est Compare 12.11 *nulla mora in Turno*, Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1467.7f.; **m.** particularly common in phrr. with litotes, *EV* 3, 585. Contrast 647f. **annos/demoror**; so recently his life itself imposed a delay on the natural passage of time, and his inertia seemed crucially to retard his family's departure. The reversal created by the divine plan seems a little contrived, but that is inevitable, once the Trojans are to set forth to found Rome; we are little used to miracles and perhaps need to re-learn our enjoyment of them if we are to relish *Aen.*

sequor Cf. 1.382 *data fata secutus*, 3.88 *quem sequimur?*, 368 *quidue sequens tantos possim superare labores?*, 4.576 *sequimur te, sancte deorum*, Pompilius, 235f.. For Anch.'s further obedience to the gods, cf. nn. on 3.114, 188. Here, it is no surprise to find V. echoed when Seneca, with a fine ear for V.'s tone, renders Cleanthes' hymn to Zeus, *Ep.Mor.*107.11 **duc o parens.../...nulla parendi mora est.** We might reasonably enough, then, suspect that V. himself had Cleanthes in mind. Vd. fr.527.1ff. SVF **ἄγεις δέ μ'...(3)...ώς εἴψομαί γ' ἄσκοντος.** With 4.361 *Italiam non sponte sequor*, Prof. Görler compares the last v. of Sen.'s rendering *ducunt uolent-*

tem fata, nolentem trahunt. But the whole *Aen.* is imbued with a sort of passive Stoicism, and the verbal link here may not be thought quite decisive, though the elegant rendering of ἄοκνος seems strongly persuasive.

et...adsum Well suited to dramatic moments, 1.595, 9.427. Geymonat, Mynors print a comma here, adding **di patrii** as the addressees of **adsum**; an unnecessarily weak and banal ending. It is clearly most appropriate that the gods of the *patria* shall be called upon to preserve family and grandson, as TCD has failed to work out; their invocation is also much more appropriate to an appeal than to the statement that Anch. is now present for duty. With **di patrii** as the addressees of **702**, some further adjustment of the punctuation is called for; a strong pause at the end of **702**, dividing the appeal to the gods, is not desirable.

qua ducitis They indicate a route, not a goal (cf. **697 uias**); note 6.194 ‘*este duces, o si qua uia est...*’, **2.632 ducente deo.**

702 di patrii Cf. G.1.498 *di patrii Indigetes*, *Aen.*7.229 (where vd. n.), 9.247 (quoted on **703**). Quite frequent in Cic.: (*Verr.*2.1.7, 2.4.17, *har.resp.*37, *Phil.*2.72, etc., Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.908.38f. and, amply, Tessmer, *ib.*10.1.761.10ff. at 761.20; also *Liv.*1.47.4, *Hor.C.*2.7.4); Moskalew, 146f., Bonjour, 44, W.Aly, PW 18.4.2242.40ff.. NH on *Hor.cit.* gloss firmly ‘the Penates’ and that can indeed be the sense of *di p.*; here, though, *pace* Beutler, 49f., note Serv. *ad G.*1.498, well, *patrii dii sunt, qui praesunt singulis ciuitatibus, ut Minerua Athenis, Iuno Karthagini.* Exactly as in Gk. (as noted by Macr.3.4.13): vd. e.g. Aesch.*Pers.*404 θεῶν τε πατρῷων ἔδη (Broadhead ignores, but vd. N. Loraux, *Invention of Athens* (Eng. tr.), 54); patronage over Athens was even disputed between the gods. Here, the context is hardly suited, *pace* Moskalew, to Lares and Penates; the occasion requires divinities of substance, those Olympians who once favoured Troy (notably, the fickle Minerva).

seruate ..seruate In formal prayers, *serua* regularly found with *saluum*, etc. (Hickson 79f., 139), but note without the adj. Plin.*Pan.*94.5; in the literary recasting of prayers, though, a common vb.: ample evidence from Plaut. on, Appel, 131f.. Note **642** (with n.), 3.86 (with n.).

domum...nepotem **D.** the family or household, rather than the house (i.e. building) itself, whose future is then concentrated in the person of Anch.’s grandson, as Serv. correctly explains. Cf. Grassmann-Fischer, 17, Hofmann, *TLL* 5.1.1981.34f., comparing Lucr.3.894ff. *iam iam non domus accipiet te laeta neque uxor / optima, nec dulces occurrent oscula nati / praeripere.*

703 uestrum hoc augurium Compare the polyptoton of **u.** at 192, Wills, 418. Repet. of *noster/uester* only in these passages in V. (with or without variation); cf. Wills, *cit.. A.* here indicates (Catalano, *EV* 1, 403) that the gods give signs enough to the Trojans to show that their city, despite its fall, remains under divine protection. Cf. too Bailey, 20, Boyancé, 104f..

uestroque in numine *In num.* only here in V; cf. 9.247 *di patrii, quorum semper sub numine Troia est*, 12.180 *qui bella, pater, sub numine torques,* Ov.*Met.*15.546 (for *n.* thus, cf. Bailey, 66ff.). At Stat.*Silv.*4.6.73 *wultus alios in numine caro* the sense is quite different and the phr. seems not to be used elsewhere in class. Latin. V. could have written, with asyndeton, *uestro sub numine*, but preferred not to. Cf. Pötscher, 101, Pomathios, 352, *EV* 3, 781 and Wagner in Heyne, comm.. Note 10.280 *in manibus Mars ipse, uiri* (vd. Harrison), 11.389f. *an tibi Mauors/ uentosa in lingua pedibusque fugacibus istis?*, but in neither passage is the sense of ‘depending on’ as strong as it is here. However, the *in* of *in manu*, ‘in the power of (as e.g. *in manu non est mea*, Liv.30.30.19 *haec in tua, illa in deorum manu est*; Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.772.48ff., Bulhart, *ib.* 8.351.32ff.) is clearly comparable. Page also draws attention, finely, to the Greek use of *ἐν*, in the sense of ‘depending on’, as at Soph.*OC* 1443, *OT* 314.

Troia est Despite the city’s destruction; a remarkable piece of paradoxical timing and the first seeds are sown of the idea that (a new sort of) Troy is alive and well wheresoever Aen. and his followers may be, as Heyne already realises, comparing e.g. 3.86. For the (common) aphaeresis, cf. n. on 7.311.

704 cedo equidem Cf. (Juno) 12.818 *et nunc cedo equidem* (cf.–male–*EV* 1, 721); Serv.Dan. comments *cedere proprie dicitur, qui contra sententiam suam alteri consentit*, comparing 3.188 *cedamus Phoebo.* **E.** confirmatory, Burckhardt, *TLL* 5. 2. 722.21, Hand, 2, 427 and here not significantly different from *quidem* (Traina on 12, *cit.*). After Anch.’s robust opposition to the idea of leaving Troy (635ff.), his obedient change of heart is duly underlined. ‘I do actually give in’ *vel sim..*

nec...recuso Vigorous litotes (vd. index s.v.) here; cf. 10.297.

nate Cf. (Venus speaking) 594.

tibi comes ire Cf. 710f. **mihi paruus Iulus/ sit comes**, 6.112 *ille meum comitatus iter*, Tib.1.4.41 *neu comes ire neges*, Hor.*Serm.*2.5.16, Bannier, *TLL* 3.1772.59 For *ire* used thus, cf. (a common form of expression) **547 nuntius ibis**, 6.880 *pedes*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.2.637.38.

705–95 The loss of Creusa Bibliography: W.W. Briggs, *Vergilius* 25(1979), 43–5, *id.* (1980), 99–103, Büchner, 335.21ff., Cartault, 203–6, di Cesare, 56–9, Deremetz (2001), 169f., M. Fernandelli, *MD* 36(1996), 187–96, M. Gale, *TAPA* 133(2003), 337ff., Heinze, 57–63, Hughes (738), 401–23, Kühn, 49f., S. Lundström, *Acht Reden in der Aeneis*, *Stud.Lat.Upsal.* 10 (Uppsala 1977), 19–42, Otis, 250f., C. Perkell, in *Reflections of women in antiquity*, ed. H.P. Foley (New York 1981), 358–62, Puccioni, 88–90, Putnam, 41–8, Quinn, 120f., Salvatore, 88–93, C.P. Segal, *CJ* 69 (1973/4), 97–101, *id.*, *Eranos* 72(1974), 34–52. D. Gall's *Ipsiūs umbra Creusae* (*Abh. Akad.Mainz* 1993.6) is gravely misconceived; *vd.* *CR* 45(1995), 162f..

(a) The careful reader will find no paragraphing in these vv.; there is no agreement in the printed edd. on where it should occur and I have preferred to omit it altogether. In other words, if these vv. should be taken as a single great sweep of narrative, there is seems to be no objection, and I have no preferences to impose on the reader. Aen.'s careful, burdened departure from his home will lead directly to Anch.'s cry of alarm, to the quickening or pace, to the loss of Cr. (730–46). That in turn leads directly into Aen.'s return into the city, and indeed to a precise retracing of his steps, stage by stage, and that will finally bring him (771ff.) to his meeting with Cr.; 795 will take up 748. Within this narrative development, which of course, thanks to Cr.'s disappearance and subsequent message, also entails profound changes in Aen.'s status and goals, breaks and pauses seem positively unwelcome.

(b) Numerous verbal parallels will emerge between the disappearances of Eurydice in G.4 and of Creusa here (Heurgon 1931, 263ff., Putnam, 43f., Salvatore, 91, n.128, Briggs, 1979, 43::1980, 100, Segal, 1973/4, 97f., etc.). It was above all Heurgon's discovery (1931, 264) of how V. took the scene in G.4 and here inverted the crucial detail, of Aen. who *fails* to turn round and thus does not notice that his wife has disappeared, that transformed our understanding of the relationship of the two narratives.

(c) We should not forget that V. reworks the Orpheus narrative a second time, in that of Nisus, who discovers that Euryalus is no longer with him, and retraces his steps (cf. 753, etc.), to find him surrounded by the foe; cf. Hardie, *Aen.*9, 26f., Henry, *VP*, 72, Putnam, 48ff.. The motif of the failed embrace, 790–4, is likewise of recurrent fascination: cf. nn. there for Aen. and his father, 5.740ff., 6.695ff..

(d) V.'s actual sources for this phase of the narrative are in part elusive. Thus for example, we find the scene of the collection of

prisoners and booty, 761–7, unexpectedly Romanised, but the division of the spoils of Troy is itself of great antiquity: as old as the Cycle, Procl.*Il.Pers.*p.62.32 Davies καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ λάφυρα διανέμονται (with fr.4 Davies). We do not, however, know on what narrative V. principally drew. However, over and above V.'s own account of Orpheus, two literary sources are clearly identifiable, the anticipations of Troy's end and Androm.'s fate in *Il.6* (cf. 719, 735, 785f., 786, with Hughes' helpful and acute discussion); other Hom. debts will of course emerge (vd. e.g. 794), and the accounts of Androm.'s further distressing adventures in both V. himself (for the author of *Aen.2* probably had *Aen.3.* to hand; 774f.) and in Euripides' *Andr.*, particularly in Thetis' prophecy, 1231–83; vd. Fernandelli, 190ff., nn. on 746, 778, 783, 784, 786.

705 dixerat ille Unique as a speech-ending (contrast *dixerat, dixerat. ille...*); cf. plps. *dederat* (7.560), *fatus erat*. Here the point is probably that in the silence *after* the end of Anch.'s words, the approach of the fires was heard. *Alii* punctuated at **dixerat** and took **ille** with **ignis**, Serv.Dan.; futile ingenuity has long had a place in the study of V..

et iam.../ 706 auditur LHS 481 remark that the structure here is similar to that of *cum inversum; et* instead of a temporal particle both with adverbs of time in the preceding phr. (*G.2.80, Aen.2.* 692, 3. 356, 5. 857, 6.498, *et saep.*) and ('less conspicuous') as here (so too e.g. *G.2.80*), without. Cf. Wagner, *QV*, §xxxv.8, Hofmann, *TLL* 5.2.895.25ff.. For the pass., cf. *G.4.493 terque fragor stagnis auditus Auernis, Aen.3.39f. gemitus lacrimabilis imo / auditur tumulo et uox redditu fertur ad auris* (with n.); the sound of the flames now carries to the appalled Trojans and the pass. makes the point.

per moenia Goold and Jackson translate 'through the city', Perret, 'parmi les maisons', Binder, 'die Häuser entlang', Götte, 'die Mauern hindurch', and Scarcia, 'lungo le mura'. This difficulty is in fact recurrent: cf. nn. on 234, 252, 298. Anch.'s out-of-the-way house (299f.) is not specified as being specially near the city walls and here the natural sense does seem to be 'the city buildings' (which would tend to intensify roar and echo); outside bk.2, Fo cites e.g. 7.131, 12.620 (*EV3*, 557). See Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1327.62ff.; 234 Serv. needed to discuss, and the obscurity of sense has not been comprehensively resolved.

clarior ignis C., we of course know is used of both sound and light, *EV* 1, 810f., n. on 7.141, *TLL*, etc.. But here? Vd. Paratore, Au., Cattein, 83f.. How many senses are involved? Cattein and Paratore

suppose V. to convey that the Trojans hear, see, and feel the heat. But is there anything odd, or surprising, in **auditur** postponed? Big fires are remarkably noisy (*expertus loquor*; twice in seven years), and V. has just (*supra*) created a context of silence (compare indeed that of 2.1); that is naturally filled with the newly-perceived roar of flames. That is how Probst, *TLL* 3.1271.48f. takes **c.** here. Heat is explicitly present; if *c.* were regularly used of fires, the double sense would be more persuasive here, but it is not: cf. n. on **569**.

706 propiusque Cf. 8.556, 11.564 for **p.** similarly of the onset of danger.

aestus incendia uoluunt On **a.** Serv. glosses *id est calorem*; cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1. 860.17, Bannier, *ib.*, 1.1118.32ff.. But the point of this splendid phrase was seen by John Jackson (but not by Au. or Schwarz, 453) and was then well discussed by A. Traina, *EV* 5*, 625. **A.**, used clearly in the sense of ‘calor’, often indicates ‘tide’ or ‘rough sea’; here, then, the verb, often applied to the waters of sea or river (Cat.68.58f., G.3.521f., *Aen.*6.659, 7.718f., etc., *OLD* s.v., §6a), is transferred to the flood of heat from the conflagration; this metaphor is also found at 4.671, 9.36, 12.672; Traina draws attention to Pind.*Pyth.*1.23 κυλινδομένα φλόξ, but it does not seem to be well-rooted in Greek.

707–20 Aen. is shown as mastering rapidly the manner of command: he turns first to his father, polite and affectionate, announces disposition for son and wife, then gives general instructions to the servants and followers, before returning to his father’s crucial role in the proper saving of the sacred objects. Aen.’s dispositions for Creusa have been invoked by critics determined to find grave flaws in Aen.’s humanity; Glei, 141 shares my dissent, and surprise, in the face of Lyne’s fluent sarcasm. Serv. and TCD, though, had long since worked out why C. was to follow the men of the family, and not necessarily by the same route; this was tactically shrewd and sensible and betrays no lack of regard for his spouse (711; cf. further 736ff.). Hight and Heinze perhaps underestimate, in their near-total silence, this speech’s importance, while Mackie (58f.) and Cartault (203) devote too little attention to it. Note, however, Lyne, *FV*, 150f., Perkell, 360, with an energetic reaction from Hughes, *cit.*

707 ergo age Both words seem to have a specific force here, of inference and command, but in fact the coupling, normally in the inverted

form *age ergo* (metrically far better suited to comedy) is common spoken idiom: vd. Hey, *TLL* 1.1403.66ff. at 1406.26ff., Rehm, *ib.* 5.2.768.27ff.; a neat summary in Au.. V. typically sets the tone at the beginning of a speech with a pretty touch of everyday language.

care pater C. a ‘general term of affection’, Dickey, 314, but not common in *Aen.* (5.725, 8.581 and the superl., 8.377). Ignored by Feeney, *ORVA*, 182, an unsympathetic view of Aen.’s (admittedly, limited) verbal contacts with his father.

ceruici...nostrae Cf. Ov.*Pont.*1.1.33 *Aeneae ceruix subiecta parenti*. The sing., for the neck of one individual (cf. *EV* 1, 900; *tacet* Heuzé), is normal in poetry from Enn. and Pacuv. on; the plur. *ceruices*, common of parts of the body (cf. Löfstedt, *Synt.*1₂, 30f.), belongs to com. and prose; see Maas, *ALL* 12(1902), 501, Probst, *TLL* 3.947.34f., summarised in Au.. At p.231f., Courtney, on a fr., of Hortensius’ verse, suggests that *c.* might originally have meant ‘vertebra’ (*tacet* Hollis, fr.99), and thus in plur., ‘neck’; ingenious, but not clearly supported by the glossators, by Probst 946.26ff., or by the evidence in EM, WH; *ceruices* and *umeri* often, and naturally enough, coupled as here, *id.*, 947.26ff.. The scene of Aen. carrying his father out of Troy is familiar from archaic Greece to well into the Rom. empire. Here, after several previous accounts, with ample bibliogr. (*CQ* 29(1979), 376, 383–8, *JHS* 99(1979), 41f., *Atti*, 2, 54, *RMM*, 14, *EV*, 2, 224, to which a very little is added by Erskine, 29f., and (better) Anderson, 63, 206; Canciani’s notably wayward article on Aen. in *LIMC*, should be used with great caution), I offer a very brief summary, since it is clearly useful for the reader to have some image of how the scene was represented especially in the works of art with which the poet was familiar: whereas in class. Greek vase-painting Anch. normally clings ‘piggy-back’ to his son’s back (the two exceptions I discuss at *JHS*, *cit.*, 41), in archaic Greek art Anch. sits on his son’s left shoulder (leaving, that is, the sword-arm free, but the balance sorely imperilled) and that schema is revived throughout Roman representations of the scene; not incompatible with V.’s language. That therefore is the scene familiar to the poet, but so well-known an image must not be allowed to dominate our understanding of the schema as described in the text. It might seem (so Ussani, reasonably enough) that Anch. sits with a leg over each of his son’s shoulders, but that is not how any artist, Greek or Roman, viewed the scene (possibly on grounds of the threat to decency) and is therefore not likely to be how V. himself conceived it, if he gave thought to the practical details.

imponere V; inponere MP. Cf. Liv.42.50.6 *et ceruicibus eorum praepotentem finitimum regem inposuisse*, Sen. *Cons.Marc.*22.4 *quod tacitus ferre non potuerat Seianum in ceruices nostras ne inponi quidem sed escendere*, Plin. *Pan.*26.1 *labor parentibus erat ostentare parvulos impositosque ceruicibus adulantia uerba blandasque uoces edocere*, Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.651. 69. Au. may well be right to suggest that there is courtesy (see next n.) in the use of the imper. of the medio-passive ‘get yourself placed’ (cf. Flobert, 386 for verbs indicating a change of position so used).

708 ipse Aen. turns from his father to himself; in fact (see Au.) Anch. does need external assistance, but this is conveyed obliquely and with discretion.

subibo umeris These shoulders are long present in the narrative; Soph.fr.373.2 is not in doubt and Pease, on 4.599 *quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem* collects many other instances (cf. *RMM*, 13f. on the interpretation; an act of *pietas* for Greeks and Romans alike). But Anderson, 63 is quite right to remark that the marked popularity of the departure of Aen. in BF vase-painting might be taken as pointing to an earlier written account (though the inference is not quite certain; cf. my remarks, *CQ* 29(1979), 383); note further the existence (vd. *supra*) of two distinct schemata of Aen. carrying his father. Cf. *OLD* s.v., §2a, 4.599 *subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem*, Hor. *Serm.*1.9.21 (a mule with its *dorsum*), Suet. *Aug.*10.4; here the dir.obj. easily supplied. **V.** plur. for sing. as often with parts of body (see on **ceruici**, *supra*, for bibl.). Compare the Roman coin representations (ca. 100 BC) of the Catanian story of Anapias/Amphinomus, Strab.6.2.3, Val.Max.5.4.4., with Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome*, 56, and the Augustan coinage of ‘Trojan’ Segesta (Galinsky, 68, Manganaro, *EV* 1, 19). At. 8.731 the burden will be very different, *attollens umero famaque et fata nepotum*; see e.g. Hardie, *CI*, 375f..

nec me...grauabit The vb. used from Plaut. on, but the active first here, Bräuninger, *TLL* 6.2.2310.31. Cf. Hor. *Ep.*2.1.264 *nil moror officium quod me gravat*; cf. 6.359, 8.220 for V.’s use in a more weightily literal sense.

labor iste Cf. n. on 3.160 for a summary (with bibl.; add Wiltshire, 132) of the issues raised by Aen.’s many types of *labor*; his burdens an important element in what I have called ‘passive Stoicism’.

709 quo res cumque cadent This handy formula recurs at 12.203 (cf. Hoppe, *TLL* 3.38.52f., *Aen.*9.299). The tmesis of a common type:

cf. Traina on 12.61 *qui te cumque manent ...casus*, 1.610, 8.74, 11.762 with my n.. πίπτειν used in just the same sense.

unum et commune periculum Two half-lines in V.'s best lofty, sententious manner (cf. 354, 494). *P.* far less common than the easier -*colum*, with anaptyxis, Leumann, 20, 104, Holzweissig, 70, Reineke, *TLL* 10.1.1457.72ff.. The notion of the 'shared danger' a commonplace of republican oratory, history, letters, Reineke, 1467.24f., Bannier, *ib.* 3.1971.21ff. (fuller), Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.39, Caes. *Gall.* 1.39.4, etc.. A standard expression, verging on the catchphrase. The idea of shared dangers also widely present in Athen. oratory; cf. (e.g.) Dem. *Phil.* 3.71, *Cor.* 238. Unsurprisingly, the pairing of *unus* and *communis* also standard, Bannier, 1975.67f., citing e.g. Cic. *Off.* 3.14.

710 una salus ambobus erit The *sententiae* linked by repeated *unus* which Nelis links with AR 1.336f. ξυνός...ξυνοί, perhaps rightly. The antithesis of *unus* and *ambo* unexpectedly quite frequent, e.g. Cic. *Fin.* 2.80, Lucil. 281, Liv. 25.32.9, Ov. *Met.* 4.691f., Plaut. *Men.* 1122. *Tacet TLL* s.v. *ambo*. The speech is addressed to Anch.; Aen. will share the dangers of flight with his father and the rest of the family is here evidently irrelevant. *EV* 4, 668 (Brenk: 'più strettamente legata alle origini di Roma') not helpful.

michi.../ 711 sit comes Not with his mother, not with a nurse; the hope of the family, and of the Roman people, under Aen's own care. Cf. 704 **comes ire**.

parvus Iulus Cf. 677, 723; here the apparently stock epithet precisely relevant to the context, because so important for Aeneas' plan; it is also, in the context, pathetic. Cf. Moseley, 49.

711 et...coniunx This disposition lends no valid support at all to those (707–20) who see here evidence for an attitude of uncaring inattention to his wife on Aen.'s part; even TCD understood the text better than that (vd. next n.).

longe From Geymonat I draw *haut longe*, Kvičala, *et lente* Brandt, *atque legens*, Schenkl, *a tergo* Baehrens, only by way of showing that V.'s sense here has been found difficult, because Aen.'s tactics were not understood, despite helpful remarks in Serv. and TCD. There is not, though, any sort of textual problem. Note first that the sense of 1. is clearly 'at a distance'; cf. n. on 3.556 (sounds heard 'at a distance'), 5.133 *longe effulgent*, 9.771 *cum galea longe iacuit caput* (Gk. τῆλε); von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.1645.77f. compares Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.78ff. *fugit ecce uagas*

ratis acta per undas/ paulatim minor et longe seruantia uincit/ lumina. Cf. *EV* 3, 247. Au. well notes that orders are precisely taken up in narrative and to this v. corresponds **725 pone subit coniunx**. While Serv.Dan. refers to *prooeconomia* here, to make it easier to account for Creusa's disappearance later (which is true enough, within limits), TCD remarks usefully *consilii fuit ut tutior fieret fuga; si enim plurimi congregarentur, non facile latere potuissent* and Serv. *bene ire singulos facit; scit enim multitudinem facile posse deprehendi*. It is not clear that there was felt to be an awkwardness here; at all events, Serv. and TCD show good understanding of what V. was doing. Compare Serv.Dan. on **716 ut non sit suspicio Graecis**; a small group, *and* separate routes. Aen. in fact takes all precautions, intelligently, as Ladewig sets out. Though several analogies will emerge between this narrative and that of Nisus and Eur., it is not very helpful to cite here 9.321f. *tu, ne qua manus se attollere nobis/ a tergo possit.* Creusa is not invited to act as an armed rearguard.

seruet uestigia 'Keeps to, follows, observes'; cf. 8.269 *seruauere diem*, 9.222 *seruantque uices*, 10.340 [*hasta*] *seruatque tenorem*, *EV* 4, 815 (not all refs. germane), *OLD* s.v, §3a. *Pace OLD*, 7.3. (where vd. n.) is not quite the same. **V.**: cf. 3.659, etc..

712 uos, famuli, F 13x. in *Aen.* (including *famula*), but only here of the Trojans' domestic staff, Pomathios, 162, Dickey, 325, *EV* 2, 464 and 4, 501, Jachmann, *TLL* 6.1.266.53ff. (Enn., Cat., Lucr.). The apostrophe serves to diversify this substantial, orderly list of addressees. *Seruus* avoided in V. (*EV, cit, Companion*, 68), and addresses to *serui* absent from high poetry (Dickey, 358). *Natura enim serui mali sunt et neglegentes nec facile his obtemperant quae iubentur*, TCD!

quae dicam Au. clearly right to note V.'s isolated, but thoughtfully constructed, variation upon Hom. ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐν φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆς. Here most probably parataxis, and **d.** future.

animis aduertite uestris Unobtrusive hypallage, most probably, for *animos aduertite iis quae dicam*. Note Klotz, *TLL* 2.93.41ff., 5.304 *aduertite mentis*, 11.800 *conuertere animos* (with n.), Negri, 13, 146. Kempf, *TLL* 1.864.13ff. shows that this experiment was also tried at *Vitr.5.praef.5 animoque advertam inusitatas et obscuras multis res esse mihi scribendas*; the Latin is novel, perhaps under the influence of Hom.'s ἐν φρεσὶ.

713 est...tumulus Typical arrangement of a geographical detail, in keeping with the 'est locus' model (cf. **453**). See n. on 3.22: a **t.** is any mound, not necessarily one raised for burial (and Serv. is properly

aware of this range); cf. *EV* 5*, 314, Della Corte, 34 (vd. *infra* on **desertae**). There seems to be nothing at all behind this tiny detail, but that is of no importance; in itself it represents credible specificity. At 742, V. refers to **tumulum antiquae Cereris sedemque sacratam**, which might suggest that the shrine is represented as having been erected on a mound or hillock.

urbe egressis The wording itself standard Lat. phrasing, *Liv*.3.57.10, *Vell*.2.18.4, etc., Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.280.3f.. Far more interesting is another familiar stylistic organisation of the topographical material (vd. Ladewig): the *tumulus* and temple will be visible to those who...: cf. *Ter*.*Ad*.575f. *hac te praecipitato, postea, / est ad hanc manum sacellum*; the whole passage a classic of Rom. disorientation (vd. Paoli, *Vita romana*, ed. 1976, 128, and bibl. collected at *GR* 32(1985), 208, n.45.), *Thuc*.1.24.1, *Xen*.*Anab*.6.4.1, *Plb*.7.14d.1, *Paus*.5.10.10, *Caes*.*Civ*.3.80.1, *Hor*.*Ep*.1.16.6f. (with R.F. Thomas, *Lands and peoples*, *PCPS Suppl*. 7(1982), 11), *Liv*.9.2.8, 26.26.1 *sita Anticyra est in Locride laeva parte sinum Corinthiacum intranti* (and see amplly, Frei, *TLL* 7.2.60.58ff.), 32.4.3, 42.61.11, *Tac*.*Hist*.3.71 *erant antiquitus porticus in latere cliui dextrae subeuntibus*, *KS* 1, 321.

templumque uetustum Cf. 363, 484, 635, *EV* 5*, 525 (Évrard), *ead*, *ib.*, 1, 196. The reader will expect an extra-urban sanctuary of Ceres (*Vitr*.1.7.2 approves, *item Cereri extra urbem loco, quo non semper homines, nisi per sacrificium, necesse habeant adire*) outside the walls of Troy to be ancient, and V. does much to underline the aspect of the shrine in the next two verses (**antiquae, religione patrum**). Bailey, 107 refers to 6.484: some link between the deceased Polyboetes and Ceres; here Serv. suggests that P. might once have been her priest.

714 desertae Cereris Serv. much exercised here: either (1) deserted by the death of her priest Polyboetes, *supra*, or (2), deserted on account of ten years of siege, or (3) deserted by Proserpina (so too Schol. Ver. here, and Williams who finds relevance in the cypress, tree of mourning). (2) might be the least fanciful of those suggestions and *Vitr*., *supra* might supply yet another. It seems clear enough that we have enallage, and the epithet should be referred to **templum** (clear too to Bell, 319); that said, a Rom. reader of the Aug. age would think naturally of temples abandoned on account of neglect (cf. *Prop*.2.6.26 *et mala desertos occupat herba deos*, 3. 13.47) and the decay of so many small towns (n. on 7.413, *sed fortuna fuit*, *Hor*.*Ep*.1. 11.7f. *Gabiis desertior atque / Fidenis*

locus), as many places had been before ever cities were built, 8.356; cf. Vetter, *TLL* 5.1.684.80ff. for the use of *d.* Troy is venerable enough to be surrounded, like Rome, by old shrines, now abandoned, but with their ancient *religio* intact; note Tib.1.1.11 *stipes...desertus in agris*. ‘Ancien temple abandonné’ is good (Cartault); it is not clear to me why Della Corte, 34 is so exercised by the temple of Ceres at the Circus Maximus, restored by Aug. after a fire, Strab.8.6.23.

iuxtaque Cf. 513 **ingens ara fuit iuxtaque ueterrima laurus.** Note too (Nelis) the tree next to the tomb at AR 3.927f. and (Knauer) the extra-urban mound, called Baticia, *Il.*2.811–5.

antiqua cupressus Cf. 3.64 for the funerary cypress; Catherine Connors, *CJ* 88 (1992/3), 2–4 draws attention to the funerary associations of both tree and mound; the cypress is no longer present when V. returns to the spot at 741–6 and C. may very well be right to suggest that here tree and tomb suggest the loss of Creusa (not to mention that of Troy herself); such associations already remarked by Serv./Serv.Dan.. For **a.**, cf. n. on **uestustum**; **a.** an adj. peculiarly applicable to Troy and her associations, 363, 626, 635.

715 religione patrum Cf. 8.598 *religione patrum late sacer*; vd. n. on 188, Bailey, 70. See Montanari, *EV* 4, 424 and Beard-North-Price, 1, 215–9 on changes in the way that Rom. *religio* is viewed and the scholarly shift from ‘dread’ to ‘scruple’, or ‘observance’. For V.’s (common) use of *patres* in the sense of *maiores*, cf. Lobrano, *EV* 3, 1018.

multos...per annos Cf. 363; formulaic.

seruata Cf. Lucr.1.1029 *magnos seruata per annos*, *Aen.*7.60 (the laurel in Latinus’ palace) *multosque metu seruata per annos* (where vd. nn.), *EV* 4, 814. Cf. also n. on 7.61 *quam...inuentam* for veneration of trees.

716 hanc...sedem The complex and artful word-order of this v. has not received the attention it deserves: **s.** thus no more than ‘place’; for ‘temple’ something must be added: cf. 525, 568, Spallone, *EV* 4, 750. *Aen.* first describes the place, then takes it up, **hanc**, and almost at though gesturing, introduces the notion of different approach-routes, and the arrival of the Aeneadae and household reunited at this single goal, **unam**, contrasting with **ex diuerso** and finally completing the sense of **ueniemus** with the starting-point of the prepositional phrase. Perhaps, given that Creusa clearly follows behind her husband and companions, it is the larger body of servants, etc. who are meant to take the separate route.

ex diuerso *Ex diuersis locis uel itineribus* TCD. Cf. n. on 3.232 *ex diuerso caeli*, Hey, *TLL* 5.1.1585.68.

ueniemus in unam Cf. *Buc.*7.2 *compulerantque greges Corydon et Thyrsis in unum*, *Aen.*1.495 *obtutuque haeret defixus in uno*, 8.576 *si uisurus eum uiuo et uenturus in unum*, 9.801, 10.410 *coit omnis in unum*, 12.714 *fors et uirtus miscetur in unum*; with *ab*, cf. 65, 8.142, with *ad*, 5.687.

717 tu, genitor G.: cf. 548, 560, etc.; as a term of address, Dickey offers ‘affectionate? address from sons and daughters to their fathers’ (329, with 270, index, s.v.). Careful opposition between initial pronouns, **717 tu** and **718 me**.

cape...manu Cf. *G.*3.420, *Aen.*12.22f.; this use of superfluous **manu** of a very common type: cf. nn. on 320 and 7.604 (hand), 589 (eyes).

sacra...patriosque penatis. For V.’s terminology and for the sacred objects saved by Aen. from Troy, cf. 293 **sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penatis**, 320 **sacra manu uictosque deos**.

718 me...digressum With *e* as at *Liv.*5.52.3, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1154.34f.; with *a* very common in the historians.

bello e tanto Cf. 1.566 *tanti incendia belli*, 12.559. Possibly one of those passages where *b.* is best taken as referring to ‘battle’, rather than ‘war’, but Lotito, *EV* 1, 479 may be right to say that many of the instances claimed for this sense in V. (B.A. Müller, *TLL* 2.1824.69ff at 84ff.) are at least disputable; cf., though, e.g., 439, 9.182 *in bella ruebant* and ‘battle’ perhaps preferable here.

et caede recenti Cf. 8.195f. *semperque recenti/ caede tepebat humus*, 9.455f. *tepidaque recentem caede locum*, *Liv.*4.58.3, Hoppe, *TLL* 3.55.11ff..

719 attractare nefas **Adt-** V; **deest** in P; **att-** M. No grounds for not assimilating here. Cf. Ihm, *TLL* 2.1161.69f., the vb. (cf. *EV* 5*, 250; Lyne, *WP*, 126 overstates its prosaic character) at *Acc.trag.*198, occasional in Cic., then vd. also *Liv.*5.22.5 (the transfer of Juno from Veii) *quod id signum more Etrusco nisi certae gentis sacerdos attractare*[an occasional spelling in the mss., Ihm, *cit.*, 1161.56f.] *non esset solitus*. No argument for a common source here; both authors use the ‘correct’ word (‘di carattere rigorosamente sacrale’ (Paratore) goes far beyond the evidence); cf. too *Liv.*28.24.14, *Curt.*10.10.13, etc.. For **n.**, + acc. and inf., cf. 6.391, LHS, 349 (*fas*, *Enn.var.*23). Cf. n. on 167 for the issue of ritual purity, violently ignored by the Greeks and duly observed by the Trojans.

donec Cf. 110, 630.

me.../ 720 abluerō Bannier, *TLL* 1.107.35f. cites (of *parricidae*) Cic.*Sex.Rosc.*72 *ita iactantur fluctibus, ut numquam abluantur* (where vd. Landgraf, Clark). For the fut.perf., vd. Ernout-Thomas, 372.

flumine uiuo That is, *perenni*, Serv.Dan.; *semper fluenti, id est naturali, ut*[1.167] *uiuoque sedilia saxo*. For purposes of purification, fresh, running water is mandatory, 4.635 *fluuiial...lympha* (vd. Pease), Eur.*Alc.*159, Tib.2.1.14, Liv.1.45.6 *quin tu ante uiuo perfunderis flumine?*, Eitrem, 84, Bömer on Ov.*F.*2.35, with ample evidence; the adj. customarily used is *perennis* or *uiuus*. Cf. further on 167; note that Hector cannot libate at *Il.*6.266–8 with hands still bloody; a book much in V.’s mind here. The hemistich has been discussed widely and inconclusively: cf. Günther, 14, n.9, 41, 44 (with n. 106), Au. on 66, Berres, 122f., 299, *id.*, *VH*, 113, 119f., Sparrow, 38. Between (i) completed thought not yet integrated with context (Au.), (ii) speech rounded off in provisional form (Sparrow, Günther), (iii) the hemistich as testimony to something that has not been fully worked out, which might be how the penates were, in detail, saved (Günther, 44, n.106), or how the loss of Creusa was worked out in all its details (Berres, *VH*, 119, with Heinze, 60f.). This last suggestion is specially infelicitous, given that C.’s (changed) name and the entirely certain source of how V. conceived the manner of her loss are perfectly integrated, and apparently always must have been (705–95). The simpler approach and instincts of a composer of hexameters prompts a simpler approach, closer to (ii): once the thought of 719 (ritual washing) overruns that verse, the problem exists of what to do with the remainder of 720: if room does not exist in 719, then, either, the closing formula, 721 **haec fatus** has to be hugely expanded or some further content has to be found for 720. But e.g. *ut castis manibus pia numina tangam* is underwhelming perhaps even by the standards of a Silius. An unresolved practical difficulty for V..

721 haec fatus Cf. 5.421; cf. *haec effatus, haec ita fatus*.

latos umeros So 11.679 (where vd. n. for the size of heroes; cf. too Heuzé, 20, *EV* 1, 901) and cf. 9.725 *latis umeris*. The Homeric εὐρέας ωμοὺς and Serv.’s sour *aut more heroum se laudat* is not good here.

subiectaque colla The almost sacred role that these shoulders are about to display justifies the expansive ABAB expression; we may note how, between this v. and the next, V. demurely avoids the potentially comical detail of Anch. being hoisted into his place. For s. thus, cf. Ov.*Pont.*1.1.33 (cited on 707 **ceruici**; 707 and this v. of course refer to the same part of the same hero); cf. *OLD* s.v., §3b. Note how the

ppp is used of an action that has not yet taken place; a neat and easy prolepsis. The Lat. terminology of the neck and shoulders does not always seem consistently plain and clear (cf. n. on 707, *cit.*, where **ceruici** is expanded by **umeros** in the following v.), nor any more so after *EV* 1, 900f.. Isid.*Orig.*11.1.60 helpfully explains that *gula* is the front part, and *ceruix* the rear, of the human *collum*, and his definition is not contradicted by the material collected by Probst, *TLL* 3.946.21ff..

722 ueste...insternor *Eleganter tamquam onus latus, ut de animalibus,* Serv.Dan. (cf. 7.277 *instratos ostro alipedes*). Transitive vb. used in pass. with accs. of parts of the body and the garment in abl., fully discussed, Courtney, *CJ* 99(2004), 427, comparing e.g. *Buc.*6.75 *succinctam latrantes inguina monstris, Aen.* 8.457 *tunicaque inducit artus.* Cf. *Il.*10.23 ἀμφὶ δ' ἔπειτα δαφοινὸν ἑέccατο δέρμα λέοντος, with Seymour, 159.

super Advb., Merguet, 672f.. The idea of a double compound, *superinsternor*, in tmesis, found in older comms. not attractive.

fuluique...pelle leonis The *uestis*, ‘covering’, generally, now as very often (Hahn 1930, 226ff. at 231) rendered specific, by the co-ordinate lionskin (hendiadys too crude a term): cf. 8.177f. *praecipuumque toro et uilloso pelle leonis/ accipit Aenean*, 552f., 7.666 (with n.), Lersch, 77–9, Buchheit, 125 with n.516. The epithet altogether conventional, Edgeworth, 130, Pease on 4.159, etc.. Comfort, elegance, dignity, but also, suggests Lersch, a sense that Anch. is to be preserved from (dirty, defiling) contact with the well-used, blood-stained armour.

723 succedoque Cf. 478; of a yoke, Lucil.1043 *succedere aratro* and note too *Aen.*3. 541 of horses going to draw a *currus*, *OLD* s.v., §1b, *EV* 4, 1055.

oneri Cf. 729 and 11.550 (Metabus and Camilla), with n., Ov.*F.* 2.114 (dolphin), Beikircher, *TLL* 9.2.644. 53f.

dextrae Cf. 707 for Anch. sitting on his son's *left* shoulder.

se.../ 724 implicuit Not, apparently, at all a standard expression, Rehm, *TLL* 7.1. 644.5f.; Tib.1.4.56 *post etiam collo se implicuisse uelit.*

paruus Iulus Cf. 677, 710; here, we are on the point of understanding just how Iulus' size and age are to be converted into such memorable, gently humorous, pathos. *Puerilem expressit timorem* Serv..

724 sequiturque patrem He follows his father's direction and pace; s. does not, after 723–4, indicate that Iulus joins some grotesque crocodile behind Aen., but in front of Creusa.

non passibus aequis Cf. the common v.-end *uiribus aequis*. Compare 6.263, Sen.apoc.1.2 *idem Claudium uidisse se dicet iter facientem ‘non passibus aequis’*, Claud.Rapt. Pros. 2.37, Zoppi, *TLL* 10.1.626.33f., Ausfeld, *ib.*, 1.1031.18f.. Three words as entirely successful as any in V.: warm humanity, fine observation, gentle humour, and, naturally, pathos. Cf. 11.541 for the *infans* Camilla, and her dramatic, comparable, adventures. Au. well compares *Od.*15.451, the child (Eumaeus) who can keep up with its nurse. At 2.320f. **sacra manu uictosque deos paruumque nepotem/ ipse trahit**, it seems that Panthus' grandson is better able to keep up.

725 pone subit coniunx Following the plan, **711**. As we have seen, one in no way thoughtless, or discreditable to Aen.; C. is shielded from ambush and unexpected dangers, and the poet will find it infinitely easier to construct her actual disappearance thus (cf. Heinze, 60f.). For the (archaic) advb., cf. **208** and for the vb. thus, cf. **240**. C. climactic, as in the list at **711**; if V. had broken off here, leaving the hemistich unfinished, we might have wondered whether he had meant to add some anticipatory farewell to C., or if perhaps this might be some trace of an incomplete vision of how the whole scene was to work out. As it is, V. continues directly with the narrative, but the issue, at this point, may stand as a warning against sweeping conclusions about the hemistichs.

ferimur Zucchelli distinguishes carefully (*EV* 2, 494f.) between flat, neutral ‘recarsi’ (*Buc.*9.22, *Aen.*11.530) and the more familiar, violent ‘slanciarsi’, while Hey, *TLL* 6.1.561.62ff. realises the vb.’s range but does not operate a distinction. Here, evidently, ‘go’ or ‘move’; nothing suggests that they are rushing.

per opaca locorum For this refined used of gen., cf. **332**, Bell, 218, 258, Görler, *EV* 2, 265. From Beikircher, *TLL* 9.2.659.20ff., it emerges that V. was not the first, or last, writer to be attracted by **o.** used thus: cf. Lucr.2.115 *obscura domorum*, *Aen.*6. 633 *obscura uiarum*, Mela 1.73 *obscura siluae*. ‘Not dark but only shady’ as Henry explains in detail. Shaded by trees, explains TCD; however, it is still night, though dawn is near.

726 et me Aen. passes from the group to himself; everything and everyone now depends on his dispositions, his leadership, and the weight of this new responsibility, the beginning of the passage from Hom. hero to Rom. *princeps*, appals Aen.; singularly, ignored by Mackie, 59. The passage exploited in depth by Sen.*Ep.Mor.*56.12ff..

quem...non ulla...mouebant For *non* + *ullus*, cf. n. on 11.148.

M. as often in V. ‘move, worry, disturb’. Fo, *EV* 3, 608, n. on 7.312, Wieland, *TLL* 8.1542.57ff..

dudum Cf. 5.650, 10.599, 12.632. Here as alternative to ‘olim’. Contrasted with **728 nunc**, as at 12.634; cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 5.1.2176. 28.

iniecta.../ 727 tela Cf. 9.807 *iniectis...telis*, Pfligersdorffer, *TLL* 7.1.1612.69 (standard usage); cf. **463**, **435**, etc.: not so much just entirely concrete ‘thrown weapons’ as the more indefinite ‘the throwing of weapons’ (‘enemy fire’, we would say today); that is, the increasingly familiar use of noun + partic. to create an implicit phrase.

neque aduerso...ex agmine Not, after Housman (conjectured, *CR* 5(1891), 294f. = *Coll. Pap.* 1, 176–8), Mynors and Geymonat, **examine**; for the detailed argument, cf. n. on 7.703 (exactly the same issues as here). For **aduersus** in the sense of ‘opposing’ cf. 6.831, 9.347, 443, 588, etc. (with *ex aduerso* common in Liv.), and for **agmen** used of any sort of military unit, **68**, **267**, **371**, **450**, etc.. The terrors of responsibility have replaced the mere fears of combat.

glomerati...Grai Cf. **315**, **341**, n. on 7., *cit.*; the allit. taken up by **agmine**

728 nunc Taking up 726 dudum.

omnes...aurae *OLD* s.v., §1a ‘air in gentle motion, a puff or breath of air’, §1b ‘a light breeze’; *tacet EV*. Here fainter than those of 3.356, 530 which can fill sails. Note 7.646 *tenuis famae...aura* (with n. on the sense ‘breath’).

terrent Au. quotes the watered-down Sil.6.58f. *sonus omnis et aura/ exterrit*. Cf. *EV* 5*, 139.

sonus...omnis The end of the line is jumpily dactylic; the beginning frozen in spondees; the word order of the whole verse an elaborate triple chiasmus, ABCCBA, with final **ο.** echoing initial; cf. **314**, Wills, 426ff., Liuzzi, *EV* 3, 845. **Ο.** thus as often, generalising and augmenting: cf. *G.2.390*, *Aen.4.525*, Liuzzi, 844. Au. offers some Silver refs. to post-Virgilian acoustic terrors of the night; note already, perhaps, Soph.fr.61.2 ἀπαντά γάρ τοι τῷ φοβουμένῳ ψοφεῖ, Eur.*Rhes.*565f., AR 3.954f. ὅππότε δοῦπον/ ἦ ποδὸς ἦ ἀνέμοιο παραθρέξαντα δοάσσαι, with Roiron, 204, who refers acutely to 3.648 (*Achaemenides*) *sonitumque pedum uocemque tremesco* (where vd. n. on the limited significance of the analogy). See too Turpil.com.113f. *me miseram terrent omnia/ maris scopuli...*, comms. on Juv.10.21 *et motae ad lunam trepidabis harundinis umbram*, in particular, Mayor’s citation of Dio

63.28.2. This anxiety will prove to have spread; from Aen.'s high-strung nerves we pass shortly to Anch.'s actual, tragic moment of panic.

excitat Cf. 8.434, Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1259.16.

729 suspensum...timentem The line framed by partics.; here the effect far less striking than when they are obviously paired and 'rhyming' (cf. full n. on 568). **S.**: cf. 114 and n. on 3.372; 'in a state of anxious uncertainty', *OLD*, s.v., §2a, while Henry argues unpersuasively for 'undecided'. The dat. after *timeo* standard; cf. *OLD* s.v., §1b, Hor.C.3.27.7f. *ego cui timebo / prouidus auspex*, etc..

et pariter Cf. 1.714 *pariter puero donisque* (human and inanimate), 6.769 (abstr. and concr.).

comistique onerique The pairing superficially human and inanimate again, save that here the *onus* is of course human. *Quidam 'comiti' pro 'comitibus' accipi uolunt* Serv.Dan.; pretty clearly not, since for the present Creusa, as rearguard, has been left to look after herself. Iulus is *comes*, on foot beside his father, and Anch. the unchallenged *onus* (cf. 729, 11.550 the infant Camilla; Beikircher, *TLL* 9.644.53f.).

730 iamque Cf. 132, 209, etc.; simply *iam* + *-que* as very often, Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.108.76ff..

propinquabam portis 'Verbum a dactylis alienum' Schröder, *TLL* 10.2.2015.73, but vd. Lucr.5.630, **p.** (here strongly allit.) 14x in V. (and common in hist. narrative), avoided by Hor. and Ov.; the same three words, 11.621, where vd. n.. A moment (as often noted) that reworks, closely, G.4.485f. *iamque pedem referens casus euaserat omnis/ redditaque Eurydice superas ueniebat ad auras*. Getting safely out of the city the first step on the way to Rome.

omnemque.../ 731 ...uiam Cf. 9.391 *iter omne reuoluens*, another Virgilian narrative of a lost beloved.

uidebar 'I was thinking that I had...'; comparable to 271 **uisa**, 4.467, 'I dreamed', *Buc*.10.58 ('I imagine'), and especially to 5.231 *quia posse uidentur* ('because they think they can'); cf. Catren, 62, n.180, though the supernatural element present at e.g. 271 is not present here. Cf. *EV* 5*, 537, Flobert, 382ff. at 385.

731 euassisce Cf. G.4.485 *casus euaserat omnis*, 4.685 *gradus euaserat omnes*, 3.282 *iuuat euassisce tot urbes*. Here, acc. of direct obj. after **e.** in the sense of 'pervadere, transgredi', Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.991.54ff., compar-

ing Lucil.313 *omnem euadit uiam*, Liv.7.36.2, Ov.*Met.*3.19, etc.. Of a missile, 12.907; **subito cum** Cf. n. on 3.137.

creber.../ 732 ...pedum sonitus For 3.648, vd. s.v. **per umbram**, *infra*. The verbal similarities with the Achaemenides scene seem to be the result of similar situations; I have offered a view on the priority of bk.3 over bk.2 (bk.3, xli), but these similarities offer no basis for discussion (vd. on 3.647f). Cf. Holmes, *TLL* 10.1.1904.46. The enallage noted already by Hoppe, *TLL* 4.1121.33ff.; not all his instances are ‘adi. per adv.’ (see Mynors on 3.470). Here, *pace EV* 1, 922, better to be taken as enallage for *crebrorum pedum*, rather than merely predicative for advb.. It is the number of feet, not the frequency with which they are heard, that is significant. *Lucr.*2.327 is hardly the lit. source here, as though one were really necessary; Roiron, 205 lists several passages in which V. refers to the noise made by feet, human and animal, but they are not illuminating here. But note (La Cerdá) *Enn. Thy.*: *trag. fr.*305 *sed sonitus auris meas pedum pulsu increpat*, with Jocelyn’s ample n..

ad auris/ 732 uisus adesse Prinz, *TLL* 2.2.920.9f. notes nothing similar to V.’s phrasing. But **uisus** is challenging, as **uidebar** was: ‘we thought we saw’, especially after the likely sense of **uidebar**, seems the best rendering here. They think they *hear* Greeks (note Guillemain’s ‘un son lui semble être proche’ or Cartault’s ‘il croit entendre’); as a result Anch. sees, or thinks he sees, Greeks (*infra*) and perhaps the flames suggest the play of light on shields or armour (cf. **734 ardentis**). V. hardly suggests here, in Aen.’s narrative, that a patrol of Greeks was really there nearby (though such a suggestion would clearly not have been incredible) and I doubt that there is any sort of synaesthesia present. Cf. *EV*5*, 537, and Catlein, 62, n.180, against Eden on on 8.35.

genitorque Octies in the last 250 vv. of 2; a singular concentration.

per umbram/ 733 prospiciens Cf. 3.647f. *uastosque ab rupe Cyclopas/ prospicio*; the vb. 18x in V.. Note in bk.6 both *uidere* and *agnouit per u..*

733–4 Classified as a command, Highet, 306 (cf. Heinze, 60, Cartault, 204); rather, an observation, possibly incorrect, followed by a cry, almost of panic; if V.’s wording undercuts the objectivity of Aen.’s observation (it does seem to), that observation perforce undercuts the objectivity of Anch.’s (cf. Ussani), however factually it is presented; La Cerdá writes (and the issue was perhaps clear to TCD, though the text is doubtful) ‘non aderant hostes, sed metu Anchises adesse iam putabat et propinquare’, quoting, at his best, Caes. *Civ.*2.43.2 *sed tantus*

fuit omnium terror, ut alii adesse copias Iubae dicerent, alii cum legionibus instare Varum iamque se puluerem uenientium cernere, quarum rerum nihil omnino acciderat, alii classem hostium celeriter aduolaturam suspicarentur. It could even be argued that Anch. bears a share of the practical responsibility for the loss of Creusa. The reader will be much surprised to encounter the statement that the Trojans were at this point *attacked* by a band of Greeks, Gasti (28), 130.

733 nate...fuge, nate N.: cf. 289, 594, etc.. The gemination discussed, Wills, 57, 94; cf. 3.639 *sed fugite, o miseri, fugite* (where vd. n.); the separation of the apostrophes (*pace* W., 57) not exactly a matter of hard metr. necessity (imagine the quite different rhythmical effect of '*fuge nate, fuge, o nate' increpat*').

exclamat Cf. 535, also to introduce a short, emotional speech.

propinquant Cf. 730; no sense of untimely repetition (cf. n. on 505). Note (Paratore) the drama of the omitted, unspecified subject.

734 ardantis clipeos Cf. n. on 7.639 for **c.**. The adj. of a *clipeus* again at 10.262 (where vd. Harrison); cf. 1.491, 10.270, Vollmer, *TLL* 2.487.47ff.; not specially common of metal objects (first, in a sense, at G.4.91). Cf. next n. for the fusion of images here; perhaps we should not even exclude the warlike fire of the Greek warriors themselves. Cf. Schwarz, 453.

atque aera micantia Cf. 7.743 *aerataeque micant peltae, micat aereus ensis*, with nn., Liv.1.25.4, 7.5.6 (with Oakley's n.), 33.10, 21.7.8, Lambertz, *TLL* 8.930.81ff.; of course here not the flickering of arms in play but the play of light, flickering on arms and armour. Note 7.526 *aeraeque fulgent*; Bickel, *TLL* 1.1073.73ff. not helpful and see rather *OLD* s.v. §6a, b. For synecdoche of material for thing, vd. nn. on 7.245, 11.135.

cerno Cf. 286.

735 hic Temporal rather than spatial.

mihi...trepido.../ 736 ...eripuit Hom. φρένας ἐξέλετο (Il.6.234, a book much in V.'s mind hereabouts). So G.4.488 *cum subita incautum dementia cepit amantem*, *EV* 4, 401, Brandt, *TLL* 5.2.791.28f., comparing 8.254 *prospectum eripiens oculis*. For the dat., cf. Antoine, 101f. **T.:** indicating the state of those who have received a blow and are in a state of confused inability to react, Crevatin, *EV* 5*, 265, quoting 12.589f. the bees *trepidae rerum*, after the unexpected Trojan attack, 583 (cf. of bees also G.4.73), Prop.4.1.43f..

nescio quod...numen N. here compared in detail to Gk. *daimon* by Pötscher, 102f. (and cf. Henry, *VP*, 48); ignored by Bailey, Pomathios. Our uncertainty will remain for a while yet, until **777f., non haec sine numine diuum/ euemint** (where the will of Jup. himself is about to be invoked). V. complicates effortlessly the issue of fault or blame and readers who rush to judge Aen. careless of his wife misconceive the poet's strategy and detail. Hartenberger's indispensable work on correption of the final o in *nescio* summarised by Au. here, and partly restated, Horsfall, *RFil.*125(1997), 176f.. R.G. Mayer, *JRS* 70(1980), 175f. followed Haupt, not Hartenberger, unwisely and misleadingly. Cf. too n. on 3.602. *Nescioquis* occasional in *Buc.* and *G.*, only here in *Aen.*, LHS 537, and more helpfully, KS 2, 491; ignored by *Enc. Virg.*, s.v. *Pronomi*. Were the second foot genuinely a self-contained second-foot dactyl, comment would be required, but **nescio** (proclitic, thus) and **quod** are sensed, pronounced, even, as parts of a single word.

male...amicum Cf. 23 **male fida**, where vd. n., with *CGl.*4.451.28 *male amicum inimicum*, Ov.*Met.*10.278 *amici numinis*, *Pont.*3.1.97 Hey, *TLL* 1.1905.41f.; a sort of litotes, for the **numen** is profoundly cruel.

736 confusam...mentem Hofmann, *TLL* 8.720.41f. compares *Bell. Alex.*18.2 *sed terror hominibus mentem consiliumque eripit et membra debilitat;* but this (vd. Brandt, *TLL* 5.2.791.29) is not comparable, for here, as Au. points out, the adj. has a proleptic force, 'swept my wits off into confusion' (cf. Bell, 204ff.); *Il.*24.358 *καὶ δὲ γέροντι νόος χύτῳ* is often quoted here, and may contribute to V.'s phrasing. Cf. 12.665 *obstipuit uaria confusus imagine rerum*, *CGloss.*4.435.16 *conturbata*, Meister, *TLL* 4.262.44f..

namque Cf. 67, 583, etc..

auia Cf. 9.58 *aditumque per auia quaerit*, 7.580, 11.810, 12.480; *auia... loca, nemora auia* Lucr.(1.926, 2.145). The use of neut.plur. as noun is standard (cf. n. on 7.86). La Cerdà compares the use of ἄνοδοι, δύσοδοι in Gk. (Thuc., Xen.). Taken up by **uiarum** in the next v..

cursu/ 737 dum sequor Despite the burden of both Anch. and Asc., he avoids the Greeks (or 'Greeks') at a run (cf. Lucr.2.323, *Aen.*2.399, etc., Hofmann, *TLL* 4.1529.29). S. classified by *OLD* s.v., §19 as 'range over, traverse'; *EV* notably unhelpful.

et nota...regione uiarum A Lucretian clausula, 1.958, 2.249, with 4.1272. Au. rightly draws attention to the 'primary sense' of 'direction'; cf. Liv.21.31.9 *non recta regione iter instituit sed...,* notes on 7.215 *regione uiae*, 11.530 *nota...regione uiarum* (notion of familiarity with the terrain).

Not, therefore, a quarter, but a route; refs. to mere ‘unknown regions’ (e.g. Curt.5.4. 19) I do not cite. Here, Anch.’s observation, whether correct or not, has panicked Aen. into taking a route he does not actually know. It was apparently the servants who were to come on by a different route (716); though Creusa has been told the common objective (713f.), Aen., whom she was to follow at a distance has, fatally, disappeared round an unknown corner. DH 1.46.2 remarks on the advantage conferred by the Trojans’ familiarity with the narrow streets of their city.

excedo Cf. 351, Liv.33.6.8 *itaque pariter ducibus consilium fuit excedendi ea regione*, Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.1206.10.

738 **heu** Cf. 69, 289, 402.

misero Henry’s page, to argue that **misero** should be taken with **fato**, misled others and does not reveal him at his best; *-ne* may be found elsewhere attached to fourth word (but see LHS 461), but this is no moment for tormented word-order, and some formal balance between Aen.’s three explanations of what happened is desirable, if not mandatory. Cf. 735 **michi** for this dative; the adj. itself overworked (cf. 248) into unrecognitionability.

coniunx...Creusa Cf. 597, 651. Here, I discuss (i) the traditional name(s) of Aen.’s first wife and the implications of V.’s choice and (ii) the iconographic and written traditions about the women who accompany Aen. in scenes of his departure from Troy:

(i) Creusa is mentioned as Aen.’s wife at Liv.1.3.2, just very slightly earlier than *Aen.*2: see *Aen.*3, xxvi. At DH 3.31.4 C. is both Aen.’s wife and dau. of Priam (the latter only, at [Apld.]*Bibl.*3.12.5); Paus.10.26.1 refers to the Creusa-version (she is saved from captivity by Aphrodite and the Mother of the Gods; cf. 788) alongside that of Eurydice (cf. Au. on 788; Eurydice goes back as far as *Cypria*, fr.23 and *Lesches*, *Il.parv.*fr.22Davies = Paus. 10.26.1; the name used by Enn., *Ann.*36, where vd. Sk.). Creusa is also present in Appian, Aelian and the Lyc.-scholia (see Robert, 1517, Au.) and this body of attestations does not suggest a Virgilian invention (cf. Heurgon, *EV*1, 930); in origin, Creusa, daughter of Priam, may have been a name familiar to the poet from mythol. compendia. Lyc.1263 seems to suggest that Aen. left his wife behind in Greek hands (schol. there names her as Creusa); note that [Xen.] *Cyn.* 1.15 refers to Aen.’s saving of father and gods, while no wife is mentioned. No more is it in *Varr.res hum.*, as summarised by Serv.Dan. on 636, though that could easily be the con-

sequence of stages of abbreviation. Cf. Gantz, 652 for other versions of the story of Aen.'s preferences. The name Eurydice, for Orpheus' wife, is found in texts from c.1BC, and on S.Italian vases (cf. Mynors on *G.4.453–527*. Heurgon, *EV* 2, 426, F. Graf in *Interpretations of Greek mythology* (ed.J.N. Bremmer, Beckenham 1987), 81f.). V. takes fullest advantage of the homonymy (cf. *Vergilius* 37(1991), 34, *Alambicco*, 53), in the close analogies between the comparably tragic stories and in numerous verbal echoes; the end of Orpheus' mate gave V. a wonderful hint for the end of Aen.'s homonymous wife. But he was hardly free to re-use the name itself so soon after *G.4.* J. Heurgon's studies of Creusa and Eurydice were of notable value, *MEFR* 49 (1932), 6–60, *REL* 9(1931), 258–68 and, summarised and updated, *EV* 1, 930–2, and 2, 426–7. Add W.W. Briggs, *Vergilius* 25(1979), 43–5.

(ii) Note that in Hellan., *FGH* 4F31 = DH 1.46.4, Aen. is able to leave for Mt.Ida with wife (unnamed) and children; V. might have in mind Soph.*Laoe*.fr.373.5 *συνοπάζεται δὲ πλῆθός οἱ πόσον δοκεῖ*. In Naev., the wives of Anch. and Aen. leave Troy by night, weeping, and with covered heads, fr.5Strz. (with Barchiesi, *Nevio epico*, 349ff.) In scenes of Aen. leaving Troy, there is often present a woman, or women, but never are any of them named: so on a c.6 coin of Aineia (Galinsky (708), pl.87, *RMM* , 12f. with n.8), on a Parthenon metope (Galinsky, 56 with pl.41), on the numerous vases conveniently listed by Loudon, 38f. (s.v. 'with one woman' or 'with two women'), on the little terracotta group in the Naples Museum illustrated at *EV* 1, 931, and on the *TIC* (Horsfall, 1979, 41).

See Au. on 795, Robert, 1516ff., Horsfall 1979, 41, *CQ* 29(1979), 386ff., *EV* 2, 224, *RMM*, 18, Anderson, 206f., Erskine, 94f., L.B. Hughes, *Mnem*.4.50(1997), 402f., Gantz, 2, 713ff., M. Loudon, *AJA* 84(1980), 30ff., 38f., Heinze, 57ff., Vanotti (165f.), 135ff.

fatone erepta Cf. 736, Liv.3.50.8 *uxorem sibi fato ereptam*; possibly the verb repeated to lend density or unity to the narrative; first *numen*, then *fatum*, act to snatch away Aen.'s wits, then his wife. **F.** in the very common sense of the fate of the individual, Bailey, 208ff., Boyancé, 44, Pomathios, 334, Pötscher, 31, **2.194, 653**, etc..

739 substitit Cf. 243; the first explanation is the longest, lent further weight and pathos by the run-on dactyl (cf. n. on 7.387). As Feeney, 144 and Pomathios, 337f. remark, V. offers three possible solutions, error, fatigue, and destiny; compare 34, 54, 4.696, 6.511, etc. and note how V. in the end seems to offer two reformulated answers, **778f.**

Note the singularly terse and elegant way in which this motivational complication is ordered.

errauitne uia Cf. Hey, *TLL* 5.2.807.16 and *G.3.246 errauit campis*, 4.11 *errans ...campo*, *Aen.1.756 omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus*, **2.489 tec-tis** (with n.), 7.353 *membris...errat*, 9.393 *dumisque silentibus errat*, 11.135 *errauere iugis* and *Aen.3.644 altis montibus errant*, 7.491 *errabat siluis*, which Malosti, 69 defines not as ‘of extension’ but rather as ‘prosecutivo’. ‘Prosecutivus’ and ‘of extension’ are, however, synonymous, LHS 130f., Malosti, 41; cf. too Traina on *Buc.* 1.12, Antoine, 205ff., KS 1, 350, Bennett, 2, 360f.. The alternative is to define the abl. as of separation (‘wander away from’), but given the range of variations on the abl. ‘of the way by which’ (another old name; vd. Bennett), it seems likelier that the abl. is ‘of extension’ (*vel sim.*).

seu lassa resedit Lapsa M; lassa P_{2ω}; rapta P₁. Lapsa (Mynors, Geymonat) rather too obvious and easy at first sight; oddly obscure once an exact sense is sought: did C. fall over? or slip to the ground exhausted? did she then sit down? That she was exhausted and briefly sat down is entirely credible, perspicuous, and admirably expressed by V.’s use of the quotidian word. Au. offers an ample summary of Axelsson’s findings, *UW*, 29f., on the use of *lassus*; they are anticipated by G. Bonfante, *Los elementos populares ...* (Madrid 1937), 88f. = (Ital.tr., Venosa 1994), 105f., and see too G. Ravenna, *TLL* 7.2.990.65ff.. The popular (comedy, romance derivatives) *lassus* occasionally stands in for *fessus* in high poetry: cf. *G.4.449, Aen.9.436, Hor.C.2.6.7, ter* in Lucr., Cat.68B (and a dimin. in 63); in Prop. and Ov. the adjs. coexist. The verb (unifying *resido* and *resideo*) 13x in V.; cf. in particular 1.506, 5.180. For **-ne...seu**, cf. LHS, 466; all such variations are available to the poet and rarity seems to have been no objection.

740 incertum Cf. Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.877.29f.. It is interesting to examine the terminology and anxieties of careful students of this passage. The tedious dogma that indir. qns. in Latin require the subjunctive has affected both analysis and punctuation here and is anyway by no means as true as we were assured at school. Thus even Görler (*EV* 2, 273) refers respectfully to Nettleship’s suggestion that **i.** is used merely ‘as a sort of qualifying adverb’, while (e.g.) Gossrau went so far as to print the indir. qns. as questions proper, and that became (vd. Paratore) ‘the Italian punctuation’. But the rather wider question of *why* an apparent indir.qn. should visibly contain an indicative here seems not to have been asked. The analogous case of delib. qns. has been

addressed elsewhere (322). Indir. qns. proper might contain indic. in imitation of the normal Gk. usage, as No. suggests on 6.615 *mersit* (where Görler refers us to Au.'s note, which in turn refers back to Con. and an unpersuasive explanation as rel. clause). Indic. thus can also be understood as archaic, especially when the phrasing is clearly paratactic in origin (as *aspice ut...*): see Au. on 6.615, Bennett, 1, 120ff., Leo, *infra*. Alongside archaism, a case for a colloqu. flavour could also perhaps be advanced, Hofmann-Ricottilli, 249ff.. But instead of surveying possible explanations, it might be more important to recognise that in V. and elsewhere in Aug. poetry there are actually quite numerous instances of probable indic. in indir.qns.: 6.771 *quantas ostentant, aspice, uires, 779 uiden ut geminae stant uertice cristae, 855 aspice ut.../ ingreditur, 8.190ff. hanc aspice rupem/...ut... desertaque montis/ stat domus.* For Prop., see Maurach, *cit.*, Leo, *cit.*, 94. In the end, the decisive factor here may even be as much psychological as grammatical, if the dissolution of conventional syntax be taken as a sign of Aen.'s emotional state. See Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 61, LHS 537f., Leo, Seneca, 1, 92ff., Lunelli-Janssen, 109f., with n.51, Lunelli-Leumann, 168f., n.43. Emendation was not called for, though (vd. Geymonat) it has been tried.

nec post P. much handier than *postea*; vd. Merguet, §B.a.I.2, von Kamptz, *TLL* 10.2.159.21ff. at 160.20.

oculis...nostris Cf. *Buc.6.57 oculis...obuia nostris*; perhaps surprisingly, not part of a familiar group of related formulae.

reddita Cf. *Varr.LL 5.69 lux datur oculis*, Kuhlmann, *TLL* 9.2.446.10. Note *G.4.486 redditaque Eurydice*.

741 nec prius.../ 742 quam Cf. n. on 11.809, Terkelsen, *TLL* 10.2.1410.36ff..

amissam respexi 'Looked round at her being lost', i.e. by a nimble prolepsis (oddly ignored by Bell), 'looked round to find her lost'; cf. (both passages intensely moving but less refined grammatically) *G.4.491 immemor heu! uictusque animi respexit, 9.389 ut stetit et frustra absentem respexit amicum.*

animumue reflexi Πωγ; animumque Mancr, TCD; no apparent merit in preferring a connective to a disjunctive. 'Turned his attention[back]', we would say (and the vb. more usual of e.g. turning a neck, 8.633): **a.**, as often, an organ of the intellect, Negri, 145; **r.** of an intellectual act also at 10.632 *et in melius tua, qui potes, orsa reflectas*. Au. is exercised by the relationship of the two halves of the line: Aen. did not

look back, did not so much as give her a thought; neither eyes nor mind had been employed, as he recognises in candid recollection. La Cerdà well refers to Cic.*Sull.*46 *et non numquam animum incitatum ad ulciscendam orationem tuam reuoco ipse et reflecto.*

742 tumulum antiquae Cereris Cf. 713f. **tumulus templumque uetustum/ desertaæ Cereris iuxtaque antiqua cupressus.** Here, the wording of the earlier passage reworked with enallage: the goddess is ancient because mound and shrine are known to be. The adj. to be understood as either in enallage (the venerable temple; so Wainwright, acutely), as applying to the deity herself, or indeed as both; cf. Bannier, *TLL* 2.182.17ff., citing Cic.*Verr.*2.4.108, 109, Ov.*F.*4.907, 6.307.

sedemque sacratam Cf. 1.681 *sacrata sede*, **2.525 sacra ... in sede;** here, for the fulfilment of an order, earlier language can, indeed should, be used (cf. Moskalew, 114–6). Common accs. of goal, Antoine, 39ff..

743 uenimus Run-on dactylic word bears as often special prominence; vd. indices s.v. dactyl.

hic demum *Hic una defuit* Serv.; **demum** therefore with **collectis**, Bögel, *TLL* 5.1. 515.31ff.; at Lucr.6.465 *hic demum fit* he glosses ‘sc. non iam alibi’.

collectis omnibus Responding to the orders, **716 hanc ex diuerso sedem ueniemus in unam.** The vb. again at **798 collectam exilio pubem;** the vb. common in narr. prose (Sisenna, Caes. and corpus, Liv.) and that may be the tone to be recognised here.

una/ 744 defuit A second run-on dactyl. vb. in successive vv.; **una** and **omnibus** in opposed, pathetic juxtaposition (cf. **65–6**); Creusa the one person missing of the whole party. Serv.Dan. complains that C. should not be as though marked as absent from the roll. But that is exactly the point; the tragedy is, that one person has not reached the Trojans' planned muster and it is indeed Creusa.

et comites natumque uirumque For **-que...-que**, cf. n. on 7.470; ‘husband and son’ rather as at *Od.*18.162. It would be easy to recast the line in (sub-)Homeric Gk.. The **comites** are presumably the **famuli** of **712**.

fefellit Cf. 4.17 *postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit*, *EV* 2, 459, Hofmann, *TLL* 6.1.188.65f.. The word deceives any over-zealous attempt at precise definition, though the suggestion that usage of Gk.

ἐλαθεν contributed is quite likely; Au.'s 'disappointed' seems near the right level and tone.

745 quem non incusau...? Cf. Bulhart, *TLL* 7.1.1099.13f.; the vb. *sexies* in *Aen.*; previously in Acc. and Lucr.. The idiom of **quem non** current in Gk. too, Eur.*Andr.*299 (where vd. Stevens' n.).

amens Cf. **314 amens, 316f. furor iraque mentem/praecipitat, 595 quid furis?**, [771 facil.lect.], **776 insano ... dolori** and also **588 furiata mente**, Cairns, 82, n.69, etc.. Mad, first, with what? And secondly, what more do we learn of *Aen.*? Is it something indefensible? Compare too *G.4.495 quis tantus furor?*. To the first question, V. offers no precise answer, as between love, grief, terror, fury at himself for inattention, fury at the partial failure of his first effort at large-scale leadership. Certainly the cool planner of **707ff.** is swept away by love and fear; that Creusa now takes priority over Anch. and Asc. is no surprise; I have suggested, though, that *Aen.*'s planning earlier on showed no lack of regard for Cr.. Here, even the many critics of *Aen.*'s conduct in 2 are unable to fault him very seriously. Cf. Mackie, 59, Otis, 250, Lyne, *FV*, 168. Quinn, 120, Perkell, 360, Gale, 338, Hughes (**738**), 416.

hominumque deorumque Accusing men and gods acquires wider fame on account of popularity of this passage (rather than as a *locus*): comms. cite Liv.30.20. 7 (the departing Hannibal) *respexisse saepe Italiae litora, et deos hominesque accusantem* (note **741** (looking back), gods and men, blame) and Tac.*Hist.*2.47 (Otho) *incusare deos uel homines eius est qui uiuere uelit*. For the hypermeter, with -que...-que, cf. n. on 7.470.

746 aut quid...uidi...? As so often the primacy of sight in V.'s way of thinking and looking (**507 urbis uti captae casum...uidit**; vd. index, s.v. sight, primacy of); present also in Eur.'s language of the fall of Troy, as a glance at the use of εἴδον in the Troj. plays will confirm (*Andr.* 9, 400, *Tro.*482, etc.); *tacet* R.A. Smith. The form of the qn. standard; cf. **70**. The line conceived with Cat.62.24 in mind: *quid faciunt hostes capti crudelius urbe?*. Serv. suggests that *Aen.* speaks thus to impress the enamoured Dido; not yet at issue, surely.

in euersa...urbe Cf. Cic.*Sest.*35 *cum omnes urbem nondum excisam et euersam sed iam captam atque oppressam uideremus*, Liv.32.33.16, Ov.*F.*2.689, Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1030.35. V. actively aware, here and *passim* in *Aen.*, of the themes and conventions of the *urbs capti*: cf. **507** and index s.v., *SCI* 26(2007), 69f., Paul, 151, Rossi (2002), 238.

crudelius Cf. **368, 561**, 8.146, 11.535 (with n.), *EV*1, 944.

747 Ascanium Anchisenque patrem Named and paired thus in direct juxtaposition only here (but cf. 597f.); they at least have been brought out safely.

Teucrosque penatis Cf. 3.148 *Phrygiique penates*, 603 *Iliacos*. They too have been brought out to temporary safety. Note **T.** used as adj., as at Cat.64.344; Merguet collects seven instances in V., 701f.

748 commendo sociis That explains Mackie's mysterious 'puts Ascanius, Anchises and the Penates into the charge of his *allies*' (59). They are normal heroic *companions* or followers, as at 3.12 (vd.n.); they are not, strictly, the lowly **famuli** of 712, but might be the **comites** of 744. It is not quite clear when they have joined the party; cf. Pomathios, 110, 153, 162f.. For the vb., cf. 293 **sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penates**, 5.771, Leissner, *TLL* 3.1840.62ff.

et curua ualle Cf. Schwering, *TLL* 4.1551.4f.; for the same underlying reason of the action of water against earth and rock, rivers and streams have, like valleys, bends or loops, *G.2.12*, 4.278, Schwering, *ib.*, 1ff.. We might be invited to think of the rivers flowing off Mt. Ida.

recondo Cf. 1.681 and 7.774; standard language. The curving valley may be thought to lend itself to concealment

749 ipse urbem repeteo *Ipse* Aen. returns to the city, while the others are left in relative shelter and security. Though the reader has currently other things to consider, it is clear enough that the declivity of 748 is outside the walls, and Aen. has now to re-enter the ruined city. Cf. Paratore, Speranza and Del Chicca, *EV* 4, 52 for a number of difficulties which have been raised here; most are discussed intelligently by A.S. McDevitt, *CQ* 17 (1967), 320. First, no call to excise the verse (so Peerlkamp, Ribbeck) simply because *repetere* will be used again at 753 (such repetition common in V.; vd. indices s.v.) and because we have read at 671f. **hinc ferro accingor rursus clipeoque sinistram/ insertabam aptans**. We have not been told that Aen. took off all his arms and armour thereafter (but vd. n. on **fulgentibus armis**); he is therefore presumably still wearing it, and thus, to follow McDevitt, 'the picture here is one of a hero metaphorically hitching up his belt and ready to fight', though we can hardly exclude that sword and shield may have been laid aside for a moment, while Anch. is put down. It would have been easy for V. to write *cinctus* (or *cinctis*) *fulgentibus armis*, fully armed, but the division of the phrase into co-ordinated parts is clearly more arresting; we do not have to sup-

pose that V. ‘actually meant’ *repetere* <*statuo*>, *quidam, ap.* Serv.Dan., supplemented by Masvicius. For the motif of the invulnerable hero, protected by moral superiority, passing through the enemy unscathed, cf. Kraus (198), 277, citing well e.g. *Od.*4.244–58 (*Od.* inside Troy), Sall.*Jug.*107.5–7 (with Paul’s note), *Liv.*5.46.2f. and Priam’s journey to Ach.’s tent). Add NH, 1, p.264 on *Integer uitae scelerisque purus* for the philos. analogues.

et cingor Cf. 520 **his cingi telis**, 11.188, *infra*, 536 *et nostris nequam cingitur armis*, Bannier, *TLL* 3.1063.51, Petrone, *EV*1, 785.

fulgentibus armis The formula *septies* in *Aen.* (plus *semel* in acc.); vd. Au. here (*bene*) and (*weak*) n. on 11.188 *cincti fulgentibus armis*; there Serv.Dan. *id est incincti et instructi* (with Quint.8.3.2 on the metaph. use); possibly, therefore, suggesting a vein of surviving pugnacity here, if the expression is felt to be more than a distinguished poetic survival; it worries those like TCD who feel *Aen.* should have been more careful in the dark. Serv.Dan. also suggests, reasonably, that *Aen.* puts back on the shield and helmet he might have removed to carry his father, but the text suggests (cf. 671) that *Aen.* carries a *clipeus* throughout. Tragic (Acc.*tr.*319); in *Enn. f.* used of stars, and the expression here could also be Ennian (Norden, 380, n.1). Cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1513.31, *EV*2, 605.

750 stat Cited, along with 12.678 (where vd. Traina), by Serv. on 1.646 for the sense *placet*. Bartalucci’s discussion, *EV*4, 1027, helpful; cf. **660 sedet**. Au. notes some earlier prose instances; *OLD* s.v., §18b, and *stat* may represent an abbreviation of *stat sententia*, *Ter.Eun.*224, etc. (vd. Forbiger). Note also 5.748 *sententia constet*; Prof. Görler suggests that there might be *simplex pro composito* here.

casus...omnis C.: cf. 10, 563, etc.. Note the chiastic sequence **casus, omnis, omnem, Troiam**, with each pair separated by a verb in **re-**, to amplify the scale of the undertaking, not to mention the run-on **per Troiam**.

renouare *Tacet EV.* Cf. *OLD* s.v., §5a: the vb. common thus of e.g. *bellum, cursus, clamor, consilia*. Here, cf. 3 **infandum, regina, iubes** **renouare dolorem**, with Fernandelli (1–13), 104f., though the the verb is hardly unusual or distinctive, though not common in V.

omnemque.../ 751 per Troiam Cf. 461 and 3.3 (where vd. nn.).

reuerti Cf. *G.4.132f. seraque reuertens/ nocte domum, Aen.3.101*, etc.; standard language.

751 et rursus Cf. 655, 671.

caput obiectare periclis P.: 709. The vb. literally ‘place in the way of’ (thus of water birds’ heads, *G.1.386 caput obiectare fretis*), whence, ‘place at risk’: thus the bees at *G.4.217f. corpora bello/ obiectant*, and at *Aen.12.229f. Turnus non pudet, o Rutuli, pro cunctis talibus unam/ obiectare animam*; cf. Lumpe, *TLL* 9.2.62.61f. at 65. The role of the head in such phrr. derives not so much from the head as chief or commanding as from old ideas of the head as source of life, Onians, 95ff. (engrossing): cf. *Cic.dom. 145 si in illo paene fato rei publicae obieci meum caput pro uestris caerimoniis atque templis perditissimorum ciuium furori atque ferro, Fam.1.9.13 iecit quidam casus caput meum quasi certaminis causa in median contentionem dissensionemque ciuilem, G.1.386 (supra)*, *Prop.2.27.7 rursus et obiectum fles tu caput esse tumultu, Liv.8.34.11 uestra obnoxia capita pro licentia Q. Fabi obicite, 22.40.3 hostium se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum ciuium caput obiecturum, Maurenbrecher, TLL 3. 398.24ff..*

752 principio Cf. 3.381, 7.342, with nn.; lofty, Lucretian and not common.

muros.../ 753 ...repeto Cf. 749.

obscuraque limina portae Cf. 3.351 for the clausula; for bk.3 as earlier, vd. xxxvii, xl in my intro. to that book. The adj. (cf. 420) suggests that the perils within the walls are still enveloped by night, shadow, smoke, or a mixture thereof.

753 qua gressum extuleram The ample geogr. chiasmus of these vv. begins (cf. 730) as Aen. goes back, in various senses, over his tracks. Cf. 657 **efferre pedem**, Sen. *Med.870*, Bannier, *TLL* 5.2.140.70.

et uestigia.../ 754 obseruata sequor Cf. the **uestigia** of 711, Aen.’s, which Creusa is to follow towards the gate and Iulus, who **sequiturque patrem** (724). Compare 9.392f., Nisus seeking out the lost Euryalus, *et uestigia retro/ obseruata legit*.

retro Cf. 3.690 retrorsus of *errata...litora*.

754 per noctem Cf. 135, 590. This night is very nearly at an end; it should have helped them escape, but instead allowed Creusa to disappear and now hinders Aen.’s search.

et lumine lustro Cf. 8.153 *totum lustrabat lumine corpus*, Cat.64.86 *conspexit lumine*, Hor.C.4.3.2 *placido lumine uideris*, Ehlers, *TLL* 7.2.1818. 62ff. at 69, *lumen* of the eye as instrument of looking for (‘actio spectandi, explorandi’); vd. De Vivo’s helpful discussion, *EV* 3, 293. TCD

convinced that V. is writing of the light of the flames, and cites 312 in support; the city is still ablaze, at least in parts, 758f.. The vb. a Virgilian favourite, here in the sense of ‘look carefully over’; cf. 8.153, *supra*, 11.763 Clavadetscher, *TLL* 7.2.1878.47, *EV* 3, 288 (confused). Note that *Buc.* 2.12 and *Aen.* 11.763, without *lumine*, give a quite different sense to *uestigia lustrare*. At 12.466f. *solum densa in caligine Turnum/ uestigat lustrans*, Traina renders ‘va in cerca con lo sguardo’ (*Serv. oculos circumfero*); *Serv. Dan.* remarks here that *Aen.* could not use a torch, which would give him away. That is to say, I suppose, that 1. cannot mean ‘light’; nothing suggests, *pace Au.*, that *Serv./ Serv.Dan.* found the word ambiguous, though it is far from clear that *Serv.Dan.* at least understood it correctly. In *Lucr.* *lumine lustrare* had been used (‘pass over’) of heavenly bodies and natural forces, 5.575, 693, 1437, 6.284.

755 horror Cf. Ehlers, *TLL* 6.3.2999.81f. s.v. ‘signum timoris’, comparing **559 saeuus circumstetit horror**, 3.29 (with n.), 4.280, 12.868. However, both there (**circumstetit**) and here (**ubique**) h. is viewed as external: not so much, that is, the actual fearful shuddering of the body as an infectious fearfulness present in external circumstances (cf. 301 for Ehlers’ ‘vis terribilis’). *EV* 2, 856 feeble.

ubique Cf. 368, 369; invaluable in this sort of picture-painting and used with appropriate restraint.

animo MPany, animos ωγι. The acc.plur. a banal dittography, which produces enough sense to have appealed to Con., but this is not the moment for smooth and orderly ‘dispositio verborum’ and the less obvious, more difficult dat., entailing a more dramatic, varied structure, is very clearly preferable. Cf. Negri, 141.

simul Does not impose parallelism of constr.; cf. 4.499.

ipsa silentia torrent Cf. 255, L. Ricottilli, *EV* 5*, 13 for **s..** Au. offers a fine list of passages indebted to V.’s words here; the terror inspired by solitude also has literary antecedents: cf. Xen.*Anab.* 2.5.9 φοβερώτατον δ’ ἐρημία and Porph.*Quaest.Hom.* on *Il.* 2.305, p.329.74 τῶν δ’ ἐπελθόντων μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν καὶ πόρθησιν [he is writing about the Sack of Troy] ἐρημίαν φοβεράν, which might perhaps suggest that V. had found something which led to this expression in the alleg. commentators to Hom., whom he had consulted, n. on 7.16. Or just some picture of a well-sacked city in one of the ‘tragic historians’?

756 inde Within the gate, he returns first to his father's palace, which they had only left at 721ff.. Temporal, spatial, or both.

domum... 757 me refero Cf. G.4.180, 485, Aen.8.306f., Zucchelli, EV 2, 498; **d.** the home of 579, etc..

si forte...si forte Possibly, ellipse of a vb. suggesting search or enquiry (cf. Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 99). But comparison of 1.181f. *prospectum late pelago petit, Anthea si quem/ iactatum uento uideat*, 4.84f. *infandum si fallere possit amorem*, 6.78f. *magnum si pectore possit/ excussisse deum* suggests that V. uses **si** readily after vbs. of hoping, expecting, etc. (LHS 666, KS 2, 425). For the pathetic gemination, cf. Wills, 121. Serv.'s *iteratione auxit dubitationem* is, as Au. remarks, misconceived; *auxit pathos* would have served.

pedem...tulisset Cf. n. on **657 efferre pedem**. The plpf. subj. represents the fut. perf. indic. of direct speech, as often, **94, 136, 189**.

757 inruerant Cf. **383**, Primmer, *TLL* 7.2.449.84. V. admirably resists all temptation to write up Aen.'s return to the sacked family home; Creusa dominates his thoughts and the plpf., with bleak economy, indicates that his old home, already occupied, looted and fired, is no more: the flames take hold as Aen. arrives, for added emotional suffering and personal drama. *Sed ingredi non potui* writes TCD, well.

Danai Cf. **5**, etc..

et tectum omne Cf. **679** and 7.502.

tenebant Cf. **802**; studiedly flat, bald, unemotional language, in the face of lost home and wife.

758 ilicet For this archaism, meaning 'it's all up', cf. n. on 7.583, *EV* 2, 912.

ignis edax Very popular after V., Vollmer/Maurenbrecher, *TLL* 5.2.62.18ff.; see **80** for adjs. in *-ax*. Cf. n. on **684 lambere** for the same area of metaphor, more gently; for Gk., cf. *Il*.23. 182 πῦρ ἐκθίει, while [Theocr.]30.21 refers to the devouring power of love, not actual/-metaph. fire. In Lat., cf. Cat.35.15 *ignes...edunt medullam*, 45.16 *ignis molibus ardet in medullis* (vd. Kroll's n.), *G*.3.566 *sacer ignis edebat, Aen*.4.66 *est mollis flamma medullas* (with Pease's n.), 5.682f. *lentusque carinas/ est uapor*, Hor. *Carm*.3.4.75f. (with 3.30.3), Cupaiuolo, *EV* 2, 178. *Anglice* 'consuming', 'devouring'.

summa ad fastigia Cf. **302 summi fastigia tecti, 458 ad summi fastigia culminis**, 8.366 *fastigia tecti*.

uento/ 759 uoluitur Cf. 706 **aestus incendia uoluunt**, with note. A fine allit. expression; cf. Traina, *EV* 5*, 625. **F-...f-** follows **u-...u-**; I am less sure than Paratore that I hear the crackling of the flames (cf. rather e.g. *G.1.85, Aen.7.74*).

exsuperant flammae Only here of flames in V., but cf. 12.46 of *uiolentia Turni*. Kapp, *TLL* 5.2.1954.41f.. For the vb.'s grand poet. history, cf. on 7.591.

furit...ad auras Ad auras of steam and smoke, 7.466 (with n., for the hyperbole), 12.592. The vb. implicitly of motion; of the raging of flames, cf. *Lucr.2.593, Aen.5.662*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1624.83.

aestus Cf. 706; the flames, and their heat have now reached Aen.'s home: he has lost it, his city, his wealth and now his wife, all concentrated in these vv..

760 procedo The vb. in *Enn.(Ann., trag.)*, *Acc. (trag.)*, *Lucr.*, *Cic.Arat.*, Cat.64; Terkelsen, *TLL* 10.2.1499.61f..

et Priami sedes Aen. had left Priam's palace (Creusa's old home, as Serv. reminds us) at 632; cf. 437.

arcemque Cf. 315, 322; palace, temple of Athena, etc. in the acropolis of Troy.

reuiso Cf. 669.

761 et iam Cf. 8, 217, 254, etc.; a common transition. Abrupt, and shocking to Aen., on his return; things have worsened, hard though that was to conceive, even in the short time since his departure.

porticibus uacuis Cf. 528 **porticibus longis fugit et uacula atria lustrat**; with the set pieces of the stacked booty and the vision of Creusa to come, V. reworks familiar language, to set up the necessary narrative with a minimum of effort.

Iunonis asylo Cf. 612; an enemy of Troy. Her temple or shrine on the *arx* apparently unattested elsewhere; cf. Au. for further anxieties. **A.** glossed **templo** by Serv.; for asylum in general, cf. n. on 502. V. suggests economically here that the Trojan temple of Hera enjoyed *asylia*; cf. Walbank on Plb.4.62.1, Wissowa, *RKR*, 474, with n.3. So of temples of Asclepius, Tac.*Ann.3.63* (where vd. Woodman/Martin), 4.14, of Hera at Samos, *Ampel.8.6*. Here, there may be a grimly ironical point, that the Greeks use the sacred, immune precinct of a goddess honoured by the Trojans, though she was firmly on the Argive side, to store the booty they have gathered. TCD (*inuenio seruari iam praedam in porticibus uacuis, hoc est a bello iam immunibus*) suggests that **uacuis**

means that war had not touched the sanctuary, but adds more helpfully that Juno will have enjoyed all the loot in her own temple. The point of **u.** may have been very simple and banal: that, as Serv. suggests, there was ample room. Au. asks whether the abls. are in apposition, or in asyndeton; more important, perhaps, to be clear that they refer to two aspects of a single place (whole and part, even), best not called asyndeton, Hahn 1930, 224ff., 242ff.; the suggestion (Paratore) that these words are dat. governed by **lecti** is not immediately attractive. The same applies to Au.'s argument that there was a shrine of Hera within the palace. **Et iam** tells against taking **760–1** as a single unit; Aen. checks the palace, then proceeds to the temple; both are described by coupled nouns. I am much reminded of Plb.10.16.1, the account of the Rom. 'system' for distributing the booty of captured city, involving (at New Carthage) its being gathered together in the market-place; this procedure confirmed by Liv.9.37.10 *aurum argentumque iussum referri ad consulem*, 31.23.8 *praeda omnis primo in forum conlata, deinde in naues imposita* (la Cerdá), 45.34.4 *omne aurum argentumque conlatum*, Vogel, PW 22.1.1203.65ff., Ziolkowski, (289), 74ff., Kern, 280ff., Oakley on Liv.6.2.12. The further small annalistic/Livian detail of the *custodes praedae, infra*, lends some further credibility to the notion that V. here is constructing the scene after the manner of a sternly-managed Roman sack. The booty then reappeared, some of it, in the triumphal display; vd. now M. Beard, *The Roman triumph* (Cambridge, Mass 2007), 147ff., with, *infra*, **763**. The prisoners are labelled in Polygnotus' Lesche of the Cnicians (Paus.10.26.2; cf. 1.15.2 for the Stoa Poikile), but no systematic collection of booty. Cf. Anderson, 246ff., M. Pipili, *LIMC* 5.1.653f., n°25.

762 custodes lecti Cf. Liv.10.20.8 *praedae custodes*, 42.65.4 *praedam custodiendam ducendamque in castra trecentis Cretensium dedit*. Cf. 1.518, 5.729, 11.60 (with n.), 655 etc. for the notion of heroes *lecti*, specially selected (cf. *Od.4.643*). Cf. *EV* 3, 172; the notion in Hom. tends to be expressed with use of πρῶτος. Au. rightly remarks on the irony present in the careful collection and guarding of loot.

Phoenix Achilles' tutor and counsellor, of major importance in *Il.9*, and equipped by Hom. with a detailed autobiography. Cf. A. Kauffmann-Samaras, *LIMC* 8.1.984–7, E. Wüst, PW 20.1.404.10ff., Türk, Ro. 3.2.2403.68ff., Griffin on *Il.9.447ff.*

et dirus Ulixes Cf. 261.

763 praedam adseruabant A. both military (Caes.*Civ.*1.21.2, 3.28.6, etc.) and at home in high poetry: cf. Cic.*carm.Soph.*fr.1.43 (also Cat.17). Oertel, *TLL* 2.872.64f. The Rom. view of this collected booty has been considered (761); it also has an Homeric, and a poetic aspect: for Hom., cf. Seymour, 593ff., Finley, *World of Odysseus*, 61ff. (ownership more important than display). Why should V. spend so long (762–7) on describing the display of booty, when we are waiting desperately for some news of Creusa? An element of deliberate retardation, to accentuate the climax, and a fine preparation for Creusa's exemption (786f.) from the common lot (766f.) of the women of Troy. Not to mention a more obvious element of the visible elimination of the old grandeur and wealth of Troy (4, 556f.), arguably a distraction at this moment, and mysteriously absent from the discussions, from Heinze and Cartault on. It is perhaps also worth suggesting that in this display of wealth between capture and removal there is something of the insistent display of the Rom. triumph (Liv.26.21.7–9, 34.52, Beard, *cit.* V. later limits himself to the varied captives of *Aen.* 8. 722ff.). Rome is born not merely out of defeated Troy, but perhaps out of a Troy over whom the Greeks are even now triumphing.

huc undique Neat juxtaposition of opposing local advbs.; cf. 1.558 *unde huc*, 3.634 *una undique*, not to mention common *huc illuc*.

Troia gaza The adj. an occasional variant, 3.306f., 596f., 7.221, *EV* 5*, 291f.. The noun recognised as of Persian origin by Mela 1.64, Curt.3.13.5. Used also at Lucr.2.37, Cat.64.46, Hor.C.1.29.2, 2.16.9 as indeed at *Aen.*1.119 (*Troia* again) and 5.40. Entirely appropriate to the wealth of a great oriental city like Troy; cf. 504 **barbarico...auro**.

764 incensis...adytis A. at 115, 297, etc.; i., 327, 353, etc.. Some of the detail is lightly sketched in in familiar language.

erepta Of Cass. recovered for a moment from the Greeks, 413 and of Creusa possibly carried off by fate, 738.

mensaeque deorum Cf. Naev.*Bell.poen.*fr.25.3Strz. *sacra in mensa penatiuum ordine ponuntur* (with Barchiesi, 372f.), Enn.*Ann.*114 *mensas constituit*[sc. Numa] (with Skutsch's n.), Varr.*LL* 5.123 *uasa...in mensa deorum sunt posita*, Liv.10.23.12 *trium mensarum argentea uasa in cella Iouis*, Cic. *Nat.Deor.*3.84 (silver, inscribed 'bonorum deorum'; in Sicily: see Pease's ample note), Fest.*pp.*10.18f., 148.11L *in aedibus sacris ara<rum uicem obtinent>*, Macr.3.11.4f., Serv.Dan. *ad Aen.*8.279, Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung* 3, 165–7 (specially helpful), A. de Ridder, DS 3.2.1720, Wissowa 429,

475, Latte, 375f., de Marchi 1 (**502**), 98ff., *TLL* 8.743. 35ff. (Buchwald/Rubenbauer). Note that the use of precious metals is clearly both epic and Roman, while the use both of tables to carry the sacred vessels and of a table by the altar on which offerings were set is (*supra*) solidly Roman.

765 crateresque Cf. n. on 7.147. Cf. Beard (**761**), 10 for the possibility that a crater from Pompey's triumph of 61 survives; vd. also Plin.*Nat.*37.14.

auro solidi Cf. 11.553 *solidum nodis et robore cocto* and **2.639 solidaeque suo stant robore uires**. Variation by enallage upon the more obvious, commoner *solido de marmore* (6.69), *solidoque adamante* (6.552), *solida aera* (9.809), *solido argento* (9.357). Cf. Löfstedt, *Synt.*1₂, 301, Antoine, 188 who do not recognise the enallage. Equivalent to a compound adj., Gk. ὀλόχρυσος. Prof. Görler refers to his discussion of the 'explicative' abl. dependent upon an adj. (*EV* 2, 268); he adds refs. to **51**, **482**. The phrasing here neat and dense. Serv.'s bad notion of 'plated, encrusted with gold' lingers on, via Au. (undecided), into the *OLD*, as E. Montanari explains, *EV* 4, 927, with ref., appropriately enough, to 'immediata pigrizia esegetica', while TCD, who sees clearly the ref. to 'solid gold' deserves commendation.

captiuaque uestis Cf. 7.184, 11.779, but here more clearly adj. as loftier equivalent for gen.plur. (so Serv., Petrone, *EV* 5*, 520), the robes of the female captives and perhaps also (Au.) tapestry, though the elder Cato (*Orig.frr.113–5P*, *Liv.*39.44.2, etc.) found rich clothing alone objectionable enough; cf. G.W. Leffingwell, *Social and private life...* (diss. Columbia 1918), 54 for the Censor and Plautus. For the use of gold and silver thread, cf. nn. on 3.483f., 11.75, *EV* 5*, 158. Note *pretiosa uestis* carried in Marcellus' triumph over Syracuse, *Liv.*26.21.8 (and cf. Plin.*Nat.*37.12).

766 congeritur Standard Lat. for 'gather and store', as in a storeroom, Probst, *TLL* 4.277.23ff. at 278.14f.. Compare e.g. *Liv.*4.53.10, 9.31.9. Possibly, not necessarily, a continuous present.

pueri Boys risked subjection to sexual violence, like women, in some Roman *urbes captiae* at least, Sall. *Cat.*51.9, Cic.*Phil.*3.31, *Liv.*26.13.15, 29.17.15f., Tac.*Hist.*3.33, 4.14, etc. and the fuller discussion, C.A. Williams, *Rom. homosexuality* (New York 1999), 104–7. **Pueri**, however, as used here, can clearly include female children (*OLD* s.v., §4); the offspring of potentates paraded in the Roman triumph survived, some of

them, to glorious futures (Beard (761), 140, 141) Bound to the women by allit.. We might wish to contrast the singing *pueri* and *puellae* of 238f., or those among the dead at G.4.476, *Aen*.6.307 (Salvatore, 89, n.118).

et pauidae...matres Cf. 489, and see 403 for their lot in the *urbs capta*.

longo ordine Not formulaic as used at 11.143f. (where vd. n.; cf. Keudel, *TLL* 9.2.954.11ff.); elsewhere in V. it clearly enough is. Reversed at 1.395.

767 stant circum Cf. *Buc*.10.16, *Aen*.4.509, 10.837. To be carried off, when it suits their new masters, *Il*.4.238, 6.455, Eur. *Tro*.32, Paus.10.25. 9ff. (Lesche of the Cnicians; portrayal of the women of Troy), Plb.2.56. 7, etc., Kern, 154–62. Robert surveys, magisterially, the fate of the women of Troy, *GrMyth.*, 1275–88. The booty-passage was never completed; not so moving that no reader would wish it completed (Au.), nor here a sign that inspiration had run out. Rather, it may be suggested, V. has not yet worked out in detail how far the moving spectacle of the concentrated *Troiana*e is to be developed in anticipation of Cybele's saving of Creusa from sharing their fate (785–787; 787 is also incomplete). See Günther, 36f., Berres, 141ff., Sparrow, 38f..

768 ausus Neat and powerful; the partic. of *audere* permits, in effect, a doubling of the main verb with intensification; cf. 6.15f. *ausus se credere caelo/...enauit*.

quin etiam Cf. n. on 7.385; add Friedrich, *TLL* 5.2.954.20ff..

uoces iactare So too *Buc*.5.62, *Aen*.10.322; with *uerba*, Afran., Liv., with *crimen*, *minas*, Cic., Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.56.8ff.. Cf. Harrison on 10.95, Catrin, 150f., for the words-as-weapons image and Au., in some detail, on the sound-effects in these vv..

per umbram With plur. shadows, 693, with sing., 420, 732.

769 impleui clamore uias Filling with sound common since Plaut., Catrin, 134–6 (*optime*); both *implere* and *completere* regularly used. *Implere* first thus at *Buc*.6.48. See too nn. on 3.313, 11.274, Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.629.74ff. at 629.79. The *clamore supremos/ impletuit montes* of G.4.461 is of the Dryads lamenting Eurydice's original death (with e.g. Moschus, *Epit.Bion*.74), but 515 *maestis late loca questibus implet* might well have suggested both vb. and adj. to V. here.

maestusque The modern reader, perhaps unconvinced on a hasty

reading of Aen.'s proper devotion to his wife, might now continue his untimely quibbles, suggesting that **m.** is both very common and thereby enfeebled. But Aen. is torn between duty to wife and to the rest of his party, between the need to find her and to escape discovery, between inner anguish and the need to remain in control of his first real command. To hint at this state of suppressed tensions, the choice of a slightly weary adj. (cf. n. on 11.26), in contrast to the desperate cries, is a fine subtlety.

Creusam/ 770 ...uocaui The apparently cool and distant tone of 711 thrown aside. For the vb. thus, note Zurli's lucid survey, *EV* 5*, 635. Notice G.4.525f. *Eurydicen uox ipse et frigida lingua/ a! miseram Eurydicen...uocabat*; potentially a significant echo. **C.** the word actually cried; cf. G.4.527 *Eurydicen toto referebant flumine ripae*; often discussed, as by Clausen on *Buc*.1.5, Fordyce on *Cat*.86.3, Au. here, Pease on 4.302.

770 nequiquam ingeminans N. as at 101, 510, 515, 546; an advb. very well suited to V.'s outlook on human destiny (and for its interesting lit. history, vd. n. on 7.589). Compare 3.436 *repentis iterumque iterumque*, where I should have remarked that as here the repeated adverb is a gloss on the sense of repetition present in the participle. Two modest *figurae etymologicae*, ignored by O'Hara; see, though, Gasti (28), 131. For the vb., cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.1517.64f; 12x in V., from G.1.333 (contrast *congeminare, bis*); apparently a Virgilian coinage (cf. Cordier, 145, 170; but *congeminare* already in Plaut.), hardly influenced by the limited use of Gk. compounds of διπλ-

iterumque iterumque Cf. Wills, 116, Wölfflin, *Ausgew.Schr*, 312, n. on 3.436.

771 quaerenti Cf. 10.233f. *teque per aequor/ quaerimus*, *EV* 4, 364.

et tectis urbis Paratactically at 11.213. Also Cic. *Cat*.1.12, 33, etc., Liv.9.4.12. Standard Latin. Abl. of extension; cf. 1.725, 730, Malosti, 27f., 68.

sine fine Cf. 1.279. The expression Lucretian (2.92); also Tullius Laurea fr.1.9 Courtney (= fr.194 Hollis). Bauer, *TLL* 6.1.798.13ff. at 16f. (also Liv.9.26.9). Aen. has put wife before all; her intervention needful if only to bring his search to an end and to return him to his party.

ruenti Pcdy; **furenti** Moγ₁. Cf. 345, 499 for the partic. of *furere* at v.-end in this bk.; a *facilior lectio* here and apparently the product of echo-corruption. **R.** seems to give a finer picture, of Aen. hurrying

wildly (cf. 383, 520 of equally unconsidered motion), as against the more generalised **f.**, hitherto applied to the consequences of Aen.'s warrior instincts. **Ruenti** Mynors; **furenti** Geymonat, Sabbadini. See Cavazza, *EV* 4, 603, Salvatore, 90, n.119. For rhyming partics. framing the line, cf. n. on 568.

772 infelix simulacrum *Mihi non sibi* comments Serv., while TCD thinks only of Aen. *infelix ut pro incolumi ac uera miseranda effigies ac deformis occurreret ... auctura potius quam remotura lacrimas meas*; it will take C. herself to explain to Aen. that the consequences of her disappearance are surprisingly limited; Here, Aen.'s blame, fault, guilt, *vel sim.* is often, predictably, overstated. M. Bellincioni notes that **i.** is used seven times of individuals involved in the last night of Troy (1.475, 2.345, etc., *EV* 2, 488); Serv. did well to raise the issue of how Cr. and Aen. viewed the adj.; we might also think of Dido. For **s.**, cf. n. on 7.89; the Hom. εἴδωλον has already stalked abroad as Lat. *simulacrum* in the intensely Ennian Lucr. 1.123 (vd. Skutsch, p.155, *EV* 4, 868, Traina, *ib.*, 5*, 380). Serv.'s notion that V. used **s.** because he is hinting at apotheosis is poor; vd. *infra* on **umbra** for such fine lexical distinctions in V.

atque ipsius umbra Creusae For the short i in *ipsius* (very common), cf. Tietze, *TLL* 7.2.293.28ff.; note 5.55 *ipsius et ossa parentis*, 535 *ipsius Anchisae longaeui hoc munus habebis*. Has Cr. actually died? Can she therefore have an *umbra*? Such issues have been discussed, eagerly (vd. Lundström, 23); we need only recognise that for V. Creusa's disappearance from the realm of the living is sufficiently death-like to permit the attribution to her of an *umbra*; she does not, though, actually *die*, and on that detail V. is rather careful: cf. 791 **deseruit**. Metrical and word-accents coincide in the 4th. (self-contained), 5th. and 6th. feet; not rare: cf. nn. on 7.291 (with some refs.), 11.48. V. is introduced as a synonym of **simulacrum**, and **imago** is about to follow; a solemn accumulation of terms, not far distant in sense (vd. Negri, 235f., Worstbrock, 134ff., Lundström, 22–4, who argues for a developing identification), theme and variations, rather than hendiadys. For the distinctions between these terms, cf. Lundström, 115, n.16 and (*bene*) A.M. Negri Rosio, *EV* 5*, 379f.. It is hardly V.'s way to maintain consistently minute distinctions between virtual synonyms, though he may sometimes give a passing impression of doing so; here in particular, where he is so careful to avoid explaining just what has become of Cr., a precise terminology would be particularly unwelcome. Aug. evokes the wording and the scene when he recalls his boyhood readings, *Conf.* 1.22.

773 uisa mihi Cf. 271 **uisus adesse mihi** with discussion.

ante oculos Cf. 270 **in somnis, ecce, ante oculos**, with n..

et nota maior Cf. Sen. *Thy.*673 *maiora notis monstra*, Sil.3.699. For the notion of the ghost, spectre, or vision as somehow larger than the living person, cf. n. on 591f., in some detail. Serv.Dan. comments sagely *et per hoc mortuam uult ostendere aut ex homine deam factam*.

imago Cf. 1.353, **2.793**, 4.353, 5.636, O. Prinz, s.v. ‘de mortuorum umbris’, *TLL* 7.1.408.60ff. at 63ff. (from *trag.inc.fr.76*). *EV* 2, 921 not helpful.

774 obstipui steteruntque comae et uox faucibus haesit Cf. full n. on 3.48; Macr.4. 1.1 comments on the *pathos* of the v..

775 tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis Cf. n. on 3.153, where vd. full n. (but for the infin., vd. on 11.142); also present at 8.35; there seems no nearby verb on which **a.** might reasonably depend (but possibly **773 uisa**). Serv. notes *et hic uersus in plerisque dicitur non fuisse*; cf. Ribbeck, 189 for this type of n. in Serv. and see too Polara, *EV* 2, 997, Zetzel, 97f.; at 3.153 *hic uersus in multis non inuenitur*. Deleted here by Ribbeck, followed by Sparrow, 96, 141. Both here and in bk.3, the v. has proper support in the capital mss. At p.141, Sparrow objects that Creusa’s speech ‘was hardly calculated *curas demere*’, but it is typically captious to go on to suggest that her words brought on the tears of **790**, which are rather the product of love and of Aen.’s inability to embrace his wife. Moskalew, 105 notes a certain similarity between the three situations (‘faces major crises, and each time he gets guidance and reassurance’; cf. *ib.*, 64). More important, we should not forget that **774** is likewise identical with a verse in bk.3; much the likeliest explanation is that V. drew on two passages in bk.3 when sketching out the present passage as he passed swiftly to the crisis of the Creusa-scene (cf. *Aen.*3, pp. xxxvii, xl). Serv. had probably seen a ms. in which the vv. in bks. 2 and 3 had been deleted (see Zetzel, *cit.*), but that does not at all mean that they are out of place in a crit. ed. of V..

776–89 A complex speech, of the highest quality, of which there is no adequate general discussion. Cf. Eurydice’s farewell, *G.*4.494–8; *iamque uale* (**789**) the strongest vbl. parallel; cf. Gale, 338. Highet found it hard to classify, and detailed examination reveals yet more elements present: of course it is both a farewell, and prophetic; it contains moreover strong consolatory elements (cf. Serv. on **775**), both in urging Aen.

to cease from his laments (**776f.**, **784**), and in advising him of realm, prosperity and new family to come. That Aen. does not cease from his laments (**790**; cf. Lundström, 22) is excellent characterisation. Dinter well remarks on the presence of epitaphic elements too: Cr.'s homeland, and exalted ancestry, like her farewell to Aen., are all pertinent. Dido's own is clearly to be compared (4.465–8, with E. Fraenkel, *Glotta* 33(1954), 157–9 = *Kl.B* 2, 139–41). On prophecy as consolation, cf. O'Hara, *DOP*, 138f. on Serv.'s n. on 1.263; naturally, Aen. will have to strive and suffer in Italy, but this is not the time to tell him; cf. O'Hara, *ib.* 88f. for a condemnation of Creusa's deceits (there will, that is, also be a war in Italy, as though this were the moment to expound all the details, with horrid pedantry), and Dinter, 165 for the contrast with Cr.'s brother Hector on the future of his beloved Androm., *Il.6.459–61*. There has been serious discussion of whether Creusa knows so much of the future thanks to Cybele's benevolent role, or simply because she is 'dead' (Lundström, 27, 115, n.16, after Heinze, 58f., Cartault, 205. But is she actually dead after all? Vd. **790** **deseruit**), but the reader is hardly invited to ponder this unanswerable and ultimately rather unimportant problem. See Cartault, *cit.*, M. Dinter, *CQ* 55(2005), 164f., M. Fernandelli, *MD* 36(1996), 187ff., Heinze, 61f., Highet, 115f., 311, n.26, Hughes (**738**), 417f., H. Akbar Khan, *Lat.60* (2001), 906ff., Lundström, 19–42, O'Hara, *DOP*, 88–91, Salvatore, 91f., Segal (1974), 35f..

776 quid tantum...iuuat For the impers., cf. **27**, **586**, *EV* 3, 76. *Quid tantum* also 1.745 (after *G.2.481*). Cr. checks Aen.'s desperation vigorously with her first words, but her reply is sober and gentle in tone. We return to the theme at **784**.

insano...dolori The adj. at **343** of Coroebus' passion for Cass. (see n. on 7.550). Little joy at *EV* 2, 122; vd. Rieks, 30, n.22. Rage, grief, self-reproach will not bring Cr. back, nor will they assist the rest of Aen.'s followers.

indulgere The splendid line (note the assonance of **in-...in-** and some allit. of t and d) re-used at 6.135 *et insano iuuat indulgere labori*; the thought may (and the language does) owe something to Lucr.3.933f. *quod nimis aegris/ luctibus indulges?*. In prose too, *Nep.Reg.1.4 tantum indulxit dolori*, Bulhart, *TLL* 7.1.1252.31f.. Vd. *EV* 2, 950.

777 o dulcis coniunx Cf. n. on 7.360 for the intensifying, elevating effect of **o**. From near at hand, yet from another world, Cr. addresses Aen. with evident tenderness; no sense that she views her husband

as curt, rude and neglectful. The language is very much V.'s own, applied by Proteus, in apostrophe, to Orpheus' song of his lost Eurydice, G.4.465 *te dulcis coniunx, te solo in litore secum...* (*d.* comparably at 4.651 *dulces exuiae*; cf. too *EV* 2, 151). Vd. Dickey, 116, 137, n.4.

non haec.../ 778 eueniunt Cf. 5.56f. *haud equidem sine mente, reor, sine numine diuum*, 6.368 *neque enim, credo, sine numine diuum/ flumina tanta paras Stygiamque innare paludem*. From Hom.s' οὐ πάντων ἀέκητι θεῶν (*Od*.6.240) and/or ἄνευ(θε) θεοῦ/θεῶν (vd. Au. here, *Il*.5.185, etc. after Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen*, 2, 298), with help from Cat.64.134 *neglecto numine diuum*. The vb. only here in V.; cf. Hor.C.4.4.65; not Cat. or Lucr, but used at Enn.*trag*.183, Pacuv.*trag*.407. Cf. Hey, *TLL* 5.2.1013. 34ff.. For the negated pronoun, cf. nn. on 3.161, 11.45f. (Catullan).

sine numine diuum N. the power and/or will of the gods, Bailey, 68, Pötscher, 31, 100, Pomathios, 321, 325. We recall the hypothesis **fatone erepta** (738) and here are about to be given the further determinants, **fas** and the will of Jup. (cf. 739, 772 for comparable, though very different, ranges of options, or divergent explanations).

778 nec te...hinc portare Portare M₁[M protare]ωγ₁. Asportare PM₂, γαδερν, TCD. Serv. states the problem clearly enough: the vulgate here did not scan (indeed the text does not in **P** and TCD), so some removed **hinc**, others **as-** (either, or both, of which could have been imported to help correct the metre); alternatively you altered the word-order and wrote **eueniunt nec te hinc comitem**. The presence of *asportare* in Sil. (15.688, 17.169, but not guaranteed in earlier dactylic poetry, though Liv.24.26.9 is an attractive analogy here) may indicate only that the problem in V. here was older than Sil. and that *asp-* was a reading thus known to him. Fernandelli, *cit.*,194, draws attention to Eur.*Andr*.1269 ἐκκομίζειν, but we learn slowly that neither V.'s sources nor his imitators are safe guides to the precise wording of his text. Au. rightly remarks on V.'s fondness for the *simplex portare* (*n.* on 11.281, with discussion and bibl.), and is only worried, unnecessarily, that the sole other instance in *Aen.* of the vb. with personal object is 11.544 (the infant Camilla; but see too 4.598 of the penates). There is a general textual issue present here (cf. Götte, *bene*): that of the exact degree of the poet's fondness for *simplex pro composito*, his copyists' respect for that fondness, and his editors' understanding of the balance. We cannot exclude that V. wrote simply *nec te comitem portare Creusat*, which was then glossed both *asportare*, and *hinc portare*. I write **hinc portare**, though suspecting that **hinc** (hardly necessary to the sense here) should

not be in the text at all. See n. on 7.351, Lenaz, *EV4*, 223f., Fernandelli 1996, 193, n.18. and above all Götte, p.806.

comitem...Creusam Cf. 86, 181, 294 for **c.** thus predicatively. For the speaker's (elevated, affecting) use of his/her own name, cf. n. on 7.401. Fernandelli, *cit.*, draws attention to Eur.*Andr.*1268, close in sound, etym. and sense, κομιστήν (with 1264, 1269; escorting here a theme of importance). Add 1269 Ζηνὶ γὰρ δοκεῖ τάδε, compared with 779.

779 fas As subj. of **sinit**, *G.1.269 fas et iura sinunt*, Vetter, *TLL* 6.1.295.38ff.. Serv.Dan. comments *pro fato*; that may be right, as the parallelism of *fata* and *fas* at 1.205f. suggests (la Cerdá, Sini, *EV2*, 467, Pötscher, 146, Pomathios, 325. Vetter offers no comment, while Henry denies strenuously that *fas* can ever bear such a sense); note too that *fatum* and *fas* are both associated with *fari*. Au., after Henry, argues for **fas** + (understood) *est*, supported by 'both idiom and the whole run of the verse', rather unpersuasively; an interpretation that might also be implied by Mynors' comma in 779. But **fas** and **regnator** are clearly enough parallel.

aut...sinit Of *fatum* permitting, cf. 6.869f., *EV4*, 884.

ille...superi regnator Olympi Cf. n. on 7.558 *summi regnator Olympi*. The adj. here oddly uncommon (but cf. n. on 7.312 for the use of **superus** applied to the Olympian gods). I. (*superfluum hoc loco pronomen* Serv.Dan., but la Cerdá acutely suggests a connexion with the use of the outstretched hands in prayer; vd. n. on 3.176f.: in such contexts, **ille** therefore perhaps deictic) not common usage in V. (of Jupiter, Plaut. *Amph.*461, Cic.*Cat.*3.22, etc.; Bulhart, *TLL* 7.1.357.6ff. at 8), though present in relig. language, Ogilvie on *Liv.1.24.8*, Bulhart, Au.. Cf. 10.875 *pater ille deum*, and n. on 7.110 *Iuppiter ipse*. Prof. Görler suggests acutely that comparison of Cic.'s use 'vice articuli definiti' (Bulhart, *cit.* 355.80ff.), 'to express God's uniqueness (as the Greeks did with their article)' might be applicable here too. Our explanations are hardly incompatible. For **nec...aut**, cf. LHS 522, Vollmer, *TLL* 1.1567.84ff., citing 240, 377, etc. (common).

780 longa...exilia For plur. and orthogr., (not **exs-**) cf. n. on 3.4. **L.** will become of thematic importance, nn. on 3.160 and notably 383. Sc. *aranda*, by zeugma? Or sc. *sunt?* Unsurprisingly, Bell favours zeugma, 309 (sc. *ferenda*, as it might be; plain *exilia aranda* would of course be

intolerably hard), and, given V.'s evident fondness for the figure (*ib.*), he is likelier than not to be right.

tibi...arandum Cf. discussion of the image at 3.495 *nullum maris aequor arandum*. Here, 'ploughing' at one level prepares us for the richer farmlands of Latium and Etruria. Cf. Hardie, *CI*, 307f.

et uastum maris aequor Enallage, as Bell, 319 remarks; whole (sea), deprived of adj., depends on part (surface). For **maris aequor** (apparently invented), cf. n. on 3, *cit.* See too n. on 3.191 *uastumque... aequor*. 'Desolate' perhaps present here alongside 'vast', Au., Pinotti, *EV* 5*, 455; cf. 7.228 *diluuius ex illo tot uasta per aequora uecti*.

781 et...uenies Elsewhere not thus ('you will reach'): cf. 1.283, 7.98. Hector's words, **294f.**, begin at last to acquire body and sense; it is notable that Ve. herself does not lend maternal authority to Aen.'s future mission. Cf. Wagner, *QV* xxxv, §8 for an interpretation of this *et* as introducing a *de facto* protasis (with Görler, *EV* 2, 275).

terram Hesperiam **H.** here used (as at AR 3.311) as an adj. 'belonging to the Western Land' (as noun, vd. Agathyllus Arcas, *Suppl.Hell.fr.15.3*); cf. n. on 7.543, Horsfall 1979, 39: no rational grounds for thinking the name other than Alex. and erudite in origin. Used by Enn., *Ann.20* (where vd. Sk., who concurs with me in thinking it excludes Stes. as principal source of the *TIC*. See 587ff.). Careful readers will note that Cassandra too, at least as quoted by Anch., used to speak of Hesperia (3.185). For now, these strange names tell the Trojans nothing. 'West' is in itself as vague as sailing beyond the sunset and the baths of all the Western stars, and is not at all incompatible with statements of the Trojans' ignorance of their destination, itself a familiar motif in colonisation-narratives, and a difficulty that is often seen to be removed or remedied in the course of colonisation-voyages; cf., in some detail, *Aen.*3, xxix-xxxii; Akbar Khan (776–89), 906–15 unconvincing. *Ad consolationem multiplicem pertinet* TCD, not to mention that the very act of prophecy suggests that Cr. *ad deorum se obsequia esse translatam*.

ubi Lydius.../ 782 ...Thybris **T.** used as a name of the Tiber in speech and narr. in the *Aen.*; a form Etr. in origin, but thus in Latin first in V.; possibly derived from the Sibyll. oracles (Horsfall, *EV* 5*, 156f., n. on 7.303). 'Lydian', because of the Lyd. origin of the Etrs. and the general view of Tiber as the Etr. river; cf. n. on 7.663, NH on Hor.C.1.20.5. The conventional-learned epithet separated from the name to accentuate interest, curiosity, surprise; Aen. on the other hand, acquainted with nearby Lydia, will have been deeply perplexed.

arua/ 782 inter opima uirum O. of Cyprus, 1.621; in Lucr. of Sicily (1.728), in Hor. of Sardinia (Hor.C.1.31.3), of Asia, Cic.*Manil.*14, of the area of Tusculum, Liv.3.7.3. See Keudel, *TLL* 9.2.710.27ff. at 34. Compare Hom. ἐριβῶλας, πίσιν (Ussani, etc.); notably, vd. ἀνδρῶν πίσινα ἔργα, *Il.*12.283). V.'s sense further clarified at 8.63 *pinguis culta secantem*. Note the importance of farming in the foundation of a successful colony, Horsfall (1989), 18 (with fuller discussion), citing e.g. 3.136, 141, 7.261f., 290. Anastrophe of disyll. prepos.. **Virum** adds more sonorous dignity than precise meaning: cf. 313, 1.87, 101, 119, etc.; see Laurenti's good discussion, *EV* 5*, 552. Not so much 'meadows rich in men' as 'rich meadows belonging to men'; so both Hom., *supra* and the usage of *opimus*: whereas Lucr. can write (1.728) *rebus opima bonis*, gen. not so used before the time of Symm. and Ambr., and, as Henry remarks 'rich in men' is hardly a pertinent sense here, except, of course, as a source of perplexity. **V.** could also (Miss Hubbard) be taken with **agmine**, but after **arua inter opima**, most readers will feel that **u.** has a natural home, of sorts

leni fluit agmine Exactly so Enn. (cf. Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.969.26f., Ravenna, *ib.*7.2. 1143.58, Curt.3.4.8). Perhaps of the Liris, *Ann.*163; vd. Sk. there for **a.** used of the flow or current of a river (so here Serv. Dan. *leni impetu uel fluore*); note Lucr. 5.271 *super terras fluit agmine dulci* and compare 212 **agmine certo** (of the serpents). *EV* 3, 175. Further enquiry reveals that **l.** is used much more of wind than of water; cf. though Hor.C.1.1.22 *ad aquae lene caput sacrae*, Ov.F.2.704 *lene sonantis aquae*, G. Schönbeck, *Der locus amoenus..* (diss. Heidelberg 1962), 21ff.. The real Tiber's tendency to frequent and violent flooding (NH on Hor.C.1.2.13; *ipse saepius uidi*) is here perfectly irrelevant; compare rather the gliding rivers of G.2.157 (with e.g. Men.Rhet.p.349.27, 384.9Sp.), for the occasion requires an almost epideictic, panegyrical tone; *cum laude plenissima* TCD. Miss Hubbard suggests that there may also be a hint of 'abounds' (cf. Tib.2.3.51, *OLD* s.v., §6d, etc.), filling out **opima**.

783 illic Cf. 1.205f. *sedes ubi fata quietas/ ostendunt; illic fas regna resur gere Troiae.* Fernandelli 1996, 192 compares Eur.*Andr.*1268–72: Thetis' prophecy to Peleus of the dynasty that will be descend from Androm.'s union with Pyrrhus.

res laetae The adj. typically used by V. (260, 395, 687) of cheerful, positive, encouraging turns in events (not to mention the more specialised agric. sense, 306, not to be excluded entirely here). **Res**

often employed by V. with an adj. to create a handy near-abstract, ‘a bright situation’, in today’s speech; cf. the useful collection of material, Laurenti, *EV* 4, 446f., citing e.g. 6.91, 196, 8.100, 365, 11.445. **Italæ** for **laetae** in **MP**₃, from 8.626; **laetae P̄ωy**.

regnunque Cf. 4.267, 350, 6.67, 71, 7.217, etc. *EV* 4, 467, Poma-thios, 174. The strong allit. of r, Persius’ *littera canina* (Marouzeau, *TSL*, 27f., Cordier, 24) here used amply with no hint of growling menace.

et regia coniunx After **regnum**: cf. 88f. **regno incolumis regumque uigebat/ consiliis**, where vd. n. on the parechesis. For the wording, cf. 7.56, 11.371 (vd. both nn.); applied to Lavinia, **r.** may suggest both her royal birth and her status as royal consort. Cf. *Companion*, 125, with n.19: Aen.’s Italian future in general and the fated union with Lavinia in particular are not hidden from Dido in the narrative of bks. 2–3. ‘Dido should have listened more carefully’: *alii ap.* Mackie, 60, n.1 (cf. Lundström, 34 for other views).

784 parta tibi Cf. 3.495, 6.89 (also prophetic, as Au. remarks), 7.598 (where vd. n.). Serv. here writes well (as Perret properly remarks) of what follows *melius ad posteriora referimus, ut dicat*: ‘*noli flere, nec enim captiuam sum*’. *male enim plerique dicunt ‘quia habes uxorem paratam’*. Full stop here, therefore, and light stop at v.-end.

lacrimas...pelle **P** used by V. also of *gloria*, 5.395, *dolor*, 6.382f., *timores* 5.812, *amor* G.4.325; cf. Focardi, *EV* 4, 10, Reineke, *TLL* 10.1. 1015.41f. (= ‘manu deterge’, after TCD *remouere*), but he also notes that for some **p.** is used in the more general sense of ‘dismiss’, 1014.24ff. (34ff. for Virgil). Both senses may be present, though I am happy to do without the back of the hero’s hand. *EV* 3, 94–6 is not satisfactory. Cf. (e.g.) Eur.*Andr.*1234, *Med.*159, NH on Hor.C.1.24.1, *Epic.Drusi* 427 (with Witlox’ n.), Sen.*Cons.Plb.*11.6.1, 17.2: V. draws in passing on the consolatory commonplace of avoiding excesses of grief. Note that Serv. paraphrases *noli flere nec enim captiuam sum* only to continue *male enim plerique dicunt ‘quia habes uxorem paratam’*. TCD on the other hand twice refers to *consolatio* but finds it firmly in Aen.’s glorious future in the West. All that suggests vigorous discussion in the schoolrooms. Au. is greatly affected by the allit. of -l- in this v., rightly enough; notice too that of d and s in the next v..

dilectae...Creusae Again (cf. 778) C. uses her own name; cf. *EV* 3, 172, Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.1177.36 for **d**, well liked by V.: the ppp *bis* in *G.*, *sexies* in *Aen.*, the perf. at 9.430 and the pres. stem only at 8.590. The

gen. is objective; rare but splendidly attested: cf. 1.462 *lacrimae rerum*, Antoine, 84, Flury, *TLL* 7.2.842.20. Note the greatly inferior 10.189 *luctu... Phaethontis amati*. Not even this v. seems to have been enough to discourage those determined to read Aen.'s plans for the evacuation of the palace as grounds for a wide-ranging critique (**707–20**) of his marital incapacities.

785 non ego.../ 786 aspiciam 'I will not be the one to'; cf. Traina on 12.189 *non ego*. V. expresses in terms of sight the distinction between Creusa and the general lot of the captive women of Troy; cf. R.A. Smith, 79. 'Behold (and suffer)'. Creusa shall avoid the fate, above all, of Androm., *Il.6.454–65* (Knauer, Fernandelli 1996, 190), just as we shall read that Polyxena has done, 3.321ff. ...*nec uictoris eri tetigit captiuia cubile*; Fernandelli *cit.* Creusa distances herself decisively, and consolingly, from the sad crowd of prisoners Aen. has just seen (**766f.**; Fernandelli, *cit.*). Of **785–9**, Heyne writes, with becoming understatement, 'praeclari versus'.

Myrmidonum...Dolopumue Cf. 7.

sedes...superbas The noun suggests much the same as at **760**, 'palace', if not merely the neutral 'haunt, abode' (cf. Spallone, *EV* 4, 750), while the adj. points to the relations of victor/vanquished, and owner/slave (cf. Eur.'s use of *hybris* and derivatives, *Andr.* 434, 977, etc.), much as at the closely comparable 3.326 *iuumenque superbūm*, Pyrrhus as viewed by Andromache (with **seruitum** here, cf. 327 **seruitio**); see Traina, *EV* 4, 1073.

786 aut Grais...matribus Undervalued in the useful study of V.'s collective, choral *matres*, J.W. Zarker, *Vergilius* 24(1978), 16, but cf. C.L. Babcock in *Two worlds* (15), 44. Here, as often in V., **m.** used in the sense of *materfamilias*, or *matrona* (as e.g. **479**, 7.400 *matres...Latinae*); cf. *EV* 3, 405. **Grais:** vd. **148**. For the household slavery to be expected by the Trojan *matres*, cf. *Il.6.456* (Androm. is imagined as having been set to weave at Argos, etc.), Eur.*Andr.* 927f. (Andr. slave to Hermione), Ov.*Met.*13.511, Seymour, 271, Ducrey (**403**), 75ff..

seruitum...ibo For the use of the supine, cf. full n. on **114 scitatum**, with Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.2.648.39, J.H.W. Penney, *ALLP*, 254f.. *EV* 4, 701 lists other instances of prisoners of war viewed simply as slaves (e.g. 11.81); compare the frequency of δούλος/-η in Eur.*Andr.*.

787 Dardanis See Reisch, *TLL* 3. *Onom.* 47.42 (**D.** as noun only here in Lat. lit. texts, but the form is Homeric); the adj. is not some form of riddling patronymic or ref. to Priam (thus, Au., Dinter, 164, Hughes, 407 with n.17; for her paternity, cf. 738), but simply presents Cr. as of the royal house of Troy, and, as a dau. of Priam, a descendant of the city's founder Dardanus. She is slightly more royal, but clearly less divine than her husband, who was not the king's son; Iulus the *nepos* of Venus, 4.163. Cf. *EV* 5*, 292.

et diuae Veneris nurus Cf. Cat.66.89f.. The reverse of the fears Priam expresses to Hector, *Il.*22.65, ἐλκομένας τε νυοὺς ὀλοῆς ύπὸ χερcὶν Ἀχαιῶν; the daughters-in-law of Priam of special note (501). Cf. Sparrow, 42 ('effective'), Berres, 110–28 (as key to a long discussion involving a second ed. of *G.4*: unacceptable, *Companion*, 13f., 86–9), *id.*, *VH*, 123, Günther, 42f.; it might be that V. wanted to conclude the v. with something more exciting than *et tua coniunx*, a supplement known to Serv.Dan., or that 787 represents a surviving trace of an unfinished addition (Günther); it is not, after all, necessary to the sense or to the movement of the rhetoric.

788 sed me At last the counter to 784 non ego.

magna deum genetrix Cf. 9.82 *deum...genetrix Berecyntia*, Hey, *TLL* 6.2.1823.58; **g.** of the grandest poet. antecedents and analogues (Enn., Acc., Lucr., Cat., Cic.*carm.*, Hor.C.); Earth called the *magna deum mater* at Lucr.2.598 and Cybele *mater* and *dea magna* at Cat.63.9. Cf. Carter, *Epitheta*, 26f.. For a summary of work on Cybele and on her role in the story of Troy/ in the *Aen.*, cf. nn. on 11.768, 3.111; add R.R. Nauta, in *Tra oriente e occidente* ed. G. Urso (Pisa 2007), 79–92, P.R. Hardie, *ib.*, 93–103.

his detinet oris Cf. 8.51 *his oris*; a very common type of formulation in *Aen.*; cf. 3. 117, 131, 338, 569, etc.. Cr.'s actual deification is not announced, but we are not far short of it; **d.** *semel* in *Buc.*, *ter* in *Aen.*(4.348, *Aen.* of Carthage's hold on Dido); apparently first elevated, Cat.68.100. Heinze, 58f. (with n.) and Lundström, 29 indulge in learned speculation about the sort of status that Cr. will enjoy among the goddess's handmaidens or assistants, but V. is careful to discourage the reader from filling in this sort of detail.

789 iamque uale So at *G.4*.497 (Eur. to Orph.); cf. n. on 11.827, with nn. on 11.98 *aeternumque uale* (epigraphic) and 3.68, for the last farewell

to the dead (not *uale* but *salue*). When employed, necessarily valedictory; cf. Dinter, 164.

et nati...communis amorem At G.4.324f. *nostri.../...amor*, of son for mother, *Aen.*10.789, of son for father, at 1.716 of father for imagined son (Fedeli, *EV* 1, 144), but here, the gen. presumably to be understood as both subj. and obj.. Note the *communis natos, consortia tecta* of G.4.153 and Prop.4.11.73, quite at V.'s level, *nunc tibi commendo communia pignora, Paulle* (while Eur.*Alc.*375, 377, though often cited here, belong to a play apparently not much to V.'s taste); Bannier, *TLL* 3.1968.62; apparently *nepotes, filia, filius* all commoner (and later) with *c.* (*ib.*1968.67ff.). Serv. senses Cr.'s anxiety about Asc.'s fate at the hands of a looming stepmother, a threat present to Serv.Dan. and TCD, 1.256.25. Cf. n. on 7.761 for V. and conventional views of the stepmother.

serua Cf. 1.36 *aeternum seruans sub pectore uulnus*, 10.502 *seruare modum, EV* 4, 814–5; note too 3.319 *Pyrrhin conubia seruas?* and the epigraphic echoes (Hoogma, 247; more might perhaps have been expected) *fili nostri serua communis amorem, nunc commune nobis, custus, tu serua sepulcrum, quae commune torum seruauit casta mariti.*

790 haec ubi dicta dedit Cf. n. on 7.471: lofty, archaic and apparently reserved for special occasions.

lacrimantem et multa uolentem/ 791 dicere Cf. G.4.501f. *prensantem nequiquam umbras et multa uolentem/ dicere praeterea uidit, Aen.*4.390f. *linquens multa metu cunctantem et multa parantem/ dicere, 10.554f. tum caput orantis nequiquam et multa parantis/ dicere deturbat terrae:* see Au.'s very good note ('an obviously stylised reaction to a given set of circumstances', yet with no sense of the mechanical), Moskalew, 151f., Putnam, 45, Otis, 412, Sparrow, 148 (notably injudicious), Gale, 338, Briggs, 14f., Segal, 1973/4, 97f., Hight, 226f.. For V.'s frequent use of the weighty coupled partcs., cf. **568**; for Aen.'s tears, cf. n. on 11.29 and for *lacrimare* (Enn., Cat., Lucr.) as against *flere* in high poetry, vd. Flury, *TLL* 7.2. 844.42ff. **Dicere** also takes up **dicta**; cf. Wills, 248f.; here a polyptoton of infin. (fut.) and partic. (past).

deseruit An inversion of **562**, Aen., caught up in the defence of Priam's palace, 'deserts' Cr., though **d.** can, as here, and there, clearly be rather less inflammatory than Eng. 'deserts', 'abandons'. Cf. Heurgon 1931, 266, Segal 1973/4, 98, with n.6, 1974, 36, Hughes, 418, 421 (welcome sobriety). If Trojan Cybele compels Cr. to leave Aen., then Roman Jup., with Mercury, compels Aen. to leave Dido and, at any rate, Cr. is now bound by the rules of another world, perhaps that

of the attendants of the gods (cf. 788), for no word suggests that she is actually dead, and she does not rub shoulders, amid acute embarrassment, with Dido in bk.6. Cf. 591.

tenuisque...in auras So Eurydice, G.4.499f. *dixit et ex oculis subito, ceu fumus in auras/ commixtus tenuis, fugit diuersa* and Anch. from Aen.'s grasp at 5.740 *dixerat et tenuis fugit ceu fumus in auras*. The adj. is solidly Lucretian, 1.1087 *tenuis...aeris auras*, 3.232 *tenuis...aura*, Hey, *TLL* 2.1478.62f. (*EV* 5*, 109f. notably thin) and given Lucr.'s clear application of *t.* to *aura*, it is not very likely that V. meant us to take it as, *ter*, nominative. Segal 1973/4, 99 takes **a.** as 'breezes', but V. will hardly have forgotten Lucr.'s insistence on the *tenuitas* of air; the Lucretian adj. makes it very difficult to take **a.** in the sense of Homeric εἰc πνοίαc ἀνέμων. Cf. Briggs, *Narrative and simile*, 14f., Heurgon 1931, 266, Lundström, 28, Segal 1973/4, 97, Putnam, 45, Moskalew, 151. Note that here no third element (*fumus*) is present in the comparison, and we are hardly invited to supply it (misstated, Gale, 338); note Lucr.3.456 on the nature of the *anima*, dissolved *ceu fumus, in altas aeris auras*.

recessit Cf. 5.526f. *signavitque uiam flammis tenuisque recessit/ consumpta in uentos*. The ωχετο of *Il.23.101* or the ἔπτατ' of *Od.11.208*. For the word-ends in 4th. and 5th. feet, cf. 380.

792 ter.../793 ter Od. meets his mother Anticleia in the Underworld, and wishes to embrace her: *Od.11.206ff. τρὶς μὲν ἐφωρμήθην, ἐλέειν τέ με θυμὸς ἀνώγει, / τρὶς δέ μοι ἐκ χειρῶν σκιῆς εἴκελον ἢ καὶ ὄνειρῳ/ ἔπτατ'* (for the terminology, cf. Bremmer (268–97), 78f.). For such repetition of *ter*, vd. n. on 11.188f. and for *Dreiheit* as a narrative structure, cf. n. on 7.141, Zorzetti, *EV* 3, 783. **792–4** will be used again at 6.700–2, Anch. who eludes his son's embrace; cf. Denis Feeney, *ORVA*, 176, Moskalew, 151f., Sparrow, 148–50 (vd. warning at 790f.), and further discussions cited at 790f.. An attempt so foolish on Aen.'s part, to try to embrace Creusa after *she* has left *him* that the lines must undoubtedly be interpolated, L. Mueller, *de re metrica* (repr. Hildesheim 1967), 463; a precious insight for which I am grateful to Weidner's n..

conatus Cf. Lact.*Inst.7.20.11 anima enim, cum diuortium fecit a corpore est, ut ait idem poeta, par leuibus uentis uolucrike simillima somno;* cf. Erren, *comm. G.*, p.978. Unlike Eurydice and Anchises, Cr. is not indisputably dead, but her image is at least as impalpable as theirs. Cf. Bremmer, *cit.*, 79 (with *id.*, *Rise and fall of the afterlife* (London 2002), 3f.) on Achilles' attempt to embrace the *psyche* of Patroclus, *Il.23.99ff.*

ibi As often, temporal, *OLD* s.v., §1a, Haffter, *TLL* 7.1.145.76f..

collo dare bracchia circum Bannier, *TLL* 3.1127.84f. well recognises the tmesis, despite the anastrophe of the prefix; cf. n. on 7.588 *circum*, Leumann, 116, 562 for V.'s inventivity with such forms. Note 721 for usage of *collum*.

793 frustra compresa Cf. Hey, *TLL* 3.2146.6f., *EV* 4, 254, *OLD* s.v., §1aβ, Tib.2.5.91f. *natusque parenti/ oscula comprensis auribus eripiet*. See n. on 770 **nequiquam**.

manus effugit Cf. Ov.F.5.476 *lubrica prensantes effugit umbra manus*, Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.207.30f.

imago Cf. 773 **nota maior imago**. There is some play on *-m-....m-....m-* in this v.; the smooth, liquid play on I (with added *u-...u-*) in the next line is far easier to understand.

794 par...simillima Cf. Lucr.2.341 *esse pari filo similique affecta figura*, Baer, *TLL* 10.1.263.45f., *EV* 3, 965 and (coupling with s., common in Cic.) 278.2ff. at 5f.. Note the pleasing structure ABCBAC. The εἴκελον of *Od*.11.207, *supra*.

leuibus uentis Note the ἀνέμοιςιν ὁμοῖοι of *Il*.10.437, AR 4.877 πνοιῇ ικέλη δέμας ἡύτ' ὅνειρος and Lucr.'s phrasing, 4.901 *uentus subtili corpore tenuis*. Cf. 5.838 *leuis...Somnus*, 10.663 *leuis...imago*, n. on 11.595, Koster, *TLL* 7.2.1204.37ff., *EV* 3, 198.

uolucrique...somno The adj. used of *auras* at 5.503, 11.795 (where vd. n.). **S.** naturally brings to mind *Od*.11.207 σκιῇ εἴκελον ἥ καὶ ὄνειρῷ and AR just cited. Does V. use *somnus* for *somnium*? If **S.** is personified here (cf. Pötscher, 132 on 5.838ff.), none of the antecedents or associations seem quite to hold good. *In somnis* is good Virgilian Latin for ‘in a dream’ (Au. on 2.9, 270, Löfstedt, *Synt*.1₂, 55f., citing Prop.2.26.1 *uidi te in somnis*, *OLD* s.v., §1c., Cf. *EV* 4, 941, unilluminating). Lewis and Short, s.v. *somnus*, §IID, ‘a dream’, cite unpersuasively *Enn*.*Ann*.35 *exterrita somno* (vd. Sk.), and Sil.3.216 *promissa euoluit somni*). We are still is some little distance from using *somnus*, sing., without prep., for ‘dream’ (that is simply not correct Latin, or so we are assured by e.g. Krebs, *Antibarbarus*, 2, 589, Au. on 9); the issue does not trouble previous comms. as much as it clearly should. The educated reader is here probably inclined towards a sense of ‘dream’ by the antecedents in Hom. and AR; though a case could be made for *somnis* as plur. of *somnium* (by synesis/ contraction; cf. 5.269 *taenis*), that cannot occur here in the sing., both by the ‘rules’ for the use of **S.** (*supra*), as also by the absence of synesis of final *-io*. But those rules are not quite watertight,

for at *Acc.praet.*30, *ea si cui in somno accidunt*, Timpanaro (*Cic. Div.* 1.45) renders ‘se accadono a qualcuno in sogno’ (cf. Löfstedt, *Synt.1₂*, 56), while at *Cic.Rep.*6.10.3 *aliquid in somno tale* it does seem that *somno* (guaranteed by the metre in Acc.) takes on a sense very close to that of *somnio* (cf. Löfstedt); perhaps we may suspect that something similar happens here too, particularly since metre renders the ‘correct’ cretic word impossible. The argument for a sense of ‘dream’ at 6.893 *sunt geminae Somni portae* is not compelling; if the ref. to dreams pure and simple were clear there (and it is not quite, though it had been at *Od.*19.562ff. and is at *Hor.Carm.*3.27.39ff.), it would be easier to argue for synechesis (*supra*), were the sing. not still an obstacle. Con. and Norden are reduced there to saying that V. is compelled to use *Somni*, ‘sleep’, for *Somnii*, ‘dream’, by the *ferrum* and *catenae* of prosody. Here too, if **somno** can be taken as ‘dream’, there is a major novelty of usage, not clearly understood; if it cannot be, then the sense is not clear. The difficulty is inevitably noticed by Page.

795 sic demum So too at 6.154. ‘In fact *sic* marks a very abyss of sorrow’, Au., of Aen.’s acceptance of the loss of Creusa (vd. Segal 1974, 38). **Demum** closes the literal digression begun at **749**.

socios...reuiso Cf. Segal *cit.*, Putnam, 45f., comparing 4.396 *classemque reuisit* and 6.899 *sociosque reuisit*; certainly, in all three passages Aen. and V. return to the everyday business of epic narrative from the great heights of intolerable emotions; terse conclusion after extended development (so W. Görler, *per litt.*)

consumpta nocte The night begun at **250ff.**; dawn (**801**) is now very near, literally and metaphorically too, as Troy’s blackest night comes to an end. It is bizarre that TCD should suggest that Aen. and Cr. have been talking all night (1.257.21f.). Elsperger, *TLL* 4.616.9f. compares Sisenna, fr.6 *nocte consumpta* and Caes.*Gall.*7.25.1 *consumpta iam reliqua parte noctis*. There might be a hint of the tone of histor. narrative here; it would not be inappropriate.

796–804 Conclusion ‘Both an end and a beginning’, Nagle, 257. A passage simultaneously from night to day, from bereavement to hope, from an old city to a new, from the ashes of Troy, to the forests of Ida. Nine lines that deserved closer attention: B. Nagle, *CW* 76(1983), 257–63, Heinze, 62f., Cartault, 206, Puccioni, 90, di Cesare 59f.. Quinn’s remark (120) ‘the final Tableau on the slopes of Mt.Ida’ makes me suspect, not for the first time, that he is studying a different work.

796 atque hic Cf. 386 with n., ‘indicating a surprising turn in events’.

ingentem.../ 797 ...numerum At 1.381, twenty ships; less one, 1.113. Some account of the numbers in V., Lersch, 121; cf. Horsfall (1989), 15f. with n.55 (for other accounts) and n. on 7.38f.. This small detail relevant to our image of the scale of the undertaking and of Aen.’s responsibilities; he passes here from household to nation (though sadly reduced); note that already in Hellanicus, *FGH4F31* = DH 1.47.1f. there is an elaborate picture of Aen.’s party growing in strength, thanks to various welcome accretions, a notion which may, though, reach V., from Naev. (796). Such a step should not be downgraded to the status of mere trivial practical detail. Standard language, as at Cic.*Cat.*2.8.

comitum...nouorum Cf. 744 (with 748 **sociis**), 11.542 *exilio comitem*, *EV* 1, 853, Pomathios, 162. This detail is inserted with unobtrusive skill, for as Aen. has roamed Troy, only to discover that he has lost Creusa but faces a great destiny in some distant land, in some way or other (and fortunately we never learn quite how) ample reinforcements to his numbers have appeared.

adfluxisse Cf. Sinko, *TLL* 1.1242.51ff.: of a body of men then common in the later books of Livy, 35.2.3, etc.. The vb. common in Cic.; used by Laev. and Lucr..

797 inuenio admirans Rather like finding the sow and piglets, 8.43; **a. bis** in Lucr., **quater** in Cat., including 64, **quater** in V., **bis** in Hor. hexams., Ov. **septies** in Met., **ter in elegis**, Klotz, *TLL* 1.740.82f.; a vb. rare in poetry, but of respectable antecedents.

matresque uirosque Cf. G.4.475, *Aen.*6.306, *matres atque uiri* (after *Od.*11.38–41), but though the antecedents are noble, the intention is typical of colonisation narratives and robustly pragmatic: Cf. Horsfall (1989), 16, nn. on 7.1, 3.136, Zarker (786), 16.

798 collectam exilio pubem There seems to be no evidence for the the orthogr. **exs-** here, though it is well-attested (cf. n. on 11.542 *exilio comitem*), which suggests that the Romans heard, wrote, and explained the word inconsistently (cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 446, Kapp, *TLL* 5.2.1484.31ff.); for the Trojans as exiles, cf. nn. on 7.359, 11.263, Horsfall (1989), 25f.; add now J.-M. Claassen, *Displaced persons* (London 1999), 37ff.. Kraus (198, 276 compares the flight of the non-combatants from Rome before the Gauls’ attack (Liv.5.40.5–10); we have seen already (293) that the rescue of Rome’s *sacra* is closely com-

parable to that of Troy's. Dat. of purpose, or goal. **Pubes:** see 477. **Collectam:** Wulff, *TLL* 3.1610.31ff.; see 743. That Donatus wanted to read *ex Ilio* (so Serv.) is not to his credit; *contra metrum* writes Serv., though in theory synizesis could save his blushes.

miserabile uulcus M. used by Cat.68.91; only *quinquies* in *Aen.*, *octies* in all V.; for **u.**, cf. 39, Pomathios, 152, not a word that suggests *Aen.* was followed by the élite of Troy's warrior aristocracy; 'the mass', indeed, but not, outside 1.149, as Au. remarks, used with scorn.

799 undique Cf. 414 **undique collecti**; in his moment of deepest tragedy, *Aen.* has become, in his absence, the focal point of Troy's survival.

conuenere 4.417, 5.293, 9.720 begin with the same two words: the hazard of routine epic business; the vb. common, useful, unmemorable.

animis opibusque Cf. 1.571 *opibusque iuuabo*, Caes.*Gall.*7.76.2 *omnesque et animo et opibus in id bellum incumberent* Kuhlmann, *TLL* 9.2.813. 35, *EV* 3, 860, Negri, 144 ('wills'). 'Ready with means and wills'; Serv.Dan. cites (*adamat poeta ea quae legit diuerso modo proferre*) Naev.*Bell. Poen.*fr.6Strz. *eorum sectam sequuntur multi mortales.../ multi alii e Troia strenui uiri.../ ubi foras cum auro illi<n>c exibant*. The picture of the Aeneadae leaving, to be joined soon after by substantial valiant reinforcements (so Hellan., 796), suggests—*pace* Au.—that *opibus* too refers to gold rather than pitch and bowstrings (ignored, Reed, 98); Naev., clearly enough V.'s source for this entire picture, entered into details of the treasure saved. Au., Paratore and others also draw attention, perhaps appropriately, to versions in which *Aen.* is in the end allowed to depart with his treasure (see 738; Serv.Dan. on 636 quotes Varro, *res hum.*), but Naev. does appear to be V.'s principal source here. Cf. *EV* 3, 715, M. Barchiesi, *Nevio epico*, 360ff., 490f. and compare 1.358f. for the treasure available to Dido, for the foundation of Carthage.

parati It emerges that V.'s phrase as a whole is—most appropriately in the circumstances, part of the language of 'real-life' narrative: Cael., Cic.*Fam.*8.14.4 *uterque et animo et copiis est paratus*, Hirt.*Gall.*8.18.2 *nostri ad proeliandum animo atque armis parati*, Liv.10.16.8 *paratum, instructum armis, stipendio*, Breimeier, *TLL* 10.1.429.64 (notably helpful). We must supply e.g. *ire* (e.g. Breimeier, Page).

800 in quascumque uelim...terrás The subjunc. dependent on the disposition of mind implicit in **animis...parati**, as Aen. narrates the thoughts of the *uulgus* regarding his own plans and intentions. For the indef. pronoun, cf. 77, 709 and EV 4, 316. Note 9.19 *detulit in terras*. There is ellipse of a vb. indicating ‘to go’.

pelago deducere P: cf. n. on 3.204; **d.**, Hor.C.2.7.2, Stöger, *TLL* 5.1.270.54f.; Serv. Dan. thinks, reasonably enough, that V. has in mind *coloniam deducere*; Au. goes rather far in supposing that we may therefore conclude that V. had read Soph.*Laoc.* fr.373.6, which refers to the Phrygians’ ἀποικία; V. and Soph. both view his enterprise as profoundly colonial, or ktistic; cf. Horsfall (1989). If use of Soph.*Laoc.* is to be proved, better arguments are needed. With Aen.’s return from the ruins to the duties of leadership, V. has reverted to the flat, swift manner of his narrative transitions. The abl. ‘of extension’; cf. 1.181, 3.197, 204, 4.52, 5.212, Malosti, 73, 79ff..

801 iamque The long night is at last over, in more than one sense, Nagle, 258. Night itself is a passably common ‘closural device’; cf. *Buc.*10, *Aen.*11, Nagle, 258, 263. Cf. n. on 11.100 for **i..**

iugis...surgebat Not to be taken as ‘rising on’, or ‘rising over’, with abl. of place, or ‘of extension’. Compare rather (abl. of separation) *G.* 1.374f. *illum surgentem uallibus imis/ aeriae fugere grues* (tricky; vd. Erren’s helpful n.), with *Lucr.*6.477 *surgere de terra nebulas aestumque uidemus*, *Ov.**Met.*10.733f. *ut fuluo perlucida caeno/ surgere bulla solet*, *Vitr.*5.9.6 (with *ex*). Rather surprisingly, no obvious trace of a Greek antecedent. The rising of a new day, the climbing to the mountains, the picking up anew of Anch. show that ’tis not too late to seek a newer world; cf. Nagle, 261f.. Cf. n. on 7.25–36 for the Trojans’ arrival at dawn at the Tiber mouth and n. on 7.25 for ancient views of the appositeness of Virgilian dawns and dusks.

summae...Idae Cf. *summo Olympo, summo Taburno*. Mt. Ida (mod. Kaz Dagh) is a massif some twelve miles across, and 40 miles SE of Troy, running down on its S. face to the Gulf of Adramyttium. It rises to 5800 feet (the highest peak called Gargaros) and was famed in Hom. times for springs and wild beasts: cf. J.M. Cook, *The Troad* (Oxford 1973), 304–7, Leaf (21), 47–9, Büchner, PW 9.862.48ff..

Lucifer The planet Venus, known as both Hesperus and Lucifer (which were sometimes identified, sometimes distinguished): cf. A. Le Boeuffle, *Les noms Latins des astres et des constellations* (Paris 1977), 241, EV 4, 1017, Pease on Cic.*Nat.Deor.* 2.53, West on Hes.*Theog.*381, A. Rehm,

PW 8. 1250.17ff.; here clearly enough to be written with a capital; the Lat. form a calque of Gk. Φωσφόρος or 'Εωσφόρος; in use from Pompon.fr.74Ribb.. V. here nods towards a version of Aen.'s voyage that he rejects with some energy: at **620 nusquam abero** Ve. offered her help and Serv.Dan. now writes *hoc est autem quod ei Venus promisit numquam abero*'. Varro enim ait [res div.2fr.k Cardauns]hanc stellam Luciferi, quae Veneris dicitur, ab Aenea, donec ad Laurentem agrum ueniret, semper uisam, et postquam peruenit, uideri desuisse: unde et peruenisse se agnouit. V. avoids stories of the Trojans being led by animals and birds, avoids wisely enough the Naevian version of Anch. carrying *libros futura continentes*, and here only mentions fleetingly the presence of Venus' star; vd. Horsfall (1989), 12f., Alambicco, 97, W. Suerbaum in *Et Scholae et Vitae (Festschr. K. Bayer, München 1985)*, 22–32.

802 ducebatque diem Cf. *G.1.6 labentem caelo quae ducitis annum*, 2.156 *noctem ducentibus astris*, Hey, *TLL* 5.1.2164.68f., Pflugbeil, *ib.*1047.46f.

Danaique Strong allit. of d; the **D.** brutally/deceitfully victorious from **5 eruerint Danai.**

obsessa tenebant Cf. n. on **1 intentique ora tenebant** for V.'s use of *tenere* with a proleptic adj.; **o.** probably 'blocked', 'patrolled' as at **332, 441**, 9.159.

803 limina portarum Cf. **242, 752**; an apparent intensification of 'gate', appropriate to the solemnity of closure.

nec spes...ulla dabatur *Spem dare* standard idiom, *Aen.*4.55, *Ov.Am.* 2.4.14, *F.2.466*, *Trist.*2.154, *Pont.*2. 3.68, *Her.*7.108, 17.20, etc.. Pathos lent by the passivisation, with addition of *ulla*.

opis *Ferendi auxili* Serv. (i.e. to Troy); Au. objects that it is better to understand *opis* of Aen.'s party: 'Aen. saw no prospect of relief for himself and his company'. But he has just been told by Creusa that he and his surviving followers are in fact to have a (glorious) future, and (799) we have just learned that the party is *not* bereft of resources. The city gates are now patrolled, and Aen. can do nothing for Troy: in the context, clearly enough the sense of **spes opis**; gates blocked and [therefore] no hope of bearing help. Aen. therefore heads, *not* altogether without hope or resource, for Mt. Ida, to plan and execute the next step in his progress, 3.3–7.

804 cessi Aen. withdraws from Troy, yields to the gods who have caused Cr. to vanish, and gives up any hope of a final attempt to attack

the Greeks; the vb. lends itself naturally to the two, or three, senses. See Heinze, di Cesare, *cit.*, Au., Nagle, 257. Not ‘mere’ *simplex pro composito* (Ladewig). Prof. Görler compares well 12.818 *et nunc cedo equidem..*

et sublato...genitore Cf. 723; g., 560, etc.; s., 635f. **genitor;** **quem tollere in altos/ optabam primum montis.** Here, as Nagle, 260 well remarks, we pass from plan, or intent, to execution.

montis...petiui Montis Madr, TCD; **montem Pω,** Serv. (the sing. possibly because some literal-minded scribe thought of Ida as one mountain, and therefore necessarily a singular noun. Szantyr, *TLL* 8.1433.41ff. shows that either number may of course be used). The plur. supported by 636 *supra* and by 3.6 *montibus Idae.* **Petiui** as at 636 *et saep..*

APPENDIX I

THE HELEN-EPIISODE (567–88)

Introduction¹

(1) *Evidence for the text*

The HE is not present in any mss. of the *Aen.* before the c.15 (Dorvillianus, Gothanus 1, 2, etc.: for details, vd. Heyne, with Götte, 780); in such mss, HE has been inserted from Serv.. HE is absent in TCD, whose reactions to the state of the text will be discussed *infra*, 558 and from the entire grammatical tradition, apart from Serv., as Goold, 162ff. expounds in much detail. It is worth observing that though Serv. (Dan.) *transmits* the HE,—twice, indeed,—he offers no commentary, which would in turn suggest that none had been compiled by earlier students of *Aen.*, and that the grammatical tradition nurtured some deep scruple at the expense of the HE.

(2) *Evidential value of Servius' references to HE*

In their prefaces to the *Aeneid* (cf. Goold, 131f., whose magisterial discussion means that I can be very brief), both Serv. and Serv. Dan. (an early mediaeval compilation, deriving both from Serv. and from Aelius Donatus) cite the HE, verses *quos constat esse detractos*. At 566, Serv.Dan.,

¹ An ample discussion of the Helen-episode (hereafter HE) will appear in *ICS* 31(2006), 1–27; it is currently in first proof and here it will be referred to as *ICS* + page-number. I am most grateful to the editor of *ICS*, Danuta Shanzer (Urbana), for permission to re-use this material, and to both her and to Ross Arthur (York University) for their remarkable promptitude in providing me with a paginated text to cite here. Between that article and this account, there are differences of emphasis, but not of approach, let alone conclusion. One or two details will be found to be discussed here for the first time. My debt to Michael Reeve I express below (559). Long friendship with the late George Goold clearly influences my thinking here and I am also grateful to Richard Tarrant (Harvard) for encouragement, but of late I have discussed the HE above all with three believers in authenticity, Aldo Lunelli (Padova), Gian Biagio Conte (Pisa) and Maria Luisa Delvigo (Udine); they will probably be appalled by what follows,

following Servius' preface, quotes them again, writing *hi uersus qui a Tucca et Vario sublati sunt. Sublati* here is an emendation by Bergk (for *obliti*), described as 'mandatory' by Goold (132); the mention of Plotius Tucca alongside Varius was long ago identified by Friedrich Leo as a learned mannerism typical of Servius' own notes on the transmission of Virgil, whereas the mention of Varius alone is typical of Suetonius². Lastly, there is the note on 592, in both Serv. and Serv. Dan., *aliquos hinc* [which is not precisely true] *uersus constat esse sublatos, nec immerito*³. We need now to consider (3) the evidential status of Serv.'s references to Varius and Tucca and (4), the motives Serv. and Serv.Dan. attribute to Varius and Tucca, as indications of how Roman grammarians thought about the HE.

(3) *Varius, Tucca and the posthumous editing of Aen.*

Critical analysis of our *testimonia* for V.'s life and for the posthumous editing of *Aen.* begins with E. Diehl, *Die vitae vergiliana...* (Bonn 1911). My position has been clear for some time⁴, but deepest scepticism about ancient references to Varius and Tucca has been long and widely voiced⁵ and detailed examination of our other *testimonia* suggests that on any rational view the actions and decisions attributed to these 'editors' are consistently ludicrous. There is no call to go over the ground yet again (cf. nn. 4, 5); the problem is rather to try to understand why here and here alone we should take seriously an editorial action attributed to these same two figures of farce, of whose scholarly achievements literally nothing is known for certain. In the background, there remains the disquieting issue of why students of Latin poetry still take biographical information about Latin poets at all seriously, when for a century it has been perfectly plain that it should not be, and why Lat-

but I am greatly obliged to them for their tolerance and for their generosity in sending offprints, comments, etc.. An audience at the University of Padova tempered their predictable disbelief with (just as predictably) singular good humour and hospitality; for nearly a quarter of a century, they have been the very best of hosts.

² Goold, 124f., 132; for further bibl., cf. *Companion*, 23, n.141.

³ Goold, 131

⁴ *Companion*, 1–25, *Atti acad. peloriperic.* 68(1992), 41ff., *ICS*, 3f., and for Hor., *Style and tradition. Studies...* Clausen (Stuttgart 1998), 40ff.

⁵ *ICS*, 4–6, n. on 7.464f., *Vergilius* 41(1995), 57ff., *Companion*, 22–4 (with further bibl.), Goold, 122ff., L. Gamberale, *Att. conu.bimill. Georg.* (Napoli 1977), 359ff., *EV* 4, 259–61, *Stud.fil.class. ...G. Monaco* 2 (Palermo 1991), 963ff., M.L. Delvigo, *Riv.Fil.* 117(1989), 297–315.

inists cling to such trivial and misleading scraps, when theologians and hagiographers began to carry out the necessary purges of their material up to four hundred years ago⁶; even Hellenists have not lagged so embarrassingly (n.8). When modern students of the HE cite this or that anecdote⁷ about the fortune of bk.2 or the editorial history of the poem as though it lent circumstantial credibility to some hypothesis about the survival of a genuine, Virgilian HE, they should rather be reminded that, on any rational view of the development of our understanding of Latin literary biography⁸, the more biographical props are introduced to lend strength or appeal to an hypothesis about survival, the weaker that hypothesis becomes.

(4) *The motives Servius assigns to Varius and Tucca*

On 592, Serv. and Serv.Dan. assert smugly that the HE had been removed from the text *nec immerito*. They continue *nam et turpe est uiro forti contra feminam irasci, et contrarium est Helenam in domo Priami fuisse illi rei, quae in sexto dicitur, quia in domo est inuenta Deiphobi, postquam ex summa arce uocaverat Graecos. hinc autem uersus esse sublatos, Veneris uerba declarant dicentis ‘non tibi Tyndaridis facies inuisa Lacaenae’*. So long as we are careful not to attribute these views historically to Varius (or even Varius and Tucca), this note clearly preserves three views held by ancient students of V. about the HE. Venus' words will be discussed in the next section, and the first two objections here:

(i) *Turpe est uiro forti contra feminam irasci*. This argument surfaces again very briefly in Serv.'s n. on 595. It does not belong to the quasi-philosophical argument about V.'s view(s) of anger to which we shall have briefly to return (§9); rather, the point is one, almost, of manners, or behaviour ('turpe'): Aen.'s level of comportment and the reactions of ancient critics to it has recently attracted a good deal of attention⁹; Serv. here suggests that it is 'bad manners', almost, for a hero to be

⁶ ICS, 4, *Companion*, 2.

⁷ ICS 3f. with n.12, citing e.g. Fleck, 69ff., Fish, 128f.[a fairly full bibliography will be found at the end of this introduction].

⁸ Cf. J. Fairweather, *Anc.Soc.*5(1974), 231ff., Horsfall (n.4, 1992), and ICS, 3. No-one has attempted to do systematically for the Latin poets what Mary Lefkowitz did for the Greek, *Lives of the Greek poets* (London 1981), though it would be a relatively easy and very useful undertaking.

⁹ W. Clausen, *Virgil's Aeneid...* (München 2002), 1ff., ICS 12, with n.63, Heinze, 46 (as usual, far ahead of his time), Highet, 169 ('ethically unworthy'), Matthiessen, 296f.. For lexical aspects of *decorum*, cf. Horsfall, *Maia* 41(1989), 251–4.

angry with a woman, a lapse of *decorum*, as though, even during the fall of Troy, Aen. might be expected to behave towards Helen with all the respect due to her sex¹⁰. Serv.'s use of *turpe* elsewhere is rather different, for he applies it to what Aen.'s departure from Troy might appear to be, if not for V.'s efforts to explain and justify it. At all events, a subjective observation on a point of manners, not a binding textual judgement.

(ii) The inconsistency. At 6.517ff., Deiphobus narrates that his new wife Helen had hidden his sword, and had let Menelaus into their home (cf. further nn. on 256f., 310f.). Is this, first, an inconsistency at all? Might there not have been room for both episodes on the same night? Hardly, because at 572 Helen is afraid of the Greeks, but at 6.519 is actively helping them; that appears a grave incompatibility of intent. Secondly, are the conflicting versions both appropriate to their contexts and do they both have identifiable literary antecedents? To the issue of appropriateness, we may answer yes, confidently enough¹¹, but whereas the story of Helen dreading as here the **coniugis iras** (572) is cyclic and widely diffused (vd. n. on 572), that of Helen collaborating with Menelaus and encompassing Deiphobus' death could well be a Virgilian innovation¹². And thirdly, if we allow that the HE was not from V.'s pen, what does the inconsistency tell us about the mentality of the author of HE? In other words, why should a forger attract notice to himself by incorporating so evident an inconsistency? Inconsistencies abound in *Aen.* and are often enough noted in Serv.¹³: for a non-Virgilian author of HE, there was nothing reprehensible involved in incorporating an inconsistency; indeed, just possibly, it should be claimed as a learned feature, demonstrating the author's intimate familiarity with the work of earlier Virgil-scholars. But I rather prefer to suspect that the author was aware that the version present in bk.6 was a striking Virgilian invention¹⁴ (or just conceivably a rare tragic variant), such that no learned and cautious forger would dare to plunder. The Helen-story in the HE is deeply, predictably traditional; better that, and yet another harmless, typically Virgilian inconsistency,

¹⁰ Alleged lapses in Aen.'s observance of Stoic norms against anger and of the ideal of gentlemanly conduct towards a lady are equally feeble as textual arguments.

¹¹ Cf. Mackie, 135f, Kinsey, 197f, Scafoglio, 192ff, *ICS*, 12, O'Hara (256f.), 86f.

¹² Cf. Robert, 1265, Au. on 6.494–534, 518, D. Romano, *EV* 2, 15, with further bibl.; Accius' role is not impossible, but entirely hypothetical; Stabryla, 94f. exaggerates.

¹³ Thomas, 253, *Alambicco*, 94, 102.

¹⁴ Cf. *Alambicco*, 49f.

than consistency in adhering to an audacious, unconventional novelty, especially if known to be the poet's very own, without familiar, recognised tragic origins.

(5) *The structure of the narrative*¹⁵

At 458, Aen. reaches the roof of the palace and joins in its defence and only at 632 does he say **descendo**; that just might, or so it has been said in some comms., refer to Aen. descending from Pergama to Troy-outside-the-citadel (cf. Liv.1.18.10, etc.: quite acceptable usage), but there is no previous and explicit indication that Aen. has passed from roof to ground and 'I go down the hill', is superfluous to the movement of the narrative, and verges on the trivial and unnecessary (vd. n. on 632). From the roof he reports what is said and done within the palace, and in particular round the altar of the penates. At 559–566, Aen. awakens to his circumstances but as yet takes no action. In the ms. text of *Aen.*, at 589ff., we read **cum mihi se, non ante oculis tam clara, uidendam / obtulit... / alma parens**: this **cum** (inversum) has no obvious and easily comprehensible antecedent in the ms. text, unless you ignore 565–6 entirely and go back to the **respicio** and **lustro** of 564; that is a barely credible alternative, though the *cum*-inversum with an hist.pres. in the main sentence is in itself just tolerable (KS 2, 340, LHS, 623, Krägerud, *cit.*, Goold, 160, Austin (1961), 194). Almost worse, the direct passage from Aen.'s anguished awakening to Venus' restraining hand would be little short of ludicrous. We shall come very shortly to the lacuna whose existence at this point seems evident, and to what was written to fill it. But in the context of narrative organisation, Helen **erranti** at HE, 570 must be considered. An old, unsolved problem (vd. e.g. Goold, 157): Aen. will shortly address her, but there is no sign that in the HE she was thought to be hiding on the palace roof. That Aen. caught sight of her from a considerable distance is an hypothesis advanced under pressure and based on an unconvincing interpretation of 568 **seruantem**. The plain sense of the HE is that Helen was thought to be skulking somewhere in the temple

¹⁵ Austin, 194f., Belling, 178, 191, 196, Berres, *VH*, 82, 85, 89, Cartault, 1, 198f., Estevez, 326, Fleck, 77f., Goold, 155ff., Günther, 47f., Henry, 2, pp.300–2, Heinze, 45–51, Highet, 172, A. Körte, *Herm.*51 (1916), 145–50, Krägerud, 106f., Mackie, 51ff., Murgia (1971), 209, La Penna, 996f., Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 69, M. Squillante Saccone, *EV* 2, 96, Williams, *Tl*, 283f..

of Vesta (**567f., 574**), concealed. How, therefore can Aen., on the palace roof, address her? Or indeed ‘roam about’ (*erranti*, **570**)? Not the least of the HE’s problems. Venus’ references to Aen.’s rage (**594 iras**, **595 furis**) have been thought to presuppose HE (so e.g. Traina, comm. on **594**); just as easily, **594–5** could be taken as a useful Virgilian source for the composer of HE to consider. The same goes for **601–2** (cf. *ICS*, 15f.): there, Venus’ reference to Paris is rather perplexing, while that to the hateful **facies** of the Spartan daughter of Tyndarus refers directly to Helen, but by no means necessarily to the HE, in which her beauty is neither mentioned nor implied and where Paris is altogether absent. Again, Venus’ words could just as well be taken as exciting clues to the content of a lacuna, used eagerly by the author of HE. Only at **632**, we recall, does Aen. probably descend to ground level. A text in such condition was a fine challenge to the puzzle-solving instincts of Virgil-enthusiasts. I refer only to Körte, who noticed, acutely and, it seems, independently, as Peerlkamp, Henry, and Belling had done, that there was a smooth and undisturbed passage in the narrative from **566 ad terram misere aut ignibus aegra dedere** to **632**. Cf. Goold, 156 on Körte and Henry; vd. too Belling, 178. Fleck, 77–9 covers the same ground, apparently in ignorance of Goold. At some point, that might have been how the narrative actually ran (with, that is, a direct passage from **566** to **632**, or (Goold, 156f., persuasively, after Henry), **623**; it could even have been read thus to Augustus, if that reading ever took place (unlikely, as narrated: cf. *ICS*, 11), and **589–623/631** might represent all that V. ever wrote to expand and enrich that phase of the narrative, leaving, at his death, an evident lacuna to excite the talents of the ingenious. To summarise the real problems that remained: (i) the passage from distant narrator to active participant, (ii) the passage from roof to ground, and (iii) the stark contradiction between Aen.’s belated thoughts for his family, **560–3**, and Venus’ reproaches for their absence, **596–8**. There is no satisfactory explanation of the contradiction by TCD, as Au., 194 notes: he passes from **566** to **589** unblinking, and the HE was evidently unknown to him. There is one further clue (cf. Goold, 157) to the state of V.’s interrupted attempts to sort out the difficulties present in this part of the book: at **664–7**, Aen. threatens to return once more to battle so that his family will not die entirely unavenged; that way at least he will not see the Greeks in his home and witness the deaths of Ascanius and Creusa; he has seen the deaths of Priam and Polites and cannot credit that Venus has saved him (**620**, **632**) only for him to behold the same sort of scene in his own home.

A line of thought that takes up directly that of 560–3, and 596–8. At 593 Venus restrains Aen.: hardly from murdering Helen, which would be merely mean and trivial now that the gods themselves have turned against Troy (cf. Goold, 157f.); it is time for flight, and only for flight. Though, clearly, a good deal of work remained to be done on this passage, and though we really do not know what it was from which Venus restrained Aen., the motivations, actions and emotional level of the surrounding verses are not compatible with the attribution of HE to V..

(6) *Lacunae and supplements*

With timely and generous assistance from Prof. Michael Reeve, I was able to draw up (a) a short list of passages in ancient authors preserved only in their indirect transmissions (*ICS*, 14)¹⁶ and (b) a rather longer list (*ICS*, 13f.) of instances where the existence of a lacuna in the transmission of a Latin text had acted, exactly as seems to have been the case here, as a stimulus to the composition of an interpolated supplement¹⁷; neither list is repeated here in detail (but vd. nn. 16, 17)¹⁸. Of course (a) is just the line of argument regularly invoked by defenders of the authenticity of the HE, though without supporting material¹⁹; there is, however, no small difference between suggesting that the HE survived somehow or other in the indirect transmission of *Aen.* and being able to prove that it was the work of V.'s pen: above all, in this context, we should bear in mind (§3, *supra*) both the evidential status

¹⁶ On *Il.*9.458–61 (not necessarily unHomeric, but West has sketched a formidable case), cf. Erbse, 432, S. West (n.25); on *Ov.Her.*16.39–144 and 21.145–248, see E.J. Kenney, in *ALLP* 399–413 and *CQ* 29(1979), 394–431 (but note E. Courtney, *CJ* 93(1998), 157–66, C. Murgia, *HSCP* 101(2003), 418, n.30); on *Liv.*26.41.18ff., cf. M.D. Reeve, *Riv.Fil.*114(1986), 146ff.; on the end of the *de vir.ill.*, vd. R.J. Tarrant and M.D. Reeve in *Texts and transmission*, 151f.

¹⁷ On *Sil.*8.144–223, see Delz' into., lxivff., with no answer in G. Brugnoli, *GIF* 44(1992), 203ff. or *id.*, C. Santini, *L'additamentum Aldinum di Sil.It.*, Suppl. 14, *Boll. Class., Acc.Naz.Linc.*, 1995; the Oxford verses of Juv. may not be Juvenal's after all: B. Axelson, ΔΡΑΓΜΑ M.P. Nilsson (Lund 1939), 41ff., now given proper weight by J. Willis in ed. Teubn.; *Ov.Her.*15 has an anomalous transmission and few believe it genuine (but cf. Courtney (n.16), 163); see R.J. Tarrant, *HSCP* 85(1981), 133ff., *Ov.Her.*, ed. P.E. Knox, 12ff.. For *Liv.*26.41.18ff., see n.16 (both phenomena are present); for 29.22.10, cf. S. Oakley, *CQ* 42(1992), 547ff.; for 34.16.1f., see Briscoe, *ad loc.*.

¹⁸ For the relevance of comparable material in this case, vd. Pasquali, *Storia*2, 347, Murgia (1971), 207.

¹⁹ But observe Erbse's acute remarks, n.16.

of the other textual tales peddled by Serv. under the names of Varius and Tucca, and the presence in the text of V. of various other types of interpolation, often studied: filled-up hemistichs, echo-corruption, and the vv. present in the indirect tradition at 1.1, 3.204 and 6.289, of a quality far lower than that of HE; cf. *ICS*, 6f., *Aen.*7, xxviii^f.

(7) Sources of the HE

It is not difficult to outline the sources of the content and language of HE; indeed the neat and orderly programme of reading that emerges tells not at all in favour of Virgilian authorship²⁰, for, particularly in a context such as *Aen.*2, where the literary tradition is extremely complex, and V. is writing at the very apex of his poetic efforts and linguistic density, the syllabus of sources behind these lines is strangely limited. We should distinguish the following contributions:

(i) The context. Cf. §5 for the clues left by V. in what follows HE to what could or should be present in the lacuna.

(ii) Helen and Menelaus. Aeneas' rage against Helen is a pale shadow of that ancient and familiar scene of Menelaus' rage against his former spouse²¹. In *Il.parv.*, Men. dropped his sword at the sight of her breasts²². In Ibucus, he pursued her, sword in hand, as he does indeed on the *TIC* (vd. n.22); in Stesichorus, at the sight of her, the stones fell from the Achaeans' grasp²³; only her beauty will now protect her²⁴. In Ibucus (*cit.*; cf. Anderson, 204), Helen has fled to the temple of Aphrodite; that might have something to do with the perplexing role of the temple of Vesta in HE (567; cf. Murgia, 417, n.24). Simple, rather than ingenious, or demanding, to rework the familiar scene with change of hero and goddess.

(iii) The motif of the goddess who stays the hero's hand. According to G.B. Conte, *Riv.Fil.*106(1978), 57f., *et alibi*, the source is *Il.*1.188–95 (Athena dissuades Achilles), but he does not at *MD* 56(2006), 165f. offer any convincing answer to C. Murgia, *HSCP* 101(2003), 405, n.2: ‘Conte

²⁰ It is surprising that Sebastiano Timpanaro, *Riv.Fil.*124(1996), 53 = *Contr. di filol. Gr. e Lat.* (Firenze 2005), 134 should continue to express perplexity.

²¹ *ICS*, 16. Cf. (e.g.) Robert, 24, 1263f., Frazer on [*Apld.*] *Epit.*5.22, 6.29, Anderson, 153f., 164f.. See too R. Wachter, *Non-Attic Greek vase inscriptions* (Oxford 1991), 315.

²² Fr.28West = fr.19Davies; so too on *TIC*, Sadurska, 29.

²³ Horsfall, *JHS* 99(1979), 38, Cantarella (558), 68f.. Ibucus, fr.296 PMG; Stes. fr.201 PMG, Eur.*Andr.*627–9.

²⁴ Cf., already, Heinze, 48f. for the importance of Menelaus.

is too precise'. The theme is conventional, for Menelaus is checked by a goddess when attacking Helen²⁵, as is Orestes²⁶, by Apollo, and, less closely, as Odysseus is by Athena when contemplating an attack on the serving-women (20.45–53): Athena tells him to go to sleep and does not refer to the attack on which Od. has asked for advice.

(iv) The predominant importance of Eur.*Or.*, at the expense of all other Greek texts²⁷: (v) The use of Ennius is possible, not certain²⁸, but, as Goold showed (147), minute reading and massive use of a short passage the end of Lucretius 3²⁹, a text dear to V. elsewhere, is clear. Cf. further on 579 for Lucr.3.894.

(vi) We shall come shortly to the strongly Virgilian language and imagery. The author has studied both V. (*Aen.2*, in particular, as Goold, 145f. has shown; for the debt of HE to 589–614, cf. the material collected at Berres, *EV*, 42) and, it will emerge, ancient Virgil-scholarship, in impressive and conscientious detail. The language which Austin, as a supporter of authenticity, honestly labels as difficult (1961, 194) and Goold joyously hails as excluding Virgilian authorship (154f.) will emerge (§8) rather as the product of hard work, close study in particular of Lucr.3, *Aen.2*, and the best scholarly analysis of Virgilian language. All these items recur with sufficient frequency to exclude the operations of mere chance, and the relative ease with which the origins of this or that splendid flourish in the HE can be demonstrated to have this or that origin in a reading-list hardly either long or arcane seems to emerge as one of the stronger arguments in favour of an author not Virgil who had worked out with admirable acumen the essentials (if not the whole splendid breadth) of V.'s use of tragic sources and themes.

²⁵ Cf. Murgia (2003), 405, n.2, Au. on 572, Gantz, 2, 657, Robert, 24, 1263f, Stoll, Ro.2.2.2787.23ff, Anderson 153f, 204f, Gärtner, 253f.. Note too *Il.9.459* with S. West, *LCM* 7.6(1982), 84ff, but her argument that V.'s interpolator knew the moral objections attributed to Aristarchus to justify his excision of *Il.9 cit.* does not easily square with our interpolator's very limited use of Greek sources.

²⁶ Eur.*Or.*1628ff. (vd. Willink), long associated with the HE: vd. Murgia, *cit.* (n.25).

²⁷ For *Or.1137ff.*, cf. Heinze, 48, Conte (1978), 60; at 573, *Or.1388* will do just as well as Aesch.*Ag.749*. See also Murgia (2003), 406, n.4, 424, n.40, Conte, (2006), 160f. and in addition, n.26, *supra*, and on vengeance in Eur.*Or.*, *ICS*, 25.

²⁸ For bibliography, cf. *ICS* 17, n.93: not repeated here, for no decisive instance of use of Enn. seems to have been cited, though a good deal of thought and idiom with affinities between *trag.* and Eur. will emerge.

²⁹ See e.g. *EV*3, 269.

(8) *The language of the HE*

I am delighted to express my agreement with those scholars who recognise language as the only decisive issue in discussion of HE³⁰; before offering detailed comm. on the text, a number of wider issues are clarified here:

(i) The language (note *poena*, 4x) and themes of HE are markedly repetitive, as has long been realised³¹; the author is particularly attracted by the themes of anger, fire and revenge and though ‘recurrent themes’ can function as a ‘unifying device’ (Murgia (1971), 215f.), their over-use here has also been called ‘breathless and claustrophobic’ (*ICS*, 18). The extremely talented author is *nimium amator ingenii sui* as Quintilian said of Ovid (10.1.88); he had, after all ‘only twenty-two lines in which to show his virtuosity. He has lavished upon them his maximum effort’ (Murgia (1971), 216). Magnificent, but tiring; ‘Virgilian restraint’ is perhaps too subjective a conception to be invoked here, but, certainly, the writing is not restrained. However, on the repetition **576 patriam...** **577 patrias**, which troubled Austin (comm.) and Goold (155) greatly, vd. comm.; such a repetition should never have been damned as unvirgilian.

(ii) Murgia (1971), 214 (cf. *ICS*, 23f.) long ago expounded the author’s tendency to coupled expressions, *poenam...iras*, *ignes...ira*, etc., 13 instances in 22 lines, though, are too many. The author has revealed an unconscious stylistic tic; he was not skilled enough to avoid it and did not have friends acute enough to point it out. Note too the over-use of framing pairs of partics., **568**, **570**.

(iii) A very strong partiality for synaloepha at the caesura, particularly of spondaic words, was noticed long ago³²: eight cases in 22 lines. It was also observed, long ago, that in Virgil such metrical phenomena come in groups³³; never, though, in quite such large groups.³⁴

(iv) Murgia (1971), 212 remarked ‘I frequently gain the impression from the Helen Episode that its author was steeped in the Virgilian scholia’. He started from **587 ultricis flammae** and added the unusual plural **patres** (**579**) and the enallages (our terminologies dif-

³⁰ Cf. Goold, 154, Austin (1961), 187, Murgia (1971), 207.

³¹ *ICS*, 18, Austin (1961), 194, Murgia (1971), 215f., Berres, *VH*, 37ff.

³² Norden, *Aen.6*, 454.

³³ S.K. Johnson, *CR* 41(1927), 123, F.W. Shipley, *TAPA* 56(1925), 172ff., Berres, *VH*, 29ff.

³⁴ *ICS*, 24

fer) 576 *sceleratas ...poenas* and 585f. *merentis...poenas*³⁵. I add the repetition with change of sense 569 *aspicio...* 578 *aspiciet* (along with 575 *ignes...* 581 *igni*), the ‘psychological’ use of *ignes* (575), the strange use of 585 *nefas*, of a person, and the interesting new word *furiata* (588), in all of which instances some sort of case (varying from the tentative to the probable) can be made for consultation of the Virgil-scholia. Cf. also n. on 584 *poena*.

(v) The author of HE is not just a meticulous imitator of Eur., Lucr. and V.; it has for some time been clear³⁶ that he is also a (correct and cautious) inventor, within the rules, within known scholarly parameters: cf. (e.g.) 586f. *explesse...ultricis flammae*, where failure to recognise the solid book-work behind this modest novelty has created much doubt and confusion. Note also the fairly singular 585 *nefas* and the Lucretian *satiasse* (587; not elsewhere in V.). For all the grand conception and majesty of the scene, the detail of the writing is very soberly Virgilian, with but a minute inventive leaven. Almost too Virgilian, almost as though the author had to prove that he was V.. He has taken in many, but the intensity of his efforts in the end reveals, negatively, his identity; he writes as though equipped with implicit footnotes, throughout and the real Virgil does not try so hard. We should notice that there is both serpent- and flame- imagery in the HE³⁷; that is quite what you would expect from an author so intensely familiar with the text of *Aen.2*, for it derives naturally from the author’s linguistic expertise.

(vi) The ample revelation of the sources of a disputed text can solve the whole question of authenticity; wonderfully decisive, R. Syme, *Sallust* (Berkeley 1964), 323: the style of PsSallust is wonderfully Sallustian, but of the wrong Sallust; no pamphleteer would write impeccably in the style of an historian. Here, the case is different, but the analogy is illuminating.

³⁵ To them he adds 586 *feminea in pena*, which does not seem to be quite the same thing. Conte (2002), 5ff, (2006), 169 has amply illustrated V.’s love for enallage, and likewise Serv.’s enthusiasm for expounding it; the phenomenon is therefore both poetic and exegetical, Virgilian and scholarly. Given the attention bestowed by the grammarians, it was easy work for any learned author to insert a couple in HE; of course they look extremely Virgilian.

³⁶ Renehan is notably eloquent and illuminating on this topic.

³⁷ Murgia (1971), 214, M.L. Delvigo, *MD* 57(2006), 207ff, E.L. Harrison, *Phoen.* 24 (1970), 331.

(9) *Some further issues*

(i) Anger and the HE. J. Fish³⁸ has recently advanced a philosophical defence of the HE's Virgilian authorship, which is founded on the affinity between **586f.** *animumque explesse iuuabit/ ultricis flammæ* and the pleasure taken in anger by both Mezentius (10.742), and Turnus (10.500) with the strong position taken by Philodemus in the *de ira* (15.15–9, 42.20–9) on actual enjoyment of wrath. We are slowly learning that systematic adherence to philosophical positions is singularly unvirgilian (cf. *Companion*, 151f., 201–3 for two simple instances): hence we are ill-advised to make too much of occasional coincidences between *Aen.* and philos. texts³⁹. We have seen that it is quite possible to read *Aen.*'s behaviour in bk.2 not as a Stoic sermon on the ills of wrath but as excellent characterisation of the behaviour of a warrior in a crisis (289–95, 316, 355, etc.), and in any case coincidence of outlook between HE and *Aen.* is what is to be expected, given the minute attention the author of the former clearly paid to the text of the latter. Cf. *ICS*, 25f. for a fuller account of F.'s ingenious but unpersuasive views.

(ii) Aeneas' motives. Murgia (2003), 406 points out that in HE, *Aen.* acts in terms of his own (external) *laus* and *nomen*, which is strange for a hero normally prompted by internal *pietas*. A distinction perhaps too subtle and too modern for the author of HE quite to have grasped.

(iii) Monologues. There are no others reported by *Aen.* in bks.2–3⁴⁰. Interesting, but no sort of decisive argument.

(iv) HE is not much of a unity; the commentator's work perhaps leads to a clearer view of the variations of tone and level within the 22 lines:

- (a) **568–70** the scene set, and **571–4** Helen's state of mind.
- (b) **575–6** *Aen.* reacts in rage, and speaks.
- (c) **577–82** Will Helen get away with it? Will she return to Sparta, after all that she has done? Cf. n. on **581 occiderit** for the formal subdivision within these vv..

³⁸ Vd. bibliography to HE, s.v.; cf. also Pomathios, 205.

³⁹ HE is ill-served in recent studies of Roman anger (*tacent* M.R. Wright, in *The passions in Roman thought...* ed. S. Morton Braund, C. Gill (Cambridge 1997), 169ff., C. Gill, *ib.*, 213ff., W.V. Harris, *Restraining rage* (Cambridge, Mass. 2002); C. Gill, *YCS* 32(2003), 218f. seems unaware that HE might not be Virgilian.

⁴⁰ Heinze, 46f., Highet, 169f., Krägerud, 114, Berres, 79f.

- (d) **583–7** the decision to kill H.; difficult, rich inventive writing, rich too in textual problems as scribes wrestle with the unfamiliar language.
- (e) **588** rounding off.

Only in (d) does the author patently raise the level of his writing; previously, his stylistic exoticisms are not used concentratedly. If we were somehow to learn that there had been two hands at work (teacher and pupil, as it might be), it would come as no surprise.

(10) *Conclusions*

It has been suggested that the prudent reader of the verses preserved by Serv. as ‘excised by Varius and Tucca’ would do well to consider with care and caution the evidential character of the other material of the same character that Serv. preserves. None of the textual information preserved in the biographical or grammatical traditions can be allowed to stand unchallenged. When we look at the wording, style, etc. of the HE in this context, it emerges not that the language must, or cannot, be from V.’s pen, but that it is rather *too* Virgilian to be real: repeatedly, it emerges that the author, deeply immersed in the best scholarship of his day (*infra*), has identified correctly numerous characteristics of Virgilian writing, only to deploy them with heavy-handed abandon over his twenty-two lines; such at times uncaring excess is not to be attributed to V. even in his roughest drafts. In short, the writing of a remarkably talented scholar-poet, determined to prove that he is Virgil. Goold memorably suggested (167) that Lucan might have been the author. Murgia has now argued that the HE is likely to be later than Lucan⁴¹; that may be the correct conclusion (and the dating is not an issue on which this comm. takes a position⁴²). I have wondered whether whether the author might not have been a scholar, such as Hyginus or Probus, but the author’s precise identity matters very little, once it is clear that he gave the game away by his naive conviction that nothing

⁴¹ (2003); note the reply by Conte (2006).

⁴² If HE should after all be earlier than Lucan (so Conte (2006) argues vigorously with (158) earlier bibl.), then we can be rid of my fancy of Probus, but there will have been earlier grammarians well able to turn a fine and convincing ‘Virgilian’ hexameter. There was always Ovid himself; hardly, though, a poet to copy so minutely the style of a predecessor and the grammarians’ comments. For the more conventional, and very attractive, Tiberian date, cf. Murgia (2003), 408 with n.6.

would succeed quite like excess, that is, by trying a good deal harder than he need have done in the improbable, repeated multiplication of increasingly recondite and exotic stilemes to prove that he was Virgil⁴³.

(11) *Bibliography*

This does not aim at completeness, but lists most of what I have found helpful recently. R.G. Austin, *CQ* 11(1961), 85ff., H. Belling, *Studien über die Compositionskunst Vergils* (Leipzig 1899), Thomas Berres, *Vergil und die Helenaszene* (Heidelberg 1992), Büchner, 331.38ff. (influential; rather disproportionately so), Cartault, 1, 198ff., G.B. Conte *Riv.Fil.* 106(1978), 53ff., *id.*, *EV* 2, 190–3, *id.*, *MD* 56(2006), 157ff., *id.*, *Virgilio. L'epica del sentimento* (Torino 2002), H. Erbse, *Herm.* 129(2001), 431ff., V.A. Estevez, *CJ* 76 (1980–1), 318ff., J. Fish, in *Vergil, Philodemus and the Augustans*, ed. D. Armstrong, J. Fish, P.A. Johnston, M.B. Skinner (Austin 2004), 111ff., M. Fleck, *Herm.* 105 (1977), 68ff., G.P. Goold, *HSCP* 74(1968), 101ff., Günther, 48, E.L. Harrison, *Phoen.* 24(1970), 320ff., Henry, 2, 277f., Heinze, 45–51, Highet, 164–7, T. Kinsey, *PP* 42(1987), 197ff., Klingner, 418f., A. Körte, *Herm.* 51(1916), 145ff., E. Krägerud, *Symb.Osl.* 50(1975), 105ff., A La Penna, *Misc....Barchiesi*, *RCCM* 20(1978), 987ff. (excellently reasoned and sagely expressed, little though I agree), F. Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen* (Berlin 1912), 42, n.3, K. Matthiessen, *Festschr. Weische* (Wiesbaden 1997), 291ff., C.E. Murgia, *HSCP* 101(2003), 405ff., *id.*, *CSCA* 4(1971), 203ff., J.J.O'Hara *Inconsistency* (256), 86f., Puccioni, 86f., R. Renahan, *CP* 68(1973), 197ff., Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 92f., Salvatore, 75–80, G. Scafoglio, *Vichiana* 4.2(2000), 181ff. (with a useful summary of the debate's history), M. Squillante Saccone, *EV* 2, 95–7.

Post scriptum. “In general, textual critics, on grounds of the suspect quality of the tradition and of the language and style of the passage, deny authenticity, while literary critics maintain it”, Murgia (2003), 405. I have looked at a fair number of the latter, but their

⁴³ Note synaloepha at caesura (§8(iii), *supra*), repetition with variation (578), enallage (576), framed lines (568), coupled expressions (§8(ii), *supra*), over-concentration of motifs (§8(i), *supra*). Such a varied display of extravagance right across so bizarre a list of stylistic phenomena would seem almost on its own to rule out V. himself as the author. But I have observed the majority in a room full of largely serious and competent Latinists assert solemnly that V. must have been having an odd day, or week, and was himself responsible for this amazing concentration of anomalies. Indeed, to inspire such singular credulity in his readers, two thousand years on.

unwillingness, or inability to engage with the real problems of authenticity makes me reluctant merely to count heads or record underinformed views⁴⁴. The commentary offered below could easily be yet more ample, but in it the conclusions of *ICS* and this introduction will be taken as probable, if not certain; it will be found that the hypothesis of learned forgery does provide sufficient explanations of the stylistic problems encountered, which may be thought in its favour.

⁴⁴ It is a great pity that Sebastiano Timpanaro left no more than two brief remarks on the HE, in all the anxious conservatism of his later period, *Virgilianisti antichi* (Firenze 2001), 2, n.2 and *loc.cit.*, n.20, *supra*: he seemed shocked by the very idea that HE might be a forgery, but the real density and difficulty of the issue was worthier of his towering abilities and most careful attention.

The Helen-episode. Text, translation and commentary

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Iamque adeo super unus eram, cum limina Vestae seruantem et tacitam secreta in sede latentem | 567 |
| Tyndarida aspicio; dant claram incendia lucem erranti passimque oculos per cuncta ferenti. | T 570 |
| illa sibi infestos euersa ob Pergama Teucros et Danaum poenam et deserti coniugis iras praemetuens, Troiae et patriae communis Erinys, abdiderat sese atque aris inuisa sedebat. | T |
| exarsere ignes animo; subit ira cadentem ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas. | T 575 |
| “scilicet haec Spartam in columnis patriasque Mycenae aspiciet, partoque ibit regina triumpho? | |
| coniugiumque domumque patres natosque uidebit | T |
| Iliadum turba et Phrygiis comitata ministris? occiderit ferro Priamus? Troia arserit igni? | 580 |
| Dardanium totiens sudarit sanguine litus? non ita. namque etsi nullum memorabile nomen | |
| feminea in poena est, nec habet uictoria laudem, | PT |
| extinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse merentis laudabor poenas, animumque explesse iuuabit | PT 585 |
| ultricis flammae et cineres satiasse meorum.” | |
| talia iactabam et furiata mente ferebar. | T 588 |

Right now I was the only survivor, when I caught sight of Tyndarus' daughter, keeping close to Vesta's doors and concealed wordless in her hidden temple. The fire gives a bright light as I wander and direct my gaze here and there over everything (570). She was already dreading the Trojans' hostility to her on account of the citadel's overthrow, as well as the Greeks' punishment and the wrath of her deserted husband—she the common Fury of Troy and of her homeland; she had hidden herself away, and was sitting, loathed, at the altar. The fires of rage blazed up in my heart; an angry desire entered me (575) to avenge my country and to exact punishment of her for her crimes. “Will she really behold her native Sparta and Mycenae unharmed and will she go as a queen in the triumph she has secured? Will she see her husband, her home, her parents, her children, accompanied by a crowd of Ilian women, her Phrygian servants? (580) Will Priam have died by the sword? And Troy blazed with fire? Will the shore of Dardania have so often sweated with blood? Not at all. For even if there is no claim to greatness in recollection for the punishment of a woman nor does that victory entail praise, yet I shall be praised for having put out that light of evil, and for having exacted punishment (585) from one who deserved it, and it will be my joy to have filled my heart with the fires of vengeance and to have sated the ashes of my kin”. So I railed, and rushed with frenzied spirit.

567 *iamque adeo* The formula *quater* in *Aen.*; cf. (with further bibl.) n. on 11.487 for this Lucretian expression (2.1150) and vd. also Klotz, *TLL* 1.615.53f., Hofmann, *ib.* 7.1.109.50, Lyne on *Ciris* 206.

super unus eram Cf. *Buc.* 6.6 *namque super tibi erunt*. Of *Enn. Ann.* 149, Gell. 1.22.14 opines that the two parts of *superesse* should be pronounced separately: this is not always true (vd. Sk. *ad loc.*) and here the verb is simply in tmesis; cf. 218, Leumann, 116, Lunelli-Leumann, 162, and full n. on 7.559 *si qua super fortuna laborum est*. The adj. thrown into prominence by the divided elements of the verb; the common sense of ‘alone’: cf. 354, 743, degl’ Innocenti Pierini, *EV* 5*, 398.

cum Inversum; cf. *EV* 1, 955. Hofmann, *cit.* compares, similarly with *cum inversum*, *Caes. Gall.* 6.7.2 *iamque ab eo non longius bidui uia aberant*, *cum duas uenisce legiones missu Caesaris cognoscunt*, *Sall. Jug.* 101.8, 106.5, *Aen.* 3.521f. *iamque rubescet.../ cum...uidemus*, 588ff. *iamque dies...surgebat...// cum...// procedit*, 5.159ff., 327ff., 9.371f.: a familiar use and sequence. Goold, 160, n.1 compares also 1.534f. *hic cursus fuit/ cum... Orion/ in uada caeca tulit*.

limina Vestae Cf. 3.371, 4.473, 7.610, 8.720 *limine Phoebi*, for a similar arrangement; 1. has been very common in bk. 2. Helen’s place of refuge during the Sack is not a settled detail: in Ibucus (cf. §7(ii), *supra*), the temple of Aphrodite is specified (and note *TIC* inscr.f.3f., Sadurska, 30); in the artistic tradition, there is much variation (Murgia (2003), 417, n.24, with further bibl., Robert, 1264, Anderson, 205, Sadurska, 29, Bethe, PW 7.2834.27ff.; for Apollo, cf. M. Pipili *LIMC* 5.1.653 n°15; for Athena, *ib.* n° 19, 21, 22, Aphrodite, n°23). QS refers only to H. hiding in Deiphobus’ house, 13.356f. (cf. Gärtner, 254); here, no contact with the sources present to HE. Robert suggests that the author senses that ‘Vesta’ is here more Roman, and avoids any awkwardness that a mention of Venus, Aen.’s mother, might create here as offering sanctuary to Helen. Bailey, 96 does well to note Ascanius’ oath by *canae penetralia Vestae* (9.259). Montanari invokes the secrecy associated with the cult of V. at Rome (*EV* 5*, 516), but we know nothing certain of her place at Troy or of the origins of this reference in HE. Au. is quite right to remark that 1. here could refer either to the entrance or to the temple as a whole (cf. 366; 3.91, *pace EV* 3, 225, is different: vd. n.. Note *OLD* s.v., §2c for the metonymy, of houses).

568 *seruantem* Cf. 6.402 *seruet...limen*, 575 *limina seruet*, with 556 *ues-tibulum... seruat*, Hor. *Ep.* 1.5.31 *atria seruantem*, 10.6 *tu nidum seruas*. The notion that Helen is ‘watching’ the doorway from somewhere else is not

promising: no reason is given for why she should be, and both *secretia in sede latenter* and (574) *abdiderat sese* strongly suggest a prolonged concealment (vd. Au. and *id* (1961), 188), for which the temple of Vesta is the only localisation offered. *EV* 4, 814 unilluminating.

et tacitam L. Ricottilli notes (*EV* 5*, 9) *Il*.3.419f. where Helen went σιγῇ, πάσας δὲ Τρωὰς λάθεν; some affinity there is, but the contexts are very different. T. used as though *tacite* (as *t.* often is, 3.667, 4.289f., Ricottilli, *cit.*; cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 270); not essential to the sense of the line and adj. in mid-verse is absent from V.'s best 'framed' lines (*infra*).

secretia in sede Cf. 7.774f. *secretis.../ sedibus*, source enough, were one needed; note good allit. of *s* in this verse. The adj. used of Anch.'s house, 299.

latenter She has not only taken sanctuary (574), but is also, explicitly, hiding (the sense reinforced by *secretia*); cf. *Buc*.3.20, *Aen*.6.406, the golden bough hidden in the Sibyl's robes, 7.505, Allecto hiding in the woods, etc.; standard language. For coupled gen.plur. partics., cf. n. on 7.16; for accus.partics. of mixed conjugation, cf. n. on 11.865, and for rhyming/framing partics., vd., in some detail, n. on 3.657. When I noticed that 570 too was framed, by *erranti...ferenti* (cf. also Berres, *VH*, 48, without detail), it was clearly necessary to go over the material again: there will be omissions, and I have not taken account of instances in which both conjugation and termination are different (e.g. *ruentis...morantem*). Distinguish between: (i) successive lines which end in 'rhyming' partics.: *Buc*.8.26f., *G*.1.12f., 3.183f., *Aen*.3.656f., 8.620f.; (ii) rhyme from caesura to verse-end: *G*.3.28, *Aen*.3.425, 4.219, 260, 5.168, 181, 6.498, 8.649, 9.768, 10.554, 797, 11.865, 872, 12.299; (iii) lines framed by partics. as first and last words, exactly as here: *G*.3.421, 4.266, 501. *Aen*.**2.381, 790, 771**, 4.401, 5.279, 6.657, 7.16, 8.63, 669, 712, 11.886, 12.410; (iv) some comparable instances of echo (and I omit rhyme in successive lines between v.-end and caesura): *G*.4.466, *Aen*.**2.216, 790**, 4.390, 7.449, 9.345, 11.697 and (v) two exceptional examples in bk.12, expanded over successive vv., 370f. (three partics.), 903f. (four). Here, framing twice in three lines, with no apparent connexion of sound or effect between the framed vv.; clearly V. is partial to sound-play between multiplied participles, but only here do we find two framed vv. in such close, but apparently unrelated proximity (contrast (v) *supra*). It seems as though the author has identified a favoured stileme but has not quite worked out how it should be used, and therefore, unlike V., thinks that twice is twice as good as once.

569 *Tyndarida* Used at **601**; previously, *bis* in *Lucr.1*, but above all *sexies* in *Eur.* (twice in *Or.*). Helen's mother Leda; the paternity oscillates between Zeus and Tyndareus, Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.3.10.7*, Gantz, 1, 318f., Robert, 2.2, 336ff.. Aen. does not name Helen, from loathing, remarks Mme. Guillemin, acutely; cf. n. on 11.348.

aspicio Cf. **578 *aspiciet***; for the repetition with change of sense, vd. §8(iv). For the vb., cf. **285**, n. on 3.443, Au.(1961), 188 (who overstates the rarity of the sense 'catch sight of').

dant claram...lucem For *dare lucem* cf. **698**, 1.306 *lux alma data est*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1683.66f. Ehlers, *ib.* 7.2.1913.6f., Berres, *VH*, 44. MSS **clara incendia**, corrected by Ribbeck; for the use of **c.**, cf. **705** **clarior ignis**, but there the adj. is evidently of sound, whereas here the expression **clara incendia** would be unprofitably unusual. *Clara lux* on the other hand is conventional (*Lucr.2.1032*, 5.12, 779, Cic. *Arat.50.136*, etc.); that we cannot determine where *c. incendia* might come from might slightly tell against it in the HE, and it is easily removed; contrast e.g. nn. on **Tyndarida, aspiciet, dant ...lucem** for a preference for obvious sources.

incendia Cf. **329, 706**. The conflagration gives Aen. enough light to see Helen by, *even* from up on the roof (Paratore), but the scene of Aen.'s rooftop monologue in Helen's unhearing presence below is not easy to take seriously as a whole.

570 *erranti* The vb. 1.322 *et saepe*. The sense an old, insoluble problem: vd. §5 *supra*: Aen. is firmly on the palace roof (cf. **561–6, 632**), and Helen hiding in the temple of Vesta, yet Aen. can talk to Helen and is likewise free to wander or roam, wherever he is thought to be. Cf. Goold, 157, Au.(1961), 188f., Berres, *VH*, 94ff., Highet, 172. I can offer no sort of solution or mitigation: it is unhelpful to suggest that **e.** refers to mental aberration.

passimque *Bis Buc., bis G, 12x. Aen..*

oculos per cuncta ferenti Cf. **687f. oculos.../extulit**, 3.490 (different in sense; vd. Cattein, 102f.) *sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat*, 8.229 (with *ora*, but exactly as here in sense, suggesting that the author has both 3 and 8 *citt.* in mind), Hey, *TLL* 6.1.542.56, Kuhlmann, *ib.* 9.2.445.71f.. *Per c.* oddly rare: cf. *Carm.bell.Act.* 1.5; however, an easy variation on *per omnia*, 6.565, 8.21, etc..

571 illa Used in V.'s own best manner to indicate a change of subject, as at **420, 529**.

sibi infestos...Teucros I. *quinquies* in Cat., including 64.355, 13x in Lucr., *Aen.* 2.529, and *sexies* elsewhere in *Aen.*. Cf. *Bell.Alex.*61.2 *in regionibus alienis sibique infestis*, Val.Max.1.1.14, Vell.2.43.1, Sen. *Contr.exc.* 3.9.1 for **i.** with reflex. pron., an easy expression absent from poetry elsewhere by mere chance.

euersa ob Pergama Lambertz, *TLL* 7.1.1408.36 compares Sall. *Jug.*14.17 for *infestus + ob*; ‘comparatively rare’ (Au.(1961), 189): not so in prose. More to the point, cf. n. on 11.279f. *post eruta.../ Pergama* (with bibl.), LHS, 393f., Wölfflin, *ALL* 1(1884), 167f. (for *ob* in particular). Here presumably borrowed from the handy **603 has euertit opes**. The use of prepos. + partic. + noun in lieu of an abstract apparently commoner in prose than in poetry; consideration should include some of V.’s fine economies in use of the partic., such as 10.503f. *emptum/intactum Pallanta*, 12.242f. *foedus.../ infectum*. **Pergama** already *quater* in bk.2; for (Ennian) **e.**, cf. **603, 746**, 3.1 (with n.).

572 et Danaum poenam Serv., **Danaum poenas** Serv.Dan.; **poenas Danaum** early edd.: see Goold, 143. The unmetr. plur. maybe an error, perhaps influenced by **iras**, perhaps by anxiety about the rarer sing.; it is (so Goold) hardly necessary to correct and not easy to see how an original **poenas Danaum** could have become **Danaum poenam**. For the particular, specific sing., here ‘vengeance’, ‘punishment’ cf. 1.136 *post mili non simili poena commissa luetis*, 12.949 *poenam...sumit* (with *Companion*, 212, n.137), and vd. **584**. For the synaloepha, see on next v..

et deserti coniugis iras Cf. (Berres, *VH*, 6, 37) **413 ereptae uirginis ira** (where vd. n. for the obj.gen.). Cf. Prop.2.8.29 *ille etiam abrepta desertus coniuge Achilles*; standard language, Vetter, *TLL* 5.1.684.38ff..

573 praemetuens It has been realised, at least since Goold, 147 (and cf. Berres, *VH*, 49, n.18, Austin (1961), 187, Au.), that this word (‘fearing in advance’) derives from Lucr.3.1019, in a passage to which the author of HE owes much; vd. §7(v) *supra*.

Troiae et patriae A ‘personalised’ variation upon a polar expression, with **p.** replacing *Spartae*; cf. n. on 7.224 for Europe and Asia; Helen the curse of Europe and Asia in Sen.*trag*, *Ag.*273f. (where vd. Tarrant), *Tro.*853f., 892f., 896 (Berres, *VH*, 64). But Sen.’s phrasing does not at all strongly suggest use of HE and it is quite likely that both authors had in mind Cat.68.89 *commune sepulcrum Asiae Europaeque* (*pace* Murgia (2003), 414, n.19); already, Eur.*Or.*1640 has Hellenes and

Phrygians clashing on Helen's account (cf. Murgia (2003), 424, n.40). The same synaloepha in successive vv.; cf. *ICS*, 24, §8(iii), *supra*: we have learned that synaloephae of -m or diphthong at 2½caes. are often found in clusters in V. (vd. e.g. Berres, *VH*, 29f. for a summary), but nowhere as clustered as in these 22 vv.; it will indeed occur again in the next v. and Berres cites no instance of three successive monotonous vv. thus elsewhere.

communis Eriny_s C.: Bannier, *TLL* 3.1968.63; cf. Plaut.*Pseud.*584 *nunc inimicum ego hunc communem meum atque uostrorum omnium*, *Luc.*1.6 *in commune nefas*. It has been suggested (cf. Berres, *VH*, 64, Murgia (2003), 413, n.17) that HE here had in mind Aesch.*Ag.*749 νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς, where the sense is disputed; Aesch. seems anyway outside the reading of HE's author (cf. §7(iv), *supra*). More pertinent (cf. Murgia (2003), 414, Conte (2006), 160f.), *Eur.Or.*1388f. ξεστῶν περγάμων Ἀπολλωνίων/ ἐρινύν with 1515 ἡτις 'Ελλάδ' αὐτοῖς Φρυξὶ διελυμήνατο (so Helen harmed both Troy and her own land, as here; Conte) and *Tro.*771 (on which vd. Murgia, 415). But almost more important (Au., Conte, 160, n.1), the Euripidean *Enn.trag.*49 *Lacedaemonia mulier Furiarum una*. Helen's role here in terms of vengeance and punishment may not be perfectly clear (cf. Murgia (2003), 413–6), but to a Roman reader very much the business of a metaphorical Fury: specifically, the wreaking of chaos and destruction (nn. on 337, 7.323–40 *ad fin.*, Conte (2006), 160, n.1), here present and perfectly comprehensible. The application of **E.** to an individual is of a familiar type (Opelt, 179; for Greek, cf. *Med.* 1260, *Tro.*457, etc), close to that of *Furia* (n. on 7.323–40, *ad fin.*, *Liv.*30.13.12 Sophonisba *illam furiam pestemque*). For HE here and the *Latii feralis Eriny_s* of *Luc.*10.59 (Cleop.): cf. Murgia (2003), 409ff., 424, in the context of his argument for L.'s priority over HE; *aliter*, Conte (2006), 160f..

574 abdiderat sese Standard language (cf. 7.387 *natam frondosis montibus abdit*); the scene familiar in the lit. tradition about Helen before her recovery (**567**). For the synaloepha, vd. on previous v.. La Cerdá well quotes *Liv.*45.6.6 (Perseus of Macedon) *in hospitium redire non ausus in latere templi prope angulum obscurum delituit*.

atque aris...sedebat Standard behaviour for seekers after divine protection or sanctuary to sit actually on the altar, n. on **525 et sacra longaeuum in sede locauit**; cf. also **517 diuum amplexae simulacra sedebant**. Local abl. (cf. 3.118, Antoine, 221). Could V. himself

ever have seriously contemplated the appropriateness of Aen. meditating the death of Helen while she was taking sanctuary, just as Priam had so recently done, at an altar?

inuisa Presumably from **601, non tibi Tyndaridis facies inuisa Lacaenae.** Cf. *EV* 2, 1006, n. on 7.570f. *Erinys/ inuisum numen.* ‘Unseen’ (*inuisus* thus prosy and uncommon) is an interpretation lurking in Serv.Dan. and old edd. (still, Egan, (589–633), 383) which deserves no answer; if she were not clearly visible, the scene would be entirely without point. Aen.’s rage is perhaps to be thought of as fuelled by the corrupting beauty of Helen.

575 exarsere...animo Cf. 7.445 *talibus Allecto dictis exarsit in iras,* 11.376 *talibus exarsit dictis uiolentia Turni,* 5.172, 8.219 (both of *dolor*); a common use of the vb., Burckhardt, *TLL* 5.2.1181.26ff.. Note too Liv.35.31.13 *adeo exarsit ira* (abl.). The verb markedly Catullan: 64.93; note that *exardescere* is used with singular variety of constructions. Compare too 9.66 *ignescunt irae.*

ignes “Virgil does not use *ignis* elsewhere of anger, nor is *exardescere* found elsewhere in classical Latin with *ignis* as the subject, either literally or metaphorically” (Austin (1961), 189, Goold, 155, Murgia (1971), 214 with 212). But as Murgia realised long ago, though formally unparalleled, in practice very close to an ample nexus of Virgilian usage and inventivity (*ib.*, 211f.); cf. *ICS*, 20, Schwarz, 450f.. Serv. draws attention to the ‘stretched’ use of *igni* at 7.577 *medioque in crimine caedis et igni* (where vd. my n.), commenting *feruore seditionis*. At 7.355 *ossibus implicat ignem* (where vd. my n.), there is also a hint of the fire of poison. As a distinguished imitator of V, the author of HE has every right to extend the master’s usage; that is the most skilled form of tribute (vd. Renahan, eloquently); Austin’s anxieties, just cited, are untimely, and if the language of HE were limited to the exact reproduction of Virgilian usage, the whole passage would not excite such (justified) admiration and interest. No *ignis* in *EV*. The reading *ignis(Γ)* is delightfully explained by Goold (143) as the work of a scribe who knew that **-is** for **-es** was correct in acc. and forgot to check that **i.** here was acc. (which only too clearly it is not).

subit ira The infinitive is natural to poetic idiom, although there is no exact parallel with *ira*: Austin (1961), 189, quoting 9.757f. *si...cura subisset/ rumpere claustra manu.* The infin. after nouns extremely Virgilian: cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 271, LHS, 351, Wölfflin, *ALL* 11(1900), 505f., Norden on 6.133, Jocelyn on *Enn.trag.*222. For the vb., cf. too (less closely)

560, 562, 10.824 *patriae subiit pietatis imago* (and Au. points out a closely similar use at Eur.*Med.*57 of ὑπῆλθε). Negri (123, 150) draws attention to 4.197 *incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras*, 6.468 *lenibat dictis animum lacrimasque ciebat*, where the second member gives precision to the general emotive framework of the first.

cadentem/ 576 ...patriam Cf. 3.2f. *cediditque superbūm/ Ilium* (with n.). For **p.**, cf. also **577**.

576 *ulcisci* Con. wonders whether the infns. in **576** should be parallel to **ira** or dependent on **ira**; the uncertainty remains at *EV 5**, 356, but reference to Con.'s n. on *G.1.213* will reveal that he correctly prefers the latter. The verb at 3.638, 4.656, 6.840.

et sceleratas sumere poenas Cf. **103** (where vd. n.), 6.501, 11.720 (where vd. n.), 12.949 for *poenas sumere* in V.. The adj. by no means as startling as it might at first appear (cf. Goold, 155, Murgia (1971), 213, Austin (1961), 190, Berres, *VH*, 10f., 18f.), and offers an important clue to the author's reading: as at **585f *sumpsisse merentis/ laud-abor poenas***, the answer lies in enallage, transferred epithet (called hypallage by Serv. and Conte): see Conte (2002), 5ff., (2006), 169f., with 169, n.2, Murgia (1971), 213f., Berres, *VH*, 10f., Hight, 170; much further bibl, *ICS*, 21. Interpretations of this v. which do not take account of the (evident) transferred epithet are not discussed here. Two points of wider relevance should be noted: first, that two instances of enallage within ten lines is rather frequent for V.; the phenomenon is extremely Virgilian, but used with marked restraint, whereas twice in ten lines is in keeping with other signs of slight, and even marked, excess noted elsewhere in HE. More important, Conte has toiled hard to list instances of enallage in V., and as discussed by Serv.: however, that does not necessarily prove Virgilian authorship on the grounds of repeated use of so exquisitely Virgilian a phenomenon, since his extremely valuable data can be used just as well to demonstrate the attentive reading of the text by a careful and learned author, eager then to employ stylistic features to which the scholiasts regularly draw attention. Cf. *ICS*, 21(c) and §8(iv), *supra*. Here, therefore, the *poenae* are to be exacted from (dat., if we are to insist) the *scelerata* Helen; the adj. used easily as substantive, *OLD*, s.v., §2a, citing e.g. *Cic.Cat.1.23*. For **s.** used thus, cf. 6.563 *sceleratum insistere limen*; the adj. *semel* in *G.* and *sexies* in undisputed *Aen.*; cf. nn. on 3.60, 7.461, *EV 4*, 698.

577 scilicet Aen. suggests bitterly the most ludicrous conclusion he can imagine to Helen's career: cf. n. on 11.371.

haec...incolumis The adj. *semel* in *G.*, and *octies* in undisputed *Aen.*, including 2.88. Cf. Buchwald, *TLL* 7.1.979.27f.. So too Helen returns home unharmed, Prop.2.32.32.

Spartam...patriasque Mycenæ The adj. clearly with both nouns (and **patrias... Mycenæ** was available to hand at 180); the connexion of Spartan Helen with Mycenæ (cf. nn. on 7.222, 372,11.266) is neither erroneous, nor even very surprising: cf. 1.650, where she is called Argive and brings gifts to Troy from Mycenæ. The adj. refers as often to the wider *patria* ('nation') of the person or thing in question, here clearly 'Greek' (the speaker's contrasting origin makes the sense even easier): cf. nn. on 3.297, 332, Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.762.39ff., 763.38, *EV* 3, 1026. Cf. n. on 95, *patrios ...Argos*, the 'home' of Simon son of *Nauplius*. Cf. Berres, 16. The repetition **patriam ...patrias** provoked dismay and unlikely hypotheses about unfinished, adjacent, unedited drafts to save the author's credit (Austin (1961), 194, and comm., Goold, 155); cf. however, *ICS*, 21f. and full n. on 7.554, for the quite numerous passages where V.'s freedom in verbal repetition without any visible effect outrages modern sensibilities. We might note that **patriam** is noun, **patrias** adj., which brings us also a little nearer to the author's devotion to repetition with variation of sense, as laid down by the grammarians: see **578 aspiciet**, **581 arserit**, *ICS*, 20, §8(iv), *supra*. Note also synaloepha of **-am** at caesura.

578 aspiciet Not the 'catch sight of' of 568, but rather 'will look upon' (4.372, 6.155, etc.). So Servius (on 9.570) quotes Lucilius fr.40 FunaioliGRF, fr.1140, Marx *bonum schema est quotiens sensus variatur in iteratione uerborum*, with *ICS*, 20 and Au. on 505. Here, we certainly have repetition with variation, and there are enough other instances in HE (see on **patrias**) to make it likely that it is quite deliberate, and quite possibly too in keeping with the grammarians' precepts.

partoque...triumpho The vb. of victory, at *Cic.Phil.*14.1, *Off.*1.35, *Liv.*10.37.8, etc.; of a triumph, *Liv.*6.16.5 (where vd. Kraus), then *Ov.*; note too *Luc.*10.65 *Pharos ductura triumphos*. So not part of the ancient language of commemoration, but current enough in various forms of prose to be a quite natural choice here. Helen's triumph is complicated (Murgia (2003), 417), unless you suppose not only that Argos triumphed over Troy on her account, but that she

then triumphed over Argos (§7(ii), *supra*), when she disarmed Menelaus, after the initial *ira* of 572, again by the display of her beauty; are we indeed meant to suppose that she was already devastatingly half-naked (as in many accounts), ready—for *praemetuens* is no fixed condition—to disarm in all senses her original husband? Was she to share in his triumph when they returned to Achaea? Hers was neither a conventional military triumph, nor a conventional lover's victory (Murgia (2003), 418), but an (over-)audacious display of metaphor; Cleopatra made a more natural, or obvious, *triumphatrix*, as Lucan realised. The author of HE *nouus esse laborat*, and indeed *obscurus fit*.

ibit regina Cf. Ov.*Her.*16.333 *ibis Dardanias ingens regina per urbes* (Paris to Helen), Stat.*Theb.*2.362 *geminis ibis regina per urbes* (cf. Berres, *VH*, 63, 70); both Murgia (2003), 418ff. and Conte (2006), 166 have remarked that there seems also to be an affinity between the next v. and *Her.*16.337f. *pater fratresque et cum genetrice sorores* (Paris' not Helen's but that hardly matters)/ *Iliadesque omnes totaque Troia dabit*. Particularly for scholars not convinced of the Ovidian authorship of *Her.*16 (cf. Murgia (2003), 418, n.30), the relationship of these passages is not easily established (Murgia (2003), 421–6 offers no definite answer), but it could well be that both texts simply draw on a common (perhaps Euripidean, possibly Ennian) original; Conte (2006) does not address the problem. ‘Going as a queen’, Murgia complains, (2003), 418 ‘is no part of triumphal imagery’. For him, (2003), 417, ***ibis regina*** ‘belong to a different class of symbolism’ from ***parto... triumpho***, but it seems difficult to tease out the four words into distinct groups; there is a risk that the terrified fugitive may, by means of her beauty, contrive to return home both once more a queen, and in triumph. How much of Cleopatra lurks in Helen?

579 coniugiumque domumque C.: ‘i.q. maritus’, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.325.37. Note the sequence *domus...uxor...nati* at *Lucr.*3.894 (a passage familiar to the author of HE, §7(v), *supra*), Hofmann, *TLL* 5.1.1981.31f.; for the use of the metrically convenient abstract, cf. Ferraro, *EV* 1, 380, LHS, 748, nn. on 3.296 *coniugio*, 471 *remigium*; Such lists of the constituent elements of a home life are of course common: vd. (over and above *Lucr.*, *cit.*) next n. and cf. 11.270 *coniugium optatum et pulchram Calydonia uiderem*? but it is perhaps most germane to cite *Il.*3.139f. where Iris inspires Helen with longing for former husband, city and parents, along with Eur.*Or.*1144f. (*Pyl.* to *Or.*) τὸν σὸν δὲ πατέρα καὶ

σὲ κἀδελφὴν θανεῖν / μητέρα τε (quoted already by Heinze, 48n.), along with 137f. **nec mihi iam patriam antiquam spes ulla uidendi/ nec dulcis natos exoptatumque parentem** (not to mention 560–3), Ov.*Her.*16.337f. (quoted above, 578), Stat.*Theb.*3.578f., 7.719 *et domus et coniunx et amantes litora nati*. This v. once attracted the suspicion of critics (cf. Kvičala, 29, Peerlkamp, Wagner, the useful summary, Berres, *VH*, 6f. and Murgia (2003), 422, n.33), but it should be clear that the neat and elegant passage from 578 to 580 is not in itself a strong argument against 579, not least when the content and language of the verse is above reasonable suspicion and the content reveals a proper study of Aeneas' words revealing his own reborn awareness of home and family at 560–3; we might also recall that Helen was quite widely thought to have returned to Sparta to bear Nicostratus to Menelaus and to live out the rest of her days, Engelmann, Ro.1.2.1948.30ff. and vd. *infra*. Berres, *VH*, 7 is right to note the formal absence of verbal parallels in V., but the sense and structure of 11.270, and the content of 560–3 (cf. Berres, *cit.*) are source enough.

patres natosque Patris in the c.15 cod.Menagianus alter of *Aen.*, Goold, 143, Götte, 781. See Austin (1961), 191, Goold, *cit.*, 143f., Murgia (1971), 209, *id.*(2003), 420, Berres, *VH*, 6–8. Au. favours this elegant old conjecture, but, as Goold remarks, his parallels in Stat. do not qualify *domus*, as is clearly desirable to support **patris** here. Murgia (1971), 209 also notes that for a married woman to return to her father's house suggests divorce or widowhood, not triumph. The issue, however, lies elsewhere and is primarily linguistic: discussion of **patres** in the sense of 'parents' here has not reflected the ample work done on this use of the plural. Murgia is now moved to offer **patres** used for *patrem*, which he does admit would be extremely difficult, and such unusual remedies are in fact unnecessary: *Patres* for *parentes* is perhaps not clearly attested elsewhere before Stat., E. Fahnestock, M.B. Peaks, *TAPA* 44(1913), 80, von Kamptz, *TLL* 10.1.674. 75ff.. But it is no great surprise to discover that *patres* for *parentes* may well be attested a good deal earlier, and even in V. himself: so *Aen.*1.95 *ante ora patrum*, where the parallel passages *G.4.477*, *Aen.*6.308 read *parentum*; cf. too Hor.*C.4.4.55* *natosque maturosque patres*. That is rather what we would expect to find, for the general stylistic phenomenon is widespread: cf. *fratres* for *sorores et fratres*, *nurus* for *filiae et nurus*, *fili* for *fili filiaeque*, Löfstedt, *Synt.1₂*, 69, Bell, 19f., LHS, 19. As for **natos**, if readers here recollect only Hermione, the elliptical *parentes* too become easier,

though that additional support is not essential, and some may have remembered Nicostratus (*supra*; Hes.*Eoeae* fr. 175MW, ApId.Bibl.3.11.1 where vd. Frazer), her late-born son (vd. 579), as well. Leda, according to *Od.*11.298 was dead, if V. recalled that passage. But in such an ample, generalising context (Speranza cites Cic.*Prov.Cons.*35 for *liberos* of Julia alone) these mythological minutiae are unwelcome, and the explanation offered for *parentes* remains probable. It could in turn could so easily have come from a grammarian's exposition of anomalous/elliptical plurals. Cf. *ICS*, 23. The broken polysyndeton is rare but not intolerably so: for a + *que* (which here connects to the previous v.; Au.), b + *que*, c, d + *que* Murgia cites 9.574 *Ityn Cloniumque Dioxippum Promolumque* and Goold 8.679 *cum patribus populoque Penatibus et Magnis Dis.*

uidebit 'See as she longs to'; cf. n. on 11.243 and on **137 patriam antiquam spes ulla uidendi.**

580 Iliadum turba Cf. 6.305, 11.34f. *famulumque manus Troianaque turba/ et maestum Iliades crinem de more solutae* (where vd. n.), source enough, containing as it does both *Iliades* and *turba*, and justifying the (slightly tedious) fulness of expression here (note the doubled expressions for 'Trojan'); note also Ov.*Her.*16.338, quoted on 578. Synaloepha at 2½caesura.

et Phrygiis...ministris P. as often in the neutral sense of 'Trojan' (cf. n. on 11.170). Con. 'refers doubtless to male attendants': not at all (*pace* Bulhart, *TLL* 8.1003.7). The fem. is common in lit. and epigr. texts (Bulhart, 1004.55ff., citing e.g. 11.658) and here surely required by the prolix unity of the line's sense (so 11.34f. too); Aen. anticipates Helen's gloating use of a domestic retinue of Trojan (noble, female) survivors; **m.** and **I.** evidently refer to the same body of prisoners, for whom see, as Au. well notes, **785f.** (with (1961), 189f.). The abl. is 'sociative' or 'comitative' (for 'instrumental' is perhaps rather too wide a category, *pace* Au.): see 1.312, *infra*, 4.544 *Tyriis omnique manu stipata meorum*, LHS, 113, Löfstedt, *Synt.*, 1₂, 275f., Bennett, 2, 299f., KS 1, 380.

comitata Cf. 1.312 *uno...comitatus Achate*, Bannier, *TLL* 3.1815.14f.; as often, *comito* used transitively (Bannier compares Diom., *Gramm.Lat.* 1.315.9). Cf. Flobert, 107.

581 occiderit ferro Priamus After ***aspiciet, ibit*** and ***uidebit***, three future perfects: what has happened, to balance what will happen. Cf. 4.591, 9.783ff., 10.334, Görler, *EV* 2, 273, KS 1, 150. Or else (cf.

Dingel on 9, *cit.*, Courtney on Juv.1.3) past deliberative, with LHS, 338, Bennett, 1, 186, Handford, *Lat.subj.* 72, Woodcock, 87. Cf. Baer, *TLL* 9.2. 348.75f., Pflugbeil, *ib.* 6.1.583.57, comparing *trag.inc.69 ferron an fato moerus Argiūm occidit?*. No obvious Virgilian antecedent. Excellent juxtaposition of significant proper names at caesura.

Troia arserit igni Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.297.74 compares Cic.*Pis.* 26; cf. too **312 igni...relucent**, Hor.*Epd.*5.81f. *quam non amore sic meo flagres uti/ bitumen atris ignibus*, Cic.*cons.fr.2.1* *flammatuſ...igni*, etc.; the lack of a precise source seems irrelevant, for such expressions are clearly standard poet. idiom and anyway the author may have in mind (Vollmer, *TLL* 2.484.9) 7.244 *Troia...ardente*, imitated (also imitated, indeed) by Hor.*CS* 41.

582 Dardanium...litus Cf. Reisch, *TLL* Onom.3.46.42. *Litus* + topogr. adj. is standard phrasing, 1.196, 3.280 (where v.d. n.).

totiens Semel in *G.*, *novies* in *Aen..*

sudarit sanguine A vigorous allit. metaphor: found in Enn.(*trag.* 165, where v.d. Joc.) and Lucr.(5.1129, 6.1147f.); *sudor sanguis* an allit. pair as old as Enn.*trag.*347; see Wölfflin, *Ausgew.Schr.*, 276. Here an attractive archaising flourish of good quality and possibly Lucretian origin. Cf. Berres, *VH*, 17f..

583 non ita Cf. Lumpe, *TLL* 7.2.520.8, Hand, 3, 493; then in Sil., and clearly not common usage. Greek οὐ δῆτα. Aen.’s rising rage turns to strong allit. of n and m.

namque etsi This turn in the argument has long been recognised as deriving from Eur.*Or.*1132ff., where Pylades asserts that to kill a more modest woman would be of ill-repute, whereas Helen shall pay the price for all the damage she has done to Greece. The sequence *etsi...tamen* is common: cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 5.2.974.49ff. at 54f., Pacuv.*trag.*206, Acc.*trag.*234, Lucr. 5.1156f., etc., Hand, 2, 601f..

nullum memorabile nomen *Nullus* provides a reinforced *non*, EV 4, 316, Ernout-Thomas, 153: an idiom with roots in the spoken language, Hofmann-Ricottilli, 208f., in detail. Cf. 4.94 *magnum et memorabile numen*, then Ov., O. Prinz, *TLL* 8.663.30f.. Eur.*Or.*, *cit.* has δυσκλεής... φόνος; compare also Andr. 779 κρείccov δὲ νίκαν μὴ κακόδοξον ἔχειν; in addition, La Cerdá refers to Arist.*Probl.*951a11 on why it is δεινότερον to kill a woman rather than a man and Prop.2.5.25 for the low status (*rusticitas*) of assault upon a woman (with McKeown, intro.

to Ov.*Am.*1.7, NH on Hor.*C.1.17.26*; note too Tregiari, *Rom. marriage*, 465). Cf. n. on 7.564 for V.'s adjs. in *-ilis*.

584 *feminea in poena est* Adj. for obj.gen., Bannier, *TLL* 6.1.466. 25ff., comparing Ov.*Am.*3.2.40. For V.'s adjs. in *-eus*, cf. n. on 7.589. For the relatively uncommon use of adj. for obj.gen. cf. LHS, 60, 65, 66, KS 1, 212 and Livian *capitalis poena*, as against possess. gen., in which case the slightly loftier adj. for gen. is very common, *Aen.7*, index s.v. adjective, LHS, 151, Bell, 215f., and above all Löfstedt, *Synt.1₂*, 107ff.. Again, synaloepha at 2½caes.. Note that V.'s liking for *poena* and variation in means of use attracted scholarly attention, *ICS*, 22, n.122, comm. on 7.766, Austin (1961), 194, 197, *EV* 4.153ff., Serv.Dan. on 366, Serv. on 1.136, 6.598, 7.307, 8.668, 9.420.

nec habet uictoria laudem Nec habet is a conjecture (Murgia, Goold; Fraenkel oddly calls it an interpolation) in the ms. V, the c.10 Vat.Lat.3317 (ed.Harv., 2, p.vif), accepted by Murgia and Goold. It is above all the sequence of thought that imposes **nec habet**; with the **habet haec** of the rest of the transmission, the **tamen** of 585 becomes almost impossible to explain. Note however Au.'s unhappy attempt, with no punctuation at v.-end and understanding **tamen** as—much delayed—with **habet**; there are many other elaborate and unconvincing arrangements of the punctuation, which it would not be illuminating to discuss in detail (cf. Austin (1961), 192, n.3, Berres, 24); only with Goold and Murgia have we reached a clear view of the sense, or run of the passage as a whole. Punctuation should not be treated as the key to understanding a tricky section, by imposing some form of grammar and 'sense' upon a recalcitrant text, but should rather be used to draw our inexperienced eyes to the natural articulation of the sentence. **Haec** is not, *pace* Austin (1961), crucial to the sense; Aen.'s victory (*infra*) is clearly over Helen, even without **haec**. Watt suggested to Austin that **nec habet** could have arisen from a misreading of *hec*, with consequent transposition, but, as Goold explains, in the sequence *habet hec uictoria laudem*, a corruption of *hec* to *nec* is what you do *not* expect; rather (1) *nec*→*hec* and (2) transposition to preserve the metre. The result will prove (Goold) to give excellent sense over all of 584–5, and tolerable Latin. *Habere laudem* standard idiom, von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.1065.46ff. at 51f., citing Cic.*Planc.*66, *Deiot.*26, *de orat.* 2.242, *Brut.*50, *Nep.Reg.*1.4, Prop.2.21.10 *has laudes ille maritus habet*. Murgia well remarks that **habet... laudem**, perfectly in the manner of HE, repeats, though not wonderfully well, the sense of **memorabile**

nomen; the objections of Berres, 22 are unpersuasive. **Victoria** ‘practically ‘achievement’, Au., oddly. The whole point surely rests in Aen. referring, bitterly enough, to killing Helen as a victory, comparable to victories in battle (cf. 12.183, 187, etc.; Berres adduces, *VH*, 12, 4.95 for another, analogous, non-military, ironical victory): the author’s repetitious manner is illuminating, for just as **memorabile nomen** corresponds to **laudem** (Murgia (1971), 215), so too **feminea in pena** must correspond to **victoria**. On Arruns’ thoughts about the glory to be won from besting Camilla, 11.789–93, cf. Berres, *VH*, 12; maybe a scene that the author of HE has studied more closely, Berres, *cit.* *EV* 5*, 547 strikingly unhelpful. Cf. Goold, 144, W.S. Watt, ap. Au., comm., 292, Austin (1961), 192, Murgia (1971), 208, Berres, *VH*, 21–8, Fraenkel, *Kl. Beitr.*, 2, 353.

585 extinxisse Cf. *G*.1.466, *Aen*. 4.606, 7.662, etc. (a word favoured by V; cf. Berres, *VH*, 19, n.23). *TLL* (Tietze) only comments, unhelpfully and misleadingly, ‘*loco dub.trad.*’, 5.2.1914.15.

nefas Cf. (quite closely) *Corn.Sev.fr.13.6* Courtney *patriciumque nefas extinctum* (Catiline, Cethegus), Au.(1961), 190, *OLD* s.v., §4a). It may be germane to point out that **n.** interested V. and that he used it in striking ways, which attracted the grammarians’ attention: cf. 5.197 with Serv.’s n., *ICS*, 22.

tamen Responding, as often, to **583 etsi** (q.v.); here in third place, quite acceptably (details, Berres, *VH*, 24, n.17). Berres, 24 collects several interpretations that detach **tamen** from **etsi**, but such clear authorial indications of how the elements of our text should be gathered and understood are not to be ignored.

et sumpsisse.../ 586 laudabor Cf. **576** for the amply Virgilian *sumere poenas*, *OLD* s.v. *sumo*, §6b (Cic. too). This pass. construction an apparent novelty, but of a familiar type (‘the personal construction’): so with *iterantur*, *Acc.Ann.fr.3.2* Courtney, *creditur*, *Lucr.4. 388*, *legar Prop.4.11.36*, *narratur*, *Hor.C.3.21.11*, *KS 1, 705f.*, Ernout-Thomas, 327, LHS, 364f.. Note the infin. with *laudatur* Pers.1.86f., and cf. too *Prop.1.7.11 me laudent doctae solum placuisse puellae*. See von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.1045.55ff..

merentis/ 586 ...poenas The traditions of Serv. and Serv.Dan. are divided between **merentis** and **merentes**; details, Murgia (1971), 208, Goold, 144 and add **merenti**, B, Bern, Bibl.Publ.165. Note that **extinxisse nefas** is perforce parallel in sense to **sumpsisse merentis/...poenas** (cf. Murgia (1971), 208, n.12, 215). Goold, *cit.* com-

pares the transmission of ***merentis*** to that of ***ignis***, 575: here the gen. might appear attractive (though *poenas alicuius sumere* seems unparalleled, Austin (1961), 191, Berres, *VH*, 10f.) but the enallage of **576 sceleratas sumere poenas** is very strongly in favour of the enallage here: it is exactly in the same manner, and perfectly in keeping with the author's tendency to repetitious effects. Au., *ad loc.* is shocked by the repeated effect, but we have encountered it over and again in HE (§10, *supra*). ***Merentis***, after the model of 576, to be understood as 'punishment of one who deserves' (sc., clearly, 'punishment'; cf. Bulhart, *TLL* 8.804. 66ff., 811.32, Liv.8.7.12, n. on 7.307, Berres, *VH*, 11); note (Berres, 13) 11.849 *morte luet merita*. Clearly no further parallel for this ambitious enallage is to be expected; at Stat.*Silv.*4. 3.145, vd. Coleman.

586 animumque explesse E. from Lucr.3.1003f. *deinde animi ingratis naturam pascere semper/ atque explore bonis rebus satiareque numquam:* cf. Goold, 147, Berres, *VH*, 17, *ICS*, 22. The contracted perfs. familiar from Lucr., Cat. and quite unremarkable here, NW, 3, 500. **A.** as often 'la sede del desiderio', Negri, 142, with n.55. R. Renahan's exposition of 586f. is of exceptional clarity and force, and I have learned much from it; cf. also Murgia (1971), 210f., Berres, *VH*, 9f., *ICS*, 19.

iuuabit The fut. impersonal much to V's taste: cf. 1.203, 3.606 (where vd. n.), 11.131, 168. For the 'philosophical' issue of the pleasure that Aen. contemplates taking in vengeance, cf. §9(a), *supra*.

587 ultricis flammae Flammae N (= Napoli, Bibl.Naz., Fond.Vindobonense Latino 5); **famam** Γ (Serv.); **famae** CV (Serv.Dan.). Many emendations have been proposed, but they will be found to be unnecessary. See Goold, 144f., Murgia (1971), 209–14, Renahan, Austin (1961), 192–4, Berres, *VH*, 8–10, *ICS*, 19 . If the author had wanted to write the grammatically orthodox *ultrici fama* (or *flamma*), he could clearly have done so, but it is plain that he did not (Goold). As for ***famae***, Birt defended the expression *ultrix fama* as an invention for *fama ultionis* (*Kritik u. Hermeneutik* (München 1913), 161, n.1). This gives very poor, repetitious sense and Murgia is right (210) to doubt the propriety of *fama* affecting the *animus*. As for ***famam***, 'to sate the fame of an avengeress', as Murgia puts it (*ib.*; vd. too Austin), is evident nonsense, and he notes the misleading, or distracting, effect of *-am* in synaloepha at this point in 572, 576, 577, and 588. Some patient reflection upon the apparent difficulties of ***ultricis flammae*** is (Murgia, Renhan) productive. *Vlrix*

is a good Virgilian word, *quinquies* in *Aen.*. ‘*Flamma* never means ‘anger’ in classical Latin’ (Austin (1961), 193) was an incautious formulation: cf. n. on 575 ***ignes***; if ***ignes*** can be psychological (and they clearly can be), then it is hardly reasonable to object to ***flamma*** used similarly. Actually, *flamma* can be used of envy, desire, disease, war, and oratory, Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.867.45ff., which does much to reinforce the analogy from *ignis*. Klepl/Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.1714.43f. correctly point out that *explere* is not found elsewhere with gen., but that argument is a good deal less decisive than it seemed to e.g. Goold, for gen. with verbs of filling is good Lat., even Virgilian usage: see 1.215 *implentur ueteris Bacchi pinguisque ferinae* (so already Forbiger, Benoist), *Lucr.* 5. 1165 *ararum compleuerit urbis*. LHS 82, and vd. sufficient bibliography at *ICS*, 19, n.105. If we deny the author of HE the right to innovate by learned analogy, we reduce him to a scribbler of *centones*, and he is palpably better than that; if he is allowed to invent, discreetly and correctly, then he is allowed to write *explesse flammae*. Whatever we read here (and *ultricis flammae* is clearly preferable, while Mynors’ obelus is entirely uncalled-for), there is synaloepha at caes.2½.

cineres satiasse One perfect infin. takes up another; the sense hardly alters, in keeping with the ponderous themes and variations that dominate HE. The verb derives from *Lucr.* 3.1004, as Goold made quite clear (vd. n. on ***animumque explesse***; the verbs also linked, *Cic. Rep.* 6.1, *Sen.* 47). It is perfectly irrelevant, *pace* Au., that *satiare* is found with abl., since in the structure of the verse, it is ***explesse*** that is expanded by the gen.; it is easy then to supply an abl., *ultrici flamma*, with ***satiasse*** if desired or required. *Cineres* in the sense of *Manes*, Bailey, 259 (note *cineres* and *Manes* linked, 4.34, 427); *EV* 1, 729. For V. and the tragic theme of the consolation of vengeance, cf. n. on 11.847 and we should not forget *Pylades* at *Eur. Or.* 1134 (vd. 583 ***namque etsi***).

meorum Cf. nn. on 283, 431 (a likely source for V. here, given the presence of *cineres* too), 3.488f. for V.’s exploitation of the affective force of pronom. adjs.. Now Conte (2006), 171f. seizes upon V.’s fondness for these forms as an indication that only he could have deployed them so effectively and affectingly. But as we saw in the case of enallage (§8(iv), *supra*, with n. 35), there is no secret entailed, nothing that a skilled reader and imitator could not discern; the commoner, the more Virgilian, indeed, the use of pronom. adjs., the easier it was for an imitator to deploy them in the same way. After rather over fifteen years of concentrated work on *Aen.*, I am slightly appalled at how easy it

has become to dash off half a page of sub-Virgilian hexameters, and suspect that with expenditure of months, rather than minutes, it might be possible to create a little more serious unease among Latinists; cf. my n. at *Companion*, 56, n.136

588 *talia iactabam* ‘Looks like a stopgap’, Au., 194 = Goold, 154; Au.’s more detailed objections will be considered in turn. The vb. unexceptionable: cf. *Buc.*2.4f. *haec incondita.../...iactabat*, *Aen.*1.103 *talia iactanti*, etc.. Au. objects first to the parataxis, in lieu of *talia iactanti* (as at 1.102, 9.621). But *dixit et* is a widely-used formula of closure and note also *dixerat et, tantum effatus et, 11.718 fatur...et, 6.1, etc..* Indeed the parataxis is itself rather Virgilian and well-observed.

et furiata mente ‘Is rather obvious’, Au., 194 = Goold, 154. But cf. *ICS*, 22f., Renehan, 201f., Berres, *VH*, 45f.. ***Furiata mente*** we have just encountered, at **407** and both Renehan and NH on *Hor.C.1.25.14* think V. found the word in *Hor.*; actually, *Aen.2* could be earlier than *Hor.C.1.25*. But what is so illuminating (*bene*, Renehan) is Serv.’s note on the new word, and on the distinction between it and *furiousus*. It does seem very likely that *f.* was not only found by our author at **407** but also belongs to the list of items discovered by the author in the commentaries, marked as ‘interesting’; cf. §8(iv), *supra*. ‘Has all the look of a patch’, Au. in comm., Goold, 155; note rather 3.312, 463 (with n.), 4.30, 590, 6.1, 262; clearly it would not be hard to collect further instances of explicit evaluations of content at the end of a speech, as well as at the beginning. Note [Sall.]*rep.*2.17.7 *furibundus atque amens alienata mente feraris* (Ussani, Speranza) and cf. n. on **407** for adverbial expressions involving *mente*.

ferebar Cf. **498, 511**: markedly Virgilian idiom. For a moment it seems as though Aen. can rush towards Helen; cf. §5, *supra*. The problem of their exact locations remains, however, unresolved. In both this v., and its predecessor, synaloepha at 2½caesura.

APPENDIX 2

STESICHORUS, THE TABULA ILIACA CAPITOLINA AND AENEID 2

Nearly thirty years ago, I discussed in some detail¹ the relevance of the *TIC* to our understanding of the presence of Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis* in Augustan Rome and dwelt briefly not so much on the possible influence of Stes. on V. as on the likely influence of V. on the *TIC*². The intricacies of that complex article were probably excessive, for its conclusions have been quite widely misunderstood³. Alongside some useful new discussions of the poem and its problems⁴, we have four recent editions of the frr. of Stes.*Il.Pers.*⁵ and one article specifically on Stes.*Il.Pers.* and Virgil⁶. The issue is of some importance for any discussion of the sources of *Aen.2.*:

Evidence for Stes. *Il.Pers.* is of three kinds: (i) testimonia; (ii) papyri; (iii) the *TIC*:

For (i), cf. *JHS* 1979, 38. Nothing has changed.

¹ *JHS* 99(1979), 26–48. For the mythol. summaries on the *Tabulae*, cf. M. van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek readers' digests* (*Mnem.*Suppl.275, Leiden 1998), 70ff., 176ff..

² *Ib.*, 38–43.

³ Discussion in *EV* is not satisfactory; in particular, 4, 1022f..

⁴ Kazansky (n.5), *passim*; much of Kazansky, 55–79 is taken up with attacks on positions that I have never in fact held, and to which the attentive reader will therefore require no reply. See also Scafoglio (n.6), Schade (n.5), 119, M.L. West, *ZPE* 4(1969), 135–49, 7(1971), 262–4. E.S. Gruen, *Culture and national identity* (Ithaca 1992), 14f. is learned but optimistic. Contrast F. Castagnoli, *Studi romani* 30 (1982), 7f., Campbell (n.5), 107.

⁵ N.N. Kazansky, *Principles of the reconstruction of a fragmentary text* (Saint Petersburg 1997), G. Schade, *Stesichorus*, *Pap.Oxy.*2359... (*Mnem.*Suppl.237, Leiden 2003), 141–68, D.A. Campbell, *Greek lyric* 3 (Loeb ed. 1991), 101–20, M. Davies, *PMG* (Oxford 1991), 183–205. At fr.205, Davies remarks on my 1979 article ‘aliter iudicat Davies’, but seems not yet to have expanded upon that judgement.

⁶ G. Scafoglio, *Rh.M.* 148(2005), 113–25. See also, *id.*, *Lat.*64(2005), 637, 639f.. Hermes is present on the *TIC* (for discussion, *JHS* 1979, 40, 41f.), though it would be folly to find a Stesichorean Hermes behind the **deo** of 632; quite apart from the more general problem of his view of V.’s relations to Stes., Scafoglio takes no account of the very slender presence of the Hermes-version in literature and art, and of the character of the attestations.

(ii) Much has changed since Page, *PMG*⁷: for the new frr., apart from the publications in *Pap.Oxy* and Page, *SLG*, we have four edd. (n.5). That S107 may (so West 1969, 141) point to Helen's participation in a dialogue, presumably with Menelaus has no bearing (*pae* Kazansky, 53, 79) on how she was put to death in Stes. and on the *TIC*. The oath by Pallas and the φάος ἀελίου of S102 was compared by West (*ib.*, 139; cf. now Kazansky, 47) to Sinon's oath, *Aen.2.* 154ff.. Sinon's choice of goddess to swear by in Stes. (if Pallas' existence at S102.8 is accepted; a supplement by W.S. Barrett) is enticing, but that is a very long way from being able to assume that Sinon's role in Stes. can be extrapolated from *Aen.2*. The debate on what to do with the TH is present in Stes. (S88, fr.1, col.ii), as in *Aen.*, but it is an episode already narrated by Hom. (*Od.8.505ff.*; cf. 57–76) and the fact that it is present in both V. and Stes. is of no significance.

(iii) There are 22 *Tabulae Iliaca*e, and there have been since 1989⁸. Six of them are signed by the artist Theodorus: the epigraphic evidence leaves no doubt that that is who he was (Horsfall, *IGUR* 4, 96ff., *JHS* 1979, 27, etc.); the use of 'magic squares'⁹ to display the artist's signature may help confirm other indications of his Egyptian origins¹⁰. There is nothing to support the hypothesis that Theodorus was the artist of the *TIC*'s equally hypothetical mosaic original¹¹. Theodorus' workshop was probably Roman, and his date (late) Augustan (*IGUR*, *cit.*). There is something very peculiar about the miniaturised illustrations and text of the *tabulae*: that led to my hypothesis that they were conceived as showpieces and *aides-mémoire* for Rome's *nouveaux-riches*, a class whose cultural pretensions were familiar long before Petronius¹². That argument received welcome support from W. McLeod's analysis

⁷ If *JHS* had drawn a beginner's attention to the mass of new Stes. papyri, I should have been grateful and delighted; very oddly, they did not, but the work they put in on my first serious paper was otherwise exemplary.

⁸ Listed: *IGUR* 4 (Roma 1990), 93–8 (NMH). The first (1A), the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* (*IGUR* 1612) was found at Tor Ser Paolo, 1½ km. to the NE of Bovillae (cf. Horsfall 1979, 32): this fact is not in any doubt (though mistated by e.g. Scafoglio, 113/637, Canciano, *EV* 5*, 4) among serious students of the *TIC*, has never been, and should not have been presented as though it were; all the antiquarian detail has been readily available since 1910.

⁹ M.T. Buia, *Atti...Lincei* 8.16(1971–2), 3–35.

¹⁰ Horsfall, *JHS* 1979, 28ff.; no little confusion, Kazansky, 55ff..

¹¹ Kazansky, *ibid.* Scafoglio, 113, R.A. Tybout, *SEG* 29.993.

¹² *GR* 36(1989), 194ff.; cf. *Culture of the Roman plebs* (London 2003), 71f..

of *Tab.II.10K*¹³. If the cultural context of the *TIC* was not the cool pedantry of, let us say, DH along with his friends and readers, but rather the exuberant pretensions of the semi-educated, then it becomes much easier to understand the reference to Stes. as source for the *TIC*¹⁴. In such a context, to cite a lyric, rather than an epic, source is to score high¹⁵.

So why did DH, a scholar thoroughly familiar with the poems of Stes.¹⁶, not cite the *Il.pers.* in his ample bibliography for *Ant.Rom.1*¹⁷? It is not enough to say (Gruen, 14) that it was because Stes. did not bring Aen. to Sicily/Italy; DH cites his learned sources just as fully for Aen.'s earlier halts (1.48.2, 1.49.1, etc.). Clearly, DH's silence is far easier to explain if Theodorus' scholarship is discredited.

Now while it has long been established that there is a verbal echo of Stes. *Il.pers.* (S89, v.8) in Theodorus' epigrams on *TIC* and on 2NY¹⁸, there is, clearly enough, much on the *TIC* that cannot be Stesichorean. Notably, the prominence given to the heroic Aeneas, to the box presumably containing the sacred objects from Troy, and to the trumpeter Misenus¹⁹.

Or at least not unless you rewrite the history of the Aeneas-legend (cf. Kazansky, 80ff.)²⁰. We are therefore back exactly to where we were at the outset: not one detail of *Aen.2* is provably Stesichorean, and the *TIC* is as much of a mystery as it always was. It may illustrate Stesichorean scenes (unprovable); it seems to contain Virgilian detail

¹³ *TAPA* 115(1985), 153ff.; note also approval from E.S. Gruen (n.4), 13.

¹⁴ Cf. McLeod, *cit.* for a closely parallel case. Note also my remarks at *Athen.66* (1988), 33f. Once the notion of scholarship as fun takes wing, further analogies with Jacoby on PsPlut. and Syme on the SHA will suggest themselves.

¹⁵ Cf. Campbell, 107. Scafoglio, 116, n.11, 639f., n.34 has not yet grasped the rules of the game.

¹⁶ There are five citations in the *rhetorica*.

¹⁷ Cf. S. West, *JHS* 104(1984), 133, n.28. The discussion by L. Vanotti, *L'altro Enea* is not of good quality.

¹⁸ L. Lehnus, *SCO* 21(1971), 54f., Kazansky, 58

¹⁹ *JHS* 1979, 38f.

²⁰ On the box, and on Hesperia, little better in Scafoglio, 119, 120f./ 640, n.36. My own most recent account of the Aen.-legend is that in *EV2*, 221–9. Cf. also Gruen, *cit.*, 6ff., Erskine, 131ff. (but note the warnings I expressed at *Hermathena* 171(2001), 95–9), T.J. Cornell, *The beginnings of Rome* (London 1995), 63ff. (summarising valuable earlier work). None of this recent analysis seems known to Scafoglio and Kazansky. Scafoglio (*AuA* 53(2007), 78, n.16) now cites A. Debiasi, *L'epica perduta* (Roma 2004) for further disagreement with my position; I have not seen D.'s work (a Rome doctoral thesis).

(highly likely). Nothing, as before, is susceptible of proof, and we await further epigraphic or papyrological assistance. For now, little Stes. will be found in the comm. above.

Addendum

R. Wachter (Basel) long ago and in deepest concealment challenged energetically my discussion of Stes.²¹; no indication of this challenge reached me until very recently (though W. and I have been acquainted, cordially enough, for twenty-five years or so) and no-one writing on the *TIC* after me (e.g. Anderson, Oxford 1997) has ever referred to it. It seemed best to offer some answer. W. wisely dismisses the wording of *TIC* as non-Stesichorean (316, §2) and cheerfully accepts what suits him (e.g. the emphasis on the penates) as Augustan. If W. were right (317, §6) that e.g. the disappearance of Aen.'s wife is Stesichorean, DH's refusal to include Stes. in his survey of the Aen.-legend would become yet more incomprehensible and the elevation of Stes. to the status of a principal source of the Aen.-legend and of *Aen.* is deeply unpersuasive notion. Of course we agree that Anch. sits on Aen.'s l. shoulder on a single Etr. RF amphora (W., §5); this iconography can as well be Roman as archaic Gk.; given the powerful presence of Rom. elements in the iconography of *TIC* (on W.'s own admission), his argument that this scene is Stesichorean remains notably uncompelling. Clearly, in Stesichorus' narrative, Anch. *could* have been represented as carrying the penates (W., §4); such a detail is perfectly compatible with the motifs of Greek colonisation narrative (nn. on 293, 320). Aen.'s departure from Troy is familiar, in some form, from the epic cycle on (738), but W. does not even begin to explain how we are to distinguish Roman and authentically Stesichorean elements on the *TIC*. If Misenus was a companion of Od. as early as Tim. (Horsfall 1979, 39, n.95) and/or Plb., not Odyssean, but supernumerary or 'apocryphal', if you will, then it is hard to see why there is any objection (*pace* W., §3) to such trivial detail crossing over to the Aeneas-story in c.1BC antiquarian writing²²; certainly, there is no possible objection to the importance of Misenus in *Aen.*6 being entirely a Virgilian creation

²¹ *Non-Attic Greek vase inscriptions* (Oxford 1991), 316f.

²² W. seems unwilling to admit the existence of L. Iulius Caesar's *Pontificalia*, perhaps on account of old German dogmas about the *OGR*.

or invention²³. To claim Misenus as authentically Stesichorean involves the accretion of trivial detail²⁴ at a most unconvincingly early period in the Aeneas-legend's history. It is singular that W. takes my 'strongest argument' (his words, not mine) against the Stesichorean origins of the *TIC* as being the inconsistency between Stes.fr.201 and the *TIC* (Helen threatened with the sword on *TIC*, with stoning in Stes.). Here, W.'s explanation might be right, though clearly I am little disposed to accept his view of the authorship of 567–88, which does narrate an encounter between Aen. (not Menelaus; cf. 560) and Helen. Given the very peculiar epigraphic character of the *Tabulae Iliacae*, and *TIC* in particular, it seems the last place one would expect to find Stes. in cartoon form and that is why I remain quite unconvinced by the bulk of W.'s arguments²⁵.

²³ *Aen.* is full of inventions: cf. my contribution to *Colloquium Rauricum* 3 (Leipzig 1993), 131–41, *Alambicco*, 67ff.

²⁴ Cf. my note, *SCI* 18(1999), 45f..

²⁵ I am most grateful to Ettore Cingano (Ca'Foscari, Venezia) and Luigi Lehnus (Milano) for discussion, and to Jan Bremmer for alerting me to Wachter's treatment.

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