

Virgil, Aeneid 5

TEXT, TRANSLATION
AND COMMENTARY

Edited by

LEE M. FRATANTUONO
& R. ALDEN SMITH

Virgil, *Aeneid* 5

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Preface and Acknowledgments

The fifth book of the *Aeneid* has not been the darling of commentators and critics of Virgil's narrative epic. Anglophone students and scholars on both sides of the Atlantic are perhaps most likely to turn to R.D. Williams' edition, either his complete *Aeneid* of 1972–1973 (for the Macmillan “Reds”), or his 1960 standalone treatment of Book 5 (for the Oxford Virgil project). The editors of the present volume share Nicholas Horsfall's published judgment on Williams as Virgilian commentator; his Book 5 is, however, rather more useful in our estimation than his Oxford Book 3 at solving certain problems of interpretation. But in general, the particular problems of Book 5 have been somewhat better served by treatments in journal articles than in commentaries.

It is not at all easy to discern why Book 5 has not received more enthusiastic study and consideration. It is in some ways the most diverse in subject and even style of the books of the epic, consistently maintaining the attention of a readership of varied interests. And, too, Book 5 is part of the “Odyssean” *Aeneid* that in some quarters (at least until comparatively recently) has received rather more attention than the later books of the poem. Our investigation of its treasures and difficulties alike has convinced us that Book 5 shows a highly developed and polished state of craftsmanship and revision; it has significant connections to and affinities with its “sister” Book 11. The penultimate books of the Iliadic and Odyssean *Aeneids* serve as hinges that provide structure and foundation for the epic; Books 5 and 11 prepare the reader for the emotional climaxes of Books 6 and 12. Both books serve as something of *Aeneids* in miniature, as microcosms of the epic that complement and complete each other—indeed, Books 5 and 11 are essential prolegomena to the fuller expositions of the Virgilian vision in 6 and 12. And that epic vision is, perhaps above all else, the story of the suppression of Trojan *mores* in the wake of the advent of a new Italy that will be the birthplace of a Rome that will be reborn under Augustus.

The present commentary is intended in an important sense for anyone who has a love for Virgil and a sense of wonder at the magic of his verse. It is long and dense (and easily could have been longer and denser—and, conversely, rather less expansive and more abbreviated in certain aspects). It is aimed primarily at a scholarly audience that has some familiarity with the paths (both paved and not) of Virgilian criticism and research, and to graduate and university students. It is, like all commentaries, highly idiosyncratic, perhaps more so given the occasionally divergent views of the coeditors—views that may well have coalesced into a unity in diversity over the course of its composition, a diversity that perhaps gently reflects at times the tone of the poet. The labels of

“optimist” and “pessimist” are both convenient and usefully useless in Virgilian criticism; the present work, all the same, may represent something of a fusion of the two simultaneously existent and evanescent perspectives, even if, on the whole, Book 5 has proven to be darker than one of the editors might have first anticipated.

It is not easy to share the task of producing a commentary on a book of Virgil, let alone a new critical text and English prose translation. As we parceled out the tasks, almost all of the work on the *apparatus criticus* fell to Smith, who traveled extensively in Europe and a bit stateside to study in person both manuscripts and papyri. As a part of the exercise of establishing a new critical edition, the first draft of the translation was also his, and the first draft of the introduction. The vast majority of the work on the commentary fell to Fratantuono. Yet this division of labor is misleading in that every line of the entire work has been revised after the long and careful process of exchange of drafts and notes and revisions thereof. The two editors, simply put, take shared responsibility for all that appears herein; there is no instance where we have recorded a disagreement. In this regard the English language has wonderfully useful adverbs (“likely”; “perhaps”) that we have employed liberally.

If there has been inspiration for the present work in the Virgil commentaries that have preceded it, first place must go to Nicholas Horsfall. Professor Horsfall’s work on a pentad (and counting) of books of the *Aeneid* has been constantly at hand during the composition of this volume, and to him we owe a debt of sincere gratitude for his achievement. The commentaries of Roland Austin (especially on Books 1 and 2) have also been regularly consulted and appreciated for their humanity and incisive judgment. Though their contributions are obviously vastly different (and they are so in a variety of ways), those qualities—humanity and incisive judgment—are the signal features of the contributions of both Austin and Horsfall. In general terms, for us the work of producing a lengthy commentary on a book of Virgil has inspired respect and appreciation for the labors of our predecessors and colleagues; in the present volume, we have hoped to convey a strong sense not only of our love for Virgil, but also of our gratitude to other classicists for the efforts they have made in explicating his text and unraveling his mysteries.

Work on Book 5 could not have proceeded as quickly and with as much helpful elucidation of Virgiliana absent the wonderful treasure that is the *Virgil Encyclopedia* of Richard Thomas and Jan Ziolkowski. It was an especially welcome privilege to have had access to some entries of this project before it appeared in print.

Indeed our debts are many. Peter Arzt-Grabner, Joe Farrell, Jeff Fish, Nico Knauer, Tim Joseph, Karl Maurer, Lisa Mignone, Blaise Nagy, Damien Nelis, Jim

O'Hara, Piergiacomo Petrioli, Gianni Profita, Jay Reed, David Sweet, Richard Tarrant, Richard Thomas, and Gareth Williams all helped in various ways, whether with a willingness to entertain a question, with the generosity to read early drafts of notes and introduction, or, most importantly, by the example of their own work on Virgil. Professor Tarrant's APA panel on Virgilian commentaries was especially helpful to Fratantuono in the nascent stages of this work.

Irene van Rossum first worked with the authors on bringing this project to Brill; Caroline von Erp, Jennifer Pavelko, Tessel Jonquière, and Louise Schouten have shepherded it through to completion. To all five we owe a debt of gratitude for their professional guidance and help. The anonymous referee for the press made many much appreciated suggestions for improvement, for which we are indebted.

Ingrid Pierce, formerly of Baylor and now at Purdue University, was a learned and delightful assistant in the composition of the prose translation of Book 5 that is included in the present volume, and in the editing of the commentary. Our week of work on *Aeneid* 5 at Baylor University in late June and early July of 2013 was a treasured experience of fellowship. Michael McOsker (now of Michigan) and Cynthia Susalla (now of Penn) were kind and demanding critics of their undergraduate classics professor. In this same regard, Marissa Popeck (now of Vermont) rendered signal assistance.

Smith had the good fortune to offer an advanced Virgil class during the germination period, as the commentary and text were coming "fresh" out of the printer. His class is here thanked deeply for their insights, feedback, and careful proofreading, to boot.¹

We should also like to acknowledge the support of Provost Charles Stinemetz of Ohio Wesleyan University, and the office of Truell Hyde, Vice Provost for Research at Baylor, through which Smith obtained a research support grant; in addition, we wish to thank Dean Thomas Hibbs of Baylor, for sympathetic adjustments to Smith's administrative schedule and his unflagging support of this project.

1 Those budding Virgilian scholars are: Hannah Adams, Wesley Beck, Travis Blake, Susannah Brister, Kaitlyn Carlson, Jeff Cross, Katie Hornell, Casey Hughes, Kirsten Kappelmann, Evangeline Koztiza, Britt Ousley, Gabe Pederson, Marcie Persyn, Sarah Russell, Erin Russo, Catherine Schenck, Hillary Shellnut, Rachel Smith, Christine Stanulonis, William, Stover, Jarrod Tunnell, and Ashley Ward. Other students who helped with this project include Kelsey Bell, Kara Kopchinski, and Scott McMickle. Special thanks are owed, too, to Charmaine Dull and Thelma Mathews.

Book 8 has already commenced; it seemed a natural enough progression to move from the first book of the epic's second third to the last. For this grand book, with any luck perhaps Fratantuono will offer a class.

The present volume is dedicated to two individuals whose inspiring example and help on matters textual and interpretive cannot be adequately repaid. Before his untimely passing, Mario Geymonat was, both in terms of advice and generosity of spirit, extremely helpful to Smith as he undertook work on the critical edition. For the commentary, Michael C.J. Putnam read copious extracts of a work that is indebted not only to his willingness to read and comment at length on our Virgilian musings, but also (and, again, most importantly), to his own scholarship on the poet. To both Professor Mario Geymonat, and Professor Michael Putnam, the authors of this edition of *Aeneid* 5 are profoundly grateful and render their gratitude and affection. This volume is indebted and, therefore, quite fittingly dedicated to them.

LMF

RAS

15 October, 2014

Introduction

Aeneid 5 and the Aeneid: unum pro multis

The Fifth Aeneid, that counterpoise of graceful comedy to the tragedy of the Fourth, gives us further insight into the character of the hero. After this book, in which he appears at the games as a dutiful son and princely entertainer, and after the following book, we are ready for the summary of his qualities that Dante gives in his *Convivio ... Lealtà, Cortesia, Amore, Fortezza, Temperanza*.

E.K. RAND¹

•••

Roman Italy was real, but it was also unreal. Just when Italy became Roman, Rome became Italian.

W.R. JOHNSON, "Imaginary Romans: Vergil and the Illusion of National Identity," p. 15²

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The *Aeneid* is a turning point in the Latin literary landscape and in Virgil's individual literary identity, as the poet of the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics* now embraces grand narrative in its fullest sense. Though it also draws in abundance upon other genres (including prose),³ the *Aeneid* as a whole encompasses and often imitates and reinvents preexisting Greek and Latin epics (both narrative

1 *The Magical Art of Vergil*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1931, 366–367.

2 In Sarah Spence, ed., *Poets and Critics Read Vergil*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

3 The debt of Virgil to prose antecedents (both Greek and Latin) is surprisingly understudied, and largely absent in any systematic sense from most *Aeneid* commentaries (with the happy exception of Horsfall's). Caesar in particular emerges as a significant source for Virgilian language and word choice, also Sallust. Among poetic genres, the Virgilian reception of Roman comedy (especially Plautine) also repays closer study. With regard to the lyric tradition, the present commentary now and again explores the idea that there is deliberate parallelism between the tripartite division of Virgil's epic (Books 1–4; 5–8; 9–12) and the three books of Horace's odes, alongside myriad other considerations of the reception and influence of the *Aeneid*. On the "literary chronology" of Horace and Virgil see Horsfall (2006), pp. xxiv–xxv.

and didactic), among extant works most especially Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*,⁴ Apollonius' *Argonautica*, Ennius' *Annales*, and Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*. Virgil's *magnum opus* could, therefore, rightly be called a culmination of or, perhaps better, the heir and interpreter of a host of literary works that precede it, particularly (but by no means exclusively) those within the epic genre.⁵ As such, it transcends the boundaries of a quest poem. Instead, it is a national epic, but it is different from others that preceded it insofar as it stands forth as the first non-annalistic poem that treats the story of the temporally distant mythical lore of Rome. It offered its first Roman readers an explanation of their peculiarly *Roman* national identity.⁶ On a smaller scale, Book 5 of the *Aeneid* does both of those things as well, to such a degree that the penultimate book of Virgil's *Odyssey* is nothing less than an *Aeneid* in miniature, with significant ramifications for our understanding of the reinvention of the two Homeric epics in particular in Virgil's single poem.⁷ In this regard (*inter al.*), Book 5 has strong affinities with Book 11, the penultimate of the Virgilian

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- 4 Especially helpful here (from a rich bibliography) are Knauer 1964; Barchiesi 1984/2015; F. Ahl, "Homer, Vergil, and Complex Narrative Structures in Latin Epic," *ICS* 14 (1989), pp. 1–31. For *Aeneid* 5 the principal Homeric intertext is of course *Iliad* 23, where games commence in the immediate aftermath of the funeral of Patroclus; the loss of Elpenor in *Odyssey* 10 provides a significant intertext for Palinurus. The Homeric funeral games begin after an eerie announcement by Achilles of his own impending death (23.243–248), a sentiment that may have appealed to Virgil in light of the traditions about Aeneas' own demise. In Virgil the funeral games are memorial rites for a dead father; in Homer they are post-requiem rites for a lost youth. In the Virgilian conception the games link the generations; they look backward to the loss of Anchises, but also forward to the loss of Pallas that serves as a pivot point in the narrative of the Iliadic *Aeneid*. Games, then, before the death of a youth (Pallas), and an implicit, intertextual Circean sacrifice, as it were, before Circe is explicitly referenced (cf. the opening scene of Book 7)—and of course on the macro level, an *Odyssey* before an *Iliad*, and Roman history in the future tense.
- 5 As part of an epic and poetic continuum, the *Aeneid* is also, of course, the parent of subsequent literary works, prominent among them Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Lucan's *Pharsalia*. The commentary seeks to do justice both to the *Vorleben* and the *Nachleben* of Virgil's vision.
- 6 See here Y. Syed, *Vergil's Aeneid and the Roman Self: Subject and Nation in Literary Discourse*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005.
- 7 Cf. Katherine Toll, "Making Roman-ness and the *Aeneid*," *CA* 16 (1997), pp. 34–56, who writes, "I believe that Vergil thought the evolution of his people's national identity was going through a particularly crucial formative phase, in which he aspired to make his poem participate. Thus he designed the *Aeneid* strategically to help the Romans meditate on the duties, problems, dangers, and possibilities of a new national identity" (34). On the problem of the fifth *Aeneid* as *Aeneid* in miniature, Karl Galinsky has shown the way.

Iliad, which also exhibits many of the same macroscopic concerns in micro.⁸ Both books engage in an ethnographic cartography of the Roman national identity, a cartography that has implications for the Augustan reception of the supreme artistic propaganda piece for the new regime.⁹ In brief, where Book 5 is concerned with the Trojan, Book 11 focuses on the Italian; both are followed by books with ethnographic revelations (in 6, Anchises' *Tu, Romane, memento* declaration;¹⁰ in 12, the Jovian announcement of the Italian ascendancy and Trojan suppression of the future Rome). The *Aeneid* is an ethnographic epic, and the penultimate books of the Virgilian *Odyssey* and *Iliad* are its hinges.

As our opening quote suggests, W.R. Johnson's essay in Sarah Spence's *Poets and Critics Read Vergil* frames the question of how Virgil's first Roman readers regarded issues in the text connected with national identity in particular.¹¹ And the question of what it means to be Roman is one of the key issues that Virgil seeks to grapple with in his fifth book, indeed in the *Aeneid* as a whole. Alongside that issue, *Aeneid* 5 (like its Iliadic sister 11) mirrors on a smaller scale several other major themes of Virgil's epic, thereby further presenting itself thematically as a microcosm of the poem in its entirety. In that sense, it stands *unum pro multis* in relation to the rest of the poem. Virgil's *Aeneid* is an ethnographic epic that seeks ultimately to bring its audience to the dra-

8 Briefly sketched by L. Fratantuono, "The Penultimate Books of Virgil's *Aeneid*," *QUCC* 80 (2005), pp. 147–150.

9 The ethnographic focus is not exclusively focused on Troy and Italy; there is also Carthage, and the Book of Sicily, the battleground prize between two empires, offers something of a backward look at Dido's home (appropriately enough in the immediate wake of Aeneas' sojourn there). Something of the accusation of Trojan perfidy is transferred to Carthage, and in certain aspects the two ultimately dead civilizations (from roughly similar geographical origins, especially in comparison to Italy) are aligned. See further G. Waldherr, "*Punica fides*: Das Bild der Karthager in Rom," in *Gymnasium* 107 (2000), pp. 193–222; J. Starks, "*Fides Aeneia*: The Transference of Punic Stereotypes in the *Aeneid*," in *CJ* 94 (1998/1999), pp. 255–283.

10 See here S. Grebe, *Die vergilische Heldenschau: Tradition und Fortwirken*, Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1989, pp. 64–69. Book 5 may be focused on the Trojan, but there is, as ever in Virgil's epic, always an eye to the Roman future—and so in its verses we find (for example) the origins of the Roman *gentes* in the description of the competitors in the regatta, and a probable evocation of the *sidus Iulium* of Augustan mythology and propaganda in the archery contest. The Roman *ludi* of a later age—indeed the world of the Roman senate and forum—are also anachronistically highlighted in the epic interlude of the Sicilian sojourn.

11 A good start to a vast topic is K. Toll, "The *Aeneid* as an Epic of National Identity: *Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant*," in *Helios* 18 (1991), pp. 3–14.

matic revelation of the *Italian* (and not Trojan) destiny of the nascent Rome; in this progressive unfolding of Rome's ethnographic identity, the pivot points come in the penultimate books of the first and second halves of Virgil's work, Books 5 and 11. In an important sense, Book 5 focuses on the nature of Trojan ethnicity (put another way, what exactly it means to be Trojan), and Book 11 on the Italian; the sister books together provide the *prolegomena* that helps us to understand Jupiter's revelation to Juno near the end of Book 12 concerning which ethnicity will dominate in the future empire. Our commentary devotes significant attention to the numerous pervasive parallels between Books 5 and 11, including the surprisingly high number of words that appear the same number of times in each book, often in passages that can be reasonably paralleled. At the same time, the richly interconnected tissue that is the *Aeneid* allows for the investigation of detailed correspondences between the first books of the respective thirds of the epic (Books 1; 5; 9), as well as between neighboring books (4 and 5; 5 and 6); the first and last books of the epic's second third (5 and 8); the second and second to last books of the poem's thirds; and even the "second" books of the poem's individual quarters (2; 5; 8; 11).¹² The effect of these omnipresent connections is ultimately the creation of a closely knit, eminently unified epic whole, a poem that is ultimately framed by the speeches of Jupiter to daughter and wife in the first and last books, addresses that encapsulate the future destiny of what is finally revealed to be an *Italian* Rome.¹³

Along the way, we learn much, too, of the nature of civil war and how it may well be an inherent part of the Roman national identity; civil war and internecine strife is a significant theme in the fifth *Aeneid*, just as it is in the eleventh.¹⁴ As part of the consideration of the realities of civil war and, more generally (and darkly), the nature of human sadism and lust for blood, both the fifth and the eleventh *Aeneid* provide studies of the nature of sacrifice, whereby

12 Relatively little work has been done on Virgilian numerology; note R. Laroche, "The Symbolic Number 3: Its Role in the *Aeneid*," in Defosse, ed., *Hommages à Carl Deroux I: Poésie*, Bruxelles: Editions Latomus, 2002, pp. 287–304; cf. Clark 1910. The number seven is particularly significant in Book 5 (as appropriate for the association with the hills of Rome, but also, as we shall see, with Pythagorean lore); see here T. Miguet, "Sept et cercle dans Virgile," in *BFLM* 15 (1987), pp. 135–149; also the same author's "Le quatrième chant de l'*Enéide*, poème pythagoricien," in C.-M. Ternes, ed., *Le pythagorisme en milieu romain. Actes du colloque*. Luxembourg, 1998, pp. 89–105.

13 Cf. the appeals of Venus to first Neptune and then Vulcan in 5 and 8 that frame the second third of the epic.

14 See here L. Fratantuono, "Tros Italusque: Arruns in the *Aeneid*," in C. Deroux, ed., *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History XIII*, Bruxelles: Editions Latomus, 2006, pp. 284–290.

one is quite literally made sacred to some deity.¹⁵ The *Aeneid* is an epic of death by proxy and sacrifice; the point of the successive losses of life (many of which occur in the signal position near the end of books of the epic) is to highlight the problem of the Augustan succession, a potential crisis that is reflected in concern for the safety of Aeneas and Ascanius.¹⁶ For it is not enough in an Augustan Age simply to define what it means to be Roman; the contemporary world of the poet called for consideration, too, of the rebirth of Rome under Augustus (whether or not one might wish to call that rebirth a restoration).¹⁷

Of Commentaries, Reference Works and Monographs

Many of our observations on Virgil's epic are not new, at least in their genesis; rather, they have developed over a long time, deriving from a number of scholarly contributions along the vast chain of Virgiliana. Among those scholars are several who, in philological circles, are household names; in addition to W.R. Johnson, cited above, one thinks of the vital works of Karl Galinsky, Giusto Monaco, Damien Nelis, Jim O'Hara, Alessandro Schiesaro, Richard Thomas, Stephen Harrison, Nicholas Horsfall, Michael C.J. Putnam, Joseph Farrell, and Andrew Feldherr, to mention but a few of those scholars who have brought us to a better understanding of the many problems of *Aeneid* 5 and related Virgilian passages.

The commentary tradition has been kind but not particularly generous to our book.¹⁸ While a long and fairly exhaustive list of commentaries is given in

15 In the case of Palinurus and Camilla, not coincidentally, the gods Neptune and Apollo—deities involved in the traditions of the destruction of Troy. Neptune's destructive part in Book 2 is mirrored in his actions with respect to Palinurus in 5 (and his words to Venus about his fealty to her cause bear close examination; cf. the problem of Jupiter's final revelation to Juno about Rome's ethnography in light of his speech to Venus in 1); see further F. Schwarz, "Fumat Neptunia Troia: Feuerzeichensprache im zweiten Buch der Aeneis," in Händel, P., and Meid, W., eds., *Festschrift für Robert Muth zum 65. Geburtstag am 1. Januar 1981 dargebracht von Freunden und Kollegen*, Innsbruck, 1983, pp. 443–461.

16 On this vast topic see, e.g., L. Kepple, "Arruns and the Death of Aeneas," in *AJPh* 97 (1976), pp. 344–360.

17 Helpful here is L. Canali, *Leros freddo: Studi sull'Eneide*, Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1976, pp. 43–46.

18 Something of a surprise, especially given that critical attention has not considered 5 as "dull" as some have found its sibling 3. The reader of 5 is sometimes left adrift with no real help from predecessors, though the article tradition has been unusually and happily strong (especially on the games and Palinurus).

the bibliography, for *Aeneid* 5 the contributions of R.D. Williams and Page/Farrell merit special mention.¹⁹ With regard to the specific type of commentary that we are offering to this series, Nicholas Horsfall's volumes have been both inspirational and aspirational (especially his Books 2 and 6); so also Harrison's 10.²⁰ These modern commentaries all share a great debt to Servius and Danielis, as does the current contribution; neither philologist nor commentator works in a vacuum, though occasionally if not oftentimes the labor is seemingly conducted in an echo chamber. The so-called schoolboy commentaries are cited rather frequently in our notes. This is not so much because of a dearth of available commentaries on Book 5, but rather because the admirable attention to grammar and syntax in such volumes often catches just the right nuance that helps in our understanding of the text; Phillipson's *Bell Illustrated Classics* edition stands out among them for 5. Working through Book 5 with half a dozen or so such volumes has been a rewarding experience, and we have tried to highlight especially helpful comments that might otherwise be unlikely to cross the reader's desk. Perret's Budé is perhaps most valuable for its exquisite prose rendering of the poet, but his notes often add insightful comment to a passage; the same can be said for the remarks in the Binder and Binder *Reclam Aeneid* and, too, Paratore's Fondazione Lorenzo Valla edition.²¹ We have also made unapolo-

19 Williams' 1960 Book 5, to date the only separate treatment of the book on a scale of detail beyond that intended primarily for schools, was part of the planned Oxford Virgil project, an enterprise that was largely abandoned after the deaths of Roland Austin and Christian Fordyce in the autumn of 1974. Williams' Book 5 is in some ways more detailed than his 1962 Book 3 (a book that also poses thornier problems in several key respects); on prosodic and metrical matters in particular he is very good, and many of his observations repay close reexamination. But he was significantly less interested in matters of literary criticism than Austin, and there are several passages where the commentary notes are fairly sparse; the early volumes of the Oxford Virgil (Austin's 4; Williams' 3 and 5) are in general less developed than their successors. Farrell's revision of Page is more than mere redressing of Victorian school commentary for a postmodern age; his notes make an important independent contribution to the scholarly tradition on Book 5.

20 The Cambridge *Aeneid* commentaries constitute a diverse lot; Hardie's 9 and Tarrant's 12 have been of great help in our work. On the frequent intertextuality between 5 and 11, tandem use of Gransden; Alessio; Horsfall; and Fratantuono on the latter book illustrates the diversity of judgments on many a passage (and for 11, the B.Phil. commentary on the Camilla episode of Rachel Woodrow deserves wider note). The posthumous edition of Fordyce on 7 and 8 has many useful lexical and other observations; Dingel's 9 is somewhat unjustly neglected as a useful resource.

21 The Spanish edition of García et al. likewise merits consultation, especially for its useful citation of more obscure (but important) bibliographical items.

getic use of the reception of the *Aeneid* in the Middle Ages, in particular in the somewhat neglected *Roman d'Enéas*; reception is commentary on an intimate level of engagement. Among English versions of the *Aeneid*, those of Sarah Ruden and Frederick Ahl have been consulted most often in the production of our prose translation of the book.

Our commentary makes frequent reference to the now two encyclopedias on Virgil, the massive Italian set and its recent anglophone partner. Both collections are nothing less than astonishing in their coverage and helpfulness to the reader, and they join a happy list of priceless Virgilian aids and musings to which we owe so much: Adler 2003; the charms of Antoine 1882; Bouquet on dreams (alongside Steiner);²² Boyancé (rather more than Bailey) on religion; Carcopino 1968; Cordier on epic vocabulary; Dyson 2001; Edgeworth on all things chromatic; Galinsky 1969; Galinsky 1998; Grassmann-Fischer on portents; Hahn's essential study of Virgilian syntax; Henry 1989; Heuzé on the body; Hight on speeches; Horsfall 1991; Klause on the periphrases of proper names; Knauer; Kraggerud 1968; both Mack and Mandra on chronologies; Mellinghoff-Bourgerie on Epicureanism; Nelis on the debt to Apollonius; O'Hara 1996; Panoussi on the Greek tragic antecedents;²³ Paschalis' onomastic carnival; Perret 1942; Polleichtner on emotions; Putnam 1965; Putnam 1998; Reed 2007; Roiron on sounds; Saunders on Virgil's treatment of Italy; Thomas 1999; Thomas 2001; Thornton 1976; Warwick 1975; Wetmore's *Index* (indispensable notwithstanding the occasional perhaps inevitable typographical errors); Wigodsky 1972; Wlosok on the goddess Venus. Henry's compendium (it is difficult to choose one word to describe it) can become addictive. The Heidelberg school of monographs on individual characters offers another rich treasure store, of which we have benefited in particular from Brill's Camilla and Schenk's Turnus; Mackie's unassuming Scottish volume on Aeneas is an important work. Cartault's *L'art de Virgile* was also always close at hand; so also the very helpful little book of Marjorie Crump that is in some ways the best treatment of a perhaps insoluble problem, namely the "growth" of Virgil's epic (even if some of her conclusions and speculations are impossible to accept).²⁴ Among older

22 To which should be added B. Näf, *Traum und Traumdeutung im Altertum*, Darmstadt, 2004.

23 On the Latin, a somewhat obscure and neglected resource is S. Stabryła, *Latin Tragedy in Virgil's Poetry*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Krakow: Polska Akademia Nauk-Oddział w Krakowie, 1970.

24 Cf., too, P. Kehoe, "Was Book 5 Once in a Different Place in the *Aeneid*?" in *AJPh* 110 (1989), pp. 426–263. In one sense, the decision of the poet to have *two* sojourns in Sicily instead of just one points to exactly the issues that we consider below (and in greater detail in the commentary): Sicily as *meta* and midpoint, Sicily as symbol of a return to where one

commentators, Heyne, and Forbiger have yielded especially helpful insights. And we would join Austin in singling out for special mention the one volume delight that is Mackail's bimillenary *Aeneid*, a work that has worn its years well.

Aeneid 5 is fairly episodic; one can easily enough divide the book into the opening storm scene/introductory sequence that brings the Trojans to Sicily;²⁵ the reception of Aeneas and his men by Acestes; the events at Anchises' *tumulus* and the decision to hold anniversary games; the regatta; the foot race; the pugilistic bout; the archery contest; the *lusus Troiae*; the intervention of Juno/Iris and the burning of the ships; the quenching of the flames and consideration of the problem of how to respond to the loss of the vessels; the dream appearance of Anchises to his son; the leaving behind of some of the Trojan party and preparations for departure of the fleet; the Palinurus episode. The book has something of a threefold structure in the same way as 11 (which Horsfall rightly calls "formally and formidably tripartite"),²⁶ with some correspondences: one can identify something of a three-act structure in the 1) memorial funeral games; 2) the burning of the ships and its aftermath; 3) Pal-

started, Sicily as an image of the dangers of stagnation and the problems of reengaging with the past (even as those who stay behind, as it were, are not aware of the ethnographic forces at work on a larger, *Roman* scale). The alleged chronological problem of the *septima aetas* that is sometimes adduced as evidence for the displacement of Book 5 is considered *ad loc.* In the commentary; Kehoe is correct that G. Williams' arguments about the anniversary rites for Anchises as more befitting a funeral are unconvincing, along with other objections to the current place of 5, including Crump's hypothesis about the allegedly suspiciously short length of 4. All things considered, we concur with Kehoe: Book 5 was always where it is now in the *Aeneid*, and its placement and Sicilian focus are quite deliberate on the part of the poet. It is more difficult to decide on the order of *composition* of the books, and we can be reasonably certain that each book received a more or less fair amount of revision in light of the whole. The commentary demonstrates how Book 5 displays evidence of what may be a rather full state of such revision and tweaking, even in the case of allegedly discrepancy-ridden passages such as the Palinurus episode. Its sister Book 3 presents related and in some ways more difficult problems, and on the whole seems to display the least polished section of the first half of the epic—though as Horsfall has noted, it is conceivable that some books of the *Aeneid* are heirs to a better fate of transmission; see here Horsfall 2004, pp. xvii–xviii; on the question of the order of composition of the books, note also Horsfall 2004, p. 474 (in his discussion of "the density of re-used verses" in 11)—which might after all be attributable to a deliberate wish of the poet to evoke previous scenes for the reader with a long memory.

25 A parallel to the very different storm of Book 1, as we begin another third of the epic.

26 So also, e.g., Book 7 (cf. Horsfall's introduction here); Book 4, too; in some ways the argument could be made that the division of the entire epic into thirds is ultimately more important than its more obvious division into Odyssean and Iliadic halves.

inurus, just as in the case of Book 11 one can think in terms of 1) requiems; 2) debate; 3) Camilla. The divisions and associations are not exact and do not work out neatly in all respects, in part because there are significant transitional and overlapping scenes in both books (e.g., the *lusus Troiae* as anticipatory of the *Camilliad*), but we shall see that on the whole the books do connect and make response to each other in exceptionally close ways, and that in 5 (as in 11) there is a discernible movement across three acts.²⁷

Some of this closeness comes even at the level of individual words; as aforementioned, the commentary devotes considerable space to Virgilian vocabulary usage. Here, it has seemed useful to share what we have found in a study of word use (especially repetition). Such exercises have been made immensely easier with the advent of technological aids to studying large swaths of extant Latin and Greek and consulting lexical and other resources, and these resources have made it appreciably easier to begin to assess the evidence (in the case of Book 5, most notably the aforementioned striking parallelism with 11 in word choice and frequency), and the intricate way in which Virgil crafts a balanced, artistic composition not only on the level of individual episodes, but even on the minute level of individual words.²⁸ Not everyone will agree with the speculations raised in the commentary about certain possible parallels and deliberate associations of words and episodes, but we have sought to provoke further study, not to confuse speculation with conclusion. In some cases, significant correspondence seem to come at more or less the same line in related books; it is not particularly surprising that a skilled poet could make such arrangements of material in a carefully constructed epic.

In short, our methodology of commentary composition has been to provide not only what evidence we could uncover, but also interpretation. We have liberally employed subjunctives and adverbs that attempt to make clear where an argument represents an unproven hypothesis. We are unapologetic in holding the belief that the master poet does not employ accidental details, or allude to his predecessors thoughtlessly and carelessly. Still, interpretation from allusion is a perilous enterprise.²⁹

27 Some of the overlapping nature of the parallels is the result of the competing associations between different books of the epic; Books 5 and 2, for example, have similar parallel structures (as explored in the commentary) as the second and second to last books of the epic.

28 Cf. the central points of M. von Albrecht, "Die Kunst der Spiegelung in Vergils *Aeneis*," *Hermes* 93 (1965), pp. 54–64.

29 Essential reading here is Hinds 1998; for a rather different view, cf. K. Maurer, "Notiora fallaciora: Exact Non-Allusive Echoes in Latin Verse," in C. Deroux, ed., *Studies in Latin*

Textual Genesis and Refinement

Sentiments of grateful indebtedness to the past labors of others may also be offered by the textual critic, who, to produce a fresh edition, must spend countless hours not only with modern versions and their various critical apparatuses, but also with the surviving ancient and medieval witnesses, all with a view to approximating Virgil's autograph, as each manuscript offers a path back toward that Ur-text. In the case of *Aeneid* 5, there are numerous such witnesses that contain the text in whole or in part. Of these, some are considered more reliable than others. The antiquity of the manuscript or folio is only part of a complicated formula for determining its value. Other factors are the quality of print, the provenance of the manuscript, the manner in which it was transmitted, and its position within the stemma.³⁰

Such manuscripts were generations in the making. Before the codex existed, each ancient copy of the *Aeneid* consisted of twelve scrolls, one for each book (*liber*) of the poem. The words *liber* and *codex* are both derived from Latin words for "tree bark," indicative of early writing material. The capacity of each scroll (*volumen* wound around a peg known as an *umbilicus* and with a *sillybos*, i.e. a small title tag, attached) reflected the contents of the individual *liber*. The magnitude of *Aeneid* 5 indicates that it required a sizable scroll, as it ranks fifth in size of the books of the *Aeneid* (the fifth and sixth rather approximate the increasing size of the last books of the epic relative to their predecessors). As lit-

Literature and Roman History XI, Bruxelles: Editions Latomus, 2003, pp. 121–156. We do well to remember, too, that we are missing so very much of classical literature (one thinks of Gallus here in particular), so that allusions galore are without doubt missed and indeed unknown to us as we read what does survive of Latin poetry.

30 "Stemma" is a Greek word meaning "wreath." In the family structure typical of the Hellenistic world, this decorative feature adorned the busts of the ancestors and thus, by the familial association, symbolized lineage, the very type of lineage that the scholar seeks to establish for a family of manuscripts. Further, see Smith 2011, pp. 150 ff. We offer no apology for not trying to construct a stemma, particularly in the matter of the relationship between the Carolingian and capital manuscripts. In a different matter, but likewise without apology, we have offered standard orthography in our printed text, with some record of orthographical mistakes in the manuscripts, if only as a reminder to the unexperienced of the errors that do exist. A few conjectures are here and there recorded, in particular S.J. Harrison's brilliant *glauca* at 309. But on the whole Book 5 is a well preserved work of Augustan poetry, and its text relatively sound. To the anonymous referee we owe the commentary suggestions of *eripuisse* at 785 and *sic* at 851, which solve otherwise more or less vexing problems of style and meaning.

erary works were adapted to the new medium, the various scrolls now became part of a single manuscript, known as the codex. Our first manuscripts date near to the time when scrolls were first copied into codices. Though it is difficult to say which single manuscript is the most reliable—i.e. faithful to Virgil's autograph—it is less difficult to establish by age and quality which manuscripts should be considered in the first tier and which, though of substantial value, might be considered second tier.

We begin with the first group. The **Codex Mediceus (M)**, written in rustic capitals, is located in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence. This manuscript is vital for reconstructing the text of *Aeneid* 5, as it is among the oldest surviving codices and preserves the entirety of the fifth book. A subscription within it, composed by the consul Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius, purports to have been written on 21 April 494 (a suspiciously auspicious date, given the birthday of Rome), from which we derive an important *terminus ante quem* for the manuscript itself.

Another early witness for *Aeneid* 5, possibly also written in the fifth century, is the **Codex Romanus (R)**, also in rustic capitals, which also preserves what seem to us dependable readings. Some of these readings are confirmed by glosses inserted in the hand of an early editor of the manuscript.

The Romanus' rustic capitals are similar to those of the **Codex Palatinus (P)**, which also contains the whole of *Aeneid* 5. The Palatine manuscript is possibly a bit later than **M** or **R**, as its letter forms may suggest that it belongs to the late fifth or early sixth century. Though it is housed in the Vatican Library, it derives its name from the time when it was among the Heidelbergian Palatine Library's collection. An important feature of this manuscript is that it has three editors (**P¹**, **P²**, and **P³**) who made corrections *passim*, some of which are valuable for understanding the Latin but not emending the text, while others merit the textual critic's fullest consideration.

Written in rustic capitals, the manuscript known as **F** (*schedae Vaticanae*) represents a vital piece of the puzzle for reconstructing the text of *Aeneid* 5. This fragmentary manuscript consists of several sheets of an otherwise lost codex that originally contained the entire Virgilian corpus. The seventy-five surviving sheets, each with twenty-one verses, can be dated possibly as early as the fourth century, and include exceptionally well-wrought illustrations of the *Aeneid*.

Another partially preserved manuscript, yet again in rustic capitals, is the **Codex Veronensis (V)**. This fragmentary codex is part of the collection of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Verona. The manuscript is known as the *Schedae Rescriptae Veronenses* because it is a palimpsest (i.e. a book written over the vellum pages of another book that had each letter meticulously scraped off); for

the Veronensis, the work, for which Virgil's manuscript was erased, was Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*. The surviving fragments of V are chiefly from the *Aeneid*.

Yet not all reliable witnesses date from the fourth or fifth centuries. Three hundred or so years later than many of the foregoing testimonies, the fragmentary eighth-century manuscript known **m** (**Monacensis lat. 29005**) is the result of the careful recovery of several pages of Virgilian manuscripts from the binding of a twelfth-century manuscript. These reassembled scraps, housed in Munich, preserve thirty-three lines of late antique capitals on each page.

A second important eighth-century fragmentary codex is the Parisinus (**p**). Housed in Paris, it contains most of Book 5 (through line 734). The most significant codex from the ninth century, however, is the Gudianus Lat. 2^o 70, known as the Guelferbytanus (Wolfenbüttel γ). This manuscript appears to be an indirect descendant of the Palatinus, and thus it is sometimes used to confirm certain readings based on P. It also independently offers important possible correct readings as well.

Other ninth through tenth-century manuscripts are significant for the reconstruction of the text. Taken as a whole the symbol of their consensus reading is an ω . These include five manuscripts from Bern (**a**, **b**, **c**, **d**, and **e**), one from Oxford (**f**), and another from a monastery in Saint-Amand-les-Eaux on the northern border of France. Four other important documents from this same period are housed in Paris (**r**, **s**, **t**, and **u**), while the Vatican contains one other valuable, if late, witness (**v** = Vat. Lat. 1570).

In the end, it is difficult if not impossible to point to one modern *Aeneid* critical text and assert its preeminence; if there is a Virgilian trinity nowadays at least for the *Aeneid* of Mynors, Geymonat (whose apparatus has the virtue of being the fullest), and Conte, it is a testament more to the rich complexity of Virgil's Latin (which the translator in particular soon realizes is often seemingly strange indeed!) than to the laudable labors of its students. It is for this reason that we have provided a critical text, rather than print the decisions of others that will then occasion disagreement here and there in the commentary.

Commentary Composition and Controversies

These manuscripts and the *apparatuses* that have developed around them are the building blocks, both ancient and modern, which have helped us to establish the text of *Aeneid* 5 and to compile the readings on which our commentary is based. Interpreting that text, whether line by line or in the context of the rest of the *Aeneid*, is a related but separate task (one which is made easier by the

deliberate decision to include a prose translation, an exercise, as Horsfall has observed, which forces attention to every detail of the text). The interpretation of the Virgilian text is a task, too, that for the purposes of this introduction we believe is reflected in our opening assertion that *Aeneid* 5, like its sister 11, is a sort of *Aeneid*-in-miniature, or at least a book that recapitulates and expounds some of the major themes of the poem as a whole: our commentary seeks to provide a coherent reading of the book that offers argumentation that points to an integral reading of the epic.

Such symbolic representation is not something unfamiliar to the reader of Virgil. Indeed, just as the *Georgics* is a work best interpreted as pertaining to humanity rather than to the mere mechanics of farming, so *Aeneid* 5 speaks to issues greater than athletic contests (let alone flames and the threat of drowning). Rather, we believe that whatever the value of the book may be—for which it is not infrequently touted, whether it is regarded as not replicating Roman games very accurately or as advancing an Augustan agenda by connecting them with Anchises' death—if it follows the pattern of the *Georgics*, its most important feature is likely not that which it is merely obvious. Thus, we maintain and seek to demonstrate, *Aeneid* 5 addresses through indirect means key issues found throughout the poem.³¹

These broad questions are not entirely divorced from those specific to the poem. To wit, if the *Aeneid* can be viewed as an account of Aeneas' journey home, might *Aeneid* 5 be a smaller version of such a journey?³² If the *Aeneid*, again, can be viewed as a careful tension between light and darkness, does such a balance also show up in *Aeneid* 5? If in the fifth book Virgil raises pointed questions as he moves towards a pessimistic and puzzling *telos*, might one also say this of the poem itself? Finally, if the *Aeneid* represents a quest for Roman identity, to what extent is that pursuit also an aspect of *Aeneid* 5?³³ Looming over all of these questions is the problem of knowledge, the

31 This approach has its hazards alongside rich rewards (cf., e.g., R. Cruttwell, *Virgil's Mind at Work: An Analysis of the Symbolism of the Aeneid*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1947; some of what informs, e.g., M. Di Cesare, *The Altar and the City: A Reading of Vergil's Aeneid*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1974; D. Gillis, *Eros and Death in the Aeneid*, Rome, 1983; S. Farron, *Vergil's Aeneid: A Poem of Grief and Love*, Leiden-New York-Cologne: Brill, 1993, all of which dance more or less skillfully between peril and profit; such lists could be significantly expanded).

32 Book 5 in some ways charts both the journey and the "homecoming" in Italy; ultimately, the traditions of the death of Aeneas loom large over Virgil's epic.

33 Here key foundational work has been done by Jay Reed in his *Virgil's Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the Aeneid*, Princeton, 2007; for the philosophical as well the political ramifica-

matter of determining who knows what, and about exactly what, at a particular moment in the epic; consideration of this problem may prove to be helpful in understanding the Virgilian treatment of the immortals and the vexed roles of what we might call fate and fortune.³⁴

The physical position of the book can perhaps assist our understanding of these issues. While not quite precisely halfway through the poem, *Aeneid* 5 is a turning point in the narrative. It is not the pivot between the Odyssean and Iliadic portions, for the so-called “Iliadic half” begins with Book 7; nor is it a hinge between past and future, as the powerful sixth *Aeneid*. Rather, it is a turning point in terms of the identity of a people who are on their way from being Trojan to becoming Roman.³⁵ Indeed one might say that “Trojan becoming Roman” is also the primary theme of the *Aeneid* as a whole, for the *Aeneid* is, as we stated above, the story of the Trojans’ struggle to find a fresh identity.³⁶

The Triangular Island and the Turning Point

To consider the implications of such questions, let us begin with *Aeneid* 5’s principal geographical feature, Sicily. This island serves as the location of a “kind of close-but-not-quite” turning point in Aeneas’ physical journey; it is

tions of such concerns, note the work of the late Eve Adler, *Vergil’s Empire: Political Thought in the Aeneid*, Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003, rightly praised by Horsfall and deserving of close attention by Virgilians.

- 34 E.g., the question of whether or not the final ethnographic revelation of Jupiter to Juno represents knowledge that the supreme god had in Book 1, when he met with Venus (i.e., was Rome always and immutably fated to be Italian and not Trojan in its *mores*): put another way, the problem of whether or not the wrath of Juno accomplished something that had been left indeterminate in the preordained decrees of what we might call “fate.” Part of the answer, if not the entirety of the solution, may rest in this issue of knowledge; certainly this concern is reflected in numerous scenes on the mortal plane (e.g., Aeneas with the shield), but also in the telling absence of Venus from the final colloquy between Jupiter and Juno. Virgil does not make clear the full extent of Jupiter’s knowledge in his inaugural conversation with Venus, and thus leaves the whole matter rather open to speculation.
- 35 See here W. Suerbaum, “Aeneas zwischen Troja und Rom. Zur Funktion der Genealogie und der Ethnographie in Vergils Aeneis,” *Poetica* 1 (1967), pp. 176–204.
- 36 On Aeneas’ gradual transformation into an Italian, cf. Richard Jenkyns, *Virgil’s Experience: Nature and History: Times, Names and Places*, Oxford, 1998, p. 425, which follows upon his analysis of *Aeneid* 5.116–123 (p. 424).

the stage setting for almost the entirety of the book. Driven away from Italy by a storm, Palinurus heeds the weather and with Aeneas' blessing puts in at Sicily, where the poet describes the *Aeneadae* being greeted by Acestes. Sicily is indeed close to but not quite the midway point for Aeneas' travels, and it is adjacent to but not actually Italy.³⁷ *Aeneid* 5, likewise, is near, but not quite, the middle of the poem, and its principal geographical feature, Sicily, is proximate to, but not precisely the place where Aeneas comes to Italy; it is not far from but certainly not the locus where Trojans will become Romans. In fact, those who stay will forever remain not entirely Roman and not quite Italian; the episode of the firing of the Trojan ships refines much of what Virgil presented in the Buthrotum sequence of Book 3, even as it looks forward to the decisions Turnus makes in the opening movements of 9.

In Sicily Aeneas celebrates the annual memorial rites of his father's death with games.³⁸ Though clearly reminiscent of those honoring Patroclus in *Iliad* 23 (*inter al.*), Anchises' games are noticeably different from their literary antecedents. Through them, Virgil provides an important symbol for the significance of Sicily as a turning point in the Trojan quest for identity and homeland:

est procul in pelago saxum spumantia contra
 125 litora, quod tumidis summersum tunditur olim
 fluctibus, hiberni condunt ubi sidera Cauri;
 tranquillo silet immotaque attollitur unda
 campus et apricis statio gratissima mergis.
 hic uiridem Aeneas frondenti ex ilice metam
 130 constituit signum nautis pater, unde reuerti
 scirent et longos ubi circumflectere cursus.

Aen. 5.124–131

In this passage Virgil offers several details about a particular rock in the sea just off the shore of Sicily that will serve as the signpost for the sailors contending in the ship race, the first of the games in honor of Aeneas' father Anchises. Aeneas tells the sailors to wheel their ships around this marker and return to

37 The triangular island, too, embodies cartographically the tripartite structure of the *Aeneid*, where Book 5 is the first book of the *medius* of the triple construct. For helpful overview of the significance of the island in Virgil, with attractive illustration of many of the sites relevant to a study of Book 5, see G. Monaco, "La Sicilia di Virgilio," in Paratore 1981, 159–177.

38 The occasion for the games also serves to look forward to the great eschatological revelations of Anchises at the end of Book 6, so that the opening of 5 and the close of 6 ring together, just as the opening of 5 looks back, too, to the end of 4 and the death of Dido.

the shore in their racing. This small rock with likely meager sprig (*uiridem ... frondenti ex ilice*) provides the turning point (*metam*), a word that one finds also in prose literature. For example, it is featured in Livy's patchy description of the racecourse of the Circus Maximus (*et carceres in circo, et oua ad no(tas) curriculis numerand(is) ... dam, et metas trans. ... et caueas ferreas*, 41.27.6). The same word occurs also in Pliny's account of the course of the sun, a "planet" which itself is associated with the running of horses (*solipse ... ab ea meta incipit flecti ac degredi ad austrum*, *H.N.* 18.264).

Virgil will use *meta* again also at the end of Book 5, where he describes the middle turning point of the night when Somnus comes to deceive Palinurus:

835 iamque fere mediam caeli Nox umida metam
contigerat, placida laxabant membra quiete
sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautae

Aen. 5.835–837

Putnam observes, "this is the only occasion where Virgil uses the image of the *meta* to describe the passing of night. But its appearance here could scarcely be more fitting, since Aeneas is indeed approaching the turning-point, the crucial juncture of the journey to Cumae."³⁹ The use of *meta* offers a contrast with the turning point of the race, while at the same time advancing the notion that this book as a whole is a kind of *meta*, a psychologically profound moment for Aeneas and his men en route to Italy.⁴⁰ By close examination of these passages and the pervasive compositional structure that renders Book 5 (like the other books of the epic) a series of elaborately engraved concentric rings, we shall see how the concept of the *meta* has ramifications in the philosophical sphere, too.⁴¹

39 Michael C.J. Putnam, "Unity and Design in *Aeneid* V," *HSCPh* 66 (1962), p. 226. We should also remember that the equivalent "*meta*" in the Homeric chariot race is identified as a possible monument to a man long dead (*Iliad* 23.331).

40 See here especially S. Spence, "The Boat-race as Turning Point in *Aeneid* 5," *NECJ* 29 (2002), pp. 69–81.

41 Part of the problem that Book 5 explores is the inherent attractiveness of return (cf. the idea of the Virgilian *Odyssey* as *nostos*); in the case of the regatta, this is the rounding of the *meta* that leads back to the (safe) harbor—but which inhibits and impedes arrival at a new destiny. On some of these concerns see B. Acosta-Hughes, "Unwilling Farewell and Complex Allusion (Sappho, Callimachus, and *Aeneid* 6.458)," *PLLS* 13 (2008), pp. 1–12. Some of the darker aspects of such returns are explored, too, in R. Armstrong, "Crete in the *Aeneid*: Recurring Trauma and Alternative Fates," *CQ* 52 (2002), pp. 321–340.

The word itself has a wide range of symbolic meanings. Indeed, only two decades or so after Virgil had employed it in *Aeneid* 5, Ovid adopted the image of the *meta* to speak of a turning point in his poetic journey as he nears the end of his *Amores*. The final elegy of the third book offers a self-conscious *tour de force*. There the poet speaks about his movement from elegiac composition to a new genre:

quaere novum vatem, tenerorum mater Amorum!
 raditur hic elegis ultima meta meis;
 quos ego composui, Paeligni ruris alumnus—
 nec me deliciae dedecuerunt meae—
 siquid id est, usque a proavis vetus ordinis heres,
 non modo militiae turbine factus eques.
 Mantua Vergilio, gaudet Verona Catullo;
 Paelignae dicar gloria gentis ego ...

Am. 3.15.1–8

Here Ovid associates his poetic fame with this turning point in his career, suggesting in this context that at least by the time he has rounded the turn post in his last lap with the *Amores*, he has achieved fame on the level of a Virgil or Catullus. That Ovid has turned a corner to a new genre has not quite yet happened by *Amores* 3, though clearly he is pointing toward tragedy.⁴² Beyond his *Medea*, the *Metamorphoses*, published roughly a decade after this vaunt was penned, will reflect an even further shift, as Ovid guides his car around another, yet starker turning post in his *cursus litterarum*. For Virgil, however, the *meta* of *Aeneid* 5 is not at first blush symbolic. It is presented as simply a likely tiny, rocky outcropping with a sprig that provides a visible turning point for racers, not unlike the type seen in the brief citation from Livy we offered above. In the end, we shall find that there are metaliterary considerations, too, that can find reasonably firm grounding in an engaged study of the Virgilian reception of his poetic and prose antecedents; some of these considerations can be seen to be key to a fuller understanding of Virgil's successors, Ovid in particular.

42 Cf. Phyllis B. Katz, "Teaching the Elegiac Lover in Ovid's *Amores*," *CW* 102 (2009), pp. 164–165.

The Quest for Identity

The ship race, together with the other contests, stands out as perhaps this book's most conspicuous feature in the minds of its various readers.⁴³ Yet for nearly half a century scholars have variously argued that behind that conspicuousness lurk possibilities of further interpretation. In one of his early articles, Karl Galinsky objected to the notion that the contests offer a distraction from the principal narrative surrounding Aeneas, noting that "it was in Sicily that the Romans became fully aware of the implications of their claim to Trojan descent; it is in Sicily that Aeneas begins to understand the implications of his mission."⁴⁴ Galinsky also recognizes that the fifth *Aeneid* was not simply an entertaining distraction, but a book deeply integrated with the rest of the poem, as in it Virgil often recasts prior motifs "to illustrate ... the change from the past to the future."⁴⁵ Alongside the movement from past to future, in Sicily there seems to be a shift in emphasis on the issue of Trojan identity. This can be seen especially well in Virgil's aetiological etymologies (see notes ad loc.) associated with the ship race. Ultimately, we move from the ship race of the opening movements of 5 to the naval battle of Actium whose glories crown the shield of Aeneas near the close of 8, thus framing the opening and closing books of the epic's middle third with nautical imagery that points to the Augustan conquest of disorder and the question of the retracing, as it were, of the steps of Aeneas and his companions in the achievement of the Augustan victory. The Virgilian ship race exhibits features of civil war and the seeming vagaries of chance and fortune; the nautical context of the regatta is revisited in the dolphin imagery that is used to describe the labyrinthine equestrian display of the *lusus Troiae*, which serves to link the largely lighthearted and harmless enough events of the games with the dread reality of the cavalry engagement in 11 of which the Troy game is prelude.⁴⁶

There are other metaphors in Book 5, as well, illustrating the struggle of the *Aeneadae* to find a new national identity. The island of Sicily itself, as we have observed, is often cited as a kind of half-way point between Trojan and Roman,

43 Not without reason did Monaco term his volume *il libro dei ludi*, despite the fact that fully half the book is not concerned with athletics.

44 Karl Galinsky, "Aeneid V and the Aeneid," *AJP* 89 (1968), p. 184.

45 Galinsky 1968, p. 153.

46 The intricate maneuvers of the Troy game also embody the problem of the difficulty of extraction and the turning in on oneself, in this case the problem of escaping the Trojan past, and the ultimate revelation of the fact that escape from Troy spells the suppression of Troy; arrival in Italy means the final end of the old city and its *mores*.

for Sicily is geographically nearby, but not quite, Italy. Along the same lines, Acestes, the son of Criniscus by the Trojan Egesta, is half-Trojan, but obviously not Trojan in the sense that Aeneas and his men are. Acestes embodies in a single person the new settlement in Sicily, where a city is to be founded. Alongside Acestes (746–761), Aeneas oversees the planning of that town which, the reader had learned a few lines previously (718), will derive its appellation from a variation upon Acestes' and his mother's name.

Thus Sicily will provide a home for a people that is led by a near relative of the Trojans, and a stopping point even to some of the *Aeneadae*, a place that offers them an opportunity to withdraw from the primary mission with a modicum of *dignitas*. Thus, Sicily provides Aeneas with more than a place of rest and entertainment en route to Italy. It is another “almost place,” more closely and suitably connected with Troy than Carthage in some regards (though the historical realities of the First Punic War loom large),⁴⁷ an improvement over and correction of Buthrotum's fading dream, and a location superior to Crete, which the Penates had shown was not to be the place for the new Trojan settlement. It has surpassed, too, the first stopping point of the Trojans (3.13–18), *Aeneadae*, which despite the derivation of the name from Aeneas' own and its resultant confluence with the itinerant Trojans, was clearly not the right place either, as the unfortunate Polydorus incident confirmed (3.62–72).

Thus, in contrast to the places that Aeneas and those who accompanied him had previously visited, Sicily stands as a far more stable post along the way to the final destination of Latium. Thus Sicily indeed occupies more of a “middle position,” one that may be reflected in the fact that Virgil employs the adjective *medius* (a word phonetically similar but etymologically unrelated to the Latin *meta*) eighteen times in this book, more than in any other.⁴⁸ Indeed the adjective catches the reader's attention already in the book's first line:

47 Trojan Aeneas is forced to labor under certain burdens inherited from Roman history, which in Virgil is ever considered as a problem of the future in the past tense, or the past in the future; see here especially E. Schmidt, “Vergil: die Tragödie der karthagischen Königen Dido als Anfrage an den Sinn der römischen Geschichte,” in Schmidt, E., ed., *Musen in Rom: Deutung der Welt und Geschichte in großen Texten der römischen Literatur*, Tübingen, 2001, pp. 19–132.

48 In Book 5, the adjective is employed by Virgil some 18 times. In the other books of the first half it occurs as follows: *Aen.* 1, 13×; *Aen.* 2, 13×; *Aen.* 3, 11×; *Aen.* 4, 14×; *Aen.* 6, 11×. In the poem's second half, where the notion of a midway point is important in battle sequences, it occurs generally speaking more plentifully in the books rich in battle scenes (esp. *Aen.* 10 and 12): *Aen.* 7, 15×; *Aen.* 8, 7×; *Aen.* 9, 17×; *Aen.* 10, 26×; *Aen.* 11, 14×; *Aen.* 12, 24×.

interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat / certus iter (1f).⁴⁹ It garners notice in part not simply because it is the second word in the book, but also because its noun is uncomfortably enjambed with it (see our note ad loc.). The repetition of the adjective would seem to reinforce subtly the idea that this notion of the “middle” is vital to this book, though the book itself is not the “middle book” of the poem, a feature which, for a poem of twelve books, cannot after all exist. Nevertheless, this book and the island that dominates its story occupy a “middle ground” for Aeneas and his men as its content straddles the past and future, thus providing a turning point or *meta* for the poem as a whole. And this book, too, will of course have its own midpoint, which will repay close examination; it will come on a note redolent with the spirit of civil war; Sicily, after all, was an important locus in Octavian’s struggles during the triumviral wars, indeed the scene of some of his most perilous exploits.⁵⁰ Sicily, in short, is deeply invested in the Augustan traditions of how order was established out of chaos; the island is an especially appropriate place for such reflections given its importance in gigantomachic lore—a key mythological source for the struggle between Aeneas and Turnus,⁵¹ and the Virgilian consideration of the complicated question of the place of Saturn in the restored (Augustan) Golden Age in Italy.

Thus, for Virgil Sicily plays a vastly different (and far more important) role than it does in other Roman poets. In Lucretius’ *De Rerum Natura*, for example, Lucretius mentions it as the place of origin for a famous philosopher, whose ideas are not compatible with the major tenets of Epicureanism.⁵² Though his philosophical outlook is quite different, there is more than a modicum of respect in the tone with which Lucretius describes Empedocles:

49 An opening verse, to be sure, of especially rich connotations: the announcement of the *middle journey* as we commence the second third of the epic; the declaration of Aeneas as *certus*; the opening of a great ring that will close with Aeneas again on deck in the aftermath of the loss of his helmsman, unsure of just what happened to his *gubernator*.

50 A fact that raises potentially interesting possibilities of interpretation; see here M. Thornton, “Damage-Control in the *Aeneid* or Rescuing the Military Reputation of Augustus,” *Latomus* 51 (1992), 566–570.

51 See here P. Hardie, “Some Themes from Gigantomachy in the *Aeneid*,” *Hermes* 111 (1983), pp. 311–326, and the same author’s “Cosmological Patterns in the *Aeneid*,” in *PLLS* 5 (1986), pp. 85–87.

52 Philosophically, Book 5 prepares us, too, for the problems of 6; the ghost of Anchises is silent at his memorial rites, but will unveil eschatological mysteries (perhaps mendacious) at the end of 6; see further L. Fratantuono, “A Brief Reflection on the Gates of Sleep,” *Latomus* 6 (2007), pp. 628–635.

quorum Acragantinus cum primis Empedocles est,
 insula quem triquetris terrarum gessit in oris,
 quam fluitans circum magnis anfractibus aequor
 Ionium glaucis aspargit uirus ab undis,
 angustoque fretu rapidum mare diuidit undis
 Aeoliae terrarum oras a finibus eius.

DRN 1.714–721

Lucretius describes philosopher-generating Sicily in rich poetic detail. It is a three-pointed dividing place, of which the waves pound the shores with brine coming from as far away as the Ionian Sea. Years later, Horace, Virgil's friend and fellow Augustan poet, states that the three cornered island is comparable to Italy, and he offers a description of it (though perhaps with less poetic grandeur than Lucretius) as a place in which Caesar's veterans may ultimately find their country estates: *quid? militibus promissa Triquetra / praedia Caesar an est Itala tellure daturus?* (*Serm.* 2.6.55 f.). Horace's contemporary Strabo, too, enlarges on the island's old nickname that reflects its three-pointed shape (*Geo.* 6.2.1).

In *Aeneid* 3, Virgil himself highlights the shape of the island, aptly having his description follow upon his portrayal of nearby Scylla, who distinctively here has a belly formed of wolves and dolphins' tails:⁵³

prima hominis facies et pulchro pectore uirgo
 pube tenuis, postrema immani corpore pistrix
 delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum.
 praestat Trinacrii metas lustrare Pachyni

430 cessantem, longos et circumflectere cursus,
 quam semel informem uasto uidisse sub antro
 Scyllam et caeruleis canibus resonantia saxa.

Aen. 3.426–432

From these descriptions of Sicily and its environs certain details emerge. To Lucretius and the Augustan poets who followed in his wake, including Virgil, Sicily was well-known for its three-pointed shape. It is a place, not quite Italian, though not quite un-Italian either, where weary veterans might have the opportunity to farm the land that Caesar has allocated them, described concisely by Horace as *promissa ... praedia* (cited above). It is the parent land of an important philosopher. And, for Aeneas and his men en route to Italy, Sicily

53 Marianne Govers Hopman, *Scylla: Myth, Metaphor, Paradox*, Cambridge, 2012, pp. 228 ff.

also provides a safe haven to enjoy games—though, especially in the wake of the curse of Dido, it is a safe haven in a land that would prove to be a major battleground in the struggle between Rome and Carthage (not to mention the triumviral wars, especially from the perspective of Octavian): the burning of the ships might well be viewed as a horror similar to those experienced in the Punic Wars. The games are a mimicry of battle, in particular the war about to erupt in Italy; they also look forward to the realities of Roman military history.

In his description of the first of those games, as we observed earlier, Virgil includes an interesting detail when setting forth just how the sea's course is to be marked for the ship races. Just off Sicily's coast, Virgil tells us, lies a likely small rock that would serve as the turn post, providing the captains *signum ... unde reuertit / scirent* (130 f.). The rock around which Aeneas' seafaring competitors would bend their course in the manner of a race track is not unlike Sicily itself, a place made smooth by the waves that had once washed over it (*tumidis summersum tunditur olim / fluctibus*, 5.125 f.). It is not hard to see how the small island that Aeneas selects to be the ships' turning place, across from the frothing Sicilian shore (124 f.), can be viewed as a miniature version of Sicily itself. The islet provides a visible turning point for the competitors; Sicily stands as the turning point for all of the Aeneadae.⁵⁴

Evidence for such connections within Virgil's texts may be found in interesting geographical features of the Rome Virgil would have known well. The idea of a three-pronged Sicily is, of course, a *topos*, but it is one that fits rather well in the context of Book 5's race. Part of the reason lies in the fact that Virgil places it in close proximity to his strange description of a dolphin-waisted Scylla—though she is said to have eaten dolphins, nowhere else does she show up with their tails affixed to her waist.⁵⁵ Cassius Dio tells us that just a few years before the *Aeneid's* inception, Agrippa had added seven bronze dolphins to the décor of the Circus Maximus, specifically as markers for the laps completed by the competitors (Dio Cassius, 49.43.2).⁵⁶ Furthermore, the evidence of coins, bas-reliefs, and other materials provides ample evidence that Roman turn posts in

54 Sicily, too, evokes the particular cult of Venus Erycina, and Book 5 presents the goddess in interesting detail; she figures prominently in the first and last books of the epic's second third, and in some sense is glorified and finds her divinity enhanced over the course of the rounding of the *media meta* of the poem. See further S. McCarter, "The Forging of a God: Venus, the Shield of Aeneas, and Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*," *TAPA* 142 (2012), pp. 355–381.

55 Hopman 2012, p. 228.

56 Cf. the dolphins that provide a comparison for the equestrian splendor of the *lusus Troiae*.

the Circus Maximus themselves bore three points.⁵⁷ Even if a recent assertion that “Aeneas’ journey from the toe of Italy straight out to the western end of Sicily and back east toward Italy conforms exactly to the hairpin contours of a chariot race” may be slightly overstated,⁵⁸ it is not impossible that the raceway components of dolphins, three points, and the descriptive detail of *longos ... cursus* (3.430), all in close proximity in the text of *Aeneid* 3, are meant both to evoke gently the image of the recently remodeled Circus Maximus and, more importantly, to foreshadow the race of *Aeneid* 5.

Ultimately, the Trojan journey toward Rome that is symbolized by the regatta leads back to Troy as the *meta* of the contest is rounded and the ships return to their anchorage—a harbor that is, however, on *Sicilian* soil: the process of ethnic transformation has, after all, already begun.⁵⁹ The foot race that follows—on dry ground, of course—offers a brief yet crystal clear image of the old Troy that will, *in fine*, be suppressed before the dawn of the new Rome. And so the boxing match that comes next in competitive sequence will demonstrate at length the defeat of the Trojan by the *Sicilian*; the archery contest that crowns the games will also, in effect, have a Sicilian scene-stealer and *de facto* victor in the person of King Acestes. And the interruption of those games will come with the burning of the *Trojan* fleet before the destructive force of fire is replaced by that of water in the long narrative of the sacrifice of the now rather otiose Trojan helmsman who will, we shall learn in the underworld, succeed in rather impressive self-navigation and propulsion to Italian soil—only to be the first casualty of the forthcoming war with the inhabitants of that long awaited final destination.

Book 5: Epic Encapsulation and Recapitulation

Our argument, then, on the one hand, is not complicated. We assert that the turn post described at 5.124–131 represents a Sicily-in-miniature, and that Virgil is thereby suggesting that these games do not represent merely a moment of

57 Roger Dunkle, “Games and Transition: *Aeneid* 3 and 5,” *CW* 98 (2005), pp. 157 ff.

58 Dunkle 2005, p. 157.

59 On some of the problems raised here see J. Smolenaars, “‘Trojje’ in Vergilius’ *Aeneis*: De constructie van de Trojaanse herkomst van het imperium romanum,” *Hermeneus* 74 (2002), pp. 299–311. Book 5 is the first of the second third of the epic, the middle section of the poem in which the great exposition of the Roman future will be unveiled; every one of the books of the second act of the epic is more or less replete with evocations and images of the future Rome—in the case of Book 5, most prominently the future *gentes* and *ludi*.

entertainment or a respite from the rest of the epic's action, but rather enjoy a thoroughgoing and often overlooked significance. That significance is that of a turning point, one not only for Aeneas and his men, but also for our understanding of the poem as a whole. The games come at just such a moment in the epic; this moment is closely associated with a transition in the discovery of identity as Virgil looks forward to the Romans slowly learning who they are and, rather more importantly, who they will ultimately be.

On the other hand, there is a certain complexity to our argument, as well. Just as the tiny island that is the turning point in the race corresponds to the larger-scale island of Italy, so Book 5 encapsulates and recapitulates many of the epic's principal themes that are characteristic of the epic as a whole. The *Aeneid*, too, represents a turning point not merely in the history of Latin literature but, more especially, a watershed moment in the history of Rome, for the *Aeneid* offers a unique poetic parallel for the transition between Rome's republic and empire. Virgil reveals, time and again throughout the poem that he is acutely aware of the theme of this transition, and *Aeneid* 5 is no exception.⁶⁰ Thus, *Aeneid* 5 is like a Chinese puzzle box that begins with the rock that is the turn post in the ship race, while Sicily, the place embodies the Trojans' turning from past to future, functions in *Aeneid* 5 as the individual book does within the entire poem, standing as a microcosm of and a pivotal moment in the *Aeneid*, which is itself, as a whole, a turning point in Roman literature.

That literary turning point finds itself, too, having been composed at a pivotal moment in Roman history. Because of or perhaps merely in light of the poem's internal awareness (as it were) of the political transformation and societal change that occurs as Virgil is writing the poem, the fifth *Aeneid* is perhaps the darkest of the poem's books. Its darkness seems to develop in the course of the book's action, with a distinct ebb and flow between positive and negative moments, though ending on a decidedly ominous note after steadily enough increasing gloom. Though perhaps not apparent in the book's opening lines—even this is debatable—the book's darkness emerges over the course of the action, becoming especially visible at *Aeneid* 5's close. The story of Palinurus is the one tale that is cited most commonly in this regard. Yet there are numerous other problematic episodes, for victory throughout the book is fraught with difficulty. In the ship race, for example, we have a helmsman thrown overboard, in the foot race; a tripping incident that cheats the victor; in the archery contest an exploding arrow that invalidates the achievement of

60 How Virgil seems to point this out through visual imagery is the central theme of Smith's *The Primacy of Vision in Virgil's Aeneid*, Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2005.

the true champion; in the attempted burning of the ships a compromise that allows those not dedicated to the mission an alternative that is ultimately less than glorious.

Sacrifice

Alongside such uncertain victories, the amount of deception or lack of proper perception that occurs in this book is pronounced. At the book's opening, Palinurus must return to Sicily by *memory*, since he cannot see the stars clearly (23–25). Further, in the games there is Salius' failure to see Nisus' devious tripping of him (335), and Dares, too, fails to perceive properly that Entellus has bested him in the match (465). Add to these, further, the Trojan matrons' initial inability to recognize in time the false Beroë (618–645) in the episode of the burning of the ships. Even the "galeam ... inanem" (673) that Iulus tosses forward to show his identity comes from a false version of games that would later be held to celebrate Rome's greatness. Finally, there is the aforementioned death of Palinurus, perhaps the epic's most prominent example of lack of proper perception caused by deceit (841–871).

Consider, too, that Neptune's mysterious formulation of *unum pro multis* (815), which anticipates the deceptive activity of Somnus at the book's end (835–871), has an all-too-familiar a familiar ring. While this strange pronouncement is meant in some way to offer a theological explanation of or justification for Palinurus' death, it is in fact part of a wider swath of similar synecdochic formulae in the fifth book. Well before the book's midpoint, Aeneas proclaims that prizes will be shared by the competitors in the foot race (*omnibus hic erit unus honos*, 5.308). The notion is thus introduced as a strange combination of death with the perhaps seemingly positive sentiment of "one for all" that underscores the attempt at unity that Aeneas is promoting (but that later will fail badly when the Trojan women demand a city, 631–634). The foot race, in any case, serves alongside the other games as harbinger of what will be; flashes of imagery from Homer (e.g., Nisus' slip with its Ajacian predecessor) will look both forwards as well as back, as the poet tells his tale of the quest for national identity on many levels at once (narrative; simile; intertextual allusion; intratextual association): a polyphonic reinvention of a seemingly simple line of plainchant.

Lying beneath the surface of the phrase *unum pro multis*, however, is the notion of death expressed by Neptune in the interesting terms of propitiatory sacrifice by substitution. The idea has already been raised earlier in the book, specifically when Entellus enlarges upon the nature of the offering that he

makes in honor of his victory over Dares: as he kills the ox on the altar, he notes perhaps a bit sarcastically that this sacrificial victim is to take the place of Dares: *meliorem animam pro morte Daretis / persoluo* (483f.).⁶¹

A similar formula occurs, as well, when the book moves away from the presentation of the various games to other stories that contain issues fundamental to the notions of identity and mission. When the Trojan women, under the influence of Iris disguised as Beroë, decide together that they must immediately have a city even if that distracts them from their higher calling, they speak with one voice: *uox omnibus una: / urbem orant. taedet pelagi perferre laborem* (616f.). Thus, the theme of unanimity, as we saw above when Aeneas established the idea that honor should be shared by all (308), is emphasized through the phrase “uox ... una.” A few lines later, when Pyrgo steps forward to denounce the false Beroë, she, notably, is one from many: *hic una e multis, quae maxima natu, / Pyrgo, tot Priami natorum regia nutrix* (644f.). Within just a few lines, Virgil employs a turn of phrase, similar to those we have seen above, to shift the focus from the theme of collective unity to the notion of one standing out from many. And ultimately, Palinurus, another one from the many, is a sacrifice in place of Aeneas, with ramifications for Virgil’s audience in the pervasive problem of the Augustan succession; the loss of Marcellus; the question of how the new political regime in Rome could continue to function successfully in the event of the death of the *princeps*.⁶² By the time we arrive at the full horror of the Virgilian *Iliad*, the sacrifices of *Aeneid* 5 will seem to have been but feeble foreshadowing of the losses of Pallas; Nisus and Euryalus; Lausus; and Camilla, each of whose deaths can be linked in some way to the notion of substitution and sacrificial proxy, and for whose ends the games and other movements of Book 5 have helped to pave the way; the mock combat inherent in the games leads directly to the similar playacting of the *lusus Troiae*, itself a metaphor for the ultimate destruction of Troy that Book 5 presages: the battle for Troy is interrupted by the burning of the ships, and the whole sequence serves as a balance to the fiery end of the physical city in the second book of the epic. In the second to last book, the future suppression of Trojan *mores* is similarly expressed; the final pronouncement of said suppression will not come until the reconciliation of Juno (the goddess who instigates the burning of the Trojan fleet) in

12.

61 Appropriately enough, the *Aeneid* in miniature itself contains self-referential glances forwards and back within its own structure.

62 The concept of the *unum ex multis* hints, too, at the nature of the nascent principate, and reflects the metamorphosis of Rome from republic to empire.

Thus, *Aeneid* 5, which we believe stands forth as Virgil's turning point in the epic and thematically points up the poem as a larger turning point in the history of poetry (and of Rome), turns out to be a rather dark *meta* indeed, beset by partial or dubious victories, unclear portents, less-than-perfect winners and too often limping losers. Worse yet, like the third *Georgic*, it celebrates death by games, specifically those dedicated to Anchises. More pointedly, however, it ends with the death of Palinurus, the very helmsman of the Trojan fleet that is now sailing forth not only to Italy, but to its own ethnic suppression in the shadow of the Italian ascendancy of the Rome whose advent is so close.⁶³ The same course is also marked out by the similes of Book 5, which display a high degree of narrative cohesion and intertextuality.⁶⁴ Those similes commence, in a sense, where Book 4 ended, with echoes of Iris; the rainbow goddess returns at the start of Book 9,⁶⁵ where she serves as the Junonian agent in stirring Turnus to do what the Trojan women found rather easier to effect in Book 5: the burning of the Trojan fleet.⁶⁶

Rounding the Meta; Retracing Our Steps

Book 5 presents a journey that returns whence it set out, as ships round a *meta*; it ends with a journey that is a one-way voyage to war and death (most imminently for the one who goes *princeps ante omnis*).⁶⁷ Just as Virgil does at his

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- 63 Palinurus' affinities with 11's Camilla are explored in detail in the commentary ad loc.; together the two figures contribute significantly to the vast problem of Virgil's response to contemporary and recent political and military controversies (Actium; the campaigns against Sextus Pompey); these concerns also inform a comparison of certain features of Books 5 and 8.
- 64 Book 5 has the most similes of any in the *Aeneid*; see further W. Briggs, "The Similes of *Aeneid* 5," in R. Wilhelm and H. Jones, eds., *The Two Worlds of the Poet: New Perspectives on Vergil*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992, pp. 157–166.
- 65 On the intertext on Iris in 5 and 9 see K. Gransden, *Virgil's Iliad: An Essay on Epic Narrative*, Cambridge, 1984, pp. 84–85.
- 66 Rainbow imagery is central to Virgil's composition of the movement from Books 4 to 5; *inter al.* See R. Ketterer, "The Rainbow at the End of *Aeneid* 4," in *SyllClass* 3 (1992), pp. 21–23. The burning of the fleet offers a terrible conclusion to the game of Troy; the city is, metaphorically, destroyed yet again.
- 67 The two journeys have affinities, as the commentary details (notably in the casting overboard of Menoetes); the *Aeneid* is an epic of image and fulfillment, of advent and nativity. Further, certain aspects of the Palinurus sacrifice are relevant to a study of Aeneas as new Odysseus; in general here see A. Perutelli, *Ulisse nella cultura romana*, Firenze, 2006; also

book's close, we might end our discussion here, but first we would expand two of the main ideas that we have touched upon so far. The first of these is the book's constant concern with and attempt to establish a fresh identity for the Trojans. This can be seen most pointedly in Virgil's particular attention to details when it comes to the names of the contestants in the races. As we observe in our commentary, Varro is likely to have treated the subject of how Roman family names were derived from those of Trojan precursors (cf. Heyne, et al., ad 117). Pasco-Pranger has touched on Virgil's attention to these naming details,⁶⁸ and Jim O'Hara's work in this area is a useful point of departure for further study.⁶⁹ Names and their derivation vividly symbolize the struggle to find identity, an identity connected with the past and pointing toward the future *telos* that is Augustan Rome. In an important sense, the Iliadic Book 11 will retrace the same ground as its Odyssean predecessor 5; the Trojan reflections of 5 will be replaced with the Italian of 11, as we advance closer to the final revelation of Roman ethnography in 12. Onomastics play an important part in the examination of these ethnic identities, and the naming games provide some of the most playfully profound tricks in the Virgilian repertoire.⁷⁰ Through the exploration of the names of the competitors in the regatta, Virgil also provides a careful and complex account of important episodes in republican history that have brought both poet and city to the Augustan present (the Catilinarian conspiracy prominent among them).

The theme of the quest for identity can also be seen clearly in the various descriptions of religious actions such as the sacrifices that are offered and, in particular, the prominence of Anchises' tomb in the book. Aeneas addresses his men from atop the *tumulus*' mound (44), while allusions to the mound itself or

A. Setaioli, "Ulisse nell'Eneide," in Rossi Cittadini, ed., *Presenze classiche nelle letterature occidentali. Il mito dall'età moderna e contemporanea*, Perugia, 1995, pp. 167–186; F. Solmsen, "Aeneas Founded Rome with Odysseus," *HSCP* 90 (1986), pp. 93–110; E. Schmidt, "Achilles—Odysseus—Aeneas. Zur Typologie des vergilischen Helden," *LF* 106 (1983), pp. 24–28, and his "Vergil und die *Odyssee*: Strukturfragen der *Aeneis*," in E. Schmidt, ed., *Erworbenes Erbe: Studien zur antiken Literatur und ihrer Nachwirkung*, Leipzig: Reclams Universal-Bibliothek, 1988, pp. 306–318.

68 Molly Pasco-Pranger, *Founding the Year: Ovid's Fasti and the Poetics of the Roman Calendar*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, p. 43n64.

69 James J. O'Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996; cf. also, "Callimachean Influence on Vergilian Etymological Wordplay," *CJ* 96 (2001), pp. 369–400.

70 The commentary notes pay special attention to the meanings of names (especially of minor characters), both inter- and intratextually, and to Virgil's practice of crafting associations between figures with shared first and last letters of names.

something like it are quite frequent in the narrative (54, 93, 113). Further, the apparition of Aeneas' father and the lapping up of the sacrificial offering by the snake that may be representative of Anchises' *manes*, are prominent aspects of the narrative that help to attest to the establishment of ancestral and religious identity (77). Such a familial connection can also be seen in the description of the *lusus*, in which the facial features of the lads that reflect their inherited connections are stressed (553; cf. also 575f.). The *Aeneid*, as Horsfall has done well to remind us, is not a textbook or primer in Roman religious practice; it does not provide a doctrinally orthodox and comprehensive account of Roman theology or liturgy. But it does consistently show concern with the proper attribution of particular traditions and the aetiology of customs seemingly quaint and curious; it does worry, as in its accounts of sacrifice rituals, that the right animal be offered to the right god.⁷¹ Similarly, Book 5 does offer material for those interested in the role of the immortals in the *Aeneid* (Juno; Venus; Neptune in particular); those who expect the actions of Virgil's deities to be consistent and to provide evidence for a coherent theological narrative may be disappointed, but the actions of Virgil's immortals do accord with the poet's intentions in outlining his vision of the unfolding of Rome's national identity and its Augustan reinvention.

Secondly, Book 5 also encompasses or at least seeks to unfold a sense of *community*, a community whose future destiny (namely to be riven by civil strife) makes the poet's detailed composition of its union all the more poignant. While the poet does not try to define community in clear terms—he seems purposely to leave it vague—he nevertheless enlists the major motifs of the book with a view to establishing certain communal elements. At one level, the games themselves can be correctly seen as building blocks in the establishment of community:

uinaque fundebat pateris animamque uocabat
Anchisae magni Manisque Acheronte remissos.

...

munera principio ante oculos circoque locantur
in medio, sacri tripodes uiridesque coronae
et palmae pretium uictoribus, armaque et ostro
perfusae uestes, argenti aurique talenta;
et tuba commissos medio canit aggere ludos.

Aen. 5.98–113

71 In the case of Palinurus, master helmsman to supreme marine god.

Once again, the poet's emphasis is on the midpoint. This scene is evocative of a similar moment that occurs near the close of the second *Georgic*. In that passage, we have argued elsewhere, the sharing of the wine bowl is an activity presented by Virgil as fundamental to the establishment of community and the rise of civilization.⁷² There, Virgil had also connected the notion of prototypical games with the civilization that would later arise in the most beautiful of cities:

ipse dies agitat festos fususque per herbam,
 ignis ubi in medio et socii cratera coronant,
 te libans, Lenea, uocat pecorisque magistris
 530 uelocis iaculi certamina ponit in ulmo,
 corporaque agresti nudant praedura palaestra.
 hanc olim ueteres uitam coluere Sabini,
 hanc Remus et frater; sic fortis Etruria creuit
 scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,
 535 septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.

G.2.527–535

It is not merely a similar phraseology that binds these two passages together.⁷³ Both are moments in which the poet is positing games as a token of community and as seeds of civilization.⁷⁴ In the midst of a joyous celebration the farmer shows his awareness of communal harmony, doing so by calling on Bacchus as he and his friends crown a bowl and, as Aeneas himself will do in *Aeneid* 5, enjoy the performance of the games.⁷⁵

Though friendly rivalry has always been tolerated in Virgil, one finds here hints of internecine hostility and civic tension; the games do have scenes of violence, and not only in the inherently sanguinary and indeed deadly boxing

72 R. Alden Smith, "In vino civitas: The Rehabilitation of Bacchus in Virgil's *Georgics*," *Vergilius* 53 (2007), pp. 53–87.

73 On the fragility of such moments, so "easily corrupted" as they are, see M. Putnam, *Virgil's Poem of the Earth: Studies in the Georgics*, Princeton, 1979, pp. 157–158. The same image is exactly captured by Bergman in the scene of the strawberries and milk in *Det sjunde inseglet*.

74 But the community that is fostered by the shared experience of the games is very much a Trojan community, and one where, e.g., the trickery and deceit of a Nisus can be rewarded. Book 2 presents the Trojan community at war, and Book 5 the same community at peace.

75 See further here Thomas ad loc. and the same author's *Lands and Peoples in Roman Poetry: The Ethnographical Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1982.

bout. Even if rivalry is not always unequivocally cruel, the *Georgics* passage does point up its perilous side.⁷⁶ In *Aeneid* 5, after a libation has been made to Anchises' spirit and the prizes have been admired and inspected at leisure, there are those who are "ready to compete." Moreover, a further feature of movement toward civilization is included in the *Aeneid* passage as well, as Virgil notes that proper rituals have been performed (101).⁷⁷

These rituals pertain primarily to the attendance of Aeneas to his father's funeral celebration, of which the games are an aspect. In these games, Trojan and Sicilian compete. Neither are Roman but both are "almost Roman" in different ways. Notably, the competition never devolves into a match between the "true" proto-Romans and those who are the "not-quite" folks, sc. Sicilians. Both have a true stake in the question, just as Horace describes Caesar's veterans as having a chance to win *praemia* in Sicily and in Italy. In the progression of the games, though, the Sicilians dominate the second half after Trojan victories in the first; the victory of those Sicilians over their exile guests is not merely a question of ethnicity, but of age: neither Entellus nor Acestes could have been expected to do well in competition with younger men. In the narrative of the games, the old emerge as more victorious than the young; the *vetus ordo* conquers the *novus*, though neither Sicilian nor Trojan is aware of the ultimate realities that are revealed only supernaturally, by and among immortals, in the epic's last book. Book 5 is the requiem for the Troy that burned in Book 2; just as the funeral games of 5 are a memorial for a man who is already dead, so the poetic unfolding of the suppression of Troy in the second to last book is a remembrance of the city that was physically ruined in the second.⁷⁸ And presiding over the requiem is the new Trojan leader, Aeneas; the fifth *Aeneid* is in some sense a commentary on the leadership skills of Aeneas (and Ascanius), especially in light of the death of *pater Anchises*; these issues surface elsewhere in the poem, but never in such a sharply distinguished relief of peace and war as

76 Llewelyn Morgan, *Patterns of Redemption in Virgil's Georgics*. Cambridge, 1999, pp. 116–123.

77 The civilized world, though, is depicted as ever tottering on the precipice of ruin. And so the games devolve into the terrible reincarnation of the gigantomachy in the boxing match (itself another manifestation of something of the nature of civil war, as allies pummel each other and one comes to the brink of death); Aeneas will end the competition—the only such intervention in the series of games—and thereby save his Trojan companion Dares' life.

78 Book 8 reveals the vision of the future Rome, and on Italian soil; the Latin/Italian side appears defeated in 11, but surprises await the divine colloquy near the close of 12.

in 5.⁷⁹ A people need a leader; a principate needs a *princeps*; a *dux* needs a successor. Concerns regarding leadership and the training of potential successors are pervasive in the *Aeneid*; Book 2 showed the future leader of the Trojan exiles in the crucible of war, and Book 5 shows him in some of the calmest moments in the epic; comparison and contrast of the response of Aeneas and his son to the disaster of the burning of the ships is instructive.

Returning to the question of “friendly rivalry,” the phrase *fusus per herbam* (*G.* 2.527 and *Aen.* 5.101) is important in the context of both the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*. Notably, Virgil uses this expression only in situations in which he wishes to suggest a moment of communal bonding and restoration of spirits. At the opening of the *Aeneid* it describes Aeneas and his men as they recover their strength after the storm: *tum uictu reuocant uiris, fusique per herbam / implentur ueteris Bacchi pinguisque ferinae* (1.214–215). Near the beginning of Book 5 the phrase occurs when, in anticipation of the spectacle of the ship race, the onlookers assemble for communal sacrifices in the midst of which they roast a meal on spits: *fusique per herbam / subiciunt ueribus prunas et uiscera torrent* (5.102f.).

By the end of that same book, the participle used to connote this civilized gathering, in which are found the seeds of the Roman practices of *naumachia* and horse racing in the circus, is now used to describe the weariness of the sailors who have fallen asleep at the oarlocks (*fusi per dura sedilia*, 837). The optimism and sense of community with which the book opened has fallen asleep with the sailors, as it were, and the communal sacrifice that produced fellowship has now become an inexplicable individual sacrifice, characterized by Neptune as *unum pro multis* (815) in his remarks to his niece Venus.⁸⁰

Just after, Somnus comes in the guise of Phorbas to bring about the final deception that will send Palinurus overboard; Phorbas takes his name, too, from something of an insular *meta* off the Sicilian coast (Phorbantia). Menoetes had been cast overboard in the business of attempting to round the *meta* of the race, and Palinurus will be attacked by a god who is disguised as *Phorbas*, a living *meta*, as it were, symbolic of the Italy that the Trojan Palinurus will see, only to face death as soon as he lands. Thus, Virgil provides a contrastive ring

79 See here especially M. Schauer, *Aeneas dux in Vergilis Aeneis. Eine literarische Fiktion in augusteischer Zeit*, München, 2007 (with the important Bryn Mawr review of K. Galinsky, 2008.06.29).

80 The first book of the poem's second third contains a speech of Venus, this time not to her father as in 1, but to her uncle; in 9 (the first book of the epic's last third), Cybele will address Jupiter with concerns that are not unrelated to the issues Venus raises with Neptune in 5.

with the opening of the book in which Palinurus, the helmsman of the *certus iter* Aeneas (5.2), had displayed a unique capacity for dead reckoning without much help from nature (*si modo rite memor seruata remetiior astra*, 25). Still, the skilled navigator will ultimately be revealed to be successful in swimming to the destined coast of Italy; his death on arrival will mark him out as the Protesilaus of the new war: in some sense he will be its first casualty.⁸¹

Thus indeed much of what is playful and relaxed in the sequence of the games will be rendered darker and more ominous in what amounts to the *fulfillment* of the lessons of the games in 11. The games are strange in part because in an important way there are no losers (everyone receives some sort of prize or special consideration from Aeneas, the most generous of hosts);⁸² all of this contributes to a sense of community and close-knit union, but the whole enterprise is overshadowed by the fact that the community is dead insofar as it is Trojan, and the future Rome will be Italian—an Italy that is already inhabited, already under the control of a King Latinus, and ready to be defended by a heroine whose name evokes her status as a *camilla*, a minister to the immortals.⁸³ That ultimate defeat of Troy dominates the second and second to last books of the Odyssean *Aeneid*; Books 8 and 11, the second and second to last of the Iliadic *Aeneid*, will focus on the *Italian* element that will be ascendant in the final ethnographic disposition of Rome.⁸⁴

For these reasons among others we see this book as the *media meta* of the poem, yet a gloomy one at that. Aeneas' metaphorical chariot does grind up against Sicily's *meta*, leaving behind a residue of sorts upon its shores, a residue that comes in the form of human capital that never quite arrives at the final goal, that never quite finishes the race. Rather, some of Aeneas' followers will stay here and form another nearly right, but not quite right

81 See here L. Fratantuono, "Princeps ante omnis: Palinurus and the Eerie End of Virgil's Protesilaus," in *Latomus* 71 (2012), pp. 713–733. Something of this failure to see and understand the larger forces at work informs the closing scene of the epic's second third, in the revelation of Aeneas' ignorance of the signs that adorn his shield. This close of Book 8 balances that of 5; in the latter, Aeneas is unaware of what exactly happened to his helmsman.

82 Prizes, too, that are without exception invested with rich significance; cf., e.g., the Cretan slave girl and her twins in the awards after the regatta.

83 For the important connections of Camilla and Palinurus in terms of the crafting of national identity and the role of sacrificial deaths to further communal causes, see L. Fratantuono, "Chiastic Doom in the *Aeneid*," *Latomus* 68 (2009), pp. 393–401.

84 The second and second to last books artfully prepare for what is explored in the final books of the two halves of the epic, in the revelations of the mortal father Anchises and the divine father Jupiter.

settlement, another attempt at a *Troia rediviva*, a parallel to the settlement at Buthrotum that was described in Book 3 (another sister book to 5, indeed its elder sibling).⁸⁵ Aeneas, for his part, is seeking both a return and an escape, though he does not quite realize the nature of either, and he sees only dimly the larger ethnographic issues that are in play (he shares this myopia with Turnus, and Camilla).⁸⁶ Ultimately, both Buthrotum and Segesta will be locales under the Roman imperial sway, but neither will be Troy.⁸⁷ And Sicily, of course, will be a *media meta* in the struggle between Carthage and Rome, a conflict that was inaugurated by Dido's curse on Aeneas, which looms over the opening verses of 5—the book that also stands between the appearances of Dido in 4 and 6.

With *Aeneid* 5, Virgil has produced a masterpiece within his masterpiece, one that peels like an onion or opens repeatedly like that aforementioned Chinese puzzle box, revealing at its center a tiny *meta* that reflects the larger *meta* that Sicily represents within the book, as Book 5 does within the *Aeneid* as a whole. Likewise, the *Aeneid* represents a turning point within the Latin and Greek literary landscape. Finally, the content of the *Aeneid* serves as the record of a turning point in Roman history, a *meta* between the republican past and the imperial future. Thus, the fifth *Aeneid* stands forth as *unum pro multis*: Neptune's ominous words were not uttered and Palinurus' loss was not effected in vain.

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- 85 See here in particular M. Bettini, "Ghosts of Exile: Doubles and Nostalgia in Vergil's *parva Troia* (*Aeneid* 3.294 ff.)," *ClAnt* 16 (1997), pp. 8–33.
- 86 Some of these issues are raised by B. Catto, "The Labyrinth on the Cumaean Gates and Aeneas' Escape from Troy," *Vergilius* 34 (1988), pp. 71–76; the principal Virgilian question, however, is not so much one of successful flight as of what one finds on arrival at the new destination.
- 87 One relatively unexplored topic in Virgilian studies is the poet's responses, if any, to the tradition that Aeneas was a betrayer of Troy; see here Thomas ad Horace, *carm. Saec.* 41–44, and W. Lapini, "Enea et la *proditio Troiae* (Orazio, *Carmen Saeculare* 41–44)," *RCCM* 38 (1996), pp. 155–160.

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Ad Lectorem

When we decided to undertake the monumental task of this commentary, we realized that we were committed to having to be judicious about which version of the text would be the basis for our work. We also realized that, in terms of the commentators and philologists who have carefully studied *Aeneid* 5, we find ourselves in lofty company, from whom we have gleaned the importance of acknowledging the version of a text that would inform our interpretation, however slight any individual variant might seem. While the effect of one such *clinamen* is unlikely to generate a universe of fresh ideas about Virgil, nonetheless, a group of such variants can produce a different understanding of a passage, a passage of a book, and a book of the whole.

The textual premise or dynamic from which we worked is rather simple: all manuscripts have some value, though like others who have preceded us, we have placed particular emphasis on the older and (traditionally considered) better witnesses (a complete account of the manuscripts et al. can be found in the introduction above under “Textual Genesis and Refinement”). We wish, however, to acknowledge a few vital points. First, the massive undertaking of studying each individual manuscript, vital as it has been for this project, is only possible because of the work of scholars who have provided the basis for the study, among whom one, Mario Geymonat, is fittingly a dedicatee of this volume. Others have each made vital contributions; Gian Biagio Conte deserves special mention for drawing on his rich knowledge of the para-textual tradition to shed light on the individual readings of the manuscripts. Without his lead in this area, neither of the present authors would have discovered the many interesting citations that corroborate or contest the readings of the manuscripts proper.

Further, in undertaking this venture, we learned that minor witnesses are of great value, again in the confirmation of or challenge to the most ancient witnesses. Like Mynors, we found particular value in the Wolfenbüttel gamma (Gudianus Lat. 2° 70) manuscript. Both of us enjoyed rich and useful conversations with the late Mario Geymonat, without whom our understanding of the manuscript tradition would have been limited. Though we did undertake careful autopsy of it, nonetheless, for the *Schedae Veronenses*, we also relied also on Geymonat’s *I codici G e V di Virgilio* (Milan, 1966) for, even from the time when Mario first worked on it, that palimpsest would seem to have deteriorated. For much of his work on the manuscripts, we stand indebted to Smith’s daughter, Rachel, who accompanied us on our journeys; a graduate student in classical

philology at the University of Kansas, she was and is *sine qua non*. We here also thank all those librarians who kindly facilitated our access of these precious materials.

In the end, we produced a text that, like all of its forebears, is undoubtedly flawed. Nonetheless, we hope that it can serve two purposes. First and most obviously, we hope that it will clarify for our readers the text of the fifth *Aeneid* from which we drew our interpretations. Secondly, as we stand on the shoulders of the learned editors who preceded us, hopefully this text will present compellingly a few fresh readings. At a fundamental level, these readings have offered us a point of departure for our contribution to the continuing discussion of *Aeneid* 5.

Some additional notes for the users of the commentary, especially university students, may be helpful here. Commentaries (and some very few monographs) on classical texts are sometimes cited herein without full reference (e.g., Fraenkel on Aeschylus, *Ag.* 367); the bibliography references a number of these works, though by no means all—this mostly out of space considerations, but also to highlight those works that have been of particular value in our research (though omission should not in any case be taken as silent or implicit criticism). Hours spent with both the *EV* and the *VE* have only increased our appreciation for the labors involved in both invaluable resources—so too for the ongoing work of Niklas Holzberg in Virgilian bibliography, and the efforts of Shirley Werner and the editorial staff of *Vergilius* in the same regard.

The authors do not think that Latin literature ended with Claudian (let alone Juvenal, or Ovid)—or that Greek literature ended sometime before the suicide of Cleopatra. That said, the notes offer but an introduction to the vast Virgilian *Nachleben*, with sometimes eclectic citation of passages we have found of particular interest.

Critical Text

Aeneidos Liber Quintus

interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat
certus iter fluctusque atos Aquilone secabat
moenia respiciens, quae iam infelicis Elissae
conlucent flammis. quae tantum accenderit ignem
5 causa latet; duri magno sed amore dolores
polluto, notumque furens quid femina possit,
triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt.
ut pelagus tenuere rates nec iam amplius ulla
occurrit tellus, maria undique et undique caelum,
10 olli caeruleus supra caput adstitit imber
noctem hiememque ferens et inhorruit unda tenebris.
ipse gubernator puppi Palinurus ab alta:
'heu quianam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi?
quidue, pater Neptune, paras?' sic deinde locutus
15 colligere arma iubet ualidisque incumbere remis,
obliquatque sinus in uentum ac talia fatur:
'magnanime Aenea, non, si mihi Iuppiter auctor
spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere caelo.
mutati transuersa fremunt et Vespere ab atro
20 consurgunt uenti, atque in nubem cogitur aër.
nec nos obniti contra nec tendere tantum
sufficimus. superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur,
quoque uocat uertamus iter. nec litora longe
fida reor fraterna Erycis portusque Sicanos,
25 si modo rite memor seruata remetior astra.'
tum pius Aeneas: 'equidem sic poscere uentos
iamdudum et frustra cerno te tendere contra.
flecte uiam uelis. an sit mihi gratior ulla

1–36 MPpΠ₁₅ (8–10 Π₁₀) 3 aelissae p 4 ignea P 5 magnos et Mp 6 posset M 8
neque b 9 occurrit] apparet p || telus γ || mari γ 10 supra P corr. P² || adstitit Π₁₀ adstetit p
astitit MP corr. M¹p¹ 13 tanta p corr. p¹ 16 sonus γ corr. γ¹ 18 contingere γ 19 atro] alto
corr. M² 22 quoniam om. M. add. M⁴ quo iam w 23 quaque Tib. || uacat M corr. M⁵ 26
quidem P corr. P² aequidem p 27–36 MPp

- 30 quoue magis fessas optem dimittere navis
 quam quae Dardanium tellus mihi seruat Acesten
 et patris Anchisae gremio complectitur ossa?
 haec ubi dicta, petunt portus et uela secundi
 intendunt Zephyri; fertur cita gurgite classis,
 et tandem laeti notae aduertuntur harenae.
 35 at procul ex celso miratus uertice montis
 aduentum sociasque rates occurrit Acestes,
 horridus in iaculis et pelle Libystidis ursae,
 Troia Criniso conceptum flumine mater
 quem genuit. ueterum non immemor ille parentum
 40 gratatur reduces et gaza laetus agresti
 excipit, ac fessos opibus solatur amicis.
 postera cum primo stellas Oriente fugarat
 clara dies, socios in coetum litore ab omni
 aduocat Aeneas tumulique ex aggere fatur:
 45 ‘Dardanidae magni, genus alto a sanguine diuum,
 annuus exactis completur mensibus orbis
 ex quo reliquias diuinique ossa parentis
 condidimus terra maestasque sacrauimus aras;
 iamque dies, nisi fallor, adest, quem semper acerbum,
 50 semper honoratum (sic di uoluitis) habebo.
 hunc ego Gaetulis agerem si Syrtibus exsul,
 Argolicouae mari deprensus et urbe Mycenae
 annua uota tamen sollemnisque ordine pompas
 exsequerer strueremque suis altaria donis.
 55 nunc ultro ad cineres ipsius et ossa parentis
 haud equidem sine mente, reor, sine numine diuum

29 quoque **d** *Prisc.* 7.84 || demittere **pcs** *Tib. Ribbeck* dimittere *pro* inmittere *DServ.* || naves
c 30 quamque **pγ** || complectitur **γ** 33 zephyri **p** 35 ad **P** || “*excelso?*” *DServ.* || miratur
p 36 “*et accurrat,*” *Tib.* 37–72 **MPRp** (**Π₁₀** 44–46) 37 libystidis **M corr.** **M²** lybistidis
pγ 38 criniso] “*a Crimisso fluvio, quem Criniso Vergilius poetica licentia uocat,*” *Serv. ad*
Aen. 1.550 39 inmemor **PRpγ** || parentem **γ corr.** **γ¹** 41 amicos **aerv** 43 ante 42 **Pγ ordo**
corr. **P²γ¹** || primos **P corr.** **P²** 44 tumulique **p** 46 adnuus **M corr.** **M¹** || exactis **γ** || copletur
P completur **P² Π₁₀** || onoratum **P corr.** **P¹** 47 reliquias **M¹** 50 onoratum **P corr.** **P¹** || de
γ 51 getulis **p** 52 arce mycenae **P corr.** **P¹** mycaenam **p**, micena **c** mycene *et* mycenae
Serv. arce minervae *Wagenwoort*, “*Mnemosyne*” 53 [1925] 131ff. urbe mycenis **R Geymonat ac**
Sabbadini, cf. *Aen.* 10, 168 53 sollemnisque **γ** 54 exsequerer **Ppγ** 55 ora **Pp corr.** **P²p¹** 56
 haut **MPR** || diuom **P** diuum **MRp** diuem **c?**

- adsumus et portus delati intramus amicos.
 ergo agite et laetum cuncti celebremus honorem:
 poscamus uentos, atque haec me sacra quotannis
 60 urbe uelit posita templis sibi ferre dicatis.
 bina boum uobis Troia generatus Acestes
 dat numero capita in nauis; adhibete penatis
 et patrios epulis et quos colit hospes Acestes.
 praeterea, si nona diem mortalibus alnum
 65 Aurora extulerit radiisque retexerit orbem,
 prima citae Teucris ponam certamina classis;
 quique pedum cursu ualet, et qui uiribus audax
 aut iaculo incedit melior leuibusue sagittis,
 seu crudo fidit pugnam committere caestu,
 70 cuncti adsint meritaque exspectent praemia palmae.
 ore fauete omnes et cingite tempora ramis.
 sic fatus uelat materna tempora myrto.
 hoc Helymus facit, hoc aeui maturus Acestes,
 hoc puer Ascanius, sequitur quos cetera pubes.
 75 ille e concilio multis cum milibus ibat
 ad tumulum magna medius comitante caterua.
 hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho
 fundit humi, duo lacte nouo, duo sanguine sacro,
 purpureosque iacit flores ac talia fatur:
 80 'salue, sancte parens, iterum; saluete, recepti
 nequiquam cineres animaeque umbraeque paternae.
 non licuit finis Italos fataliaque arua
 nec tecum Ausonium, quicumque est, quaerere Thybrim.'
 dixerat haec, adytis cum lubricus anguis ab imis
 85 septem ingens gyros, septena uolumina traxit
 amplexus placide tumulum lapsusque per aras,

59 adque R || mea bc || quodannis Pγ 61 uobis] bouis p uovis p¹ 62 nabis M || penates MPR 65 auraro M corr. M¹ 66 citaea P corr. P² citatae R cite γ 68 incendit γ || laeuibusque p 70 meritique γ || expectent P expectant aγ 71 fatave w tempora cingite R || remis a? 73-98 MPRVp 73 helemus M corr. M¹ helimus γ 74 aschanius γ 75 e om. Rpbcmh || millibus Ry 76 at MP || tumulus V corr. V² 77 charcesia γ 78 humo p corr. p¹ || lacteno R corr. R¹ 80 parens M²P² 81 animique m 82 fines Vb Italios γ 83 quaerre p corr. p¹ querere γ || thibris p tibrim m thibrym γ 84 adytus M corr. M¹ aditis mγ 85 septene γ 86 placidae R || labsusque M

caeruleae cui terga notae maculosus et auro
 squamam incendebat fulgor, ceu nubibus arcus
 mille iacit uarios aduerso sole colores.
 90 obstipuit uisu Aeneas. ille agmine longo
 tandem inter pateras et leuia pocula serpens
 libauitque dapes rursusque innoxius imo
 successit tumulo et depasta altaria liquit.
 hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores,
 95 incertus geniumne loci famulumne parentis
 esse putet; caedit binas de more bidentis
 totque sues, totidem nigrantis terga iuuenos,
 uinaque fundebat pateris animamque uocabat
 Anchisae magni Manisque Acheronte remissos.
 100 nec non et socii, quae cuique est copia, laeti
 dona ferunt, onerant aras mactantque iuuenos;
 ordine aëna locant alii fusique per herbam
 subiciunt ueribus prunas et uiscera torrent.
 exspectata dies aderat nonamque serena
 105 Auroram Phaëthontis equi iam luce uehebant,
 famaue finitimos et clari nomen Acestae
 excierat; laeto complebant litora coetu
 uisuri Aeneadas, pars et certare parati.
 munera principio ante oculos circoque locantur
 110 in medio, sacri tripodes uiridesque coronae
 et palmae pretium uictoribus, armaque et ostro
 perfusae uestes, argenti aurique talenta;
 et tuba commissos medio canit aggere ludos.
 prima pares ineunt grauibus certamina remis
 115 quattuor ex omni delectae classe carinae.

87 perga P || nocte γ corr. γ¹ 89 trahit Rpy¹ω praeter b *evanuit in V* 90 longe p *evanuit in V* 91 laevia R 92 rususque V || innoximus M corr. M¹ 93 linquit M corr. M² 94 instaurat] honorat R 95 incertos γ corr. γ¹ || locum P corr. P² 96 caeditque binas R c[a]edit quinas PVpγω mactat binas *DServ. ad Aen.* 4.200 97–108 MPRp 97 suos M corr. M¹ || nigraneis γ 98 unaque p 99 magnae M corr. M¹ || manesque R 100 quaecumque γ corr. γ¹ 101 onerantque cz || iuuenos p 104 exspectat R exspectata P || aderat om. γ 105 phaetontis MR phoethonti p phoetontis my 106 acaestae M aceste γ 107 exierat RPc corr. P² || complebant M complerant Rpm conplerant Pγ Tib. 109–158 MPRFp 109 princio P corr. P² 111 palme γ || praetium MRγ corr. M² || et] ex P² 112 auroque R auroque P corr. P² || talenta Rfω Tib., Serv. talentum MPγpn 113 ludus M corr. M¹ 114 ramis γ corr. γ¹

uelocem Mnestheus agit acri remige Pristim,
 mox Italus Mnestheus, genus a quo nomine Memmi,
 ingentemque Gyas ingenti mole Chimaeram,
 urbis opus, triplici pubes quam Dardana uersu
 120 impellunt, terno consurgunt ordine remi;
 Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen,
 Centauro inuehitur magna, Scyllaque Cloanthus
 caerulea, genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti.
 est procul in pelago saxum spumantia contra
 125 litora, quod tumidis summersum tunditur olim
 fluctibus, hiberni condunt ubi sidera Cauri;
 tranquillo silet immotaque attollitur unda
 campus et apricis statio gratissima mergis.
 hic uiridem Aeneas frondenti ex ilice metam
 130 constituit signum nautis pater, unde reuerti
 scirent et longos ubi circumflectere cursus.
 tum loca sorte legunt ipsique in puppibus auro
 ductores longe effulgent ostroque decori;
 cetera populea uelatur fronde iuuentus
 135 nudatosque umeros oleo perfusa nitescit.
 considunt transtris, intentaque bracchia remis;
 intenti exspectant signum, exsultantiaque haurit
 corda paupulsans laudumque arrecta cupido.
 inde ubi clara dedit sonitum tuba, finibus omnes,
 140 haud mora, prosiluere suis; ferit aethera clamor
 nauticus, adductis spumant freta uersa lacertis.
 infidunt pariter sulcos, totumque dehiscit
 conuulsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor.

116 mnestheus M γ maenestheus M¹ corr. M⁷ || ristin P pristin MP² γ pristri p pistrim n 118
 gias γ || chimeram M 119 dardania versus p || usu a 120 inpellunt p 121 serges F corr.
 F¹ 122 clonthus F corr. F¹ 123 romanae RMP corr. M² 125 summersum PM¹ summersum
 M || turditur p 126 contundunt R || chori MPR γ Tib. cori ds chauri Tib. ad Aen. 1.203 127
 iam motaque F corr. F¹ || adtollitur p 128 campis F corr. F¹ 129 mentem M corr. M² 130
 inde p corr. p¹ 131 et om. γ add. γ ¹ || longo F corr. F¹ || currus P corr. P 132 longa F corr.
 F¹ 133 effugent P corr. P² || osque F corr. F¹ 134 velator P corr. P 135 audatos F corr.
 F 136 considunt p || transtris R transtris p corr. p¹ || brachia p γ || remos p 137 exspectant
 RF¹ exspent F expectant MPP || exsultantiaque MPRp 138 corde a 139 cara n || omnem
 p 142 infidunt M corr. M² infidun F corr. F¹ 143 conuulsum PR γ || stridentibus F²R ω γ
 Tib. Prisc. 1.51

- non tam praecipites biiugo certamine campum
 145 corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currus,
 nec sic immissis aurigae undantia lora
 concussere iugis pronique in uerbera pendent.
 tum plausu fremituque uirum studiisque fauentum
 consonat omne nemus, uocemque inclusa uolutant
 150 litora, pulsati colles clamore resultant.
 effugit ante alios primisque elabitur undis
 turbam inter fremitumque Gyas; quem deinde Cloanthus
 consequitur, melior remis, sed pondere pinus
 tarda tenet. post hos aequo discrimine Pristis
 155 Centaurusque locum tendunt superare priorem;
 et nunc Pristis habet, nunc uictam praeterit ingens
 Centaurus, nunc una ambae iunctisque feruntur
 frontibus et longa sulcant uada salsa carina.
 iamque propinquabant scopulo metamque tenebant,
 160 cum princeps medioque Gyas in gurgite uictor
 rectorem nauis compellat uoce Menoeten:
 'quo tantum mihi dexter abis? huc derige gressum;
 litus ama et laeua stringat sine palmula cautes;
 altum alii teneant.' dixit; sed caeca Menoetes
 165 saxa timens proram pelagi detorquet ad undas.
 'quo diuersus abis?' iterum 'pete saxa, Menoete!
 cum clamore Gyas reuocabat, et ecce Cloanthum
 respicit instantem tergo et propiora tenentem.
 ille inter nauemque Gyaee scopulosque sonantis
 170 radit iter laeuum interior subitoque priorem
 praeterit et metis tenet aequora tuta relictis.
 tum uero exarsit iuueni dolor ossibus ingens

145 ruunque **p** *corr.* **p**¹ 146 inmissis **p** || aurige γ 148 fretuque **F** *corr.* **F**¹ 149 consonant
F *corr.* **F**¹ 150 sultant **F** *corr.* **F**¹ 151 primusque **c** || undas γ *corr.* γ ¹ 152 fretumque **F** ||
 cloanthis **M** cloan **F** *corr.* **F** (aut **F**¹) cloandus **p** 154 tenet] teet **P** *corr.* **P** || aliquo **F** equo **P**
corr. **F**¹**P**¹ || pistris **M** *corr.* **M**⁷ pistrix *Non.* 155 riorem **F** *corr.* **F**¹ 156 pistris **a**¹ || abit **r** ||
 praetenino **F** *corr.* **F**¹ 157 nun **p** *corr.* **p**¹ || ambe **P** γ *corr.* **P**¹ || cunctisque **P** 158 longae **d** ||
 sulcanti **p** *corr.* **p**¹ || carinae **Fd** *corr.* **F**¹ 159–240 **MPRp** 159 propinquabat **M** *corr.* **M**² 161
 conpellat **p** || Moenoeten **p** 162 dextra bis **M** *corr.* **M**¹ || dirige **Mp** ω γ ¹ || gressum **MPRaevz** γ
 cursum **pM**² ω 163 l[a]evas **R** ω γ 166 quo dic γ ? || moenote **P** γ menete **p** *corr.* **p**¹ 167 et
om. **R** || cloantum γ 168 propria **Pbr** proprior γ *corr.* γ ¹ || tenentem **R** 169 scopulosque
P *corr.* **P**¹ scopolosque **p** || sonantes **R** 170 laeuom **P** *corr.* **P**² 171 preterit **p**

- nec lacrimis caruere genae, segnemque Menoeten
oblitus decorisque sui sociumque salutis
175 in mare praecipitem puppi deturbat ab alta;
ipse gubernaclo rector subit, ipse magister
hortaturque uiros clauumque ad litora torquet.
at grauis ut fundo uix tandem redditus imo est
iam senior madidaque fluens in ueste Menoetes
180 summa petit scopuli siccaque in rupe resedit.
illum et labentem Teucris et risere natantem
et salsos rident reuomentem pectore fluctus.
hic laeta extremis spes est accensa duobus,
Sergesto Mnestheique, Gyan superare morantem.
185 Sergestus capit ante locum scopuloque propinquat,
nec tota tamen ille prior praeunte carina;
parte prior, partim rostro premit aemula Pristis.
at media socios incedens naue per ipsos
hortatur Mnestheus: 'nunc, nunc insurgite remis,
190 Hectorei socii, Troiae quos sorte suprema
delegi comites; nunc illas promite uires,
nunc animos, quibus in Gaetulis Syrtibus usi
Ionioque mari Maleaeque sequacibus undis.
non iam prima peto Mnestheus neque uincere certo
195 (quamquam o!—sed superent quibus hoc, Neptune, dedisti);
extremos pudeat rediisse: hoc uincite, ciues,
et prohibete nefas.' olli certamine summo
procumbunt: uastis tremit ictibus aerea puppis
subtrahiturque solum, tum creber anhelitus artus
200 aridaque ora quatit, sudor fluit undique riuus.

173 moenoen P corr. P² menoetem Mp 174 solutis M corr. M² 175 precipitem p 176
gurnaclo R 177 hortatur sine -que R || clauom MP || littora p 178 ad P || ttandem R || imest
R imost Sabbadini Geymonat 179 moenotes P corr. P² 180 scopulis R || ruppe M rumpe γ
corr. M⁵γ¹ 181 ilium M corr. M² 182 fluctum p 184 Sergestum R || mnestheique Heinsius
Usener Mynors mnestheique MRgpr mnestheoque ωγ¹ mnestheoque aev mnestheaque f 185
capt PM corr. M² 186 illae M corr. M¹ || prius γ corr. γ¹ || preunte γ || carinam p 187
partim] partem M Tib. Conte || ostro P corr. P¹ 188 ad MP corr. M² 189 insurgite p insurgire
γ 190 haectorei γ || suprema MR 191 promete M promitte pγ corr. Mγ¹ || uiris R 192
sirtibus M⁵ 193 maieaeque M corr. M² 194 cepto P corr. P || superaent b 196 extremus
Pγ corr. P² || redisse Pγ 198 hictibus γ || aurea MP corr. M²P² || puppes R 199 tunc crebra
M corr. M² || anhelitus R 200 riuus p riuus p¹

attulit ipse uiris optatum casus honorem:
 namque furens animi dum proram ad saxa suburget
 interior spatioque subit Sergestus iniquo,
 infelix saxis in procurrentibus haesit.
 205 concussae cautes et acuto in murice remi
 obnixi crepuere inlisaque prora pependit.
 consurgunt nautae et magno clamore morantur
 ferratasque trudes et acuta cuspide contos
 expediunt fractosque legunt in gurgite remos.
 210 at laetus Mnestheus successuque acrior ipso
 agmine remorum celeri uentisque uocatis
 prona petit maria et pelago decurrit aperto.
 qualis spelunca subito commota columba,
 215 fertur in arua uolans plausumque exterrita pennis
 dat tecto ingentem, mox aëre lapsa quieto
 radit iter liquidum celeris neque commouet alas:
 sic Mnestheus, sic ipsa fuga secat ultima Pristis
 aequora, sic illam fert impetus ipse uolantem.
 220 et primum in scopulo luctantem deserit alto
 Sergestum breuibisque uadis frustraue uocantem
 auxilia et fractis discentem currere remis.
 inde Gyan ipsamque ingenti mole Chimaeram
 consequitur; cedit, quoniam spoliata magistro est.
 225 solus iamque ipso superest in fine Cloanthus,
 quem petit et summis adnixus uiribus urget.
 tum uero ingeminat clamor cunctique sequentem
 instigant studiis, resonatque fragoribus aether.
 hi proprium decus et partum indignantur honorem

201 iese **M** *corr.* **M**² 202 animo **Pγ** *corr.* **γ**¹ || dumque **p** || prora **M** || suburget **R** *Geymonat Sabbadini* suburgit **Mp** 203 inquo **p** *corr.* **p**¹ 204 haemitt **M** *corr.* **M**² 205 in *om.* **Pγ** 206 crebuere **p** *corr.* **p**¹ 208 sudes **M** 210 et **M** *corr.* **M**² 212 pelago] caelo *Quint.* 7.9.10 || procurrit *Tib.* ad 220. 213 spelunca **M** *corr.* **M**² pelunca **P** speluncha **P**¹ 214 domos **M** *corr.* **M**² || dulcesa **P** *corr.* **P**² dulcis **R** 215 aura **M** *corr.* **M**² || pinnis **γ** *corr.* **γ**¹ 216 labsa **MP** 217 liquidum et **R** 218 pistris **n** 219 volante **p** 220 in *om.* **M** 221 et frustra **bn** 222 etet **P** *corr.* **P**² || cucurrere **γ** *corr.* **γ**¹ 223 ipsumque **n**? || molae **γ** || chimeram **MPp** 226 enixus **Pγ** *Sabbadini Geymonat* || urguet **MR** 227 cunctisque **p** 228 resonantque **M** *corr.* resonatque **M**²**n** resonat (*om.* -que) **Pdtγ** || clamoribus **Pγω** *praeter bcgns* 229 proprium (*ut videtur propter lacunam*) **M** || honore **p**

- 230 ni teneant, uitamque uolunt pro laude pacisci;
 hos successus alit: possunt, quia posse uidentur.
 et fors aequatis cepissent praemia rostris,
 ni palmas ponto tendens utrasque Cloanthus
 fudissetque preces diuosque in uota uocasset:
- 235 'di, quibus imperium est pelagi, quorum aequora curro,
 uobis laetus ego hoc candentem in litore taurum
 constituam ante aras uoti reus, extaque salsos
 porriciam in fluctus et uina liquentia fundam.'
 dixit, eumque imis sub fluctibus audiit omnis
- 240 Nereidum Phorcique chorus Panopeaque uirgo,
 et pater ipse manu magna Portunus euntem
 impulit: illa Noto citius uolucrique sagitta
 ad terram fugit et portu se condidit alto.
 tum satus Anchisa cunctis ex more uocatis
- 245 uictorem magna praeconis uoce Cloanthum
 declarat uiridique aduelat tempora lauro,
 muneraque in nauis ternos optare iuuenos
 uinaque et argenti magnum dat ferre talentum.
 ipsis praecipuos ductoribus addit honores:
- 250 uictori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum
 purpura maeandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit,
 intextusque puer frondosa regius Ida
 uelocis iaculo ceruos cursuque fatigat
 acer, anhelanti similis, quem praepes ab Ida
- 255 sublimem pedibus rapuit Iouis armiger uncis;
 longaeui palmas nequiquam ad sidera tendunt
 custodes, saeuitque canum latratus in auras.

231 uidetur **M** *corr.* **M**² 232 equatis γ || cepis γ || premia **p** 233 ponto palmas **b** || palimmas γ ? || tendensque **n** 234 praeces **Rpy** || diuosque] diuos **m** 235 di] de **M** dii **Ppd** γ || pelagi est **RM**²**cdhmnrs** || aequore **PRypa** *Macrob.* || cursu **a** 236 in *om.* **R** || aras *add.* **m** 237 salsus γ 238 porriciam **M**⁷**p** proitiam **b** proiciam **d** proiciam **acfvyy** || et] ac **P** $\gamma\omega$ except. **cdnsyz** || una **s** || liquentia **M** *corr.* **M**¹ 239 himis γ || audit et **R** audiit γ 240 porchique **M** phorchique **M**⁷ sporcique **R** || choros **p** *corr.* **p**¹ 241–292 **MPRVp** 241 magno **V** *corr.* **V**¹ || neptunus γ *corr.* γ ¹ 242 inpulit **P** impullit **p** 243 at **MPV** || porto **R** 245 preconis **p** γ || cloantum **m** 246 virideque **M** *corr.* **M**² || laro **p** *corr.* **p**¹ 247 aptare γ ¹ ω *praeter aty Bentley* 249 praecipue **M** || *Non.* 250 clamidem **MRm** chlamidem **R**¹ clamydem **p** γ 251 maeandro **m** 253 veloces **M** γ ¹ || cervus **p** *corr.* **p**¹ 254 anhelantis **pb** || similisque **P** *corr.* **P**¹ || praepes **p** 256 longevi γ 257 sevitque **m** || in] ad **P** γ (?)**ae****f****v**

at qui deinde locum tenuit uirtute secundum,
 leuibus huic hamis consertam auroque trilicem
 260 loricam, quam Demoleo detraxerat ipse
 uictor apud rapidum Simoenta sub Ilio alto,
 donat habere, uiro decus et tutamen in armis.
 uix illam famuli Phegeus Sagarisque ferebant
 multiplicem conixi umeris; indutus at olim
 265 Demoleos cursu palantis Troas agebat.
 tertia dona facit geminos ex aere lebetas
 cymbiaque argento perfecta atque aspera signis.
 iamque adeo donati omnes opibusque superbi
 puniceis ibant euincti tempora taenis,
 270 cum saeuo e scopulo multa uix arte reuulsus
 amissis remis atque ordine debilis uno
 inrisam sine honore ratem Sergestus agebat.
 qualis saepe uiae deprensus in aggere serpens,
 aerea quem obliquum rota transiit aut grauis ictu
 275 seminecem liquit saxo lacerumque uiator;
 nequiquam longos fugiens dat corpore tortus
 parte ferox ardensque oculis et sibila colla
 arduus attollens; pars uulnere clauda retentat
 nixantem nodis seque in sua membra plicantem:
 280 tali remigio nauis se tarda mouebat;
 uela facit tamen et uelis subit ostia plenis.
 Sergestum Aeneas promisso munere donat
 seruatam ob nauem laetus sociosque reductos.
 olli serua datur operum haud ignara Mineruae,

258 atque a 259 laeuius γ || adhuc γ corr. γ^1 || amis R γ hameis V corr. R^{IV} 260 detraxerit
 γ || ipsi M corr. M² 261 apud Vv || ilion P corr. P¹ 262 viro M²P² 263 phygeus R phoegeus
 R¹? || sacrisque M corr. M¹ 264 conix P corr. P¹ || indutus P corr. P¹ || ad P γ 265 demoleus
 M || palantes M pallantis R 266 fecit p corr. p¹ || levetas m 268 omnis R omnem p ||
 superbis R corr. R¹ 269 evictis P γ evicti γ^1 270 ex copulo R scopulo R¹ || e om. b e(?) del.
 ut vid. a || alte M corr. M² || revolsam R revulsus γ 271 videbilis M corr. M² 272 habebat
 p 273 depraesus c deprensus γ 274 aereaque M || quam p || oblicuum M oblituum p
 oblicum PM² γ || transit R 275 saxum γ corr. γ^1 || laceromque γ corr. γ^1 276 longo γ corr.
 γ^1 || tortos a 277 et] pars R 278 adtollens γ || vulnere M vulnera P γ corr. γ^1 || cauda
 MP²V Tib. corr. M² clausa γ corr. γ^1 279 nitentem M¹ nexantem M²RV γ^1 ω praeter scy (c in
 limbo partem versus tantum continet) || nexam temnodis v || nodi γ 280 ferebat P γ 281
 plenis-velis Mfp 284 aut M || minerue γ

- 285 Cressa genus, Pholoë, geminique sub ubere nati.
hoc pius Aeneas misso certamine tendit
gramineum in campum, quem collibus undique curuis
cingebant siluae, mediaque in ualle theatri
circus erat; quo se multis cum milibus heros
290 consessu medium tulit exstructoque resedit.
hic, qui forte uelint rapido contendere cursu,
inuitat pretiis animos, et praemia ponit.
undique conueniunt Teucri mixtique Sicani,
Nisus et Euryalus primi,
295 Euryalus forma insignis uiridique iuuenta,
Nisus amore pio pueri; quos deinde secutus
regius egregia Priami de stirpe Dioces;
hunc Salius simul et Patron, quorum alter Acarnan,
alter ab Arcadio Tegeaeae sanguine gentis;
300 tum duo Trinacrii iuuenes, Helymus Panopesque
adsueti siluis, comites senioris Acestae;
multi praeterea, quos fama obscura recondit.
Aeneas quibus in mediis sic deinde locutus:
'accipite haec animis laetasque aduertite mentes.
305 nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit.
Cnosia bina dabo leuato lucida ferro
spicula caelatamque argento ferre bipennem;
omnibus hic erit unus honos. tres praemia primi
accipient flauaque caput nectentur oliua.
310 primus equum phaleris insignem uictor habeto;
alter Amazoniam pharetram plenamque sagittis

285 chressa M || Pholoët P corr. P² || ubera MP²Rγ cf. *Aen.* 3.392 ac 8.45 et vid. Conte 288
teatri p corr. p¹ 289 millibus Rp || eros γ 290 consensu Ma corr. M² consesu p || mediu P
corr. P¹ in medium c || exstructoque Pp extractique a 291 hinc c || contendere cursu γ? 292
praetiis Rγ pretis V 293–447 MPRp 294 et et R || eyrialus γ? euryalus γ¹ 295 eyryalus
P eyryalus γ? || insigni Pγ corr. γ¹ 296 quem Pγ corr. γ¹ 298 alius R 299 arcadia Ppωγ
praeter hvy Tib. archa a archadia bcs archadio ey || tegere de M tegeae fg tegeae de M²P²pωγ
Tib., Serv. testantur tegeaeae ac tegeae, syllaba 'de' addita. (Cf. *Aen.* VIII. 459) 300 trinacri
M || helymusque Rp elymus γ || panopeusque p panospesque M 305 abibat γ corr. γ¹ 306
gnosia MRpa¹ω *praeter a* 307 galeatamque P corr. P¹ celatamque Rp || fronde M feroue
M² 308 premia Mγ corr. M¹ 309 fulvaque *Serv.* glaucaque *Harrison* || capit p || nitentur M
corr. M¹ nectuntur P 310 primum M corr. M¹ || equam M equum P corr. M¹P¹ || faleris Pγ 311
ampazoniam M corr. M² || sagitis p corr. p¹

Threiciis, lato quam circum amplectitur auro.
 balteus et tereti subnectit fibula gemma;
 tertius Argolica hac galea contentus abito.
 315 haec ubi dicta, locum capiunt signoque repente
 corripunt spatia audito limenque relinquunt,
 effusi nimbo similes. simul ultima signant,
 primus abit longeque ante omnia corpora Nisus
 emicat et uentis et fulminis ocior alis;
 320 proximus huic, longo sed proximus interuallo,
 insequitur Salius; spatio post deinde relicto
 tertius Euryalus;
 Euryalumque Helymus sequitur; quo deinde sub ipso
 ecce uolat calcemque terit iam calce Diores
 325 incumbens umero, spatia et si plura supersint
 transeat elapsus prior ambiguumque relinquat.
 iamque fere spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam
 finem aduentabant, leui cum sanguine Nisus
 labitur infelix, caesis ut forte iuuenis
 330 fusus humum uiridisque super madefecerat herbas.
 hic iuuenis iam uictor ouans uestigia presso
 haud tenuit titubata solo, sed pronus in ipso
 concidit immundoque fimo sacroque cruore.
 non tamen Euryali, non ille oblitus amorum:
 335 nam sese opposuit Salio per lubrica surgens;
 ille autem spissa iacuit reuolutus harena,
 emicat Euryalus et munere uictor amici
 prima tenet, plausuque uolat fremituque secundo.
 post Helymus subit et nunc tertia palma Diores.
 340 hic totum caeuae consessum ingentis et ora

312 threiciis **M** || circumplectitur **M** 313 baltheus **R** || teretri **M** *corr.* **M**¹ terreti **Py** 316
 spatia γ *corr.* γ ¹ || reliquit **M** *corr.* **M**¹ relinquunt **Rp** relinunt **P** 317 et fusi **M** 318 longeque
P *corr.* **P**² 320 set **M** 321 salnus **M** *corr.* **M**¹ 323 heuryalumque **Py** euryalumque **abc?e**
 euryliamque **p** *corr.* **p**¹ euryalumque **abce** || helemus **R** || quod **MRb** cui **c?** quem **P** 325
 (h)umeris **adefhv** 326 elabsus **M** || ambiguumque *codd. Tib. Bentley mut. ex Heinsianis libris*
in -ve; vid. Hom. Il. 23.382. 327 ipsum **M**⁴ 330 viridesque **R** || madefeerat **P** *corr.* **P**¹ ||
 arma γ *corr.* γ ¹ 331 iuuenos **p** || presto **P** *corr.* **P**¹ 332 ipsum **p** 333 cocidit **p** *corr.* **p**¹ ||
 immundoque **Mpp** || cruorem **Mp** *corr.* **M**² 334 heuriali γ 337 euryalus γ || amico **M** *corr.*
M² 339 Helemus **R** Helynus **p** || Dolores *corr.* **M**¹ *ut vid.* 340 consensum **MRybst** *corr.* **M**²

prima patrum magnis Salius clamoribus implet,
 ereptumque dolo reddi sibi poscit honorem.
 tutatur fauor Euryalum lacrimaeque decorae,
 gratior et pulchro ueniens in corpore uirtus.
 345 adiuuat et magna proclamat uoce Diores,
 qui subiit palmae frustra ad praemia uenit
 ultima, si primi Salio reddantur honores.
 tum pater Aeneas 'uestra' inquit 'munera uobis
 certa manent, pueri et palmam mouet ordine nemo;
 350 me liceat casus miserari insontis amici.'
 sic fatus tergum Gaetuli immane leonis
 dat Salio uillis onerosum atque unguibus aureis.
 hic Nisus 'si tanta' inquit 'sunt praemia uictis,
 et te lapsorum miseret, quae munera Niso
 355 digna dabis, primam merui qui laude coronam
 ni me, quae Salium, fortuna inimica tulisset?'
 et simul his dictis faciem ostentabat et udo
 turpia membra fimo. risit pater optimus olli
 et clipeum efferri iussit, Didymaonis artes,
 360 Neptuni sacro Danais de poste refixum.
 hoc iuuenem egregium praestanti munere donat.
 post, ubi confecti cursus et dona peregit,
 'nunc, si cui uirtus animusque in pectore praesens,
 adsit et euinctis attollat brachia palmis':
 365 sic ait, et geminum pugnae proponit honorem,
 uictori uelatum auro uittisque iuuenicum,
 ense atque insignem galeam solacia uicto.
 nec mora; continuo uastis cum uiribus effert
 ora Dares magnoque uirum se murmure tollit,

341 magis a 343 tutator M corr. M¹ 345 dioris P corr. P² 346 premia γ 347 prima p corr.
 p¹ || reddentur Pγ Conte Mynors redduntur M²pbr 350 misereri PRω || praeter hntvy 351
 inmane Mγ immani R 352 honerosum p? 354 laborum P || munera] praemia M || viso
 a 356 ni mi a || quae] qui P corr. P² 357 ostentatebat M corr. M² 358 ottimus P corr. P ||
 illi M corr. M¹ 359 ferri in efferri mut. R efferi γ || didymanis M corr. M² didymaeonis R || artis
 M¹ artem PRγ Tib. 361 prestanti p || munera c 363 sic uirtus P corr. P² || pectore] corpore
 Sen. Ep. 92.30 P Conte ex 344 "fortasse" notat || presens M corr. M¹ 364 atsit P || uinctis Pabsvy
 corr. γ¹ || palmas γ corr. γ¹ 366 uictoria pa? corr. p¹ || elatum p corr. p¹ || uictisque p 367
 ense M corr. M¹ || galea M corr. M¹ || victor M corr. M² ut uid.

- 370 solus qui Paridem solitus contendere contra,
idemque ad tumulum quo maximus occubat Hector
uictorem Buten immani corpore, qui se
Bebrycia ueniens Amyci de gente ferebat,
perculit et fulua moribundum extendit harena.
- 375 talis prima Dares caput altum in proelia tollit,
ostenditque umeros latos alternaque iactat
bracchia protendens et uerberat ictibus auras.
quaeritur huic alius; nec quisquam ex agmine tanto
audet adire uirum manibusque inducere caestus.
- 380 ergo alacris cunctosque putans excedere palma
Aeneae stetit ante pedes, nec plura moratus
tum laeua taurum cornu tenet atque ita fatur:
'nate dea, si nemo audet se credere pugnae,
quae finis standi? quo me decet usque teneri?
- 385 ducere dona iube.' cuncti simul ore fremebant
Dardanidae reddique uiro promissa iubebant.
hic grauis Entellum dictis castigat Acestes,
proximus ut uiridante toro consederat herbae:
'Entelle, heroum quondam fortissime frustra,
- 390 tantane tam patiens nullo certamine tolli
dona sines? ubi nunc nobis deus ille, magister
nequiquam memoratus, Eryx? ubi fama per omnem
Trinacriam et spolia illa tuis pendentia tectis?
ille sub haec: 'non laudis amor nec gloria cessit
- 395 pulsa metu; sed enim gelidus tardante senecta
sanguis hebet, frigentque effetae in corpore uires.
si mihi quae quondam fuerat quaque improbus iste

371 at P 372 inmani M 373 bibrycia R || amici γ 374 pertulit M corr. M² percutit R || et] e
P corr. P¹ || muribundum γ 375 dapes P corr. P 376 humeros γ 377 brachia pγ || ictibus
γ 378 hic M corr. M¹ || nec] ne Ryab 380 pugna ω (cf. *Aen.* 9.789) pugnae cehsy 381
aeneas R || moratur p 382 laeuo Pγ corr. γ¹ || ta P ita P¹ 384 quae] qui M^x || decept M corr.
M² 385 iubet M ibe P corr. M¹P¹ || culti M corr. M¹ 387 his *Non.* 251. 26 (sed hic 314. 36)
notant Conte ac Geymonat 388 considerat bc || herba Rc herbam p haerbem b 389 eroum
γ || frustra *interpret cum parte inferiori M²P² fortasse post disting. secundum Conte (Cf. Serv.,
Tib. ad loc.)* 390 iam M corr. M¹ || paties P² 391 praeter p || sinis abfgs 392 nequicquam
P || omne M 393 trinacria P corr. P¹ 395 delidus M corr. M¹ gelitus γ 396 habet MRag
corr. M² *Victorinus* 219 || frigetque M corr. M¹ || effetae P effetae γ corr. γ¹ 397 inprobus p

exsultat fidens, si nunc foret illa iuventas,
 haud equidem pretio inductus pulchroque iuueno
 400 uenissem, nec dona moror.' sic deinde locutus
 in medium geminos immani pondere caestus
 proiecit, quibus acer Eryx in proelia suetus
 ferre manum duroque intendere bracchia tergo.
 obstipuere animi: tantorum ingentia septem
 405 terga bouum plumbo insuto ferroque rigeant.
 ante omnis stupet ipse Dares longeque recusat,
 magnanimusque Anchisiades et pondus et ipsa
 huc illuc uinclorum immensa uolumina uersat.
 tum senior talis referebat pectore uoces:
 410 'quid, si quis caestus ipsius et Herculis arma
 uidisset tristemque hoc ipso in litore pugnam?
 haec germanus Eryx quondam tuus arma gerebat
 (sanguine cernis adhuc sparsaque infecta cerebro),
 his magnum Alciden contra stetit, his ego suetus,
 415 dum melior uiris sanguis dabat, aemula necdum
 temporibus geminis caneat sparsa senectus.
 sed si nostra Dares haec Troius arma recusat
 idque pio sedet Aeneae, probat auctor Acestes,
 aequemus pugnas. Erycis tibi terga remitto
 420 (solue metus), et tu Troianos exue caestus.'
 haec fatus duplicem ex umeris reiecit amictum
 et magnos membrorum artus, magna ossa lacertosque
 exiit atque ingens media consistit arena.
 tum satus Anchisa caestus pater extulit aequos
 425 et paribus palmas amborum innexuit armis.
 constitit in digitos extemplo arrectus uterque

398 exultans idens *p corr.* *p*¹ || fort *P corr.* *P*¹ || iuuentus *Pg* iuuentus *γ corr.* *γ*¹ iuuenta *ω* iuuentor
c cf. G. 3.63 ac Aen. 8.160 399 aut *R* haut *R*¹ || praetio *Rγ* || pulcroque *p corr.* *p*¹ 401 immani
M 402 prolia *R* 403 manu *R* || brachia *pγ* 405 bouum *p* || lumbo *P corr.* *P*¹ || regebant
M corr. *M*¹ 406 longaeque *M corr.* *M*² 407 magnaanimusque *M corr.* *M*² || set *M corr.*
*M*² 408 immensa *MPp* 410 quid si quid *c* || erculis *γ* 413 athuc *P corr.* *P*² || fractoque *hv*
om. -que *e* 414 tetit *M corr.* *M*² 415 vires *M*²*P*² viri *p* (*ut videtur*) *corr.* *p*¹ 416 parsa *M*
corr. *M*¹ 418 itque *M* 419 aequamus *γ corr.* *γ*¹ 420 troianus *γ* || cestus *M corr.* *M*² 421
 reiecit *mut.* deiecit *P corr.* *P*² 422 -que *del.* *P*^x 423 extulit *Macrob. 6.1.43* exiit 424
 (*aut 427*) notat *Conte* consistit *M* consistis *γ* 424 cestus *p* 425 intexuit *M corr.* *M*¹ 426
 arreptus *R* arrectos *p*

brachiaque ad superas interritus extulit auras.
 abduxere retro longe capita ardua ab ictu
 immiscentque manus manibus pugnamque lacesunt,
 430 ille pedum melior motu fretusque iuuenta,
 hic membris et mole ualens; sed tarda trementi
 genua labant, uastos quatit aeger anhelitus artus.
 multa uiri nequiquam inter se uulnera iactant,
 multa cauo lateri ingeminant et pectore uastos
 435 dant sonitus, erratque auris et tempora circum
 crebra manus, duro crepitant sub uulnere malae.
 stat grauis Entellus nisusque immotus eodem
 corpore tela modo atque oculis uigilantibus exit.
 ille, uelut celsam oppugnat qui molibus urbem
 440 aut montana sedet circum castella sub armis,
 nunc hos, nunc illos aditus, omnemque pererrat
 arte locum et uariis adsultibus inritus urget.
 ostendit dextram insurgens Entellus et alte
 extulit, ille ictum uenientem a uertice uelox
 445 praeuidit celerique elapsus corpore cessit;
 Entellus uires in uentum effudit et ultro
 ipse grauis grauiterque ad terram pondere uasto
 concidit, ut quondam caua concidit aut Erymantho
 aut Ida in magna radicibus eruta pinus.
 450 consurgunt studiis Teucri et Trinacria pubes;
 it clamor caelo primusque accurrit Acestes
 aequaeuumque ab humo miserans attollit amicum.
 at non tardatus casu neque territus heros
 acrior ad pugnam redit ac uim suscitatur ira;

427 *hic versus occ. ante 426 s* || brachiaque **pys** || interitus **R corr.** **R**¹ || extulit *om.* **p add.** **p**¹ 428
 adduxere **as** 429 immiscentque **MPγ** || lacesunt **P corr.** **P**¹ 431 trementis **c Tib.** 432
 anhellitus **R** 433 nequiquam **M corr.** **M**² || uulnera **Pγ** 434 pectore **P corr.** **P**² || vasto
c 435 sonitum **Pγ corr.** **γ**¹ || auris **γ** 436 uulnere **MPγ** 437 nituque **P** nisusque **R** nisoque
γ corr. **P**² **γ**¹ || inmotus **P** 438 atque **Rp** || uigilantibus **P corr.** **P**¹ 439 uolet **M corr.** **M**¹ 441
 illos-hos *inter se transpos.* **R** nunc illos **M corr.** **M**¹ || pererrat **R** 442 adsultibus **γ** || et *corr. in*
errore **P**² *corr.* **γ**¹ || urget **PR** 443 extram **P** 446 uires **M** uires **M**²**PRp** || effudit **P corr.**
P² 447 at **P corr.** **P**² 448 ut] it **P corr.** **P**¹ || erymantho **p** 448–499 **MPRVp** 449 radicitus
RV?cfr?sy¹ Prisc. 15.23. Tib. radicitus R² 451 it] id **P** in **M corr.** **M**¹ || caelo **p** || primus (*sine*
que) **Mp corr.** **M**⁷ || occurrit **γ corr.** **γ**¹ 452 aequaeuumque **P** aequumque **M** aequa eumque
p || humo **M corr.** **M**¹ || attollit **R** 453 iasu **M corr.** **M**¹ 454 rediit **M corr.** **M**¹

- 455 tum pudor incendit uiris et conscia uirtus,
 praecipitemque Daren ardens agit aequore toto
 nunc dextra ingeminans ictus, nunc ille sinistra.
 nec mora nec requies: quam multa grandine nimbi
 culminibus crepitant, sic densis ictibus heros
 460 creber utraque manu pulsat uersatque Dareta.
 tum pater Aeneas procedere longius iras
 et saeuire animis Entellum haud passus acerbis,
 sed finem imposuit pugnae fessumque Dareta
 eripuit mulcens dictis ac talia fatur:
 465 'infelix, quae tanta animum dementia cepit?
 non uiris alias conuersaque numina sentis?
 cede deo.' dixitque et proelia uoce diremit.
 ast illum fidi aequales genua aegra trahentem
 iactantemque utroque caput crassumque cruorem
 470 ore eiectantem mixtosque in sanguine dentes
 ducunt ad nauis; galeamque ensemque uocati
 accipiunt, palmam Entello taurumque relinquunt.
 hic uictor superans animis tauroque superbus
 'nate dea, uosque haec' inquit 'cognoscite, Teucrici,
 475 et mihi quae fuerint iuuenali in corpore uires
 et qua seruetis reuocatum a morte Dareta.'
 dixit, et aduersi contra stetit ora iuueni
 qui donum adstabat pugnae, durosque reducta
 librauit dextra media inter cornua caestus
 480 arduus, effractoque inlisit in ossa cerebro:
 sternitur exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos.
 ille super talis effundit pectore uoces:

455 vires γ || tunc M corr. M¹ Non. 415,18 456 praetipiteque R || darem γ 457 ille] deinde M illa p 459 lictibus P corr. P^{1,2} || heroes M corr. M¹ eros γ 460 versaue V 462 seuire M corr. M⁶ || entellus M corr. M¹ || aut M corr. M¹ hau P haut P¹ || sus P corr. P¹ 463 inposuit M Pp 464 et c 465 que γ || dementi p corr. p¹ 466 vires M²PRp γ || nomina p 467 dixitque "metri causa." Serv. 469 iactantque z || quassantemque Macro. 4.1.2 470 iectantem MVcv γ iactantem Rn (fortasse eiactantem?) iaectantem a reiectantem fv γ ² Tib. ω praeter bgsty eructantem Ribbeck || mixtoque M corr. M⁷ || dente M corr. M² 471 naves R 472 relincunt P γ relinquunt RVp 473 animo V || auroque M corr. M¹ 474 inquit p 475 quae] que γ || iuuenili n 476 daretam γ 477 aversi P γ b aduersa a 478 astabat P 479 libavit R corr. R¹ 480 in om. R 481 tremen MP corr. M¹P² || humidus M || bus p 482 effudit cn

'hanc tibi, Eryx, meliorem animam pro morte Daretis
 persoluo; hic uictor caestus artemque repono.'
 485 protinus Aeneas celeri certare sagitta
 inuitat qui forte uelint et praemia dicit,
 ingentique manu malum de naue Seresti
 erigit et uolucrum traiecto in fune columbam,
 quo tendant ferrum, malo suspendit ab alto.
 490 conuenere uiri deiectamque aerea sortem
 accepit galea, et primus clamore secundo
 Hyrtacidae ante omnis exit locus Hippocoöntis;
 quem modo nauali Mnestheus certamine uictor
 consequitur, uiridi Mnestheus euinctus oliua.
 495 tertius Eurytion, tuus, o clarissime, frater,
 Pandare, qui quondam iussus confundere foedus
 in medios telum torsisti primus Achiuos.
 extremus galeaque ima subsedit Acestes,
 ausus et ipse manu iuuenum temptare laborem.
 500 tum ualidis flexos incuruant uiribus arcus
 pro se quisque uiri et depromunt tela pharetris,
 primaque per caelum neruo stridente sagitta
 Hyrtacidae iuuenis uolucris diuerberat auras,
 et uenit aduersique infigitur arbore mali.
 505 intremuit malus micuitque exterrita pennis
 ales, et ingenti sonuerunt omnia plausu.
 post acer Mnestheus adducto constitit arcu
 alta petens, pariterque oculos telumque tetendit.
 ast ipsam miserandus auem contingere ferro
 510 non ualuit; nodos et uincula linea rupit

483 euryx V erix γ 484 ultor V corr. V¹ || aestus P corr. P² || reponit RVpe(?)ω praeter bt reponi
 n?; Serv. 486 ponit MRVa Non. 32.37, Tib. 487 ingenitque R corr. R 488 troiecto M corr.
 M¹ || fine γ corr. γ¹ || columba p 489 tendunt cγ corr. cγ¹ || maio M corr. M¹ 490 delectam
 γ || aera Pγ aere V corr. V¹(ut uid.)γ¹ 491 primum R 492 hyrtaccidae P hyrtacide p || omnes
 γ || hippocoonti P corr. P hippocoontis V hypocoontis γ 493 menstheus M 494 viri γ ||
 vinctus R 495 eurythion P herythion a 496 pandere MRp corr. M² 497 tellum R corr.
 R || primos M corr. M² || achives p 498 ima] iam R || subcredit c 499 manum V || iuuenem
 M corr. M² || labore V 500–734 MPRp 503 hyrtacide p || volucris iuuenis P volucceus iuuenis
 b? volucris iuuenis P²aey corr. γ¹ || deuerberat Mafr corr. M² 505 timuitque MSS micuitque
 Mynors Slater || pennis γ 506 ingenuerunt p 507 arcus P corr. P² 510 linea vincula p ||
 rumpit b

quis innexa pedem malo pendebat ab alto;
 illa Notos atque atra uolans in nubila fugit.
 tum rapidus, iamudum arcu contenta parato
 tela tenens, fratrem Eurytion in uota uocauit,
 515 iam uacuo laetam caelo speculatus et alis
 plaudentem nigra figit sub nube columbam.
 decidit exanimis uitamque reliquit in astris
 aetheriis fixamque refert delapsa sagittam
 amissa solus palma superabat Acestes,
 520 qui tamen aerias telum contendit in auras
 ostentans artemque pater arcumque sonantem.
 hic oculis subito obicitur magnoque futurum
 augurio monstrum; docuit post exitus ingens
 seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina uates.
 525 namque uolans liquidis in nubibus arsit harundo
 signauitque uiam flammis tenuisque recessit
 consumpta in uentos, caelo ceu saepe refixa
 transcurrunt crinemque uolantia sidera ducunt.
 attonitis haesere animis superosque precati
 530 Trinacrii Teucrique uiri, nec maximus omen
 abnuuit Aeneas, sed laetum amplexus Acesten
 muneribus cumulat magnis ac talia fatur:
 'sume, pater, nam te uoluit rex magnus Olympi
 talibus auspiciis exsortem ducere honores.
 535 ipsius Anchisae longaeui hoc munus habebis,
 cratera inpressum signis, quem Thracius olim
 Anchisae genitori in magno munere Cisseus
 ferre sui dederat monimentum et pignus amoris.'
 sic fatus cingit uiridanti tempora lauro

512 nothos γ || atra] alta P || volam P corr. P² 513 iandudum MP || parata p 514 eurition
 p 516 figit nigra P²ae corr. P² fugit γ corr. γ¹ 517 reliquid p || austris c 518 aeriis
 MRp ω praeter dhv Macrob. 3.8.4, Tib. aereis γ¹bcey || delabsa MP delapsam γ corr. γ¹ 520
 contorsit M²Pγω praeter dhtvy condit c 522 subitum rec. Mynors Ribbeck Conte subitō
 MSS Sabbadini Geymonat 524 omnia padefr omifici v || vestes M corr. M¹ 525 liquidus
 P corr. P¹ 526 lamnis M corr. M² 529 praecati Pp 531 sed] et R || acestem p 533 res
 P corr. P || magnos P corr. P² || olympi p 534 ospitiis c || exsortam M corr. M² || honorem
 M²pγ¹ω praeter gn Tib. 535 longaevo γ? || munu p corr. p¹ 536 crateram MP² corr. M² ||
 inpressum MPRp || tracius M corr. M¹ trachius Ppγ 537 genitoris M corr. M¹ || cisseus MPγ
 corr. M² 538 monumentum p 539 cigit p || viridante γ¹ || tempora p corr. p¹

- 540 et primum ante omnis uictorem appellat Acesten.
nec bonus Eurytion praelato inuidit honori,
quamuis solus auem caelo deiecit ab alto.
proximus ingreditur donis qui uincula rupit,
extremus uolucris qui fixit harundine malum.
- 545 at pater Aeneas nondum certamine misso
custodem ad sese comitemque impubis Iuli
Epytiden uocat, et fidam sic fatur ad aurem:
'uaede age et Ascanio, si iam puerile paratum
agmen habet secum cursusque instruxit equorum,
- 550 ducat auo turmas et sese ostendat in armis
dic' ait. ipse omnem longo decedere circo
infusum populum et campos iubet esse patentis
incedunt pueri pariterque ante ora parentum
frenatis lucent in equis, quos omnis euntis
- 555 Trinacriae mirata fremit Troiaequae iuuentus.
omnibus in morem tonsa coma pressa corona;
cornea bina ferunt praefixa hastilia ferro,
pars leuis umero pharetras; it pectore summo
flexilis obtorti per collum circulus auri.
- 560 tres equitum numero turmae ternique uagantur
ductores; pueri bis seni quemque secuti
agmine partito fulgent paribusque magistris.
una acies iuuenum, ducit quam paruus ouantem
nomen aui referens Priamus, tua clara, Polite,
- 565 progenies, auctura Italos; quem Thracius albis
portat equus bicolor maculis, uestigia primi
alba pedis frontemque ostentans arduus albam.

540 aceste **p** 541 eurythion **M** || bonos γ || honore **P** *corr.* **P**² 544 finxit γ *corr.* γ ¹ 546 se
p || inuppis **M** *corr.* **M**¹ inpubes **P** inpubis γ 547 aeptytiden **R** epyden **p** *corr.* **p**¹ epytidem
 γ epytyden **c** || in aure **c** 548 puerille **P** γ || paratus **P** *corr.* **P**² paratum γ 549 aequorum **M**
corr. **M**² 551 longe **p** || discedere **Pr** *Tib.* descendere γ *corr.* γ ¹ 552 iusset **M** iubbet **M**² *corr.*
ut vid. **M**^x *cf. Havet, lem. 475* || patentis **MR** 554 aequis γ 556 corona est *DServ. ad Aen.*
1. 701f. 557 ast illa **M** hastilla **M**² 558 humero γ || it] et **MR** $\rho\gamma\omega$ *praeter dnv* iet **P** id γ ¹ ||
pectora **p** 559 collum it **efht** collum itit **v** 560 tris **M** || turme **P** *corr.* **P**¹ turmae numero
R 561 bis seni pueri **b** 564 cara **P** *corr.* **P**² || polites **MPR** *corr.* **M**² 565 auctora **R** || italus
 γ || thracius **M** *corr.* **M**² thraecius *Tib.* 566 ecus **P** equus ubi color **R** || maculis **M**² || primis
MP *corr.* **M**²**P**² 567 pedes **M** pediis **P** *corr.* **M**⁷**P**² || ostentas **P** *corr.* **P**¹ **R** **P**

- alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini,
 paruus Atys pueroque puer dilectus Iulo.
 570 extremus formaque ante omnis pulcher Iulus
 Sidonio est inuectus equo, quem candida Dido
 esse sui dederat monumentum et pignus amoris.
 cetera Trinacriis pubes senioris Acestae
 fertur equis.
 575 excipiunt plausu pauidos gaudentque tuentes
 Dardanidae, ueterumque agnoscunt ora parentum.
 postquam omnem laeti consessum oculosque suorum
 lustrauere in equis, signum clamore paratis
 Epytides longe dedit insonuitque flagello.
 580 olli discurrere pares atque agmina terni
 diductis soluere choris, rursusque uocati
 conuertere uias infestaque tela tulere.
 inde alios ineunt cursus aliosque recursus
 aduersi spatiis, alternosque orbibus orbis
 585 impediunt pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis;
 et nunc terga fuga nudant, nunc spicula uertunt
 infensi, facta pariter nunc pace feruntur.
 ut quondam Creta fertur Labyrinthus in alta
 parietibus textum caecis iter ancipitemque
 590 mille uiis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi
 frangeret indeprensus et inremeabilis error;
 haud alio Teucrum nati uestigia cursu
 impediunt texuntque fugas et proelia ludo,

568 atys] atu P atus P¹γ atii] atyi M atyi M²P¹Rpγ || dixere a 569 paruos R¹ || delectus M 570 extremum p || formam M corr. M¹ 571 sidonios P sidonio es R 572 monumentum p 573 trinacrae M trinacriae M²P²pγ trinacria a trinacrii PRbnr || acheste γ 575 impavidos conī. Speijer 576 dardanide pγ || adgnosunt P corr. P² || rarentum P corr. P² patantum p corr. p¹ 577 omne MP omnem p corr. P¹p¹ || consensum M corr. M¹ concessum Pγ corr. γ¹ consensum apv 578 post 579 Paevγ corr. P¹a¹e¹ || parentis M corr. M¹ paratos v 579 epytides ex epityaes P aeptytides R 580 agmine P || ternis b alternis γ? (fortasse ex 584) corr. γ¹ 581 deductis MR || oocati in uocati corr. P 584 aduersis Pp¹ωγ Tib. || spati M corr. M¹ || alternisque Rn || orbis Mγ 585 impediunt Ppγ || simulachra R 586 tergo a || fuge a fugae b 587 infessi M corr. M¹ || pace] parte M corr. M¹ 588 labyrinthus M labyrinthos p 590 vivis P corr. P² || quae M corr. M¹ 591 falleret Mω praeter abt || indepraensus M² 592 alioier R aliter R¹pγ¹ω praeter c Non. 331. 12 Tib. || nati teucrum Pγae 593 impediunt Pmp || proelia P

delphinum similes qui per maria umida nando
 595 Carpathium Libycumque secant.
 hunc morem cursus atque haec certamina primus
 Ascanius, Longam muris cum cingeret Albam,
 rettulit et priscos docuit celebrare Latinos,
 quo puer ipse modo, secum quo Troia pubes;
 600 Albani docuere suos; hinc maxima porro
 accepit Roma et patrium seruauit honorem;
 Troiaque nunc pueri, Troianum dicitur agmen.
 hac celebrata tenus sancto certamina patri.
 hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata nouauit.
 605 dum uariis tumulo referunt sollemnia ludis,
 Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno
 Iliacam ad classem uentosque aspirat eunti,
 multa mouens necdum antiquum saturata dolorem.
 illa uiam celerans per mille coloribus arcum
 610 nulli uisa cito decurrit tramite uirgo.
 conspicit ingentem concursum et litora lustrat
 desertosque uidet portus classemque relictam.
 at procul in sola secretae Troades acta
 amissum Anchisen flebant, cunctaeque profundum
 615 pontum aspectabant flentes. heu tot uada fessis
 et tantum superesse maris, uox omnibus una;
 urbem orant, taedet pelagi perferre laborem.
 ergo inter medias sese haud ignara nocendi
 conicit et faciemque deae uestemque reponit;
 620 fit Beroë, Tmarii coniunx longaeua Dorycli,
 cui genus et quondam nomen natiue fuissent,
 ac sic Dardanidum mediam se matribus infert.

594 simile γ corr. γ^1 || mida **p** corr. **p**¹ 595 carpathium **MPpy** || lybicumque **pb(?)** || ludunt
 perundas *om.* **MPpωγ** *Serv. versus continuitur* **M⁷γ¹a¹b¹(?)cdet¹v** 597 ascanium γ corr. γ^1 ||
 conderet γ^1 || album $\gamma^?$ corr. γ^1 598 rettulit γ || priscas **p** corr. **p**¹ 600 albini **M** corr. **M**¹ 602
 amen **M** corr. **M**² 603 haec **P²γ** corr. γ^1 ac c 604 hic **Mc** *Serv.* 605 laudis a 607
 ventos **R** -que *add.* **R**¹ || adspirat **M** 608 || anticum **MP** corr. **P**¹ antiquum **R** 609 celebrans **Mp**
 corr. **M**¹**p**¹ 611 consessum **M** corr. **M**¹ 613 secreta **Mb** corr. **M**⁷ || actae **M** corr. **M**¹ 614
 anchisaen **M** corr. **M**² || flebat **M** corr. **M**² || cunctaque **M** corr. **M**¹ 615 spectabant **M** corr.
M¹ 617 taedet **p** || perfirre **P** corr. **P**² 620 ueroe **R** || mari **Mabfhr** immari **M**¹ marii **M^c(?)v**
Tib. tmari **Rp**¹**a**¹ || coniunx **Rpv** corr. **p**¹ 622 ad **Pγ** || si **M** corr. **M**² || mediam se] editum **P** corr.
p²

- 'o miserae, quas non manus' inquit 'Achaica bello
 traxerit ad letum patriae sub moenibus! o gens
 625 infelix, cui te exitio Fortuna reseruat?
 septima post Troiae excidium iam uertitur aestas,
 cum freta, cum terras omnis, tot inhospita saxa
 sideraque emensae ferimur, dum per mare magnum
 Italiam sequimur fugientem et uoluimur undis.
 630 hic Erycis fines fraterni atque hospes Acestes:
 quis prohibet muros iacere et dare ciuibus urbem?
 o patria et rapti nequiquam ex hoste penates,
 nullane iam Troiae dicentur moenia? nusquam
 Hectoreos amnis, Xanthum et Simoenta, uidebo?
 635 quin agite et mecum infaustas exurite puppis.
 nam mihi Cassandrae per somnum uatis imago
 ardentis dare uisa faces: 'hic quaerite Troiam;
 hic domus est' inquit 'uobis.' iam tempus agi res,
 nec tantis mora prodigiis. en quattuor arae
 640 Neptuno; deus ipse faces animumque ministrat.'
 haec memorans prima infensum ui corripit ignem
 sublataque procul dextra conixa coruscat
 et iacit. arrectae mentes stupefactaque corda
 Iliadum. hic una e multis, quae maxima natu,
 645 Pyrgo, tot Priami natorum regia nutrix:
 'non Beroë uobis, non haec Rhoeteia, matres,
 est Dorycli coniunx; diuini signa decoris
 ardentisque notate oculos, qui spiritus illi,
 qui uultus uocisque sonus uel gressus eunti.
 650 ipsa egomet dudum Beroën digressa reliqui

623 achiaca p 624 ad] at P || loetum γ || o] -que R 626 exitium Pγ corr. γ¹ 627 inhospitata
 saxa p corr. p¹ 628 emense M corr. M² || tulimus R || ferimus b 631 qui M corr. M² quid R pω
 praeter b fghnz || muro corr. M² Tib. 632 patria et] patriae n patria o Macrob. 6.6.16 633
 trolae M corr. M¹ || ducentur p || monia p corr. p¹ || numquam R 634 haectoreos p || manes
 R || omnes p || exantum v || simoente M corr. M² 635 infestas γ? corr. γ¹ || puppes PRp 636
 mi P corr. P¹ 637 iussa P corr. P¹ || facies R || troia p 638 inquit p || agit R 639 rae M corr.
 M² aras Bern. Schol. B 8.75 640 neptuni γ corr. γ¹ || animamque R 641 infensum c 643
 arectae γ corr. γ¹ 644 illladum γ corr. γ¹ 645 primi a 646 rhoetaeiam M rhoethela γ ||
 matris p corr. p¹ 647 dorchli coniunx p 648 ardentisque R 649 quis PRγabnrν Tib.
 corr. γ¹ || uoltus P || vel] et Pabe || euntis ω praeter bct euntas z 650 ipsam b || digraessa P
 degressa p

aegram, indignantem tali quod sola careret
munere nec meritos Anchisae inferret honores.
haec effata.

- 655 ambiguae spectare rates miserum inter amorem
praesentis terrae fatisque uocantia regna,
cum dea se paribus per caelum sustulit alis
ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum.
660 tum uero attonitae monstris actaeque furore
conclamant, rapiuntque focis penetralibus ignem,
pars spoliant aras, frondem ac uirgulta facesque
coniciunt. furit immissis Volcanus habenis
transtra per et remos et pictas abiete puppis.
665 nuntius Anchisae ad tumulum cuneosque theatri
incensas perfert nauis Eumelus, et ipsi
respiciunt atram in nimbo uolitare fauillam.
primus et Ascanius, cursus ut laetus equestris
ducebat, sic acer equo turbata petiuit
castra, nec exanimes possunt retinere magistri.
670 'quis furor iste nouus? quo nunc, quo tenditis' inquit
'heu miserae ciues? non hostem inimicaque castra
Argiuum, uestras spes uritis. en, ego uester
Ascanius!'—galeam ante pedes proiecit inanem,
qua ludo indutus belli simulacra ciebat.
675 accelerat simul Aeneas, simul agmina Teucrum.
ast illae diuersa metu per litora passim
diffugiunt, siluasque et sicubi concaua furtim
saxa petunt; piget incepti lucisque, suosque

651 quo R 652 inferre R 653 *hic versus om. a* 654 at] ad P γ corr. γ^1 || malignae R ipsae
malignae Serv. 655 ambiguae Mc corr. M¹ || exspectare bcr ut vid. 656 terras R 657
dea] de R || allis γ corr. γ^1 659 attonite p adtonitae γ 661 spoliunt p corr. p¹ || frondem
om. p add. p¹ || ac om. b 662 coiciunt R || inmissis P γ immensis R inmensus Tib. ad loc.
(sed inmissis ad Aen. 5.752) || vulcanus M γ^1 663 per et] pe R || habiete γ || puppes P γ corr.
 γ^1 664 ad] at MP corr. M² 665 *hic versus occ. iterum ante 690* γ 667 ut] et P corr. P¹ ut]
vi R || equestres M 669 neque p, Sabb. || exanimis M corr. M⁷ exanimem Tib. || magistri M
corr. M² 670 qui Tib. || novus] nous P corr. P² || contenditis ab 671 misere R γ || quo in quae
corr. P 672 arguum M corr. M¹ 673–674 MPRp Π_{16} 673 inane p 674 quam Tib. 675
at celerat MP acceperat R accelerant γ Tib. corr. γ^1 || agmine M corr. M¹ 676–681 MPRp Π_{10}

- mutatae agnoscunt excussaque pectore Iuno est.
 680 sed non idcirco flamma atque incendia uiris
 indomitas posuere; udo sub robore uiuit
 stuppa uomens tardum fumum, lentusque carinas
 est uapor et toto descendit corpore pestis,
 nec uires heroum infusaque flumina prosunt.
 685 tum pius Aeneas umeris abscondere uestem
 auxilioque uocare deos et tendere palmas
 'Iuppiter omnipotens, si nondum exosus ad unum
 Troianos, si quid pietas antiqua labores
 respicit humanos, da flammam euadere classi
 690 nunc, pater, et tenuis Teucrum res eripe leto.
 uel tu, quod superest, infesto fulmine morti,
 si mereor, demitte tuaque hic obrue dextra.'
 uix haec ediderat cum effusis imbribus atra
 tempestas sine more furit tonitruque tremescunt
 695 ardua terrarum et campi; ruit aethere toto
 turbidus imber aqua densisque nigerrimus Austris,
 implenturque super puppes, semusta madescunt
 robora, restinctus donec uapor omnis et omnes
 quattuor amissis seruatae a peste carinae.
 700 at pater Aeneas casu concussus acerbo
 nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas
 mutabat uersans, Siculisque resideret aruis
 oblitus fatorum, Italasne capesseret oras.
 tum senior Nautes, unum Tritonia Pallas
 705 quem docuit multaque insignem reddidit arte—
 haec responsa dabat, uel quae portenderet ira
 magna deum uel quae fatorum posceret ordo;

679 mutatae M corr. M¹ multatae R || -que] quae γ corr. γ¹ 680 flammam MP¹γ flammae M⁷RpΠ₁₀ωγ¹ praeter n flammae h || adque R || impendia R || vires M 683–684 MPRpΠ₁₆ 683 descendit pΠ₁₆ 684 nec] ne b || influsaque p corr. p₁ MPRp 685 eumeri R || excindere M 687 omnipudens c || exosum γ corr. γ¹ exosu's Ribbeck 688 quit MR 689 flamma ace || classem a?cz? classis pa?e 690 665 insertum del. γ¹² || et] at P corr. P¹ || loetum γ 692 dimitte MPpabcfnγ Tib. Dosith. 423.22 corr. p¹γ¹ || hic om. c 693 effus P, is add. P² 694 sine] si R || tonitruque R 695 campis Mγ corr. M¹γ¹ campo corr. P campo b? || aetere R 697 semiusta M 698 rextinctus Pγ corr. γ¹ 699 servata γ corr. γ¹ || a] ex γ? corr. γ¹ 700 at] et M corr. M² 701 ingentis R || pectorae γ 702 residet P corr. P² 705 reddit m 706 que γ 707 que P corr. P² qua p

- isque his Aenean solatus uocibus inquit:
 'nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur;
 710 quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.
 est tibi Dardanius diuinae stirpis Acestes:
 hunc cape consiliis socium et coniunge uolentem,
 huic trade amissis superant qui nauibus et quos
 pertaesum magni incepti rerumque tuarum est.
 715 longaeuosque senes ac fessas aequore matres
 et quidquid tecum inualidum metuensque pericli est
 delige, et his habeant terris sine moenia fessi;
 urbem appellabunt permissio nomine Acestam.'
 talibus incensus dictis senioris amici
 720 tum uero in curas animo diducitur omnis;
 et Nox atra polum bigis subuecta tenebat.
 uisa dehinc caelo facies delapsa parentis
 Anchisae subito talis effundere uoces:
 'nate, mihi uita quondam, dum uita manebat,
 725 care magis, nate Iliacis exercite fatis,
 imperio Iouis huc uenio, qui classibus ignem
 depulit, et caelo tandem miseratus ab alto est.
 consiliis pare quae nunc pulcherrima Nautes
 dat senior; lectos iuuenes, fortissima corda,
 730 defer in Italiam. gens dura atque aspera cultu
 debellanda tibi Latio est. Ditis tamen ante
 infernas accede domos et Auerna per alta
 congressus pete, nate, meos. non me impia namque
 Tartara habent, tristes umbrae, sed amoena piorum
 735 concilia Elysiumque colo. huc casta Sibylla

708 hisque R 709 quo] que c || retrahunque P corr. P¹ || sequamr m corr. m¹ 710 quicquid
 γ || est om. dwz 712 consilii ω praeter cn || solium p corr. p || comitem n || coniuge Pγ corr.
 P¹γ¹ 714 pertesum mγ || incerti P corr. P² 715 longe vosque Mγ || equora m equorae
 a 716 quicquid p || inualidum p || pericle v || est om. afv 717 deligeret M corr. M² dilige c ||
 fessis Pc corr. P² 718 apellabant Ppcγ corr. P²p¹γ¹ || acetem R acestem c 719 accensus R ||
 senioribus m corr. m¹ 720 animum vγ¹ Probus 253, 17 animo MPRmpωγ animi z? animorum
 a? || deducitur Rγ¹ω praeter c Serv. 722 dein m || facies caelo Rpbvcγ acies m corr. m¹ ||
 delabsa P 723 tales R 725 Iliaci nates M Iliacis M¹ 728 pere R || que γ 729 letos γ corr.
 γ¹ 730 adque R || caultu M cltu p corr. M¹p¹ 731 debellandi p || tibl γ || est latio P || amen
 P corr. P¹ 732 accende M corr. M¹ 733 pete om. p add. p¹ || meus p corr. p¹ 734 tristesue
 M⁷ Tib. || amoenia M corr. M¹ || priorum p 735–783 MPR 735 elisiumque γ || sibilla γ

nigrarum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet.
 tum genus omne tuum et quae dentur moenia disces.
 iamque uale; torquet medios Nox umida cursus
 et me saeuus equis Oriens adflauit anhelis?
 740 dixerat et tenuis fugit ceu fumus in auras.
 Aeneas 'quo deinde ruis? quo proripis?' inquit,
 'quem fugis? aut quis te nostris complexibus arcet?'
 haec memorans cinerem et sopitos suscitatur ignis,
 Pergameumque Larem et canae penetralia Vestae
 745 farre pio et plena supplex ueneratur acerra.
 extemplo socios primumque accersit Acesten
 et Iouis imperium et cari praecepta parentis
 edocet et quae nunc animo sententia constet.
 haud mora consiliis, nec iussa recusatur Acestes:
 750 transcribunt urbi matres populumque uolentem
 deponunt, animos nil magnae laudis egentis.
 ipsi transtra nouant flammisque ambesa reponunt
 robora nauigiis, aptant remosque rudentisque,
 exigui numero, sed bello uiuida uirtus.
 755 interea Aeneas urbem designat aratro
 sortiturque domos; hoc Ilium et haec loca Troiam
 esse iubet. gaudet regno Troianus Acestes
 indiciturque forum et patribus dat iura uocatis.
 tum uicina astris Erycino in uertice sedes
 760 fundatur Veneri Idaliae, tumuloque sacerdos
 ac lucus late sacer additur Anchiseo.
 iamque dies epulata nouem gens omnis, et aris
 factus honos: placidi strauerunt aequora uenti

738 valen **M** corr. **M**¹ 739 **P**¹ videtur ex aliquo (saevos?) corr. saeuos **m** Foebus Sacerdos 446.25
 Geymonat Sabb. Ribbeck Goelzer || aequis **P** corr. **P**² || anhelis **M**¹ anhellis **R** 740 in] ad **P** in
 ad γ corr. γ ¹ 741 inde **M** corr. **M**² 743 ingnes **P** ignes **RP**² γ 744 veste γ 745 earre
M corr. **M**¹ accerra **M** corr. **M**² 746 primmque **m** corr. **m**¹ || accersit **Pma**(?)**efr** γ *Tib. Sabb.*
Ribbeck corr. γ ¹ arcersit v 747 cari et γ corr. γ ¹ 748 sentia **m** corr. **m**¹ 749 haud] aut
M || recussat **m** 750 transcribund **m** corr. **m**¹ || volantem **M** corr. **M**¹ || nihil **MPRm** γ *Tib.*
 corr. **M**² γ ¹ || egestes **M** corr. **M**⁷ egentis γ 752 que] qui γ corr. γ ¹ || ambessa **R** || reponant
M reponnt **m** corr. **M**² **m**¹ 753 rudentesque **MP** rudentes corr. γ ¹ *om.* -que γ 754 exui
M corr. **M**² 755 intere **M** corr. **M**¹ || aratro *del.* **m**¹ 756 illum γ || troiae **bt** troia ω *praeter*
cdh 758 indigitque **M** corr. **M**¹ inducitque **b** 759 tunc **c** 761 additus **Pbr** γ *Sabbadini*
Mynors Geymonat || anchisaeo **MP** γ

- creber et aspirans rursus uocat Auster in altum.
 765 exoritur procurua ingens per litora fletus;
 complexi inter se noctemque diemque morantur.
 ipsae iam matres, ipsi, quibus aspera quondam
 uisa maris facies et non tolerabile numen,
 ire uolunt omnemque fugae perferre laborem.
 770 quos bonus Aeneas dictis solatur amicis
 et consanguineo lacrimans commendat Acestae.
 tris Eryci uitulos et Tempestatibus agnam
 caedere deinde iubet soluique ex ordine funem.
 ipse caput tonsae foliis euinctus oliuae
 775 stans procul in prora pateram tenet, extaque salsos
 proicit in fluctus ac uina liquentia fundit.
 778 certatim socii ferunt mare et aequora uerrunt;
 777 prosequitur surgens a puppi uentus euntis.
 at Venus interea Neptunum exercita curis
 780 adloquitur talisque effundit pectore questus:
 'Iunonis grauis ira neque exsaturabile pectus
 cogunt me, Neptune, preces descendere in omnis;
 quam nec longa dies pietas nec mitigat ulla,
 nec Iouis imperio fatisque infracta quiescit.
 785 non media de gente Phrygum exedissee nefandis
 urbem odiis satis est nec poenam traxe per omnem
 reliquias Troiae: cineres atque ossa peremptae
 insequitur. causas tanti sciat illa furoris.
 ipse mihi nuper Libycis tu testis in undis
 790 quam molem subito excierit: maria omnia caelo

764 crebr P corr. P² || atspirans M adspirans γ 766 complexi γ 767 ipsi P corr. P¹ ipsae Non. 307. 35 768 nomen Mb? Non. corr. M² || caelum R 769 uolent c 771 acestem M aceste γ 772 trys γ || agnos M 773 cedere γ || finem γ corr. γ¹ 774 ipsae M corr. M² 775 procul in prora Tib. in interpretatione 776 proiecit c porricit Heinsius Sabbadini || ac] et dhwtvz 778 socio M corr. M² 777 post 778 Paefy Ribbeck Mynors Geymonat Conte in verso ordine MRω Tib. Sabbadini Goelzer (cf. Stegen "Latomus" [1971] p. 172; J. Berti "MD" [2007] pp. 201–206) 777 uentus P corr. P² euntis M² 779 at] ad PRγ 780 alloquitur γ¹ || quaestus M 781 nec MRγ corr. M² 782 praeces M corr. M² || in] ad Serv. 784–814 FMPR 784 fatissime Fωγ praeter at Geymonat 785 medias M corr. M² || prygum P Frygum F || exedissee F exedissee ω abcehntvyzy exaedissee fg excidisse ω 786 ponam R || traxere FPb?r Tib. traxisse F³Mdtγ corr. M¹γ¹ || omnes P corr. P¹ 787 cineres] generis F corr. F¹ || adque γ 788 ipsi F || furores M corr. M¹ 789 ut estis F ut P corr. P¹ 790 qua mole γ corr. γ¹ || excierent R

miscuit Aeoliis nequiquam freta procellis,
 in regnis hoc ausa tuis.
 per scelus ecce etiam Troianis matribus actis
 exussit foede puppis et classe subegit
 795 amissa socios ignotae linquere terrae.
 quod superest, oro, liceat dare tuta per undas
 uela tibi, liceat Laurentem attingere Thybrim,
 si concessa peto, si dant ea moenia Parcae.
 tum Saturnius haec domitor maris edidit alti:
 800 'fas omne est, Cytherea, meis te fidere regnis,
 unde genus ducis. merui quoque; saepe furores
 compressi et rabiem tantam caelique marisque.
 nec minor in terris, Xanthum Simoentaque testor,
 Aeneae mihi cura tui. cum Troia Achilles
 805 exanimata sequens impingeret agmina muris,
 milia multa daret leto, gementque repleti
 amnes nec reperire uiam atque euoluere posset
 in mare se Xanthus, Pelidae tunc ego forti
 congressum Aenean nec dis nec uiribus aequis
 810 nube caua rapui, cuperem cum uertere ab imo
 structa meis manibus periurae moenia Troiae.
 nunc quoque mens eadem perstat mihi; pelle timores.
 tutus, quos optas, portus accedet Auerni.
 unus erit tantum amissum quem gurgite quaeres;
 815 unum pro multis dabitur caput.'
 his ubi laeta deae permulsit pectora dictis,
 iungit equos auro genitor, spumantiaque addit

791 eolis R 793 pro c || scelus] scitus F corr. F¹ || manibus atris γ corr. γ¹ 794 excussit M P γ
 corr. M¹P¹γ¹ || puppis] pis F corr. F¹ 795 ignota M P¹Rγ corr. γ¹ || relinquere P¹γ || terra M P¹
 terret γ 796 ordo F corr. F¹ 797 tingere F corr. F¹ adtingere vγ || hybrem F corr. F¹ thybrin
 P 798 petao F corr. F¹ 801 furoris F corr. F¹ 802 compressi M corr. M² compressi Pv ||
 tantum M R corr. M¹ 803 sanctum F || simom F corr. F¹ 804 tui] fuit n || troiam γ corr.
 γ¹ 805 inmitteret F impingeret F⁴Pγ 806 dares P corr. P¹ darent R 807 repperire F corr.
 F¹ || adque F neque Pe qua GLK V. 523,3 || possit GLK V 523,4 ω praeter bepny 808 se om.
 F add. F¹ || paelidae F 809 congressus c congressi Prisc. II. 37 aeneam R || diis γ || veribus F
 corr. F¹ 810 eripui F¹ || ravi P corr. P¹ || cuperet et F cuperent F¹ || evertere Pγ 811 structae
 P corr. P² || periturae FM corr. M¹ perit irae ut vid. F¹ periure Rm 812 timorem FMc corr.
 F¹ 813 totus n || quod γ corr. γ¹ || accedit F corr. F¹ 814 missum M corr. M¹ || quaeris F M¹
 quaeret Tib. Ribbeck 815–871 MPR

- frena feris manibusque omnis effundit habenas.
 caeruleo per summa leuis uolat aequora curru;
 820 subsidunt undae tumidumque sub axe tonanti
 sternitur aequor aquis, fugiunt uasto aethere nimbi.
 tum uariae comitum facies, immania cete,
 et senior Glauci chorus Inousque Palaemon
 Tritonesque citi Phorcique exercitus omnis;
 825 laeua tenet Thetis et Melite Panopeaque uirgo,
 Nisaeë Spioque Thaliaque Cymodoceque.
 hic patris Aeneae suspensam blanda uicissim
 gaudia pertemptant mentem; iubet ocius omnis
 attolli malos, intendi brachia uelis.
 830 una omnes fecere pedem pariterque sinistros,
 nunc dextros soluere sinus; una ardua torquent
 cornua detorquentque; ferunt sua flamina classem.
 princeps ante omnis densum Palinurus agebat
 agmen; ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi.
 835 iamque fere mediam caeli Nox umida metam
 contigerat, placida laxabant membra quiete
 sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautae,
 cum leuis aetheriis delapsus Somnus ab astris
 aera dimouit tenebrosum et dispulit umbras,
 840 te, Palinure, petens, tibi somnia tristia portans
 insonti; puppique deus consedit in alta
 Phorbanti similis funditque has ore loquelas:

818 -que om. **b** 819 caeruleum **M** *corr.* **M**² || curro γ *corr.* γ ¹ currum **m** 820 timidumque
c 821 equis **Mb** *corr.* **M**¹ || fugiuntque **M**⁵ || ethaere **M** *corr.* **M**¹ 822 eum **P** *corr.* **P**¹ || inmania
 γ || caete γ 823 ioneusque **R** || Palemon **m** 824 forcique **R** 825 tenent **P** $\gamma\omega$ *praeter*
dfghmvy *corr.* γ ¹ tent **R** || thaetis **M** || milite **M** *corr.* **M**² 826 nisseae **M** niseae **M**² nassae
P *corr.* **P**² nisae γ nisaei γ ¹ || espioque **M** || thalaeque γ thalieque γ ¹ || cimodoque **m** 827
 vicissem **m** 828 omnes **P** *R* 829 intendi in **M** *corr.* **M**¹ intendis **c** || brachia γ || uelis] remis
MRn 830 omnis **M** *R* || faecere γ 831 dextro **P** || solue γ *corr.* γ ¹ 832 detorquetque **M**
corr. **M**² 833 omnes **M** 834 ad] at **P** adhuc γ hnuc γ ¹ || cursu *Tib.* || contenderi **m** 835
 ferem **P** *corr.* **P**² ferae **R** || metum γ *corr.* γ ¹ 836 laxasunt **c** || quietem **M** *corr.* **M**¹ 837 remos
M² || silentia **P** *corr.* **P**² 838 laeuis **M** || aetheris γ ¹ 839 aera **m** || umbris **P** *corr.* **P**¹ || auras
c 840 peten **M** *corr.* **M**¹ 841 iuppi **P** *corr.* **P**^x || consedit **c** insedit **n** consentit γ *corr.* γ ¹ ||
 in] ab *GLK* IV 497. 35 842 loquellas **Mf** γ *corr.* γ ¹ *Tib. Sabbadini Geymonat loquelas Auson.*
Cent. 93, Mynors, Goelzer, Conte querelas Don. ad Ter. Adelph. 499.

'Iaside Palinure, ferunt ipsa aequora classem,
 aequatae spirant aerae, datur hora quieti.
 845 pone caput fessosque oculos furare labori.
 ipse ego paulisper pro te tua munera inibo.'
 cui uix attollens Palinurus lumina fatur:
 'mene salis placidi uultum fluctusque quietos
 ignorare iubes? mene huic confidere monstro?
 850 Aenean credam (quid enim?) fallacibus auris
 et caeli totiens deceptus fraude sereni?'
 talia dicta dabat, clauumque adfixus et haerens
 nusquam amittebat oculosque sub astra tenebat.
 ecce deus ramum Lethaeo rore madentem
 855 uique soporatum Stygia super utraque quassat
 tempora, cunctantique natantia lumina soluit.
 uix primos inopina quies laxauerat artus,
 et super incumbens cum puppis parte reuulsa
 cumque gubernaculo liquidas proiecit in undas
 860 praecipitem ac socios nequiquam saepe uocantem;
 ipse uolans tenuis se sustulit ales ad auras.
 currit iter tutum non setius aequore classis
 promissisque patris Neptuni interrita fertur.
 iamque adeo scopulos Sirenum aduecta subibat,
 865 difficilis quondam multorumque ossibus albos
 (tum rauca adsiduo longe saepe saxa sonabant),
 cum pater amisso fluitantem errare magistro
 sensit, et ipse ratem nocturnis rexit in undis
 multa gemens casuque animum concussus amici:

843 Iuside *ut vid.* **M** *corr.* **M**¹ || palinore γ *corr.* γ ¹ || ipsa aequora] sua flamina **M** 844 aequate
 γ || ora **P** γ || quieto **m** 845 labore **b** 848 uultum **P** || fluctusue **c** 849 meue *Tib.* || considerare
 γ *corr.* γ ¹ 850 Aeneam **R** *Tib.* || habet et auris et austris (in interpret.) auri **P** austris **P** γ **hntv**
Prisc. VII 4. 851 caelo **P** γ *corr.* γ ¹ *Serv. Tib. Ribbeck Sabbadini Goelzer Geymonat* || sereno **c** γ
corr. γ ¹ 852 dictabat **Pcf** || clauumque **P** *corr.* **P**² clauoque **M** *corr.* **M**¹ || et] **t** **P** *corr.* **P**¹ 854
 letheo **PRm** laetho γ || rore addentem **m** 855 soporatum **P** *corr.* **P**¹ || quassant **M** *corr.* **M**¹
 cassat **c** 858 reuulsa γ *corr.* γ ¹ 859 gubernaculo **m** || undam γ 860 ac] hac γ || saepe]
 uoce **M** 861 alis **R** || ad] in **P** γ **grt** *Tib.* 862 saetius **R** γ secis γ ¹ || aequora **bc** aequo γ *corr.*
 γ ¹ 864 adiecta **b** || sobibant **P** *corr.* **P**² 865 -que *om.* **M** *add.* **M**² 866 longo *Pomp. 303.31* ||
 sonabat **m** || sa **P** *corr.* **P**² 867 fluitantem **R** fluctantem *Tib.* 869 multa *agmen* **P** *corr.* **P**¹ ||
 casusque **R** || anima **b**? || concussu **P** *corr.* **P**¹

870 'o nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno,
nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena.'

870 etet **P** *corr.* **P**² || cofisse **R** 870–871 cf. *Serv.* ad *Aen.* 6.1.

Translation

1–34 Meanwhile Aeneas, sure of himself, was now holding mid-course with his fleet and was cutting through the waves that were dark under the north wind, looking back upon the walls that now shine so bright with the flames of the luckless Elissa. As for what kindled so great a fire, the cause is hidden; but the burdensome pains from a great love that has been defiled, and the knowledge of what a raging woman can do, lead Trojan hearts on through a baleful omen. Once the ships held the sea and now no further trace of land beset them, as there was in this and that direction only sea and sky, a gloomy rain cloud appeared over his head, bringing night and a storm, as under its shadow the waves bristled. The very helmsman Palinurus, from the lofty deck said: “Alas, why have such great clouds surrounded the heavens? Or what, Father Neptune, are you devising?” Having spoken thus, he then orders the sailors to gather the tackling and to put their backs into the strong oars; he turns the sails sidelong into the wind; and he speaks such things as these: “Great-hearted Aeneas, not even if Jupiter the creator should promise me, would I expect to touch Italy under such a sky as this. The winds, having changed their course, now howl crosswise, and they rise up out of the vesper as it grows dark, and the air is condensed into a cloud. Neither are we capable of striving against it nor of so much steering. Since now Fortune prevails, let us follow her, and where she calls, let us turn our way. Nor do I think that the faithful, fraternal shores of Eryx and the Sicilian harbors are far off, if indeed I correctly measure back the stars that are preserved in my memory.” Then devoted Aeneas replied, “So I perceive, indeed, that now for a long time the winds have been taxing you, and that you have steered against them in vain. Now trim your sails for a new course. Could any land be more pleasing to me, or would I prefer to beach my weary ships anywhere other than the land that keeps my friend Dardanian Acestes safe and sound and holds in her bosom the bones of my father Anchises?” After he had spoken these words, they seek the port, and favorable zephyrs fill their sails. Swiftly is the fleet carried in the stream and at last, joyous, they are returned to a coast that they know.

35–41 But from afar, from a high mountain peak, Acestes rushes forth in a state of marvel at their arrival and at the allied ships, bristling with his javelins and the pelt of a Libyan she-bear; he whom a Trojan mother bore, having been conceived by the river Crinusus. Not forgetful of his ancient parents, he warmly welcomes those who have returned and, happily receiving them with his own rustic wealth, he consoles the weary with friendly fare.

42–71 On the morrow, when the clear day had routed the stars at the time of her first rising, Aeneas calls his comrades from the entire shore to an assembly as he addresses them from the mound atop his father's *tumulus*: "Great sons of Dardanus, race sprung from the lofty blood of the gods, a year's turning, as the months have passed, has been completed from the day on which we placed the remains and bones of my divine parent in the earth and consecrated these sad altars. And now the day is at hand, unless I am mistaken, which I shall always consider bitter, always honored (so, o gods, have you willed it).

Even if I were passing this day as an exile in the Gaetulian Syrtes, or as one taken captive in the Argolic sea and then held in Mycenae's city, nevertheless I would make annual prayers and perform solemn processions in due order, and I would heap up altars with their gifts. But as things are, of our own accord we are present at the ashes and bones of my father himself, certainly not without the plan, I think, or will of the gods, and carried along by them, we have entered a friendly port. Therefore, come now and let us all celebrate this joyous honor: let us call upon the winds, and may he wish that I, year by year, carry out these rites in temples that have been dedicated to him, once the city has been founded. Acestes, sprung from Troy, gives to the crew of each ship two head of cattle by number. Welcome, then, the household gods to your feast and those whom Acestes, our host, worships. What is more, if the ninth Dawn will have brought forth Day that nourishes mortals, and will have opened up the world with her rays, I shall establish the first contest for the swift fleet of the Teucrians. Whosoever prevails in the foot race, and whosoever is bold in his strength and comes out better with the javelin and with light arrows, or dares to engage in a fight with the crude boxing glove—let all such assemble and await the rewards of the well-deserved victory palm. Now, all of you, keep a holy silence, and encircle your temples with boughs."

72–103 Thus having spoken, Aeneas covers his temples with a sprig of his mother's myrtle. This very thing Helymus does, this Acestes, rich in years, this the lad Ascanius; the rest of the youth follow suit. In the midst of a thronging crowd he, attended by many thousands, proceeded from the gathering to the burial mound. Here, ritually making a libation, he pours on the earth two cups of neat wine, two of fresh milk, two of sacrificial blood, and he casts forth purple flowers and speaks such words as these: "Hail, holy father, again! Hail, ashes that have been recovered in vain, and hail spirit and shade of my father! It was not meant to be that I, with you, should seek the Italian borders and the fated lands or the Ausonian Tiber, whatever that is." He had spoken these things when a slippery snake from the deep inner sanctum, huge with its seven folds, drew along all seven of its coils, having wrapped itself around the tomb

languidly, and glided between the altars. Its back bore sea-blue marks and its gold-flecked gleam was illuminating its scales—just as a rainbow throws upon the clouds a thousand various colors when the sun shines against it. At the sight, Aeneas was astounded. Then at length that snake, creeping on a long course between the bowls and the smooth cups took a bit of the ritual feast and returned to the depths of the tomb innocuously, leaving behind the altars that had been feeding tables. Because of this, all the more he renews the honors that he had already begun to undertake for his father, uncertain as to whether he should regard the snake as the genius of the place or an attendant of his father. He ritually slaughters a pair of sheep and the same number of swine, and as many black-backed bullocks, pouring wine from the cups and calling on great Anchises' soul and the *manes* that had been released from Acheron. The allies also bring their gifts joyfully, according to the abundance that each has, and they weigh down the altars with them and slaughter bullocks. Others put out cauldrons of bronze in order and, after they had stretched out on the grass, they put coals under their spits and roast their meat.

104–113 The anticipated day was at hand and the horses of Phaëthon were now beginning to convey the ninth Dawn with her serene light; rumor and the name of noble Acestes had stirred the neighboring folk. They fill up the shores with their joyous throng, with the intention of seeing the Aeneadae, and some of them are prepared to compete, as well. At the start, prizes are placed before their eyes and in the middle of their ring: sacred tripods, green crowns and palms, all rewards for the victors, along with weapons and purple-soaked garments, as well as several talents of silver and gold. And from the middle of a high mound a trumpet announces that the games have commenced.

114–123 Four ships chosen from the entire fleet and matched in terms of their weighty oars enter for the first contest. Mnestheus commands the “Pristis,” swift owing to its keen oarsmen, Mnestheus, soon to be an Italian, from whose name comes the clan of Memmius; And Gyas drives the large “Chimaera” with its huge bulk, the work of a city, which Dardan youth push along in three tiers, and the oars rise up in triple array. Sergestus, too, from whom the Sergian house clings to its name, is carried along in the great “Centaur,” and on the sea-blue “Scylla,” Cloanthus, whence the clan for you, Roman Cluentius.

124–150 There is, in the sea at a distance facing the foaming shores, a submerged rock that is beaten by swollen waves when the wintry northwest winds hide the stars; in calm weather there is peace, and on the motionless water a plain is raised up, a most welcome refuge for divers that crave the sun. Here

father Aeneas set up a turnpost made from a green leafy holm-oak to be a sign for the sailors, whence they would know where to turn themselves round and where to wheel about their long courses. Then they choose starting places by casting lots, and the captains themselves shine from afar resplendent on the decks, elegant in gold and purple; the rest of the youths are veiled with poplar sprigs, and their bare shoulders glisten once drenched with oil. They sit upon their thwarts, and they stretch out their arms to the oars; as they listen intently for the signal, a throbbing terror engulfs their beating hearts, and their aroused desire for praise. So then, when the loud clarion had sounded its note, all of them from their starting places—no delay—leapt forth; the shouting from the ships strikes the ether and the waves foam, now turned over by the oarsmen's arms that were stretched forth. Each of them equally cuts its own furrow and the entire sea, upturned by the oars and the three-pronged prows, gapes open. Not so swiftly in two-yoked contest did chariots snatch the plain and, having been poured forth from their prison, rush over it; nor thus have charioteers struck their flowing reins upon their teams in full motion and, prone, lean into their lashes. Then the entire grove cries out with applause and the men's cheering, their enthusiastic approbation. The enclosed shores re-echo with the clamor, and the smitten hills leap back from the clamor.

151–182 Gyas slips away before the others and skims the tops of the waves amid the crowd and its roar. He is followed by Cloanthus, more skilled with oars; but the sluggish pine, owing to its weight, holds him back. After these the Pristis and the Centaur, at the same distance behind, strive to take first place; and now the Pristis has it, and now the huge Centaur outstrips that vanquished vessel, and soon they are both together borne along with their prows even, and each with her long hull cuts a furrow upon the salty shallows. And now they were drawing near to the crag and were beginning to seize the turning point, when Gyas the leader and victor amidst the swirling water loudly urges on his ship's helmsman, Menoetes: "How is it that, I say, you go so far to the right? Now turn your course here: love the shore and let the port-side oars scrape the rocks; let the other contestants hold the depths." So he spoke. But Menoetes, fearing the invisible rocks, twists the prow toward the waves of the sea. "Whither now, in a different direction, are you going away?" And he added, "Head for the shoals, Menoetes!" Gyas was calling him back with a shout when, behold, he sees Cloanthus pressing on his tail, coming closer and closer. That one skims a leftward path between the ship of Gyas and the sounding crags on the inside, and suddenly he passes by his competitor in front and holds the safe waters with the turnpost left behind. But then deep grief sets in and burns the bones

of the young man, nor do his cheeks lack for tears, and forgetful of his glory and of the safety of his crew, he threw the dilatory Menoetes headlong into the sea from the high prow; he himself as captain took the helm, and as shipmaster he himself urges on his men and twists the tiller toward the shores. But when at last the older Menoetes was returned from the deepest depth, heavy and dripping in wet clothing, he sought the top of the promontory, and he takes a seat there on a dry crag. The Trojans laughed at him as he was slipping and as he was swimming in the water, and they laugh at him as he chokes out the salty brine from his lungs.

183–226 At this point, a joyous hope is kindled for the two remaining, Sergestus and Mnestheus, that they might surpass the lagging Gyas. Sergestus seizes the place in front and draws near to the crag, yet is he not ahead with his entire vessel in advance place; he leads only with part of his ship, and the rival *Pristis* presses him with its prow. But in the middle of the ship among his very sailors, Mnestheus urges on his crew: “Now, now rise to the oars, Hector’s comrades, whom I chose as companions in the hour of Troy’s final fate; now put forth that strength, now that courage that you employed at the Gaetulian Syrtes and in the Ionian Sea and amid the chasing waves of Malea. I, Mnestheus, do not now seek the first place nor am I trying to win (although, O!—but let them prevail to whom you, Neptune, have granted it); it would be shameful to return in last place; this, citizens, we must achieve, we must fend off such a disgrace.” So do those men lean forward in highest competition; the brazen vessel trembles from their great blows and the sea bottom is churned up; then thick gasping shakes their limbs and parched mouths, rivulets of sweat flowing all over their bodies. Mere chance brought the men their desired honor: for, while Sergestus, raging in his mind, on the interior presses the prow toward the rocks and enters into a perilous space, unlucky one, he stuck fast on the jutting rocks. The stricken crags resound, and the oars that had scraped against the sharp rocks creaked, and there did the dashed prow dangle. The sailors rise up, and with much shouting they delay and they break out their iron-tipped pikes and sharp-tipped poles and they pick up their broken oars from the sea. But Mnestheus, happy and keener by that very success, with his swift line of oars seeks the open seas and, having called on the winds, runs through the open water. Just as a dove, suddenly roused from its cave, whose house and sweet nest are located in porous stone, is carried into the fields in flight and frightened from her home; with her wings she produces a large clapping sound, and soon, gliding through still air, she skims a liquid path, nor does she move her swift wings: thus Mnestheus, thus the *Pristis* herself cuts the last bit of the watery course in her flight, thus does that very force carry her along as she flies. First,

he leaves Sergestus, struggling upon a tall crag and shallow shoals, calling in vain for help, and learning to run with broken oars. Then, he presses closely upon Gyas and that very Chimaera with her bulky mass; she gives way, since she has been despoiled of her helmsman. Soon, near the very endline, there is Cloanthus alone, whom Mnestheus is striving after; working hard, Mnestheus presses upon him with utmost effort.

227–285 Then, in fact, the noise waxes twice greater, and all zealously urge on the one in hot pursuit, as the ether reverberates with their shouts. These are indignant, lest they not retain their personal glory and their acquired honor, and they are willing to stake life for praise. Success feeds the others; they are able because they seem to be able. Now, with their prows pulled up parallel to each other, perhaps they would have taken the prize, had not Cloanthus, extending both his palms to the sea, poured out petitions and called upon the gods in prayer: “Gods, for whom there is power over the sea, over whose tracts of ocean I am running, bound by this prayer I will gladly place before your altars once ashore a white bull, and I will cast the entrails upon the salty waves and pour out upon them liquid wine.” He spoke and from the depths of the waves the entire chorus of the Nereids and of Phorcus heard him, as did the virgin Panopea, and Father Portunus himself pushed him along with his great hand as he went. That ship fled to shore more quickly than the South Wind or a swift arrow, and soon hid itself in the deep harbor. Then Anchises’ son, once all had been called together appropriately through the booming voice of a herald, declares Cloanthus the winner. Aeneas crowns his temples with the green bay, adding that, with regard to the gifts, Cloanthus should have first choice of three bullocks for each ship; further they will all have wine, and a good-sized talent of silver. He added signal honors to the captains themselves. To the victor he gave a golden cloak, around which a swath of Meliboean purple ran in a double meander; and woven into it was the royal lad on leafy Ida, eagerly wearying swift stags with javelin and fleetness of foot; he is like one gasping, whom Jove’s winged weapon-bearer, using his talons, snatched aloft from Ida; the aged sentries lift up their palms to the stars in vain, and the barking of the watchdogs rages against the breezes. But he bestowed a breastplate on the man who had taken second place by his prowess, a breastplate fitted with smooth hooks and thrice twilled with gold to possess it, which he himself, as a victor, had taken it from Demoleos along the banks of the Simois beneath towering Ilium, an ornament and protection for the hero in battle. Scarcely could the servants, Phegeus and Sagaris, carry on their shoulders the manifold piece; they struggled to do so. Demoleos, however, once he had donned it, used to drive at a clip the straggling Trojans. He arranges it so that the third-place gift is matching

cauldrons made of bronze, and cups finished with silver and bas-relief. And now all of them, so enriched with gifts and haughty in wealth, were processing, their temples bedecked with purple fillets, when Sergestus, just barely, though quite dexterously, showed up, rescued from a rough crag; he was driving his mockable and dishonored vessel, its oars gone, for he had been weakened by an entire row of oarsmen. Just as often a snake is caught on the mound of a road, which a bronze-rimmed cartwheel has run over at an angle, which a wanderer giving a heavy blow has left behind half-dead and lacerated by the use of a rock. Fleeing, the snake gives long twistings with its body in vain, in part ferocious, and fire-eyed as it lifts high its hissing neck. A part, lame because of its wound, holds it back as it is struggling in knots and coiling itself into its own members: by such oarage was the slow ship moving itself. Still, it makes sail, and comes to port with sails unfurled. Aeneas, happy because the ship has been salvaged and comrades brought to safety, bestows the promised gift upon Sergestus. A Cretan woman by race, Pholoë, along with the twin sons that nurse at her breast, is given to that man to be a slave girl; she is by no means ignorant of the works of Minerva.

286–314 Dutiful Aeneas, with the contest finished, heads for the grassy plain that is surrounded on every side by woods with arching hills. In the middle of the valley there was a circus for a spectacle; into the midst of it the hero betook himself, along with many thousand men, and he sat down with them on a mounded seating area. He inspires their courage with prizes and places the rewards before them, beckoning whoever might wish to contend at this point in the rapid course. From all sides the Trojans and Sicilians come, blended together, first among them Nisus and Euryalus, Euryalus, notable for his good looks and green youth, and Nisus, with a devoted love for that lad; these, then, Diore followed, a royal man from Priam's outstanding family line; then came Salius and with him Patron, one of whom was Acarnanian, the other descended from the Arcadian blood and the Tegeaeon race; then two Sicilian lads, Helymus and Panopes, accustomed to woods, companions of the elder Acestes; beyond these there were more whose names obscure tradition keeps hidden. So, in the midst of these men, Aeneas then spoke, "Listen closely and turn your thoughts in a joyous direction. No one from this number will depart from here without a gift from me. I shall give the winners twin Cretan spears to carry off, bright with smooth-polished tips, and an axe, double-edged, engraved in silver. This will be the one honor for all. The three first to finish will receive prizes and will adorn their heads with the tawny olive branch. Let the champion who finishes first receive a horse distinctive with round harness bosses. The second place finisher shall have an Amazonian quiver, flush with Thracian arrows, around

which a buckler goes, broad with gold, and a pin sporting a smooth gemstone holding it together. Then let the third place finisher depart, content with this Argolic helmet.”

315–361 After Aeneas had said these things, they take their positions and, after hearing the signal, dash along their course at once; they leave the starting line behind, pouring forth as if from a raincloud. As soon as they mark the finish line, Nisus comes away in first place, and he springs forth, far in front of all the racers’ bodies, as he is both swifter than the winds and a lightning bolt’s wings. Next after him, though only at a great interval, Salius follows; then, with some space left over, Euryalus comes in third place, and Helymus follows Euryalus. Just behind whom, behold, Diore flies on, and rubs heel with heel, leaning forward to his shoulder, and should there have been more distance to the race, having slipped in front he would have passed him, and left him behind and in wonder. And now, nearly in the last span of the race, just outside of the finish line, as the weary contestants were approaching it, Nisus, unlucky fellow, slips on a small pool of blood that had happened to be spilled when cattle had been slaughtered, wetting the ground and green grass. Here the young man, strutting like a victor, could not hold his tottering steps as he stepped on the spot. He fell prone by reason of the very filth and sacred gore. Nevertheless he is not forgetful of his Euryalus and his love. For, rising up from the slippery mire, he cast himself in Salius’ path; that man, having rolled over, lay there on the thick sand, while Euryalus springs forth to claim first place, a victor by virtue of his friend’s gift, streaking by to the crowd’s applause and favoring cheers. Next, behind, comes Helymus, followed by Diore, who takes the third trophy. At this point Salius comes along, before the faces of the elders, filling the entire seating area of the vast hollow with his loud bellowing, and he demands that the honor stolen from him by guile be returned. Yet the crowd’s favor and his own attractive tears guard Euryalus, and the more pleasing emerging manliness that attends his handsome body. Diore comes to his aid and proclaims him victor with a great cry, for he drew near to a trophy, and in vain came to the last prize, if the first honors should be returned to Salius. Then father Aeneas speaks: “Your rewards remain certain for you, and no one is to shift the boy’s prize in the order; may it be permitted that I take pity on what has befallen a blameless friend.” Thus, having spoken, he gives Salius the immense pelt of a Gaetolian lion, weighty with bristles and gilt claws. Now Nisus speaks: “If there are such great prizes for the conquered, and if you feel pity for those who have fallen, what worthwhile gifts will you give to Nisus, I who merited the first place crown by my just deserts, if the inimical fortune that had befallen Salius had not also befallen me?” And, along with his words, he showed off his face and his limbs

befouled by wet filth. The best father smiled upon that man and ordered that, in addition, a shield be brought forth, the skilled work of Didymaon, taken down by the Danaans from the sacred door-post of Neptune. With this fine gift he enriched the outstanding youth.

362–386 Afterwards, when the courses had been completed and he had distributed the gifts, he said, “Now, if there should happen to be courage ready in anyone’s heart, let him be present, and let him raise his arms with leather-bound hands.” Thus having spoken, he proposes for the boxing bout twin honors: for the winner a bullock covered with gold and garlands, for the loser, the consolation prize of a sword and a signal helmet. Nor is there delay. At once a man of great power, Dares, puts his head forward and stands up amid the men’s vast mutterings. Dares alone had been in the habit of fighting with Paris; moreover, he beat down the champion Butes, a man of huge physique, on the mound where great Hector’s body fell. Dares had laid out dying in the yellow sand that same Butes, who, coming from the Bebrycian race, maintained that he was from Amycus’ family. Just so is Dares as he tosses his head high at the contest’s opening. He shows off his broad shoulders, throwing one punch after another, striking nothing but air blow by blow. An opponent is sought for this one; no one even from so great a host dares to approach the man or to don boxing gloves. That is why he, all keen, imagining that he outdid all the rest for the trophy, stood before the feet of Aeneas; nor having delayed further, he then takes hold of the bull’s horn with his left hand and speaks thus: “Goddess-born, if none dares entrust himself to battle, when can I stop standing around? How long is it meet that I be kept back from my prize? Tell them to bring out the gifts.” At this all the sons of Dardanus were roaring without ceasing and were urging that the promised gifts be rendered to the man.

387–393 Now here, grave Acestes somberly chastizes Entellus with choice words, as he had taken a seat on a verdant bed of grass next to him: “Entellus, once bravest of heroes to no avail, do you so patiently allow such great prizes to be taken away without a struggle? Where now is that god of ours, Eryx, vainly called ‘master’ by you? Where is that reputation throughout all Trinacria, and those spoils that hang from your rafters?”

394–460 He then responded: “My love of praise has not gone missing nor, fear-struck, has my sense of greatness disappeared; but, in fact, my blood runs cold in sluggish old age, making me dull, and my strength, now spent, has iced over. If I still had the youthful vigor that I used to, that strength in which that wicked man vaunts himself now so confidently, I would have needed no

inducement, whether of some prize or some fine bullock, to come forth; nor do I tarry over prizes." Then, having spoken, he hurled into their midst his pair of heavy boxing gloves with which fierce Eryx had been accustomed to join his hand in battle, covering his arms with the harsh rawhide. All their minds were stupefied; the huge hides of seven great oxen were ridged with the iron and lead that had been implanted in them. Dares himself is amazed beyond all others and shows his reluctance at a distance. The great-hearted son of Anchises turns in his hands the weight of the gloves and the same immense wrappings of the glove's bindings, now in this direction, now in that. Then the older man began to speak: "What if someone had seen the gloves and arms of Hercules himself and the tragic battle that took place on this very shore? Your brother Eryx long ago used to wield these weapons, and you see that they are still smeared with blood and spattered with brains. He employed these to take his stand against the great Alcides; these I, too, was accustomed to use, while my fuller blood gave me strength to do so, nor yet had jealous old age sprinkled my temples with gray, making me hoary. But if Trojan Dares refuses to come against these weapons of mine, if it sits well with dutiful Aeneas, and if my sponsor Acestes approves, then let us even the fight. I leave to you the leather gloves of Eryx; put your fears aside, and for your part, shed your Trojan boxing gloves." Having spoken thus, he cast from his shoulders his double folding cloak and bared the mighty joints of his limbs, his vast frame and arms, and presented himself, a huge man, in the middle of the arena. Then their father, the son of Anchises, brought forth matching boxing gloves and wrapped the arms of each man with weapons to make a fair fight. At once, each of them stood up on his toes and intrepidly swung his arms at the upper air. They drew their heads far back, keen to escape the intended blow, provoking battle, and landing some blows. The one man was markedly better with his footwork, relying on his youth, and the other found his strength in his limbs and his bulk, but his sluggish knees slipped as he trembled, and his difficult breathing made his massive limbs quake. The men cast many blows at each other with no decisive result, redoubling them against the hollow curve of the ribcage, and the boxers emitted vast groans from their chests. Meanwhile they rain down frequent punches on each other's ears and temples; beneath every harsh blow, with popping sounds, do their cheeks make answer. Entellus stands his ground, heavy and unmoved with the same posture, and he avoids the darts only with his body and by using his vigilant eyes. The other is like one who takes on a city with great ramparts, or like one who in arms surrounds a mountain fort, who pushes in with first one and then another tactical approach, skillfully stalking round the entire place and pressing in with various lunges, but in vain. Surging against Dares, Entellus showed him his right, and brought it out high, but he, swift as he was,

foresaw the blow and yielded space with his swift frame, sliding backwards and causing it to glance off his head. Entellus, having now wasted his strength upon the breeze, he himself a heavy man, spontaneously and, under his vast weight, crashed heavily to the ground; just so, a hollow pine on Erymanthus or on great Ida once toppled, pulled up by the roots. The Teucrians and the Trinacrian youth rise up enthusiastically; their clamor goes up to the sky, and Acestes runs out ahead and mercifully lifts up his friend and peer from the ground. But not slowed by his fall nor put off by it, the hero Entellus returns to the fray that much keener, and his ire resuscitates his might; then shame and the virtue he is well aware of kindle his strength, and ardently he drives Dares headlong over the whole plain, now doubling his blows with his right, now with his left. There is no delay, nor is there rest; just as clouds with much hail rumble on the rooftops, so the hero, quick with dense blows, strikes with both his hands, spinning Dares around.

461–484 By no means does Father Aeneas then allow the men's wrath to go forward and for Entellus to rage on in his bitter pride, but he imposes an end to the fighting and rescued the weary Dares, soothing him with words and spoke as follows: "Ill-starred man, what great folly has taken hold of your mind? Do you not see that your strength is elsewhere and that the gods have turned against you? Yield to the god." So he spoke and he broke up the battle with a word. Yet his faithful peers lay hold of him to lead him away to the ships, and he goes dragging his weak knees along, tossing his head left and right as he spits thick gore from his mouth, along with some of his teeth mixed in with the blood. Those called upon accept for him the prize of sword and helmet, leaving for Entellus the victory palm and the bull. And here the victor, conquering because of his courage and proud with his bull speaks: "Son of a goddess, and all of you Trojans, acknowledge this, both the strength that I enjoyed in this body when youthful, as well as from what certain death you preserved Dares, called back from it as he was." He spoke, and there he stood, across from the face of the bullock, the prize of the battle, and with his right hand drawn back, rising, he poised his cruel gauntlet between the middle of the two horns and then drove it into the animal's skull, smashing its brain. The ox is knocked hard and, trembling, it tumbles to the ground, lifeless. Standing over it, Entellus pours forth from his breast words like these: "Instead of Dares' death I offer to you, Eryx, this better soul. As victor, here do I lay down again the gloves and my skill."

485–518 At once, Aeneas invites those who might perhaps wish to engage in a contest of the swift-shooting arrow, and he stipulates the prizes. With his

mighty hand he sets as a target a mast, taken from the ship of Serestus, along with a swift flying dove, held by a stretched cable and suspended from the lofty mast, toward which they may aim their arrow tips. The men convened and a brazen helmet received the lots that they tossed in, and in front of them all, the first position fell to Hippocoön, the son of Hyrtacus; Mnestheus, the recent victor of the naval contest, followed him—Mnestheus, crowned with the verdant olive bough. Your brother, most illustrious Pandarus, Eurytion, took third, you who, once upon a time having been ordered to break the truce, first hurled your javelin into the midst of the Achaeans. Last of all, the name of Acestes lay deep in the helmet, Acestes who himself dared to put his hand to an event suited to younger men. Then, with powerful strength, each man bends his flexed bow before himself and draws his arrows from his quiver. The first arrow that leaves the screeching bowstring and soars through the sky is that of the youth, Hyrtacus' son, which beats through the winged breezes, and it arrives and plants itself in the wood of the mast. The mast wobbled and the bird was sore afraid, fluttering with its wings; the whole place resounds with great applause. Next, keen Mnestheus, once the bow had been drawn to his chest, stood forth to aim high, and he brought his eyes and arrow to an equal plane. But the pitiable man could not touch that very bird with his arrow; that arrow broke the knots and linen bonds that held its foot, by which it was dangling from the tall mast. The bird rushed away on wing toward the southerly winds and darkling clouds. Then, while he was drawing back the taut string of the bow that is ready to fire, Eurytion rapidly called on his brother in prayer. Having locked his sights upon the dove that delighted now in the open sky and clapped with its wings, he runs it through, beneath a black cloud. The bird fell, lifeless, leaving its spirit amid the stars of heaven, and gliding downward it returns the arrow that had run it through.

519–544 Though the palm had been lost, there still remained father Acestes who nevertheless shot his arrow into the airy breezes, showing off his skill and sounding bow. At this point a sudden portent is cast before their eyes, one destined to provide a great augury. Its prodigious outcome explained it, and frightening prophets sang of omens later in time. For though it flies through watery clouds, the arrow catches on fire, and marked its path with flames, and then it disappeared into the tenuous breezes. Just so in the heavens do shooting stars run across the sky, loosed from their places, drawing their tresses behind them. The men, Trinacrian and Teucrian alike, stood still, their souls astonished, and they prayed to the gods; nor did the great Aeneas deny the omen, but rather, having embraced Acestes, he heaps him greatly with gifts and speaks thus: “Take them, father, for by such auspices the great king of Olympus

has wished that you especially would receive these honors beyond your lot." You will have this reward that once belonged to long-lived Anchises himself, an embossed bowl, one that once Thracian Cisseus had given to father Anchises in great munificence, to bear as a reminder and pledge of his love. Thus having spoken, he girds his temple with green bay, and he proclaims Acestes the victor first before all. Nor does good Eurytion begrudge him the preferred honor, though he alone brought the bird down from the lofty sky. Next, the one who cut the bonds advances for the prizes and, last of all, he who had transfixed the mast with his swift shaft.

545–603 But father Aeneas, with the competition not yet closed, calls to himself Epytides, guardian and companion to the young Iulus, and speaks into his trusted ear thus: "Come, come, speak to Ascanius, too; if he now has a readied troop of youths, and if he has marked the raceways for the horses, then tell him to lead forth companies for his grandfather and to present himself in arms." Thus he spoke. He himself orders all the people that had poured in to depart now from the long circle and vacate the plains. The lads make their entrance in procession, and before the faces of their fathers they are equally resplendent on their bridled horses—they on account of whom, as they pass, the young men of Trinacria and Troy resound with admiration. All of them had hair pressed by a shorn crown according to custom. The boys carry two cornel shafts tipped with iron, and some of them have light quivers on their shoulders; a flexible necklace of twisted gold goes around the top of their breasts across the neck. Squads of cavalry three in number, and three captains for each wander here and there. Twice six lads follow each, resplendent in a divided column, and with an equal number of trainers. One line of cheering youths is led by little Priam, who takes his name from his grandsire, your famous offspring, Polites, which is destined to give increase to the Italians. A bi-colored Thracian horse, dappled with white, conveys him, displaying on its pasterns traces of white and tossing high its white forehead. Next in line was Atys, whence the Latins derive the family of Atius, Atys, a little lad and one beloved unto the lad Iulus. Iulus was last, handsome in form beyond all others. A Sidonian horse carried him, one that fair Dido had given as a reminder and pledge of her love. The rest of the youths are borne on the Sicilian horses of the elder Acestes. The Trojans receive the timid lads with applause, and the crowd rejoices as it beholds them and recognizes in the lads the faces of their ancestors of old. After they joyously pass on horseback before the entire seating area and the eyes of their own people, from a distance Epytides signals with a shout to those ready to commence and cracks his whip. They broke apart into equal sections and once their groups had been disbanded, the three cohorts dissolved their lines and, now called

back, they wheeled round their courses, bearing against one another weapons at the ready. Thence they enter upon one set of marches and counter-marches, opposed to each other in their positions, and they merge one set of circles with another, putting in motion a simulation of a battle; and now they show their backs, made bare for retreat, now hostile they turn their spears, now, having made a truce, they go their separate ways. As once in lofty Crete the Labyrinth is said to have had as its deceptive snare a path woven out of blind walls, forged with a thousand passages, whereby an ungraspable and untraceable wandering might terminate all traces of the capacity to follow. By no other kind of course do the sons of the Teucrians confuse their tracks, and they weave their mock retreats and battles, like dolphins, when, through the ocean spray, they cut the Carpathian and Libyan seas with their swimming. This manner of running and these contests Ascanius, first, when he would later gird Alba Longa with walls, brought back with him; he taught the ancient Latins to celebrate in the same fashion, just as he and the Trojan youth had performed them on this day. The Albans taught their own children, and hence greatest Rome in later times received them within, and preserved the honor of their forefathers. And now the boys are called "Troy" and the troop is called "Trojan." Thus far were celebrated contests for Aeneas' holy father.

604–663 Here, Fortune, for the first time, modified her allegiance. While they conducted solemn rites at the tomb with various games, Saturnian Juno sent Iris down from heaven to the Trojan fleet, and she breathes winds upon her as she goes, plotting much as she had not yet satisfied her old grief. The virgin Iris, apparent to no one, hastened her way through her rainbow of a thousand colors, and descends by a swift path. She beholds a huge gathering, scans the shore, and sees the deserted port and abandoned fleet. But at a distance, the Trojan women, separately on the deserted shore, were mourning the lost Anchises, and as they wept all were gazing upon the vast sea. Alas for them, weary because so many shoals, so much sea remained. They pray, all with one voice, for a city. They are tired of enduring the labor of the sea. Therefore, hardly ignorant of rendering harm, Iris projects herself into their midst, laying aside the appearance and dress of a goddess. She becomes Beroë, the aged wife of Tmarian Doryclus, for whom there had been at one time a family, a noble name, and children, and thus she inserts herself amid the mothers of the sons of Dardanus. "O wretched women," Beroë said, "whom the Achaean band did not, in the war, drag off to death beneath the walls of the fatherland! O unhappy race, for what death does Fortune preserve you? The seventh summer since Troy's destruction now spins on as we are borne along, we who have measured straits, entire lands, too many unwelcoming rocks and stars, while

through the vast sea we chase after an Italy that ever recedes while we are spun round by waves. Here is the territory of brother Eryx, and Acestes is our host. Who restrains us from laying walls and giving our citizens a city? O fatherland, o household gods rescued from the enemy for nothing, will no walls now be called Troy's? Will I nowhere see Hectorean rivers, a Xanthus and a Simois? But come now and, in concert with me, burn the unpropitious ships! For in a dream the ghost of the prophetess Cassandra seemed to give me burning torches: "Seek your Troy here; here is your home," she said. Now is the time to get things done, nor is there a delay for such great prodigies. Behold, four altars to Neptune; the god himself supplies the brands, and the courage." Recalling these things first, she forcefully snatches up a hostile firebrand and, brandishing it in her upraised right hand, with great exertion she hurls it. The minds of the daughters of Ilus are aroused, their hearts stupefied. Now one out of their large number, the eldest by birth, Pyrgo, who was the royal nurse to many of Priam's children, speaks: "This is not your Beroë, this is not the Rhoeteian wife of Doryclus, mothers. Take note of the signs of divine beauty, and her burning eyes, what spirit she has, what countenance, what resonance of voice; how she steps when she walks. I myself a while ago left Beroë, who is ill, and made my way here. She was indignant because she alone lacked a ceremonial gift and could not bring honors worthy of Anchises." She spoke these things. But the mothers, at first reckless and wavering between the wretched love of the present land and the realms that beckon them to their destiny, looked upon the ships with malevolent eyes, as the goddess lifted herself up though the heavens on both her wings and cut a huge rainbow through the clouds. And then, struck by the portents and driven by their rage, they cry out and, as part of them plunder the altars, the rest seize the fire from the hearths within, and they hurl the leafy bough, the sprigs and firebrands. With free reins the fire god rages through the ships, across seats, oars and the high decks decorated with fir.

664–679 A herald, Eumelus, brings news of the burning ships to the tomb of Anchises and to those seated in the theater, and they themselves look back upon the black ash that flits skyward in a cloud. Ascanius, too, although he was then joyously managing the equestrian races, first keenly hastened to the camp that is now in an uproar, nor can his terrified captains restrain him. "What is this strange madness? Alas, wretched women, whither now, whither are you citizens heading?" he asked. "You are neither setting ablaze the enemy nor the hostile camp of the Greeks, but you are burning up your own hopes! Behold, I am your very own Ascanius!" He hurled before their feet his sham-battle helmet, in which he had been conducting the mock skirmishes for sport. Then, shortly, Aeneas races there and the ranks of the Trojans arrive at the same time.

But they flee along the shore, scattering here and there out of fear, and they seek out woods and caves wherever they can do so stealthily. They are ashamed at what they had begun, and of it being broad daylight; now changed, they recognize their own people, and Juno is shaken out of their hearts.

680–699 Still not for that did the flame and fire lay aside their unquenchable fury; beneath the moist ship's oak the caulking fiber keeps the flame alive, spewing forth sluggish smoke, and a slow heat consumes the ships, and the fiery pestilence descends through the ship's body. Neither does the strength of the heroes do any good, nor the streams of water that they pour upon it. Then dutiful Aeneas tears the cloak from his shoulders and calls on the gods in prayer, extending his palms: "Almighty Jupiter, if you have not yet decided to hate the Trojans to a man, if long-practiced devotion produces any regard for human labors, grant that the fleet avoid the flame, father, and rescue the paltry fortunes of the Trojans from death. Or, as for what is left, if I have merited it, send me down to death with a hostile thunderbolt, and here and now, with your own right hand, overwhelm me." Scarcely had he said these things when a dark storm unexpectedly rages with pouring rain; the land's steep slopes and plains alike tremble with thunder. From the entire sky rain, coming down in sheets and very dark, rushes in with thick southerly winds. The ships' decks are filled to overflowing and their half-burnt oaken planks are now drenched with water, until all the heat from the fire has been extinguished and all the ships have been preserved from that pestilence, only four having been lost.

700–718 But father Aeneas, struck by the bitter misfortune, remained taciturn, shifting hither and thither his cares in his breast as he turned them over, considering whether he should stay in Sicilian lands and forget the Fates, or grasp after the shores of Italy. Then the elder man, Nautes, whom above all Tritonian Pallas taught and rendered famous for his ample skill, (she it was who used to give him responses, either what the vast wrath of the gods portended, or what the ordering of the Fates required), this man, consoling Aeneas with these words, began: "Goddess-born, let us follow where the Fates draw us, whether that be forward or back; come what may, all fortune must be overcome by bearing up under adversity. Dardanian Acestes of divine stock belongs to you: receive this man as an ally to your plans, and take him on as a willing partner, and hand over to him those who remain from the lost ships, and those tired of this great undertaking and your affairs. So then, separate out whoever is weak among you and fearful of danger, namely the aged men, the mothers weary of the sea, and let those who are tired have walls in these lands. They will call their city Acesta from the name allowed to them."

719–745 Kindled by such words of his elderly friend, he is then divided in his mind by all his cares. And darkling Night, carried along in her chariot, was laying hold of the heavens. The apparition of his father Anchises seemed to descend from heaven and suddenly poured forth words such as these: “O dear son, more dear to me than the life I once had, so long at least as my life remained, you, having suffered much because of the Ilian fates: hither do I come by the command of Jove, who pushed back the fire from your ships. From his high heaven, he has finally had mercy on you. Obey the excellent advice that aged Nautes now presents: bring to Italy select youths with the bravest hearts. In Latium you will have to conquer a tough people, harsh in their ways. Nevertheless before you do, see to it that you go to the infernal halls of Dis, and through deep Avernus seek a meeting with me. For impious Tartarus holds me not, where the shades are gloomy, but I inhabit the pleasant councils of the devoted and of Elysium. Hither the chaste Sibyl will lead you by much blood of dark cattle. Then you will learn of your entire race and the walls that will be granted it. And now, farewell; humid Night turns the middle of her course and the cruel sun, in his rising, has blown upon me with his panting horses.” Having spoken, he fled like smoke into the insubstantial breezes. “Whither are you rushing then?” Aeneas asked, “Whither do you snatch yourself? Whom do you flee? Or who restrains you from my embrace?” Relating these things he, as a suppliant, stokes the ashes and the sleepy flames, and venerates the household gods of Troy and the sanctuary of hoary Vesta with pious spelt and an abundant incense box.

746–761 At once he summons his comrades and Acestes first, and then he informs them of Jove’s command and the precepts of his dear father, and what judgment now is fixed in his mind. There is no delay for his plans; nor does Acestes refuse the orders: they transfer the matrons to the new city and leave behind the people who wish it, souls that have no need for great praise. They themselves make new the rowers’ seats, and they replace for the ships the oak that was eaten away at both ends, fitting the vessels out with new oars and ropes; though they are few, their manliness is vigorous for war. Meanwhile Aeneas sections off the city with a plough and apportions the dwellings; he orders that one place be called “Ilium” and another “Troy.” Trojan Acestes rejoices in the realm, showing where the forum will be, and giving laws to the assembled “fathers.” Next a temple dedicated to Idalian Venus is established on Eryx’ peak, a place nigh unto the stars, and to the tomb of Anchises is added a priest and a grove, sacred far and wide.

762–777 Now the entire nation celebrates a feast, nine days long, and due honor was done to the altars. Then the placid winds calm the waters, and a thick and gusting south wind summons them again to sea. A great mourning arises along the seas' curving shores, and embracing each other they find reasons among themselves to delay another night, another day. Now the mothers themselves, to whom the face of the sea once seemed harsh and its spirit intolerable, wish to go and to endure exile's vast undertaking. Goodly Aeneas consoles them with kindly words, and with tears he entrusts them to his kinsman Acestes. He orders them to slay three calves to Eryx and a lamb to the Storm-gods, and that the ship's cable be loosed in due order. He himself, with temples bound with the sprigs of a cut olive branch as he stands far off on the vessel's prow, holds a sacrificial plate and casts entrails upon the briny waves; then he pours out a sacrifice of flowing wine. His comrades vie to strike the sea with their oars and to churn the waves; a wind rising from the stern attends them as they go.

779–798 But Venus, meanwhile, overwrought with cares, addresses Neptune, pouring forth from her breast complaints such as these: "The weighty wrath of Juno and her insatiable breast compel me, Neptune, to stoop to every prayer; nor does the long day nor any sense of devotion appease her, nor does she, unbroken by Fates and Jove's command, ever relent. It is not enough for her wicked hatred to have consumed this city right in the middle of the Phrygian race; nor is it enough that she dragged Troy's survivors through the full range of punishment: she unremittingly pursues even the ashes and bones of that demolished city. May she come to know the reasons for such great wrath. You yourself lately have been my witness as to what a huge difficulty she stirred up suddenly in the Libyan waves. She mixed all the seas with the sky, relying to no avail on the Aeolian storms, daring to do this in your realm. Behold, when the Trojan women had been led away through evil design, she even cruelly burned the ships and, once the fleet was lost, compelled them to leave behind their comrades in an unknown land. As for what remains, may it be fitting for you to grant them safe sailing through the waves of the sea, fitting for them to touch the Laurentine Tiber, if I am seeking things that are permissible, and if the Fates grant them those walls."

799–826 Then the Saturnian lord of the deep sea spoke out these words: "It is right, Cytherea, that you have confidence in my realm, from which you derive your birth. Moreover, I have proven my merit; often I have held in check the fury and rage of the sky and sea. Nor on land has my care for your Aeneas been less—I call as witnesses Xanthus and Simois. When, in pursuit, Achilles was pinning

the dismayed Trojan battle lines to the walls and sending many thousands of them to death, the rivers, brimming with the corpses, were groaning, nor could the Xanthus discover an avenue to the sea nor, turning, could he wend his way there. That was the moment when I snatched Aeneas away, when he encountered the brave son of Peleus, with neither the combatants' gods nor strength being equal, employing a hollow cloud, though I desired to overturn perjurous Troy's walls, wrought by my own hands. Now, too, the same plan abides for me, and so put your fears aside. He will approach the harbor of Avernus, just as you wish him to, safe and sound. There will be one alone whom you will miss, lost at sea; one life will be offered for many." When he had soothed the happy heart of the goddess with these words, Father Neptune yokes his horses with gold and inserts the soon-to-be-frothing bridle in the spirited animals' mouths, and he pours forth from his hands all the reins. He glides lightly over the surface of the sea in his sea-blue chariot; the waves subside and the swollen surf beneath his thundering axle is cleft apart; the clouds flee in the vast sky. Then came the various forms of his retinue, immense whales, and the old chorus of Glaucus, and Palaemon, Ino's son, and the swift Tritons and the entire army of Phorcys; then on the left are Thetis, Melite and the virgin Panopea and Nisaeë, Spio, Thalia and Cymodoce.

827–856 Now sweet joys in turn put the anxious mind of father Aeneas to the test; he orders the masts all to be raised rather swiftly, and for the sheets to be suspended from the sailyards. All of them together were tacking, and in unison they loosed the port and the starboard sheets. Together they twist the steep yardarms back and forth; windblasts of their own accord push the fleet. Palinurus was leading the tight line in front of them all; towards him the others directed their course, under orders. And now misty Night had nearly touched the middle turn post of the sky, as the sailors, sprawled out on the hard benches beneath the oars, were loosening their limbs in placid quiet. Then nimble Sleep glided down from the stars in the sky and split the darkling breeze and drove the shadows apart, looking for you, Palinurus, bringing you, though you were guiltless, baleful dreams. The god sat on the high poop-deck, looking like Phorbas, and he poured forth these words from his mouth: "Palinurus, son of Iasius, the waters themselves carry the fleet, gentle breezes blow, and the hour is given to rest. Put your head down and steal away your tired eyes from your labor. I myself will attend to your duties for a spell." Scarcely lifting up his eyes to him Palinurus responded: "Do you bid me to ignore the face of the placid sea and its gentle waves? Do you bid me to trust this monster? Shall I entrust my Aeneas to the deceptive breezes—for why would I?—even I, who have been so often cheated by the deception of a calm sky?" He was saying

such words as these, and having laid hold of the rudder, clinging to it, in no way was he letting it go, and he kept his eyes fixed on the stars. Behold, upon the tired man, over his temples, the god rattles his bough that is dripping with the Lethaean dew and that has been rendered soporific by Stygian power; the god looses his swimming eyes as he hesitates.

857–871 Scarcely had the unforeseen quiet loosed his limbs, when Sleep, coming down on him, threw him headlong into the clear water, together with a torn-off section of the stern and the rudder, as he called often and in vain to his comrades. The god himself, insubstantial, lifted up his wings unto the gentle breezes. No slower for this did the fleet run a safe course over the sea, sailing intrepidly because of the promises of father Neptune. And now, in its course, the fleet was approaching the crags of the Sirens, at one time difficult, white with the bones of many men. At that time their rocks were resounding afar, harsh-ringing with the constant salt spray, when father Aeneas realized that the ship was wandering, drifting along with its helmsman lost, and he himself took over the vessel amid the night waves, groaning deeply, struck to the core at his friend's fate: "O you who trusted too well the heavens and the gentle sea, you will lie naked upon an unknown strand."

Commentary

1–34 Aeneas and his Trojans depart from Carthage, the coast of which is illuminated by the light from the ominous flames that rise from the city walls; the Trojans recognize the ill omen, but are unaware of Dido's death pyre. A storm compels the fleet to seek refuge en route to Italy, and the ships arrive soon in Sicilian waters after the helmsman Palinurus notes that the familiar island is nearby. *A.* 5 thus opens with another example of the pattern seen in Books 1 and 3 of landings (abortive or otherwise) during the slow progression to Hesperia; this time, as with the interlude with Dido, a long sojourn will seem restful and rejuvenating, even as dark clouds (both real and metaphorical) gather. *V.* returns the audience to the scene at the end of *A.* 3 (= also the end of Aeneas' heroic recitation at Dido's banquet); *A.* 5 will look both backward to 4, *il libro di Didone*, and forward to the underworld of 6. See further Cartault 1926, 363–365; Quinn 1968, 151–152; Monaco 1960/1972; 53–70; W.-H. Friedrich, "*Libyco cursu: Über Anfang und Schluß des 5. Buchs der Aeneis*," in *NAGW* 1982.2; F. Capponi, "Appunti sulla tecnica virgiliana del contrasto (*Aen.* V)," in *GIF* 40 (1988), 77–85; Horsfall 1995, 138 ff.; Fratantuono 2007, 131–134; E. Castro Caridad, "Episodios conflictivos en el libro V de la *Eneida*," in Parrado and Velázquez 2005, 447–466; Smith 2011, 120. The poet of the *Roman d'Enéas* hastens over this section of the narrative: *Il est tornez a sichain port, / illuec ou son pere fu mort; / danz Acestes les recoilli, / moult richement les y servi* (2238–2241 Petit).

1 **interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat**

Servius clarifies the significance of the opening word: "*interea*, dum fletur aut sepelitur Dido"; cf. Horsfall ad 7.572. Like the parallel Book 3, *A.* 5 begins with a temporal marker (and cf. 8.1 *ut*); this is the only book of the epic to name Aeneas in its opening line (cf. 12.1, which commences powerfully with the name of his great rival Turnus; the last line of the present book will name Palinurus, who dies as something of a proxy for Aeneas). *V.* also accords Turnus the honor of being named at 8.1, the opening of that most aetiological of his books; the only other characters named or at least referenced at the start of books = Dido (the unnamed *regina* of 4.1), and Aeneas' nurse Caieta at 7.1, who, we shall see, is a parallel to Camilla at the end of the same book. The openings of *V.*'s books thus in no small way reflect the ultimate disposition of the epic with the triumph of the Italy of Turnus and Camilla over Aeneas (with Dido in opposition to the Camilla who will be transformed into the nurse of the nascent Rome, on which see Fratantuono 2009b). On Aeneas' place here in the very first line of the book vid. especially Mackie 1988, 95.

Book 5 exhibits pervasive interchange with 11, its sister “penultimate” book; *interea* appears in the inaugural line there, too—in second place (appropriately enough after its appearance here in the first *sedes* of the verse): *oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit*. Both A. 3 and 5 open with temporal indicators that relate to the emotional traumas of preceding books; 3.1 *postquam* marks the definite transition from the fall of Troy to a new beginning for the Trojan exiles, while *interea* underscores how the pyre still burns in Carthage, with a shade, too, of the theme of Aeneas’ ignorance of what has happened (cf. 4–7 below). *Interea* also appears at 10.1 *panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi*, where the divine council is dramatically introduced (vid. Harrison ad loc.). The temporal marker refers, then, to the deaths of Dido at the end of 4 and Mezentius in 10, as well as the dramatic events surrounding the escape of the ultimately doomed Turnus from the Trojans’ camp. See further T. Kinsey, “The Meaning of *interea* in Virgil’s *Aeneid*,” in *Glotta* 57.3–4 (1979), 259–265; O. Reinmuth, “Vergil’s Use of *Interea*, A Study of the Treatment of Contemporaneous Events in Roman Epic,” in *AJPh* 54.4 (1933), 323–339.

On *medius* vid. C. Milani, *EV* III, 451–452; note also 76 and 113 below. The notion of the middle or midpoint will recur later in the book, and seems to reflect the ethnographic theme of movement from Troy to Italy; the Trojans are here in the *middle* of their journey (2 *iter*), as it were—Sicily as a midpoint between Troy and Italy. There is a bit of suspense before we learn that *medium* refers not to the sea *per se* but to the journey (2 *iter*), which is, of course, a marine voyage, so that *medium* has something of the flavor of its substantive sense of “the deep.” On a metaliterary level, the *medium iter* represents the second third of the *Aeneid* (i.e., Books 5–8), which now commences with the *certus Aeneas* leading the way in the aftermath of the Trojan escape from Carthage. Elision rather allows for the midpoint of the journey to overwhelm Aeneas, as it were.

Book 5 will open with Aeneas commanding his fleet on the deep; it will close with the Trojan leader steering his flagship at night after the loss of Palinurus—a dramatic marine ring to enclose this “island book” of the epic. For general studies of particular relevance to this theme see especially M. Putnam, “Unity and Design in *Aeneid* V,” in *HSCPh* 66 (1962), 205–239; Putnam 1965, 64–104; K. Galinsky, “*Aeneid* V and the *Aeneid*,” in *AJPh* 89.2 (1968), 157–185; Z. Pavlovskis, “*Aeneid* V: The Old and the Young,” in *CJ* 71.3 (1976), 193–205; P. Holt, “*Aeneid* V: Past and Future,” in *CJ* 75.2 (1979–1980), 110–121. The *Palinurus* image, with its connotation of the *backward* journey (cf. *inter al.*, V’s progression from the Sirens to Circe, in a reversal of the progress of the Homeric narrative), dominates the book and its ethnographic and related concerns for the Troy that is soon to be transformed into Rome. On the vast related subjects

of ethnicity and ethnography in V. see Dench 2005, and especially the seminal article of N. Horsfall, “Numanus Remulus: Ethnography and Propaganda in *Aeneid* 9.598 ff.,” in *Latomus* 30 (1971), 1108–1116.

This first line of Book 5 is quoted by a slave at Petronius, *Sat.* 68.4 (where see Schmeling on recitations of V., and, on some aspects of the Petronian reception of V., M. Putnam, “Petronius *Satyrical* 89,” in *CW* 106.3 [2013], 487–491); also the pages on “Petronius and Virgil” by C. Panayotakis in his “Petronius and the Roman Literary Tradition,” in Prag and Repath 2009, 52–55: “Trimalchio’s blunders about the Virgilian Sibyl ... and his account ... of the sequence of events which led to the Trojan war prove that, in his attempt to impress his guests, he memorized no more than these Virgilian words, just as some people nowadays cite isolated phrases from Shakespeare without having read his plays in full. The same outlook on literature is exhibited by a slave of one of Trimalchio’s guests, who recites only the first line of the fifth book of the *Aeneid* (a line he has learnt from street-entertainers) ... and combines it most offensively with verses from low comedies of Campanian origin ... the learned and refined Petronius has been seen as an author who sadly longs for the glorious literary past of Rome, which was, by his time, lost forever.”

On the Valerian echoes and movement from an Apollonian world to (in this case) a Homeric, see Hershkowitz 1998, 12–13.

2 *certus iter fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat*

Servius’ quip, “indubitaliter pergens,” tells only part of the story. The certainty Aeneas displays here (the force of the adjective is underscored by its position in the line) contrasts both with the ignorance (4–7 below) of the details of what happened to Dido, and the similar unawareness of Palinurus’ fate with which the book will close; the latter mystery will be resolved in the underworld, while the former will remain something of a secret between V. and his audience. *Certus* is one of V.’s favorite adjectives (over 30×; *deest* in *EV*). “Symbolisch die Fahrt des Aeneas am Anfang: er fährt *certus iter*, hinter ihm lodert der Scheiterhaufen der Dido. In dunklen Ahnungen vermutet man das Richtige, obwohl der Grund des Flammenscheins unbekannt ist.” (Büchner); see here, too, Powell 2008, 88, for comparison of the present passage to *A.* 3.568 ff. For Galinsky 1968, the adjective *certus* highlights Aeneas’ “increasingly active role” (158); much of the tension of the drama of the epic’s first third is predicated on the death of Anchises and the transition of Aeneas from *filius* to *pater*. (“... nach dem Tod des Anchises ist nunmehr Aeneas <<pater>>”—Stadler 1942, 29).

For *iter*, cf. on 23 below; also 170; here, Aeneas is both sure of the way and of the ultimate goal; soon enough, Palinurus will suggest surrender to Fortune

when he loses his ability to navigate during the storm. “*Incertus* is often used of winds and weather” (Campbell ad Lucretius, *DRN* 5.782, comparing *A.* 11.560); in the present context, *certus Aeneas* will soon enough be confronted by the storm that forces a return to Sicily.

atros: In contrast to the bright chromatic register of the end of *A.* 4 (700–701), with Iris’ snipping of Dido’s lock; the north wind has risen, and in consequence the waves are dark.

Aquilo (5× in *G.*) appears most often in the Odyssean *Aeneid*, and once only in the Iliadic (since the journey to Hesperia has been completed, after all): cf. 1.102 and 391, of the storm that drove Aeneas to Carthage in the first place; 3.285, where a year is passed with anachronistic Actian games and freedom from sailing during winter storms. At 4.310, Dido reproaches Aeneas for wanting to sail during the same hazardous season; cf. 7.361, where Amata fears that Aeneas will leave at the same time, this time taking the girl (Lavinia) with him. For the possible chromatic associations (= etymological connection to *ater*, which probably should not be pressed too far), see Williams 1960 here, and Edgeworth 1992, 54, 78; for the alleged inconsistencies of wind description from *A.* 4, 310 and 562 relative to the present passage, S. Mohler, “Sails and Oars in the *Aeneid*,” in *TAPA* 79 (1948), 46–62, 60–61 (who confirms that V. knew exactly what he was talking about: Aeneas left Carthage on a westerly land breeze, only to encounter a northerly sea wind). As often in V., there is an artful repetition of a key word: *Aquilo* 2× of the storm wind before the landing in Carthage, and 2× after, with one reference each to a year spent at the eminently *Roman* site of Actium, and to Amata’s (ungrounded) fear that Aeneas will abscond with his Italian bride Lavinia; the year spent storm-free at Actium corresponds to the historical allegory of Aeneas-Dido as Antony-Cleopatra. The emphasis on the absence of color here and at 19 *Vespere ab atro* below reflects the sight of the smoke rising from Carthage’s shore, the baleful omen of which now manifests at sea in the tempest that seriously imperils the fleet. For speculation on a possible pun with *atros* and *Aquilone*, see O’Hara 1996, 159.

Secare is one of V.’s favorite verbs, occurring some 40×; vid. here L. Coraluppi, *EV* 4, 744–745. Aeneas will repeat the same action at 10.147 *media Aeneas freta nocte secabat*, in rather different circumstances.

On the question of the departure from Carthage and the length of time spent there relative to the details of the opening of 5 (*inter al.*), see T. Valentine, “Vergil, *Aeneid* V 2,” in *CW* 21 (1928), 107–112; also F. Potter, “How Long was Aeneas at Carthage?,” in *CJ* 21 (1925–1926), 615–624, and, more generally, N. De Witt, “The Treatment of Time in the *Aeneid*,” in *CJ* 5 (1909–1910), 310–316. More often than not such questions may well have been supremely uninteresting to the poet.

secabat: Matching verbs at line-end mark the first two verses of the book; cf. 385–386 below.

3 *moenia respiciens, quae iam infelicis Elissae*

The backward glance: V. will exploit this theme in his *Palinurus* narrative (vid. Paschalis 1997, 181): “If the name *Palinurus* does indeed evoke a sense of *backward* travel, his sacrifice is all the more appropriate: Rome will be Italian, not Trojan, and thus the first Trojan to see Italy will be slain on the spot where he lands by those already there.” (from L. Fratantuono, “*Graviter commotus*: Neptune in the *Aeneid*,” in *Latomus* 74.1 [2015], 130–148). The penthemimeral caesura at the middle of the third foot allows for a pause for the gazing back at the walls.

For the force and connotations of *respiciens*, see Henry 1989, 56; Smith 2005, 41–42. For the *moenia* vid. A. Fo in *EV* III, 557–558, with illustration of Carthage’s wall from the Vatican Library collections. Though the problem of memory in V. is understudied, it has not been ignored entirely, in which regard G. Most’s study, “Memory and Forgetting in the *Aeneid*,” in *Vergilius* 47 (2001), 148–170 stands out; see also now Seider 2013. The topic has had a longer history in the scholarship on other Latin epic poets, e.g. M. Haupt, *Index Lectionum Aestivarum* 1855, in *Opuscula* (Leipzig 1876, reprinted Hildesheim 1967, 71–72). The genitive *infelicis Elissae* follows on *moenia*, even as it anticipates *flammis*; it is difficult to reflect the *apo koinou* construction in fluent (even tolerable) English.

Elissae: Only here and at 4.335 and 610 (also in the genitive, and at line-end, in accord with the “economy of Homeric names and epithets” discussed by Parry in the introduction to his *Making of Homeric Verse*). Cf. Ovid, *Am.* 2.18.31 with McKeown; *Her.* 7.102 and 193; *Ars Amatoria* 3.40 with R. Gibson; *Fasti* 3.553, 612, 623; note also Statius, *Silv.* 3.1.74; 4.2.1 (with Coleman), 5.2.120 (with B. Gibson); Juvenal, s. 6.435 (with Watson and Watson); Silius, *Pun.* 1.81, 98; 2.239, 391, 421; 3.82; 6.346; 7.488 (with Littlewood); 8.47, 78; 14.258, 573; 15.521; 16.614; 17.224, and outside poetry, Velleius Paterculus 1.6.4.3 (with Woodman).

For the possible etymological connection between Elissa and prayers of entreaty, vid. Paschalis 1997, 170. Dido is *infelix* (one of V.’s favorite adjectives with some 65 occurrences); cf. 1.712, 749, 4.68, 450, 529, and see below on 204, 329, 465 and 625, and vid. M. Bellincioni, “Felix/Infelix,” *EV* II, 486–488; Rébelliau 1892, 96.

For Elissa in the foundation legends of Carthage, see Hoyos 2010, 7–12. Useful on the poet’s presentation of Rome’s inveterate foe = R. Vicenzi, “Cartagine nell’*Eneide*,” in *Aevum* 59 (1985), 97–106.

In *A.* 7, V. will use apian imagery to describe the arrival of the Trojans to Latinus' kingdom, with Lavinia rather in the role of queen bee for the swarm that is soon to take up residence in Italy; Dido is Elissa and not Melissa, and thus rather a failed queen for the future Roman swarm (see further here Fratantuono 2008; note also J. Grant, "Dido Melissa," in *Phoenix* 23 [1969], 380–391). Clausen 1987 146n46 notes the "non-explanation" of the commentators for V's use of Elissa. For the cities that must perish before Rome can be founded, see Rossi 2004, 189–190. For the reborn soul as a *melissa* see Horsfall ad 6.707–709; novel nativities exist on the levels of soul; nation; poem.

See Radicke 2004, 235 for the likely influence of this passage on Lucan's account of the departure of Pompey from Italy in the opening scene of *BC* 3, where the ghost of Julia haunts the triumvir; also Hunink 1992, 26.

4 **conlucent flammis. quae tantum accenderit ignem**

Mercury had warned Aeneas that if he did not flee Dido's Carthage, he would see torches ablaze (4.567 *conlucere faces*); the prediction has come true, though not as one might have expected at first glance. Fires light the night sky as Turnus' forces surround Aeneas' camp (9.166 *conlucent ignes*); the Latin pyres similarly illumine the darkness at 11.209 *certatim crebris conlucent ignibus agri*. Haemonides, the priest of Apollo and Diana, is shining strikingly (*conlucens*, where the prefix has intensive force) in stunning apparel as Aeneas strikes him down and makes him a true "son of blood" (10.539). The verb occurs five times, then, and is decorously placed: twice with connection to Dido and the flight from north Africa, and twice of the Latins. The first instance of the latter occurs as the Latins besiege the Trojan camp, and the second as they hold a solemn, fiery general requiem. Finally, it appears when Aeneas kills a priest of the divine twins, with significance for the place of Apollo and Diana both in the epic and in the Augustan pantheon. On the destructive nature of fire and its associations with women and passion, cf. P. Miller, "The Minotaur within: Fire, the Labyrinth, and Strategies of Containment in *Aeneid* 5 and 6," in *CP* 1995 96.3, 225–240; for the matter of how "the flames represent [Dido's] hastily prepared funeral," see Nelis 2001, 191n11. With *conlucent* cf. also Ovid, *Her.* 14.25 (with Reeson ad loc.); *Fasti* 5.363; Seneca, *Thyestes* 908; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.351; Martial, *ep.* 2.46.3.

Here, too, there is an example of Roman history in the future tense (cf. the eschatological vision of *A.* 6, and the ecphrasis of the shield in 8, especially 8.678 ff.): the fires of Dido's pyre presage the ultimate destruction of Carthage (vividly described later by Appian, 8.19); there are parallels between the desecration of Troy and the attendant purification of those who witnessed its fall and the demise of Carthage that is strongly hinted at in the opening lines of

this book. The first third of *A.* opened with Juno's wrath over the prospective destruction of her beloved Carthage; the epic's second third opens with what is in effect the burning of the city.

See here, too, Wigodsky 1972, 30 for the evidence of Servius ad 5.4 (and DServius ad 4.462) regarding whether a Varro (Atacine or Reatine) wrote of *Anna's* love for Aeneas, either in response to a preexisting tradition, or as the ultimate source of V.'s narrative/invention. In any case, the alleged love of Anna and Aeneas rests mostly on the interpretation of 4.423 *sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras*, which may be a passage indicative of sororial jealousy, or a reflection of a more valid fear on Dido's part (and see here Austin's sensitive note).

conlucent: The prefix has deliberate and richly connotative force; the walls are gleaming with an intense fire from Dido's pyre, *and* there may be a hint that they are burning together with the dead queen. The glow from the fires contrasts effectively with the sea that is black 2 (*atros*) with storm clouds.

quae: A clever nod to the knowledgeable reader; the referent would seem at first most naturally to = Elissa, but Aeneas and the Trojans are ignorant of the *causa* (5).

tantum ... ignem: On one level, this collocation refers to the actual flames that are visible as the Trojans sail away; on another (one that is likely also present for the reader's consideration), to the metaphorical passion whose causes—most especially the actions of Juno and Venus—remain unknown to Aeneas and his men, and which have resulted in Dido's decision to commit suicide.

Burton prosaically remarks ad loc. that "it is somewhat surprising that a fire within the courtyard of the palace was sufficient to light up the walls of the city." Exactly the point, M. McOsker notes *per litt.*: the reflected (*conlucent*) destruction of Carthage (which, historically, would still loom large as a dangerous power), is reflective of the *actual* destruction of Troy (which would never rise again; cf. Lucan's depiction of Caesar's tour of the ruined site in *BC* 9). The "chiastic parallelism" (Troy/Carthage, Creüsa/Dido) is very much in the Virgilian manner; cf. Palinurus' survival of the storm at the beginning of this book, only to meet his doom in the calm at its end.

5 *causa latet; duri magno sed amore dolores*

For the "hidden cause," cf. *Aetna* 273 (with Goodyear); Ovid, *Her.* 21.53, *Met.* 4.287, 7.576, *Fasti* 6.570–571; Ps.-Ovid, *Ep. Drus.* 236; Statius, *Theb.* 8.250. There may be a medical metaphor lurking here (see below on 19); *dolor* (some 50× in V.) is primarily of physical pain (after Lucretius); cf., too, the *durus amor* of *G.* 3.259; the *Lugentes Campi* hold *sic illos nomine dicunt, | hic quos durus*

amor crudeli tabe peredit. Aeneas either has a great love for Dido or is stupefied by her great love at 4.395–396 (see Austin ad loc.), while at 1.344, Dido is said to have had a *magnus amor* for Sychaeus; the Trojans, for their part, have a great love of the land as they escape shipwreck and arrive on Carthaginian soil (1.171). Venus asks Cupid that Dido be filled with such a love for Aeneas (1.675; cf. with Austin ad loc. the interesting 1.716 *et magnum falsi implevit genitoris amorem*, where the disguised Cupid sits on Aeneas' lap). Orestes' love for the snatched Hermione is similarly described (3.331), as is Ariadne's for Theseus at 6.28, and Euryalus' (fateful) love for praise (*laudum*) at 9.197. The associations, then, are usually of Dido and Aeneas, with possibly 1× for each, or 2× of Dido: Venus prays that Dido have a *magnus amor* for her son, but, significantly, the description comes only here, *post mortem*—in *A.* 4 it is used to describe her great love for the deceased husband with whom she will be reunited in the underworld. Other references in *V.* are all ominous: Orestes; Ariadne (who will be abandoned by her love like Dido); Euryalus; even the mention of the Trojan landfall, though a relief after the storm, comes as introduction to the perils of the Carthaginian sojourn (with a hint that no Roman would feel at ease landing near Carthage). Ultimately *V.*'s exploration of the hazards of excessive love return to Lucretius 4; it is significant that the only land that enjoys anyone's *magnus amor* in *A.* is Carthage.

See further Reed 2007, 149–150 for the association of metaphors with “literal loves.” On Aeneas' ignorance of Dido's death here see Farron 1993, 75. *Magnus amor* is wonderfully ambiguous, then, after *V.*'s wonted fashion; it refers principally to the queen's love, which has driven her to commit suicide—but Aeneas can be imagined as having his own conflicted emotions as he sails from her coast and sees the fires that metaphorically connect both to Dido's emotions and his own. Water conquers flame, but Neptune's realm will soon enough prove hazardous to Aeneas' Trojans, too.

For the objective use of *dolores* in coordination with the subjective *notum*, vid. Hahn 1930, 157. The chiasmatic word order, which lends an element of verbal loveliness to the sorrows described, may reflect the entanglement from which Aeneas has lately extricated himself, though at great price. On the post-position of the conjunction Knapp notes “In prose a conjunction or a relative pronoun usually stands first in sentence or clause. In poetry the striving for emphasis is more constant and so we frequently find such words postponed.”

magno ... amore: The ablative might be of source (i.e., the great love as source of the *duri dolores*); it could also be of attendant circumstance, with causal sense.

6 *polluto, notumque furens quid femina possit,*

Pollution is not common in the *A.*: cf. 3.61, of the Trojan reception at Polydorus' grave; 3.234, of the Harpies befouling the feast; 7.467, of the peace that has been destroyed in Latium. For the question of who thinks that the *amor* of Dido and Aeneas was *polluto* (Dido? The Trojans? Virgil?), see Lyne 1987, 233–234. On the possible connection between the pollution noted here and the befouling action of the Harpies, see R. Rabel, "The Harpies in the *Aeneid*," in *CJ* 80.4 (1985), 317–325, 324–325.

notumque: *Furens* is neatly placed between *notum* and *femina*; Dido is characteristically furious, and what she is capable of doing (knowledge of which is not particularly difficult to imagine) is therefore reflective of her incensed state; for the *apo koinou* construction cf. on 3 above.

furens: Almost a technical descriptor for Dido, to whom it is most commonly applied in *A.* (Peerklamp compares *Pun.* 8.112, where Silius describes Aeneas lamenting Anna's failure to guard against Dido's madness); elsewhere in the epic it is more often used of women than of men. Cf. 1.659, 4.65, 69, 91 and 101 (*furor*), 283, 298, 433 (*furor*), 465, 501 (*furores*), 548, 697 (*furor*), all of Dido, and, in the rather different setting of the regatta, 202 below (of Sergestus); the feminine adjective also of Penthesilea (1.491), Cassandra (2.345), Juno (2.613; cf. 12.682 *furorem*, of the madness Jupiter asks his sister to forego), Andromache (3.313), the Sibyl Deiphobe (6.100, 262), Amata (7.350; cf. 377 *furit lymphata per urbem*, and her *furor* at 12.601) and Camilla (11.709 and 762). Turnus is similarly raging both before the cavalry battle (on account of the probable Trojan breaking of the truce) and after (in the wake of Camilla's death; cf. 11.486 and 901, as well as the enraged youths of 838). Hercules is incensed in his battle with Cacus (8.228); cf. Neoptolemus at 2.499. Aeneas may be *furens* at 2.771 (so *Mw vs. Pcd ruenti*; note 10.545 *Dardanides contra furit* and 802 *furit Aeneas*). Turnus is maddened at 9.691, and cf. the mysteriously powerful request he makes of his sister at 12.680 *hunc, oro, sine me furere ante furorem*, on which see Tarrant ad loc. for the etymological figure; note also Mezentius at 8.489 (with Thome 1979, 24 ff.); the brothers Liger and Lucagus at 10.578 (and cf. 386 *furit*, of Hisbo). See further on 662, 670, 694, 787 and 801 below, and S. Farron, "Furie/furore," *EV* II, 620–622; R. Thomas, "*Furor* and *Furiae* in Virgil," in *AJPh* 112 (1991), 261–262; also J. Korpanty, "Furor in der augusteischen Literatur," in *Clio* 67 (1985), 248–257.

The present subjunctive *possit* is more vivid than the variant *posset* *M*; the verb must also refer to Dido and not (ambiguously) another *furens femina* (if any other raging woman could be in the reader's mind, general reflections aside). *Quid femina possit*: see here Keith 2000, 24–26, 73, 115n51. The absence of the epexegetical infinitive (a reflection of Trojan ignorance as to what Dido did) makes the situation all the more frightening.

7 **triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt.**

The language is vivid; the *dolores* that are *duri*, as well as the knowledge of what a *furens femina* is capable of doing, “lead” (*ducunt*) the hearts of the Teucrians through (*per* with emphasis on the idea of the journey) a baleful omen, most probably the flames that Aeneas’ men see from the queen’s walls in the distance, but also the imminent tempest.

triste augurium: There are relatively few *auguria* in *A.* (vid. here P. Catalano, *EV* 1, 400–405; Bailey 1935, 19–21, who follows those who think there is “no divine intervention here and the word really means little more than ‘conjecture’”; see also Papaioannou 2005, 177–178). Cf. 523 below, of the *magnum augurium* of Acestes’ fiery portent (and see further Mellinghoff-Bourgerie 1990, 67, for the connection with *auspicia*); 1.392, where the disguised Venus announces to her son the safety of his companions in the aftermath of storm and shipwreck; 2.703, of the portent of the shooting star (and cf. 2.691 *auxilium/augurium* with Geymonat ad loc.); 3.5 (with Horsfall), of the Trojan fleet setting off for the West; 3.89, of the desired Delphic oracular pronouncement; 7.260, where Latinus welcomes Aeneas (and cf. 7.273 *augurat*); 9.327–328, of the doomed augur Rhamnes; 10.255, of the favorable portent Aeneas seeks from Cybele; 12.257–258, of the augur Tolumnius and the sign Juturna/Camers uses to break the truce; 12.394, of the prophetic gift Apollo bestowed on his beloved Iapyx.

For connections between the baleful augury here and the burning of the ships below, vid. Grassman-Fischer 1966, 89n87; note also Eden ad 8.522. Servius (*al. seq.*) linked the *triste augurium* with the imminent tempest, but the real omen is primarily the flames the Trojans see from the north African coast, though the fires are all the more dramatic against the background of the black seas. The present passage owes much to 4.291–292 *sese interea, quando optima Dido / nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores*, where Aeneas prepares his men for the clandestine departure from Carthage; the Trojans there are described as happy (5.295 *laeti*), which represents the beginning, as it were, of the joy that will permeate so much of the present book. The rejoicing, however, is founded on a perilous truth; Dido is being deceived, despite the *tantus amor* that binds her to Aeneas. The fiery sky over Carthage connects to the other fire portents in the epic, including the burning of the ships in the wake of Acestes’ fiery arrow shot in *A.* 5 (for fuller discussion cf. 523 below, where the *magnum augurium* confirms the augurial referent here). That portent connects directly to the comet-like *augurium* of 2.703, and ultimately to the pervasive problem in *V.* of the Augustan succession (Iulus, Pallas). Fire and water will recur as grim omens in the burning of the ships and, too, the loss of Palinurus in a sea that is deceptively serene; the knowledge of the events of *A.* 4, and the general reflec-

tions of the Trojans on the capabilities of a scorned woman, make the flames and the dark waters all the more ominous.

The traditional etymology of augury from the direction of birds was probably in V's mind here (along with *augere* and ideas of bringing increase/*Augustus*); see further Pollard 1977, 116–129; Galinsky 1996, 209, 316. Cf. A. Zimmermann, “Noch einmal die Etymologie von Augur,” in *RhM*, n.F. 55 (1900), 486–487; M. Beard in *VE* I, 150–151.

On the rich connotations of *tristis* see Maltby ad Tibullus, c. 1.2.51–52 “sullen, wintry.”

For the poetic use of *Teucri* for *Troiani*, see the useful material gathered at Cordier 1939, 134–137.

pectora: On the *pectora* as “la sede delle attività intellettive,” see Negri 1984, 206 ff., 291.

We move, then, from fire (Dido's pyre) to water (the storm Palinurus cannot navigate that will drive the Trojans to Sicily) to fire again (the burning of the ships) to water (the serene sea that nevertheless claims Palinurus).

8 ut pelagus tenere rates nec iam amplius ulla

The hephthemimeral caesura at the middle of the fourth foot comes just as the boats are said to hold the sea.

pelagus: The noun occurs some 50× in V; vid. A. Borgo, *EV* IV, 4–6.

nec iam amplius: Parallel to *A.* 3.192–193 *postquam altum tenere rates nec iam amplius ullae | terrae, caelum undique et undique pontus* (and see below on 10). The previous passage = the Trojan departure from Crete and arrival at the Strophades, with the storm narrative that is noteworthy for Palinurus' inability to find his way (3.201–202 *ipse diem noctemque negat discernere caelo | nec meminisse viae media Palinurus in unda*). The sojourn in Crete will be marked by the dream epiphany of the Penates, where Apollo (3.162) and Jupiter (3.171) are said to forbid a Cretan settlement. Anchises urges the Trojans to heed the nocturnal vision; 3.188 *cedamus Phoebō et moniti meliora sequamur* is parallel to the hortatory sentiments of 5.22–23 *sequamur | vertamus*. Both Anchises and Palinurus will soon enough die. As *A.* 5 opens, in the absence of Anchises, Aeneas' helmsman will not be able to navigate as he did in Book 3, but he will assume something of the role once held by Aeneas' father; the underworld will be framed by visits with both men.

At 1.807–808, V. will use the same language to describe Arruns after the death of Camilla: *nec iam amplius hastae | credere nec telis occurrere virginis audet*, where even the infinitive connects to 5.9 *occurrit*: another of the many close linkages between the sister books (and cf. Acestes' bear-skin costume at 37 below, with its affinities to Camilla's apparel). For the phrase *nec iam*

amplius cf. also Lucan, *BC* 3.752; Statius, *Theb.* 1.237, 2.679, 6.452; Silius, *Pun.* 6.270, 8.163.

The death of Palinurus is foreshadowed by the reminiscence here (8–11) of Homer, *Od.* 12.403–406 and ff., on which see Quinn 1968, 386–387. There, amid Jovian storm and general mayhem, with no land visible, a mast falls and strikes the head of Odysseus' helmsman, crushing his skull; he falls overboard like a diver and is lost. *A.* 5 opens grimly, and the poet will exercise great artistry in the contrast between the *laetus*-motif and the ominous events that are both proximately and distantly presaged.

9 occurrit tellus, maria undique et undique caelum,

For the threefold division of earth, sea, and sky, cf. 801ff. and 870ff. below with Hardie 1986, 318–320; on the significance of the number in *V*'s epic, see R. Laroche, "The Symbolic Number 3: Its Role in the *Aeneid*," in Defosse 2002, 287–304.

Water and air, but no land: the emphasis is on the still distant goal of Italy. In Book 3, there were no *terrae* (plural); here there is no *tellus*; before there was everywhere the *pontus*, and now the plural *maria*. Only the *caelum* has remained the same in number, though sky has exchanged places with sea. The language now reflects the closer approach to Italy; now the (singular) land rushes forth to greet the exiles (though the land will = Sicily before *Hesperia* proper). The effect is muted by recourse to the unnecessary variant/conjecture *apparet* introduced here under the influence of *A.* 3.193 *apparet*. This line is in any case redolent with the spirit of the companion *A.* 3; see here H. Stubbs, "In Defence of the Troughs: A Study in *Aeneid* III and V," in *Vergilius* 44 (1998), 66–84.

occurrit: There could be a hint here of the hazards of navigation near the shore, especially one known for sandbars and other marine perils: land can be a problem, but also a blessing as refuge from storm. Palinurus will survive being thrown overboard by Sleep at the end of the book, only to meet his end once he successfully swims to shore.

The metrical pattern of *undique et undique* serves to enact the seemingly endless expanse of both sea and sky.

10 olli caeruleus supra caput adstitit imber

Cf. here 3.194–195 *tum mihi caeruleus supra caput adstitit imber | noctem hie-memque ferens, et inhorruit una tenebris*; the language almost brings to life some sea god, now rising from the deep amid wind and rain. On the color of the storm cloud see Edgeworth 1992, 108, and Dyson 2001, 63–67, who points out the adjective's sinister implications; cf. too Ovid, *Her.* 7.94; and see also below on 87, 123,

and 819 and, for a brief, useful introduction to the vast topic of Virgilian colors, R. Stem, *VE* I, 284–285; Worstbrock 1963, 240–244; T. Price, “The Colour System of Virgil,” in *AJPh* 4 (1883), 1–20. For the possible association of *caeruleus* with (9) *caelum*, see O’Hara 1996, 159 and also 138. With the rising of the storm over Palinurus’ head cf. 815 *unum pro multis dabitur caput*.

Storms frame the Carthaginian sojourn; there is also a contrast between the bad weather here (which Palinurus will survive) and the calm at the book’s close (which will see his doom). The storm is perhaps the expiation for the guilt (and pollution?) incurred by the death of Dido; the matter is not considered by G. Petter, “Desecration and Expiation as a Theme in the *Aeneid*,” in *Vergilius* 40 (1994), 76–84. Nelis 2001, 466 compares the purificatory function of *A.* 5 with the similar problem incurred by the Argonauts after the murder of Apsyrtus at *Arg.* 4.557 ff.

The storm here is not credited to any particular god, though Palinurus blames Neptune; at 819 below, the waters are calmed before the loss of Palinurus as Neptune drives over the sea in his *caeruleus currus*. See Quinn 1968, 152 for the question of why a third storm; V. artfully arranges his tempests in the odd-numbered books of his *Odyssey*; the storms rather decrease in severity, at least from *A.* 1 to 3; the storm of 1 leads to Dido’s Carthage, while that of 3 takes Aeneas to the Harpies (who have affinities with Harpalyce/Camilla); in the present case, the sea peril leads to the peace of Sicily, though that relative calm, too, will soon be disturbed—and at the loss of Trojan helmsman. For the storm as opening element in a frame for the book, see E. Harrison, “Structure and Meaning in Vergil’s *Aeneid*,” in Cairns 1977, 101–112, 105–106.

The archaic *olli* is the first of two old words (see below on 13; Harrison on 10.745) that mark this storm narrative. Here, the referent is Aeneas, who has not been named since 5.1; at 12 below *ipse gubernator* introduces Palinurus, but the intensive pronoun might first make us think of Aeneas (the subject heretofore), who will in fact take over as helmsman at book-end. The double appearance of archaisms at the outset of this book also reflects the concern of its opening movements with the Trojan origins of “contemporary” Sicily and the recurring problem of the distant past and its reconciliation with the present that haunts the epic; any stateliness and splendor is further connected to the possible divine involvement of Neptune in the whole matter. For *olli* see especially Horsfall ad 7.458, summarized ad 6.321 as “spondaic, archaic, Ennian”; on Virgilian archaisms in general note B. Victor, *VE* I, 118–119.

11 noctem hiememque ferens et inhorruit unda tenebris.

Ominous events in V. often take place while the world is otherwise at rest; here the storm brings night to the day. *A.* 5 will end with a night scene, as Palinurus

is thrown overboard by Somnus just after midnight (see on 835–871 below, and cf. *G.* 1.426–427, on how even serene nights are not to be trusted). *Nox* was a vaguely personified goddess, with scant mythology; in *V.* she is the mother of the Fury Allecto (7.331), and of the twin Dirae and Megaera (12.845–847; 860). *V.* sometimes uses *nox* as a synonym for death (*G.* 1.468; *A.* 10.746; 12.310); both Turnus (12.908–912) and Eurydice (*G.* 4.497) are enveloped by night, the former in a dreamlike state. See further A. Pasquazi Bagnolini, “Nox,” *EV* III, 770–772. It is interesting that, though *Nox* is not a goddess here, but merely the concept of the darkness of night, the helmsman Palinurus appears at once in the very next line, guiding the ship as it enters the storm: the mention of night is a harbinger of the death of the *gubernator*. He will be in just such a role when Somnus in the guise of Phorbas causes him to fall asleep and plummet from his post at lines 835–871.

For the “poeticism” (Watson ad Horace, *ep.* 2.51–52) of *hiems* in the sense of storm (noted only in passing by Dehon 1993), see D. Romano, “Inverno,” *EV* II, 1003–1005, and cf. (with Horsfall) *A.* 3.120 *nigram Hiemi pecudem*, where offerings are made (at Anchises’ instigation and direction) before the ill-fated landing in Crete to Neptune, Apollo, “Winter/Storm,” and the Zephyr (and see below on 97 for the offerings made at Anchises’ tomb). In the end, three of the four entities will be relevant to the present storm scene.

inhorrere: Rare in *V.*; cf. *G.* 1.313–314 *vel cum ruit imbriferum ver, | spicea iam campis cum messis inhorruit*; the parallel *A.* 3.195 (see above); 10.711 *substitit infremuitque ferox et inhorruit armis* (of a boar; see Harrison ad loc.). The word has an archaic flavor (Pacuvius fr. 355–356 Warmington *interea prope iam occidente sole inhorrescit mare | tenebrae conduplicantur*; see further Wigodsky 1972, 85–86), and it appears in Celsus’ medical writings as well as Petronius and Tacitus; cf. Horace, *c.* 1.23.5; Ovid, *Ep. Pont.* 3.3.9; *Ibis* 201; Seneca, *Phaed.* 1031; *Ag.* 418; *HO* 1133; Statius, *Theb.* 1.309; 7.689; 11.249; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.348; Silius, *Pun.* 12.381. On the “ruffling” of the water see Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 33 *sacer horror aquis*.

See further L. Jermyn, “Weather-Signs in Virgil,” in *G&R* 20 (1951), 49–59 for a useful introduction to a vast topic.

12 ipse gubernator puppi Palinurus ab alta:

The helmsman Palinurus (vid. E. Greco, *EV* III, 936–939, and the bibliography at L. Fratantuono, “*Princeps ante omnis*: Palinurus and the Eerie End of Virgil’s *Protesilaus*,” in *Latomus* 71.3 [2012], 713–733, 713–714n1); see further below ad 827–871. Aeneas’ trusted navigator will frame the book; the storm Palinurus escapes here will be replaced later by the deceptively serene sea that will claim him (Sleep will be compelled to overpower the helmsman—who will not be

deceived or tricked by the sea). *Gubernator* is proper to Palinurus in *A.* (cf. 3.269 and 6.337—1×, then, in each book where he appears). Palinurus' place on the high deck of the ship contrasts with Acestes' descent from a lofty point later (see on 35); with *puppi ... ab alta* cf. 175 below; the lofty deck will reappear to close a great ring at 841 *puppique deus consedit in alta*, of Somnus as he prepares his attack on the helmsman (see further Lazzarini ad Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.177 *puppi ... ab alta*). For *ipse* of Palinurus (“qui debuit esse solacio”—Servius), cf. 3.201–202 and see on 8 above. On Palinurus' entangled literary history, see Horsfall 1991, 100–101. Palinurus and Aeneas are together on deck as this book opens; they will be separated at its end, as Aeneas experiences yet another loss at the end of a book.

gubernator: The ship's κυβερνήτης was a crewman of extraordinary importance; see on 177 for navigation by tiller, and rudder (if not anachronistic). In the end the great navigator will become a human ship, as it were, as he maneuvers himself to land (only to meet his end on the hostile shore).

13 *heu, quianam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi?*

For the interjection cf. 615 and 671 below; some 55× in *V.* On the archaic *quianam*, see Wigodsky 1972, p. 35n153; Goldschmidt 2013, 204 (with reference to occurrences in both Ennius and Naevius). Quintilian (8.3.25) cites *quianam* (and *olli*, on which see above on 10) as examples of archaisms that lend a certain solemnity and gravity to the narrative.

cinxerunt: Forms of this verb occur 4× in this book and 4× in its sister 11; cf. 71, 288, and 597 below, and 11.188; 475; 486; 536; Books 5 and 11 have an unusually high number of occurrences of words that appear either 1× only in each, or the same number of times; *V.* thus verbally enacts a close connection between his penultimate books.

For *nimbus* vid. Norden ad 6.590ff. The clouds have girded the *aether* or upper air (see below on 20 *aēr*); the *aether* is properly the heavenly abode of the immortals, and its use here constitutes hyperbole about the storm, and also introduces the question Palinurus will ask of the god Neptune: there is a shade, here, of the trope of discord among the Olympians regarding the Trojan voyage to Italy. The archaic *quianam* connects, too, with the divine ether: this storm is the result of ancient forces stirred once more. “The wandering Trojans are several times at the mercy of extreme weather characterized by clouds covering the sky” (S. Harden, “Clouds,” in *VE* I, 276); it is possible that in the hostile weather the Trojans suffer we may see something of a foreshadowing of the Jovian announcement that Trojan *mores* will be suppressed in the future Rome.

14 quidve, pater Neptune, paras? sic deinde locutus

“The artificial order ... is repeated in l. 400, and in vii.135: Virgil always avoids beginning a sentence with *deinde*” (Mackail ad loc.). Here the word order and the interrogation of the god lend dramatic flavor to the scene. For Homeric style speech formulas (cf. 16; 32; 79), see Harrison on 10.244–245.

Neptune (fittingly the father of seamen) is ironically preparing nothing less than Palinurus’ doom; V. will answer the question posed here in the final movements of the book. On the god see further Horsfall 1995, 141–142; M. Massenzio, “Nettuno,” in *EV* III, 710–712; note too R. Brower, “Visual and Verbal Translation of Myth: Neptune in Virgil, Rubens, Dryden,” in *Daedalus* 101.1 [1972], 155–182; also L. Fratantuono, “*Graviter commotus*: Neptune in the *Aeneid*,” *Latomus* 70.1 (2014), 130–148. Neptune makes his most extended appearances in the *A.* appropriately enough in this, V.’s island book. At 1.125, he calms the storm Aeolus’ winds had stirred; at 2.610–612, his destructive role in the ruin of Troy is accorded almost as much space as that of the city’s arch rival Juno (and cf. 2.625, 3.3, and 9.145; also ironically, the god had helped to build the walls of the city that he helps to destroy). Laocoön is a priest of the god (2.201). Sacrifice is made to Neptune at 3.74 on Delos; cf. 3.119. Later in this book Neptune will guarantee safe passage to Italy; he fulfills this promise at 7.23. Messapus, one of the leading Italians *contra* Aeneas’ Trojans, is the *Neptunia proles* (7.691, 9.523, 10.353, 12.128). Neptune, Venus, and Minerva will oppose the deities of Cleopatra’s Egypt at 8.699; cf. 8.695.

Neptune’s appearances in the poem are thus often tinged with a sense of irony, and the god has mixed associations in the *A.* The god is introduced early in the epic, at its first crisis, seemingly as pro-Trojan (though his motivation may be rooted more in indignation at the usurpation of his marine prerogatives than anything else). He agrees to help his niece later in this book, but only at the price, it would seem, of either Palinurus (most likely) or Misenus (just possibly). He assists in the dismantling of Troy’s walls, even as he stands with Octavian’s naval forces against Cleopatra. This final observation perhaps best characterizes the deity; he is on the side of the future Rome, not Troy; Messapus’ paternity reflects this loyalty (and Messapus, who is immune to fire and iron, is a quasi-immortal figure who ultimately survives the war in Latium). Neptune’s action in *A.* 1 occasions the epic’s first simile, of the man (Augustus?) who calms the crowd; Octavian’s defining victory in the Roman civil wars was at sea. “In the genuine Roman cult [Neptune] was a minor and rather obscure figure” (Bailey 1935, 118). It is interesting that in this book that is so concerned with the image of the *pater*, it is Neptune who is first accorded the appellation.

Putnam 1998, 228 notes that it is Neptune who first notices deceit in the *A.*, when he discovers the *doli* and *irae* of Juno, and that 10 of 18 uses of *dolus* in

the epic occur in its first third. Juno will use a trick to secure Aeneas' diversion in Carthage, the ultimate perfidious city for Roman ethnography and related concerns, while Aeneas for his part will use a trick of concealment to secure his departure from Dido's city. Gods are not often directly questioned in the epic, especially by a minor character; there may be a certain impiety or at least presumptuousness in Palinurus' interrogation here; certainly the present passage connects to the (probable) role of the god in the helmsman's ultimate loss (since, it must be noted, the sacrifice Neptune demands of Venus may well = Misenus).

deinde: The conjunction (and what follows) underscores how Palinurus is a man of action; he knows at once how to react to the storm. "Like many particles of transition ... [it] has both an emphatic use, when it is, if not wholly enclitic, at least unequal to the emphasis of coming first" (Conway ad 1.195).

15 colligere arma iubet validique incumbere remis

Ladewig conjectured *corripere* for *colligere*, and not entirely without sense. See Williams 1960 here for the speculation that V. was the first to use *arma* in the sense of "tackle"; Henry has a lengthy note here vigorously defending the idea that *arma* = "oars" and not sails, or anything else; see further Conway ad 1.177. *Deinde* (14) is properly coordinate with *iubet*; see Conington ad loc. for its transposition to the participle (*locutus*). See Quinn 1968, 156–157 for Aeneas' "loss of moral authority over his men" in the wake of the Dido episode; "Palinurus is for the moment the real commander; he takes emergency action on his own initiative ... then tactfully suggests a change of course; Aeneas merely acquiesces" (cf. Acestes' relationship later with Aeneas). This temporary replacement of Aeneas as *dux* by the helmsman will prove ultimately to be part of the sacrificial nature of Palinurus' death in Aeneas' stead. For more on *arma* in this sense see Horsfall ad 6.232 *suaque arma viro* ("perfectly common").

incumbere remis: Cf. 8.108, the metaphorical use of the same phrase at Ovid, *Ars* 2.731, and the amusing reference at Juvenal, s. 15.128, and for the use with the dative, Kühner-Stegmann II.1, 338; Ernout-Robin, 69; see also Gaertner ad Ovid, *Ep. Pont.* 1.9.27 (on rowing metaphors).

16 obliquatque sinus in ventum ac talia fatur:

For the action cf. Lucan, *BC* 5.427–428 (with Barratt). "He shifts the sails which had previously been squared (*recta*), or at right angles with the keel, so that they are now sloping, or aslant, i.e., forming with the keel an acute angle in the direction in which the vessels are going" (so Henry, following Servius). Farrell ad loc. provides a diagram of the "tacking" process V. here describes. Here we find

the only appearance of the verb *obliquare* in V. (he may have introduced it); see below on 274 *obliquum*, during the simile of the snake that has been crushed by wheel or stone, and cf. 11.337 *obliqua invidia* (of Drances toward Turnus during the Latin war council); G. 1.98, 239, 4.298. V. is more or less silent in A. 5 on the ships' gear, whether hanging or wooden (vid. further Olson ad Hermippus fr. 63.12–13).

On *talia* as object of *fari* vid. Norden ad 6.46, and below on 79; the collocation is not much favored by the Latin poets.

17 **magnanime Aenea, non si mihi Iuppiter auctor**

Cf. 407 below, of the *magnanimus Anchisiades*. So also at 1.260, 9.204, and 10.771; at G. 4.476 and A. 6.649, it is used of the souls of dead heroes. Significantly, at 12.144 and 878 it is used of Jupiter—he is the ultimate “great-spirited one” in the epic, and the herald of the ethnography of the future Rome in his climactic address to Juno; cf. 10.563 of Volcens, where the adjective seems to have little import beyond its traditional Homeric associations. How different is this scene from the introduction of Aeneas at 1.92; (and where was Palinurus during that storm?). There is a hint here of the earlier scene and of the lament of Aeneas that he was not among those heroes who had perished at Troy; the use of the appellation opens a great ring with the underworld vision and the *magnanimi heroes* Aeneas aspires to join (one of whom, significantly, is Dardanus; cf. 6.650). In both cases, Aeneas lives up to the characteristic of resolve that Servius attaches to him; he sees the adjective that embodies this, *magnanimus*, as being an epithet derived from the occasion.

auctor: Cf. (all in the nominative) 2.150 (of the question of who was responsible for the Trojan horse); 3.503, 4.365, 6.650, and 8.134 (*Dardanus auctor*); 418 below (of Acestes); 7.49 (of Saturn); 8.269 (of Potitius); 8.336 and 12.405 (of Apollo); 9.748 *neque enim is teli nec vulneris auctor* (Turnus to Pandarus); 10.510 (of the news of Pallas' death); 11.339 (of Drances); 12.1159 (of Juno); accusative *auctorem* at 9.421 of Nisus; 10.67 (of the Fates). Most often applied, then, to Dardanus (the son of Zeus and Electra), and only here to the supreme god; for the genealogical background see Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.50 and especially 1.61; cf. Homer, *Il.* 20.304–305. *Auctor* here harks back to 7 *augurium*; not even the sky god Jupiter could manage to fulfill a promise of safe passage here through the *triste ... augurium* of the storm (there may be more presumption here, too, on Palinurus' part, as with his direct questioning of Jupiter's brother). The title encompasses Jupiter's role as progenitor of the Trojans and, more generally, as the giver and savior of life; the translation seeks to reflect the all-encompassing nature of the descriptor. Any legal associations should probably not be pushed too far.

The book opens, as it were, with the *auctor* Jupiter who is referenced by Palinurus; near its end we find the *genitor* Neptune, who in some sense presides over the last movements of the book.

18 *spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere caelo.*

spondeat: The verb is rare in V.; cf. 9.296 *sponde* (vid. Hardie ad loc.), where Iulus tells Euryalus to promise himself all the things that will be worthy of his valor. Aeneas' son promises that Euryalus' mother (who is, significantly, left unnamed) will be cherished by him as if she were Creüsa in all but name—an ominous foreshadowing of the son's loss, and a reason for the onomastic silence about the ill-fated woman. The only other appearance = 12.637 (*aut quae iam spondet Fortuna salutem?*), where Turnus ruefully addresses his sister Juturna. Three uses then, and two of them in clearly emotionally charged circumstances that presage the loss of young heroes; Palinurus' protasis here is part of the same image of broken and problematic promises. Cf., too, how Coroebus does not listen to his *sponsa* Cassandra at 2.345. Palinurus, in any case, *will* touch Italy, as we shall learn in the underworld—though not in the manner anticipated here.

With the present subjunctive *sperem*, cf. 4.292 *speret*, of the hope that Dido will not know that the Trojans are about to depart.

On the dramatic appearances of *Italiam* in the *A.*, see Nethercut 1992 in Wilhelm and Jones 1992, 229–243.

contingere: Palinurus does not realize that he is describing something of his own fate; he will indeed just manage to touch Italy.

19 *mutati transversa fremunt et Vespere ab atro*

transversa: Rare in V.; once each in *E.* (3.8), *G.* (4.26), and *A.*, in quite different contexts. V. probably borrowed it from Lucretius, *DRN* 6.190 *nubila portabunt venti transversa per auras*; cf. also *DRN* 5.1330, during the description of the use of animals in warfare (Williams 1960 cites *DRN* 5.33 *acerba tuens*, for the adverbial accusative). The word is common in Celsus, and may import a medical metaphor to the narrative (cf. 4–5 above). Cf. also Germanicus, *Arat.* 463; Manilius, *Ast.* 1.524, 625, 629; Statius, *Theb.* 1.348 *venti transversa frementes* (a direct imitation); Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.154; it is also commonly found in Vitruvius (as well as Columella), which further secures its particular usefulness in the scientific vocabulary. “Accusative of kindred meaning” (Burton ad loc.); cf. 170 *iter laevum*.

Vesper is rarely named in the *A.*; Aeneas refers to it as the closer of the day at 1.374 as he addresses his disguised mother; at 8.280, the day closes with the Evening Star as the rites in honor of Hercules commence at Pallanteum. Cf. also *E.* 6.86; *G.* 1.251, 461, 3.336, 4.186, 434, and *Ps.-V.*, *Culex* 203 (with Seelentag).

Here part of the point is that the night has seemingly replaced the day, and so Vesper has, in a sense, come too. On night in *V.* see especially H. Rey, *Die Bedeutung der Nacht in der epischen Erzählung der Aeneis* (Diss. Hamburg), 1968; G. Osmun, “Night Scenes in the *Aeneid*,” in *Vergilius* 8 (1962), 27–33; also the entry of Fratantuono and R. Thomas in the *VE*.

For the *black Vesper* see Edgeworth 1992, 78. Edgeworth credits the striking use of *Vesper ater* to archaic Greek usage, but in *V.* the particular use of *Vesper* here connects with associations of Lucifer and the young hero Pallas (cf. *A.* 2.801 with 8.585–591). We should capitalize here, too, rather than imagine that *vesper* merely stands poetically for the west (so Burton ad loc., who then notes the potential inconsistency with 2 *Aquilone*, “unless we assume that the latter is used in a general sense of a strong wind from any direction,” only to conclude that “the difficulty is removed if we may understand that the wind was from the northwest”).

20 *consurgunt venti atque in nubem cogitur aër.*

consurgunt venti: Cf. 3.196 *continuo venti*, where the emphasis is on the suddenness of the squall. Here, significantly, it is *Palinurus* who announces the winds; *V.*'s authorial voice spoke of rain and darkness, in contrast to the earlier storm where the poet-narrator also mentioned the rising of the winds. This small detail continues the subtle and careful presentation of Aeneas' helmsman here: *this* *Palinurus* is more secure and in command of the situation, and unaware of his impending peril. On the Virgilian winds see the detailed, illustrated entry of M. Labate, *EV V*, 490–498.

aër: The lower air, in contrast to the *aether* (cf. on 13 above); = the realm of Juno in contrast to Jupiter's heaven (from the etymology of *Hera* from *aër*). “It never means the clear sky in *V.*, without an epithet” (Conway ad 1.411).

The goddess Juno has an ethereal seat at 7.288 when she instigates the war in Latium in an act of defiance; at 12.810 she inhabits an *aëria sedes* once she has been reconciled to Jupiter—her proper home. Cf. the descent of Somnus at 838–839 below, where the god of sleep displaces the *aëra ... tenebrosam* in a passage that forms a ring with the present storm narrative. Servius notes the dark characteristic of the cloud here, contrasting it with Aeneas' bright cloud-rending introduction to Dido at *A.* 1.589 *scindit se nubes*. Adjectival forms of the noun often refer to exceptionally lofty objects (clouds, mountains, birds); cf. 520 below and also *A.* 2.123–124, 3.474, 291, 680, 6.234, 536, 802, 7.704–705, 8.221, and 9.679. Elysium will have “a more ample ether” (6.640 *largior ... aether*), but also “broad plains of air” (887 *aëris in campis latis*), since the Virgilian underworld is a place where souls await rebirth to an ultimately heavenly fate. There are echoes here of the storm in *A.* 1; Juno will soon enough

return to the narrative. Instead of the singular cloud Isidore (*DRN* 32) read the plural *nubes* here. For modern commentary on the late antique and medieval interest in the “*physica ratio*” of Virgilian allegory, see J. Jones, “The Allegorical Tradition of the *Aeneid*,” in Bernard 1986, 107–132, 110–111.

21 *nec nos obniti contra nec tendere tantum*

obniti: Cf. on 206 *obnixi* below. The verb is not common in V., but it occurs twice each in this book and its predecessor: 4.332, where Aeneas struggles before speaking to Dido, and 406, of the action of the ants in the celebrated simile (*obnixae frumenta umeris*, and note 9.725 *obnixus latis umeris*, of Pandarus at the gates of the Trojan camp). Cf. 10.359 and 12.721 (*obnixi* and *obnixi* in martial contexts). Another interesting verbal connection, then, between *A.* 4 and 5, possibly coincidental and occasioned by the mere proximity of the books; for the links between these books in the opening 1–34, vid. Otis 1963, 270–271n1. Previous commentators have noted the emphasis on effort by V.’s use of the tautological *obniti contra*; the repetition of *tantum* (4, 21) also helps to create the effect of great labor.

The encounter with Dido leads directly to the need for the expiatory rites for the pollution incurred in Carthage to be performed in Sicily, where Anchises’ bones rest; this purification presages the eschatological purgatory that Anchises will describe to his son in Elysium in the next book. The second half of the epic will offer the opportunity for the son to respond to the admonitions of his father’s shade that are offered in the underworld.

22 *sufficimus. superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur,*

Sufficere is not a common verb in V.; at 2.618 Jupiter supplies the Danaans with strength to destroy Troy; at 9.515 Turnus’ forces cannot withstand the Trojan response to their attempted assault on the camp; at 9.803 and 810, neither the goddess Juno nor the boss of his shield can defend Turnus from attack (the former scene foreshadows the striking use of the verb 2× near book-end); at 12.739 *suffecit*, the weapon of his charioteer that the hasty Turnus had mistakenly taken up for the fight is only good against fleeing Trojans (and not against the divine weapons wielded by Aeneas). The verb is thus used most often in the context of Turnus’ inability to withstand Trojan assaults; the present passage constitutes its only use in the *A.* in instances where the context is not martial.

Otis 1964 notes, “Aeneas welcomes the chance to return to the *ossa Anchisae*; ... Aeneas’ escape from Dido is also the renewal of his bond with Anchises” (272). On *F/fortuna* in general vid. R. Scarcia, *EV* II, 564–567; Bailey 1935, 236 ff. (on cases where chance/fate seem to blend into one concept, and where “for-

tune is said to show or to refuse a way.”); also P. Gagliardi, “*Fortuna* in Virgilio,” in *QUCC* 97 (2011), 61–88 (and her earlier “*Fortunatus* in Virgilio,” in *REL* 87 [2009], 92–33). Some (e.g. N. Dewitt, “The Arrow of Acastes,” in *AJPh* 41 [1920], 371) have taken this as a statement of the good luck that attends Aeneas. Though Palinurus credits Fortune with the storm that has compelled the Trojans to seek shelter in Sicilian waters, he personally enjoys no such luck—and one could legitimately question his hypothesis. In any case, his theology seems somewhat contradictory; at 14 above he asked Neptune directly about his intentions for his watery realm, in language that could be taken to be accusatory (and which might well be connected to his inevitable demise at the behest, as it were, of the marine deity). We might also cf. Drances’ words at 11.344–345 *quid fortuna ferat populi* (with Bartelink 1965, 238–239). The emphasis here is on the unknown fortune of the sea-tossed Trojans; they are not aware of how serious the storm might be (especially in light of what they have already experienced); Palinurus, however, correctly discerns that Sicily is near—since he has indeed noted the stars that somehow shine through the tempest (see below on 24–25; he has observed the stars by careful attention to the memory of his former Sicilian voyage). The question, then, is what one knows *vs.* what one does not know; the answer in any given situation provides a way to find a potential place for the idea of free will in a predetermined universe.

sequamur: Cf. 709–710, where the ring opened here is closed.

23 *quoque vocat vertamus iter. nec litora longe*

Vocat is more vivid than the variant *vacat* M, which rather misses the point, though it might deserve consideration at least as the *difficillior lectio*.

Vertere is one of V’s favorite verbs (some 90×); cf. on 141, 586, 626, 810 below, and vid. G. Garuti, *EV* V, 508–510.

For *iter* cf. 2 above and 170, 217, 589, and 862 below; 37 occurrences in V, mostly clustered in Books 5–7. Here, the word has metaphorical resonance, as Palinurus marches inexorably to his doom. On *litus* see E. Zorzi, *EV* III, 235. L. McGlashen, “Reversal and Epiphany in the Games of Anchises,” in *Vergilius* 49 (2003), 12–68, suggests that the collocation “*litora ... fida ... fraterna Erycis*” demonstrates that “the *reliquiae Danaum ...* are celebrating a homecoming,” citing 5:30, 36, 41, 43, 57, 61, 73 as further evidence. For *quoque* the *adnot. s. Luc.* read *quaque* here.

24 *fida reor fraterna Erycis portusque Sicanos,*

On 24 ff. see Reeker 1971, 130 ff.

fida: Cf. 468 and 547 below; though Servius quips “propter Acastis adfinitatem,” the adjective may reflect Sicilian loyalties during the Punic Wars and

could possibly, after the problems arising from Octavian's harsh measures meant to punish the supporters of Sextus Pompeius during the 30s, reflect the slow return to loyalty to the *novus ordo* under Augustus (cf. S.C. Stone III, in *AJA* 87 [1983] 20). The phrase has problematic associations in V.: at A. 2.399–400, it describes the shores where the Danaans flee after Aeneas' disguised band strikes back on the night Troy fell; some Greeks run to the coast, while others try even to hide again in the wooden horse. Once again, V. darkens the mood through glances both forwards and back; the context here is nowhere near as ominous as on that grim night, but the reminiscence gives pause to the attentive reader and prepares us for troubles ahead—which include the final destruction, as it were, of the Troy that burned in Book 2. See further Uccellini ad Statius, *Ach.* 1.171 *fido ... in limine*.

reor: Vid. M. Borioni, *EV* IV, 436–439.

Fraternus is not a common adjective in V., despite the importance of the image of the “brother” for Rome; cf. 630 *hic Erycis fines fraterni* below; 4.1 *fraterna caede* (of the “fraternal” slaughter of Sychaeus by Pygmalion, where see Austin); 9.736 *emicat et mortis fraternae fervidus ira*, of Pandarus' anger over the death of Bitias; otherwise only at G. 3.517–518 *it tristis arator / maerentem abiungens fraterna morte iuencum* (and see Seelentag ad Ps.-V., *Culex* 142). Twice, then, of Aeneas' brother Eryx, and once of “real” brothers; except for Aeneas/Eryx, all the uses are dark (though see below on 392). For a creative argument that the end of the A. prefigures the slaughter of Remus, see J. Rohman, “Aux origines de Rome: Le meurtre fondateur vu par Virgile,” in *Lalies: Actes des sessions de linguistique et de littérature, Vol. 31, La Baume, 23–27 août 2010*, Paris: Ed. Rue d'Ulm, 2011, 337–351. On the general theme, see T. Stover, “Aeneas and Lausus: Killing the Double and Civil War in *Aeneid* 10,” in *Phoenix* 65 (2011), 352–360.

Eryx: See below on 392, 402, 412, 419, 483, 630 and 759 ff., and cf. A. 1.570 *sive Erycis finis regemque optatis Acesten*; s.v. “Erice,” K. Galinsky, *EV* III, 364–365. In the earlier passage, Dido promised to aid the Trojans with help (*auxilium*) if they decided to seek either Hesperia or the domains of Acestes; in fact, the promised *auxilium* has been replaced with an *augurium* that portends ill. The present storm has almost forced the landing in Sicily; V. does not give any indication that the Trojans would have stopped at the island otherwise, and so in a sense Dido's mention of a possible stopover with Acestes has been fulfilled in a way that neither she nor the Trojans could have predicted at the reception in Carthage. Cf. Galinsky 1968, 158.

Eryx (the modern Erice/San Giuliano; *Barrington* 47B2) was located above Drepanum, where Anchises died, and so the geographic locale at once connects us to the loss of Aeneas' father. Historically, Eryx was a dependent of Segesta.

Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* 1.52.3–4) mentions Aeneas' founding of both Aegesta and Elyma, the latter a town nowhere else mentioned (see below on 73), which has led some to speculate that Eryx is to be read instead. The place was famous for a sanctuary of Venus Erycina (which does not survive); the temple may have replaced an earlier Phoenician/Carthaginian cult of Aphrodite/Astarte; the classic extant account of the republican veneration paid to the site = Diodorus 4.83.4–7. Not surprisingly, then, V.'s Venus refers to the Sicilian coast as "Erycine" (*A.* 10.36). Useful here = D. Kienast, "Rom und die Venus vom Eryx," in *Hermes* 93.4 (1965), 478–489; Galinsky 1969, 63 ff.; J. O'Hara, "The Significance of Vergil's Acidalia Mater, and Venus Erycina in Catullus and Ovid," in *HSCP* 93 (1990); 335–342, and J. Rives, "Venus Genetrix Outside Rome," in *Phoenix* 48.4 (1994), 294–306. For the "unity in diversity" expressed by cults such as the Erycine in the Virgilian program, see A. Barchiesi, "Learned Eyes: Poets, Viewers, Image Makers," in Galinsky 2005, 281–305, 298–299. The bibliography is much more extensive than the actual evidence; what is clear is that if the cult of Venus Erycina was particularly important to the Romans, the surviving records of devotion are meager indeed and do not reflect its significance; the role of Aeneas in the founding of the cult is anachronistic.

Significantly, the Venus cult whose establishment is credited to Aeneas later in this book is associated with the dark circumstances of Palinurus' death; the newly enthroned and revered goddess has, as it were, a human sacrifice in the person of Aeneas' helmsman.

fraterna: Eryx was the son of Venus and the Argonaut Butes of Athens (Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.912–919; cf. 1.95 for his provenance), who was a casualty of the Sirens; Palinurus, as we shall see, will have associations with that Odyssean peril as well. On Butes see below on 572; three minor characters in the poem bear the name: 1) the Bebrycian vanquished during the funeral games for Hector; 2) Anchises' attendant (9.646–658); 3) a victim of Camilla (11.690–698—Butes III possibly = II). See further here Nelis 2001, 205 ff. In Apollonius' account, Butes jumps overboard to heed the Sirens' song and is saved by Aphrodite, who brings him to Cape Lilybaeum; Palinurus is not saved by any deity, though he does reach Italy, only to be the first Trojan casualty on Italian soil (cf. the goddess' response to Neptune's demand for *unum caput*). Servian evidence preserves the interesting version that Eryx was actually the son of Venus and Neptune (cf. his note here and ad 10.551); if V. had two traditions in mind, he decided to exploit them both. Significantly, the poet makes no statement as to Eryx's paternity; the Palinurus narrative, with its colloquy of niece and uncle before the loss of the helmsman near the Sirens' rock, fits with either set of parents. Hyginus (260.1.1) has Eryx as the son of Venus and Butes; cf. Lycophron, *Alex.* 866 ff. (with Hornblower ad loc.). For

the tradition that he was killed by Hercules in a wrestling match as the hero was returning from the theft of Geryon's cattle, *vid.* Ps.-Apollodorus 2.5.10; Pausanias 3.6.14, 4.36.3–4; Seneca, *HF* 480 ff.

Aeneas is compared to Mount Eryx at 12.701–703, just as he prepares to face Turnus. The progression of mountains there is significant: first Athos, then Eryx, and finally the Appennines (see here J. Morwood, “Aeneas and Mount Atlas,” in *JRS* 75 [1985], 51–59, 58). In one sense, the passage in *A.* 12 shows the movement of Aeneas from Greece to Sicily to Italy; we might recall, too, that Athos is mentioned elsewhere in *V.* only at *G.* 1.332 (where see Thomas), in a section describing Jupiter's hurling of lightning at several lofty mountains—indeed, while Aeneas is firmly associated with Father Appenninus, he remains Trojan, and the forthcoming revelations of Rome's future ethnography are apposite here as often. See too Tissol 2014, 8–9.

Paschalis 1997, 82–83 (following O'Hara) notes the possible associations of *Erycinus* and “bristling” (cf. 37 below). Note also the mentions of the Venusian locale at Ovid, *Ars* 2.420, *Rem. Am.* 550, *Met.* 2.221, 5.196, 14.82 ff. (with Myers) *Fasti* 4.478 and 874 (with Fantham); Seneca, *Medea* 707 (with Boyle); Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.523; Silius, *Pun.* 14.203.

Sicanos: See 293 below; M. Malavolta, *EV* III, 831–832. At 11.316–319 (where see Horsfall, and Fratantuono), Latinus names their territory as the western limit of the land he proposes to cede to the Teucrians; cf. 8.328 (with Eden), where the arrival of the Sicanians in central Italy is noted by Evander. Ilioneus describes the waters off Sicily as the *freta Sicaniae* (1.557); cf. 3.692 *Sicanio ... sinu* (with Horsfall) and the *Sicanium ... latus* of 8.416. At 7.795, *veteres Sicanii* follow in Turnus' wake during the gathering of the clans. A people of mixed associations, then, in *A.*: Sicily is firmly “Trojan” and on the side of Aeneas (though not a place immune from the exercise of Juno's hostility against Venus' son, as we shall soon see), while in Latium the Sicanians fight for Turnus. According to Dionysius (1.9.1) the Sicels (= probably the same people) were the first inhabitants of Rome; they were later expelled by Greeks who were aiding aborigines who = the eventual subjects of Latinus. See here Thucydides 6.2 (with Gomme-Andrewes-Dover). In an important sense, Aeneas' Trojans are late for the arrival in central Italy; the Sicanians had ventured there long before, even as now Aeneas' vessels seek refuge in Sicilian waters.

On the scansion *Sicānos* see Conway ad 1.557.

See Mandra 1934, 56–60 for the emphasis in *V.* on the Greek culture of the Sicily Aeneas visits: “Sicily is only once Sicania, but four times Trinacria; Vergil, as in the case of Hesperia, felt the Greek elements of this word.” For the Callimachean treatment of the ktistic lore of Sicily, see Harder ad *Aetia* fr. 43–43a.

25 **si modo rite memor servata remetior astra.**

remetior: The compound is not common; cf. 2.181 and 3.143 *remenso*, both of the sea, and Seneca, *Medea* 31 *non redit in ortus et remetitur diem?* (with Boyle); R. Rocca, "Metior," *EV* III, 507–508; on Virgilian compounds, J. O'Hara, "Compound Words," in *VE* I, 296–298. For the question of how there can be stars here when there were clouds at 10–20, note Highet 1972, 288, citing Henselmanns 1913 (a fascinating and under appreciated study); the point may be that Palinurus is remembering the stars he had seen on the previous sojourn in Sicilian waters. Cf. on 42 *stellas* below. The verb is used with *astra* only here in extant Latin.

rite: See below on 77. For V's use of the language of religion and cult practice, vid. Cordier 1939, 139, also Bailey 1935, 42–50 and *passim*; L. Beringer, *Die Kultworte bei Vergil* (Diss. Erlangen), 1932. There may be a hint here of Palinurus' failure to read his own horoscope as he asserts his knowledge of stars; it is difficult to imagine that he can see through the dark clouds. There may be a reminiscence here, too, of Palinurus' observation of the stars at 3.515–518, after the Trojans have departed from Acrocerania and proceed along the shortest route to Italy. *That* stellar journey (to the Trojans' ultimate homeland) was novel; the present one is a retracing of the route to Sicily, where Anchises had died.

servata: On this likely technical term see Servius ad 6.198 (with Jeunet-Nancy's note) and Hijmans et al. ad Apuleius, *Met.* 4.18.

For ignorance during storms, note D. Hershkowitz, "The *Aeneid* in *Aeneid* 3," in *Vergilius* 37 (1991), 69–76, 72–73.

26 **tum pius Aeneas: equidem sic poscere ventos**

And why *pius* here? The entry into Sicilian waters begins a narrative that shows Aeneas' *pietas* most clearly in his respect and reverence for his father; in the immediate context, there is also consideration for his helmsman's inability to navigate and his concern for his men in the storm (which Williams 1960 emphasizes); see further below on 53. The appellation, then, is anticipatory; see, too, Mackie 1988, 95 ff. (who notes that Knauer finds no Homeric parallel for the present speech). But *pius* also has associations with the immediate aftermath of the Dido episode; V's use of the adjective forces consideration of the role of *pietas* in his hero's interactions in Carthage. For Otis 1964, 272, "a quite easy and relaxed *pietas*" marks this entire movement of the epic. But it is difficult to say that *pietas* is ever either easy or relaxed. Significant, too, that Palinurus addressed his master as *magnanimus*, while the authorial voice calls him *pius*; the difference is subtle, but very much in V's manner of careful description. On the diverse modes of *pietas* see further N. Moseley, "Pius Aeneas," in *CJ* 20.7 (1925), 387–400; W. Johnson, "Aeneas and the Ironies of

Pietas,” in *CJ* 60.8 (1965), 360–364; K. McLeish, “Dido, Aeneas, and the Concept of *Pietas*,” in *G&R* 19.2 (1972), 127–135; K. Nielson, “Aeneas and the Demands of the Dead,” in *CJ* 79.3 (1984), 200–206; T. Fuhrer, “Aeneas: A Study in Character Development,” in *G&R* 36.1 (1989), 63–72; also N. Adkin, “‘I Am Tedious Aeneas’: Virgil, *Aen.* 1, 372 ff.,” in *Arctos* 35 (2001), 9–14.

See here Cairns 1989, 58–59, for Aeneas’ *pietas* in the presence of the “council” of his men, and for the probable influence of Philodemus on the qualities of the good king. For the possible philosophical ramifications of V.’s depiction of Aeneas and Palinurus ad 26–31, see Farrell ad loc.

equidem: See on 56 and 399 below.

27 iamdudum et frustra cerno te tendere contra.

iamdudum: Cf. 513 below, of Eurytion poised to strike the fateful dove in the archery contest. At 1.580, Aeneas longs to break forth from the *nubes* in which his mother concealed him in Carthage; at 4.1 the adverb qualifies the long nourishment of Dido’s anxious wound, while at 462 it describes how Dido waits before angrily attacking Aeneas (*nec tibi diua parens*, etc.), with which we might compare 8.153, of the very different delay before Evander responds to Aeneas. Nisus confesses to Euryalus that his *mens* has been goading him for some time to undertake a great enterprise at 9.186; Opis has been watching the *Camilliad* for some time at 11.836, and cf. the similar action of the Rutulians at 12.217. Note also *G.* 1.213 and *A.* 2.103 (of Sinon encouraging the Trojans to punish him). Twice, then, of Dido, and both uses in dramatic circumstances—we are still very much in the shadow of Carthage’s queen.

tendere contra: Perhaps a reminiscence of Catullus, c. 64.101 *cum saevum cupiens contra contendere monstrum* (of Theseus); cf. 21 above; 370 (during the boxing match); 9.377 and 795.

28 flecte viam velis. an sit mihi gratior ulla,

Flecte viam is unique to V. in extant Latin; the verb is often used in equine contexts; cf. Neptune’s managing of his sea horses (*A.* 1.156); 6.804, where Liber also controls his steeds, 10.577 (of Liger), 12.471 (of Juturna/Metiscus). The present use is more akin to 7.35 *flectere iter sociis*, where Aeneas orders his men to change course to avoid Circe’s haunts (and cf. 9.372 *cum procul hos laevo flectentis limite cernunt*, of Nisus and Euryalus); the imperative here also opens a great ring that closes only at 6.788 *huc geminas nunc flecte acies* (the only other use of the form in V.), where Anchises urges his son to look on his *gentem / Romanosque tuos*. For *flectere* in the sense of bending the gods through prayer, cf. *A.* 2.689 (Jupiter) and 7.312 *flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo* (both passages with Horsfall). Cf. 500 *flexos ... arcus*.

For the *gratior tellus*, cf. Propertius c. 1.19.16. There may be a hint here of Aeneas' more or less ambivalent attitude towards Italy; he declared to Dido that he was not seeking Hesperia willingly, and now he asks what land could be more pleasing than where Dardanian Acestes—something of a father figure now in the absence of *pater* Anchises—is preserved; Aeneas' language conveys something of the tension between past and future that haunts the opening of this book.

29 *quove magis fessas optem dimittere navis,*

quo ... magis: For the Lucretian phraseology cf. Horsfall ad 6.718.

fessas ... navis: With the “tired ships” cf. 41 below, and Paschalis 1997, 183–185 on the connection between Acestes and the soothing of fatigue. For *navis* see the illustrated entry of P. Gianfrotta in *EV* III, 670–674. For *fessus*, note the perceptive remarks of Di Cesare 1974, 76 ff.; Mandra 1934, 34, 174–177.

dimittere: So MP, vs. *demittere* of pcs; Tib.; Ribbeck; Goold *seq.*: the two verbs are often confused. *Dimittere* conveys something of the idea that Aeneas wishes a peaceful repose in Sicily, even if he knows that he must still voyage on to Italy. On the prefix see Conway ad 1.381 (“due to the fact that the sea appears always to slope uphill from the observer to the horizon”).

For V's use of clauses introduced by relative adverbs, vid. Hahn 1930, 138–139; and, for analysis of the questions in lines 28–29, 14n61.

30 *quam quae Dardanium tellus mihi servat Acesten*

For Acestes see below on 36; he is identified at once as Dardanian because of his Trojan lineage, detailed in Servius ad loc. (see on 38), and also to underscore the homecoming theme for the Sicilian sojourn. Acestes will be something of a surrogate father for Aeneas (cf. *servat* and 31 *complectitur*; cf. even V's frequent associations of characters with the same first and last letters of names; a trick that links, e.g., Augustus/Livia with Aeneas/Lavinia), a technique by which he invests his epic with both literary and historical resonance.

tellus ... servat: Cf. Seneca, *Ag.* 516 *quem fama servat, victa quem tellus tegit* (with Tarrant).

31 *et patris Anchisae gremio complectitur ossa?*

The present passage forms a ring with 787–788 below, where Venus complains to Neptune that Juno is pursuing even the ashes and bones of the dead Troy.

This is the first mention of Anchises in the book he so dominates: for a comprehensive study of this figure in the epic, see M. Wiik, *Images of Roman Epic Paternity: Anchises in Vergil's Aeneid*, Diss. Bergen, 2008.

gremio: Cf. 1.685 *ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido* (Venus to Cupid; so also 718, and 4.84, where Dido really does hold Aeneas' son); the parallel 692, of Venus with Ascanius; 3.509, of the "lap" of the land where the journey to Italy is shortest across the Adriatic; 7.233, where Ilioneus asks Latinus' court to welcome Troy and the Ausonians; 8.406, where Venus receives the seduced Vulcan; 8.713, where the Nile welcomes the defeated forces of Antony and Cleopatra into its blue lap; 11.744, of Tarchon carrying off Venulus in battle. The word is thus often associated with Dido (who has affinities to Cleopatra) and Venus (even in the aforementioned battle scene, where the Trojan Venulus has onomastic association with the goddess). The present passage is most akin to 3.509 and 7.233, where it is used, as here, in the context of the Trojan settlement; Sicily holds the bones of Venus' erstwhile lover in its soil.

complectitur: Cf. 2.253 *sopor fessos complectitur artus* (as the Greeks exit the horse to attack the unsuspecting Trojans); 12.433 *Ascanium fusis circum complectitur aris*; and especially 11.743 *dereptumque ab equo dextra complectitur hostem* (of Tarchon's attack on Venulus); also Ps.-V., *Ciris* 4 *complectitur umbra* (with Lyne). See further below on 312. "Old, lofty idiom" (Horsfall ad 2.253); H. notes, too, the observation of Knox "that c ... recalls coiling embraces of the serpents"; there may be some foreshadowing of the imminent signal appearance of the snake on the *tumulus*.

ossa: See on 47, 55, 172, 422, 480, 787 and 865 below: an extraordinary number of occurrences in this book that will be framed by reference to the bones of Anchises and those of the Sirens' victims, who, in contrast to Aeneas' father, do not merit burial (865; cf. the whitened bones Latinus describes vividly at 12.36, with Tarrant ad loc.). The book will end with Aeneas' assumption that Palinurus lies naked on some unknown shore, in striking contrast to the *notae harenae* (34 below) to which his exile band draws near in this scene; Palinurus is in a sense the Virgilian response to the Homeric (and Apollonian) Sirenic lore. The bones are sometimes in V. the locus of great emotion; so Dido's love for Aeneas at 1.660 (cf. 4.101), and the madness with which Allecto infects Amata at 7.355; cf. 2.120–121 and 3.57, 308, 4.101, 5.172 below, 6.55, 7.458, 8.390, 9.66, 475, and 12.448, of the effects of fear and other intense feelings in the bones. See here A. Franzoi, "Os, Ossid," *EV* III, 898–899. With *complectitur ossa* cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 1.135 *amplectitur ossa*.

32 haec ubi dicta, petunt portus et vela secundi

haec ubi dicta: Cf. A. 1.81; 2.790; 315 below; 6.628; 7.323; 471; 8.175; 541; 10.633; 12.81; 441; Lundström 1977, 16. First in Lucilius; also Horace (*Serm.* 2.6.97); 1× each in Livy; Lucan; Statius; cf. Petronius, *Sat.* 61.5.1 and 121.1.100 with Schmeling's notes.

The phrase was thus possibly imported from the language of satire and, in turn, a fit subject for gentle humor in the *Sat.*

petunt portus: Cf. Lucan, *BC* 2.706–707 *portus / ora petunt*.

For the favorable west wind, cf. 4.562 *nec Zephyros audis spirare secundos*, where Mercury urges Aeneas to leave Carthage: the god's admonition comes to full fruition here. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 6.715–716 (with Littlewood). Servius notes that there can now be *secundi Zephyri* (despite the tempest) because of the “*conversio navis*.”

On associations between these earlier, “abortive” landings and the final settlement in Latium, vid. Buchheit 1963, 182–183.

33 *intendunt Zephyri; fertur cita gurgite classis*

On the language of the arrival of Aeneas' fleet in port here vid. Norden ad 6.1–5 (*Fahrt und Landung*). With the compound *intendunt* cf. 3.683 *ventis intendere vela secundis*, which is exactly parallel in sense; cf. 136 and 829 below, also in a nautical context. The action of the westerly breezes is very different from 2.237 and 9.665 *intendunt* (at same *sedes*), during the episode with the wooden horse and the battle for the Trojan camp (and cf. 8.704 and 9.590 for the same verb in another archery context, the reading of P *intendit* at 9.623, of Ascanius preparing his arrow shot, and the similar use at 9.776 for stringing a musical instrument); note also 503 below, during the boxing match, and 2.1, 3.716 5.137 below, and 7.351 and 380 of excitement and/or “intense” focus. At 7.514 *intendit* is used of Allecto's infernal utterances (*Tartaream vocem* as object of the verb); at 4.506 it describes Dido as she prepares her funeral pyre. The uses of the verb at 3.683 and here form a ring as the Trojans approach Sicily; in Book 3, the arrival precedes the loss of Anchises, while here, the context would seem more optimistic. The frequent association of the verb in matters pertaining to the bow connects to the forthcoming games and the climactic event there. The winds of 3.683 are favorable in one sense, but they bring the Trojans to the place where *pater* Anchises will die; here the winds do much the same, as V. will unveil a wide range of emotions in his Sicilian interlude.

Zephyri: Cf. the offerings to the zephyrs at *A.* 3.120 *Zephyris felicibus albam* (with Horsfall); also *G.* 3.322; 4.305; *A.* 10.103.

With *fertur ... gurgite* cf. the flood imagery of *A.* 2.497–498; also Ovid, *Fasti* 3.590–591, and, in rather different contexts, Manilius, *Ast.* 5.595–596 and Silius, *Pun.* 13.567. For Lucan's evocation of 33–34 in his description of Caesar's response to the storm of *BC* 5 see L. Thompson and R. Bruère, “Lucan's Use of Virgilian Reminiscence,” in *CPh* 63.1 (1968), 1–21, 11.

34 et tandem laeti notae advertuntur harenae.

et tandem: See Horsfall ad 6.2 (“the adverb typical of Virgilian narrative, with its suggestions of delay to the fulfillment of the Trojans’ destiny and long, painful, dangerous effort”). The collocation occurs close to the start of both books, as the pace of the narrative quickens in anticipation of the arrival in Italy.

Laeti, as Aeneas’ men had been when they learned they were leaving Carthage at last (4.295); the first appearance of the *Schlusselwort* of this book (see below on 58). Galinsky 1968, 159 notes that the joyful mood of this landing contrasts with that of *A.* 3.

notae ... harenae: Cf. Propertius, c. 3.16.29 with Heyworth and Morwood (of burial on unknown shores), and the dramatic close of this book: 871 *nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena*. The helmsman was able to direct the Trojan fleet back to Sicily without serious difficulty; he is ignorant, however, of the causes for the storm that made the voyage necessary in the first place—and his master Aeneas shares his state of unknowing. For the *notae harenae* in light of the traditions of the Trojan stopovers in Sicily and the evocation of Punic lore, see Goldschmidt 2013, 115–116.

35–41 Acestes sees the Trojans from a height and rushes to greet them. V’s introduction of the Sicilian king to the narrative emphasizes both the theme of the ethnography of the future Rome, and the numerous connections between Books 5 and 11. Nelis 2001, 466 compares the present scene to Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 1.316 ff., where Jason sees Acastus (cf. Acestes) and Argus coming down from the city, with Argus dressed in the dark and shaggy hide of an ox; see further here E. George, “Acestes, Acastus: *Aeneid* 5.35–41,” in *AC* 47 (1978), pp. 553–556. For the absence of “precious hospitality gifts” in Acestes’ reception of the Trojans as a mark of the “pristine rusticity” of the Italians and Sicilians, see D. Secci, “Luxury,” in *VE* II, 767–768.

35 at procul ex celso miratus vertice montis

The participle introduces a moment’s surprise: who has been in a state of wonder on the heights? *Miratus* will recur in a very different context at 10.446 (see Harrison on the participial form; both there and here, the variant *miratur* gives weaker sense), where Pallas is stupefied at the sight of Turnus before they meet in single combat. On the introduction of Acestes, with comparison to the first encounter with Evander, see Roiron 1908, 4–5.

at procul: Cf. 613 below, of the women mourning Anchises on a secluded strand; 8.189 *et procul e tumulo*, where Pallas addresses his Trojan visitors from a height (the *tumulus* distantly presages his own demise), and 12.869 *at procul ut Dirae stridorem agnovit at alas*. 9.503 *at tuba terribilem sonitum procul aëre*

canoro has a similar use of conjunction/adverb to describe distant sound; cf. 11.836–839, of the reaction to the death of Camilla across the battlefield. *Procul* denotes that which is both before the eyes and far off beyond them; note here Servius ad 6.10 and N. DeWitt, “*Pro, Prope, Procul*” in *CJ* 37.1 (1941), 32–34.

ex celso: Or *excelso*—a question first raised by DServius. The latter does not appear elsewhere in V. (note Ps.-V., *Culex* 46 and 155, with Seelentag), though it is venerably epic, especially argentine (Catullus, c. 64.363; often in Statius, Valerius, Silius), also tragic (Seneca). Cf. Palinurus, who spoke from the high deck of Aeneas’ flagship at 12 above. For *celsus* cf. Horsfall ad 2.374 *celsis ... a navibus*: “the adj. also of *puppis, rates* in V.”—though not used of ships in the present book. Cf., too, 439 below.

36 *adventum sociasque rates occurit Acestes*

Acestes (G. Manganaro, *EV* 1, 20–21; D. Ross, *VE* I, 4–5) makes his first appearance (cf. Silius, *Pun.* 14.45); the local potentate is appropriately introduced from a height (a conventional enough epic conceit; vid. Nelis 2001, 466, for the Apollonian parallels). “The eponymous hero of Segesta” (C. Saunders, “Sources of the Names of Trojans and Latins in Vergil’s *Aeneid*,” in *TAPA* 71 [1940], 537–555). On Acesta see L. Fratantuono, *VE* I, 4.

Ennius apparently mentioned Acestes in his version of Euhemerus’ *Historia sacra*, a work preserved only in the (likely enough) school paraphrase of Lactantius (*Inst.* 1.22.21 *simile quiddam in Sicilia fecit Aeneas, cum conditae urbi Acestae hospitis nomen imposuit, ut eam postmodum laetus ac libens Acestes diligeret augetet ornaret*). The recurring theme of *laetus* in *A.* 5 may be owed to Ennius’ description of the happy Sicilian monarch, if the adjective appeared in the (poetic) original. For speculations on the semantic associations of his name, vid. Paschalis 1997, 181–182, and for the Trojan tradition in Sicily, Perret 1942, 73 ff., Galinsky 1969, 63–102.

Juvenal (s. 7.235) cites Acestes’ age at the time of his death as an example of the sort of ludicrous question posed by or to a grammarian; apparently the tradition existed that the king was exceptionally long lived (cf. 73 below; the conceit was probably not invented by V.).

Adventus is not a common word in V., but often significant: cf. 6.798, of the “future” coming of Augustus Caesar; 7.344, of the coming of the Teucrians to Latium; 8.201, of the coming of Hercules (cf. Augustus’ epiphany); 11.607, of the Latin forces as they assemble for battle; 11.901, of Aeneas’ infantry approaching Latinus’ capital after Turnus fatefully abandons his ambush plans (607 *adventusque virum* and 911 *adventumque pedum* form something of a ring around the decisive combat of V.’s penultimate book). V. effects an artful arrangement in his announced comings: 1) Trojans; 2) Augustus; 3) Trojans; 4) Hercules/Augustus;

5) Latins; 6) Trojans. Once in *E.* (7.59, of Phyllis), and once in *G.* (3.93, of the unwelcome arrival of Saturn's wife while he was seducing Phillyra, the mother of Chiron). For the association of Hercules and Augustus see *inter al.* Nisbet and Rudd ad Horace, c. 3.14.1 *Herculis ritu*; the post-Actian triple triumph was celebrated on one of Hercules' liturgical feasts (Fox 1996, 170).

For the "allied vessels" cf. *Ilias Latina* 133 *socias ... vires*; the adjective is both proleptic and reflective of the existing connection between Sicily and Troy. On the combination of ideas in *adventum/rates*, vid. Hahn 1930, 111n430.

occurrit: See on 9 above, note 6.479 (of the shade of Tydeus); 10.220 (of the mer-ship that approaches Aeneas). The verb = 4× in *A.* 11, thrice in the *Camilliad*: cf. 499 (of the arrival of the Volscian). *V.* is especially fond of playing with the shifting tones and meanings of words; at 11.503, *occurrere* describes what Camilla proposes to do to Aeneas' cavalry force; at 11.808, Arruns does not dare to run toward the weapons of the dying Camilla.

On Acestes' reception note Wiltshire 1989, 93–95.

37 *horridus in iaculis et pelle Libystidis ursae*

For the *iacula*, cf. below on 68; on its use as a weapon, Saunders 1930, 145–146. The javelins bristle, as do the hairs on the pelt of the bear; see here Heuzé 1985, 84, and Clausen 1987, 153n21.

Bears figure frequently in *V.* in astronomical contexts, though the actual animal is rarely mentioned (vid. S. Rocca, "Ursus," *EV* 5, 404; Toynbee 1973, 93–100; also R. Katz in *VE* I, 173–174). Four major depictions can be traced in *A.* Significantly, Acestes will be introduced here in a bear pelt costume, while Evander will offer Aeneas a bear hide bed in Pallanteum (8.368 *effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae*), where the repetition secures the reminiscence that connects Acestes and Evander (= two quasi-foreign host kings), while also associating Acestes with Aeneas. Circe transforms men into bears and other wild animals (7.17–18), while the name of Camilla's victim Orsilochus (11.636, 690) may = Bear Slayer (from a cult title of Artemis; vid. E. Kraggerud, "Einige Namen in der Aeneis," in *Symbolae Osloenses* 36, 1960, 36; A. Fo, *EV* III, 892). With *Libystidis* here cf. 596 *Libycum*, during the dolphin simile of the *lusus Troiae*. And this book will close with a reminiscence of a different sort of Circean casualty—Palinurus, the Virgilian Elpenor.

Servius unnecessarily raises the speculation that the *ursa* might not be a real bear, but rather an undefined African beast (*ferae Africanae*), a lion or a leopard—perhaps inspired by the question of whether bears ever existed in Africa ("They do not appear to have been found there by modern travellers."—Conington). There is no good reason to dismiss the clear enough meaning of the word *V.* actually uses, and no need to imagine that the poet was unaware

of (or, for that matter, concerned with) the zoological reality of Libyan bears; see further Howell ad Martial, *ep.* 1.104.5 *Libyci ... ursi*; Katz's aforementioned *VE* discussion of the "Atlas bear, a sub-species of brown bear that lived in the Atlas mountains from Morocco to Libya and reportedly became extinct only in the 1870s."

Besides the connections to the aforementioned passages from *A.* 7 and 11, there is the evocation of Dido's north Africa so soon after Aeneas' sojourn there, just as the Libyan bear pelt that will provide Aeneas with a bed in Pallanteum links her land to Evander/Pallas (the latter will be buried in one of the robes she gave to Aeneas); see further Nelis 2001, 192–193. *Libystidis*, then, with "un valore esornativo" (Rocca)—but not a meaningless one. The adjective occurs only here and in *A.* 8—a likely Virgilian coinage (for the possible Callimachean source see Galinsky 1968, 167n28). For the (so-called) synecdoche, note J. Moore, "The Tropes and Figures of Vergil," in *AJPh* 12.2 (1891), pp. 157–192, 167.

For *pellis*, vid. A. De Prisco, *EV* 4, 8–9. For a possible connection between *horridus* and the Saturnian meter, see Goldschmidt 2013, 117n51 (with reference to Horace, *Ep.* 2.1.157–158). For the possible influence of the present passage on Tacitus' description of Vitellius' German auxiliary troops as they try to make their way through a Rome that is unfamiliar to them, see Ash ad *Hist.* 2.88.3 *tergis ferarum et ingentibus telis horrentes*.

As often in *V.*, a brief description, on one level decorative and ornamental, offers important points of connection to other moments in the epic. Acestes will distinguish himself in the archery contest (which, as we shall see below, will distantly presage the loss of Pallas), and he thus has associations with missile weapons; the climactic missile shot of this book's sister, *A.* 11, will be Arruns' felling of Camilla. *V.*'s Volscian heroine is introduced at the end of *A.* 7, where her initial appearance closes a ring with the lycanthropic description of Circe's victims from the book's opening. On the speculation that *V.*'s depiction of Camilla reflects a preexisting tradition of a female lycanthrope, see Fratanuono ad 11.785ff, and *idem*, "Chiastic Doom in the *Aeneid*," *Latomus* 68 (2009), pp. 393–401 (for the Virgilian association of the Volscian huntress-warrior with the she-wolf that nourished the future Rome—hence the Caieta-Camilla frame for *A.* 7; the whole matter takes on added interest if R. Egan is correct that for *V.*, "*arma*" would have been the key etymological association for his Volscian; see here "*Insignes pietate et armis*: The Two Camilli of the *Aeneid*," in *Vergilius* 58 [2012], 21–52); note also Octavian's own associations with the Volscian Velitrae. Camilla and Dido have extensive associations; the former will succeed in transforming Aeneas, even as the latter had failed. For Circe as pivot character between the two metamorphoses, see T. Tsakirpopoulou-Summers, "Dido

as Circe and the Attempted Metamorphosis of Aeneas,” in Deroux 2006, 236–283, and for V’s use of diverse imagery in general throughout his epic narrative, vid. the helpful remarks of Boyle 1986, 124–132. Heyne perceptively noted the connection of Acestes’ dress to that of Camilla: *species viri eadem, quae Camillae*.

For the semi-wild state of V’s imagined primitive Sicily (as evidenced in part by Acestes’ apparel), vid. Carcopino 1968, 261.

38 Troia Criniso conceptum flumine mater

Part of the recurrent Virgilian theme of the banishing of Babel: the Sicilian Acestes is really Trojan, and thus, by leap and extension, Sicily is anciently Roman; V. may not have invented the tradition, but he underscores it as part of his epic unfolding of the ethnography of the future Rome. Cf. Statius, *Silv.* 4.5.45–46 *non sermo Poenus, non habitus tibi, | externa non mens: Italus, Italus* (where see Coleman).

Servius ad 5.30 (and 1.550) gives the variant versions of the story of Acestes’ (or Agestes’) birth from Egesta and the Sicilian river; there are elements of the Andromeda motif (with a twist) in the idea that Laomedon decided to sacrifice his citizens’ daughters to a sea monster before he would offer up Hesione. The extant ancient account = Lycophron, *Alex.* 951 ff. (where see Hurst and Kolde, and Hornblower); the river god Crimisis impregnates Egesta while in canine guise (V. suppresses any overt dog associations for his Sicilian king, though he does nod to the birth lore; ad 1.550 Servius notes that some credited Crimisis with an ursine transformation, though this tradition might depend on Acestes’ bear costume at 37 above. The dog image has numismatic attestation, as does the nobler bull; vid. T. Duncan, “The Aeneas Legend on Coins,” in *CJ* 44.1 [1948], 14–29, especially 26–28; Galinsky 1969, 72). Lycophron’s account is not glorious or triumphant; Egesta is a pitiable place that is marked by perpetual mourning for the loss of Troy. V. does not directly name Egesta (nor does Lycophron); the emphasis is placed on Troy as maternal city (for the founding of Egesta/Segesta, cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.52.3–4): the city matters most, and not any particular daughter thereof. For Crinisis, s.v. “Criniso,” G. Manganaro, *EV* I, 933–934.

On the whole matter of Acestes’ origins, see especially Della Corte 1972/1985, 91–92; cf. also Servius ad 5.30, and see also N. Adkin, “Vergilian Etymologizing: The Case of Acestes,” in *AC* 69 (2001), pp. 205–207. For the connection between Segesta and the place of Aeneas in the Naevian account of the First Punic War, see Goldschmidt 2013, 117.

For rivers in ethnographic contexts, see Jones 2005, 43–44; for *A.* as Hellenistic ktistic epic, Hardie 2005 in Harrison 2005, 88 ff., Casali 2010 in Farrell

and Putnam 2010, 37–51, especially 44, and, for the background of the Sicilian archaeology, Gomme-Andrewes-Dover ad Thucydides 6.2–5, Buchheit 1963, 52n190, and K. Rigsby, “Phocians in Sicily: Thucydides 6.2,” in *CQ* 37.2 (1987), 332–335 (with consideration of Thucydidean influence on V.). See further below on 73.

The authenticity of the spelling *Crinismus* depends on Servius ad 1.550 *Troianoque a sanguine clarus Acestes: a Criniso fluvio, quem Crinismus Vergilius poetica licentia vocat*. Goold prefers *Crimiso*. See further R. Thomas, “Crinismus,” in *VE* I, 313, with reference to Nepos, *Timoleon* 2.4 *Crinissus*.

Troia ... mater: Noun and adjective frame the line.

39 quem genuit. veterum non immemor ille parentum

quem genuit: Cf. 1.617–618, of Aeneas’ birth, another delivery connected to a river (*Simoentis ad undam*).

non immemor: Cf. *G.* 4.440, *A.* 7.437–439, 9.256 (of Ascanius’ promised remembrance of Nisus and Euryalus, which Virgil himself will fulfill); Propertius, c. 1.6.35, 1.19.8. At *A.* 7.438–439 *nec regia Iuno / immemor est nostri*, Turnus asserts the goddess’ concern for him in a powerful hemistich. Ascanius may have promised to be ever mindful of Euryalus, but the ill-fated young man is himself *immemorem* at 9.374; the Trojans are unmindful before the sack of the city at 2.244 *immemores*. So also the Greeks who abandoned Achaemenides (3.617), Dido and Aeneas (4.194), and those who have quaffed Lethe (6.750).

Acestes is not unmindful of his ancient parents; for *veterum ... parentum* cf. 576 below, and *A.* 2.448, and Ovid, *Am.* 1.3.7 (with McKeown), and Silius, *Pun.* 13.35, where Diomedes’ descendant Dasius, recalls the Trojan War (with the exact provenance of the ancient parents left undefined). There is probably no ironic comment on the question of whether Acestes’ mother is identifiable; his father was of course the eponymous river god of Crinismus.

40 gratatur reduces et gaza laetus agresti

gratatur: The verb occurs in V. elsewhere only at 4.478 (*gratate sorori*), of Dido to Anna. For the archaic flavor see Cordier 1939, 38.

Redux is not common in V.; at 11.797 it describes Arruns, who is destined *not* to return home; the present use is parallel to 3.96, where the Delphic oracle addresses the Dardanians, with which cf. 1.390 and 397, of Aeneas’ seemingly lost companions and the swans to which they are compared. See Wigodsky 1972, 80, for DServius’ mistaken citation of Pacuvius’ (for Accius’) use of *gratari* = *gaudere*: “In all these cases it is clear that the ancient commentators intended to illustrate Vergil’s use of archaic diction generally, rather than imitation of specific passages”; cf. Dangel ad Accius, *Pelopidae* fr. 5. In the end the different

nuances D^Servius offers do not color the meaning to any great extent; the restriction of the (archaic) verb in V. to its contexts with Dido and Acestes may not be significant.

Gaza is a rare word in *A.* and elsewhere (*deest* in Ovid); at *A.* 1.119 and 2.763, it refers to the Trojan wealth that was rescued from the burning city, only to be at least partially lost in Juno's storm, where the Trojan ships constitute a virtual floating "Gaza." V. borrowed it from both Catullus (c. 64.46) and Lucretius (*DRN* 2.37, where see Fowler); cf. Horace, c. 2.16.9 (with Nisbet and Hubbard); Lucan, *BC* 3.166, 216, 7.742; Manilius, *Ast.* 5.525; Seneca, *HF* 1324, *Phoen.* 509, *Medea* 485 (with Boyle); Statius, *Silv.* 1.3.105, 5.1.60, *Ach.* 1.959; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.562; Silius, *Pun.* 17.280—usually and properly, though not exclusively, of foreign wealth. Acestes is of Trojan stock, and there is something here of Troy's eastern connotations in the oxymoronic *gaza agrestis*—almost as if in ancient Sicily there were a blending of the old Troy and the future Italy, with the culture of Troy not yet suppressed: a truly happy moment for Aeneas' band, then, notwithstanding the ominous future. Heyworth 2007, 452 takes the present line as evidence to support a reading of *cum pagana* [cf. *agresti*] *madent fercula divitiis* [cf. *gaza*] at Propertius c. 4.4.76, though the proposed intertext seems strained. Further on *gaza*, cf. N.P. Gross, "Gaza and Vergil's *Aeneid*," in *AugAge* 4 (1985), 26–30.

For *laetus*, cf. 58 below. "[It is] especially appropriate to the joy of fruitfulness in home or field ... This meaning may be inherent to the word, whose origin is uncertain; but in any case its continued use in this connexion is characteristic of Vergil and of Italian popular feeling to this day" (Conway ad 1.605).

41 *excipit, ac fessos opibus solatur amicis.*

"Transposition épique de l'accueil fait au rat de ville par le rat des champs" (Lejay).

Excipere is one of V.'s favorite verbs (26×); the contexts are often martial (cf. 11.517, 684; note in the same *sedes* 9.863 of Turnus dispatching Phaleris and Gyges, 10.387 of Pallas slaying Lagus, 12.507 of Aeneas against Sucro, and see further Conway ad 1.275). The present use is similar to 9.258, where Ascanius addresses Nisus before the fateful night raid—the two uses in Book 9 illustrate well the range of the verb, but perhaps the best Virgilian example = 3.317–318, of Aeneas addressing Andromache: *quis te casus delectam coniuge tanto / excipit*(?). We shall see that Books 5 and 9 have numerous parallels; on this see W. Camps, "A Note on the Structure of the *Aeneid*," in *CQ* N.S. 4.3–4 (1954), 214–215; the seminal work of G. Duckworth, "The Architecture of the *Aeneid*," in *AJPh* 75 (1954), 1–15, is helpful as a start to the vast problem of the parallelism between the different books and sections of the epic; note also M. von

Albrecht, “Die Kunst der Spiegelung in Vergils *Aeneis*,” in *Hermes* 93 (1965), 54–64.

solatur: Cf. 708 and 770 (which closes a ring on the present passage) below, and Williams 1960 ad loc. for the “archaic flavor” of the non-compounded form. For *fessos opibus*, cf. Statius, *Silvae* 4.8.55–56. For “Acestes” as “healer” of the weary (and, later, repairer of ships), vid. Paschalis 1997, 183–185.

42–72 A new day brings the announcement both of yearly rites to honor Anchises, and of the celebration of memorial funeral games: a propitious enough day (43 *clara dies*), and one which Aeneas hopes will remain untouched by ill omen (71 *ore favete omnes*). The calm of the Trojan assembly, peaceful in solemn remembrance of the loss of *pater Anchises*, is clouded, very much after V.’s usual fashion, with associations both forwards and back in time that will connect the present tranquility with circumstances far darker, not excluding the epic aetiology of Octavian’s own games in honor of Caesar alongside the poet’s reception of Homer’s funeral contests for Patroclus, whereby we shall see how he presages the introduction of the equally ill-fated Pallas. See here Cartault 1926, 365 ff., Williams 1960, 48–49, Otis 1964, 272–273, Klingner 1967, 470–472, Quinn 1968, 153, Camps 1969, 100–102, Highet 1972, 36 ff., Monaco 1960/1972, 71 ff., Boyle 1986, 155, von Albrecht 2007, 125–126, Fratantuono 2007, 134, Holzberg 2008, 216–221, Smith 2011, 120.

The *schedae Vaticanae* (F) contain the left half of what was originally a pair of frontispieces, with an illustration of the sacrifice in honor of Anchises. The scene is problematic in that it depicts three Trojans (identified by Phrygian caps) on thrones; Aeneas, Ascanius, and Acestes have been supposed to be the trio of worthies (it is difficult to conceive of any other possible candidates). Two golden branches and two golden diadems are set before the thrones. See further Wright 2001, 32–33 (with convenient reproduction of the image), with consideration of the idea that the illustration is invested with imperial significance.

42 **postera cum primo stellas Oriente fugarat**

Dawn formulas are not particularly frequent in *A.* (cf. 65 below), and here, as with other temporal descriptions, V. varies his mode of expression (vid. Sparrow 1931, 87); cf. in contrast the repetition of the dawn formula of 4.129 at 11.1 (the only time Aurora opens a book of V.), where the hunt at Carthage and the resultant passion of Dido for Aeneas is associated closely with the requiem for Pallas, who will be buried in a garment of her handiwork. *Fugarat*: contraction in indicative mood is representative of high-flown martial language, typical of the epic genre to express the sun’s rising (so Servius: *poetice dixit*). Williams

notes (ad 1.36–37) that V. consistently avoids *cum* with the pluperfect subjunctive; the indicative lends a sense of immediacy to the narrative; on the tense and mood here vid. Mack 1978, 46. For the feminine nominative *postera* (with understood *dies*) cf. 3.588 (of the morning the Trojans meet Achaemenides), 4.6, 7.148, 12.113, and Ps.-V., *Ciris* 349; otherwise the adjective is not particularly common in *A*. The ancient idea that V. varied his description of dawn to suit the action of the day is nebulous at best, and usually requires a fair amount of contortion.

For *primo ... Oriente* (ablative of time), in which the masculine participle is used as a substantive to describe the dawn (sc. *sol*), cf. 11.4 ... *primo victor solvebat Eoo*, and Lucan, *BC* 7.360 (with Gagliardi). In his narrative of the memorial rites for Anchises, V. moves from mention of the Morning Star (*Eous*) to the dawn (65 below); he will reverse the progression in Book 11 (Aurora to Lucifer). V.'s "penultimate books" 5 and 11 contain numerous correspondences; the offerings to Anchises' memory, and the subsequent funeral games in his honor, will give way in 11 to the aftermath of Mezentius' death, the grim spectacle of the funerals, and the all too real cavalry engagement, where the equestrian splendor of the *lusus Troiae* will be reincarnated in the Trojan losses at the hands of Camilla. Cf. *G.* 1.250 (on which below) and 288; Ovid, *Fasti* 1.653 (with Green), Propertius 3.24.27 (with Heyworth and Morwood), Statius, *Silv.* 4.1.4 (with Coleman). Ultimately, V. will connect his mentions of Dawn and the Morning Star with Pallas, whose death will also be prefigured by the great portent of Acestes' arrow shot below; vid. further Fratantuono, "Seraque terrifici: Archery, Fire, and the Enigmatic Portent of *Aeneid* 5," in Deroux 2010, 196–218, and, for a different view, D. Quint, "Repetition and Ideology in the *Aeneid*," in *MD* 23, 1989, 9–54, especially 27 (= the arrow show points to the deification of Anchises). In any case, Aeneas will tend to the memorial obsequies of his father in *A.* 5, only to bury his surrogate son in 11.

Stella occurs 7× in *A.* (vs. 3× in *G.*), twice (in repeated verse) to describe Atlas' burden of the starry sky (4.482, 6.797); at 11.202, the stars burn along with the funeral pyres. At 2.694, the *stella* describes the portent glimpsed in the sky in response to Anchises' prayer after Iulus' head seems to burst into flame, while at 3.521 *iamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis*, dawn breaks as Italy is first sighted. On V.'s starry vocabulary see C. Santini, "Stella," in *EV* 4, 1017–1019; V.'s *stellae* have mixed associations, where sometimes, after the poet's fashion, even seemingly propitious stars give way to darker dawns. Here, the dramatic dismissal of the stars (*fugarat*, a "routing" verb often found in martial contexts) may serve to herald one of the few periods of sustained peace in the epic.

The substantive *oriens* (whether capitalized or not) will recur near the book's end at 739 below, as the ghost of Anchises describes the "savage" (*saevus*) dawn that compels him to leave his son (savage principally because of the enforced separation, but also, perhaps, with a hint of how the light of the upper world is hateful to the underworld—even, we might allow, for those in Elysium). These are the only occurrences of *oriens* in *A.* that lack specific reference to the East *per se* (cf. *G.* 1.249–250, where Aurora is named before Oriens); at 1.289 and 8.687, the noun is used to describe the treasures of the Orient that will be won as part of the Augustan settlement. Cf., too, *Ps.-V., Culex* 30 (with Seelentag).

43 *clara dies, socios in coetum litore ab omni*

clara dies: The bright day that comes after the dawn; this morrow (42 *postera*) will shine brightly. N.b. the enjambment in this and the following line, which creates a staggering effect leading into Aeneas' speech. *V.*, for metrical reasons, uses feminine gender for the nominative (with the exception of *ille*) to indicate "day" not "date." See here too E. Mastellone Jovane, "Clarus," in *EV* 1.810–811. Lucan would use the phrase *clara dies* to announce the revelation of the horrors of Pharsalia (*BC* 7.787); cf. *BC* 9.839, Statius, *Theb.* 7.224 and Silius, *Pun.* 6.452. Cf. *A.* 9.19–20, where the *clara tempestas* signals the portentous arrival of Iris to Turnus and his subsequent attack on the Trojan camp.

Socios, the most common word for Aeneas' men and close associates in the *Aeneid*, is first used at 1.194 and numerous times thereafter (vid. A. Pollera, "Socius" in *EV* 4.912–914). This word is suggestive of a highly civilized and thoughtful relationship between Aeneas and his men, as it was for the farmer and his friends in *G.* (2.528). Cf. here Smith, *Vergilius* 53 (2007) 53–87.

The word *coetus* is not an uncommon term for an "assembly," and it is used several times in the *A.* in this fashion (cf. 107 below and 1.735; *Ps.-V., Culex* 117 [with Seelentag's note]). This word choice may suggest a less formal gathering than a *contio*, *concilium* or even *conventus*, thus contributing to the relaxed mood of the book's opening—a calm that seems incongruous after the death of Dido, and which will serve to make all the more dramatic the change in mood later in the book, and the dark parallels *V.* will draw between many events during the games and the battle narrative in *A.* 11.

With *litore ab omni* cf. 11.199 *litore toto*, where the beaches are filled with funeral pyres—another of the grim transformations of the opening movements of this book; here the crowds throng from every shore, while later the entire strand is crowded with burning corpses (200 *ardentis socios*, where the noun, too, takes on new meaning). Cf. *Ps.-V., Culex* 313 *omnis ut in cineres Rhoetei litoris ora* (with Seelentag), of the burning shore of Troy. Crowd imagery is

also associated with Aeneas in particular in his capacity as the leader of the Trojan exiles; cf. the depiction of the hero at Sophocles, *Laocoon* fr. 373 Lloyd-Jones.

44 *aduocat Aeneas tumulique ex aggere fatur:*

It is not hard to envision a young Octavian, with similar passion, wanting to put on games to honor his deceased father; cf. Suetonius *Aug.* 10: *ludos autem victoriae Caesaris, non audentibus facere quibus optigerat id munus, ipse edidit. Et quo constantius cetera quoque exequeretur, in locum tr. pl. forte demortui candidatum se ostendit.*

During these very games, which Octavian established also shortly after Caesar's death, a comet that was believed to proclaim Caesar's catasterism appeared, comparable in *A.* 5 to the vanishing burning arrow shot by Acestes, which V. specifically likens to a similar astrological phenomenon later in this book (522–528). For the comet vid. Weinstock 1971, 370–384; N. Pandey, "Caesar's Comet, the Julian Star, and the Invention of Augustus," in *TAPA* 143.2 (2013), pp. 405–449 (silent on the problem of Acestes' portent); cf. *E.* 9.47 (with Clausen), where the *astrum* is likely the Julian comet, and the allusion to catasterism at *G.* 3.2–35 (with Erren ad loc.). Propertius mentions Caesar only twice, once with reference to the *Idalium astrum* (c. 4.6.59, where see Hutchinson; cf. 3.18.34). The Julian *sidus* (a convenient, however imprecise title) is one of the last of Ovid's metamorphoses (15.845–850)

The verb *aduocare* occurs only twice in the *A.*, the second time at 8.250, where Hercules is the subject. Two verbs frame the verse.

tumulique ex aggere: Cf. *A.* 7.6, of the rites for Caieta (with Fordyce, and Horsfall), and Lucan, *BC* 6.69–71. A significant place from which to make this speech, particularly on the anniversary of his father's death. The type of mounded tomb described here has an Etruscan or Roman feel to it, though in Sicily sites such as the rocky necropolis of Pantalica offer a point of comparison. In such places, even though the graves are not of the heaped-up Italic type, a speech could easily be delivered from the top of most of them. A very different *tumulus* will be the *locus* for Aeneas' address to his men in the aftermath of Mezentius' death (11.6). Cf. also *A.* 3.62–63 *ergo instauramus Polydoro funus, et ingens / aggeritur tumulo tellus*; Ps.-V., *Culex* 395–396 (with Seelentag); Lucan, *BC* 2.299–300 (with Fantham); 3.380–382. Burton ad loc. labels *tumuli* as a "genitive of definition."

fatur: A commonly used verb for address in *A.* For descriptions of distance and height for major addresses in *A.*, cf. 35–36 above, and Blonk 1947, 107; for the speech, Hight 1972, 36 ff., and Mackie 1988, 96–98, for Aeneas' body language and gestures, Heuzé 1985, 622–623, and on his language, Cartault 1926, 365. "His

words for the most part brisk, confident, imperatorial" (Highet). See further here Panoussi 2010 in Farrell and Putnam 2010, 52–65, 56–57.

45 "Dardanidae magni, genus alto a sanguine diuum,

See on 45–48 the analysis of Conte 2007, 104–106, with comparison of 48 *maestasque* to 11.871 *aversi*.

Dardanidae: Vid. D. Musti, *EV* III, "Dardanus," 998–1000; S. Harrison in *VE* I, 338. The patronymic *Dardanidae* is ubiquitous in the *A.*; see below on 386, 576, and 622. Dardanus was the Trojans' mythical forebear, the father of Erichthonius, who was in turn the father of Tros, whose son, Ilus, was the father of Laomedon, the sire of Priam; as a nephew of Laomedon, Aeneas was Priam's cousin. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.61f.) recounts the wanderings of Dardanus, supposing him to have found his origin in Arcadia (son of Zeus by Electra; cf. *Il.* 2.215 and Aeneas' words to the disguised Venus in the first book, *Italiam quaero patriam et genus ab Ioue summo*, *A.* 1.370—Aeneas dispenses with the intervenient steps and mentions Jupiter at once).

Via a dream vision the Penates had already communicated to Aeneas the story of Dardanus, who came from Hesperia (i.e., Italy). Dardanus, the Penates say, was an Etruscan prince, his mother having been married to a king of Tarquinia (*A.* 3.163–165, where see Horsfall). Dardanus then leaves (owing to a flood) and goes with a fleet to the Troad via Samothrace, the place where, as we know from the account of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, he had lost his first wife Chryse. In that region, which would become Troy, Dardanus marries Teucer's daughter Bateia (hence the appellation "Teucrican"), who gives birth to Ilus (whose name would obviously prove vital to the line, as it would show up again as that of the son of Tros as well as being an alternate name for Ascanius, the nominal forerunner of the Julian *gens*). See further here Cruttwell 1947, 44–46, who explores the association of this lore with the abandonment and loss of Creüsa; for a sensitive reading of the Virgilian use of genealogy, Syed 2005, 194 ff.

Dardanus' story, therefore, as reconstructed by the Penates in *A.* 3 and as put forth in *V.*'s contemporary, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, offers an account that reads very much like Aeneas' own story in reverse (and vid. here Dekel 2012, 101, for problems with Anchises' reminiscences of Dardanus lore in *A.* 3). A recent widower, Dardanus comes from Etruria (though Dionysius says Arcadia) to Troy via some wanderings (Samothrace). Aeneas does the opposite, going from east to west. Both lose their first wives of similar names (Chryse and Creüsa) and both marry a princess of a local king when they arrive (Bateia and Lavinia). For Dionysius it seems to be important to demonstrate that the origins of Dardanus are Greek (Arcadian), while for *V.*, Aeneas' origins (and

thus Dardanus') are Italic (the Arcadians will be especially associated with Aeneas' ally Evander and his son doomed son Pallas). If V's literary course originates with Arcadia in the *E.*, when it comes to his *magnum opus*, V. makes it clear that Aeneas' "Trojan" forebear, Dardanus, has *Italic* origins. That point of information establishes Aeneas' journey, qua reversal of Dardanus' own, as a kind of *nostos*, further identifying Aeneas as an Odysseus-figure finding his way back home (on this theme of the backward journey and harking to the past, see Smith 1997, 40–41). Cf. *A.* 7.219–220 (with Fordyce, and Horsfall).

But in the evocation of Aeneas' Italic origins there is a foreshadowing of the "surprise" end of the epic and the revelation of Jupiter to Juno that the future Rome will be Italian and not Trojan (12.834–837, where see Tarrant); the transition from the foundational literary course in Arcadia to Italy is made incarnate in the death of the Arcadian Pallas in Italy. See here also Clausen 1987, 61–82, and Putnam 1998, 230–231. There is something of a downplaying here, too, of Aeneas' own origins, perhaps surprisingly so given the immediate context of Anchises' memorial rites; for the ancient traditions of the glory of *Aeneas'* lineage, vid. Faulkner 2008, 7–10.

On the theory of the Arcadian background of Rome, note especially Saunders 1930, 39 ff. For the implications of the final ethnography of the *A.* in connection to the primitive Golden Age in Italy, see Adler 2003, 147–166; and, for the Virgilian interest in contrasting the "domestic peace" in Italy with the importation of foreign war, 171 ff.

For *alto ... sanguine*, cf. *A.* 4.230, 6.500, 7.704–706, 11.633, 720–721, Ps.-V., *Ciris* 75–76 (with Lyne), *Ilias Latina* 513–516, and Lucan *BC* 7.737–739. The solemn declaration of Trojan origins in *A.* 5, then, will be transformed in 11 into the violence of the equestrian engagement and the actions of Camilla in slaughtering Trojans. *Genus* raises the image both of the Roman *gens* (a theme that will recur at the start of the regatta, with its emphasis on the origins of certain Roman clans), and Greek γένος.

For V's description of Aeneas' relationship with his fellow Trojans during the Sicilian interlude, vid. Pomathios 1987, 124–125.

46 annuus exactis completur mensibus orbis

This verse represents one of eight "golden" lines in *A.* 5, a term that E. Burles' *Grammatica Burlesa* (London, 1652, facsimile reprint by Scholar's Press, ed. R.C. Alston, Menston, U.K. 1971, 357) characterizes as "golden" (Austin 1960 ad loc.). There Burles establishes the quasi-chiastic line structure of adjective 1 / adjective 2 / verb / noun 1 / noun 2, where 1's agree and 2's agree. In his commentary to Statius' *Silv.*, John Dryden broadened the definition to include

lines like this one, in which the positions of noun 1 and noun 2 are reversed, offering a kind of ring composition to the line (adjective 1/ adjective 2/ verb / noun 2 / noun 1). Before V. and his younger contemporary, Catullus, this compositional feature was unusual—“practically unknown in Ennius and very rare in Lucretius,” Williams 1960 states—and much more common after them; on the Catullan (c. 64) influence on V., see Fernandelli 2012. Thus, along with Catullus, V. seems to be a stylistically transitional figure for this feature, as he is with so many other poetic elements. Further, cf. the still seminal work of Samuel Edward Winbolt, *Latin Hexameter Verse* (London, 1903), 192, 219–223; also Jules Marouzeau, *L'ordre des mots dans la phrase latine*, vol. iii. *Traite de stylistique latine*, 321, who describes how the arrangement of words in single or successive lines is cast as it were “less as an element of verbal enunciation than in the manner of a mosaic.” Cf. also Eduard Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI* (2nd ed. Leipzig 1916), 395–396.

For *annuus ... orbis* cf. Germanicus, *Arat.* 2.15–16 (with Gain); for the *exactis ... mensibus*, *G.* 3.139, and Gellius *Noct. Att.* 2.23.18.1. Cf. 53 *annua vota* below, and the *annua sacra* of the Arcadians at Pallanteum (8.173)—these are the only occurrences of the adjective in *A.* (*G.* 1.338 describes *annua sacra* offered to Ceres).

47 *ex quo reliquias diuinique ossa parentis*

Servius states simply that it was the practice among the Romans for sons to call their fathers “gods” after death. The religious ritual described briefly here, however, would seem to be intended to foreshadow the Roman ceremony of the Parentalia, besides the *ludi funebres* (cf. Williams here, following Bailey 1935, 291–292; note also Toynbee 1971, 63–64, 97; J. Welsh, “Ludi,” in *VE* III, 765, for the technical imprecision of Servius’ denotation of these games as *l.f.*), i.e., the rites described by Ovid in some detail in his *Fasti* (2.533–546, where see Robinson ad loc.): *est honor et tumulis. animas placate paternas / paruaque in extinctas munera ferte pyras. / parua petunt manes, pietas pro diuite grata est / munere: non audios Styx habet ima deos. / tegula porrectis satis est uelata coronis / et sparsae fruges parcaque mica salis / inque mero mollita Ceres uiolaeque solutae: / haec habeat media testa relictia uia. / nec maiora ueto, sed et his placabilis umbra est: / adde preces positis et sua uerba focis. / hunc morem Aeneas, pietatis idoneus auctor, / attulit in terras, iuste Latine, tuas; / ille patris Genio sollemnia dona ferebat: / hinc populi ritus edidicere pios.* Ovid playfully, as the tone suggests, looks back to a time before recorded Roman history, when characters such as Aeneas would have been supposed to have established or at least anticipated through mere innovation what would become standard Roman practice.

The identification in Ovid of Aeneas, the son, with his divine (or even quasi-divine) parent Anchises would of course foreshadow, from the reader's point of view, the relationship of Octavian/Augustus and Julius Caesar. See further Robinson's notes ad loc. (especially ad 547–556 for the Ovidian story of the neglect of the Parentalia—perhaps to be taken as circumstantial evidence of an eerie undertone in V. of the risks of not observing the festival). No evocation as yet of the May festival of the Lemuria, which V. will reserve for later, in his *Pallas-Gestalt*, in the description of the funerals in *A.* 11; see below on 95.

In Tryphiodorus (651 ff.) Aeneas and Anchises both are established in “Ausonia” by the aid of Aphrodite.

Servius ad 3.538 connects the descriptor *divini* with Anchises' abilities to divine, though in point of fact Aeneas' father is no infallible expert in such matters; on V.'s depiction of an all too fallible Anchises, see further Powell 1992, 146–147. Like Octavian's adoptive father, Anchises is a god (at least after a fashion), though flawed; there is something here of the idea that the son will be called upon to surpass the sire.

On the epigraphic parallels of 47 ff. vid. Hoogma 1959, 269.

48 **condidimus terra maestasque sacrauimus aras;**

Servius attempts to unpack this verse in a less than satisfactory manner: “maestas aras' ad hominem pertinet, id est diis manibus consecratas, et quod paulo post dicit 'altaria liquit' vult esse divinitatis post apotheosin, posteaquam deus confirmatus est.” The poetic designation of *aras* with the epithet *maestas* is, of course, the feature that not only lends the most color to the verse, but also causes the reader to puzzle over the precise meaning. The translation of Anne-Marie Boxus and Jacques Poucet captures the essence of the final words of this verse very well with, “... et que nous lui avons consacré deux autels, témoins de notre douleur.” Though the French loses some of the complexity of V.'s transferred epithet, it nevertheless conveys the agreement, clearly preserving a bit of the original's poetic richness. *Condere* carries ominous weight so soon after the encounter with Dido, besides its associations with the founding of Rome and the burial of Aeneas' sword in Turnus that frame the epic. A “sigmatic line” (Conte)—a fitting place for the signal serpent that is soon to appear.

Maestas looks ahead to the sorrows of *A.* 11; cf. 3.63–64, of the sad altars at the grave of Polydorus (a close linkage between the opening movements of *A.* 3 and 5); see here Rossi 2004, 88–89. V. may here have in mind the *maestum parentem* Agamemnon who stands before the altars at Lucretius, *DRN* 1.89 (and note here Pliny *NH* 35.73.3), besides *DRN* 4.1236–1239 *maesti ... aras*. In Lucretius, the people are sad, not the altars; in Virgil, despite the sorrow of the remembrance of Anchises' death, the mood will prove to be both solemn and, for at least

part of the games, carefree; the Trojans do not realize that soon they will have ample reasons to grieve (second half of 5; all of 11). Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 2.562–564 (with Robinson). Statius imitates V. in favoring collocations of *maestus* and *ara*. On Virgilian “tomb-cults,” including the present passage, see Alessio 1993, 70 ff.

Sacrare is a favorite verb of V's (20×); for consecrating altars, cf. 3.305 (Andromache at Buthrotum) and 4.200 (Iarbas), as well as the consecrated altars at 12.213–215.

Horsfall notes ad 3.305 *geminas ... aras* that the number of altars here is not specified, though “there is a systematic gemination of offerings.” We might compare the twin robes of Dido, one of which Aeneas uses as a burial shroud for the dead Pallas, at 11.76.

49 iamque dies, nisi fallor, adest, quem semper acerbum,

The dexterity demonstrated in this and the following line, as Geymonat notes ad loc., certainly inspired Petrarch's Sonnet 157 (*Quel sempre acerbo et honorato giorno*). The Italian poet, however, adapts the Virgilian sentiment to the vision of a beautiful woman. In the Virgilian context, the notion expressed is touchingly poignant and as such is thoroughly memorable. The connection of father and son, along with the notion of the celebration of the anniversary of the father's death, befits both occasion and tone.

iamque dies: Cf. 5.762 below (closing a ring with the present passage); also A. 2.132, 3.356 (and 588 in different *sedes*), 10.215, Horace, *Serm.* 1.5.20 (with Gowers); Lucan, *BC* 1.233 (with Roche); Ovid, *Ars* 3.723 (with Gibson), *Met.* 3.144 and 4.399; Statius, *Silv.* 3.1.55; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.107 and 4.344; Silius, *Pun.* 4.485, 13.393 and 16.303.

nisi fallor: Servius attributes Aeneas' confession about his lack of precision regarding the date to being caused “propter anni confusionem, quae erat apud maiores.” There is no need to go so far as Conington in assuming that there lurks behind this protasis' statement some deliberate imprecision and an allusion to problems with the pre-Caesarian calendar *per se*. Rather, the proposition seems a generic “if I am not mistaken.” For *fallor* cf. Ps.-V., *Ciris* 228 and 432 (with Lyne). There may well be a shade here of the recurring problem of Aeneas' unawareness of certain events (a trait, we shall soon see, that he inherited from his mother, and which eventually he will share to some degree with his arch rival Turnus).

adest: With something of a hint, perhaps, of a divine epiphany.

The metaphor in *acerbus* is of unripe fruit; cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 13.17.4. At A. 11.28 *abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo*, the context is the death of Pallas (see Fratantuono ad loc., and Horsfall); cf. 11.587 and 823, where the same adjec-

tive is used to describe the death of Camilla, Turnus' Pallas/Patroclus. Once again V. closely associates his penultimate books; the memorial funeral rites for Anchises are but a dress rehearsal for Pallas' requiem. 11.28 is repeated from 6.429, where it describes the dead infants in the limbo of the underworld; V. thus links together the tragic loss of the young (a major motif of his epic given the problems posed by the Augustan succession) with the death of Anchises, which was of fateful consequence for Aeneas both in the north African interlude with Dido, and in the matter of the problem posed by Anchises' underworld admonitions to his son regarding the proper *Roman* attitude toward defeated enemies in light of the epic's final lines. See here Reed 2010, 66–79, in Farrell and Putnam 2010, and Reed 2007, 170–172. The recurrence of forms of *adesse* in quick succession serves to create a sense of immediacy for the narrative, and emphasis on the solemnity of the liturgical day.

Homer's games in *Il.* 23 honor Achilles' young friend Patroclus; V. will seemingly reverse the pattern with games in memory of the *father* Anchises, only to have the climactic contest herald the loss of the surrogate son Pallas.

50 *semper honoratum (sic di uoluitis) habebo.*

The apostrophe to the gods is not out of place in this context, in which Aeneas is speaking over the tomb of his father, who is now among them (and indeed, one of them). Nevertheless, the content of the apostrophe may well be viewed as representative of a kind of theological moment indicative not necessarily of V.'s personal belief, but revelatory of the internal theological workings of the poem as a whole; Denis Feeney neatly explains the dichotomy of the mechanism of fate in the *A.* and of divine agency (Feeney 1991, 151–155; cf. also 174–175). Here we have the notion of divine will coming to the surface. Is it fatalistic “resignation,” as Conington *ad loc.* suggests? Were the epic resigned to fatalism, then the pertinacious energy of Aeneas would not dominate the narrative as it does, though V. tempers and intermingles this tenacity with the problem of Aeneas' ultimate ignorance of the future disposition of the city whose founding is already afoot—an ignorance he shares with Turnus and Camilla on the mortal level and his mother Venus on the divine. For more general reflections on the device, see E. Block, “The Narrator Speaks: Apostrophe in Homer and Vergil,” in *TAPA* 112 (1982), 7–22.

For Aeneas as both priest and *paterfamilias* in this scene, note Cairns 1989, 223. On the force of *honoratum*, *vid.* Di Cesare 1974, 79. While *honor* is very common in *A.* (60×), this is the only appearance of a form of the related word in V., thus lending a unique title in Anchises' memory; *vid.* further A. Fo, “Honor,” in *EV* III, 854–855; for the cult of the god, Davies 2004, 46, 76. Cf., too, the *honor* paid to the altars at 762–763 below. “The threat to Aeneas' *pietas*, obligations,

and mission in 4 is wiped out in the scrupulous observance of 5; in that respect, the rites in 5 correspond to those on the shield in 8" (Horsfall 1995, 137). The parallelism is fitting for the first and last books of the epic's second of three great movements.

51 hunc ego Gaetulis agerem si Syrtibus exsul,

While this and the next line do not offer a long list of *adynata*, nevertheless enough are collected to effect a hyperbolic tone (vid. Monaco 1960/1972, 72–73). The *Syrtes* are located just off the northern coast of Africa, which continent Aeneas had recently visited. Nevertheless, a notion of remoteness resonates for the Roman reader in the (poetic) specificity of the Gaetolian locale, offering an exotic flavor to the expression. This is to be compared with the like specificity of the next verse, creating an elliptical effect: remoteness and more distant physical danger—the *Syrtes* were natural enough straits after all—vs. a more local (or at least better-known) flavor and political danger, which is divulged in the following verse. The African *Syrtes* lent their name to all such treacherous shoals; the geographically non-specific use of *syrtis* for “sandbar” is rare, but Virgilian; so Turnus will ask that he be driven into the shoals rather than face disgrace before the Rutulians at 10.678 (where see Harrison).

For the descriptor *Gaetolian* cf. below on 192, and 351 (of the lion skin prize Aeneas awards to Salius during the foot race; the *Salii* were associated with songs about the labors of Hercules, famous for his pelt), as well as 4.40 and 326. The adjective continues the sinister reminders of Dido's north Africa in the wake of the queen's suicide. In any case, the geography is poetic and not cartographic: “*Gaetulae Syrtes paullo latius dictae, ex more poetarum*” (Heyne). One might be led to think that Aeneas seemingly does not realize that he has already been an exile in the vicinity of Dido's Libya.

agerem: Cf. 6.514 *egerimus* with Horsfall's note.

Exsul is not a common word in V., despite the obvious theme of the Trojan exile: 3.11 (Aeneas of himself), 8.320 (Evander of himself); cf. 7.359 (the possessed Amata describing the Teucrians), and *E.* 1.61. Twice in *A.* of the son, then, and once of the father whose injunction he will follow in the closing lines of the epic, where V. will force the reader to confront the implications of the meaning of Evander's name for a Roman audience.

52 Argolicoue mari deprensus et urbe Mycenae,

See here M. Librán, “Nota a Verg. *Aen.* V 52,” in *Maia* 62 (2010), 193–203. Two toponyms frame the line.

“Dans le vocabulaire de l'*Enéide*, tous les Grecs, coalisés contre Troie autour des princes d'Argos et Mycènes, sont des Argiens” (Perret). Servius tries to

make sense of *deprensus* (cf. 273 below) by glossing it as *occupatus*. Yet why would Aeneas be “besieged” in Mycenae? Other explanations of *deprensus*, while possible, are less than satisfactory. Some, such as Williams, favor the notion that *deprensus* here refers to Aeneas having been overtaken by a storm, a fashion in which V. had, admittedly, employed the participle in reference to sailors in the fourth G. (421). At 8.247, Cacus is “caught” by Hercules in his lair; at 10.98, the effect of Juno’s address to the divine council is compared to blasts of wind caught in forest trees.

Conington, by contrast, glosses the participle as “surprised,” i.e., by the arrival of day at an inopportune time (cf. Cacus’ reaction to Hercules). Perhaps a hint about V.’s intention for it can be derived from contrast between the natural (however remote, relatively speaking at least) disaster caused by the Syrtis, located off the coast of northern Africa (Libya and Tunisia, sc. Carthage) and the notion of being a political captive, like other Trojans who had encountered hostile Greeks and thus could either have been killed or captured (e.g., Helenus, who was subservient to Neoptolemus after the war, and only eventually became king of Buthrotum, a city that, as V. demonstrates in Book 3, has no clear identity independent of its Trojan forebear). Here it seems that Aeneas means that even if he were held captive at the very command center of the Greeks, i.e. Agamemnon’s home in Mycenae, he would carry out the rites to his father; again, such a hypothetical situation is clearly (or at least virtually) an *adynaton*. García et al. 2011 ad loc. aptly cf. Catullus, c. 25.13 *deprensa navis in mari vesaniente vento*. As with Aeneas’ “exile” in north Africa, so here there is a backward glance to the events of the night Troy fell, when Aeneas was, as it were, “caught” in a now Greek city; Aeneas’ words here refer back to the dramatic events of both A. 2 and 4. For the problem of looking back in A., see Hershkowitz 1998, 279n56.

But the reference also looks forward to Aeneas’ ultimate foe Turnus (cf. 7.371–371 *et Turno, si prima domus repetatur origo | Inachus Acrisiusque patres mediae Mycenae*, a passage where V. underscores that Turnus has associations with Perseus, and 9.138–139 *nec solos tangit Atridas | iste dolor, solisque licet capere arma Mycenis*, of Turnus’ observation that he, too, has a destiny vs. the Trojans). A. 6.838 heralds the ultimate Roman conquest of Greece: *eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenae*. For the (poetic) genitive of definition with geographical names cf. 1.247; 6.659; 7.714; 8.231.

Arce P offers weaker sense given the importance of the city to V.’s foundational epic; for the storm imagery that may be hidden in *deprensus* and the allusion to Agamemnon, cf. 11.256 ff. *Mycenae* is the reading of MP, vs. *Mycenis* R; the lack of any other Virgilian occurrences of the forms does not permit a definitive choice.

The line effectively enacts the state of being *depressus*, enclosed as it is by Greek geographical terms.

53 *annua uota tamen sollemnisque ordine pompas*

Vota, then *pompas*: “the accomplishment of one member of a pair may be manifested in the existence of the other” (Hahn 1930, 181).

Conington follows Servius in believing that *pompas* must refer to a funeral procession. Yet standard lexis reveal a wider range of possible interpretations. The significance of the procession, for example, may vary (*OLD* s.v. *pompa*, 1.a-c). A full procession does not make sense in this context, particularly if Aeneas is a captive or has suffered a natural disaster that has pinned him down in Sicily. Rather, *pompas* has the suggestion of some sort of public display evocative of a funeral, one that under the right circumstances could involve a procession. Thus, the meaning of *pompas* need not be pressed too restrictively, as V. is creating the image of such a procession in the mind of his reader, just as Aeneas does in the mind of his listener. In any case, *pompa* occurs, significantly, only in A. 5 and 11 (163, of the funeral procession for Pallas—another correspondence between V.’s penultimate books); so much of the drama of the present book will reach its terrible fulfillment only in the requiems and battle scenes of its sister. Cf. G. 3.22, from a passage evidently on V.’s mind as he composed this section of A. 5 (note 69 below).

The noun-adjective combination of *annua uota* reveals that Aeneas thereby has established a precedent for Octavian/Augustus for “annual observance,” as the passage from Ovid’s *Fasti* cited above (ad 47) so clearly delineates. For the pervasive associations of Aeneas with Augustus in the games sequence, vid. Drew 1927, 46 ff. The present passage offers material for reflection on the nature of *pious Aeneas* (cf. 26 above); note here Putnam 1995, 134–151, Dyson 2001, 29–49, and A. Traina, “Pietas,” in *EV* IV, 93–101, besides the helpful material analysis of Boyancé 1963. *Pietas* is most properly one’s attitude toward the immortals (among whom Anchises now resides, after a fashion, at least); devotion to parents and country is a natural extension of one’s response to the gods.

For *annua uota*, cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 4.400, and 5.247 (with Hübner); no other extant poet seems to have imitated V. here save the author of *Buc. Einsid.* 2.16. On the connection between *annua* and *sollemnis*, see Bartelink 1965, 101. For the associations of the requiem rites for Anchises with Roman patrician funerals, vid. Hardie 1998, 260–261, in Stahl 1998. With *ordine* cf. 102 below, where the bronze vessels are arranged for the *tumulus* for the sacrifices, and see Conway ad 1.703 for the noun of “the proper sequence of duty.” On the ancient association of *sollemnis* with *annus* vid. O’Hara 1996, 159.

ordine: The first of a striking half dozen occurrences of the form in the present book; cf. 102; 120; 271; 349; 773. See further Horsfall ad 11.79; the form here and elsewhere in *A.5* is “formulaic” (Horsfall ad 6.754 *longo ordine*, in another solemn, indeed quasi-funereal context).

54 *exsequerer strueremque suis altaria donis.*

On 54–60 see especially S. Harrison, “The Epic and the Monuments: Interactions between Virgil’s *Aeneid* and the Augustan Building Programme,” in Clarke et al. 2006, 159–184.

exsequerer: On the execution of vows see Lazzarini ad Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.48 *vota sequor*.

altaria: See below on 93; Eden on 8.285: “usually synonymous with *arae*, but here, in contrast to *aras* 284, it must have its primary meaning and refer to the combustible material (*incensa*) placed on the altar, the offering itself and the material to burn it.” “Il termino *altaria* è utilizzato dagli scrittori dell’epoca classica soltanto al plural (la più antica occorrenza al singolare è in Petron. 153,3): in poesia esametrica abitualmente occupa il quinto piede, e così avviene sempre in V. (16 ×), escluso il caso di *Aen.* 2,550; per un’etimologia probabilmente popolare esso veniva spiegato con l’idea dell’altezza (*altus*) ...” (Cucchiarelli ad *E.* 1.43).

The heaping of the altars with gifts was a traditional Roman practice, as Geymonat notes ad loc. V. thus chooses this word, instead of *aras*; his preference here for *altaria* (and cf. 93 below), which has sufficient range even to connote the burnt offerings placed on an altar, may, as Servius suggests, imply that the dedication was to “the gods above,” i.e. not to chthonic deities. If so, the notion found in the passage’s most ancient extant commentary—namely that this word choice is suggestive of Anchises’ translation into the heavens—may well be correct. One might also compare the present sentiments with the apotheosis of Caesar; for an interesting rendition of that divinization, cf. the aforementioned passage of Ovid, *Met.* 15.840–850 (with Bömer).

Struere is restricted in V. to the first half of the epic, except for 9.42, 11.204 (of funerals), and, significantly, at 12.796 *quid struis*, at the opening of Jupiter’s speech to his sister/wife about the settlement of affairs in Latium. Cf. 811 below. “*Struo* ist bei Vergil nie = *instruo*” (Ladewig et al. ad loc.).

On the offerings made at Anchises’ tomb and the matter of expiation and appeasement of ghosts, vid. Alessio 1993, 43–44. Evander is imagined as heaping *altaria* with votive offerings for the return of Pallas (11.50). The word is used in the grim context of the fall of Troy and the inner sanctum of Priam’s palace (2.515, 550). Dido and Lavinia both appear near *altaria* (4.517, 7.71); cf. the altars at the truce ratification of 12.174. Latinus speaks of the altars of the now divine

Dardanus (7.211). A word of richly solemn associations, then; see here Cordier 1939, 138–139, for V's particular vocabulary for religious rituals. Altars missing in *EV*; vid. Carcopino 1968, 468.

“Under the circumstances described in 51, 52, it would have been somewhat difficult to arrange a funeral procession” (Burton ad loc.).

55 *nunc ultro ad cineres ipsius et ossa parentis*

At first blush, this verse and the following three present no major problems in interpretation (Conington's confused note ad 56 notwithstanding). Yet the word *ultro* has exercised commentators (see further on 446 below), from Papillon and Haigh's “beyond all hope” to Conington's “*Ultrō* has its primitive sense of ‘beyond.’” The adverb, however, would seem to signify Aeneas' willingness to carry out his duty; if so, it should be rendered “of our (my) own accord” (cf. *OLD* 2c). Consideration of the next verse further suggests that *ultro* should be read in delicate contrast with “*haud ... sine numine diuum*,” sc. though it is in accordance with divine intention, Aeneas makes it clear that he is attendant upon this duty of his own volition. Phillipson's school commentary is good here: “*Ultrō* is a common word with Vergil, and is used to describe actions which extend *beyond the mark*, which are unnecessary, uncalled for, unprovoked, or (as here), unexpected; cf. l. 446.” *Nunc ultro* is paralleled at Plautus, *Stichus* 297.

For *ipsius* cf. 535 below, also of Anchises, and 410 of Hercules; for rather a different sense of the intensive pronoun, vid. Dingel ad 9.587.

56 *haud equidem sine mente, reor, sine numine diuum*

haud ... sine mente ... An example of *litotes* or *meiosis* (so Page), the wonderful rhetorical device of severe understatement that consists of a double negative, such as Milton's “Astarte ... / ... In Sion also not unsung” (*PL* 439 ... 442). On Aeneas' mood here, note Henry 1989, 154–155: “Heinze saw Book V as the shifting-point, when Aeneas' mind turns decisively from past to future things ...” See also Horsfall ad 6.727 for the *mens* and the *numen*: “the sense of a divine design clearly present.” We move from the Acestes of Sicily (start of Book 5) to the Anchises of the underworld (end of 6, heralded by dream visitation at the end of 5); two paternal figures of ethnographic significance, as Aeneas is educated in the nature of the future Roman identity. On the *mens* as “la sede del desiderio e della volontà,” see Negri 1984, 172 ff.

While some commentators debate where precisely to put the emphasis that *equidem* offers the verse, its position and common sense (given the *litotes* and the mild contrast with *ultro*) suggest that it should be read with *haud*. For *sine numine diuum*, vid. Pötscher 1977, 99–100. For *haud equidem* cf. 399 below; G.

1.415; *A.* 1.335; 7.311 (in different *sedes*); Germanicus, *Arat.* 440; Lucan, *BC* 8.224; Ovid, *Met.* 8.497; Silius, *Pun.* 11.556, 14.173; 16.604. On *reor* cf. 24 above.

numine divum: The line-end is Catullan (c. 64.134); cf. *A.* 2.336 and 777 (both moments of high emotion); 6.368 (of the destiny to visit the underworld: “Aen.’s *Katabasis* evidently privileged or approved to a high degree; a recurrent motif”—Horsfall).

57 *adsumus et portus delati intramus amicos.*

Servius’ “*intramus pro intraimus*” is as apt as it is succinct (and see further Conway ad 1.697 *cum venit*). Still, there may be more to note here, as V. begins with the static “*adsumus*” before moving to the verb of motion, which should be read transitively, with *portus* as its direct object. The participle *delati* raises the question as to who or what is responsible for the appearance of the Trojans here. While Aeneas expresses his willingness to carry out this solemn ritual anywhere, *delati* suggests that he and the Trojans have come to a friendly port owing to fate or divine will and intervention. Cf. here the parallel 3.219 *huc ubi delati portus intravimus, ecce*, before the episode with the Harpies, and Aeneas’ powerful *intravi* at 6.59, in his address before the Sibyl. Not a particularly common verb in V.; at 3.254 and 501 it appears in additional contexts referring to the projected entry into Italy. For *adsumus* cf. Ovid, *Met.* 3.605 and Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.515; for the emphasis here on the union of Trojans and Sicilians, see Powell 2008, 88–89.

portus ... amicos: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 7.492 *Attica puppis adest in portusque intrat amicos*; Statius, *Theb.* 3.24–25.

delati: Possibly inspired by Accius, fr. 677 Dangel *unde estis, nautae, huc hieme delati* (apud Serv. ad *A.* 1.122); cf. *A.* 3.219; 7.22, both times with *portus*.

58 *ergo agite et laetum cuncti celebremus honorem:*

For *ergo agite* cf. 3.114, of the ill-fated Trojan journey to Crete; as elsewhere in this section, the language harks both forwards and back to darker moments in the epic. The term *laetum ... honorem* is vexsome; cf. 1.1591, 3.178, 8.617. One might try to transfer this epithet to the participants (so Williams 1960, following Servius), but that is unsatisfactory, as it wreaks havoc with the stated noun-adjective agreement. Barring that transfer, one can try to explain the phrase in two ways, as Geymonat does, plausibly though perhaps not quite not as fully as he might have: “... una festa di gioia, sia perche era celebrate in un luogo amico ... sia perche favoriva la protezione divina sull’ultimo viaggio dei profughi verso l’Italia.” Of the two possibilities, Geymonat’s second explanation seems more palatable, an adaptation of a possibility mentioned by Servius ad loc., “*uentos quasi a numine uult petere*.” Nonetheless, we still have the problem

of the adjective, for this duty, however “separate” it might be from the funeral (cf. Servius’ attempt to dismiss it on technical grounds “honorem non dixit exsequias”), is not a happy office but a solemn one.

The least unsatisfactory explanation must be the notion of Anchises’ translated divine status, as the subsequent verses would seem to suggest. Still, the possibility that the adjective may have jarred native speakers of Latin can be seen by Servius’ and later commentators’ attempt to explain it. For more on Anchises’ divine status, vid. Grassman-Fischer 1966, pp. 82ff. Ultimately, though, the *laetus honor* of this passage is fulfilled at 12.840–841, of the *honores* Jupiter promises will be paid by the future Romans to Juno, and of her subsequent rejoicing (*laetata*).

Laetus is the keyword of the book (14×), as *maestus* will be for its sister 11 (11×), surely (one would think) coincidentally, and cf. 11.42 *laeta*, where the adjective is remembered in the sad context of the aftermath of Pallas’ death; see further E. Evrard, *EV* 3, 97–99; A. Fo, *EV* III, 307–309; P. Miniconi, “La joie dans l’*Enéide*,” in *Latomus* 21 (1962), 563–571; Duval 2004; and especially D. Wiltshire, “Hopeful Joy: A Study of *Laetus* in Vergil’s *Aeneid*,” Dissertation North Carolina, 2012 (Chapter III on *laetus* in *A.* 5). In the present passage there is a foreshadowing of the *laeta Fortuna* of 11.42–43, transformed in the wake of the loss of the young Arcadian; the descriptor is slightly jarring and even inappropriate here precisely because of the baleful associations of Anchises’ funeral games and the forthcoming death of Pallas that will only become clear six books hence. The connections between the games and Pallas will be neatly bookended by the similar links V. makes between the doomed helmsman Palinurus and the young Arcadian; note here Fratantuono, “*Princeps ante omnis*: Palinurus and the Eerie End of Virgil’s Protesilaus,” in *Latomus* 71.1 (2012), 713–733. For an analysis of the shifting tones of *laetus* from the Odyssean to the Iliadic *A.*, see Lyne 1989, 183. For a more positive, not to say optimistic reading of the depiction of Sicily in Book 5 (*contra* 3), see Fletcher 2014, 165.

Aeneas had called Drepanum *inlaetabilis* (*A.* 3.707) because of its association with his father’s death; the locus of mourning will soon be transformed into a place of happier note (for the underworld associations V. may wish to impute to the harbor and its environs, see M. Carter, “Drepanum,” in *VE* I, 384, with consideration, too, of the possible association of the place with Saturn’s sickle).

Celebramus is used of the anachronistic Actian games (3.280); cf. other uses of the verb at 598 and 603 below, 1.735 (at Dido’s banquet), 7.555 (of Juno’s sarcasm regarding the proposed nuptials of Aeneas and Lavinia), 8.76 (of the worship of Tiberinus), 8.173, 268 and 303 (of Hercules’ rites), and 12.840 (of the reverence with which the Romans will worship Juno), with Tarrant’s note.

Rather different is 4.641 *celebrabat* (of Anna's eerily strange gait in attendance at her sister's rituals), but note the textual problem there.

59 *poscamus uentos, atque haec me sacra quotannis*

poscamus uentos: Cf. 26 above, and Lucretius, *DRN* 5.1086 (with Costa); the verb is one of V's favorites (some 50 occurrences). Both Page and Williams, who follow Henry, interpret here correctly: "... not 'let us summon the winds ...,' but 'let us pray (Anchises) for (favorable) winds.'" The force of this interpretation best explains the *laetum honorem* of the previous verse, as the only palatable explanation of *laetum* is a new state of existence for Anchises, one that should gladden him, his son and the Trojans. So in Euripides, in whose *Hecuba* (538–541) Pyrrhus sacrifices and then prays to Achilles' shade on the assumption that his father is now of a translated status similar to Anchises in *A.* 5; Pyrrhus believes that his father can hear and answer his prayers, closing his exhortation with a propemptic petition. Lactantius notes that this divine version of Anchises now has sway over the winds (*Div. Inst.* 1. 15); vid. Carcopino 1968, 565. Aeneas here announces the establishment of a recurring liturgy for Anchises, with yearly rites. For *quot-annis* cf. 6.21 (of the sacrifices to the Minotaur: "attested as early as Plautus and Cato," notes Horsfall); otherwise 2× in *E.* and 3× in *G.* V. is fond of using a word relatively rarely to underscore the connection between its occurrences, especially in reasonably close proximity or sequence; here, again, the pious performance of sacred recurring rites in memory of the dead parent will be transformed into the terrible ritual of child sacrifice recalled on the doors of Apollo's temple at Cumae.

60 *urbe uelit posita templis sibi ferre dicatis.*

Anchises' new, translated status explains the jussive, almost precatory, subjunctive *uelit*, for it sustains the petition, albeit indirectly. The participle *dicatis* has the force of "decreed" and, agreeing with *templis*, is an ablative of place where (with locative force). The ablative absolute *urbe posita* (cf. Ovid, *Tristia* 3.9.5; Manilius, *Ast.* 4.557) has explanatory temporal force. The city referred to is on one level Alba Longa, which will be the city of immediate concern to Aeneas and his followers, while on another Rome herself. Thus, the verse is aetiological in a multifaceted fashion; on such aetiological reflections in *A.*, vid. George 1974, 5. No specific temple need be imagined as lurking in V's mind; for the anachronism see L. Fratantuono, "Temples," in *VE* III, 1250. The temple is perhaps that of the Divus Iulius.

For the (probable) optative subjunctive *velit* after the hortatory *poscamus*, see Hahn 1930, 31, 98. "*Velle* expresses the absolute free will and pleasure of a person or persons having power or authority" (Henry).

On *sacra ferre* see Hardie 2008 (in Volk 2008), 170n24: “at 6.809 and 8.85 *sacra ferre* is used of non-sacrificial offerings borne by a priest. In general, the carrying of sacred objects need imply nothing about the exalted status of the bearer.”

61 *bina boum uobis Troia generatus Acestes*

See here Carcopino 1968, 610–611. *Troia generatus*: Virgil accurately describes Acestes as “sprung from Troy,” as his mother, Egesta, was a Trojan woman, though his father was the Sicilian river god Criniscus. Thus Acestes is the perfect person to link the Italic and Trojan worlds, just as Sicily is well positioned to be a land that can bridge the two cultures; note here too Carcopino 1968, 261. The only other use in *A.* of *generatus* = 6.322 *Anchisa generate*, where the Sibyl addresses Aeneas; *V.* uses *generare* sparingly (cf. 7.734, 8.141; *G.* 3.65 and 4.205).

Servius raises the question as to how it can be that Aeneas makes the offer on behalf of Acestes: has Acestes signaled quietly to Aeneas that this sacrifice of two head of oxen per ship is to be offered, or does Aeneas simply make the offer on his behalf? Neither Conington nor Williams deigns to answer Servius’ reasonable question. Clearly much is left to the reader’s imagination, so that he must suppose either that 1) Aeneas knows Acestes so well that he can speak for him, or that 2) Acestes has offered some sort of gesture of approval to Aeneas—lest one think that 3) Aeneas is an indelicate guest and oversteps the bounds of guest-friendship with this “gesture.” (Only the darkest reader of the text would hold option 3 as plausible, and it seems that one of the first or the second suggestions is likely to be correct). The two men are virtually one in this passage; the parallels between Aeneas and Acestes in *A.* 5 (cf. *V.*’s use of *generatus* for only these two men) will mirror the more ominous associations of Aeneas with *Arruns* in 11. Acestes’ role as bridge between the Italic and Trojan worlds will be recalled, too, in the problems posed by *Arruns*’ provenance (Etruscan fighting for Troy? Turnus’ Italy?) See further below on 68. The concept of the middle continues to be present through the early movements of this book.

For the distributive *bina*, cf. 96, 306, and 557 below, and elsewhere 1.313, 7.688, 8.168, and 12.165.

62 *dat numero capita in nauis; adhibete penatis*

The specificative ablative *numero* explains how the heads of cattle were distributed when *V.* writes, “he gives two head of cattle to the ships by number.”

With regard to the imperative, as Page notes, the Penates are thus summoned in order to take part in the feast. Heyne, followed by Conington and others,

compare Horace, c. 4.5.32 (where see Thomas), in which ode Horace describes how each individual person can enjoy peace because of the emperor's safety; moreover, this same person invites Augustus, as a divinity, to share his table (*te mensis adhibet deum*), where the verb *adhibet* has similar force to its occurrence in our passage. The verb is not common in V., and always imperative in A. (*adhibere* at G. 3.455); cf. 11.315 (*adhibete animos*, Diomedes to the Latin emissaries); 8.56 (*adhibe socios*, Tiberinus to Aeneas); with *adhibete penatis* cf. also Statius, *Theb.* 3.385–386.

63 *et patrios epulis et quos colit hospes Acestes.*

The Penates in question are both those of the Trojans (*patrios*) and those that Acestes worships, which, Servius quips, are not designated as Sicilian *per se*. Thus, the distinction between the Penates of the homeland and those of *hospes Acestes* is not surprising in this context, and should be considered in light of V.'s proffering Aeneas' quest for identity as a central theme of this book, a theme that to a large extent resolves itself in Book 6 when it crowns the poem's first half. In A. 5, phrases such as *Troia generatus Acestes* (61) are meant to linger in the reader's mind as important constructive half-truths—in Acestes' case quite literally half—and provoke further consideration on the reader's part of what national identity might mean. In this regard, the word *hospes*, meant to affirm Acestes' role as welcoming host, reveals a distinction with Aeneas and his men. Both are Trojan, yet now Acestes' identity is in flux, or rather has already been transformed, as he is also Sicilian, and as such plays the role of the host. Notably, the Latin *hospes*, like the Homeric *xenos*, doubles like the Greek word as both "guest" and "host." This is precisely Acestes' personal situation, as well, as the host who welcomes Aeneas and his followers not as foreigners, but as those who share kinship; still, clearly they have their own separate, more purely Trojan, identity. Thus, Acestes is correctly described as their *hospes*, who now has his own household gods, not those of the Trojan *patria*: the ethnography will become significantly more complicated once the Trojans arrive in Latium.

Macrobius (*Sat.* 3.4.13) mentions V.'s fidelity to the tradition (of the "ancestral gods," the *patrii Penates*; see here Rivoltella 2005, 11n26).

For *epulari|epulae* in sacrificial contexts, vid. Gale 2000, 107 n. 161. *Colere* is one of V.'s favorite verbs; its use here coordinates with 735 *colo* below (= the only two occurrences in this book), where the dream vision of Anchises announces to his son that he inhabits Elysium—thus forming another neat ring, with the second use responding to the first and offering commentary thereon. On the associations of banqueting and the rites due to the dead, see S. Yona, "Food for the Road: A Closer Look at the Significance of *dapes* in the Funeral of Misenus,"

in *Vergilius* 58 (2012), 53–65. There is no specific indication of the time of day for the *epulae*; on the times of (Homeric) meals see further Garvie ad Aeschylus, *Pers.* 375 (referencing his note ad Homer, *Od.* 6.97).

For *hospes* cf. 11.105, 114 (of Latinus' abandonment of *hospitium* with Aeneas in the minds of the Latin emissaries), and 165; at 10.460 and 495, forms of *hospitium* occur in the context of Pallas' fateful encounter with Turnus. The *hospes* image in *A.* is often one of broken or otherwise troubled guest-friendship.

For *quos* introducing a relative clause with adjectival coordination (*patrios*) vid. Hahn 1930, 137.

64 praeterea, si nona diem mortalibus alnum

Servius ad loc. seeks to explain the protasis of the condition by putting the emphasis on the adjective *alnum*, rendering the phrase as “diem serenum,” which would be fitting for games, stating that his chief concern does not so much have to do with the date as the need for favorable conditions. DServ., however, regards the protasis of the future vivid condition as if it were simply a temporal *cum*-clause. Other commentators unnecessarily see the protasis as indicating a kind of superstitious hesitation, almost apotropaic in nature. Surely, the first of these explanations is the most acceptable, for auspicious weather conditions would be a prerequisite for Aeneas to carry out his intention of establishing the contests, particularly those involving the fleet (cf. 66). The notion that *V.* has in mind here the festival known as the *ludi novemdiales*, held nine days after a warrior's death, is not strictly correct, since it has been a full year since Anchises' death (though Austin does well to remind us that “poets are their own accountants”).

The idea of a nine day period of mourning is very old, and paramount consideration should be given here to Homer, *Il.* 24.664–667, a passage in which Priam responds to Achilles' question of how long the funeral games for Hector would last, and states that a nine day period would be adequate, with a funeral service (burial and a funereal meal) on the tenth day, and entombment on the eleventh. The emphasis on liturgical feasts and the significance of particular days will be paralleled in the details of the requiems of *A.* 11; see below on 65, too, for the evocation of the ninth dawn in the rites that Cyrene imposes on the beekeeper Aristaeus. The games in Silius come on the *seventh* day, a number Austin reminds us came easily to *V.*'s pen, though here Roman funeral practice dictates the length of the time lapse, beyond mere imitation of Homer.

The nine days described here will be recalled below at 762, where the same period of time elapses between the decision to settle some Trojans in Sicily and the departure of the reduced fleet; *A.* 5 is thus rather bookended with

funereal undertones, as the quasi-*novemdiale* of its close presages the loss of Palinurus. For the “real funeral” V. seems to be evoking here (as opposed to the anniversary), vid. G. Williams 1983, 279. Both A. 5 and 11 have a preoccupation with numbers of days and the delineation thereof; for the usually less than specific description of the passage of time in V. (*pace* Mandra’s yeoman labors thereon), see Alessio 1993, 155–157 on temporal ambiguities in A., and, for detailed study of the importance of time to the present narrative of Aeneas’ journey, Kragerud 1968, 106 ff. More general temporal considerations can be found in the still useful study of N. DeWitt, “The Treatment of Time in the *Aeneid*,” in *CJ* 5.7 (1910), 310–316. For the *ludi novemdiales* and the *novemdiale sacrum* (after baleful events/disasters), vid. Nelis 2001, 193–194, who connect the storm that opens A. 5 with the prodigy that demands purification, besides the more dramatic episodes with Polydorus, the Harpies, and especially Dido (a tragedy whose full import Aeneas and his Trojans do not fully comprehend, anymore than they will understand the loss of Palinurus at the book’s end, except dimly, or as if in mist and fog).

On the extraordinary alliterations of 64–70, vid. Cordier 1939, 70. For the *diem almum*, cf. E. 8.17 (with Coleman), Ps.-V., *Ciris* 349 (with Lyne), and Horace c. 4.7.7–8 (with Thomas); in Horace, the context is dark; one should not hope, after all, for immortality. The adjective is significant, too, for its (ultimately Lucretian) associations with Venus (cf. A. 1.306, of the *lux alma* that dawns before Aeneas meets his mother; 1.618 and 10.332 *alma Venus*; 2.591 and 664 *alma parens*). Cf., too, the grim associations of the *lux alma* (= Aeneas) at 3.311, where Andromache wonders if Aeneas is really alive by addressing him in language that describes the hero as a true son of Venus, the *alma parens*. Cybele, too, as the Trojan mother goddess is *alma* (10.220, 252), so also the Sibyl (6.74, 117), Diana/Phoebe/Trivia at 7.774, 10.215, and in Mezentius’ address to her (11.557), and Juturna (10.439). The Sibyl is Apollo’s (= the sun), and so brother and sister are associated with the appellation. 6× then in distinctly Venusian contexts; 3× of Diana, her immortal rival, 2× of Cybele, and 1× of Turnus’ nurturing sister. Another example, then, of a word whose varied nuances V. exploits for contexts both optimistic as well as those tinged with impending hazard if not doom.

For *praeterea* see 302 below; 20× in A. and once each in E. and G. *Mortalibus* regularly has a darker context; V. is fond of using it with *aegris* (cf. 2.142, 268, 10.274, 759, 861, 11.182, 12.850): 11.182 *Aurora interea miseris mortalibus almam* will recall the present passage in a far grimmer time; cf. the *lux alma* that will witness Pallas’ ascription to Aeneas’ cause and service (8.455). For *almum* of “kindly natural forces” see Conway ad 1.306.

65 *Aurora extulerit radiisque retexerit orbem,*

Ancient testimonials to Roman funerals reveal that the full ritual required nine days. Petronius, *Sat.* 10.65, for example describes Habinnas, a friend of Trimalchio, speaking about the funeral of a household slave of Habinnas' wife, Scissa: *Scissa lautum novendialem servo suo misello faciebat, quem mortuum manu miserat. Sed tamen suaviter fuit, etiam si coacti sumus dimidias potiones super ossucula eius effundere*; see further Schmeling ad loc. There are, of course, several other examples (cf. Statius, *Theb.* 6.238 and Apuleius, *Met.* 9.31, and an allusion to the ritual at *G.* 4.552–553). On Anchises' memorial rites and the tradition of Greek hero cults, see Panoussi 2009, 160–166.

On Aurora, see on 105 below; Fratantuono 2013b and in *VE* I, 158; H. Bardon, "L'aurore et la crepuscule (Thèmes et clichés)," in *REL* (1946), 82–115; R. Jensen, *Dawn and Dusk in the Epics of Vergil and Lucan* (Diss. North Carolina), 1961. Dawn has but the slenderest of characterizations in *V.*, despite her heralding of great and portentous events (the first glimpse of Italy at 3.421; the appearance of Achaemenides at 3.589; before the departure from Carthage at 4.568, 585; Aeneas' encounter with Tiberinus at 8.26; the magical transformation of the Trojan fleet into sea nymphs at 9.111 and their call to Aeneas to defend his camp at 10.241; the burials of the war dead at 11.182; Turnus' plans for a truce at 12.77 (vid. further S. Fasce, "Aurora," *EV* 1.418–419; Bailey 1935, 186–187)). Dawn had traveled halfway along her course before Aeneas entered Elysium (6.535). At 7.606 and 8.686 Aurora merely = the "East," while at *G.* 1.249 *V.* observes that either the southern hemisphere is shrouded in perpetual dark, or else Aurora visits there after she has run her northern course. On the problem of whether or not to capitalize the name of the goddess (and similar immortal personifications) here and elsewhere in *V.*, vid. Horsfall 1995, 138. Later poets would work changes on the elegant simplicity of *V.*'s restrained auran descriptions, sometimes to dazzling effect; cf. the kaleidoscopic chromatics of Bonincontri's *rosvida purpureos spargens Aurora colores / purpurat et roseum suffundit in ore ruborem* (*DRND* 2.692). On Virgilian repetitions in dawn expressions, see Moskalew 1982, 66–72, with full catalogue.

A "ninth dawn" figures in both the Sicilian games and the rites that Cyrene enjoins on Aristaeus to restore his bees; see further below on 104–105. The process of rebirth described in *G.* will be reversed in *A.*; as elsewhere in *A.* 5, solemn moments of serenity and the more relaxed and even joyful environment will be exchanged for sorrow and the revelation of greater affliction in 11. Distantly, too, the descent of Aeneas to the underworld to see his father's shade is presaged here; that visit will ultimately provide Aeneas with his father's solemn injunction regarding the behavior of the Roman hero; see further here Thomas 2001, 70–71.

For the fact that only the first day of the *nundinum* is described, and the anachronistic association of the whole business with the Parentalia, vid. Mandra 1934, 162–163; for V's willingness to use Roman religious anachronism, Horsfall 1991, Chapter 9 *Il poeta-gazza*; on the larger subject of V's use of anachronism, J. Solodow, *VE* I, 71–72.

Retegere is not a common verb in V. (5×); cf. 4.119 *extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem*, which V. varies here. There, Juno announces how Aeneas and Dido will go off together to the fateful hunt on the morrow; the virtual repetition of the line here serves to link closely the present narrative with the ominous events of that day. It is possible that V. meant to associate the forthcoming portent of the snake (= the renewed Anchises) with the Tithonic lore of Aurora's husband; for the idea of the grasshopper and the snake sloughing off their old age, see Tzetzes ad Lycophron, *Alex.* 18, with Hornblower (and Frazer ad Ps.-Apoll. 3.12.4–5).

On the Virgilian transformation of dawn formulas see Horsfall, and Fratantuono ad 11.1–4; for general work on the Homeric antecedents, A. Radin, "Sunrise, Sunset: ἠμῶς in Homeric Epic," in *AJPh* 109.3 (1988), 293–307; for the associations of Eos and Aphrodite, P. Jackson, "Πότνια Ἀῤῶς: The Greek Dawn-goddess and her Antecedent," in *Glotta* 81.5 (2005), 116–123 (with reference *inter al.* to Nagy 1973; 1990; Boedeker 1974; Janda 2000; 2005). It is uncertain what connections if any V. (or indeed Homer's audience) would have made between Aeneas' mother and Aurora.

orbem: Cf. the noun and adjective in agreement at the end of successive verses (64–65).

66 *prima citae Teucris ponam certamina classis*;

One might think that, after all the sailing the Trojans have been doing, the last contest that would be appealing to Aeneas' men would be one involving their ships. That is clearly not the case, as it is specifically the first (*prima*) one that Aeneas mentions. Interestingly, he notes that these games are for the Trojans (*Teucris*). Obviously the competition will exist for a mixed audience of both Trojans and Sicilians. Nevertheless, the intention at least for now is that the games be celebrated for the Trojans primarily, as they are meant, after all, to honor Anchises—and the emphasis, as throughout the *A.*, is on the ethnographic problems of the future Rome in view of its Trojan and Italian admixture. Later, however, the Sicilians will take center stage—they are, in a sense, more akin to the future Romans than their Trojan guests.

On the absence of any extant (non-Virgilian) tradition of the games for Anchises, vid. Powell 2008, 117; for why V. would place the games here, see Heinze 1902/1908/1914, 145 ff. For the reception of *Il.* 23.257–897 and the gen-

eral problem of V's relationship to Homer, see now Blümer, "Aeneas und die Griechen: Bemerkungen zur Heldendatestellung bei Vergil," in Freund and Vielberg 2008, 105–126. The substitution of a naval contest for the Homeric chariot race underscores the emphasis of the present book on matters nautical and the continued journey to Italy (and, eventually, of the Romans across the sea to empire); see here Putnam 1965, 69; and, for the significance of the chariot in V., C. Davis, *The Voyage, the Chariot Race, and the Hunt: Three Motifs in Vergil's Aeneid* (Diss. North Carolina), 1966. On the question of whether the games are incongruous to the immediate context and the overall plot of A., vid. Farron 1993, 62–63. Analysis of these and other problems of the games, with glances both forwards and back in the epic tradition = Lesueur 1974, 305 ff.; note also R. Dunkle, "Games and Transition: *Aeneid* 3 and 5," in *CW* 98.2 (2005), 153–178. The fourth book of Quintus Smyrnaeus' *Posthomerica* is devoted to the funeral games for Achilles, for which Thetis brings the prizes; a foot race is described first; then a boxing match followed by an archery contest, a weight-tossing match, long jump and javelin throw; then a wrestling bout that is won by Ajax without any competition; a chariot race with Menelaus, Eurypylos, Eumelus, Thoas, and Polypoetes; and, lastly, a horse racing competition. Book 37 of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* has the funeral games for Opheltes in India: chariot racing, wrestling, a foot race, weight tossing, archery, javelin throwing. Book 38 is then devoted to the story of Phaëthon, in clear evocation of the Virgilian Palinurus narrative. Relevant parallels between the present games and those of the Phaeacian interlude of *Od.* 8 (where see especially the notes of Garvie ad loc.) are discussed *passim* below.

For *certamina classis* cf. Ps.-V., *Culex* 82 (with Seelentag). The *cita classis* (cf. 33 above) is Ennian (fr. 27 Jocelyn Alexander, 43–44; see further Harrison on 10.145–147): *iamque mari magno classis cita / textitur*; note also *Ilias Latina* 222, and Horace, c. 1.37.24 (with Nisbet and Hubbard, and Mayer), of the non-flight of Cleopatra after Actium; it is possible that here, too, darker associations lurk behind the relaxed (however solemn) preparation for the games. On the *prima certamina* see on 114 below. "In agonistic contexts *certamen* is commonly applied to ... types of spectacle (horse-racing, and musical and athletic competitions)" (Coleman ad Martial *Lib. Spect.* 31.1).

V's games come in the penultimate book not of his epic but of its first half, where they thereby help to imprint an overtly *Iliadic* stamp on its Odyssean movements (*pace* Dekel 2012), even as they serve in part to anticipate the loss of Pallas, whose introduction will come in the final book of the second third of the epic, with A. 5–8 thus being framed by consideration of the young Arcadian whose death and vengeance will offer the climaxes of the second and fourth books of the poem's final third (on the topic of division of A. into quarters, vid.

Horsfall 1995, 136–137; for the “panels” of division of parallel books, Boyle 1993, 91).

citae: Opening a ring that closes with the *cito ... tramite* that Iris uses at 610 below.

Aeneas is the only speaker in *A.* of the first person singular future *ponam* (6.73; 12.569); we move from the present calm atmosphere of the games to the honors promised to the Sibyl, to the utter destruction threatened against Latinus’ capital (for the form cf. also *E.* 3.36 and *G.* 3.13). Dante praised Aeneas for how he would keep his promises with regard to the prizes for these contests (*Il convivio* 4.26); the image of Aeneas as generous bestower of prizes may owe something to the contemporary expectations of *V.*’s audience for impressive displays at shows.

For the “explosive” quality of “fearlessness” that the “c” alliteration of lines 66–71 exhibits, see Cordier 1939b, 74.

67 *quique pedum cursu ualet, et qui uiribus audax*

Aeneas widens the scope of the contests to include running, and then under the category of “strength” will enumerate both javelin (for more on which, see below) and archery contests, before culminating with boxing. *Cursu* is an ablative of specification; so also *uiribus*. Clearly the force of *uiribus audax* extends through all of these lines (as Servius realized), and is no doubt most applicable to the boxing match. The foot race will introduce the problematic figures of Nisus and Euryalus, whose story will reach its violent climax in *A.* 9; the association of *audax* with the javelin toss and the archery contest will connect, we shall see, with the behavior of both Camilla and Pallas. For the links between Books 5 and 9, vid. Otis 1964, 273; for the idea that *A.* 5 may be the latest of the books, composed after Book 9, Crump 1920, 97, 112–113.

For *pedum cursu*, cf. 7.807–809 and 11.875 (of Camilla’s swiftness), and 12.484 *alipedumque fugam cursu temptavit equorum*, of Aeneas chasing after Turnus’ chariot as Juturna seeks flight (cf. Statius, *Theb.* 6.298). *V.* will draw associations between Nisus/Euryalus and Camilla; the language of the games will be transformed into that of war. For *uiribus audax* cf. Statius, *Theb.* 6.774–776.

Apart from the present passage and 4.615, *audax* appears in *A.* only in its second, Iliadic half, and usually in association with Turnus (on which see further Schenk 1984, 31 ff.); in Dido’s curse, the queen uses it to refer to the people “audacious in war” she prays may vex Aeneas (= the Rutulians); *V.*, we shall see, will propose the theme of excessive boldness for his audience’s meditation throughout the narrative of the games. Pallas is *audax* at 8.110; so also Arruns’ slaying of Camilla at 11.812. Turnus has the same label *before* Allecto inspires him with madness (7.409; so also at 9.3, 126, and 10.276); the Rutulian in turn

inspires the same audacity in his men (7.745; 9.519), while his sister Juturna shares the same descriptor (12.786). Ascanius prays that Jupiter may smile on his bold undertakings before he seeks to slay Numanus Remulus (9.625); cf. *G.* 1.40, of the poet's description of his own enterprise. Cf. the "audacious jaws" that dare to bite the fateful cakes of 7.114. The adjective virtually bookends the *G.* (1.40 and 4.565) with its description of the poet and his work—a powerful association of the author with Turnus once *V.* makes the Rutulian the avatar of *audacia* in the Iliadic *Aeneid*—a commentary in itself on the ultimate disposition of ethnographic affairs in Latium and the victory (in an important sense) of Turnus' cause, despite the personal risks inherent in the exercise of the poet's self-ascribed quality. See further O. Bianco, "Audax," in *EV* I, 395–396.

68 *aut iaculo incedit melior leibusque sagittis,*

Oddly, the competition itself has no *iaculum*. There is no need to take *iaculo sagittisque* as hendiadys (Servius, *seq.* Paratore et al.). Williams 1960 follows Mackail in more or less dismissing the coupling of the javelin with the bow as "formularly;" cf. *uenatrix iaculo celerem leibusque sagittis*, (*A.* 9.178, with Hardie, and Dingel). There is no compelling reason to imagine, however, that *V.* mentions the *iaculum* here merely as a nod to the short Homeric javelin contest of *Il.* 23.884–897 (though there is some degree of literary humor in *V.*'s hyper-abbreviation of his Homeric model; further, the outcome of Homer's contest provides a model for the aborted outcome of the Virgilian boxing match).

On this "problem" there is no way to know with certainty. The fact that the javelin toss is completely missing from the contest may simply be further evidence that *V.* did not revise the poem fully. Certainly the half-lines demonstrate this (though their purposefulness and effectiveness as hemistichs does give pause), as do occasional other discrepancies. While hendiadys or formularity are possible explanations, Occam's razor might suggest mere lack of revision. *V.*, however, *will* offer a contest with the *iaculum*, but only at 11.760, where Arruns will use the weapon to slay Camilla—a marvelous example of how sometimes the baleful events of 11 are eerily foreshadowed amid the relative calm and even happiness of 5. We shall see below how certain features of the archery contest (and the equestrian display of the *lusus Troiae*) presage the virtual death ballet of Arruns and Camilla; cf., too, the first appearance of Acestes above, with his javelins and bear skin adornment (on which note Paschalis 1997, 181–182). Later, we shall explore affinities between Acestes and Arruns, whose associations connect to the larger problem posed by Apollo, the patron god of the victory of Octavian over Antony and Cleopatra, in the theology of *A.* See further here Miller 1994a, 171–178, and Miller 1994b (in Solomon 1994), 99–112 and 159–

161. The close connection here between the javelin and archery contest serves too to indicate the close thematic relationship between Camilla and Pallas; in an important sense, this book will introduce the latter figure, but through the highly original mechanism of what will prove to be his funeral games: a marvelous example of V.'s pleasure in manipulating time and the lenses of its perception. There is a *iaculum* in the depiction of Ganymede's hunting of swift deer on the cloak of Cloanthus (253); see ad 250 ff. for the connection of Camilla to the *chlamys*. For the comets known as *acontiae* because they have affinities with *iacula*, cf. Pliny, *HN* 2.89. In addition, some of the point of the Virgilian "omission" of a javelin contest may reflect the fact that in Homer, the competition is aborted by Achilles, who suggests that Agamemnon and Meriones share the prize spear and cauldron (*Iliad* 23.884–897).

Acestes was introduced (cf. 37 above) with *iacula* and a bear pelt as his defining accoutrements; V. thus commences the introduction of narrative elements that will only come to full fruition in Book 11.

Incedere 11× in V. (cf. 188 and 553 below), at 9.308 in a martial context; vid. Harrison ad. 10.764 ("of ample or stately motion"); N. Horsfall, "*Incedere et Incessus*," in *Glotta* 49 (1971), 145–147. "Ce verbe contient l'idée de la démarche assure, et par conséquent de la confiance que possède celui qui l'emporte dans l'art de lancer le javelot ou de tirer l'arc" (Benoist ad loc.). For the "light arrows" cf. *Ilias Latina* 671, Lucan, *BC* 6.196, Seneca, *HF* 989–990 and *HO* 545, Statius, *Theb.* 9.728, *Silv.* 1.2.62, and Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.697–698.

69 seu crudo fidit pugnam committere caestu,

The dramatic buildup to this contest is reflected in Aeneas' choice of words. The adjective *crudo* (7× in V.) offers a touch of antiquity to the description—for clearly an ancient glove such as would have existed years before the reader's time would have been, like practically everything else, a bit crude—but also an aura of authenticity, even brutality, for the glove would have been as rough as the fighting contest itself. Here V. recalls *G.* 3.20 *crudo ... caestu*, where Greece is imagined as abandoning its celebrated haunts and coming to celebrate games in Italy (see here Thomas; also Uccellini ad Statius, *Ach.* 1.190 *crudum ... caestu*). V.'s narrative of the games will be linked intimately with his ubiquitous ethnographic concerns; in the Trojan participants in the ensuing contests we shall find the ancestors of some of Rome's famous families (on the darker aspects of which see Bernstein 2008, 68–69), while ultimately the problems inherent to the Trojan association with the founding of the future Rome will also be uncovered. Besides drawing the audience back into a mythical world of fighters greater than the present assembly, *crudus* = both "hard" and "raw" (see Sidgwick here).

The verb (*fidit*) adds a bit of athletic “swagger” to the contest, such as is borne out well in the portrayal of the challenged and challenger in the description of the contest itself; vid. further R. Rocca, “Fido,” in *EV* II, 511–512. With *pugnam committere* cf. 11.589, where Opis is sent by Diana to witness the cavalry engagement that has been undertaken with ill omen—another baleful fulfillment, as the *pugna* of the games takes on a terrible new reality. The phrase is epic (Ovid in *Met.* and *Fasti*, Lucan, Statius), though inspired by the language of the historians (Caesar, Livy). For *fidere* with infinitive, see Asso ad Lucan, *BC* 4.615.

Aeneas announces what will prove to be the sequence of the games from the naval contest to the foot race (five contests, it would seem, in four lines, though not equally balanced in description), only to reverse the order of archery and boxing (with the forecast javelin throw inserted before the arrow challenge). Why the change of order? One detail will emerge clearly: the ship race and the boxing match merit one line each here by way of introduction, and they will have the longest descriptions in V’s games narrative, in contrast to the briefer foot race and archery event that are chiasmatically juxtaposed at 67–68 with the *audax* contestant who wields the javelin (cf. 11.812 *audacis*, of Arruns’ slaying of Camilla with the *iaculum*). The adjective *melior* links with both the javelin and the arrows, as does the descriptive phrase *viribus audax* (68 *aut ... -que* links the two weapons closely together; *audax* also extends to the boxing match winner, who will, in the end, prove *not* to be the braggart).

Thus the longer contests frame the shorter; further, the foot race will be marked by deceit, as will Arruns’ slaying of Camilla—though not the archery match, admittedly, unless one wishes to note that Acestes will “win” on the strength of the signal omen and not success in the actual contest (and, we shall see, the omen may not prove to be positive—see further here Kaster 2005, 89–90, on the absence of *invidia* in the wake of Aeneas’ awards). Arruns will die, as will Euryalus; the boaster Dares will be defeated and virtually killed. We shall also see how the ship race and the boxing match offer commentary on certain theological and philosophical problems relevant to the slow and steady progress to the Virgilian underworld. And, perhaps most importantly, the course of the games that Aeneas outlines here—from ship race to foot race to javelin to archery to boxing—will summarize something of the action of the epic in miniature. On V’s fondness for “narrative through imagery,” see Lyne 1989, 63 ff.

Note below ad loc. the pervasive influence of V’s games on Statius’ depiction of the funeral games for Opheltes in *Theb.* 6 (on which sequence see especially D. Vessey, “The Games in *Thebaid* 6,” in *Latomus* 29 [1970], 426–441; Vessey 1973; Ganiban 2007; and especially Lovatt 2005 are fundamental for the Virgilian

intertext). Silius' description of Scipio's games for his father and uncle (*Pun.* 16.275–591, with his athletic contest coming in the penultimate book of the epic in imitation of *Il.* 23) offers a chariot competition, a foot race, a mock sword battle, and a javelin toss; once again the announced order is changed in practice, with the sword fight coming third and not first, possibly because it is the deadliest part of the games (527 *graviora virum certamina*), with lessons aplenty for Rome: in the event, unnamed twins kill each other in a clear evocation not only of the Theban brothers, but also of Romulus and Remus. The boxing match will owe much to Apollonius, an intertext that will yield rich analyses. Still useful for general consideration = W. Willis, "Athletic Contests in the Epic," in *TAPA* 72 (1941), 392–417; Lamarche 1937. For comment on the games as foreshadowing of later events in the epic, note H. Lovatt, "Mad About Winning: Epic, War and Madness in the Games of Statius' *Thebaid*," in *MD* 46 (2001), 103–120, 104n7.

70 cuncti adsint meritaque exspectent praemia palmae.

On the *praemia palmae* cf. *G.* 3.49 (of the Olympic victor), and the reminiscence of Martial, *ep.* 8.78.13. Aeneas ends his speech first with an admonition (two verbs in the subjunctive) and then with a command in the subsequent line. The admonition has to do with the contest itself: attendance is encouraged for all (*cuncti*) and all are to have an expectantly positive view of the outcome (*praemia palmae*). The adjective *meritae* (one of V's favorites) suggests both that the judging of the contest will be fair, and that the one who garners the prize will deserve it. For *exspectent praemia* cf. Caesar, *BG* 7.34.1.4.

Citing Willis 1941, Williams 1960 notes ad loc. that the palm as a symbol and prize of victory was only adopted by the Greeks in about 400 B.C. Other symbolic prizes were offered, depending on locale and tradition (e.g. the laurel was offered at Delphi, while olive leaves often constituted the victory prize at Olympia, while the pine was the primary prize at Isthmia and, at Nemea, celery). The palm was, for the Romans, however, the symbol of victory in the same way that the laurel had come to symbolize heroic triumph, normally on a wider scale, as Roman generals would don laurel when celebrating in a triumphal procession; the palm's symbolism was eminently appropriate to a contest such as this. Cf. F.B. Tarbell, "The Palm of Victory," *CPh* 3 (1908) 264–272. As it is, none of the contestants will actually be awarded a *palma*.

71 ore fauete omnes et cingite tempora ramis."

An interesting and solemnly religious close to this rousing speech. *Ore fauete* is standard language for keeping silent, particularly in religious contexts (s.v. *faueto*, *OLD* 5a., and vid. Nisbet and Rudd ad Horace, c. 3.1.2); vid. Wigodsky

1972, 46 for the Ennian lurkings. As opposed to the admonition of the previous line, where V. had had Aeneas use two verbs in the subjunctive, here the Trojan leader uses the imperative mood twice. This is fitting, as he thereby reminds his listeners of the religious awe of the occasion. After all, the celebration of a funeral is one invested with proto-festival undertones, not a mere celebration of Roman games absent more involved associations and contextual importance. The donning of the boughs helps the listener and reader to return to the notion of the religious activity at hand and its attendant ritual gestures. An immediate procession to the games without any kind of reminder of the solemnity of the occasion would 1) have made Aeneas look impish and impious in a variety of different ways, and 2) would not have befitted Roman formalism, which called for the proper culmination of any sacrifice or ritual. See also below on 148 *faventum*.

On the games as expiation for the death of Dido, vid. Nelis 2001, 190 (as it turns out, the curse of Dido will demand Pallas as sacrifice, as will be foreshadowed by Neptune's demand of Palinurus, who, we shall see, has affinities with the young Arcadian). On the place of the games more generally in the epic's unfolding, see especially J. Glazewski, *The Integration of Epic Convention in the Narrative Development of the Aeneid* (Diss. Fordham), 1970, 63–160.

On the significance of the *tempora ramis*, see Edgeworth 1992, 168, and, more generally on the various Virgilian wreaths, 187. Cf., too, the Latin *oratores* at 11.110–111, who come veiled in olive to seek a burial truce from Aeneas, where once again there is a grim parallel to the events of the happier times at the Sicilian games. For *cingite* cf. *E.* 7.28 and 8.274; Ovid, *Fasti* 3.254; the verb is one of V.'s favorites (some 40×). Two ablatives frame the verse.

72–103 Aeneas commences the rites in honor of his dead father; after veiling his head in Venus' myrtle and calling on his sire, a serpent appears on the *tumulus* and the altars that have been erected around it. Aeneas is uncertain as to whether the portent signals the appearance of the genius of the locale, or of the *famulus* of his deceased parent; the sacred rites are then renewed with greater intensity. See further here Cartault 1926, 365–368; Otis 1964, 272–273, Monaco 1960/1972, 76–80, Horsfall 1995, 140–141, Fratantuono 2007, 134–135. For the theme of the present rites as expiation for the death of Dido, and, more generally, the problem of religious pollution in the *A.*, vid. Nelis 2001, 193–195.

72 sic fatus velat materna tempora myrto.

sic fatus: One of V.'s favorite phrases, used in contexts of mixed associations: *A.* 1.610; 2.50, 391, 544; 3.118, 463; 4.570; 351 and 539 below; 6.197 (*sic effatus*);

7.135 (*sic effatus*); 9.22 (*sic effatus*); 10.535 (a return to *sic fatus*). The last use of the phrase occurs at Aeneas' response to the suppliant Mago, who pleads for his life *per patrios manes et spes surgentis Iuli*; Aeneas' response (*hoc patris Anchisae manes, hoc sentit Iulus*) foreshadows the closing scene of the epic and directly challenges the underworld admonitions of his father's ghost. *Sic*: "a vivid marker of the formal act" (Heyworth and Morwood ad Propertius c. 3.20.25).

For the *myrtus* see Sargeant 1920, 82–83; T. Mantero, "Mirto," *EV* III, 540; Mayer ad Horace, c. 1.4.9 *virido ... myrto*; Horsfall ad 3.23 and 6.443; cf. Maggiulli 1995. The myrtle is sacred to Venus; Anchises' divine lover will thus in some way be present for the memorial rites in honor of her *quondam* favorite. There are only four appearances of Venus' sacred myrtle in *A.*: 3.23 (vid. Horsfall ad loc.), where it is part of the overgrowth of Polydorus' grave, and 7.817, where Camilla has a spear tipped with the "pastoral myrtle" (*pastoralem ... myrtum*): the beginnings of 3 and 5 and the end of 7; cf. also *myrtea silva* that is, fittingly enough, the home of those who died on account of love (most prominently Dido) at 6.443–444 (in an important sense, Dido's pastoral myrtle as weapon of war is a transformation of the myrtle wood where Dido's shade lives; Camilla is doomed, but unlike Dido, she engages in actions on behalf of her people and the public world, not the private one of erotic attachment). All four occurrences are connected in some way with death: Camilla will die (as did Polydorus before her), and here the context for Aeneas' veiling of his head is funereal.

The myrtle thus also serves to connect Dido and Camilla. It has berries with a blackish color and juice whose hue can appear blood-like; this chromatic association, in addition to its use in the manufacture of spears (*G.* 2.447; and cf. Camilla's weaponry in the pendant to *A.* 7), would be enough to provide ominous hints. But what of Venus? In one sense, the Polydorus episode at the beginning of *A.* 3 opens a great ring that will not close until the loss of *Palinurus* at the end of 5; Venus has connections to both deaths. The goddess' links to Camilla are clear enough (cf. Dido, Diana, and the contrasts Virgil presents between the respective pairs of divine and mortal women, especially in *A.* 1, 4, and 11). According to Nicander (*Alex.* 618–619), Hera alone does not receive the myrtle for her garland; Dictynna also hates it. See further Gow and Scholfield ad loc.; there may be a point to this lore and the roles of Juno (and Diana) in the epic.

But the main point of the myrtle here is likely its association with Pythagorean sepulchral practice, as evidenced by Pliny, *NH* 35.160, where Varro was said to have been buried in a clay coffin with myrtle, olive, and black poplar. Aeneas' veiling of his head in myrtle already introduces the great Pythagorean eschatological revelations of the next book, which will be dramatically heralded soon

enough in the appearance of the seven-coiled serpent on Anchises' tomb; see further below on 85. On a vast topic see especially U. Molyviati-Toptsis, "Vergil's Elysium and the Orphic-Pythagorean Ideas of After-Life," in *Mnemosyne* 47 (1994), 33–46. There may be a hint, too, of sacrificial associations; on this connection of the myrtle see Austin and Olson ad Aristophanes, *Thes.* 36–37. For the use of myrtle branches by symposiasts while singing either drinking songs or poetry, see Olson ad *Pax* 1153–1154.

The myrtle is also significant here for its association with Octavian, who is similarly veiled at *G.* 1.28 (also *tempora myrto*—a passage that may help to secure a positive reading of V's Camilla); see further here Barchiesi 1997, 57–58 (with consideration of Ovid's "wresting away" of the image from "an Augustan monopoly"). See further Bömer, and Reed ad *Met.* 10.98.

The present scene bears comparison with Pliny's account of the myrtle and guardian serpent of the *manes* of Scipio Africanus at *NH* 18.234.

Lastly, if V. associated the myrtle with Elpenor (cf. Pliny, *NH* 15.119), then its presence near the opening of this book also serves to presage the loss of Palinurus at the close of the book—and on the possible etymological association of the myrtle with the sea, cf. O'Hara 1996, 268, 283.

velat: Cf. 134 below, and, in a different sense, 366. Veiling is a key element of Helenus' rubrical prescriptions to Aeneas (3.405; cf. 3.545). River gods are veiled (8.33, the Tiber; 10.205, the Benacus), as are those seeking peace (7.154; 11.101; 12.120). At 3.405 Helenus urges Aeneas to vest in purple (*purpureo ... amictu*); see below on 79 for the purple flowers strewn on Anchises' grave. Edgeworth 1992, 151 sees a possibly ominous import to the detail (if, he muses, it is not a merely decorative note); certainly the liturgical color connects to the importance of purplish/red flowers in funereal contexts, and there may be a hint of the futility of prayers in staving off death. See further Edgeworth 1992, 52–53 on how the Tyrians were manufacturers of purple dye; the color has generally dark allusions throughout the epic.

73 *hoc Helymus facit, hoc aevi maturus Acestes,*

Helymus: In *A.* only here and at 300, 323 and 339 below. For the name ("= plough stock?"), vid. Paschalis 1997, 205–206, who connects the meaning to *G.* 1.16–19 and the *aratri* mentioned there. V. here provides no details beyond the onomastic; at 300–301, he will reveal that Panopes and Helymus are companions of Acestes, and "accustomed to the forests" (*adsueti silvis*)—another link to the forthcoming Camilla narrative. On the Servian tradition here (Helymus as bastard son of Anchises; as comrade of Anchises in the flight from the ruin of Troy; as brother of Eryx, born in Sicily), see Fabius Pictor (?) fr. (28) Cornell, with full commentary (especially on Helymus as "eponymous hero of the Elymians"; the

role of the Segestans in the conflict with Syracuse during the Athenian expedition; the slaughter of the Carthaginians at the outset of the First Punic War in recognition of ancient kinship with the Romans as fellow *Aeneadae*).

aevi maturus: The phrase does not occur elsewhere. Cf. 9.246 (*maturus Aletes*); also *matura viro* (7.53); *matura luce* (10.257); *matura aetas* (12.438); Livy 1.3.1 *nondum matures imperio Ascanius Aeneae filius erat*. On this defining quality of Acestes, see Babcock 1992 in Wilhelm and Jones 1992, 44. On the “genitive of relation” see Hijmans et al. ad Apuleius, *Met* 4.26. For the “genetivus graecus” and its behavior (“insolentius”), vid. Antoine 1882, 92–93.

74 *hoc puer Ascanius, sequitur quos cetera pubes.*

The first mention in *A.* of Ascanius in any context outside of his childhood/quasi-infancy in the doomed Troy and Dido’s (equally doomed) Carthage, apart from Andromache’s poignant question at Buthrotum (3.339 *quid puer Ascanius?*) and 3.484, where she presents him with a *chlamys* and a sad address; see generally R. Baker, “*Regius puer*: Ascanius in the *Aeneid*,” in Marshall 1980, 129–145; L. Lopez de Vega and D. Granados de Arena, “La figura de Ascanio en la *Eneida*,” in *REC* 27 (1998), 83–109; C. Merriam, “Storm Warnings: Ascanius’ Appearances in the *Aeneid*,” in *Latomus* 61 (2002), 852–860. For the gesture of the *pubes*, cf. 11.500–501, of Camilla’s cohort; see on 100 and especially 573 below: lurking here is the notion of instruction in proper (i.e., Roman) religious practice by observation. Here we see Ascanius’ introduction as future leader; the theme will reach a crescendo in Books 7 (the eating of the tables/outbreak of war), 9 (the Numanus Remulus episode), and 11 (the requiem for Pallas), before a final summation (12, in the aftermath of Aeneas’ wounding). *Cetera pubes* appears also at *Ilias Latina* 684; Statius, *Theb.* 6.663; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.354; 8.310; Silius, *Pun.* 16.524 (and cf. 11.298–301). Aeneas is in the midst of men of all ages; the young men follow in the same line as Ascanius (with shades of the theme of the Augustan succession), even if everyone is acting in exactly the same way: a major theme of the book is the question of the transition from one generation’s leadership to another; for Aeneas’ place in the dynastic triad and his role as leader, see especially Schauer 2007, 125 ff.

pubes: 20× in *A.*, 5× in this book: at 119 below during the ship race; 450 during the archery contest; 573 and 599 during the *lusus Troiae*. While *pubes* need not refer strictly to youth (see here Williams ad loc.), it seems most natural to take it of Ascanius’ age mates (who will soon enough join him in the *lusus Troiae*). For Ascanius’ age, see especially Roiron 1908, 224 ff. (a detailed study of the problem). *Cetera pubes* opens a ring that closes at 573, as the Trojan youths ride Sicilian steeds at the Troy game. For the noun of a “body of men” vid. Horsfall ad 7.105.

For the association of Ascanius with Acestes here and the reconstruction of a “complete” *Roman* family unit, see Wiltshire 1989, 93–94. For this book’s concern with the generation shift from Anchises through to Ascanius, see T. O’Sullivan, “Death *ante ora parentum* in Virgil’s *Aeneid*,” in *TAPA* 139 (2009), 447–486.

75 *ille e concilio multis cum milibus ibat*

Helymus, Acestes, Ascanius—and now a return to Aeneas, who goes out with many thousands, just as all the *pubes* had followed his son. There is not necessarily an evocation here of the *pompa* of Roman funerals, though this passage does find a parallel in the Pallas requiem of the opening movements of 11; on the liturgical act see here P. Burke, “Roman Rites for the Dead and *Aeneid* 6,” in *CJ* 74.3 (1979), 220–228, 222–223.

concilio: There are two major councils in the *A.*: cf. 10.2, of the divine gathering in the wake of Turnus’ assault on the Trojan camp, and 11.234, 304, 460, and 469, of the Latin war council after the funerals. Otherwise there is the strange *concilium horrendum* of 3.679 (= the Cyclopes); possibly the council called by the underworld judge Minos at 6.433 (so MR ω ; P *consilium*; cf. the same textual problem at 2.89, where Sinon speaks of the power of the ill-fated Palamedes at Greek councils), and, most importantly for the present passage, 735 below, of the *amoena concilia piorum* announced by the dream epiphany of Anchises, where the ring opened here is closed. See further A. La Penna, *EV* I, 868–870.

multis ... milibus: Cf. 289 below: poetically a reminiscence of Catullus c. 68b 45–46, and Lucretius, *DRN* 5.238; the phrase was imitated by Manilius, *Ast.* 4.374; Ovid, *Ep. Pont.* 2.3.11; Silius, *Pun.* 2.400, and, in an obscene context, Martial, *ep.* 12.97.7; the phrase is also a favorite of Livy; once each in Tacitus and the *Historia Augusta*.

76 *ad tumulum magna medius comitante caterva.*

magna comitante caterva: The phrase is ominous, especially in the context of the procession to a grave monument; cf. *A.* 2.40 (of Laocoön coming to the horse) and 370 (of Androgeos). Cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.342 *Scythidum comitante caterva*, and Silius, *Pun.* 5.668 *in medias frater invectus comitante catervas*. In *medius* the emphasis is on how Aeneas is being escorted by his fellows of all ages, from the aged Acestes to the young Ascanius; the generational theme is ever close at hand in this penultimate book of the poet’s *Odyssey*, as is the shifting image of the midpoint, here transferred to the Trojan hero as he advances to a most solemn religious office. Ultimately, the image of the “middle” will be associated with the place of Actium (soon to be poetically “foreshadowed” in the regatta) on Aeneas’ shield (and cf. Blänsdorf fr. inc. 57 *in medio victoria*

ponto); see further R. Thomas, "Virgil's Ecphrastic Centerpieces," in *HSCPh* 87 (1983), 175–184, 179.

The image of the crowd has other dark associations. Dido entered her temple escorted by a similar throng (1.497 *incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva*); cf. 4.136 *tandem progreditur magna stipante caterva*, when she arrives for the fateful hunt. *Caterva* appears in *A.* in contexts of the (doomed) youth that go off to war (7.804, of Camilla's Volscians [and cf. 11.433]; 8.593, of Pallas and his contingents with Aeneas and Achatas—in both passages where *matres* watch the young as they process to battle). The word has an unusually high number of occurrences in *A.*: 456, of crowds of birds in the simile that describes the dissension at the Latin war council; 478 *subvehitur magna matrum regina caterva*, of Amata with Lavinia; 533, of Opis as part of Diana's coterie; 564, of the crowd pressing on Metabus and the infant Camilla; 682, of the distinctively dressed Ornytus as he appears amid a crowd of warriors. Note also 10.194 and 12.264, of less dramatically significant crowds; the word is usually used in *A.* in moments that anticipate either war or violence, or that showcase young figures doomed to suffer untimely ends. On the possible influence of art on *V.*'s depiction of such scenes, see W. McDermott, "Virgil and Greek Painting," in *CJ* 34.1 (1938), 23–30.

77 **hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho**

rite: See above on 25; the repetition serves to emphasize the solemnity of the memorial requiem. Aeneas pours out two vessels of wine, two of milk, and two of blood: why six libations? See below on 94 *instaurat honores* for the renewal of rites after the portent of the snake; W.W. Fowler, "Duplicated Altars and Offerings in Virgil, *Ecl.* V.65; *Aen.* III.305; and *Aen.* V.77ff.," in *CR* 31.7 (1917), 163–167; also on 639 for the associations of certain passages in the present book with the apotheosis of Daphnis in *E.* 5 and its possible connection to the fate of Caesar in Octavian's propaganda. The emphasis throughout the present scene is on the awe-inspiring *locus* and its significance for the nascent Augustan image of the family: *princeps, pater, filius/successor*. There is no hint in *V.* of the antiquity of the practice of the use of milk in preference to wine that is cited by Pliny, *NH* 14.91.

carchesia: In *V.* only here and at *G.* 4.380, where Cyrene enjoins her son Aristaeus to offer libations to Oceanus (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 7.246); both occurrences, then, in eschatological passages. The word is old and rare (Wigodsky 1972, 18); for the meaning of drinking cup, note Livius Andronicus fr. tr. 30 Ribbeck, with Spaltenstein's notes (Brussels 2008, 139–141); for the main mast of a ship, Lucilius fr. sat. 1309; Cinna, c. 2.1 (the *propempticon Pollionis*), with Hollis' note. An eminently appropriate word, then, in context: old and solemn associations

for the requiem; marine memories for the island book and forthcoming ship race; associations with the end of the fourth *G.* for those with good memory of *V.*'s verbal choices.

Paratore takes *Baccho* as ablative with *mero* (*fortasse recte*), rather than as a dative substantive with *libans*. For the god in *V.*, and the frequent metonymic use of the name, see especially Bailey 1935, 147–152; J. Linderski, “Vergil and Dionysius,” in *Vergilius* 38 (1992), 3–11; F. Mac Góráin, “Virgil’s Bacchus and the Roman Republic,” in Farrell and Nelis 2013, 124–145; A. Henrichs in *VE* I, 163–164. At 6.804–805, Anchises tells Aeneas that Augustus will be more feared by the conquered peoples than Liber; Dido invokes Bacchus and Juno at her banquet (1.734). For the seeming conflict between Bacchus and Apollo as rival gods of poetry in Augustan verse, see E. Batinski, “Horace’s Rehabilitation of Bacchus,” in *CW* 84.5 (1991), 361–378, and cf. Ovid’s presentation of Apollo (*Met.* 1–2) and Bacchus (*Met.* 3–4), before the accession of Minerva and the Muses to the height of poetic splendor (*Met.* 5, the end of the epic’s first third). Forbigier notes here: “*mero Baccho*, nam aquam admiscere in sacris nefas erat.” On the contrast between this passage and the mock libation of Petronius, *Sat.* 28.3, see Schmeling ad loc.

For wine in *V.* see especially J. Griffin, “*Regalis inter mensas laticemque Lya-eum*: Wine in Vergil and Others,” in Murray and Tecuşan 1995, 283–296; more generally, Fleming 2001.

78 **fundit humi, duo lacte novo, duo sanguine sacro,**

On Virgilian libation language, see Lersch 1843, 187–189.

humi: On the form see Conway ad 1.193 *humo*: “The evidence is scanty, but it may conceivably mean that in the *Georgics* *V.* inclined to use the ablative form, as more ordinary in other words, and avoided the older *humi*, to which he returned in the *Aeneid*.”

lacte: Milk appears among the funereal offerings for Polydorus (3.66, where “sacred” blood is also part of the libation; there are significant parallels and contrasts between the Polydorus scene at the opening of 3 and the action at the *tumulus* of Anchises in its sister book 5); Camilla is raised on the milk of wild animals (11.571); cf. the very different sort of milk (of black venom) at 4.514, during the description of Dido’s ritual preparations. For the “new milk” cf. Apicius 6.13.4 André (the recipe for *pullus tractogalatus*); elsewhere the phrase is not extant. See Edgeworth 1992, 27 for the connection of white and reddish purple in funereal contexts in the *A.*

sanguine sacro: Cf. *A.* 3.67 *sanguinis et sacri pateras*; also the blood of Priam by the sacred fire (2.502 *sanguine foedantam quos ipse sacraverat ignis*). The phrase appears first at Catullus c. 68b.74–76 *Protesileam Laodamia domum /*

inceptam frustra, nondum cum sanguine sacro / hostia caelestes pacificasset eros, significant in that—as we shall see below—V. partly modeled his Palinurus after Catullus' Protesilaus. For the opposite sort of blood, cf. 7.595 *ipsi has sacrilegas pendetis sanguine poenas*. Diana admonishes Opis to ensure that whoever violates Camilla's sacred body will pay in blood (11.591–592). Note also Lucan, *BC* 3.124 (with Hunink, who notes that the line-end is found also in medieval verse); Silius, *Pun.* 12.578.

79 *purpureosque iacit flores ac talia fatur:*

purpureos: See here G. Maselli, *EV* IV, 356–357; Edgeworth 1992, 151–152 (with his “The Purple Flower Image in the *Aeneid*,” in *ZKP*127 [1983], 143–147); Bradley 2009, 189–208 (Goldman 2013 is unreliable); and, for the literary history, F. Brenk, “*Purpureos spargam flores*: A Greek Motif in the *Aeneid*?” in *CQ* 40.1 (1990), 21–223; note also Highet 1973, 243–244. A color of profound and poignant associations in *A*. Its first reference here will inaugurate four “purple flower” passages in the epic: 6.884 *purpureos spargam flores* (of the imagined obsequies for Marcellus); 9.435–436 *purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro / languescit moriens* (of the death of Euryalus); 12.412–414 *dictamnium genetrix Creteaea carpit ab Ida, / puberibus caulem foliis et flore comantem / purpureo*. Proper understanding of the color's significance requires consideration of all its occurrences: 1.591, where Venus showers the purple gleam of youth around her son before he meets Dido; 3.405, where Aeneas is admonished by Helenus that he should pray in purple vesture; 4.139, where Dido is clothed in purple for the fateful hunt; 6.221, where Misenus' corpse is covered in a purple pall; 6.641, where Elysium is said to be bathed in purplish light; 9.163, where the Rutulians before the besieged Trojan camp bear purple crests on their helmets; 9.349, where Rhoetus vomits out his purple life's breath; 10.722, where Corythian Acron (a victim of Mezentius) is *purpureus* in his feathers (see here Harrison); 11.819, where the purple color leaves the face of the dying Camilla; 12.602, where Amata commits suicide in purple raiment.

Fourteen occurrences, then (coincidentally the same as the number of the aforementioned Rutulians), with the first three in contexts associated with Dido and Aeneas' meeting thereof, and this fourth, now, of his dead father—another association of the present requiem with Carthage's queen.

The precise identification of the purple (or red) flower is uncertain; Horsfall notes ad 6.884 that the purplish red constitutes “a conventionally funerary colour, perhaps because that of blood ... Roses are not here specified, and there seems to be no precise, detectable allusion, but rather a strongly epitaphic tone”; see further his note ad 883 *lilia* for “the purple lily” narcissus and related flowers.

Forbiger lists the citations “de more autem tumulos (imprimis die natali aut fatali defuncti) coronandi et floribus conspergendi.”

talia fatur: 4× in this book, more than any other book in the epic: 16 (Palinurus to Aeneas during the storm), 79, 464 (Aeneas to Dares as he ends the boxing match), and 532 (Aeneas to Acestes after the portent of the flaming arrow). The occurrences of the phrase and like ones in V. are interesting: A. 1.131 (Neptune to the winds); 1.256 (Jupiter to Venus); 3.485 (Andromache to Ascanius); 6.36 *fatur quae talia* (Deiphobe to Aeneas); 7.330 (Juno to Allecto); 8.559 (Evander to Aeneas); 9.280 (Ascanius to Euryalus); 10.523 *effatur talia* (Mago to Aeneas); 11.501 (Camilla to Turnus); 12.228 (Juturna to the Rutulians). Outside V. the phrase is not common: Valerius and even Silius did not make much use of it; cf. *Arg.* 4.249 *fatur ... talia*, 4.740 (*effatur talia*); *Pun.* 9.472, 12.636; also Ovid, *Met.* 14.165–167. All the appearances in V. are occasions of relatively high emotion and/or solemnity; in the present book, 3× out of 4 Aeneas is the speaker (and nowhere else). The third occurrence in the poem, Andromache to Ascanius, is balanced by Ascanius to Euryalus in the third to last book. The first, Neptune to the winds, is balanced by Juturna to the Rutulians (the god wants them to cease causing strife; the goddess wishes to engender it); connections between 1.256 and 11.501 may be more forced (though in each the speaker assures the listener that all will be well or at least handled).

80 *salve, sancte parens, iterum; salve, recepti*

The son's address to his father's shade is brief and sober; two lines devoted to the parent, and two to the future Italy—for the first time, perhaps, of his own accord Aeneas is focused on the Hesperian goal, even if V. continues to highlight his ignorance of the details of his destined western home, and even if Aeneas will focus his address to his father on the fact that Anchises will not accompany him to Italy (cf. 83 below).

sancte: Cf. 603 *sancto ... patri*.

salve: The form occurs elsewhere in A. at 7.120–121, *continuo 'salve fati mihi debita tellus / vosque' ait 'o fidi Troiae salvete penates'*, where Aeneas addresses Italy after the fulfillment of Celaeno's omen of the eating of the tables; 8.301, where Hercules is addressed by his worshipers as they honor their hero god; 11.97, where Aeneas addresses Pallas at his requiem (and cf. G. 2.173, of the *Saturnia tellus*). Two funereal contexts, then, juxtaposed with Italy and the image of Hercules (Augustus?), the savior of Latium from the horrors of Cacus. V. will continue through the present book to foreshadow the loss of Pallas by connections to his later narrative that will become apparent only after the events of A. 8–11. Something of the spirit of Catullus c. 101 lurks here (though the influence is more pronounced at 11.97). For V.'s sparing use of “speeches of

greeting,” see Hight 1972, 114–115. Note here too F. Brenk, “*Salus and Sancio* in Vergil,” in Brenk 1999, 122–131, 124–126 (*ex EV* IV, 667–669; 672–673).

Aeneas’ first words were borrowed by the obscure fifth century Christian poet Sedulius, and were appropriated (with gender change for the vocative adjective) as the opening words of the introit for the common Masses of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the *Missale Romanum*. For the “holy parent” cf. Statius, *Theb.* 4.464–465 *exceptum pateris praelibat sanguen, et omnes / ter circum acta pyras sancti de more parentis* (a passage inspired by the present scene); *Silv.* 2.1.82 *fas mihi sanctorum venia dixisse parentum*; Juvenal s. 7.29. Silius has *sancte ... genitor* (*Pun.* 7.737).

iterum: 36× in V; see below on 166, its only other occurrence in the epic. *Iterum* refers to the fact that this is an anniversary rite, but it also signals the repetition of a form of *salvere*, and the correct punctuation comes after the adverb.

For destruction of the argument (cf. Conington ad loc.) that *recepti* = genitive singular, vid. Henry here; Farrell *seq.*

81 *nequiquam cineres animaeque umbraeque paternae.*

See here especially J. Bayet, “Les cendres d’Anchise: Dieu, Héros, Ombre ou Serpent?” in *Gedenkschrift für G. Rohde*, Tübingen 1961, 39–56. For the possible Virgilian invention of the localization of Anchises’ grave near Eryx, see Heinze 1902/1908/1914, 148–149. On *umbrae* here see Raabe 1974, 154.

cineres: Contextually the most important reference = *A.* 4.427 *nec patris Anchisae cineres manisve revelli*, where Dido swears that she never violated Anchises’ ashes (on which ancient *crux* see especially A. Raymond, “What Was Anchises’ Ghost to Dido? (Virgil’s *Aeneid* 4.427),” in *Phoenix* 6.2 [1952], 66–68). In 80 *recepti* there may be a hint of the tradition of the recovery of Anchises’ ashes after they had been desecrated by Diomedes—part of an alternate history in which Anchises successfully reached Italy (cf. Aeneas’ laments at 82–83 below).

animae: For “l’anima con riferimento al sepolcro,” see Negti 1984, 49 ff.

umbrae paternae: Not elsewhere in Latin verse; cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 5.442–443 *et tectis exeat umbra suis / cum dixit novies ‘manes exite paterni.’* V. offers three sets of remains, as it were, for the dead Anchises: *cineres*, *animae*, *umbrae*. For the *cineres*, vid. P. Frassinetti, “Cenere,” *EV* I, 728–730; for the *animae*, M.I. Parente, *EV* I, 171–173 (especially on her category “d”); for the *umbrae*, A.M. Negri Rosio, *EV* V*, 378–384 (especially on her category “6”); Horsfall ad 6.510 *et funeris umbris*. Cf. Statius, *Silv.* 5.3.58 *umbrarum animaeque sacerdos* (with Gibson, who compares *Theb.* 7.710–711 for *umbrae* of one person, besides considering Markland and Shackleton Bailey on objections to one or the other genitive;

Stadius' reference to his deceased father is indebted to the present passage). See further Smolenaars ad *Theb.* 7.414. The *animae* and *umbrae* here are almost certainly vocatives plural and not genitives singular.

V. here anticipates the great eschatological revelations of A. 6 (on the inconsistencies of which, see especially Horsfall 1995, 151–152). Here the *cineres* and the *umbrae* surround the *animae* (the only ultimately eternal manifestation or reality?), even as synaloepha links closely the *animae* and the *umbrae*. And, besides the myriad problems of interpretation occasioned by these two words, there is the strong presence of *nequiquam* that hangs over the line, which introduces rather a jarring effect after the liturgical greetings of the repeated *salve*, and which serves to introduce the question of just why the ashes have been received in vain (*nequiquam*; Page: “a natural expression of regret: to say *salve, pater recepte* would be a real joy, to say *salvete, cineres recepti* is an empty delight, a reminder that ‘all is vanity.’”). On *umbrae* see also Reed ad Ovid, *Met.* 10.48–49.

82 non licuit finis Italos fataliaque arva

non licuit: For the phrase cf. 4.550 *non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam*, and the rather different Ps.-V., *Ciris* 446 *non licuit gravidos penso devolvere fusos* (with Lyne). V. here has Aeneas work a twist on one of Dido's more memorable lines; especially for the man who asserted to his Carthaginian lover that he did not pursue Italy of his own free will, the present line is telling in its rich interplay. Cf. Seneca, *Phaed.* 1080–1081 *non licuit animos iungere, at certe licet / iunxisse fata*.

Italos: For the adjective see below on 117, 565, 703; for its use with *finis* cf. 3.440 *Trinacria finis Italos mittere relictas*; 7.334 *Aeneadae possint Italosve obsidere finis*. Cf. Silius, *Pun.* 1.70; 4.122.

fatalia arva: Cf. the sentiments on Rome of Tibullus, c. 2.5.57–58 (with Murgatroyd); also Ovid, *Met.* 15.54. Fracastoro has *hos inter, video, et nostri longa aequora sulcant / Arcades, Italiamque petunt fataliaque arva / Arcades* at c. 12.122–124.

83 nec tecum Ausonium, quicumque est, quaerere Thybrim.'

Ausonium: Vid. M. Cancellieri, *EV* I, 421–422. Ausonia is first named in the A. by the Penates (3.170–171); the appellation (a virtual metonym for Italy) is frequent in V. and Propertius; cf. Horace c. 4.4.56 (with Thomas). It occurs frequently in Ovid, Stadius, Martial, and especially Silius; Lucan was fond of it as well. Vid. Paschalis 1997, 258–259, for a rather strained connection with sound. The “Ausonian Sea” is already found in Apollonius (*Arg.* 4.553), and Lycophron. “Ausoniam appellavit Auson, Ulixis et Calypsus filius, eam primum

partem Italiae, in qua sunt urbes Beneventum et Cales; deinde paulatim tota quoque Italia, quae Appennino finitur, dicta est Ausonia ab eodem duce, a quo urbem etiam conditam Auruncam ferunt” (P. Festus). Here it appears of the sacred Roman river whose titular god will appear to Aeneas in the last book of the second third of the epic.

quaerere: Vid. G. Stramondo, *EV* IV, 364.

quicumque est: For the (rather feigned, or least mannered) uncertainty, with the Tiber named at line-end, after two words of interrogative import (*qu-*), as if half-remembered, see Cairns 1989, 115n13. Aeneas has a fair amount of knowledge of where he is going, but there is a hint here of the same mentality that inspired him to tell Dido *Italiam non sponte sequor* (4.361). “Softer and subtler” (than Apollonius’ ὄστις ὄδε)—Campbell ad *Arg.* 3.266.

Thybris: First mentioned by Creüsa’s ghost at 2.782; for the tradition of the eponymous king, see Gransden ad 8.330–332. Peerklamp strangely thought that a verse must have dropped out after this line, though he also noted the parallel to the end of Dido’s speech at 4.550. For the appearances of the Tiber in prophecies to Aeneas, see Crump 1920, 17–20.

84 *dixerat haec, adytis cum lubricis anguis ab imis*

The celebrated appearance of the snake on the tomb, as Anchises would seem to respond, as it were, to the call of his son. “Die symbolische Bedeutung—Teilnahme des Vaters—ist klar.” (Büchner). Note here H. Bacon, “The *Aeneid* as a Drama of Election,” in *TAPA* 116 (1986), 305–334, 325–326, and, for the idea that V. shifts the snake imagery from the ominous appearances of serpents in *A.* 2 to a more positive epiphany here, Hornsby 1970, 63. Snakes as evidence of the *genius* were sometimes painted near tombs to remind passersby that the site was sacred; cf. Persius, s. 1.113 *pinge duos anguis*.

dixerat haec: Elsewhere in V. only at 11.132, after Drances flatters Aeneas as a burial truce is negotiated; the phrase also appears in Ovid (both elegiac and hexametric); Valerius and Silius (though not Statius).

adytis: Not a common word in V.; cf. 2.115, 3.92, and 6.98, of Phoebus’ oracle; 2.297, of Vesta’s sacred enclosure; 2.351 (and 764), of the soon to be abandoned homes of the immortals at Troy; 2.404, of Minerva’s temple (whence Cassandra is kidnapped); 7.269 *non patrio ex adyto sortes* (Latinus speaking of the prospective union of Lavinia). The associations are overwhelmingly, even oppressively linked with the destroyed city of Troy; there is a hint in the present passage, with its frequent reminiscences of *A.* 2, that the Trojans must experience purgation and expiation for the loss of their city. The word is extraordinary in context for the *locus* of Anchises’ tomb; he is here clearly associated with Apollo and the displaced gods of Troy (almost as if the point of the present scene is to declare

the establishment of a new pantheon/home for the gods in the west). *Imis* may point to the underworld origins of the “spirit” of Anchises, as well as the most sacred part of an already eminently sacred place. Cf. 92 below, and 4.386–387 *dabis, improbe, poenas. | audiam et haec Manis veniet mihi fama sub imos* (Dido to Aeneas). For V’s vocabulary to describe religious and cult sites, see L. Fratanuono, “Temples,” *VE* III, 1250.

lubricus: Cf. 335 below, as Nisus rises from his slip to help his lover Euryalus in the foot race; 2.474, of the new snake to which Pyrrhus is compared as he enters the inner sanctum of Priam’s palace; 7.353, of the serpent Allecto sends to Amata’s breast; 11.716, as Camilla taunts the vain Ligurian. All the other occurrences, then, are baleful, even apart from any purely serpentine associations from elsewhere in the epic.

anguis: On V’s snakes note S. Rocca, “Serpenti,” *EV* IV, 798–801; W. Nethercut, “The Imagery of the *Aeneid*,” in *CJ* 67.2 (1971–1972), 123–143; Hawtree 2011, 166–197; best on the appearances of serpents in Latin poetry = Sauvage’s “Le serpent dans la poésie latine” (*Rev. Phil.* 49 [1975], 241 ff.). The snake’s epiphany here occasions the first simile in *A.* 5 (see below on 89), the book with the highest number of such images in the poem (= 10); on this topic see W. Briggs, “The Similes of *Aeneid* 5,” in Wilhelm and Jones 1992, 157–166. *Anguis* elsewhere always has ominous associations in the epic: cf. 6.572, of Tisiphone’s snakes; 7.346 and 450, of Allecto’s; 7.658 and 8.400, of the Lernaean hydra; 8.289, of the serpents slain by the infant Hercules; 8.437, of the Gorgon’s snakes; 8.697, of the snakes used in Cleopatra’s suicide, besides the familiar appearances in *A.* 2: 204 (Laocoön); 379 (Androgeos). See also K. Hartigan, “He Rose Like a Lion: Animal Similes in Homer and Virgil,” in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 21 (1973), 223–244.

For the importance of V’s use of omens immediately before his games narrative, see Schlunk 1974, 15. V’s snake scene here may have inspired Propertius’ depiction of Cynthia as the auspice of the Lanuvian rites of c. 4.8; vid. D. Walin, “*Cynthia Serpens*: A Reading of Propertius 4.8,” in *CJ* 105.2 (2009), 137–151. On snakes as temple guardians and potentially positive omens, see Malloch ad Tacitus, *Ann.* 11.11.3. For the connection between the appearance of serpents and “the manifestation of a hero,” see Diggle ad Theophrastus, *Char.* 16.4.

85 *septem ingens gyros, septena volumina traxit*

Sedulius imitated this passage as well (*Carmen Paschale* 4.449 = *A.* 5.85), as Peerlkamp notes—the snake not as image of the resurrection, but as infernal horror; for the Virgilian reception, vid. Springer 1988, 93–95.

Why seven coils (if *gyros* is to be taken of the snake’s coils and not of the number of circuits of the *tumulus*)? *Gyrus* is rare in V.: cf. 7.379, of the image of

the boys with the top; 10.884, of Mezentius' shafts as they fly at Aeneas; 11.695, of Camilla's virtual dance of death in pursuing Orsilochus; note also *G.* 3.115 and 191. *Volumen* is uncommon too: at *A.* 2.208 it appears in the serpentine context of the demise of Laocoön; at 408 below it is used of the folds of immense boxing gloves; at 11.753 it used of the snake (= Venulus) carried off by the bird of prey (= Tarchon); note *G.* 3.192, in close proximity to *gyrus*.

The resulting picture may seem "grotesque" (Williams), but Henry (and Page) are probably right in arguing that *gyros* must = the revolutions of the huge snake around the *tumulus*, and *volumina* its seven coils; in any case, whatever the precise picture (and V. may deliberately wish to be impressionistic here), the emphasis is on *seven*, the number with which *A.* 1 ended (755–756), where Dido noted that it was now the seventh year of Trojan wanderings. That famous apparent inconsistency can be explained perhaps most simply (leaving aside the question of the poet's lack of revision) by remembering that *Dido* is the speaker, and presumably capable of an error of Trojan chronology. Iris/Beroë makes the same "error" (see below on 626 and, for an innovative attempt to solve the problem with reference to the *septima aestas* as the temporal extreme of the life of the bees at *G.* 4.203–209, J. Dyson, "Septima Aestas: The Puzzle of *Aen.* 1.755–756 and 5.626," in *CW* 90.1 [1996], 41–42). If Dyson is correct, in both cases (Dido and Iris/Beroë) we have a case of a character urging a sort of death (= stay in Carthage; stay in Sicily), with the death signaled, we would argue, by the deliberate chronological error. On the problem more generally, see Kraggerud 1968, 106–117.

"The number seven came easily to Virgil's pen." (Austin). In *A.*, Juno has twice seven nymphs at her tempting of Aeolus (1.71); Aeneas has seven ships saved from his fleet after shipwreck in Carthage, and seven stags to sustain them (1.170, 192, 383); Dido refers to the seventh year of Aeneas' wanderings at 1.755 (also 5.626); 404 below, where Eryx's boxing gloves have seven layers of ox hide (a passage, we shall see, with other affinities to the present portent); seven youths and maidens are slaughtered yearly to the Minotaur (6.21–22; see Horsfall ad loc. for the problems of *septena* there); seven sacrificial animals at 6.38; seven strings on Orpheus' lyre (6.646); seven citadels/hills of Rome (6.783; also *G.* 2.535); seven mouths of the Nile (6.800; also *G.* 4.292); seven concentric circles of Aeneas' shield (8.448); seven channels of the Ganges (9.30); twice seven Rutulians who guard the Trojan camp during the siege (9.161); seven sons of Phorcus (10.329); seven layers of Turnus' shield (12.925). Orpheus mourned for Eurydice for seven months by the Strymon (*G.* 4.507); cf. above for the limit of the life of the bees (*G.* 4.207; *deest* in Wetmore).

The number seven is associated with the deaths of the bees and Turnus (his sevenfold shield is pierced by Aeneas' spear before he falls); similarly, both

Rome and its eastern enemies are associated with the number. V. thus highlights the somewhat ambiguous ethnographic problems of Rome's foundation: Turnus must be defeated, but the future settlement will be Italian and not Trojan. For the seven sons of Phorcus see Harrison ad loc.; one of them, Numitor, grazes Aeneas' thigh, in a foreshadowing of Aeneas' being wounded there (far more seriously) by the arrow shot of 12.319 ff.: significantly, Numitor's death is not described—V. does not reveal if Aeneas slew one of his own descendants, the Alban king and grandfather of Romulus and Remus. Aeneas, the ostensible victor of the poem's ending, has a sevenfold shield, but so does Turnus, among other epic heroes (see here Gransden ad 8.448); more importantly, Orpheus' seven strings correspond to the seven musical modes whose discovery was attributed to Pythagoras: V. uses the reference to announce the reincarnation thesis that Anchises will unfold to his son.

Here, then, the Pythagorean system is distinctly foreshadowed in the seven coils and/or revolutions of the serpent, even as the theory of transmigration of souls is also at play. Vid. further the brief treatment of a vast topic at A. Grilli, "Pitagoreismo," *EV* IV, 126–127; for the divinization of Anchises that is hinted at here, note D. Quint, "Repetition and Ideology in the *Aeneid*," in *MD* 23 (1989), 9–54, 25–26; see also on 760–761. Aulus Gellius, *NA* 3.10.1–2 notes that Varro opened his *Hebdomades* with a praise of the number seven; see further Kahn 2001, 88. See below on 404 for Entellus' sevenfold *caestus*, which had once been wielded by Aeneas' half-brother Eryx.

With *septem ... septena* cf. 119–120 *triplici / terno* of the triremes that participate in the regatta, which will be marked by herpetological imagery that links back to the serpents that assault Laocoön as well as to the present passage. It is possible that the seven first verses of the epic, too, were meant to stand apart as something of a nod to the significance of the number. The number seven figures in the opening hundred or so lines of Book 5, and also in its companion 6 (21–22), where the potentially positive omen of the sevenfold Anchises-serpent is exchanged for the sevenfold bodies of the sacrifices to the Minotaur—put another way, a harbinger of how we advance from the world of the Odyssean *Aeneid* to the loss of the young in war in the Iliadic.

86 *amplexus placide tumulum lapsusque per aras,*

placide: See below on 92 *innoxius*. This is the only appearance of the adverb in V.; cf. below during the Palinurus sequence at 836 and 848, where the adjective is used of the limbs of the sleeping sailors, and of the sea; at 763 it describes the winds after the nine days of feasting that mark the Trojan settlement in Sicily after the dream appearance of Anchises. Four occurrences, then, in 5, 2× with connection to Anchises and 2× to Palinurus. Servius comments on

the close association between adverb and participle; for *amplexus*, see on 531 below, where Aeneas embraces Acestes. The serpent that killed Laocoön and his sons made the same gesture (2.214 *corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque*; cf. 2.218 *bis medium amplexi*); so too the terrified Trojan women (2.491 *amplexaeque tenant postis atque oscula figunt*; cf. 2.517, of Hecuba and her daughters); Achaemenides (3.607); Anna with the dying Dido (4.686); Pallas with Aeneas (8.124): usually in darker contexts.

Altars have apparently been set up at the mound, perhaps in preparation for this rite, though likelier at the time of burial, as a locus for offerings. With the appearance of this snake cf. Pliny, *NH* 11.197 *Caecinae Volaterrano dracones emicuisse de extis laeto prodigio traditur*.

lapsus: So of the Allecto-Schlange at 7.149 as it assaults Amata (the principal parallel); cf. 12.249 *subito cum lapsus ad undas*, of the omen of the eagle that snatches the swan (itself a harbinger of the forthcoming ethnographic settlement of Italy). The verb is one of V's favorites; vid. A. Bartolucci, "Labo," *EV* III, 83–86.

87 caeruleae cui terga notae maculosus et auro

caeruleus: For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 107–112; on the colors of this brief chromatic vignette, Bradley 2009, 46–47. E. considers the hue to have "neutral ... mood connotations," (though somewhat contradictorily he later notes that it is "generally a somber color"), but most (not all) of its uses are in bleaker contexts: *A.* 2.381, where Androgeos steps on the sleeping serpent; 3.64, during the Polydorus episode; 3.194, amid the storm from Crete to the Strophades; 3.432, of Scylla's monstrous hounds; 5.10 above, of the storm en route from Carthage to Sicily; 5.819, of Neptune's blue chariot (the god may be calming the sea, but he has also just demanded a human sacrifice for his trouble); 6.410, of Charon's vessel; 7.346, of Allecto's serpent; 8.713, of the Nile that receives the defeated Antony and Cleopatra. The combination of blue and gold accords exactly with the juxtaposition of the same colors at 817–819 below (of Neptune's blue *currus* and the gold harness for his horses). Nelis 2001 cfs. here the scene of the snake guardian of the fleece at *Arg.* 4.123 ff.

notae: Rare in V; at 3.444 (*notas et nomina*) it describes what the Cumaean Sibyl marks down on her prophetic leaves; cf. *G.* 3.158, *notas et nomina*, where the same phrase refers to the branding of cattle in the immediate aftermath of V's mention of the *asilus* gadfly that Juno sent to torment Io, and especially 3.427 *atque notis longam maculosus grandibus abvum*, of the evil Calabrian serpent (*est etiam ille malus Calabris in saltibus angues*). 4×, then, 2× in the same phrase, with balanced appearances in *G.* and *A.*, and 2× in serpentine contexts.

maculosus: At 1.323, of the spotted lynx in the speech of Venus in her huntress disguise; at G. 3.427 it is used of the Calabrian snake. Cf. the uses of the noun: A. 4.643, of the self-inflicted blemishes on Dido's face; 566 below, of one of the (spotted) horses in the equestrian display (with 9.49, of the same sort of Thracian steed—note the connections of the Thracian horses, “Thracian Harpalyce,” and Dido's associations with Venus/Camilla; cf. G. 3.56, also 3.389 and 4.91). The description of the snake here owes something to the weather signs of G. 1.453–456 *caeruleus pluviam denuntiat, igneus Euros; | sin maculae incipient rutilo immiscerier igni, | omnia tum pariter vento nimisque videbis | fervere* (and cf. G. 1.441). The verb *maculare* appears at 3.29 (during the Polydorus episode) and, significantly, at 10.851, where Mezentius asserts to the dead Lausus that he has defiled his name (*idem ego, nate, tuum maculavi crimine nomen*). On *-osus* adjectives see Harrison on 10.141; Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 146 *undosa ... domus*.

88 *squamam incendebat fulgor, ceu nubibus arcus*

incendebat: Vid. M.S. Saccone, *EV* II, 934–935. The verb serves as an omen of the forthcoming burning of the ships (see below on 89), which of course neither Aeneas nor audience is aware of as yet. Cf. Lucan, *BC* 3.420 *et non ardentis fulgere incendia silvae*; Manilius, *Ast.* 1.825–826 *in breve vivit opus coeptusque incendia fine | subsistent pariterque cadunt fulgentque cometae*.

fulgor: The noun is not common in V., though *fulgere* appears some 30×; cf. 8.431 and 524, both in connection with Aeneas' divine arms. Significantly, V. repeats the word at 11.70, where it refers to the lost sheen of the cut flower that describes the death of Pallas (who will have affinities with Palinurus, whose death is already distantly foreshadowed in the present scene); the poet thus uses the word very carefully: 4×, 1× each at almost the same point in the sister books, and twice of the shield, though with rather different meanings: first of the Cyclopes at their forge and the awesome, terror-inspiring noises of their work, and then of the rather Jovian portent Venus sends to announce the giving of the arms—a good example of the poet's careful use of his vocabulary and its arrangement.

89 *mille iacit varios adverso sole colores.*

Almost the same as 4.701 *mille trahens varios adverso sole colores* (cf. R *trahit, fortasse recte*); V. once again closely links the present narrative of Anchises' memorial obsequies with the recent Dido narrative. In the previous passage, Iris appeared at her mistress Juno's behest to snip a lock of hair to offer to Proserpina; here the snake is ravishingly colored. See here Edgeworth 1992, 120–121, Grassman-Fischer 1966, 78–86 (and note Raabe 1974, 18), Putnam 1965,

67, Di Cesare 1974, 84, and Fratantuono, “*Roscida pennis*: Iris in the *Aeneid*,” in *BStLat* (2013). The Iris imagery here presages the rainbow goddess’ forthcoming role in the burning of the ships; for the implications of the association of Juno’s avatar with Aeneas’ own father, and for the goddess’ mastery over matters eschatological (cf. Juno’s victory in the ultimate eschatological revelation of the poem in the ethnographic disposition of Italy), note Blonk 1947, 123. For the mixed associations of the Virgilian snake, note M. Gale, “Poetry and the Backward Glance in Virgil’s *Georgics* and *Aeneid*,” in *TAPA* 133 (2003), 323–352, 337. The rainbow imagery also links to the storm from the opening of the book; for the rainbow as omen of tempests, note *G.* 1.380–381 (with Mynors), and Kidd ad Aratus, *Phaen.* 940. For Iris’ affinities not only to rainbows, but also to the winds and the Harpies, note West ad Hesiod, *Theog.* 266 and 784.

Iris was the messenger of Juno who was entrusted with the taking of a lock for Proserpina; we might note that Sicily was itself the Jovian dowry for the underworld goddess (Pindar, *Nem.* 1.13–14): we move in a sense from one Persephonic gift to another as we advance from the end of Book 4 to 5.

For *varius*, note Jenkyns 1998, 470. The penultimate book of V’s *Odyssey* has the greatest number of similes of any in the epic, and the first is devoted to the rainbow goddess. What is most significant about the similes of *A.* 5 is that the last occurs at 594–595 below, during the *lusus Troiae*: there are none in the “darker” half of the book with the burning of the ships and the Palinurus episode, where the images of the book’s seemingly lighter half become reality. See below on 268–281 for the book’s other serpent simile; *G.* 3.416–424 is more relevant to that passage.

On rainbows see further Bradley 2009, 36–51. The verse is framed by noun and complement.

90 *obstipuit visu Aeneas. ille agmine longo*

Nelis 2001, 466, compares Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.149–150 (of Medea’s charming of the snake for Jason); Valerius has *obstipuit visu* at *Arg.* 4.141; the phrase occurs nowhere else.

obstipuit: For the use of the verb in reaction to portents, vid. Kühn 1971, 49n2, and see on 404 below, of the reaction to Eryx’s immense boxing gloves. The scene is reminiscent of the Androgeos episode (*A.* 2.378–379 *obstipuit retroque pedem cum voce repressit / improvisum aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem*), on which see J. Rauk, “Androgeos in Book Two of the *Aeneid*,” in *TAPA* 121 (1995), 287–295 (especially 291n12 on the associations of Androgeos and Laocoön). For *obstipuit visu* cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.441. “*Semel in G., 16× in Aen., of good pedigree, n. on 3.48*” (Horsfall ad 2.378).

ille: With 91 *serpens*, probably in imitation of Greek article with noun; on such features of Virgilian style cf. Dainotti 2015.

agmine longo: At 10.769 of Mezentius as he advances against Aeneas; cf. 1.393–395, of the portentous procession of the swans; the variant *longe* can be safely dismissed. The correspondences exactly mirror the mood of the present passage; one is baleful, the other reassuring. The phrase is a favorite of Livy; cf. the waves of Manilius, *Ast.* 5.580, and the ants of Ovid, *Met.* 7.624; also Statius, *Theb.* 7.228, 9.845, 10.42–44, 785; Silius, *Pun.* 10.626; Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.35.10.

91 tandem inter pateras et levia pocula serpens

For the *pateras* and the *pocula*, cf. 3.354–355, of the feast at Buthrotum; see also below on 98 and especially on 775, where Aeneas makes offering to the marine gods; the religious rites there are parallel to the present scene and close a sacrificial ring; Palinurus' loss will follow at once on the (both successful and failed) liturgy. At 6.49 the *paterae* catch the gore from the sacrifices before the descent to Avernus (cf. the blood on the same vessel at 3.69, during the rites for Polydorus); very different in context are the libation plates at Dido's banquet (1.729, 739; note also 3.355, during the meal at Buthrotum), which are somewhat transformed in later books into implements of sacrificial rituals. Dido uses a *patera* for her libations at 4.60; cf. the rites after the fulfillment of the omen of the table-eating at 7.33, and the *paterae* on the shield of Aeneas that appear as part of the treaty rites between the Romans and the Sabines (8.640, with which cf. 12.174, where Latins and Trojans mark their all too temporary truce). *Levia pocula* appear only here.

serpens: Perhaps the participle, and not the noun (Servius).

92 libavitque dapes rursusque innoxius imo

For V's mention of the snake's harmless nature (with comparison to the problem of the archery contest portent), see Horsfall 1995, 140–141. Valerius Flaccus imitated this passage (*Arg.* 3.457–458 *libavitque dapes, placidi quas protinus angues, / umbrarum famuli, linguis rapuere coruscis*) in his description of the funeral rites for those slain at Cyzicus (see further below on 95); on the Apollonian intertext see M. Williams, "The Cyzicus Episode (Ap. Rh., *Arg.* I, 936–1158) and *Aeneid* V: Cybele and Ritual," in Deroux 1997, 5–28.

libavit: See further Conway ad 1.256.

rursus: In a literal sense; the adverb is more commonly used metaphorically (Roby 2173).

innoxius: Uncommon in V; cf. 2.683, of the harmless flame that appears over Ascanius' head, and G. 2.129 and 3.283 (the former passage may be an interpolation occasioned by the latter). In *A.*, then, only of grandfather and

grandson, and both times in quasi-magical passages where the supernatural background of this most special of families is highlighted.

For V.'s use of alliteration from the beginning of one line to the end of the next, see Cordier 1939b, 51.

93 *successit tumulo et depasta altaria liquit.*

Servius ad 5.48 sees in V.'s description of the action of the serpent a focus on the progression from mortality to apotheosis: "*altaria liquit* vult esse divinitatis post apotheosin ... unde est *adytis* (84), quae templorum sunt, et *successit tumulo*, quod est hominis." The snake leaves the altar and returns to the lowest part of the mound (its locus and home), but the language also evokes the idea of the snake (= the symbol of Anchises' continued existence) conquering the *tumulus* (= the reminder of the burial of his corruptible body).

successit: Two verbs enclose the line.

depasta: The closest verbal connection of the present passage with the death of Laocoön and his sons; the only other appearance of the verb in *A.* is at 2.215, where Minerva's serpents feed on Neptune's priest (in some sense, the loss of Palinurus is in some sense atonement for the death of the sea god's votary: the goddess Minerva will assault the Trojans in the second and second-to-last books of the epic in her attacks on Laocoön and her part in the arrival of Camilla to the defense of the beleaguered Latin capital; in the demand of Neptune for a life, we see the consequences of the death of the god's priest, even if the Trojans were innocent).

The image of the snake feeding on the altar may hark back to Celaeno's prophecy regarding the eating of the tables (*A.* 3.247–257). That prophecy's temporal marker was the girding of a city with walls (255 *sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem*), with which we can cf. 5.597 *Ascanius, Longam muris cum cingeret urbem*, of Aeneas' son's teaching of the maneuvers of the *lusus Troiae* to the inhabitants of the city he will either found or fortify (see further below ad loc.). At 7.116–117 Iulus playfully announces the fulfillment of the prophecy on Italian soil; here, the snake that may = the *genius* of the Trojan dynast Anchises is depicted as feeding on the altars. See further Boas 1938, 221–249. See also below on 545–603 for the *lusus* as image of the *λύσις* of Troy; Celaeno's threat is associated with the walling of a city (an image both of foundation and of defense against attack); in V.'s narrative it will be Ascanius (and not Aeneas) who is linked to city-girding (in contrast, his father tries to destroy Latinus' city at 12.564 ff.). The point, then, is that one city must be destroyed to make way for another; see here Papaionannou 2005, 57–59.

altaria liquit: Cf. 54 above; Silius, *Pun.* 5.65 *incerta cervice ferens altaria liquit*. The reference is to a physical site and not to the offerings thereon (so Forbiger,

contra Heyne). V. vastly prefers *ara* to *altaria*; the latter tend to appear in solemn and emotionally charged circumstances (so 2.515, of Hecuba and her daughters; 2.550 *altaria ad ipsa*, of the site of Priam's murder; 4.517, of Dido during her ritual; 7.71, of Lavinia before the portent of the fiery hair; 11.50, of the imagined offerings Evander makes for Pallas' return; 12.174, during the Trojan-Latin truce ceremonies).

94 *hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores,*

instaurat: For the verb cf. 2.451 and 669, both of renewed battle passions (so also 10.543); 3.62 (of restarting the memorial rites for Polydorus—the most important comparison); 4.63, of Dido renewing the day with religious rites as she wrestles with her feelings for Aeneas; 4.145, of the image of Apollo and his dances; 6.530, of the wish that the gods might visit destruction on the Greeks for what they did to Troy; 7.146, of happy banqueting after the favorable resolution of the omen of the eating of the tables (so also 8.283, of feasting in honor of Hercules). Mackail notes well ad 95: “As it is uncertain whether there be not a *genius loci* that should also be propitiated, the ritual is repeated. This was always done when any irregularity was found or reasonably suspected to have taken place in a ceremony already performed.” V. does not specify the exact nature of the renewed honors (more sacrifices?); the point is simply that the serpentine portent engenders something of a rather redoubled devotion; cf. 71 *ore favete*, at the commencement of the rites the serpent has interrupted.

inceptos ... honores: *Inceptos* appears elsewhere only at 4.316 *inceptos hymenaeos*, where Dido makes her desperate pleas to Aeneas; the association is ominous, and offers another reminiscence of the Dido drama in the present scene. The interruption here is of unknown import; the rites must be repeated, since they have been disturbed by a mysterious portent (“*repetit inexpectata re mira interruptos*”—Forbiger). For the connection between funerary honors and the respect due to the immortals, see Carcopino 1968, 566.

95 *incertus geniumne loci famulumne parentis*

Yet again, Aeneas' lack of awareness or understanding is indicated; cf. above on 2 *certus* for the opposite sentiment. The adjective is used of Venus at 4.110; of the Trojan crowd debating about the horse at 2.39; of the Trojan exiles at 3.7 (cf. 3.203 and 12.743)—the only individual characters in *A.*, then, to whom it is applied = Venus and her son Aeneas. Jupiter offers quite a different view to Cybele: *certusque incerta pericula lustret / Aeneas?* (9.95–96), in the context of responding to her wish that the Trojan fleet not be burned by Turnus—where *certus* corresponds to the description at 5.2 above.

The “genius” of the place, or the *famulus* of Anchises (see here Heuzé 1985, 136). Only twice in *A.* does V. mention a *genius*, here and at 7.136 *geniumque loci*, where the same phrase is used to describe the recipient of Aeneas’ prayer after the “eating of the tables.” Twice, then, will V. recall the present passage during that fateful meal interlude in Latium (see above on 80 *salve*), and there, too, a portent will be seen: Jupiter will thunder three times in a clear sky and reveal a cloud of golden light. On this eminently Roman concept vid. S. Fasce, *EV* II, 656–657; J. Scheid’s entry in *OCD*.3; and cf. the lengthy note of Panayotakis on the problematic Decimus Laberius fr. 34 preserved by Nonius (Cambridge, 2010, 272–274); also Bailey 1935, 292 ff. (with special focus on the influence of Greek hero cults on Virgilian depiction of Anchises here); Maltby on Tibullus, c. 1.7.49–50; Thomas on Horace c. 4.11.7. The *genius* was connected ultimately with birth (hence Varro’s *deus ... qui praepositus est ac vim habet omnium rerum gignendarum* as quoted by Aug. *CD* 7.13); cf. Horace, *Ep.* 2.2.187 (with Brink): hence 94 *genitori*; for the importance of the idea to the present book, vid. J. Farrell, “*Aeneid* 5: Poetry and Parenthood,” in Perkell 1999, 96–110. No hint in the present passage of the Servian idea (ad *A.* 6.743) that every man was born with two *genii*, one predisposed to good and the other to bad. Iconographic representations exist of the *genius loci* as a serpent that sometimes devours fruit placed before it (*EV* offers the *genius theatri* relief from Capua, Museo Campano; see also Toynbee 1973, 233, for Pompeian representations). For the Tacitean *dracones in modum custodum* of Neronian mythology, see Malloch ad *Ann.* 11.11.3, with reference to our passage.

Ovid, *Fasti* 2.543–546 describes the “result” of the present scene: *hunc morem Aeneas, pietatis idoneus auctor, | attulit in terras, iuste Latine, tuas; | ille patris Genio sollemnia dona ferebat: | hinc populi ritus edidicere pios*. The failure to perform this rite led to a plague of angry ghosts; the propitiation of those spirits lies behind the mythology of the May festival of the Lemuria. Ovid notes that the original infestation of those vengeful spirits brought not the light or glow of sacrifices to Rome, but that of funeral pyres (549–550 *non impune fuit; nam dicitur omine ab isto | Roma suburbanis incaluisse rogis*): exactly the change from the present memorial requiem scene to that of the real funerals of *A.* 11.

famulum: “Fuit enim haec maiorum consuetudo, sicut hodieque apud Indos est, ut quotiens reges moriebantur, cum his dilecti equi vel servi et una de uxoribus carior circa rogam occisi incenderentur ... possumus ergo *famulum* servum sepultum cum Anchisa accipere ... singula enim numina habent inferiores potestates ministras, ut Venus Adonim, Diana Virbium. aut certe secundum Pythagoram dicit, qui primus deprehendit de medulla hominis, quae est in spina, anguem creari: quod etiam Ovidius in quinto decimo Metamorphoseon dicit loquente Pythagora” (Servius; see here Wigodsky 1972, 140); “the ‘famil-

iar' supposed to attend demigods and heroes, the predecessor of the black cat of mediaeval witchcraft" (Page). Unlike the *genius loci*, the *famulus parentis* is not a readily recognizable character in Roman religion. The word is not particularly common in V. (*deest* in *EV*): cf. 1.701, of the servants at Dido's banquet; 2.712, of Aeneas' servants during the flight from Troy; 3.329, of Helenus; 263 below (of the servants Phegeus and Sagaris); 8.584, of the servants who carry the collapsed Evander inside; 9.329, of Rhamnes' three servants; 11.84, of Pallas' guardian Acoetes. None of the other appearances of the word mirror its unique use here; it should be observed that of its eight uses, all but one appear in darker contexts. Every place where the Romans were active could be said to have a *genius* (Servius ad *A.* 6.603), as could also the *paterfamilias*; the *genius* was born and (apparently) died with the man. But what of the *famulus parentis*? (the parallels at *OLD* 1b are not really relevant). Is there some tentative assertion here of Anchises' divinity (i.e. the death of his *genius* would be irrelevant)? Cf. Heyne's lengthy note (= the *famulus* is equivalent to Anchises' *genius*; Henry *silet*), and, on the question of Anchises' divinity, Pomathios 1987, 237–238.

The *famulus* would seem to = either the *genius* of Anchises, then, or Anchises reborn into a new form (= the Pythagorean theory cited in Servius)—the latter a foreshadowing of the great eschatological revelations of the following book. See above on 92 for the imitation of Valerius Flaccus (*Arg.* 3.458 *umbrarum famuli*). At Ovid, *Met.* 3.229 *famulos fugit ipse suos*, the same word is used to describe Actaeon's hunting hounds as they prepare to attack the master they now do not recognize.

96 esse putet; caedit binas de more bidentis

For good analysis of the alleged Ennian borrowings of 96–97 and 102 below, vid. Wigodsky 1972, 122–125. The sacrifice here will be echoed in 11.197 ff., as the Trojans conduct funeral rites during the truce—another of the parallels between the sister books, where a calm moment of the memorial rites here is there transformed into the bitter reality of the Italian war (and on the present scene note especially Bailey 1935, 293–294). The present passage is a clear evocation of the *Suovetaurilia*, a rite associated with public lustrations (cf. the expiatory nature of this liturgy in the wake of Dido's death, and see Nelis 2001, 190 for the influence of Apollonius' account of the Argonaut voyage to Circe after the murder of Absyrtus). Horsfall ad 11.197 notes that "the *Suovetaurilia* is entirely devoid of funerary associations ... and in the present context is an embarrassingly irrelevant association," but it is difficult to imagine a Roman audience not making the connection—with clear evocation of a sense of *post mortem* propitiatory atonement. The *locus classicus* for the rite = Cato, *DA*

141; cf. *CIL* VI.2107, 2–13 for a description of the same service after a lightning strike.

On sacrifices in *V.* vid. D. Lanternari and V. Lanternari, “Sacrificium,” *EV* III, 632–636, especially 635; for the verb *caedere* (and the related noun) vid. L. Piacente, *EV* I, 599–600; for the appropriate types and numbers of sacrifices, Lersch 1843, 166–173. With the present scene cf. *A.* 4.57 *mactant lectas de more bidentis*, of Dido and Anna; 6.39 *lectas de more bidentis*, of Deiphobe’s instructions to Aeneas; 7.93 *mactabat rite bidentis*, of the hundred sheep sacrificed by Latinus; 8.544 *mactat lectas de more bidentis*, of Evander after the apparition of the divine arms. One sheep is sacrificed (along with a pig) as part of the truce rituals at 12.170–171 (where see Tarrant). *Binas bidentis* only here (and see below on the textual crux); a total of six animals will apparently be offered by Aeneas at Anchises’ grave (see below on 97). But the most important association here (whatever the number of animals) is with the offerings cited at 11.197–199, during the Trojan funerals for the war dead: *multa boum circa mactantur corpora Morti, / saetigerosque sues raptasque ex omnibus agris / in flammam iugulant pecudes*, where the *pecudes* correspond to the sheep of this line, and the *boves* to the bullocks at 97 below.

Sacrifice is the act of making something sacred, which technically requires a proper offering (the right domestic animal), divine recipient, suitable sacrificer (i.e., priest or *paterfamilias*, at least for public rituals, and as a rule male), and fitting place of sacrifice, even if temporary (*E.* 1.7–8, *G.* 3.486–493, *A.* 6.243–254, of the rites before the *katabasis*); all of this would have demanded absolute, indeed obsessive fidelity to liturgical rubric, and presents ample opportunity for unforeseen, ill-omened occurrences. Sacrifice is often simulated in improper or incomplete circumstances, for more or less valid reasons, not least of which because the recipient is not always divine (*E.* 1.42–43, of Octavian’s birthday, more in imitation of Hellenistic ruler cults than imagined association with the *Lares*; so also some offerings to the dead: *G.* 4.531–547, of the instructions to Aristaeus to appease Orpheus and Eurydice, where the *manes* should not be thought to lurk), and because many conduct “sacrifices” who are not themselves “sacred,” i.e., priests or household leaders (*A.* 5.473–484 below, of Entellus’ offering of a bull to Eryx, and, most dramatically, the foreign, female Dido’s rites in *A.* 4). Slaughter (either of animals or humans) can always be ritualized, but not every slaying is therefore sacrificial (*A.* 1.185–193, where seven stags serve both practical and symbolic purpose, and, most significantly, *A.* 2.116–133 of Iphigenia and Sinon, and *A.* 10.517–520, 11.81–82, of the victims to be slain at Pallas’ requiem, none of which are human sacrifices). *V.* in general is not a source for ritual technicalities of Roman religion (still less for moralizing commentary on ritual killing), especially when describing nonexistent rites

(*E.* 1.42–43), though he is regularly keen on the offering of the right animal to the appropriate deity in many contexts that extend beyond sacrifice properly understood. Sacrifices both proper and improper always convey information about the relationship between gods, men, and animals, even when it is unclear that the objective of a rite is making some offering sacred to a divinity.

Bailey notes that at 61 above, Acestes offered two oxen for each of Aeneas' vessels; the Sicilian monarch doubles the one-per-ship ratio of the stags Aeneas hunted outside Carthage after the shipwreck (1.192–193). For this sacrifice there may be a point of connection between *binas* and the uncertainty of the snake's identification as either *genius loci* or *famulus parentis*. The textual tradition here, in any case, is vexed. *Binas* is the reading of M (R *caeditque binas*); Servius ad 78 above reads *quinas* (along with PVρωγ), where he fancifully observes that odd numbers denote sacrifices to a god, even numbers to a dead man. Cf. DServ. ad 4.200, which offers *mactat binas*—*fortasse recte*. Forms of *quini* appear in V. at 2.126, where Calchas waits ten days before speaking, and 7.538–539 *quina / armenta*, of Galaesus' flocks; neither use secures reading *quinos* here.

97 *totque sues, totidem nigrantis terga iuencos,*

tot ... totidem: The pair appears artfully between the *septem ... septena* of the snake and its movements at 85 and the *triplici / terno* of the ships at 119–120.

nigrantis iuencos: Cf. *A.* 6.243, of Deiphobe's sacrifice of four bullocks (with Horsfall ad loc.); the offering there will double Aeneas' here ("the colour conventional (but not binding) for sacrifices to the dead."). The right animal for the right god on the right occasion; for black animals in Virgilian sacrifice, see especially Bailey 1935, 44–45: they are usually sacrificed to infernal powers (and those you wish to avert). Pigs were appropriate for treaties (note here Tarrant ad 12.170); in the present case, there may be a hint of the Trojan/Roman alliance with Sicily. With *totidem ... iuencos* cf. 6.38–39 *nunc grege de intacto septem mactare iuencos / praestiterit, totidem lectas de more bidentis*, of the offerings before the Sibyl makes her revelations. Seneca was inspired by the present passage for his *reserate paulum terga nigrantis poli* (*Ag.* 756, where see Tarrant). Horsfall discusses the specific significance of a *iuencus* in light of the ages of the life of cattle; also the question of gender of the animal vs. recipient.

For the (Greek) accusative of specification, cf. 1.320; 1.589; 6.495.

98 *vinaque fundebat pateris animamque vocabat*

vina fundebat: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 9.160; *Fasti* 6.630; Propertius c. 4.6.73, where see Hutchinson (a very different context); Petronius, *Sat.* 78.4.2 (*vinarium iussit infundi*, during Trimalchio's mock funeral, where he asks his guests to consider that they have been invited to the Parentalia); Statius, *Theb.* 1.694, 7.92. The ring

opened here will close at 776 below; see also on 238, where Cloanthus promises the gods of the sea a similar offering (a foreshadowing of the ritual Aeneas will perform later). For the *pateris* see above on 91.

Augustine laments that some people still offer food and drink to ghosts, as it were, at the tombs of the dead: *miror, cur apud quosdam infideles hodie tam perniciosus error increverit, ut super tumulos defunctorum cibos et vina conferant, quasi egressae de corporibus animae carnales cibos requirant* (*Serm. 15 de Sanctis*).

animamque vocabat: A possible reference to the funerary *conclamatio* (vid. Austin ad 6.220 *fit gemitus*, a more speculative association; Toynbee 1971, 44). On the evocation of the *anima* here see further Negri 1984, 50–65.

99 Anchisae magni Manisque Acheronte remissos.

For *magnus Anchises* cf. 8.156, where Evander uses the same descriptor; note also Ovid, *Met.* 14.117–118 (with Myers); E. Zaffagno, *EV* III, 319–322.

Manis: See here E. Montanari, “Mani,” *EV* III, 339–340; Bailey 1935, 256 ff. Raabe 1974, 153 ff.; Negri 1984, 85 ff. The funereal context makes the appearance of yet another complex concept of Roman eschatology unsurprising, but the whole atmosphere ultimately prepares us for the infernal journey of the next book; Anchises’ spirit here (however we precisely define its substance, or lack thereof) rings with his epiphany in the latter half of 6, even as it follows on the deaths of Creüsa, Anchises, and Dido at the ends of Books 2–4. Shades, too, of Greek hero cults in the epithet *magni*. Cf. the altars to the manes during the rites for Polydorus (3.63–64). During the divine council, Venus will mention the revelations made by such shades, with particular reference to Anchises: 10.34 *quae superi Manesque dabant* (followed by a summary of hindrances the Trojans experienced in the present book (36–38)); the *Manes* there may refer to “not merely the spirits of the dead but generally the neither deities” (R. Thomas in *VE* II, 783). The Latin is deliberately vague as to whether the *manes* here = Anchises and/or others, even if the obvious referent is Aeneas’ father.

Acheronte: In Homer, Acheron was fed by the Cocytus and Phlegethon (*Od.* 10.513–514); V’s river geography is vague, but he notes that the river sends its surge into Cocytus (*A.* 6.297), and emerges in the (Hirpine) vale of Ampsanctus (7.569; the passage may presage the introduction of Camilla later in the book, if we are to imagine the Hirpini as wolf hunters), the preferred hiding place of Allecto. Along with the Styx, V. uses it as a synonym for the underworld and death (*G.* 2.492; *A.* 7.91, 312, 11.23); see further I.C. Colombo, “Acheronte,” *EV* I, 23–24; Rostagni 1961, 128–129; Finglass ad Pindar, *Pyth.* 11.2. “Not simply the river, but the abode of the dead. The usage is common in Hellenistic poetry ...

and became rooted in Latin at an early stage" (Nisbet and Hubbard ad Horace, c. 1.3.36). For the "Pure Abl." after "a compound of *-re*, as often," see Conway ad 1.356.

remissos: *Manes* ... *remissos* only here. The Servian tradition connects this key word to the possible notion of apotheosis and the confirmation of divinization; Anchises' *manes* are imagined as "sent back" from Acheron in testament to his new status as a god, ready to be sent back yet again after the confirmation of divinity ("ut remitterentur, post divinitatis confirmationem"). Williams compares Milton's *Comus* 603–604: "With all the grisly legions that troop / Under the sooty flag of Acheron." In *remissos* there is a foreshadowing, too, of the problem of the Gates; in light of what will be unveiled at the end of *A.* 6 about the mechanics of the Virgilian eschatology, we do well to wonder about the nature of the *Manes* here, and to note that while Aeneas is uncertain as to whether the snake represents/embodies the *genius loci* or the *famulus parentis*, he calls nonetheless with apparent confidence on the *anima* and *manes* of his father. For general study see further Boyancé 1963; Albinus 2000; Bremmer 2002; foundational remains E. Norden, "Vergilstudien I: Die Nekyia, ihre Composition und Quellen," in *Hermes* 28 (1893), 360–406. On the *manes* more generally see also R. Thomas, *VE* II, 783–784.

100 nec non et socii, quae cuique est copia, laeti

copia: Not a particularly common word in *V.*; cf. the metaphorical uses at 1.520 and 11.248, 378 (*copia fandi*), 9.484 (during Euryalus' mother's lament) and 9.720 (*copia pugnae*); 2.564 (of Aeneas surveying his wife and family); 11.834 *omnis copia Teucrum* (the Trojan rally after the death of Camilla). Otherwise of milk at *E.* 1.81 and *G.* 3.308; *copia thymbrae* (*G.* 31); cf. *Ps.-V.*, *Culex* 339 and 353 (with Seelentag).

laeti: Presumably with a certain alacrity (Servius: "alacres, libenter") and zeal to imitate Aeneas; possibly an indication of the reaction of the *socii* to the portent.

101 dona ferunt, onerant aras mactantque iuencos;

dona ferunt: So at 8.284 *dona ferunt cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras*, during the rituals in honor of Hercules; the phrase is borrowed from Catullus c. 64.34 *dona ferunt prae se, declarant gaudia vultu*.

onerant: Cf. 11.212 *onerabant*, where the Latins bury their cremated dead; see also Kühn 1971, 126n9.

mactant: For this key verb in *V.*'s sacrificial vocabulary, see here Heuzé 1985, 156–157; it will be repeated at 11.197. It occurs just before the Polydorus episode, as Aeneas sacrifices a bull (3.21; cf. 2.202, of the same sacrifice by Laocoön), and

during the ill-fated Cretan interlude (3.118); Aeneas asks his reluctant father if he must see his son, sire and wife slaughtered by the Greeks (2.667 *mactatos*). Note also 4.57 (of Dido and Anna); 6.38 (of the sacrifice enjoined by the Sibyl before the descent to the underworld); 7.93 (Latinus' sacrifice regarding his daughter's marriage); 8.85 (Aeneas' sacrifice of the sow to Juno); 8.294 (Hercules is lauded for slaughtering the Cretan bull); 8.544 (of sacrifices by Evander and the Trojan youth); 10.413 (of Halaesus' brief and violent *aristeia* before Pallas slays him). The verb thus appears in unambiguously negative contexts in Books 2, 3, 4, 10 and 11; in Books 5 and 6 it appears in funereal/underworld contexts; only in Book 8 are the occurrences certainly positive (= the most aetiological book of the poem); the one use in Book 7 is of mixed associations (since the question of Lavinia's marriage will lead directly to the war in Italy).

102 *ordine aëna locant alii fusique per herbam*

aëna: The brazen or copper vessels may have a loose association with the cauldrons employed in oracular divinization (*OLD* s.v. *d*), though parallels would be welcome. V. uses the same sort of pots at the funeral for Misenus (6.218), to hold the water used for the cleansing of the body; cf. 6.228. The present passage is closest to 1.213 *litora aëna locant alii flammisque ministrant* (and see below on *fusique per herbam*), when the shipwrecked Trojans enjoy a moment of calm on the beach before Carthage—the scene here in Sicily, after the escape from Dido's kingdom, forms something of a ring with that earlier gathering (and cf. 9.165 *indulgent vino et vertunt crateras aënos*). But there is also a reminiscence of Pyrrhus, who was shining in bronze (2.470 *exsultat telis et luce coruscat aëna*), and who was compared by the poet to a snake (471–475); cf., too, the brazen sickles employed in Dido's preparatory rites (4.513), and the bronze vessel in the simile of the boiling water at 7.463 and 8.22: thus as we have seen in other instances, V. looks both backwards and forwards, thereby infusing the present scene with the memory and recollection of previous events, even as future ones are distantly presaged and foreshadowed.

locant: See on 109 *locantur* below. 18× in *A.*; first-person uses are bleak in context: 3.17 *loco*, of Aeneas' attempted settlement in Thrace; 4.374, of Dido's reception of the Trojan exiles; 12.145, of Juno's favor to her quasi-rival Juturna. The vessels are arranged in order; cf. 53 *ordine* above, and, in the very different contexts of the games, 120 and 271 (of the regatta); 349 (during the foot race), and note also below on 707 *quae fatorum posceret ordo*; 773 (a more difficult usage).

fusique per herbam: For the phrase, cf. *A.* 1.214, of the first (makeshift) feast in Carthage; 9.164, of the forces laying siege to the Trojan camp as they indulge in wine; not the most reassuring of parallels.

103 subiciunt veribus prunas et viscera torrent.

subiciunt prunas: Cf. Celsus, *De Medicina* 3.27.2b.4. The use of the verb here is = to 7.110 *subiciunt* (of *adorea liba*), at the commencement of the feast that will see the “eating of the tables.” Cf. 12.288 *subiciunt*, of the Latins after the breaking of the truce. At 11.186 *subiectisque ignibus atris*, Aeneas and Tarchon are conducting funerals for their war dead; the same verb describes the image of Arruns as wolf as he hides his tail after the death of Camilla (813 *subiecit*; at 12.66 *subiecit rubor*, the same verb form describes Lavinia’s blush); cf. 6.223 *subiectam* (*facem*), during the rites for Misenus, and the famous 6.853 *subiectis*, of those whom the “Roman” is enjoined by Anchises to spare; the passage is a distant reminiscence of 2.721 *subiectaque colla*, of Aeneas’ neck as he shoulders the burden of his aged father. At 2.236 *subiciunt* describes action during the reception of the Trojan horse, another echo in the present passage of that earlier scene: the Trojans are once again happy (and unaware of the peril that looms near); Neptune will soon enough have his revenge for the death of his priest. V’s use of the verb are artfully arranged: 2× in Books 2, 6, 11 and 12, each time so that the second use works an interesting twist on the first: 1) the Trojan reception of the horse/Aeneas’ reception of his father; 2) the funeral for Misenus/the admonition about those who are defeated; 3) the funerals for the Trojan dead/Arruns in the aftermath of Camilla’s murder; 4) Lavinia’s blush/the Latin reaction to the breaking of the truce. 1× each in Books 5 and 7, in contexts both similar and dissimilar.

Pruna (cf. *prunum*) appears only twice in the *A*. Besides the present passage, at 11.787–788 the poet notes that the firewalkers on Soracte would show their devotion to Apollo by walking over hot coals (*et medium freti pietate per ignem / cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna*)—another mark of the close associations between the sister books, where the same word recurs in a very different context.

veribus: For the different meanings in V. (“spit,” “sword-like implement”), see Hahn 1930, 243–244, n. 1146.

viscera torrent: Cf. Lucan, *BC* 4.324 (with Asso); Ovid, *Met.* 7.554; Silius, *Pun.* 7.490.

104–113 The ninth day dawns, and both Trojans and Sicilians gather for the announced games. This brief transitional passage offers a good example of V’s technique of utilizing even seemingly more mundane and less significant sections of narrative to highlight and underscore his themes.

104 exspectata dies aderat nonamque serena

exspectata dies: The phrase appears only here; V. will link this anticipated day with one of the most dramatic moments in his epic: 6.687–688 *venisti tandem*,

tuaque exspectata parenti / vicit iter durum pietas? (and cf. *G.* 1.225–226, of the *exspectata seges* that eludes the farmer). Statius imitated this scene at *Theb.* 2.214–215 *exspectata dies: laeto regalia coetu / atria complentur*. Cf. *A.* 2.132 *iamque dies infanda aderat*, of Sinon's alleged day of sacrifice; 9.108 *ergo aderat promissa dies*, of the day Aeneas' ships would be transformed into sea creatures (and see below on 107 *complerant*); elsewhere the form is used twice of Hercules (8.203, 228), and once each of Venus (8.609) and Iapyx (12.391). The nine days that pass before the memorial games will be mirrored in the nine days of feasting that come near the end of the book (762): those *novemdiales* will in reality serve as the requiem rites for Palinurus. The ninth dawn here is an echo of *G.* 4.544 and 552, of Cyrene's injunctions to Aristaeus: *post, ubi nona suos Aurora ostenderit ortus* and *post, ubi nona suos induxerat ortus*. In those rites, four bulls and four heifers are to be sacrificed at four altars (cf. the altars to Neptune at 639–640 below). Then, after nine days, further offerings are to be made to Orpheus and Eurydice. The bees are reborn from the carcasses of the slaughtered cattle. The atmosphere of the games is already replete with imagery of death and rebirth (the sacred *tumulus*, the serpent portent); the explicit evocation of the end of the fourth *G.* further prepares the reader for the eschatological drama of the next book. The rebirth of Aristaeus' bees from the cattle will be echoed in V's use of bee imagery in Books 7 and 12 to describe the union of Trojan and Italian swarms, as it were, with Lavinia as queen (see further Fratantuono 2008); in the regatta contestants we find the founders of future Roman *gentes*, as we move inexorably from the old Troy to the new Rome. On the need for Aeneas *not* to imitate Orpheus and look back on the dead Troy, see M. Gale, "Poetry and Backward Glance in Virgil's *Georgics* and *Aeneid*," in *TAPA* 133.2 (2002), 232–352, 341.

serena: A key word for this book, which will open and close a ring; see further U. Boella, *EV* IV, 791–792. At 870 *pelago confise sereno*, it appears in Aeneas' description of the deceptively calm sea as he apostrophizes the lost Palinurus; once again, a calm moment of the Sicilian sojourn will resound later with a darker note. Aeneas does not know the fate of his helmsman, or even that he is mirroring Palinurus' own address to Phorbas/Somnus (851 *et caeli totiens deceptus fraude sereni*). Elsewhere, the word also appears in Aeneas' address to the ghost of Hector (2.285–286 *quae causa indigna serenos / foedavit vultus*); 3.518 *postquam cuncta videt caelo constare sereno*, after Palinurus observes the stars; 6.707 *aestate serena*, of the Elysian image of the bees; 8.528 *in regione serena*, of the place in the sky where the divine arms of Aeneas appear; 9.630 *de parte serena*, of the region of the heavens where Jupiter thunders in response to Ascanius' prayer. 8×, then, in *A.*, 3× in connection with Palinurus and 1× in the underworld.

nonam: For the “ninth day” cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 5.413 *nona dies aderat* (of the catasterism of Chiron).

The language of lines 104–107 owes much to Catullus 64.31–33 *quae simul optatae finito tempore luces / advenere, domum conventu tota frequentat / Thesalia, oppletur laetanti regia coetu* (see here Wigodsky 1972, 130; Monaco 1960/1972, 81–82), of the marriage day of Peleus and Thetis. That nuptial feast was in some sense the beginning of the war at Troy; the games of *A.* 5 are, we shall see, a microcosm of the forthcoming war in Italy, just as the book itself (like its sister 11) is something of an *A.* in miniature (see here Nelis 2001, 210, with additional references; more generally, cf. K. Galinsky, “Sicily,” in *VE* III, 1171–1172).

Perret has a long note here that gives a perceptive précis of many important points of interpretation of the contests, especially the regatta and the foot race.

105 *Auroram Phaëthontis equi iam luce vehebant,*

Auroram: A significant dawn, as always when *V.* makes mention of the goddess (see above on 65). Occasionally, *V.* mentions Tithonus (*G.* 1.447; 3.48; *A.* 4.585; 9.460), but only twice is the goddess given any mythological association besides a reference to her aged husband. At *A.* 1.751, one of the subjects of which Dido wishes to hear is the coming of Aurora’s son Memnon to the aid of Troy. Of the specific topics she requests, 1) Priam and 2) Hector will figure in Aeneas’ story; as for 3) Memnon, 4) the horses of Diomedes, and 5) Penthesilea, none will be described in the story related in *A.* 2 and 3, and we might do well to look elsewhere in the epic for new versions of those older tales: the stories Dido requested of Aeneas that were not heard in the hero’s tales to her court will be sung in the second, greater work of the epic (and, in some sense, the war in Latium will be a fulfillment of the curse of Dido, the failed expiation for whose death figures in the opening movements of this book).

At 8.384 *te potuit lacrimis Tithonia flectere coniunx*, Venus reminds Vulcan that he granted the prayers of Aurora to fashion divine arms for Memnon. Turnus will be the new Achilles (cf. *A.* 6.89, with Horsfall ad loc. on the question of *alius* as “different” vs. “new”); as for the horses of Diomedes, we might look to the cavalry engagement before Latinus’ capital in *A.* 11, which comes in the aftermath of Diomedes’ *refusal* to aid the Latins. Memnon has affinities with Phaëthon as an ill-fated child of a deity associated with the day; in the narrative of the *A.*, we might also consider how Pallas is linked to Lucifer, the Morning Star (8.589–591 *qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer undis, / quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignis, / extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit*). The association of Pallas with the Morning Star, the dawn goddess, and the sacrificial role of the young Arcadian as the Patroclus of *V.*’s epic will be put

into clear relief at *A.* 11.1–4. For *V.*'s Penthesilea we must wait for Camilla (whom Aeneas never meets).

Phaëthontis: Here the name may well = the sun god after the fashion of the Homeric epithet, while at 10.189 *namque ferunt luctu Cycnum Phaëthontis amati* it refers more explicitly to the ill-fated boy of the solar chariot (and cf. *E.* 6.62–63 *tum Phaëthontidas musco circumdat amarae | cortices atque solo proceras erigit alnos*, with Catullus c. 64.290–291 *lentaque sorore | flammati Phaëthontis*). Significantly, Pallas' horse = *Aethon* (11.89–90); the steed will march riderless in the boy's funeral procession. But it is unlikely that *V.*'s audience would not have heard an association in *Phaëthontis* with the dead youth, Homeric epithets notwithstanding (and *pace* the insistence of the school commentaries in particular in dismissing the possibility); in the requiems of *A.* 11 we find a parallel to the present allusion to the lost young man, even as the horses carry a dawn of serene light. For the name see further Paschalis 1997, 350; more generally, note W. Nethercut, "Aeneid 5.105: The Horses of Phaethon," in *AJPh* 107.1 (1986), 102–108. Lucretius, *DRN* 5.396–410 is dismissive of the veracity of the popular story; cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.597–611. For the appearances of Phaëthon in Latin literature, see Diggle 1970, 7–9; note also the helpful study of J. Huyck, "Vergil's Phaethontides," in *HSCP* 91 (1987), 217–228.

V. introduces the day of the games, then, with a reference to the failed chariot driver; there will be no chariot race in *V.*'s memorial funeral contests, but the image of the out of control solar car looms over the whole sequence—as it does at the close of the first *G.*, a passage also in the poet's mind here. There is a detailed study of Virgilian horses at G. Bianco, "Equini," *EV* II, 348–351.

For the *serena ... luce* cf. Silius, *Pun.* 13.17; Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.53.6; note also A. De Vivo, "Lux/Lumen," *EV* III, 290–293 ("il momento dell'alba e dell'aurora, la cui descrizione funge spesso da elemento tecnico-narrativo di trapasso nella trama del poema"). The verb *vehere* will reappear at 11.44 *neque ad sedes victor veherere paternas*, where Evander laments that Pallas will experience no victorious return home; the image of a Roman triumph lurks here.

106 fama que finitimos et clari nomen Acestae

fama: The noun can be taken closely with *nomen*: Acestes' reputation and famous name summon the local population to the games. But there is also a hint of the fame of the Trojans (cf. 108 *visuri Aeneadas*): the Sicilians are here to see heroes from the Trojan War. See further G. Abbolito Simonetti, *EV* II, 461–462.

finitimos: *V.* here opens another ring that will connect the present narrative with his Palinurus story: at 6.378, Aeneas announces to his helmsman's shade

that *finitimi* will honor his tomb (and for the adjective see further Horsfall ad loc.). Cf. 7.549, where Allecto offers to spread her furious rage into neighboring cities, 8.569, where Evander laments about Mezentius' insults to his neighbors, and 11.206, where the Latins send some remains of their war dead into neighboring fields.

clari: Cf. 1.550 *clarus Acestes* (with Conway ad loc.), and see below on 564. The adjective continues the emphasis on the bright light of this ninth morning (cf. 43 *clara dies*), and distantly foreshadows the climactic role of Acestes in the day's drama. There may also be a faint reminiscence of Claros (cf. *A.* 3.360 with Williams 1962, and Horsfall, and see below on 110 *tripodes*), one of Apollo's sacred haunts; Acestes will play a significant prophetic role in the drama of this book, as will Anchises: *V.* thus balances the revelations of *A.* 3 and 5, two books replete with prognostications for the future Trojan settlement in Italy. For *clarus* in the context of brilliant and dazzling vesture, cf. 9.582; 11.772; in connection with immortals and divine portents, 2.589; 8.141; 9.19. See further E. Mastellone Jovane, *EV* I, 810–811. *V.* uses the superlative of the adjective only once (see below on 496 *clarissime*).

107 *excierat; laeto complerant litora coetu*

excierat: Not a common word in *V.*; cf. 790 below, where Venus complains to Neptune about the sudden storm Juno roused via Aeolus against the Trojans, and *E.* 8.98 *saepe animas imis excire sepulcris*, the only other appearance in the poet of a non-participial form of the verb.

laeto ... coetu: The keyword returns, this time as the assembly prepares for the games; for the Statian imitation see above on 104.

complerant: For the confusion of the form in *M* *complebant* (preferred by Sabbadini) cf. 9.382 (in the very different context of the night raid). The imperfect would arguably work better here to describe the action of the Trojans and Sicilians as they assemble (see further Conington ad loc.); 9.107–108 (where see Dingel) has affinities with this passage: *ergo aderat promissa dies et tempora Parcae / debita complerant*, of the day of the magical transformation of Aeneas' ships into mermaids.

108 *visuri Aeneadas, pars et certare parati.*

visuri: The form appears only here in *V.*; the singular occurs only at 8.576 *si visurus eum vivo et venturus in unum*, where Evander speaks of his hoped for reunion with Pallas.

Aeneadas: *V.* borrowed this poetic descriptor for the Trojans from Lucretius; Ovid and Silius adopted it as well (and, once each, Germanicus and Valerius Flaccus).

certare: One of V's favorite verbs (*deest* in *EV*), alongside its adjectival form (see on 2 above); cf. 194 below (during the ship race), and 485 (of the archery contest). 3×, then, in this book, and thrice also in 11 (313, 446, 647), where the context is martial and not athletic.

parati: Cf. 2.799, of the Trojan exile band prepared to go wherever Aeneas might lead them; *E.* 7.5 *et cantare pares et respondere parati*.

Ovid may have imitated this line at *Ars* 1.99.

109 munera principio ante oculos circoque locantur

munera principio: Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 4.451–452. *Munera* is another of V's favorite words, with over sixty occurrences. On gift-giving in the *A.* and the epic's prize economy, see Wiltshire 1989, 54–55. The prizes announced here will compare interestingly with the accounts below of what is actually awarded after each contest. For *principio* cf. 2.755, of Aeneas rushing back into Troy to search for Creüsa; 3.381, of Helenus first telling Aeneas that Italy is far off; 4.56, of Dido and Anna as they prepare to make sacrifice; 6.214, of the Trojans as they prepare the requiem for Misenuis; 6.724, the first word of Anchises' great eschatological explanation of the rebirth of souls; 7.342, of Allecto as she conspires to invade Latium with madness; 9.762, of Turnus' attack on the Trojan camp (cf. 9.53); 10.258 of Aeneas as he prepares to return to the fray. Ilioneus notes that the Trojans take their origin from Jupiter (7.219 *ab Iove principium generis*). The emphasis is on the gifts; *munera* is the first word, and *principio* reinforces the point. For Aeneas as gift-giver, see Syson 2013, 121–122; 125. On *principio* see Horsfall ad 3.381: "Lucretian, and suitably solemn for the first point in a lengthy exposition."

circoque: In V. the ludic word *circus* appears only in *A.* 5, and always in the context of the games; cf. 289 below, of the site for the foot race, and 551, before the archery contest. For "prepositional phrases that are not quite parallel" (*ante ... circo*), see Hahn 1930, 18. The *circus* here has troubled critics (see further Conington ad loc.), on the grounds that the Trojans have not yet gone there (see below on 289)—but the poet is not preparing a map of the site, still less a topographically detailed one. See further D. Nelis, "Caesar, the Circus, and the Charioteer in Vergil's *Georgics*," in Nelis-Clément and Roddaz 2008, 497–520; K. Coleman in *VEI*, 267–268. The *-que* introduces a second element to the poet's point about the gifts: they are before the eyes, *and* they are arranged in the midst of the *circus* (better than to imagine that they are arranged in a circle in the midst of the assembly).

110 in medio, sacri tripodes viridesque coronae

tripodes: Tripods are associated with Apollo's oracle (Ovid, *Ars* 3.789, with Gibson; Lucan, *BC* 5.198, with Barratt; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.544, with Zis-

sos). The word is not common in V; the only other occurrences are at 9.265 (of the gifts promised to Nisus and Euryalus, on which see below ad 112) and 3.360, of the oracular tripods of Apollo. *Sacri* here may well be an appropriate epithet for a vessel associated with the god's prophetic power; Servius connects the sacredness with lovely appearance. V. borrowed the tripods from Homer (*Il.* 23.259, of prizes for the chariot race; 23.700–703, for the wrestling match).

viridesque coronae: Cf. Silius, *Pun.* 16.525 and, in a different sense Statius, *Theb.* 6.25. For *coronae* see below on 355 and 556; at 4.418 Anna tells Dido of the happy (*laeti*) Trojan sailors who are placing garlands on their vessels. Elsewhere in the *A.*, the word is used of prizes or gifts only at 1.655, of the jeweled crown Aeneas orders brought from his flagship for Dido (cf. 7.75, of Lavinia's similar crown that seems to catch fire along with her locks), and at 8.505, of the *regni coronam* that Tarchon sent to Evander. On *viridis* see below on 330.

111 et palmae pretium victoribus, armaque et ostro

palmae pretium: Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 6.531; and see on 472 of the palm won by Entellus.

ostro: For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 45, 144–145, and see below on 133 *ostroque decori*. The present passage will be mirrored in the very different context of 11.72, where Pallas' death attire is described. In this brief section of introduction to the games, V. thus continues to presage the forthcoming loss of the young hero he has not yet even introduced; the death of Pallas will be foreshadowed dramatically, as we shall see below, in the arrow shot of Acestes and the loss of Palinurus. Anchises' memorial rites, the ninth day with its funereal associations, and the horses of Phaëthon all contribute to the effect. The winner of the regatta will receive a purple and gold *chlamys* (250–251)—a not entirely propitious gift given the associations of that color dyad in V. See further H. Bender, “*De Habitu Vestis*: Clothing in the *Aeneid*,” in Sebesta and Bonfante 2001, 146–152.

See Reed 2007, 98 for the “Trojan's recovery of wealth” in Sicily (Helenus) and especially Carthage (Dido).

112 perfusae vestes, argenti aurique talenta;

perfusae: Cf. 135 *perfusa*, of the oiled youth before the regatta; there are also two forms of the participle in *A.* 12: 65 *perfusa*, of Lavinia's cheeks covered in tears, and 611, of Latinus' hair that he has defiled with dust. At 11.88, *perfusos* is used of the Rutulian chariots (drenched in blood) that are led in Pallas' funeral procession (cf. *G.* 2.510); once again, the present images will be transformed into the horrors of war.

aurique talenta: The capital manuscripts are split here between the singular *talentum* (MP) and the plural (RF), and the critics divide as well (Sabbadini and Goold vs. Serv., Tib., Ribbeck, Mynors and Geymonat). *Talentum* is not a common word in V; the poet never uses the word in the singular, and the few other plural occurrences offer rich comparisons: 9.265, of the two talents of gold promised to Nisus and Euryalus (who are also offered two tripods)—one of many associations between the games sequence (where the ill-fated lovers will be introduced) and the night raid of *A.* 9—and 11.333 *aurique eborisque talenta*, of the offerings Latinus proposes to send to Aeneas to secure a treaty—yet another of the correspondences between the sister books (and see below on 248, of the prizes after the ship race). Two talents of gold = the prize for fourth place in the Homeric chariot race, which Meriones wins (*Il.* 23.269, 614–615), while a half talent of gold is the reward for third place in the footrace (23.571).

The combination of silver and gold is old and frequent (Plautus, *Miles* 1064–1065; *Rudens* 1188; *Stichus* 374; Lucretius *DRN* 5.1256; 6.808; Horace, *Serm.* 1.1.41, where see Gowers; 2.3.142; Ovid, *Ep. Pont.* 3.4.23; Juvenal, s. 8.173; Tacitus, *Agricola* 32.3.4; *Hist.* 4.53.18; *Ann.* 2.60.17, where see Ash; 3.53.18; often in Cicero and Livy). Cf. *A.* 1.359, of the resources Dido employs in her escape from Phoenicia; 10.527 and 531, of the precious metals Mago uses to bargain in vain for his life.

113 et tuba commissos medio canit aggere ludos.

medio ... aggere: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 12.524; Statius, *Theb.* 2.708; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.337; 5.186; before his decision to turn on Latinus' capital, Aeneas addresses his men from the middle of a high mound (*A.* 12.564 *celso medius stans aggere fatur*), and note also the gory collocation of the words at *Pun.* 1.307–308. On the *commissos ludos* cf. Cicero, *De Finibus* 3.8.6.

canit: For the verb and related words, vid. E. Zaffagno, *EV* I, 648–649. For the *tuba* cf. 139; here the instrument is probably more invested with Roman than Homeric associations, as the arena-like games are convened.

“The line has a military ring” (Phillipson ad loc.). On the triumphal note of this verse, see Monaco 1960/1972, 83. The games anticipate the war in Latium, which is essentially civil by the Virgilian device of ethnographic prolepsis (i.e., the Trojans, soon to be suppressed, are already considered Romans); here, a Roman *tuba* sounds the summons for the commencement of the contests.

114–123 The regatta is announced, and the contestants are named; three are explicitly linked to future Roman *gentes*: the Memmii from Mnestheus, the Sergii from Sergestus, and the Cluentii from Cloanthus; only Gyas is left without a named *gens*. See here Monaco 1960/1972, 81 ff.; Pomathios 1987, 127 ff.; Gleib 1991, 293–298 (with consideration of historical analogues for the participants)

and, for the idea that V. engages in some learned humor in his description of the ships, N. DeWitt, "Virgilian Jests," in *CJ* 21.6 (1926), 455–456 (the anachronistic trireme/threefold Chimaera; the feminine Centaur for a ship; the green associations of both Cloanthus and Scylla; Mnesteus captaining the *Pristis/Pistrix*, the latter word with associations with bakeries (the *gens Memmia* were connected with the *Cerealia*); *pares* to describe the pairs of land and sea monsters (Chimaera/Scylla and Centaur/*Pristis*)). On *aitia* in the *A.*, note George 1974, 5; Varro presumably dealt with the subject in his work on Trojan families (see here Heyne ad 117). For the Virgilian concern with the origins of the families of republican Rome, note Pasco-Pranger 2006, 43n64; still useful, too, is E. Sage, "The Trojan Families of the *Aeneid*," in *Virgil Papers*, Pittsburgh, 1930, 96–110. On the Alexandrian interest in onomastics on display in the present passage, see J. O'Hara, "Callimachean Influence on Vergilian Etymological Wordplay," in *CJ* 96.4 (2001), 369–400, 385. For the games in general, with detailed and sensible notes on many passages, see especially Kraggerud 1968, 118 ff.; for the sources of the games, Mehl's "Die Leichenspiele in der Aeneis als turngeschichtliche Quelle," in Büchner 1959, 466–471, and, for good analysis of the contemporary politico-poetic milieu, W. Briggs, "Augustan Athletics and the Games of *Aeneid* V", *Stadion* 1 (1975), 267–283; see also L. McGlashan, "Reversal and Epiphany in the Games of Anchises," in *Vergilius* 49 (2003), 42–68. General background for many salient points here = Newby 2005; also Poliakov 1987; M. Poliakov in *VE* I, 142–145; G. Stégen, "Des régates dans l'Énéide (Virg. Aen. V 151–243)," in *Latomus* 27 (1968), 600–609. The reception of Ennius' *Annales* in the regatta sequence is discussed by Goldschmidt 2013, 122–127.

For consideration of the possible connection between the monsters of the regatta and images of horror that Aeneas encounters later in the epic, see M. Putnam, "*Aeneid* VII and the *Aeneid*," in *AJPh* 91 (1970), 408–430 (reprinted in Hardie 1999).

Hyginus (*Fab.* 273) provides a brief and colorless summary of the competitions V. now proceeds to unveil. For consideration (with appeal to the nautically inclined) of the exact nature of the vessels V. briefly sketches, see F. Meijer, "Types of Ship in the Regatta in Vergil's *Aeneid* (5.114–243)," in *Latomus* 47.1 (1988), 94–97.

The Homeric chariot race begins with a reminder by Achilles to the Achaean assembly that he would be the winner, were he to participate (*Iliad* 23.272 ff.); his horses, after all, were a gift from Poseidon to Peleus (277–278). By the end of Book 5, Aeneas will be at the helm of his flagship on the final leg of the journey to Italy, and Neptune will have seen both to the safety of the voyage and the sacrifice of the helmsman Palinurus (cf. Achilles' sentiments about the loss of his charioteer and the mourning of his horses at *Iliad* 23.280 ff., language that

will be recalled in the opening movements of *A.* 11, during the requiem rites for Pallas).

114 *prima pares ineunt gravibus certamina remis*

prima ... certamina: The plural is both poetic and indicative of how this is the first of a series of competitions. Cf. 66 above and 11.155 *primo ... certamine*, of Evander's rueful comment on Pallas' recklessness; only Silius imitates the phrase among the silver poets. *V.* will repeat the word at 603 below, in the last line of the "games" sequence before the dramatic change of Trojan fortune. The Servian tradition sees here an allusion in the ship race to the naval combat of the First Punic War and literary depiction thereof (see here Skutsch ad Ennius fr. s.i. xx–xxiii, 622 ff.; Norden 1915, 163 ff.) in the immediate wake of Dido's curse, especially on Sicilian soil, the "future" struggle with Carthage is very much on the poet's mind. We know that Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 7 contained a description of Roman naval exercises (or at least training therefore); it is certain that Ennius lurks in *V.*'s description of the mock *naumachia*, but the relevant fragments do not permit much in the way of study. See here P. Gardner, "Boat-Races among the Greeks," in *JHS* 2 (1881), 90–97, 93–94, with speculation on possible models for the contest; note also Harris 1972, 128–132 (and, for general study, his "The Games of *Aeneid V*" in *PVS* 8 [1968–1969], 14–26); Goldschmidt 2013, 122–127. The present *certamen* is very different from those of 11.104, 221, 434, 780 and 891; it is possible that there are metapoetic considerations at play in the regatta, which we shall consider below (see further Pasco-Pranger 2006, 102–103 on the use of ships as poetic symbols). For the choice of ship race *vs.* chariot, see especially Cairns 1989, 235 ff.; *Res Gestae* 23 for Augustus' own mention of a mock naval battle he organized. On *naumachiae* see especially Howell ad Martial, *ep.* 1.5.1.

The regatta also finds a parallel in the discourse of Diomedes to the Latins in Book 11; there, the Greek hero describes the homeward sea journeys of the Greeks, and his own eventual landing in southern Italy (not so far from Sicily), while here, the depiction of the Trojan sailors in their attempted rounding of the rocky *meta* is a metaphorical representation of the transition from the old Troy to the new Rome.

pares: Only here with *carinae* (115); *V.* specifies that the Chimaera is both large and a trireme, but the opening description of the contest here would seem to indicate that all the vessels have three banks of oars; see further L.F. Smith, "Aeneas' Fleet," in *CJ* 41.7 (1946), 328–331, 328–329; Horsfall 1991, 137 ff.; P. Gianfrotta, "Navis," in *EV* III, 670–674.

ineunt: Cf. 583 below, *inde alios ineunt cursus aliosque recursus*, during the *lusus Troiae*.

gravibus: That the oars are weighty emphasizes the size of these ships. The size of the vessels is important chiefly because it creates in the reader's mind a clear visual image; the respective fates of the vessels would be readily visible to spectators at a distance, so that the action of the regatta is easy for the audience to follow (we are also lost in a heroic age, too, where everything is bigger, if not necessarily better). *Gravibus ... remis* = ablative of specification after *pares*, emphasizing the suitability of each ship's bulk to the contest—though soon enough we shall learn that the Chimaera may be too big for this race.

115 *quattuor ex omni delectae classe carinae.*

quattuor: V. has four contestants in his ship race, while Homer has five in his chariot contest: Eumelus, Diomedes, Menelaus, Antilochus, and Meriones (Quintus, too, has five—and a separate horse race as well). At 639 below, there will be four altars to Neptune; the number four is associated most especially in V. with the portent of the four horses that mark the destined home of the Trojans (3.537–538 *quattuor hic, primum omen, equos in gramine vidi | tondentis campum late, candore nivali*, where *primum* underscores the importance of the portent), and, too, it has connection to the number of horses in a Roman triumph (see here Horsfall ad 3.537; Fratantuono 2013a). The change from Homer, then, emphasizes the eminently *Roman* nature of this regatta, besides opening one great ring that will close amid the pageantry of the *lusus Troiae*, before an even larger circle is closed at the four altars to Neptune that become the locus for the planned destruction of the ships. On numbers in V. see N. Zorzetti, “Numerali,” in *EV* III, 782–788. Four is also a useful number in terms of the manageability of the contest. No connection likely with the four sacrificial victims at 6.243 (where see Horsfall).

delectae carinae: The phrase appears only here. The ships of the regatta will be at least partly echoed in the vessels of the Etruscan catalogue of 10.166 ff. (where see Harrison ad loc., Basson 1975, 157 ff., and Hardie 1987 in Whitby et al. 1987, 166n18). In the latter list there is a *Tigris*, an *Apollo*, a *Mincius*, a *Triton*, as well as a *Centaurus* captained by the son of Phaëthon's lover. The Triton has visual affinities with Scylla (see here Hardie, *loc. cit.*); otherwise only the Centaur has direct connection with the present passage. For *Centaurus* as the name of a race horse, see J. Toynbee, “Beasts and Their Names in the Roman Empire,” in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 16 (1948), 24–37, 28–29.

The noun *carina*, originally a “nutshell” and then, by analogy, a boat, came to mean by metonymy the ship's keel; then, by a reversal of the metonymy (perhaps with a touch of synecdoche), it reverts to the entire ship. Its origin is PIE **kar-* “hard” and, as deduced from the shape of a nutshell, may have been used very early on to describe a ship's hull; cf. line 158. Cf. Julius Pokorny,

Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, Band I (Munich, 1959) 531ff. V. has *carina* 26×, *vs. navis* 46×.

116 *velocem Mnestheus agit acri remige Pristim*,

On lines enclosed by noun-adjective combinations, see Harrison on 10.133. On “striking coincidence of word-accent and metre, lending a weighty solemnity to the v.,” see Horsfall ad 6.22.

velocem: Not a common adjective in V.; cf. 253 below, of deer; 444, of Entellus; 11.532 and 760, of Camilla and Opis; the comparative *velocius* describes Fama (4.174). The positive degree, then, appears only in Books 5 and 11. Propertius has it of Atalanta (c. 1.1.15 *ergo velocem potuit domuisse puellam*), who has numerous affinities with Camilla; cf. Ovid, *Ibis* 371. Valerius uses it of Iris (*Arg.* 4.77). Though hardly the most common word for “swift” in V.—*celer* occurs with sixfold frequency—V. employs it here to heighten the emphasis on the speed not only of the Pristis, but also of this race as a whole. The literary risk V. takes in introducing a ship race in comparison with his Homeric chariot model is that the regatta itself could seem ponderous both in the text and in the mind of the reader. Thus, V. uses heightened tempo, evidenced by a preference for dactyls in the lines describing the racing, with spondees indicating the slower parts of the contest (cf. Williams 1960 ad 136–141), and up-tempo adjectives such as *velocem* to ensure the narrative’s rapidity of movement, and thus to reflect the pace of the contest itself.

Mnestheus: (vid. L. Polverini, *EV* III, 554–555; for the name and its connection to memory, Paschalis 1997, 159–160; 186). The repetition of the name in the next line serves to highlight this first contestant in the games. V. connects Mnestheus with the *gens Memmia*, the clan of the Gaius Memmius who is plausibly identified as the addressee of Lucretius’ *DRN* (see here Bailey ad 1.26 *Memmiadae*); V. thus opens his games narrative with a reference to the beginning of Lucretius’ epic (but see A. Pease, “Virgilian Determinism,” in *The Classical Weekly* 15.1 [1921], 2–5, 3–4, on the haste to see Epicurean allusions here). This is the second appearance of Mnestheus in the *A.*; at 4.288 ff. he was one of the Trojans (along with Sergestus and Serestus) who were summoned by Aeneas to prepare the fleet for departure after Mercury’s dream visitation; cf. 12.561. Mnestheus’ men are particularly associated with Hector; see below on 190; Wiltshire 1989, 71; and J. Spaeth, Jr., “Hector’s Successor in the *Aeneid*,” in *CJ* 46.6 (1951), 277–280, 279.

The mention of the *gens Memmia* is problematic given that Memmius’ own relationship to the Epicureans of his day was hardly ideal; cf. Cicero, *Ad Fam.* 63 (XIII.1) Shackleton Bailey, for evidence of Memmius’ unwillingness to hand over the remains of Epicurus’ house to Patro, the head of the school. See further

Brown 1984, xvi–xvii, and, more generally, Holland 1979; on the character of the praetor Memmius, Gruen 1974, 168. As we shall soon enough see, Mnestheus will pray that he not come in last, and he will succeed in his petition; his hope that he might then win will be dashed by the more successful prayer of Cloanthus, and his victory in not finishing in the shameful last place may well be due more to chance than to divine favor (see on 201 *casus*)—an appropriate outcome for a contestant with connections to Lucretius. The rightful crown, however, might well be said to belong to Mnestheus, as we shall see below; cf. further Hunt 1973, 23–24, for the idea that victory was stolen from the Memmian progenitor.

V. evokes Catullus in his description of the assembling of the audience for the games (cf. 104–107 above); Memmius was also associated with the Veronese (cf. c. 10.13, with Fordyce, and c. 28, with Thomson). And, besides the more famous Memmius of literary associations, one Gaius Memmius was killed in a riot in 99 B.C. while running for the consulship, after a career defining moment in attacking the *nobiles* on corruption charges during the Jugurthine crisis (Sallust, *BI* 27).

On legendary genealogies at Rome see especially T. Wiseman, “Legendary Genealogies in Late-Republican Rome,” in *G&R* 21.2 (1974), 153–164. The famous descendants evoked by V.’s regatta date to the 60s and 50s B.C., a fact that may provide circumstantial evidence for speculation on the date of Varro’s work on the origins of illustrious families.

agit: The verb might well have been *ducit*, as V. uses *ducere* much more commonly than *agere* for captaining a ship; however, Horace is not unfamiliar with this use of the verb (cf. *Ep.* 2.1.114). The word for captain, discussed by Williams 1960 ad 5.133, is *dux*; for the coxswain, *magister*, *rector*, or *gubernator*. Further, see A.M. Cayuela, “Un Analisis Literario Escolar,” in *Helmantica* 4 (1953), 3–23. Cf. G. Stégen, “Des régates dans l’*Eneide*” (Virg. *Aen.* V 151–243) in *Latomus* 27 (1968), 600–609; Kraggerud 1968, 132–134.

acri remige: The phrase occurs only here. *Acer* (vid. B. Zucchelli, “Acer/Acerbus/Acidus,” in *EV* I, 15–17) is a difficult adjective to define precisely. The point here would seem to be the ship’s swift maneuverability and the skill of its crew; there may also be a hint of excitement and enthusiasm (*OLD* s.v. 7; cf. 210 below, of Mnestheus).

Pristim: Properly a sea monster, as in the description of the Triton captured by Aulestes (see here Harrison ad 10.209–211; Horsfall ad 3.427; and, for its use as a ship name, Licinus, *Libri Rerum Romanorum* 4.1 *ap.* Non. 535 M; *LSJ* s.v. II, “ship of war,” cited in Polybius). The word is rare in both Greek and Latin (cf. Oppian, *Hal.* 1.370); Manilius uses it of the beast sent to devour Andromeda (*Ast.* 1.354–356), and note especially the horrors of the sea named by Albinovanus Pedo (as

preserved by Seneca Rhetor, *Suas.* 1.15, in his discussion of ocean descriptions of the Latin poets; Pedo's passage owes much to Lucretius). Pliny, *NH* 9.8 (where see Saint-Denis) identifies the *pristis* and the *ballaena* as the largest creatures in the Indian ocean; these have been identified generically as the whale and the shark. On Aristotle's account in the *Hist. Anim.* of the allegedly gilled *pristis*, see C. Torr, "The Shark and the Whale," in *CR* 4.5 (1890), 234; note also the same author's "The Shark and the Saw-Fish," in *CR* 4.8 (1890), 382; and A. Campbell, "Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 1223–38 and Treacherous Monsters," in *CQ* 29.1 (1935), 25–36, 33–34: "The ... *pristis* ... was conceived as long and narrow ... feminine and a man-eater ... formidable in the extreme ... a portent ... she crawls upon the waves ... These ravening and sometimes infernal bugbears [sc., Scylla et al.] ... are all of a feather" (the author also compares and considers Lucan's herpetological horror, the *prester* of *BC* 9.719–722). Sharks may seem likelier to impress than the sawfish, but it is perhaps impossible to identify V's imagined sea monster here with ichthyological precision—and quite possible that V. intended no such accurate taxonomy.

V. characterizes the *Pristis* as being swift and skilled in its oarage; cf. the Chimaera below, which is noted for its bulk, the Centaur, which is simply "great" (122 *magna*), and the Scylla, which is identified by its color. Every ship has some "tutelary" masthead figure; it is impossible to determine precisely what monster is envisaged by *Pristis*. As Ahl notes ad loc., the Epicureans would accept the reality of none of the creatures V. now lists; Mnesteus' vessel, with its connection to Lucretius via the *gens Memmia*, appropriately has the least fanciful monster of all. On all of V's ship names see especially Hardie 1987 in Whitby et al. 1987, 163–172. With the name *Pristis* cf. 3.427 *pistrix*, of the monster Scylla, with Horsfall. On the question of tutelary divinities and monstrous ship totems, see E. Hahn, "Vergil's Linguistic Treatment of Divine Beings: Part II," in *TAPA* 89 (1958), 327–253, 249 ff.

For the contrast between the (future) Roman names listed here and other onomastic exercises of the poet that reflect the epic's concern with the question of Rome's Trojan origins, see Reed 2007, 122, and, for the climactic gentile association of Iulus with the Julians, 156; see also on 563 ff. for the similar Virgilian association of the leaders of the *lusus Troiae* with different families. On the families that are *not* highlighted here (e.g., the Iunii), see Powell 2008, 114–116; for the seeming relative obscurity of the *gentes* except for the Sergian/Catiline connection, Heinze 1902/1908/1914, 152. Useful is the survey of the prosopography provided by L. MacKay, "Hero and Theme in the *Aeneid*," in *TAPA* 94 (1963), 157–166, 163–164n8; note also M. Bettini, "Un'identità 'troppo compiuta': Troiani, Latini, Romani, e Iulii nell'*Eneide*," in *MD* 55 (2005), 77–102, 96–97. For the pride of the contemporary reader in the miniature catalogue, see Jenkyns 1998, 423 ff.

117 **mox Italus Mnestheus, genus a quo nomine Memmi,**

Italus: Mnestheus is the only individual in the epic to be accorded this epithet. The adverb has a palpable sense of imminence; see further L. Colucci, *EV* III, 609–610.

For the derivation of the name *Mnestheus* and the connection to memory, vid. Bartelink 1965, 66; on memory in the *A.* vid., e.g., Seider 2013. Gaius Memmius (born in 99/98 B.C.) would be the oldest of the Romans recalled by the names of the contestants. On the importance of “the apparently superfluous genealogies,” see Henry 1989, 135. For the allegorical idea that Mnestheus = Maecenas, see Drew 1927, 85–87. For the association of the Memmii with Venus, note R. Edgeworth, “Ascanius’ Mother,” in *Hermes* 129.2 (2001), 246–250, 249n14.

In his first reference to the dedicatee in the *DRN*, Lucretius places together in a striking parallel Venus’ governance over nature, and the poet’s dedication of the work to Memmius, who in turn is blessed by Venus: *quae quoniam rerum naturam sola gubernas / nec sine te quicquam dias in luminis oras / exoritur neque fit laetum neque amabile quicquam, / te sociam studeo scribendis uersibus esse / quos ego de rerum natura pangere conor / Memmiadae nostro, quem tu, dea, tempore in omni / omnibus ornatum uoluisti excellere rebus* (*DRN* 1.21–27). Lucretius uses two verbs commonly associated with the guiding or building of ships (*gubernas* in line 21 and *pangere* in line 25) to describe the particular activity of goddess and poet, respectively; one also finds *oras* “shores” (22) *uersibus* (24, cf. *uersu*, 119, below), *sociam* “comrade” (24), and *tempore* (26), all words often found in Virgilian maritime scenes. In light of the association of these words with ships and sailing and the character’s names with memory, V’s inclusion of Mnestheus in the ship race and the (literally) mnemonic connection between the characters may be an example of the Hellenistic word play that V. and his contemporaries engage in regularly.

118 **ingentemque Gyas ingenti mole Chimaeram,**

Gyas: Vid. here L. Polverini, “Gias,” in *EV* II, 720–721: the name of two distinct characters in the *A.*, one Trojan and the other Latin. The present contestant will reappear at 12.460, where he slays Ufens (on which with Tarrant ad loc. see also B. Brotherton, “Vergil’s Catalogue of the Latin Forces,” in *TAPA* 62 [1931], 192–202, 201; M. Lossau, “Achates, Symbolfigur der *Aeneis*,” in *Hermes* 115.1 [1987], 89–99, 94); V. does not reveal Gyas’ fate in the war; he is first introduced at 1.222 alongside Cloanthus, as Aeneas laments the fate of those Trojans he assumes have been lost in the storm off north Africa (and cf. 1.612). The Latin Gyas is the brother of Cisseus and son of Melampus, one of Hercules’ companions; both brothers are slain by Aeneas (10.317–322, where see Harrison). The Latin Gyas is noted for his bulk, a nod to the immense size of the Chimaera captured by

his Trojan homonym. For possible associations of the name see Paschalis 1997, 187. Servius notes that Gyas was the founder of the *gens Geganina*, a clan certainly less familiar to V.'s readership than the Memmii or the Sergii; see further Conington here for the question of why Gyas alone is not explicitly associated by V. with a Roman patrician *gens*. For the connection of Gyas with the gigantomachy, see C. Saunders, "Sources of the Names of Trojans and Latins in Vergil's *Aeneid*," in *TAPA* 71 (1940), 537–555, 542. Horace, c. 2.17 has the Chimaera alongside the hundred-handed *gigas*, where *Gyges* (Muretus) or even *Gyas* might be the true reading; see further G. Rosati, "L'esistenza letteraria: Ovidio e l'auto-scienza della poesia," in *MD* 2 (1979), 101–136, 130n43; E. McDermott, "Horace, Maecenas, and *Odes* 2, 17," in *Hermes* 110.2 (1982), 211–228. See further Nisbet and Hubbard ad c. 2.17.13 for Arezzo (with its "conspicuous bronze" Chimaera) as the hometown of Maecenas.

ingenti mole: Cf. 85 above and 223 below; at 6.232 it describes the burial mound for Misenus ("abl. 'of description'"—Horsfall), while at 12.161 it refers to Latinus' chariot's great size (so Maguinness ad loc., correctly; Ahl takes it wrongly of a crowd of attendants; Tarrant *silet*). All the emphasis here is on the huge size of the ship; in V.'s use of the phrase we move from the Chimaera (which will not win the first prize) to the dead Misenus (himself one of several incarnations in the epic of the problem of the Augustan succession) to Latinus, Latium's king. Servius connects the phrase specifically with the huge sweeping motion of the vessel as it maneuvers (= *ingenti motu*). "*Ingens* is our author's maid of all work—cook, slut, and butler at once." (Henry); the same could be said of *moles*. For *ingens* see especially L. Quartarone, "Quantity, Quality, Tension and Transition: The Dimensions of Vergil's *ingens*," in *Vergilius* 57 (2011), 3–34. The polyptoton of *ingens* helps to convey the notion of the immense size of the vessel.

Chimaeram: For the monster cf. on *Il.* 6.179; 17.329 (Homer offers the full description of the beast's threefold makeup), and see Murgatroyd 2007, 23, 138; Campbell ad Lucretius, *DRN* 5.901–906; on the association between the Chimaera and Turnus' helmet (7.785–786, the only mention of the emblem in the epic), see W.S.M. Nicoll, "Chasing Chimaeras," in *CQ*, N.S. 35.1 (1985), 134–139. Gyas' vessel has affinities with Turnus' emblem, then; Gyas and his vessel are a foreshadowing of the Rutulian leader, who will, of course, ultimately be defeated by Aeneas—but here he is associated with the scions of future patrician *gentes* (this connection may also explain the "recycling" of the name for the aforementioned Latin casualty of Aeneas, though it is significant that only Gyas among the contestants is not linked explicitly with a future Roman *gens*—a nod to the fact that Turnus, while on the winning side in light of the future ethnography of Rome, will nonetheless suffer defeat and death).

The Chimaera may also be taken to have volcanic associations relevant to V's depiction of Turnus; cf. F. Sullivan, "Volcanoes and Volcanic Characters in Virgil," in *CP* 67.3 (1972), 186–191; A. Scarth, "The Volcanic Inspiration of Some Images in the *Aeneid*," in *CW* 93.6 (2000), 591–605. Hesiod first mentions her size (*Theog.* 320), though without the emphasis V. employs to describe his ship. See further H. Westervelt, *VE* I, 262, who highlights the balancing between the Chimaera on Turnus' helmet and the (powerless) Io on his shield alongside his sister Juturna and the "disempowerment" she suffers in *A.* 12; we might add that the furious Camilla, who may have her own hybrid (i.e., lycanthropic) qualities, would complete the balanced equation of associations.

Like the Centaurs and the Scyllas, the Chimaera will appear among the terrible denizens of the underworld (6.288); extraordinarily, three of the ships of the regatta will have "reappearances" in V's *nekuia*, with the sole exception of the boat captained by the father of the *Memmi* (cf. their Lucretian associations). The giant Gyas and the Chimaera are both monstrous and thus suited to each other.

Gyas—the only non-ancestor of a Roman *gens*—will win third place after the failure of his plan to take advantage of his early lead against Cloanthus. In Homer the second contestant to be introduced is Diomedes, who is said to be driving the horses of Tros that he took from Aeneas after Aphrodite rescued her son (*Il.* 23.290–292).

119 *urbis opus, triplici pubes quam Dardana versu*

urbis opus: Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 6.641; Statius, *Silv.* 2.2.31. The Chimaera trireme is the "work of a city," with a hint of the city-building theme that recurs through the epic. See Henry here for a characteristically vigorous argument that the ship was not the size of a city, but rather a city in miniature; *contra* Servius, Forbiger, et al. On the general topos see J. Whitehorne, "The Significance of the City in Virgil's *Aeneid* I–VI," in Deroux 2006, 224–235. Homer says that Amisodarus reared (*Il.* 16.329 θρέψιν) the Chimaera to be "an irresistible bane unto many men" (ἀμαιμέτην πολέσιν κακὸν ἀνθρώποισιν); it is worth noting that a shift of the accent to the antepenult (πόλεσιν) would allow for a crescendo from "irresistible," specifically as far as concerns cities, to the more general "a woe to humankind." While strictly speaking not possible given the normal Homeric form πολίεσσιν for the dative plural, V. may well have made the mental association (but not mistake) of πολέσιν with cities, and thus have employed the somewhat curious phrase *urbis opus* to hark back to the Homeric context, while also continuing to highlight the immensity of this vessel.

Dardana pubes: V. uses the collocation elsewhere at 7.219; otherwise it appears only in the *Ilias Latina* (905; 1029–1030) and in Silius (*Pun.* 3.710–711;

9.317–318). For the reconciliation of Troy with fate see Cairns 1989, 118: in *Dardana* we have a strong evocation of the notion that Troy is being transformed into Rome, though V. will have much to say about the nature of that metamorphosis. On the significance of the Dardanian rowers, mentioned only in connection with Gyas' ship (the one captain not associated explicitly with a future Roman family), see Ross 2007, 96–97.

triplici: Tartarus' wall is triple (6.549); so also, most significantly, the plumage of Turnus' helmet (7.785 *cui triplici crinita iuba galea alta Chimaeram*). Mantua has a threefold division of people (10.202), and Mezentius a triple-layered shield (10.784); Caesar will enjoy a triple triumph (8.714). An adjective of mixed associations, then, in V.: we can pair the triple rows here with the triple triumph; Turnus and Mezentius; Tartarus, on the one hand, Mantua on the other (see N. Horsfall, "The Aeneas-Legend," in *Vergilius* 32 [1986], 8–17, 13 for the relative silence of the poet on the foundation lore of his home; also Smith 2011, 131–135). Cf., too, Hesiod's reference to the three heads of the Chimaera (*Theog.* 321). Virgil seems to create parallels for the frightening features of the mythological Chimaera mentioned in Homer and Hesiod by certain details pertaining to the description of the boat named after it. That a three-headed monster would, in boat form, have three banks of oars is fitting. On what he calls "Virgilian *Dreiheit*" see Horsfall ad 3.37 and 6.506.

versu: Only here in the *A.* (*OLD* s.v. 3b, a specialized extension of the basic meaning of a "line"; cf. *G.* 4.144). Cf. above on 117, where we have noted a possible pun on lines of literary verse.

120 *impellunt, terno consurgunt ordine remi*;

Williams calls attention to the spondaic line, which, as he notes, suggests the effort required to move so large a craft; the enjambment might suggest this too. The phrase *terno ... ordine*, where one might have expected to find the plural form, corresponds to and emphasizes the ablative phrase *triplici uersu* of the preceding verse (cf. Conington ad loc.). As noted above, the threefold imagery recalls the essence of the Chimaera, a beast with a threefold nature.

impellunt: Cf. 242 below, of the action of Portunus; 4.594 *impellite remos*, of Dido's crazed commands when she sees the departure of the Trojan fleet.

terno: For the distributive see below on 247, and cf. 560 and 580; elsewhere in the *A.* only at 1.266 and 8.565; Burton ad loc. notes that "distributives are very rarely used in the singular." For Lucan's attempt to surpass the size of the Virgilian vessels in his description of Caesar's fleet, see Hunink ad *BC* 3.530.

A trireme is a natural enough vessel for a ship race, but the threefold occurrence of the word in this book may connect to the use of the distributive in *A.* 1 that describes the number of years between Aeneas' victory and his death: *ter-*

tia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas / ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis (265–266). One might have expected the plural, but the singular balances 119 *triplici versu*; see further Conington ad loc. Servius' "omnes enim triremes fuerunt" has predictably exercised commentators' distaste for anachronism; for the age of the trireme, cf. Casson 1975, 77–80. With the use of *triplici* / *terno* cf. *septem* and *septena* of the snake and its movements.

consurgunt remi: See below on 205–207. Like *impellunt*, this verb suggests great activity. *Impellunt* takes *pubes* from 119 as the subject, while the subject of *consurgunt* is *remi*, the noun that closes the line. The action of the first verb produces the reaction of the second (so carried out by the surging of the oars).

121 *Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen,*

Sergestus: First named in the epic alongside Mnestheus at 4.288 ff.; cf. 12.561. Paschalis 1997, 159–160, connects the name with *gerere* and the idea of gathering a crew (note also Bartelink 1965, 69); V. prefers to focus on the connection with the *gens Sergia* and the dark associations of Catiline (who in Cicero's judgment was interested in stirring up servile support for his cause; for a sober analysis of the charge that the conspirator had friends in low places, gladiators and the like, see Gruen 1974, 428–429). On *Sergestus* see especially K. Muse, "Sergestus and Tarchon in the *Aeneid*," in *CQ*, N.S. 57.2 (2007), 586–605; L. Polverini, *EV* IV, 792–793.

tenet: "Clings to," of special point given the troubles of the most famous scion of the clan.

Sergia: Lucius Sergius Catiline appears on the shield of Aeneas as a resident of Tartarus (8.666–669 *hinc procul addit / Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis, / et scelerum poenas, et te Catilina, minaci / pendentem scopulo Furiarum ora tenentem*); see further D.H. Berry, "The Criminals in Virgil's Tartarus: Contemporary Allusions in *Aeneid* 6.621–4," in *CQ*, N.S. 42.2 (1992), 416–420; L. Polverini, *EV* I, 705–706; Schenk 1984, 381 ff.; M. Ducos, "Les criminels du Tartare (*Enéide* VI, 608–627)," in Baratin 2010, 645–657; and, for the idea that the passage is hostile to Cicero since there is no mention of the orator in his moment of greatest glory, Guillemin 1951, 237–238. A useful, brief overview of the reception of the infamous conspirator = E. Sage, "The Treatment of Catiline in the Latin Literature of the Early Empire," *The Classical Weekly* 24.18 (1931), 137–139; for his character and reputation, see Gruen 1974, 137–138, 217–218, 270–271, 416–418. On the appearance of problematic figures in catalogues otherwise marked by glorious personages in Roman history, see Zetzel 1997 in Martindale 1997, 200; also Smith 1997, 182–184.

Some have seen in Turnus' antagonist Drances in *A.* 11 an allegory for Cicero (see here Lavery 1965, 30–32, with detailed survey and analysis of the evidence

and argument; Beare 1750 and, derivatively, Zielinski 1929 for the theory, which does not seem to be found before Beare; also Olivier 1930; and, for more general comment, Burke 1978; Alessio 1993, 83 ff.; Scholz 1999). It is possible that the sister “penultimate” books of the epic present the two central figures in the infamous conspiracy of 63 B.C. We should also note that Servius ad 6.623 observes that Donatus identified Cicero as the incestuous father of that line (*hic thalamum invasit natae vetitosque hymenaeos*). While the evidence is not conclusive that V. intended to present Cicero in a negative light, whether by allegory or other allusion, there is no positive presentation of the orator, except, perhaps, at 6.849, where Guillemin 1951, 237–238 sees hostility, too (following Olivier 1930, 48 ff.): the orator of A. 6 will be manifested in Drances, and, too, oratory is rather summarily dismissed alongside the other arts in which non-Romans will attain glory.

domus: Equivalent to *familia*, according to Servius (cf. ad 3.85); there are no parallels for V.’s use here of *domus tenet*.

122 Centauro invehitur magna, Scyllaque Cloanthus

Centauro: Centaurs do not figure often in V., but the few appearances are interesting (vid. G. Arrigoni, *EV* I, 730–733; Campbell ad Lucretius, *DRN* 5.878; Murgatroyd 2007, 91 ff. offers general remarks). As with the Scyllas, we find Centaurs among the monsters of the underworld (6.285); at 7.670ff., the Argive twins Catillus and Coras are like Centaurs descending from the mountains in rapid course; at G. 2.255–257, the poet mentions the famous battle of the Centaurs and the Lapiths as an example of the dangers of wine. But the principal parallel for the present passage = 10.185–197, where Cupavo, the son of Cynus, is listed among Aeneas’ Etruscan allies; he captains another *Centaurus* (*ingentem remis Centaurum*). V. notes how Cynus had been transformed into a swan after he was wasting away with grief for his beloved Phaëthon; we cannot be certain of the exact order of composition of this or that detail, but the vignette in A. 10 associates the *Centaurus* with Phaëthon lore, just as here V. introduced the ship race with a reference to the lost charioteer before listing the Centaur among the regatta entries. V. never mentions Chiron, the “good” Centaur. For the dark associations of both Catiline and the Centaur, see R. Dunkle, “Games and Transition: *Aeneid* 3 and 5,” in *CW* 98.2 (2005), 153–178, 163. And, too, the associations of Cupavo’s father Cynus, the forthcoming narrative of Nisus and Euryalus, and the evocation of Ganymede in the cloak Cloanthus will win, all serve to craft a sexual narrative where V. will address the question of homosexuality in light of the ethnographic metamorphosis of Troy into Rome; see further C. Williams 1999, 216ff. Sergestus is depicted as captaining a vessel that is named after a mythological creature known for pride and insolence; the name may also have

had obscene etymological derivations (see here Palaephatus, *Peri Apiston* 1, with Stern's commentary).

See Hardie 1987 in Whitby et al. 1987, 166 for both Propertius' use of *Centaurica saxa* in reference to the weapons of Antony's ships at Actium (c. 4.6.49, where see Hutchinson), and the *Centaurus* of *A.* 10.196 that no doubt inspired it (on which see especially E. Fantham, "Nymphas ... e navius esse: Decorum and Poetic Fiction in *Aeneid* 9.77–122 and 10.215–59," in *CPhil* 85.2 [1990], 102–119, 114–115): the Etruscan ship of Cynus' son Cupavo that also uses rocks as missile weapons. The *Centaurus* as ship name was probably inspired by the battle of the Lapiths (see here Harrison ad 10.196; note also M. Putnam, "Virgil's Lapiths," in *CQ N.S.* 40.2 [1990], 562–566, 563–564n9; Casson 1971, 350n39; K. Schmidt, *Die Namen der attischen Kriegsschiffe*, Diss. Leipzig, 1931, cited by Casson); there is no external evidence for why Propertius would have applied the image to the ships of Antony and Cleopatra, but it is interesting that the elegist assigns to Antony the vessel that in *V.* is captained by *Sergestus*, the distant progenitor of Catiline, another enemy of Cicero. It is possible that the anthropomorphic Centaurs seemed to be fitting bestial tutelaries for Antony's Egyptian forces (cf. 8.698 *omnigenumque deum monstra*). *Sergestus*' ship will lose and ultimately limp into port in damaged state. Qua losing, perhaps the name is fitting, as the Centaurs would be defeated by the Lapiths in the different and far more brutal contest at the wedding banquet of Pirithous. In that story, of course, the Centaurs limp for a different reason, specifically for having ingested too much wine at the nuptial feast.

inhevitur: Also at 6.785, of Cybele as she is conveyed in her chariot; cf. 571 *est invectus* below, of Iulus riding Dido's horse; 1.155 *invectus*, of Neptune after he calms the seas; 6.587 *invectus*, of the crazed Salmoneus; 7.287 *invecta*, of Juno; 7.436 *invectas*, of Aeneas' fleet; 8.714 *invectus*, of Caesar in triumph; 12.77 *invecta*, of Aurora.

Scylla: *V.* makes relatively frequent reference in his works to the notorious marine hazard; see further Hopman 2012. The daughter of Nisus appears explicitly at *E.* 6.74 and *G.* 1.405, while in the *A.* the sea monster appears in Book 3 (420, 424, 432, 684), and is elsewhere mentioned at 1.200, where Aeneas reminds his men that they have survived her, and in the balancing allusion at 7.302, where Juno laments that Scylla has done nothing to stop the Trojans. The underworld has *Scyllae bifformes* (6.286) among its monstrous inhabitants.

For the Virgilian appearances of the daughter of Nisus see especially Thomas ad *G.* 1.404–409; the story is perhaps best known from the ps.-Virgilian *Ciris* and Ovid, *Met.* 8.1–151 (where see Hollis; for "thematic borrowings" from *V.* in the *Ciris*, V. Gorman in *Vergilius* 41 [1995], 35–48). Scylla snipped a lock of her father's hair so that her beloved Minos could be victorious; *E.* 6.74–

77 offers the only Virgilian passage that explicitly links the traitor with the sea monster (see here Z. Stewart, “The Song of Silenus,” in *HSCP* 64 [1959], 179–205, 195). The Homeric (*Od.* 12) Scylla has no such expressed connection, and Ovid seems content to have two different Scyllas; in his account of the origins of the sea monster (*Met.* 13.730 ff., where see Hopkinson, and 14.1 ff., where see Myers), Circe is responsible for the metamorphosis out of amatory jealousy. For the transformation of the monster from Homer through the Latin poets, see Gruzelier ad Claudian, *DRP* 3.447 ff. More generally see also C. Hanoteau, “Charybde et Scylla dans l’œuvre virgilienne,” in *AC* 8 (1939), 383–394.

In the *A.*, then, Scylla is always the marine horror, and the ensuing victory of her ship that bears her image is both a testament to the conquest of the hazard and (especially given the associations of the ship’s color, on which see below) an ominous note—a wonderful example of V.’s use of ambiguous and ambivalent associations. See further P. Pinotti, “Scilla,” in *EV* IV, 724–726; Murgatroyd 2007, 109–118; Crump 1920, 116 (for the idea that V. intended to make more extensive use of Scylla and Charybdis). Cloanthus will win with his *Scylla*, but through direct divine intervention in response to his prayer; cf. the mere chance or luck that secures a “positive” response to Mnesteus’ prayer (and, as we shall see below ad 189 ff., the possible flaws in Mnesteus’ address to Neptune). The two invocations of the ship race will find affinities in the prayerful presumption of Arruns in *A.* 11 that he may both kill Camilla and return home (785 ff.); Apollo will hear the first part of the wish, but not the second. But more immediately, the prayers to the sea gods will be mirrored in Venus’ request of her uncle Neptune at 779 ff. below. The answer to why V. would have the *Scylla* be the ship that wins (and by explicit divine action) may be of a piece with why Camilla’s companions include a Tarpeia (11.657), who has affinities with Scylla *Nisi filia*; none of these Trojan ships, we might note, have particularly positive onomastic associations (cf. the Etruscan ship catalogue): they are imperfect foreshadowings of future Roman realities, which themselves will not be free of troublesome associations. It is just possible that there is a connection between V.’s image of a lupine Scylla (3.428 *utero ... luporum*, where see Horsfall), which seems his invention (cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 5.892–893), and his Camilla, who likely has lupine associations (Fratantuono 2007, 348–350) alongside the equine (cf. the Centaur at the opening of this line, which is feminine). In any case, while her feminine gender is suited to a ship, the peculiarly feminine persona is problematic, for she is the devourer of seafarers; the name is ultimately apotropaic. On the apotropaic quality of names, cf. for example, G.H. Macurdy, “Aleuas and Alea,” in *CQ* 13 (1919), 170–171. See also here Hardie 1987, 165, n. 13. It is possible that V. was influenced by

the rationalizing explanation of Scylla given by Palaephatus (*Peri Apiston* 20, where see Stern), in which Scylla was a trireme that made pirate raids on other vessels near Sicily. Cloanthus is presented in a pious light in V; it is also possible, however, that his Scylla evoked thoughts of Heraclitus 2, where the marine monster is associated with a prostitute.

Plutarch relates the judgment that the painter Androcydes was criticized for indulging more in his appetite than his art in depicting the fishes that surrounded his Scylla (*Mor.* 665D). Themistius uses the apparent inconsistency between literary and artistic depictions of Scylla in his remarks on how one can tell a true friend from a false (Penella 1996, 104).

Cloanthus: For the name of this eventual victor in the regatta vid. Paschalis 1997, 185–186 (who connects it with the notions of youth and sight); Bartelink 1965, 63–64. Cloanthus is first mentioned with Gyas at 1.222 and 612; V. does not specify his ultimate fate, though this was remedied by Vegio, where Aletes, Ilioneus, Mnesteus, Serestus, Sergestus, Gyas and Cloanthus all appear in procession (B. Hijmans, Jr., “*Aeneia Virtus: Vegio’s Supplementum to the Aeneid*,” in *CJ* 67.2 [1971–1972], 144–155, 150–151). See further M. Cimino, *EV* I, 828. V. refers to him 3× as *fortis* (on this and other epithets in the *A.* see M. McLeod, “The Wooden Horse and Charon’s Barque: Inconsistency in Vergilian Particularization,” in *Phoenix* 24.2 [1970], 144–149, 147). Etymological notions of green sprigs and flower blooms, if in the poet’s head, might point to the eventual success of this contestant. A. Feldherr (*VE* I, 273) notes well that Cloanthus is the only participant in the regatta who is not named later in the poem; the ultimate fates of all the competitors remain unrevealed by the poet precisely because these men represent the future *Roman* gentes (and thus must remain seemingly undying); Cloanthus, the winner, fades into a truly rarefied immortality by never appearing again in the poem, almost as if he were now a figure from a misty mythology the poet prefers to leave sacrosanct.

V. links the Centaurs and Scylla together in this line in *hommage* to Lucretius, (*DRN* 5.890–894), where the poet dismisses the possibility of either monster.

In 122–123 the names of *auctor* and *gens* appear balanced at the ends of successive verses.

123 caerulea, genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti.

genus unde: With a clear echo of *A.* 1.6; cf. *G.* 4.282, the passage that serves as the model for the two occurrences of the phrase in the *A.*: when a new stock of bees is wanting, the teaching of Arcadian Aristaeus will aid in replenishing the hive. At 568 below it recurs in a similar context, when Atys is named as the father of the Atian Latins; cf. how Aeneas makes a prayer at 8.71 to the *Nymphae, Laurentes Nymphae, genus amnibus unde est*, while at 8.114 Pallas asks Aeneas

qui genus? unde domo? On many issues related to such derivations of clan lineage, see S. Nakata, “*Egredere o quicumque es: Genealogical Opportunism and Trojan Identity in the Aeneid*,” in *Phoenix* 63.3–4 (2012), pp. 335–363. The dative is uttered with an excited referential tone on the part of the poet; this is a good example of the so-called “*dativus dynamicus vel energicus*” (Antoine 1882, 105–106).

caerulea: On the color here see Edgeworth 1992, 109; Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 196 (“a difficult adjective apparently used of a rather wide range of predominately subdued colours, from dark blue or blue-green to a kind of glossy mix of blue and black”), and see above on 5, where the storm’s rainclouds were cerulean, and especially 87, of the marks on the back of the snake on Anchises’ tomb; below at 819 Neptune will have a blue chariot. The winning ship in the regatta will be the same color as the serpent on the grave, and as the chariot of the god who will demand a sacrificial victim for the safe passage of Aeneas’ fleet. *Caeruleus*, like most Latin color terms, is thus notoriously difficult to define precisely; Servius’ *niger* is not specific enough, and his “aut ‘nigra’ aut altae carinae; omne enim altum nigrum est” rather misses the point. For the color’s association with the sea in particular note E. Hahn, “Vergil’s Linguistic Treatment of Divine Beings,” in *TAPA* 88 (1957), 56–67, 59n14.

Cluenti: Some future member of the *gens Cluentia* is named. The most famous scion of the clan = Aulus Cluentius Habitus, who was successfully defended by Cicero in his speech of 66 B.C. on a charge of having murdered his stepfather Oppianicus, whom he had accused of attempted poisoning in 76 B.C. It remains unclear what significance V. associated with his naming of this family here; see further T. Wiseman, “Legendary Genealogies in Late-Republican Rome,” in *G&R* 21.2 (1974), 153–164, 157; on the charge and Cicero’s defense against it, Gruen 1974, 30–31. Alongside 6.851 *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento*, this is the only use of the vocative of the key adjective *Romane*; the juxtaposition of the two occurrences seems jarring, especially when one considers that the Cluentii were in origin Oscans and not Romans (there may be a hint of a reminder, too, that the first Cluentius—whoever he was—is dead; the present passage is not entirely unlike Virgilian salutations of the dead, on which vid. A. Seider, “Competing Commemorations: Apostrophes of the Dead in the *Aeneid*,” in *AJPh* 133 [2012], 241–269). The addressee of the “other” *Romane* passage is unspecified; Anchises is speaking to his son in the underworld, but one could take the admonition—which is centered on the idea of defeating the haughty and sparing those who are subjected to you—as referring both to Aeneas in the immediate, and, more broadly, to all Romans. Lucius Cluentius was defeated during the Social War and became a victim of Sulla; he died near Nola in 89 after having baited Sulla to attack him by provocatively positioning

his camp near Pompeii and allowing one of his Gallic allies to taunt the Romans and thus induce them to commit to ill-fated single combat (Appian, *BC* 1.50 ff.; Eutropius 5.3). It is worthwhile to note that Octavian's father died near Nola in 58 B.C. (and, eerily, so would the *princeps* himself in A.D. 14); the evocation of the Sullan victim Cluentius with his death at Nola may well have been intended for Augustus' appreciation (and Cloanthus will, in the end, be victorious in the regatta).

V. may well have intended to associate his ship "families" with the defeated Gaius Memmius, Lucius Catiline, and Lucius Cluentius—all similar in some ways to his Turnus, who is left as the figure we might associate with Gyas. The result is a striking synthesis of the nascent future Rome: Turnus has a part in that destiny, despite his clear associations with problematic figures, and that destiny, *in fine*, will be Roman. On V's use of apostrophe to erase the barriers of time, see G. Williams 1983, 187; for his use of apostrophe in highlighting the pathos of war victims, F. Behr, "The Narrator's Voice: A Narratological Reappraisal of Apostrophe in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *Arethusa* 38.2 (2005), 189–221, and note also E. Block, "The Narrator Speaks: Apostrophe in Homer and Virgil," in *TAPA* 112 (1982), 7–22.

The Cluentii were associated with Larinum; the town also lent its name to Larina, one of Camilla's *pacisque bonas bellique ministras* (11.658) alongside Tulla and Tarpeia (indeed, the miniature catalogue of Camilla's attendants is not unlike the roster of competitors in the regatta in terms of the potentially problematic associations their names occasion). V. will later add Acca to Camilla's coterie; like the present assemblage of contestants in its evocation of the future Rome, the names of Camilla's fellow equestrians are redolent with the spirit of old Italy, in both its positive *and* negative associations.

On the significance of the race to the structure of the book, see S. Spence, "Meta-Textuality: The Boat-race as Turning Point in *Aeneid* 5," in *NECJ* 29 (2002), 69–81; note also L. McGlashan, "Reversal and Epiphany in the Games for Anchises," in *Vergilius* 49 (2003), 42–68.

124–150 Virgil describes the turning post of the regatta, before the signal is given and the contestants commence the race. The *meta* that marks the goal of the contest is invested with associations that look both backward to the old Troy and forward to the nascent Rome. For the connection of V's rock to Apollonius' description of where the Argonauts leave their clothes before they depart in quest for the fleece (1.364–366), see Nelis 2001, 210 ff. For the (anachronistic) association of the present race with circus spectacle, see M. Delvigo, "*Litus ama: linguaggio e potere nella regatta virgiliana*," in *MD* 47 (2001), 9–33, especially 14n15; also A. Feldherr, "Ships of State: *Aeneid* 5 and Augustan Circus Specta-

cle," in *ClasAnt* 14 (1995), 245–265; C. Anderson and T.K. Dix, "Vergil at the Races: The Contest of Ships in Book 5 of the *Aeneid*," in *Vergilius* 59 (2013), 3–15. "Petita omnia a circu et cursu circensi" (Heyne ad 160–171); K. Coleman, "Circus," in *VE* I, 267–268. For the topography and general setting, note B. D'Ooge, "The Journey of Aeneas," in *CJ* 4.1 (1908), 2–12, 11–12. For

124 est procul in pelago saxum spumantia contra

On the idyllic setting see Rehm 1932, 83. The present description of the rock that will serve as the *meta* for the ship race owes much to 1.159 ff., of the shelter for Aeneas' fleet in Sicily after the storm (Williams 1968, 644–645); on the ecphrasis see Hügi 1952, 107–108; Canali 1976, 19–20; also Paschalis 1997, 185 on the possible semantic associations of the *saxum*. The shelter for the ships in Carthage was deceptively peaceful in light of the future history of Rome; Sicily will be the locus for much future conflict with Carthage, but the present rock, small and minor in scope as it might seem, will be a tangible mark of the transformation of the Trojans into Italians. The harmless enough rock of the regatta will find its parallel at 864 ff. below, of the Sirens' *scopulos*, as V. gives his narrative a tightly focused and careful construct by ring composition; on the rocky hazards associated with the race, the Sirens, and the passage of Scylla and Charybdis, see Nelis 2001, 212–213; also J. Glazewski, "The Function of Vergil's Funeral Games," in *CW* 66.2 (1972), 85–96, 91. With the opening of this ecphrasis cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 4.194 *est procul*, from the passage where the poet describes how light objects (i.e., atoms) travel swiftly—a fitting image for V. to borrow at the start of the regatta. For the phrase note also Ovid, *Ep. Pont.* 4.10.44; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.398. "Von lebendiger Bewegtheit ist die Beschreibung des Felsens in der See, der als Wendemarke im Schiffswettkampf dient (5, 124–8)." (Reeker 1971, 47).

procul in pelago: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15.264 *procul a pelago*. The phrase = V.'s adaptation of the Homeric "length of a fathom" (*Il.* 23.327). V. has transferred the vertical to the horizontal, explaining the position of the rocky formation with a measurement that in Homer had described its height. For *est procul* to introduce an ecphrasis, see Fordyce on 7.563.

spumantia: Cf. 817 below, of the foaming reins of Neptune's steeds, just after the marine god makes his demand for one life to be sacrificed; 3.66, of the *cymbia* foaming with tepid milk during the description of the offerings to Polydorus' shade; 4.135, of the foaming reins on Dido's horse at the outset of the fateful hunt; both 6.87 *Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno* and 9.456 *spumantis sanguine rivos* (on which see Jocelyn ad Ennius, *Androm.* fr. 118 *spumant sanguine*); 12.372, of the mouths of horses during a battle scene. The source for the *saxum* is the Homeric oak or pine of *Il.* 23.327. The waters that

fail to petrify Homer's stump merely foam around V's rock formation; in both cases, the hero will place upon the hummock or stump a marker for the race. In the case of Homer, the stump may have served previously as just such a turnpost, which is an interesting idea in light of the inherited language, culture and poetry lost in the epics that presumably preceded the *Iliad*, but are reborn in Homer. In the case of the *A.*, we have an adaptation of a motif rather than an inheritance of one. This line could serve, in each epic, as a microcosm of the whole enterprise of the composition of grand narrative, emblematic of primary and secondary epic respectively.

125 *litōra, quod tumidis summersum tunditur olim*

The enjambment here may be intended to create the image of the lapping waves as they roll upon the turnpost.

tunditur: The verb occurs in some form 5× in the *A.*: 1.481 *tunsae*, of the mournful Trojan women in the pictures in Dido's temple; 4.448 *tunditur*, of Aeneas as he is metaphorically blasted by Dido's entreaties; 10.731 *tundit*, of Acron as he falls and bites the dust; 11.37 *tunsis*, of the laments when Aeneas comes to the tent of the dead Pallas. The verb is not as strong as the Apollonian model (*Arg.* 1.365) cited by Conington, following Heyne. Rather, it harks back to the Homeric notion of wear and tear over time (cf. *Il.* 23.328).

tumidis ... fluctibus: Cf. Germanicus, *Arat.* 63; Lucan, *BC* 2.457; Ovid, *Met.* 11.480–481; Seneca, *HF* 551; also *tumidi fluctus* at Statius, *Theb.* 9.459; Silius, *Pun.* 17.290; *tumidos fluctus* at *Ilias Latina* 170; Statius, *Ach.* 2.147; *fluctus ... tumidus* at Seneca, *Phaed.* 958; *fluctibus ... tumidus* at Ovid, *Trist.* 1.2.24; *tumido ... fluctu* at Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.726. There is effective wordplay in *tumidis ... tunditur* to express the beating of the rock by the waves.

summersum: Cf. 1.584–585 *unus abest, medio in fluctu quam vidimus ipsi / submersum*, of the lost *magister* Orontes; his death in the Junonian storm is a prefigurement of Palinurus': the rock here is submerged by the blasts of the stormy winds in winter, but in summer it presents a safe anchorage for birds, while Aeneas' helmsman will be lost during a deceptively tranquil night at sea.

olim: Vid. A. Cavarzere, *EV* III, 832–834. "At times, at certain times" (Henry). Servius enlarges on the adverb: "tunc fere cum cori nubibus abscondunt et obruunt sidera"; cf. also Guyet's note (reported in Eichfelder): "id est πῶτέ."

126 *fluctibus, hiberni condunt ubi sidera Cauri*

condunt ubi: Williams 1960 comments ad 22 on the archaism of the postponement of a conjunction or some type of relative; here any archaic flavor to the wording may reflect the timeless quality of the relentless action of the various

winds. *Pace* Williams, *sidera* probably refers most particular to the constellations as aids to navigation.

Cauri: The northerly or northwesterly winds (*G.* 3.278; 3.356, where see Erren); named only here in the *A.*; cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 6.135–136 *crebram silvam cum flamina cauri | perfant, dant sonitum, frondes ramique fragorem*, which may have been in V.'s mind; Grattius, *Cyn.* 296 and 420; Statius, *Theb.* 4.842; 7.791; Silius, *Pun.* 2.290–291 *venturam pelagi rabiem Caurique futura | praedicit miseris haud vanus flamina nautis*, likely inspired by the present passage; also 14.74. See further D. Possanza, “Caurus,” in *VE* I, 248–249. The storm associations of this wind connect back to the opening of the book and the tempest that drove the Trojans to Sicily (Williams 1960 cites Pliny, *NH* 18.338 for the northwesterly wind as harbinger of tempests). The noise of the northwest wind was apparently associated with the sound made by panthers (Suetonius, fr. 161 *pantherarum caurire*). Mynors notes ad *G.* 3.278 that the *Caurus* often simply = the north wind. Cf. further Pliny, *HN* 2.119, 124: Corus heralded the coming of autumn (*cum hoc Corus incipit; Corus autumnat*).

That *Cauri* can apparently be spelled *Chori* (so MPR; Tib.), *Cori* (ds), or even *Chauri* or is evident from the various manuscript readings and the parallelism of pronunciation that was no doubt current even in V.'s day; given the evidence of the aforementioned *G.* passages (where the reading *Caur-* is better attested than for the present passage), it is possible if not likely that *Cauri* is a better reading here (note *haeuri* at Tib ap. *A.* 1.203); so Possanza ap. *loc. cit.* (and Mynors), who notes that the “variant” orthography *Corus* is recorded at Vitruvius, *De arch.* 1.6.5.

hiberni: For winter terms in the *A.*, see Dehon 1993, 86–92; U. Boella, “Inverno,” *EV* II, 1003–1005; V. evokes the image of the frosty and distant region whence these winds originate.

With *sidera condunt* cf. Horace, c. 2.16.2–4 *simul atra nubes | condidit lunam neque certa fulgent | sidera nautis*; the poetic conceit was much imitated: so Lucan, *BC* 1.15 *unde venit Titan et nox ubi sidera condit* (with Roche); Manilius, *Ast.* 1.470–471 *conditur omne | stellarum vulgus; fugiunt sine nomine turba; 2.836 emenso qui condit sidera mundo; 4.836–837 fugeruntque novas ardentia sidera flammis | atque uno metuit condi natura sepulcro; 4.920–921 ipse vocat nostros animos ad sidera mundus | nec patitur, quia non condit, sua iura latere* (a different twist on the collocation); Seneca, *Phaed.* 675–676; Seneca, *NQ* 7.1.3.5–6 *sidera abscondit*. For the meaning of *sidera* in V., with special reference to the transformation of its use by Manilius, vid. Volk 2009, 185–186. Williams is probably right to take *sidera* as a poetic (not to say highflown) word to describe the heavens here; cf. Ovid's special care for the description of certain astronomical phenomena (*Met.* 2.528–530, of the Bear and the northern seas).

127 *tranquillo silet immotaque attollitur unda*

The line is heavily spondaic, the ponderous tone of which adds to the sense of serenity. Only the wave at the line's end suggests anything but peace, and even that is "unmoved."

tranquillo: The adjective is rare in V. (only here and at 2.203 *tranquilla per alta*, of the waters through which the twin serpents come to attack Laocoön). The stacking of (substantive) adjective, verb, and participle emphasizes the scene's serenity. Lejay suggests that *tranquillo* may have been a term typically used by Roman sailors. Heyne, however, regards the adjective as being used in an ablative absolute construction; it seems far easier simply to supply *tempore*, "weather" or *uento* "breeze" and to understand this as an ablative of attendant circumstance.

silet: 17× in the *A.* in some form, including the participial; once in *A.* 11 (120 *silentes*, of the stunned Latin reaction to the speech of their king). The inchoative *silescere* occurs only once, at 10.101 *silescit*, where the house of the immortals begins to settle down in silence as Jupiter speaks to the divine council. For the blending of noise and silence in *tunditur* and *silet*, see P. Damsté, "Annotationes ad Aeneidem," in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 26 (1898), 172–181, 180.

immota ... unda: Cf. Silius, *Pun.* 14.276. For the adjective, cf. below on 437 *immutus* (of Entellus); cf. 3.570 *Portus ab access ventorum immotus et ingens*, of the harbor near Etna. There are two occurrences in *A.* 4, both in connection with Aeneas' determined resolve (331, of his *lumina*; 449, of his *mens*).

128 *campus et apricis statio gratissima mergis.*

campus: A term not infrequently used to describe the surface of the sea (*OLD* s.v. *campus* 6, "an expanse [of water], the sea"; cf. 10.214); here it marks the surface of the rock, where there is a *statio* for fowl. The calm of the previous line is sustained and enhanced by the superlative adjective *gratissima*.

apricis: The birds are warmed by the sunshine, perhaps in a place where one is to imagine that there is no wind (*TLL* 2.0.318.6–10). Elsewhere in the epic this adjective occurs only at 6.311–312 *quam multae glomerantur aves, ubi frigidus annus / trans pontum fugat et terris immitit apricis*, of the number of souls that crowd together in the underworld; cf. *G.* 1.521–522 (the adjective appears in close association with autumn in both parallel passages). The description of first winter and now summer continues the poet's emphasis on the mixed associations of this book; the storm narrative from the opening lines is recalled by the image of the rock's being submerged in the water, while now a moment of peace is imagined amid the tranquil summer waves. For the shadowy etymology (*aperio?*), et al., vid. M. Assunta Vinchesi, *EV* I, 241–242.

statio: Cf. 2.23, of Tenedos; 9.183 *statione*, of the gatekeeping post of Nisus and Euryalus (cf. 9.222); 10.297 *statione*, of the landing place Aeneas chooses in Latium. The noun encompasses a broad range of associations, from a civil post, such as the *statio annonae* in Rome, i.e. the office that ensured proper distribution of wheat, to “station,” to “abode.” Cf. Lewis and Short, s.v. *statio* 2. “a station, post, an abode, [or] residence;” cf. *G.* 4.8. The *statio* that serves as the *meta* for the regatta is a symbol of the transformation of Troy into Rome that has already commenced—a metamorphosis that is highlighted amid the memorial games for Anchises, who in the next book will outline an eschatology of rebirth to his son in Elysium.

gratissima: Elsewhere in the epic the superlative describes the quiet in which Hector’s ghost appears to Aeneas (2.268–269); the island of Delos (3.73); the Tiber (8.64); the augur Rhamnes, who was most pleasing to Turnus (9.327); Ida, most pleasing to the Teucrians (10.158); Juno, most pleasing to Jupiter (10.607); Juturna, also, apparently, most pleasing to Jupiter (12.142).

mergis: The precise identification of this bird remains elusive (Royds 1918, 37–39; W. Arnott, “Notes on Gavia and Mergus in Latin Authors,” in *CQ* N.S. 14.2 [1964], 249–262); *V.* names it only here and at *G.* 1.361–362 *cum medio celeres revolant ex aequore mergi | clamoremque ferunt ad litora*. The Servian tradition is correct here in its description of the significance of the bird: “Aesacus Priami filius fuit” (see Pollard 1977, 171; for a useful reminder that the *mergus* is a diver and not a wall-jumper note C. Murgia, “Critical Notes on the Text of Servius’ Commentary on *Aeneid* III–V,” in *HSCPh* 72 [1968], 311–350, 343).

The most extensive extant account of the Aesacus story is Ovid’s (*Met.* 11.749–795), where the prince falls in love with Hesperia (for the ethnographic considerations of Ovid’s narrative here, as well as the parallels with certain aspects of the Palinurus story, see further Fratantuono 2011, 328–331: Aesacus’ suicide has affinities with the loss of the helmsman). It is possible that Ovid’s account influenced the commentary tradition, though likeliest that the story was told by Boeo in the *Ornithogonia* (and Macer in his translation thereof)—even if the Hesperian identity of Aesacus’ *objet d’amour* is perhaps an Ovidian invention (cf. *Ps.-Apoll.* 3.12.5, for Aesacus’ role in interpreting the dream of Hecuba’s delivery of a firebrand). The *meta* for the contest is thus invested with the symbolic death of Troy (it lies *contra litora*), just after the Trojan participants in the race are assigned roles in the establishment of future Roman families.

129 hic viridem Aeneas frondenti ex ilice metam

viridem: The green qualities of both the turnpost and its blossoming, oaken adornment underscore the promising, even lively aspect of the narrative. This could contrast with Homer’s description (*Il.* 23.331), which would suggest that

this may have been the tomb of a man who had died generations ago, before also suggesting that it might have just as well once served as a turnpost before (332).

ilice: “The holm or holly-oak ... one of the finest of Italian trees” (Sargeant 1920, 61–62; Olson ad Aristophanes, *Ach.* 180–181); this is the evergreen holm oak. The *ilex* appears at *A.* 3.390 *litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus*, of the portent of the sow and her thirty piglets (cf. 8.43); at 4.505 it is part of the material for Dido’s pyre, while at 6.180 it is cut as part of the preparations for Misenus’. The *ilex* figures in the description of the Golden Bough (6.208–209 *talis erat species auri frondentis opaca / ilice, sic leni crepitabat brattea vento*), in the locus of the death of Nisus and Euryalus (9.381 *silva fuit late dumis atque ilice nigra*), and in the description of King Dercennus’ tomb, where Arruns is slain by Opis (11.850–851 *regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere bustum / antiqui Laurentis opacaque ilice bustum*). Lastly, it appears in the description of the mountains to which Aeneas is compared (12.701–703 *quantus Athos aut quantus Eryx aut ipse coruscis / cum fremit ilicibus quantus gaudetque nivali / vertice se attollens pater Appenninus ad auras*); see further above on 24 *fraterna*.

The *ilex* thus appears in moments of high drama and often somber circumstance. Here, the ethnographic associations of the divers’ haunt are underscored by the parallel to the portent of the sow; the tree’s link to the death of Dido will be revisited in the rites for Misenus and the significance of the holm oak in the description of both the Bough and the death scene of Arruns. Its last appearance occurs as Aeneas becomes, as it were, a figure in a reborn gigantomachy. For the ethnographic associations of the holm oak, especially its use as the Italian tree that serves to fuel the pyre for Carthage’s queen at *A.* 4.505, see H. Parker, “Trees,” in *VE* III, 1292.

V. most likely borrowed his uses of the *ilex* from Ennius (fr. 175 Skutsch), where the poet apparently describes the cutting down of trees in preparation for a funeral (his model = *Il.* 23.114ff., in a similar context of relevance to V.’s funeral games narrative; see further Skutsch ad loc. for dismissal of the opposing view that the description is of the building of a fleet; Fratantuono ad 11.136). See also here Y. Nadeau, “Ennius, *Annales* 175–179 Skutsch: A Footnote,” in *Latomus* 69 (2010), 309–312; and, more generally, the same author’s “Naulochus and Actium, the Fleets of Paris and Aeneas, and the Tree-Felling of G. Julius Caesar Erysichthon,” in Deroux 2010, 219–239.

The *ilex* branch that Aeneas sets up here as a *meta* is the only manmade tree, as it were, in the epic; it serves as a symbol of the future Rome, and unlike other arbors in the poem, it will not suffer violation (for the topos note here R. Thomas, “Tree Violation and Ambivalence in Virgil,” in *TAPA* 118 [1988], 261–273).

The famous fountain known as the *Meta Sudans* near the Colosseum was built by Domitian long after V.'s time; its remains offer a glimpse of what such turnposts looked like. Seneca mentions that there was a similar (rather noisy) fountain of the same name at Baiae (*Ep.* 56.4).

metam: There is a possibility that V. is playing here with *meta* in the sense of metamorphosis and change, given the meta-poetic associations of the regatta with the advance from Troy to Rome.

130 *constituit signum nautis pater, unde reverti*

constituit signum: The phrase appears only here; for the verb cf. 237 below, in a likely different sense, where the sailors await the sign to begin the race. There is a brief survey of V.'s uses of *signum* at G. Boccuti, *EV* IV, 844–846.

Pater has occasioned strange confusion and unnecessary muddle (see especially Page ad loc., with Williams' comments in turn). The emendation of John Foster (proposed in his *Essay on the Different Nature of Accent and Quantity, with their Use and Application in the English, Latin, and Greek Languages* [London 1820], 77), *nautis signum patet*, is unsupported by the manuscripts. Such a reading, which admittedly would nicely introduce the indirect question, nevertheless requires the supposition of asyndeton, which Foster deals with by the insertion of a semicolon after *constituit*.

unde reverti: The phrase is Caesarian (*BG* 1.28.3.2; cf. 5.31.3.1; note also Cicero, *Pro Murena* 89.6–7).

131 *scirent et longos ubi circumflectere cursus.*

scirent: Cf. *G.* 4.489 *ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere manes*, of Orpheus' sudden madness during his attempted rescue of Eurydice. For the verb (13× in *A.*, 2× in *E.* and 5× in *G.*) vid. E. Kraggerud, *EV* IV, 727–729.

longos ... cursus: The adjective/noun separation demonstrates well the turning in the racecourse by the bending around (i.e., framing) of the adverb and infinitive: syntactic enactment.

circumflectere: In V. elsewhere only at 3.430, in the same phrase, significantly during the description of how to evade the twin horrors of Scylla and Charybdis; the turning of the *meta* will be an important quasi-hazard to be faced by the four contestants, and, as we shall see, the winner will be captaining the *Scylla*. The sailors need to know where to turn around (i.e., the site of the *meta*); once they know this, they must make individual judgments as to how far to overshoot the *meta* in order to clip it as closely as possible without crashing into the rocks—both the visible and, more perilously, the hidden. *Longos* is admonitory and cautionary; V. is already looking ahead to the fate of those who will come too close to the *meta*.

132 **tum loca sorte legunt ipsique in puppibus auro**

loca sorte: Cf. 6.761 *proxima sorte tenet lucis loca*, of Silvius' place in the *Heldenschau*. On *sors* see M. Massenzio, *EV IV*, 949–951. Heyne follows Cerda in explaining that the choice of starting positions obtained “etsi in eadem linea.” This reference to the drawing of lots is modeled on the more detailed Homeric description (*Il.* 23.352–361) the poet is here reimagining. For more on the practice of choosing starting positions by lot cf. Stephen Miller's *Arete: Greek Sports from Ancient Sources* (Berkeley, 3rd ed. 2012), 55; for specifics on starting lines and starting positions in various races, David G. Romano, *Athletics and Mathematics in Archaic Corinth: The Origins of the Greek Stadion* (Philadelphia 1993), 46–58.

ipsi: Cf. 249 *ipsi ... ductoribus*; the point of the intensive is to distinguish the captains from the crew. The last time in the poem characters were so dressed was one book ago (almost to the same line), when Dido advanced with her horse *ostroque insignis et auro* (4.133), where the queen matches her steed: *cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum / aurea purpuream subnectit fibula uestem* (138–139).

auro: On the gold and purple (133 *ostro*) of the contestants, see Edgeworth 1992, 45 ff., 145; cf. Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 178 *hoc ... effulgens habitu*. For the ablative of means here and 133 *ostroque decori*, see Hahn 1930, 119–121. Purple and gold have regal associations, but are also used in V. in ominous union; both Dido and Camilla wear the two colors (4.133–139; 7.814–816). In the case of Dido, the reappearance here of the color collocation at nearly the same place in the following book dramatically underscores the long shadow the memory Carthage's queen casts over the proceedings; as we shall soon see, that memory links directly to the ethnographic considerations V. will present through the race narrative. There may be a hint of luxury and even regal opulence; for these associations of the color see especially Howell ad Martial, *ep.* 1.49.32 (with note on “the avoidance of purple as a rustic *topos*”).

133 **ductores longe effulgent ostroque decori;**

This line is echoed at 12.126 *ductores auro volitant ostroque superbi*, of Mnesotheus, Asilas, and Messapus, during a rare moment where key figures on opposing sides mingle together during the truce; Priscian 9.43 read *auro* for *longe* in the present line, perhaps out of mistaken remembrance of the other passage. The present scene is one of transition, where Troy slowly but inexorably continues its metamorphosis into Rome; during the truce, that metamorphosis will come into sharper relief, only to be settled in the final ethnographic dispositions revealed by Jupiter near the book's end. *Ductores* is repeated at 249 of the same captains; at 561, of the leaders of the *lusus Troiae*; see Page ad loc.

for V's careful delineation of the different offices of the members of the ships' crews.

ductores: Noun and adjective frame the verse.

effulgent: Elsewhere in V. at 2.616, of Pallas; 8.677 *fervere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus*, of the depiction of Actium on the shield of Aeneas; 9.731 *continuo nova lux oculis effulsit*, of Turnus trapped in the Trojan camp. The present ship race has connection to Actium; see further Hardie 1987 in Whitby et al. 1987, 166–167.

decori: The adjective occurs 2× in this book (cf. 343 below, of Euryalus' tears), and 2× in its sister 11 (194 *ensisque decoros*, of the Latin swords thrown with other spoils into the Trojan funeral pyres; 480, of Lavinia's downcast eyes). The captains are resplendent because of the gold, not simply the gold that twinkles. The image delicately recalls the distant view of the Lucretian persona that infers atomic motion from the activity of soldiers on a plain (*DRN* 2.324–332).

Why are all these sailors sporting the same regal colors, which would make them all seem the same to the onlookers? The reason would seem to be that the distinction between competitors is tied to the distinguishing feature of each vessel, rather than to the colorful garb of each individual captain.

134 *cetera populea velatur fronde iuventus*

For the quasi-golden (not to say silver) line see above on 46. *Velatur* occurs once elsewhere in the same *sedes*: *G.* 3.383, of the peoples of the frozen north veiled in animal skins; the occurrence of *tunditur* in that passage too (382, again in same *sed.*; cf. 125 above) may be coincidental, though V. may have in mind the image of his sailors—future Romans all—sailing north on imperial expeditions.

populea: Vid. Sargeaunt 1920, 105–106. On the color associations of the poplar and its links to Hercules (noted by Servius here; cf. *E.* 7.61, with Clausen), see Edgeworth 1992, 45 ff., 148. The Servian tradition offers the two explanations for the poplar here of 1) the connection of Hercules' wife Hebe with youth, and 2) Hercules' taking of poplar from the underworld when he brought back Cerberus.

populea ... fronde: Cf. 8.32, of Tiberinus; 8.276–277, of Evander's poplar crown; 10.190, of Cynus as he sang of his lost love Phaëthon amid poplar branches; the Salii have poplar branches at 8.286. The association with Tiberinus continues the transformation of Trojans into Romans; the connection to Phaëthon further underscores the theme of the lost youth that pervades this movement of the poem, in anticipation of the losses of both Palinurus and Pallas. The Herculean association connects, too, with the evocation of Actium and the Augustan image of the conquest of disorder that will dominate in *A.*

8 (the participants in the regatta can be seen as conquerors of the monsters whose emblems adorn the ships they captain); the lost youth imagery is linked to the problem of the Augustan succession. The Hercules motif, however, is fraught with ambivalence; Evander's Hercules has affinities with Turnus (on this see especially Putnam 1996, 188; note also Binder 1971, 145 ff.); the contestants who now don Hercules' poplar will have similarly mixed associations. Actium lurks here, too, especially in consideration of Antony's mythical descent from Anton; see further below on 149. Hercules may have defeated many savage monsters and been a force for the spread of order, but he was also noted for his own crazed reactions and violent fury—a suitable model for both Aeneas and Turnus, then, and a paradigm to be followed where appropriate by an Augustus.

velatur: Cf. 72 above and 366 below.

iuventus: See on 555 below, of the Trojan youth as they assemble for the equestrian display.

135 nudatosque umeros oleo perfusa nitescit.

nitescit: The verb occurs only here in V.; cf. Horace, c. 2.8.6. *Nitescere* sometimes appears in astronomical contexts (Cicero, *TD* 1.69.4; *Arati Phaen.* 34.174; Manilius, *Ast.* 5.687; Pliny, *HN* 8.2.2). The effect of the verb here is not unlike that of Venus' action at 1.590 in bestowing the *lumen iuventae* on Aeneas before he sees Dido. For V.'s emphasis on the handsome quality of the contestants in the games, see Heuzé 1985, 324–325: “Les jeux funèbres sont, d’une certain façon, l’exaltation du corps humain, de sa force, de son adresse et de sa beauté.” “Anachronismus!” (Mehl).

perfusa: Cf. 112 above, of the *vestes* to be awarded as prizes. See Williams 1960 for the so-called Greek accusative with *umeros*; also Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 153 *resoluta comam*. *Oleum* occurs elsewhere in the *A.* at 3.281 *exercent patrias oleo labente palaestras*, of the Actian games; 6.254 *pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis*, of the sacrificial rites before the entrance into the underworld. Cf. *G.* 1.273; 392; 2.222.

136 considunt transtris, intentaque bracchia remis;

For the Homeric formula cf. *Od.* 4.580; on the verb tenses of 136–150, see Farrell ad loc. (citing Mack 1978). More generally on Virgilian use of tenses in his narrative passages see Quinn 1963, 220 ff., especially 224–226 on this scene of the opening of the regatta; also von Albrecht 1999, 134 ff.

transtris: Properly a cross-beam; by extension it comes to mean a seat for rowers, i.e., a thwart; see Zissos ad Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.352. Cf. 663 *transtra* below, in the very different context of the flames that destroy Aeneas' ships;

the present passage, however, is a direct echo of 3.289 *linquere tum portus iubeo et considerare transtris*, of the departure after the celebration of the Actian games—another connection between the present regatta and that commemorative festival. At 4.573 *considite transtris*, Aeneas gives hasty instructions to his men after the nocturnal visit of Mercury; at 10.306 *fluitantia transtra*, Tarchon's shipwrecked men are impeded by pieces of their own vessel as they try to stage an amphibious landing against Turnus' forces. For *considerare transtris* note also Hunink ad Lucan, *BC* 3.543.

intenta ... bracchia: Cf. 403 *intendere bracchia*, during the boxing match; 829 *intendi bracchia*, in another nautical context. Ovid borrowed the image and language for the poignant description of Orpheus as he seeks the lost Eurydice (*Met.* 10.58 *bracchiaque intendens*), as Henry observed. Again: "Anachronismus!" (Mehl).

137 **intenti exspectant signum, exsultantiaque haurit**

intenti: The repetition underscores the excitement of the contestants; see Williams 1960 for the slight difference in meaning from 136 *intenta* ("The criticism made by Servius, and repeated by modern editors, that *intenta* is literal, *intenti* metaphorical, is baseless. Both are literal" [Mackail ad 136]). On V.'s portrayal of the eagerness of all the contestants to win, and his careful avoidance of a clear favorite from the outset, see E. Hahn, "Vergil and the 'Under-Dog,'" in *TAPA* 56 (1925), 185–212, 187–188.

signum: See here Bömer ad Ovid, *Met.* 10.652 for the language and the imitation of various athletic competitions from *A.* 5 (especially the foot race, of course) in the Ovidian depiction of the contest between Atalanta and Hippomenes.

exsultantiaque haurit, etc.: V. borrows here from *G.* 3.105–106, of a chariot race—a fitting nod to the Homeric provenance of the present competition; these are the only uses of the form *exsultantia* in V. (see further here Farrell 1991, 234–235). The assonant and alliterative *exspectant ... exsultantia* adds to the dramatic moment as the sailors await the signal to race. The equestrian associations of the chariot race will be exploited later in this book in the *lusus Troiae*, which will be transformed into the cavalry battle of *A.* 11. There seems to be a delicate echo of Lucretius, *DRN* 1.12–15: *aëriae primum uolucres te, diua, tuumque / significant initum percussae corda tua ui. | inde ferae pecudes persultant pabula laeta | et rapidos tranant amnis: ita capta lepore | te sequitur cupide ...*

haurit: Properly "quaffs down", though here "engulfs" is perhaps preferable. The problem of translation arises from the fact that this is a somewhat surprising verb choice, given its contrasting subjects (*pauor* and *cupido*).

The other occurrences of *haurire* in the epic repay attention; see Williams 1960 for the connotation of the draining of blood (in this case from the tensing up before the signal). At *A.* 1.738, it is used of Bitias' drinking at Dido's banquet; at 2.600, of Venus admonishing Aeneas of how the sword would be harming his family were the goddess not protecting them; at 4.359, of Aeneas' description of how he received his father's nocturnal visitation; at 4.661 *hauriat*, of Dido's curse that Aeneas might see the fire from her pyre (and cf. 4.383 *supplicia hausurum*, of Dido's wishes for Aeneas); at 6.559, of Aeneas' reaction to the terrible sights before Tartarus; at 9.23, of Turnus' drinking sacred waters after Iris visits him; at 10.314 *latus haurit apertum*, of Aeneas' killing of Theron; at 10.648, of Turnus' indulgence in the false expectations engendered by the phantom Aeneas; at 10.899, of Mezentius gazing at the sky before Aeneas kills him; at 12.946 *exuviasque hausit*, of Aeneas beholding the spoils of Pallas before he decides to slay Turnus. The two occurrences of the verb in *A.* 4 are most in the reader's mind as the regatta commences; 4.383 imagines Aeneas lost at sea, calling on the name of Dido in vain. Nearly all the uses of the verb are in moments of violence and high emotion (only 2× not, at 1.738 and 9.23, and even then in association with Dido and Turnus, arguably Aeneas' two most problematic foes; cf. 10.648). On *haurire* (especially with *oculis*) see Putnam 1996, 42.

138 *corda pavor pulsans laudumque arrecta cupido.*

corda: Cf. Negri 1984, 194 ff.

pavor: 5× in the *A.*: 2.229, of the Trojan reaction to the death of Laocoön; 2.369, of the deaths on both sides as the final battle for Troy rages; 3.57, of the reaction to the portents at Polydorus' grave; 7.458, of the effect of Allecto on Turnus. The present passage, then, stands out as the odd member of a frightful collection of uses; it tinges the start of the regatta with an ominous color; Williams 1960 notes that it does not mean "fear" in the present instance (rather something like "excited anticipation"), but the other Virgilian uses of the noun influence the meaning here appreciably. *V.*'s use of *pavor* in the *A.* works a change on the associations of the borrowing from *G.* 3.105–106; cf. *G.* 1.331, of human fear occasioned by divine portents. The first *G.* will end with the Phaëthontic image of the runaway chariot; the fear of the sailors is in part a reflection of anxiety over the future Rome toward which they are metaphorically sailing, a Rome here symbolized by the rock that is associated with Aesacus and the death of old Troy. The image also borrows from *G.* 1.330–331 *fugere ferae et mortalia corda | per gentis humilis stravit pavor*, of the terror caused by Jupiter's lightning. For imitations, note Statius, *Theb.* 3.423–425; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.799; 3.74–75; 375–376; Silius, *Pun.* 10.545. The word is old (Livius Androni-

cus; Naevius; Plautus), and is used with consistency through the poets (*TLL* 10.1.838.50).

Fear has not been widely studied in Latin poetry; some useful data of interest here have been gathered by T. Travillian in “Figuring Fear in the Roman Historians,” in *The New England Classical Journal* 40.2 (2013), 87–121.

pulsans: For the verb cf. 150 *pulsati*, of the hills that resound with the cry of the spectators, and 460 *pulsat*, of Entellus during the boxing match.

laudum ... cupido: The phrase, which may be original to V. (cf. Silius, *Pun.* 14.495; also Quintilian, *DM* 315.21.1), will be repeated at 6.823 *vincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido*, of the poet’s comment after his mention during the *Heldenschau* of how Brutus had his sons killed for rebellion against his consular authority. The sentiment will be expressed again at 11.892 *monstrat amor verus patriae, ut videre Camillam*, of the reaction of the women in Latinus’ capital to the aristocracy and death of the Volscian heroine: once again, language from the games will be transformed in later, darker contexts, but the prevailing theme throughout all of these passages is pride, even deadly pride, in the nascent nation.

Cupido is not a particularly common word in V., and its contexts are usually dark. Besides the mentions of the god, cf. 2.349–350 *si vobis audentem extrema cupido / certa sequi*, where Coroebus speaks of the desire to pursue extreme measures (where *extrema* also colors *cupido*); at 6.133 *tanta cupido*, the word refers to the desire to visit the underworld. Deiphobe speaks of the ghostly Palinurus’ *dira cupido* to be buried (6.373), the same phrase Aeneas will later use to exclaim in wonder about how any soul could want to be reborn (721), and Nisus to Euryalus of the planned night raid (9.185; cf. 9.760 *insana cupido* and 9.354 *nimia ... cupidine*). At 7.263 *nostri si tanta cupido est*, Latinus speaks to Ilioneus of Aeneas’ desire to join his polity, in language reminiscent of the Sibyl’s statement to Aeneas about the journey to Avernus. Dido and Aeneas are trapped in shameful desire (4.194 *turpique cupidine captos*); Circe is caught by a similar passion for Picus (7.189 *capta cupidine coniunx*). A word of problematic resonance, then, which is used 3× of Nisus and Euryalus (soon to be introduced in the present games), and 4× in the underworld. The uses at 6.721 and 7.263 are connected; the rebirth of souls is compared to the joining of the Trojans with the Italians (which will spell the death of the former). Dido and Aeneas are captured by a *cupido* that is *turpis*; significantly, V. offers no such qualifier for the *cupido* Circe feels for Picus.

arrecta: Cf. 426 *arrectus* below, of both Dares and Entellus in the boxing match; 643 *arrectae*, of the reaction of the Trojan *matres* to the words of Iris/Beroë, and especially the *spes arrectae* of the youthful charioteers at *G.* 3.105. There are an unusual four participial forms of the verb in Book 11, twice

in equine contexts: 452, of the anger roused by the possible Trojan breaking of the truce that abruptly ends the Latin war council; 496, during the comparison of Turnus to a stallion let out among the mares; 639 *arrecto pectore*, of a horse rearing up when wounded; 754, of the scales of a snake caught by an eagle in the simile that describes Tarchon's attack on Venulus.

Pavor pulsans and *arrecta cupido*: The two subjects have almost a personified quality; cf. Milton's "But Patience, to prevent / that murmur, soon replies" (Sonnet 16, 8–9). *Arrecta* evokes the image of pricked up ears of dogs on a scent (cf. *Cyn.* 269 *sint hirtae frontibus aures*, where Grattius describes how a dog's ears should prick up, and V's own earlier description of the crowd that beholds a serious and meritorious individual, to whom they listen intently: *tum, pietate grauem ac meritis si forte uirum quem / conspexere, silent arrectisque auribus astant ...* [A. 1.151–152]). Here, similarly, the participle describes a phenomenon in which more than one person participates.

139 *inde ubi clara dedit sonitum tuba, finibus omnes,*

clara: The adjective continues the associations of 105 *clari nomen Acestae*; all is bright and full of pride in the nascent Rome; the present games will reach their climax in a moment of special glory for the Sicilian host. For the *clara tuba* cf. Seneca, *Ag.* 428 (with Tarrant), and note also Roiron 1908, 220–221. The name of Acestes was famous and shone, as it were, far and wide; now the *clarum nomen* of the king is joined by the *clara tuba* that announces the commencement of the regatta, with a different sense of that which is "heard," as it were.

The *tuba*, a sort of horn, was the standard way to announce the start of a chariot race in antiquity; cf. 113, and Sophocles, *El.* 711 (with Finglass), where the poet states that the sound of the racers commenced at the sound of the bronze horn (*χαλκῆς ὑπαὶ σάλπιγγος ἦξαν*).

finibus: Here = "starting positions." The idea of coming full circle in the race (whether a boat race or a chariot contest) gives the word *finis*, in spite of its obvious association with and etymological connection to the notion of finishing a race, a double entendre of both start and finish (they are also, after all, leaping forth to the *end* [dative of direction]). Though these races are associated with funeral games, the connection of *finibus* with the end of life and a new beginning should not be pressed too far. Cf. Lewis and Short, s.v. *finis* 2; for the doubtful etymology from *figere*, *TLL* 6.1.786.45. Ribbeck offers *finibus* here, "seemingly from his own conjecture" (Conington).

140 *haud mora, prosiluere suis; ferit aethera clamor*

haud mora: A favorite phrase of the poet; cf. 3.207, also in a nautical context, and 549 below, as the Trojans and Sicilians engage in city founding (essentially the

same sense as at 7.156, of the reception of the Trojans in Latium, and 10.153 *haud fit mora*, of Tarchon's Etruscan alliance with Aeneas). At *G.* 4.548 it describes Aristaeus' haste in heeding Cyrene's injunctions; at 3.548 and 6.177 it occurs in atmospheres charged with religious solemnity (the worship of Juno; the rites for Misenus). At 11.713, it is used of the lying Aunides as he tries in vain to trick Camilla. For Petronius' mock heroic use of the phrase, see Schmeling at *Sat.* 99.6.

prosiluere: This is the only occurrence of the verb in *V.*; cf. *Ps.-V.*, *Culex* 187 (with Seelentag). Conington notes that the verb applies both to the motion of the ships and that of the rowers. *V.*'s choice of words makes the ships seem like horses, as the verb is normally used to describe a horse, other animal, or a person capable of leaping forth; here the enjambment reflects the lingering echo of the shout.

ferit ... clamor: The phrase elsewhere in *V.* (it may be his invention) has grim associations: cf. 2.487–488 *penitusque cavae plangoribus aedes | femineis ululant: ferit aurea sidera clamor*, of the Trojan women in lament as their city falls around them; and the related 11.832 *tum vero immensus surgens ferit aurea clamor | sidera: descrescit pugna Camilla*, after the Volscian heroine is slain. *V.* thus connects his second and second-to-last books with images of shouts and cries that strike the stars; here, a very different *clamor* than that of Book 5's sister 11 strikes the heaven. For the Ennian influence that likely lurks behind the image, vid. Wigodsky 1972, 48; on the reception of the poetic conceit, C. Wiener, "Stoische Erneuerung der epischen Tradition," in Hömke and Reitz 2010, 155–174, 169n22. See also on 451 *it clamor caelo*, of the reaction to Entellus' fall.

clamor: This "shout" caps the noise which had begun in the previous line with the sounding *tuba*. The primary response to the horn does not come from the crowd but rather, as the adjective that follows (*nauticus*) tells us, from the ships themselves.

141 *nauticus, adductis spumant freta versa lacertis.*

nauticus: The adjective is rare in *V.*; cf. *A.* 3.128, also of *clamor*, as the Trojans approach Crete; *E.* 4.38 *nautica pinus*. The fact that the seamen give rise to the shouting is a bit of a surprise. One might have expected the cheering of those on shore to have been responsible for the *clamor* that responds to the horn's blast that proclaims the start of the race. Rather, we find here that the ships offer the noise—is it men urging each other on, or simply the noise coming from the vessels? The text is unclear, though some of the phrases in this and the following lines may suggest that the *clamor* is incidental, a product simply of the men's physical activity. For the use of an adjective in lieu of a genitive see Harrison on 10.156–157.

adductis ... lacertis: Clearly suggestive of the bodily exertion needed to move the heavy ships; white foam swirls up as the oarblades strike the water. The image is imitated by Ovid (*Met.* 8.28), in his description of Scylla's infatuation with Minos. For *lacerti* in rowing contexts see Hunink ad Lucan, *BC* 3.525 *paribusque lacertis*.

freta ... versa: The phrase is imitated at Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.725; Statius has *en validis spumant eversa lacertis | aequora* (*Theb.* 5.141–142). Cf. also Manilius, *Ast.* 1.708–709 *ut freta canescunt sulcum ducente carina, | accipiuntque viam fluctus spumantibus undis*; Statius, *Theb.* 5.410–411 *nunc freta, nunc muros, sed nec spumantia cedunt | aequora*. At *A.* 10.208, 210 *V.* has *spumant vada* and *exterrans* (of Triton) *freta*.

142 *infindunt pariter sulcos, totumque dehiscit*

infindunt: Only here in the *A.*; but cf. *E.* 4.33 *quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos*. This is the second appearance of a word that elsewhere in *V.* occurs only in the fourth *E.*, and within the space of a few lines. The two reminiscences somewhat reverse the order of images from the previous poem. In the *E.*, first we hear of how even after the birth of *V.*'s special child, man still tests the sea in ships, he girds towns with walls, and he cuts furrows in the earth; there will be another *Argo* (see Nelis 2001, 210ff. for the connections between the present passage and scenes from Apollonius' *Arg.*), and another Achilles who will be sent to Troy. But when the boy grows up, then the nautical pine will cease to trade across the seas, and the earth will enjoy a reborn Golden Age (4.39 *omnis feret omnia tellus*). Here, there is a conflation of ships and agricultural works; the vessels themselves act as farming implements; for the phrase see also Columella, *DRR* 3.13.5.3–4. The present scene inspired Manilius, *Ast.* 1.708–709 *ut freta canescunt sulcum ducente carina, | accipiuntque viam fluctus spumantibus undis*.

sulcos: In the *A.*, the word occurs elsewhere at 1.425, of city-planning in Carthage; 2.697, of the trail of the shooting star that confirms the portent of Iulus' flaming locks; 6.844, of Serranus at his furrow during the *Heldenschau*. But most parallel to the present scene = 10.295–296 *inimicam findite rostris | hanc terram, sulcumque sibi premat ipsa carina*, of Aeneas' ally Tarchon as he prepares to land his ship (with negative consequence in the ensuing shipwreck—Tarchon is incorrect that the land is *inimica*). The occurrences of the word are thus meticulously balanced: twice of literal furrows (once in Carthage and once in the imagined future Rome); twice in nautical contexts (both before the beaching of a vessel); and once of a portent that secures the safety and glory of Iulus, the embodiment of the Augustan succession.

dehiscit: Cf. 4.24, where Dido wishes that the earth would swallow her up before she breaks faith with Sychaeus; 6.52, of the opening of the underworld; 10.675, where Turnus wonders what earth would open widely enough to swallow him and his shame; 12.883, where the same language describes Juturna's wishes before she departs from the battlefield and her doomed brother; the participle *dehiscens* is used of a wave (1.106, and of the earth that might open and let in light to Avernus at 8.243); note also the portent of the gaping earth at *G.* 1.479. Once again, the language used to describe the race is clouded by the reminiscences of other, darker appearances.

totum: With *aequor* also at 4.410–411, of Dido as she sees the Trojan fleet busy with preparations to depart from Carthage; 6.689–690, of the sea at Actium; 10.269, of Turnus and the Rutulian leaders as they witness the sudden arrival of Aeneas' fleet for the relief of the Trojan camp. *V.* thus carefully balances his uses of the image, with Dido once again linked to Turnus, and an association between the present race and the deadlier engagement at Actium (cf. Dido's evocation of Cleopatra, and the shifting allegory of Antony, now = Aeneas, as during the Carthaginian interlude, now = Turnus, as whenever Aeneas = Augustus—an allegorical fluidity that is also seen in the poet's associations of Achilles now with Turnus, now with Aeneas; see here K. King, "Foil and Fusion: Homer's Achilles in Vergil's *Aeneid*," in *MD* 9 [1982], 31–57); also T. Van Nortwick, "Aeneas, Turnus, and Achilles," in *TAPA* 110 [1980], 303–314; R. Gaskin, "Turnus, Mezentius, and the Complexity of Virgil's *Aeneid*," in Deroux 1992, 295–316. Perceptive brief remarks = R. Uccellini, *VE* I, 6–7.

143 *convulsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor.*

Significantly, the line is repeated at 8.690, of the description of Actium on the shield. *Tridens* occurs elsewhere only in Neptunian contexts, as the proper accoutrement of the marine god (*G.* 1.13; *A.* 2.418; 610). The text is vexed; both here and at 8.690 *stridentibus* (one of *V.*'s favorite words) has respectable support (F²Rωγ [*praeter abd*]; Tib., and Priscian [1.51]); cf. 1.397, of wings (the readings of certain *recc.*, *rudentibus* and *sonantibus*, can be safely dismissed). But the emphasis on the triple ships (= the triremes, with perhaps one rower per oar, arranged one atop the other) serves to underscore the foundation of the three named *gentes*, the Memmians, Sergians, and Cluentians, while also drawing associations between the present passage and the important role of Neptune in the final movements of the book. The trident was the typical shape of the Roman ramming device; a war vessel would have a ram with three prongs in imitation of Neptune's classic weapon. For a poetic description of the destructive force of the *rostrum*, cf. Silius, *Pun.* 14.482–484; Caesar also describes the Roman beak's power at *BG* 3.13.

Participial forms of *convellere* are sometimes associated with great violence: 2.507, of the threshold of Priam's palace at the invasion of Pyrrhus; 3.414 *haec loca vi quondam et vasta convulsa ruina*, of Sicily; at 1.383, Aeneas speaks of the scarcely seven ships that were wrenched from the waves (*convulsae undis*). There is further suggestion of the struggle and effort of the sailors as they work the oars. The image now moves from the aft (*sulcos*) to the prow of the vessels, with reference to their beaks that bear three prongs.

For the use of *aequor* (more common in V. than *mare* and *pelagus*), see H.W. Benario, "Virgil and the River Tiber," in *Vergilius* 24 (1978), 11–13.

On repeated verses and segments thereof, see especially Sparrow 1931; J. Marouzeau, "Répétitions et hantises verbales chez Virgile," in *REL* 9 (1931), 237–257; and W. Knight, "Repetitive Style in Virgil," in *TAPA* 72 (1941), 212–225; also E. Albrecht, "Wiederholte Verse und Versteile bei Vergil," in *Hermes* 16 (1881), 393–444; the brief studies of Guglielmo 1901, Grasso 1905, F. Gladow, *De Vergilio ipsius imitatore* (Diss. Greifswald), 1921, and K. Mylius, *Die wiederholten Verse bei Vergil* (Diss. Freiburg), 1946; F. Newton, *Studies in Verbal Repetition in Virgil* (Diss. North Carolina), 1954; W. Moskalew, *Verbal Repetition in Virgil's Aeneid* (Diss. Yale), 1975.

144 non tam praecipites biiugo certamine campum

On this second simile of the book, see Briggs 1992 in Wilhelm and Jones 1992, 162, with focus on the reversal of the image of the runaway chariot of G. 105–107. On the question of Ennian influence on the race, vid. Wigodsky 1972, 60; Goldschmidt 2013, 124–127: "One of the things that seems to be happening in the account of the race, therefore, is a mingling of Ennius' narrative of the start of the war with an implicit evocation of the 'primitive' account of the battle he missed out, both foreshadowed at a time in the primeval past long before they happened." (127). The parallel race in Homer is on land, not sea; chariots are replaced with ships for this Odyssean book of pause and interlude on the marine voyage.

non tam praecipites: V's regatta will surpass Homer's chariot race. Hornsby 1970, 125–126 sees a connection between the present simile and V's description of Juturna's action on Turnus' chariot at 12.468–480, perceptively. At both 175 and 860 below *praeceps* will reappear in the context of men going overboard; cf. 456, of Dares; 11.673 *praecipites pariterque ruunt*, of Liris and Pagasus as they rush to doom; 895, of the women of Latinus' capital as they prepare to die for their city in the wake of the loss of Camilla (and note the somewhat different use at 888): an equal number of occurrences in the sister books.

campum: "Campo sportivo" (Reed ad Ovid, *Met.* 10.674, with parallels). V. returns to the chariot analogy here with full relish. The last two words of this

line show clearly that the comparable image is a race proper and that the imagined locale is a familiar one, for *campus* here may suggest the Campus Martius, which other than the Circus Maximus would have been the most suitable place for chariot races in the poet's day. R.E.A. Palmer expounds upon the contests held there in his "Studies of the Northern Campus Martius in Ancient Rome," *TAPhA* 80.2 (1990), 26 ff. Palmer notes that Jupiter Optimus Maximus was worshiped from 4–19 September, just before Augustus' birthday (23 September), and that one of the days in this period was particularly dedicated to his adoptive father, Julius Caesar; details are affirmed in epigraphic records (cf. A. Degrassi, *Fasti Anni Numani et Iuliani, Inscriptiones Italiae* 13.2, Rome 1963, 506–509). Some of the games held in the Campus Martius were theatrical, but "most were circensian, i.e. chariot races" (Palmer 1990, 16n10). Cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 2.323–324 (with Fowler). But the principal race on V's mind is the Homeric chariot race with which he is engaging in literary competition.

145 *corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currus*

This line is repeated from *G.* 3.103–104 *nonne vides, cum praecipiti certamine campum / corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currus*. For the idea that the chariot imagery of *G.* 3 relates metapoetically to the "chariot of song," with a verse celebration of the Augustan conquest of disorder and the reversal of the Phaëthontic image of the out of control car, see R. Balot, "Pindar, Virgil, and the Proem to *Georgic* 3," in *Phoenix* 52.1–2 (1998), 83–93, 92–93; note further below on 149–150, of the musical associations of the race. The emphasis in the present passage is on the evocation of Actium and the superior swiftness of ships; as we shall soon see, even these exceedingly fast and seemingly well-manned vessels can be subject to hazards.

See here Wigodsky 1972, 60, and Skutsch ad loc. (fr. 463–464) for the Ennian parallel (and its Homeric model of *Od.* 13.81 ff., of the speed of a Phaeacian ship): the *Schol. Bern.* ad *G.* 1.512 preserves the poet's *cum a carcere fusi currus cum sonitu magno permittere certant*. *Carcer*, as Skutsch notes ad fr. 463, is the space that a barrier encloses, not the bar or lock itself. Wigodsky notes that there is no clear evidence that the comparison in Ennius is of a boat and chariot race, and concludes that Homer and not Ennius was the principal model—but the absence of context for the Ennian fragments, let alone more of the text, does not permit definitive answer.

Corripuere occurs in the same *sedes* at 1.418, of Aeneas and Achates as they advance toward the nascent city of Carthage; at 2.217, of the Minervan serpents as they attack Laocoön; at 6.634 *corripiunt spatium*, of Aeneas and the Sibyl just before the hero fixes the Golden Bough in offering to Proserpina; 9.502, of the Trojans who help Euryalus' mother after the news of her son's death; 12.279, of

the response of the sons of the Arcadian Gylippus to Tolumnius' breaking of the truce.

Another enjambed line, possibly meant to reflect the striving of the ships in the race. The first verb is forceful and sustains the pitch of struggle in the race.

146 *nec sic immissis aurigae undantia lora*

undantia: The closest Virgilian parallel = 12.471 *ipsa subit manibusque undantis flectit habenas*, of Juturna taking control from Metiscus of her brother's chariot. Cf. 6.218, of the *aëna* during the rites for Misenus, with 7.463, where the same image is used for the description of boiling water (= Turnus under Allecto's inspiration); also the *undantem ... fumum* of 2.609, as Troy burns under divine direction; 10.908 *undanti ... cruore*, of the violent image of Mezentius' death that closes the book (see Harrison ad loc. on the "gory wave-imagery"); *G.* 1.472 *vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam*; 2.437 *et iuvat undantem buxo spectare Cytorum*; 3.28–29 *atque hic undantem bello magnumque fluentem / Nilum*. The enjambment of this line with the next helps to create the poet's picture of the chariot reins; there may be a hint that the drivers are picking up sweat from the straining backs of the animals.

aurigae: There are not many charioteers in the *A.* At 9.330, the driver of the augur Rhamnes is slain during the night raid; otherwise, except for the present occurrence all the *aurigae* in the epic appear in Book 12: 85 (of the charioteers who assemble before Turnus); 469, 624, 737, of Metiscus, and 918 of Juturna (who takes his place). All the "literal" drivers in the poem, then, are on the Italian side; the uses of the word occur with notable frequency in the poem's last book, usually in descriptions of how Turnus' divine sister tries to save him by taking control of his chariot (a response to the poet's earlier image of the out of control chariot of the *Georgics*?). For the only *auriga* in the *G.* is at 1.514, the last line, the driver of the seemingly uncontrollable car (= the Republic, which, after all, is closer to being established by *A.* 12). We can thus trace the image of the *auriga* from the chaos of the close of *G.* 1 through the decision of Jupiter to dismiss Juturna (who had been driving her brother's chariot over the battlefield) in the wake of the reconciliation of Juno, i.e., the birth of the Republic; the apparent establishment of Jovian order is deceptive, given that the pacification of the angry goddess leads to the birth of the Rome that will soon enough be embroiled in internecine strife—a reverse ring. In the present scene, the emphasis is on the swifter ships: the chariots in a race do not travel as quickly, and, too, they may well be safer (144 *praecipites*, 145 *ruunt* both connote a degree of recklessness).

147 concussere iugis pronique in verbera pendent.

concussere: The verb occurs 2× in this book (see below on 205 *concussae*), and 1× in 11 (451 *concussa*, of the crowd of Latins shaken by the news of the renewed Trojan military operations).

iugis: “Teams” (Mackail); the word is proper for a pair of animals, and, by extension, can = the chariot; cf. 11.138, for the different use of the same word (= a ridge or slope of elevated ground [*OLD* s.v. 8]). “A proverbial symbol of sharing a task as equal partners” (Mayer ad Horace, c. 1.26–28 *iugum*, citing Otto 1890, 178).

proni: V. will echo the present language in the very different context where he describes the control of the two-horse chariot of the brothers Liger and Lucagus: 10.586–587 *Lucagus ut pronus pendens in verbera telo | admonuit biiugos*, just before Aeneas fatally wounds him; cf. the imitations of Statius, *Theb.* 9.284–286 *figitur et validos sonipes Aetolus in armos | exiluitque alte vi mortis et aëra pendens | verberat*; Silius, *Pun.* 8.280–282 *auriga indocilis totas effudit habenas | et praeceps trepida pendens in verbera planta | impar fertur equis*. A vivid picture: the charioteers are described as pitched headlong, leaning upon their lashes.

pendent: For the verb vid. F. Pini, *EV* III, 16–17. The verb coordinates closely with the striking expression *in verbera*, which describes the lashing of the chariot teams by the eager drivers; the charioteers literally “lean into their lashes,” as they are poised so intensely and with such vigorous force that they practically become one with the whips that rain down on their steeds.

148 tum plausu fremituque virum studiisque faventum

plausu: Applause is not frequent in V., and not surprisingly, half the occurrences come in the present book: cf. 215; 338 (during the foot race); 506 (during the archery contest); 575 (at the *lusus Troiae*). Significantly, similar language describes the reception of Octavian’s triple triumph at 8.717 *laetitia ludisque viae plausuque fremebant*; otherwise there is applause only for Iopas’ song (1.747), and the applause of popular favor in the political arena (*G.* 2.508). The notion of the resounding cheer is a topos familiar to Homer (*Il.* 23.147; 169).

fremitu: The related verb is one of V.’s favorites; the noun is less common, though V. repeats it at 152 to underscore the excited seething that defines the start of the race. At 338 below it appears again during the applause for Euryalus; at 2.338 *quo fremitus vocat et sublatus ad aethera clamor*, it describes Aeneas’ mad pursuit of martial frenzy. That usage is somewhat mirrored by 9.54 *clamorem excipiunt socii fremituque sequuntur*, of the followers of Turnus once he launches his spear as the *principium pugnae* (53), while at 11.607 *adventusque virum fremitusque ardescit equorum* it is used in its “proper” sense, of the

seething of horses before the cavalry engagement. V. may have also had in mind his *G.* 2.160 *fluctibus et fremitus adsurgens Benace marino*; in the present scene, the noise of the crowd may be thought to mingle with the sounds from the sea and ships thereon.

For the alliteration of 148 ff., vid. Monaco 1960/1972, 92: the language reflects the echo of the voices in the enclosed natural space.

studiis: The word here connotes palpable enthusiasm, and is set in parallel construction with *plausu* and *fremitu*.

faventum: The verb occurs 4× in the *A.*, twice in this book (cf. above on 71 *favete*, during the rites at Anchises' tomb). At 1.735 *celebrate faventes*, it appears during the libations at Dido's banquet; the phrase recurs at 8.173, of Evander's reception of Aeneas. Twice, then, of the arrival of the Trojans at a new home, and twice in the present Sicilian interlude, in very different contexts.

149 **consonat omne nemus, vocemque inclusa volutant**

consonat: Elsewhere in V. the verb occurs only at 8.305, where the present line and its successor are almost repeated: *consonat omne nemus strepitu collesque resultant*. There, the context = the heroic song of the Salii in honor of Hercules; the associations of Actium, the mythic image of Anton/Antonius and the consummate hero Hercules continue. The verb suggests harmony: specifically, this harmony would be that of the grove, itself consonant with the men's cheering and applause, as well as with their eagerness. See here Roiron 1908, 221–222, with special reference to the parallels between this scene (and others in the book) and moments of auditory significance in 8; also pp. 395–396 on the verb more generally.

omne nemus: The fact that the grove is clearly filled by the clamor is not adequate. V. must press the description, beginning with the unremarkable adjective *omne*. The first detail emphasized is the completeness of the noise's effect; the whole grove is affected. It is typical of V.'s poetic range to translate the mundane into the beautiful, with nature, here a grove, responding almost musically to human exuberance. One might easily compare *E.* 10.9 to find an example from earlier in V.'s career.

inclusa ... 150 litora: This phrase is almost certainly related to the fragmentary *litora pelli ... | pars inclus* (PHercul. 817; *Tab. Oxon.* 1631B) of the "Herculaneum epic" or so-called *carmen de bello Aegyptiaco/Actiaco*, of which 52 lines survive intact (see Courtney in *NP*, s.v. *Carmen ...*; *FLP*, 334); he considers it likely that the verses were part of the *Res Romanae* of Cornelius Severus; for other thoughts, vid. Hollis, *FRP*, 384–385. On the basis of the current evidence it is impossible to tell whether the fragment pre- or postdates V.

The subject is left unstated until the next line. The participle *inclusa* suggests that the shape of the shoreline promotes the acoustic effect.

volutant: Cf. 1.725 *vocemque per ampla volutant*, of the noise at Dido's banquet; 10.98–99 *et caeca volutant | murmura*, of the winds to which the chatter of the immortals at the divine council is compared. At 4.533 *volutat* it is used of the insomniac Dido as she ponders her anxieties; the same form occurs at 6.157 of Aeneas, as he wonders which of his companions must be buried before he can enter Avernus, at 6.185 as he worries about how to find the Golden Bough, at 10.185, as he ponders the events of the war with Pallas by his side, and, significantly, at 12.845 of Jupiter just after the reconciliation of Juno, as he prepares to order Juturna to abandon her brother to his doom (cf. 1.50 *volutans*, of Juno—part of a great ring of the turning over of anxious and weighty issues in one's mind; the subjects of Juno's concern at the poem's opening are erased by the reconciliation of 12.833 ff., and Jupiter's concern over Juturna's departure seems trivial in comparison). Cf. also *E.* 9.37. The only "literal" use of the verb in *V.* comes at 3.607, of Achaemenides as he abases himself before the Trojans. Here the verb creates the mental picture of swirling, not unlike the volutes of an Ionic column capital.

150 *litora, pulsati colles clamore resultant.*

litora: A further example of enjambment.

pulsati: Cf. 3.555–556 *et gemitum ingentem pelagi pulsataque saxa | audimus longe fractasque ad litora voces*, of the night spent by the Trojans in the shadow of Etna, where Anchises divines that Charybdis is near, the *scopulos* and *horranda saxa* (559) announced by Helenus; *V.* thus introduces another link between the current contest and the avoidance of Scylla and the whirlpool. For *pulsare* in connection with sound, see 6.647, of Orpheus with his lyre; at 11.660, the poet may have intended a sound effect in his description of the Amazons galloping on ice, as with the twang of the Parthian bow at *G.* 4.313.

colles: The pastoral motif is sustained and enlarged upon with the added detail of the hills. The notion of the hills leaping back from the sound heightens the image of a personified landscape, or at least sustains the notion of the cooperative feel of nature with the cheering crowd in this passage.

resultant: The verb appears in *V.* only at the aforementioned 8.305; at 10.330, of the clanging of the weapons of the seven sons of Phorcus that harmlessly strike Aeneas as his mother deflects them; and at *G.* 4.50 *saxa sonant vocisque offensa resultat imago*, of the injunction not to establish beehives near a place that resounds with echoes: the present Sicilian locale is therefore *not* a place for the settlement of the future Rome, which can only be prefigured until the Trojan arrival in Latium—a theme that will be revisited when Aeneas agrees

to leave some of his Trojans behind on the island. Cf. Statius' imitation at *Theb.* 6.42–43; Schmeling ad Petronius, *Sat.* 89.1.13. *Clamore* is causal; the personified hills leap back, but with an echo.

For the enallage and the “animazione dell'inaninato” in 149–150, see Fernandelli 2012, 417.

151–182 The race commences, and Gyas takes the lead from the start. Cloanthus follows, with Mnestheus and Sergestus vying closely for the third place. Gyas urges his helmsman Menoetes to round the goal post as closely as possible, but the sailor is worried about hidden shoals. Cloanthus surpasses Gyas, who in anger at his lost chance at the first place hurls his helmsman overboard. Covered with brine, Menoetes reaches the rock and climbs to safety, to the general amusement of the audience.

The first dramatic sequence of the race proper is devoted to foreshadowing of the loss of Palinurus that will close the book; once again, the poet will transform a seemingly lighthearted moment into something ominous and eerie; see further W. Nicoll, “The Sacrifice of Palinurus,” in *CQ* N.S. 38.2 (1988), 459–472, 468. On the amusing aspects of the present scene see R. Lloyd, “Humor in the *Aeneid*,” in *CJ* 72.3 (1977), 250–257, 254.

For the reinvention of the ship race et al. in a neo-Latin poet's description of a bowling green contest, see E. Haan, *Vergilius Redivivus: Studies in Joseph Addison's Latin Poetry*, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2005, 88ff. (on the *Sphaeristerium*). Quintus' chariot race narrative is marred by the loss of some forty-eight lines of text (see Vian ad loc.); Thoas and Eurypylos are thrown from their chariots in the lost passage; Menelaus is the ultimate victor.

151 effugit ante alios primisque elabitur undis

V. builds suspense from the very start by the delayed subject: which contestant will seize the lead?

effugit: At 9.632, of an arrow; the present tense is used of Creüsa's ghost (2.793); of Anchises' (6.701); of a message Turnus receives (7.437; cf. 11.825, of Camilla's instructions to Acca regarding what to tell Turnus); the future *effugies* (9.748), as Turnus taunts Pandarus; *effugimus* (3.272) and *effuge* (3.398), during the Trojan wanderings. V. thus uses the verb for the flight and departure of the insubstantial (the emphasis here is on the ship's seemingly weightless glide); it appears 3× in connection to Turnus, whom Gyas distantly prefigures via the Chimaera emblem.

ante alios: Of an outstanding quality, almost always in V. of positive distinction; elsewhere at 1.347, of Pygmalion's outstanding criminality; 4.141, of Aeneas;

7.55, of Turnus; 8.590, of Lucifer; 11.416 *ille mihi ante alios fortunatusque laborum*, of a man who dies before he suffers the loss of a son; 12.391, of Aeneas' doctor Iapyx: a balance, then, of 1× each for Aeneas and Turnus, 2× in contexts related to Pallas; 1× each in the first and last books of the epic, in opposite contexts. On the "conventional feature at the introduction of an *aristeia*" see Smolenaars ad Statius, *Theb.* 7.690 *effugit ante alios*.

elabitur: The verb is old and rare; cf. Plautus, *Pseudolus* 747 *anguillast, elabitur*; *G.* 1.244 *elabitur Anguis* (and the same phrase at Germanicus, *Arat.* 79). V. uses the non-participial forms only in these two places; see 326 and 445 below for *elapsus* of Diore and Entellus. Servius astutely compares 11.588 *labere nympa*, of Diana's orders to Opis to avenge the death of Camilla. The snake imagery continues; Gyas' Chimaera glides forth, skimming the very surface of the waves. The Chimaera had been distinguished for its huge size (118–120); there is something surprising about its initial, seemingly effortless glide.

primis ... undis: For the phrase (which may be a Virgilian coinage) cf. Lucan, *BC* 5.513; Manilius, *Ast.* 1.643; Ovid, *Met.* 2.871; Silius, *Pun.* 6.350; Lucan has *placidis praelabitur undis* (*BC* 4.13; cf. *Ps.-Tib.*, c. 3.7.126–127). "The waves are first in the sense that they are the first to be passed by any boat" (Burton ad loc.). The ablative is probably of route; "the waves are 'first' because the leader is cleaving his way through them" (Knapp ad loc.).

152 *turbam inter fremitumque Gyas; quem deinde Cloanthus*

The lead is taken at once by the only contestant V. does not connect explicitly with a future Roman *gens*; the Chimaera, as we have seen, will also be associated with Turnus (who was not, of course, connected to any Roman clan). Significantly, forms of *turb-* and *fremit-* in tandem are associated elsewhere in V. only with the rage of lions; cf. 9.339–341 *impastus ceu plena leo per ovilia turbans / suadet enim vesana fames manditque trahitque / molle pecus mutumque metu, fremit ore cruento* (of Nisus' slaughter in the night raid); 12.8–10 *impavidus frangit telum et fremit ore cruento: / haud secus accenso gliscit violentia Turno. / tum sic adfatur regem atque ita turbidus infit* (of Turnus, whose anger is like that of a Punic lion). Cf. also *Ilias Latina* 490. Both the *turba* and the *fremitus* can be taken of the rival contestants and the spectators, especially if the audience is arranged in a semi-circle around a semi-enclosed harbor.

153 *consequitur, melior remis, sed pondere pinus*

consequitur: For the verb see below on 224.

melior remis: The phrase appears only here. See Hahn 1930, 132 for the "fusion of *qui melior est sed quem ... tenet* and *melior remis sed peior propter pondus*,

or, more naturally though less pointedly, *sed pondere detentus*. In this instance *est* alone cannot be inserted, because of the use of the relative with the verb *consequitur*.”

With *pondere ... pinus* cf. 447 *pondere vasto*-449 *pinus* below, of Entellus' great size and its comparison to a mighty pine on Ida during the boxing match; the linking of the two passages underscores the Trojan ethnographic transition that underpins the regatta. For the effect of the (threefold) alliteration of 152–154, vid. Page ad loc. V. had attributed great size to the Chimaera in his first description of the ships; now, the weight of the wood is what slows down the Scylla, despite its good oarage; the Trojan past is embodied in the wood. *Pondere pinus* followed by *tarda tenet* expresses well via alliteration the slow and sluggish bulk of the ship; cf. the description of Entellus during the boxing sequence below.

154 *tarda tenet. post hos aequo discrimine Pristis*

tarda: The descriptor, fittingly enough, is delayed to convey a sense of the slow and heavy bulk of the vessel.

aequo ... discrimine: On this phrase see A. Perutelli, “*Aequo discrimine* (Verg. *Aen.* 5, 154),” in *MD* 8 (1982), 171–174; cf. Ps.-V., *Moretum* 48–49 (with Kenney ad loc., and R. Steele, “The Authorship of the *Moretum*,” in *TAPA* 61 [1930], 195–216, 214); Manilius, *Ast.* 3.620; Ovid, *Medicamina* 71; Pliny, *NH* 7.117.3; Martial, *Lib. Spect.* 27.7 *discriminis aequi* (with Coleman). The corrector of F reads *aliquo* here. V.'s source for the phrase = Lucretius, *DRN* 5.690 *distinet aequato caelum discrimine metas*.

discrimine: 16× in the *A.*; the related verb appears only once, at 11.143–144 *lucet via longo | ordine flammaram et late discriminat agros*, where at almost the same point in the book as here it describes the funeral procession for Pallas.

155 *Centaurusque locum tendunt superare priorem;*

Cf. here Tacitus' imitation at *Ann.* 15.46.10 *dum promunturium Miseni superare contendunt, Cumanis litoribus impacti triremium plerasque et minora navigia passim amiserunt*.

locum ... priorem: Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 6.760–761, during a boxing match; Servius notes that the “first place” is, of course, third. See below on 171 for the repetition of *priorem* in close association with *praeterit*. With *superare priorem* cf. 184 *superare morantem* below.

tendunt: Cf. 27 above, of Aeneas' observations regarding Palinurus' sailing in the storm.

156 et nunc Pristis habet, nunc victam praeterit ingens

For the use of “deictic *nunc*” in vivid Virgilian narrative, see Rossi 2004, 139–140.

Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 10.680 *praeterita est virgo: duxit sua praemia victor*, of Atalanta and Hippomenes (a race that owes something to the Virgilian regatta). Sergestus’ Centaur and Mnestheus’ Pristis, monsters of both land and sea, race neck and neck. All the ship avatars are creatures of at least biform composition (the Chimaera = triform), with the exception of the Pristis; the poet’s concern is in part to highlight the ethnographic theme, which in the present scene he illustrates with fantastic beasts.

praeterit ingens: Below at 171–172, the same phrase describes Gyas’ great anguish as Menoetes cautiously rejects his commands. *Praeterire* is not a common verb in V.; cf. 4.157, where Ascanius surpasses the others during the hunt in Carthage; 8.560, where Evander wishes that Jupiter would give him back the lost years of his youth and vigor; G. 2.322, of the autumn, when summer has past and winter is not yet come; G. 4.148, of the *praeteritio* of the old man of Tarentum.

157 Centaurus, nunc una ambae iunctisque feruntur

Forms of *ambo* are common in V.; for the feminine, cf. G. 4.341–342, of Clio and Beroë; the Oceanid’s name will be recycled below for the Trojan woman whose guise Iris assumes to instigate the burning of the ships. At 12.190–191 *paribus se legibus ambae | invictae gentes aeterna in foedera mittant*, the Trojans and Latins prepare to ratify their treaty. For *una ambae* see Hahn 1930, 126, on the possible “coupling of a noun in the ablative with an adjective, not one of the coupling of such a noun with an adverb.” “The combination *ambo* (-ae) *una* seems archaic and remains rare” (Keulen ad Apuleius, *Met.* 1.13, with parallels). With *ambae ... feruntur* cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 6.287 *ambae peperisse feruntur*, of Juno and Ceres.

For *ingens ... Centaurus* see Uccellini ad Statius, *Ach.* 1.195–196.

158 frontibus et longa sulcant vada salsa carina.

“Les vaisseaux sont lances, et la poëte nous montre les jeunes rivaux se suivant de près, s’efforçant de se dépasser tour-à-tour, comme Homère peint Eumèle et Diomède à la tête de la file des chars: [*Il.* 23.373–381]. Sophocle établit la même concurrence entre Orestre et l’athlète Athénien (*Electre*, v. 734)” (Eichhoff 1825, II, 316).

frontibus: For *frons* of a ship’s prow cf. Livy 26.39.13.2–4.

longa: Henry notes that “vessels of war (of course the largest, finest, and most stately vessels) were specially and technically denominated *longae* by the

ancients; no doubt because proportionally longer than transports, or merchant vessels." For the *longa carina* cf. the plural at Lucan, *BC* 3.731.

sulcant: The verb occurs in V. only here and at 10.197 *et longa sulcat maria alta carina*, of Cupavo's *Centaurus*; for its use in marine contexts, cf. Germanicus, *Arat.* 45; Apuleius, *De Mundo* 18.16; Zeno, *Tract.* 1.4.6.9. Lucan uses it of Perseus' flight (*BC* 9.668). The image is of laying out furrows; the agricultural metaphor underscores the civilizing, city-building action of the rowers.

vada salsa: The phrase is Catullan (c. 64.6 *ausi sunt vada salsa cita decurrere puppi*, of the Argonauts); Silius imitated the present passage at *Pun.* 17.155 *nec mora: propulsa sulcant vada salsa carina*. For the *vada* cf. 615 below.

159 iamque propinquabant scopulo metamque tenebant,

On the possible influence of this passage on Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Post.* 9.34, see Gärtner 2005, 108.

propinquabant: 2× in the present book (see below on 185), and 2× in 11 (597 and 621, at the outset of the cavalry battle before the walls of the Latin capital). For the verb with *scopulo* cf. 185 below. *Iamque propinquabant* appears 3× in V.; cf. 11.621 and also 9.371, where Volcens' men draw near to camp as they journey to Turnus; at 2.730 *iamque propinquabam portis*, Aeneas describes his reentry into Troy in search of Creüsa. The language may have been inspired by Caesar; cf. *BC* 3.9.8.1 and 3.65.1.1–2, of the respective approaches of winter and the Pompeians. Silius imitates the phrase at *Pun.* 9.278 and 17.605. On the verb note "Lucr. 5.630 and 14× in V. (very rare in repub. Prose); the *simplex* a necessary alternative in dactyl. verse to the common prose *appropinquo* (Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 597 f.)" (Horsfall ad 6.384).

metamque tenebant: "Nauticum verbum" (Servius); cf. *Ilias Latina* 1066–1068; Manilius has *meta* of the Hellespont (*Ast.* 4.680). See here Asso ad Lucan, *BC* 4.586 *tenuit ... litora*. The four ships were all nearing the rock and beginning to overtake (inchoative imperfects) the goal. The vessels are depicted almost as if true monsters that are now about to seize the rock/*meta*.

160 cum princeps medioque Gyas in gurgite victor

princeps ... victor: A marvelous, evocative description of the captain of the Chimaera; once the Chimaera image is associated with Turnus (7.783–788), the present passage will take on new shades of meaning. V. here opens a ring that will close at 833 *princeps ante omnis* below, where he describes Palinurus on deck as the Trojan fleet sails from Sicily. Significantly, Gyas is identified as the *victor*; it is as if the Chimaera would have won, had its captain not hurled his helmsman overboard; the *ante omnis* of Palinurus' lead position as *gubernator* of Aeneas' flagship is foreshadowed in Gyas' early lead over his competitors.

On how the disposition of the race depends ultimately on the character of the contestants, see Heinze 1902/1908/194, 152–153.

princeps: Besides being used of Gyas and Palinurus, this key word appears elsewhere in V. of the Greek chieftains (1.488); of Iasius, the Trojan ancestor (3.168); of Turnus (9.535 *princeps ardentem coniecit lampada Turnus*); of Massicus, the first name in the catalogue of Aeneas' Etruscan allies (10.166); of Cybele (10.254 *tu mihi nunc pugnae princeps*); and of the Trojan Asilas (11.620): six times, then, in Trojan contexts, though Gyas has affinities with Turnus; once of the Greeks, and once explicitly of the Rutulian (but never of Aeneas). See further J. Hellegouarc'h, *EV* IV, 275–277; R. Wilhelm 1992 in Wilhelm and Jones 1992, 129–145, 139.

medio ... gurgite: The phrase is Lucretian (*DRN* 4.397 *exstantisque procul medio de gurgite montis*); cf. *G.* 4.523–525 *tum quoque marmorea caput a cervice revulsum | gurgite cum medio portans Oeagrius Hebrus | volveret, Eurydicen vox ipsa et frigida lingua*. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 5.413; 5.597; 11.249; Statius, *Theb.* 7.432; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.756; Silius, *Pun.* 4.594; 12.117. V. has *medio ... fluctu* at *A.* 1.584 and 3.270; *medio ... ponto* at *G.* 3.237 and *A.* 3.104. Page takes the phrase here to refer not to the water *per se* but to the racecourse (he “who looked like winning half-way”).

161 *rectorem navis compellat voce Menoeten*:

rectorem: A rare word in V., used elsewhere at 176 below (of Gyas, once Menoetes is overboard), and at 8.572 (Jupiter); 9.173 *rectores iuvenum et rerum dedit esse magistros*, of Mnestheus and Serestus. The word is thus used 3× of Trojans with connection to the regatta, and once of the supreme god. Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.60.3 *rectorem navis*, of the Spartan Canopus (one of Menelaus' companions)—a fitting poetic echo to describe one of the heroes of the Troy cycle; on this Tacitean reminiscence see further R. Baxter, “Virgil's Influence on Tacitus in Books 1 and 2 of the *Annals*,” in *CPhil* 67.4 (1972), 246–269, 266. Common and proper nouns in apposition frame the line.

compellat: Cf. 11.534 *compellabat*, of Diana to Opis; the present also appears at 1.581 (Aeneas to Achates); 2.372 (Androgeos to the disguised Trojans); 3.474 (Helenus to Anchises); 4.304 (Dido to Aeneas); 6.499 (Aeneas to Deiphobus); 10.606 (Jupiter to Juno). The infinitive occurs at 2.280 (Aeneas with Hector's ghost); 3.299 (Aeneas eager to see Helenus); 8.164 (Evander reminiscing about meeting Anchises).

V. here imitates the Ennian *exim compellare pater me voce videtur* (*Ann.* fr. 1.43 Skutsch), where S. notes “the noun [*voce*] seems to be added to make it clear that Aeneas, as stated later ... does not address *Ilia coram* but remains unseen and merely calls to her”.

Menoeten: As with the ship's captain Gyas, so with the Chimaera's helmsman Menoetes V. will recycle the name in his last book (in which the ethnography of the future Rome will be unveiled); at 12.517–520, Menoetes is an Arcadian victim of Turnus (cf. Gyas' hurling Menoetes overboard), described as a loather of war who was once a poor *fisherman* in Lerna. Further, Menoetius is the father of Patroclus (Menoetes, though, *deest* in Homer); in V's name for Gyas' *gubernator* we thus see a richly textured set of associations: Menoetes will prefigure Palinurus, who in turn will have affinities to the Arcadian Pallas, the Patroclus of the *A.* (as we shall explore below). Vid. further L. Polverini, "Menete," in *EV* III, 482–483 (with illustration); T. Köves-Zulauf, "Die Steuermänner im Gesamtrahmen der Aeneis: Leucaspis, Menoetes, Palinurus," in *ACD* 34/35, 303–325; for the possible connections of the name to rage (once Menoetes', now Gyas'), see Paschalis 1997, 187. The relationship between Gyas and Menoetes will also find parallel, as we shall see below, in Turnus' interaction with his sister in *A.* 12 when she assumes the guise of his charioteer Metiscus; there, too, the "helmsman" will be the cautious one—and will also be forced to abandon the transport, though under different circumstances. For the possible connections to Hercules lore, see Saunders 1930, 539.

At Ovid, *Met.* 12.115–117, Achilles slays the Lycian Menoetes (cf. the Virgilian image of Turnus as the new Achilles); Statius uses the name for a victim of Tydeus (*Theb.* 2.644 ff.), and for the guardian of Polynices' wife Argia (12.204 ff.); cf. Hyginus, *Fab.* 67.7.4, of the Theban who exposed the infant Oedipus. The many associations of being hurled to one's doom in Theban lore (cf. Statius' Menoeceus; the Sphinx) may reflect Ino's famous leap and an "ancestral propensity for leaping from heights in times of crisis" (D. Hershkowitz, "Sexuality and Madness in Statius' *Thebaid*," in *MD* 33 [1994], 123–147, 142n38). The name also appears as the tender of Hades' cattle, with whom Hercules wrestles; see Ps.-Apoll. 2.5.12, and, for the possible lyric origins of the identification, M. Davies, "Stesichorus' *Geryoneis* and Its Folk-Tale Origins," in *CQ* N.S. 38.2 (1988), 277–290, 281–284. Saunders 1930, 553 sees a point of connection between Menoetes, "the unskillful boatman," and "the man of prowess (*μῆνος*)," though it is likelier that the helmsman simply engenders rage in Gyas.

Hight 1972, 17 compares the speech of Gyas to Iapyx' address at 12.425, 427–429.

162 'quo tantum mihi dexter abis? huc derige gressum;

For the imitation of Apollonius, *Arg.* 2.588–590 on the avoidance of the Clashing Rocks, and the link between the present passage and *A.* 3.558–560 on the perils of Scylla and Charybdis, see Nelis 2001, 211–212: "In each case a Trojan ship or ships avoids dangerous rocks just as Argo escapes from the Symplegades.

Such distribution is one of the key techniques by which Vergil links the race to the voyage and so allows the contest to become a microcosm of the first half of the epic" (just as *A. 11* will in some ways summarize the second half of the poem, i.e., the *maius opus*, and thus, too, the entire work).

quo: Possibly with an understood *modo*; *quo*, of course, also conveys the idea of direction (in this case the wrong one, from Gyas' point of view).

mihi: A richly connotative pronoun, expressing both the disadvantage Gyas feels that Menoetes is incurring for his captain, and the very personal manner in which the contestant views the race. In the referential dative the point is strongly expressed that Menoetes is sailing counter to Gyas' intentions.

dexter abis: Valerius Maximus may have had this passage in mind in his description of Caesar's seizing of a standard bearer by the throat to send him back into battle when he had deserted out of terror (3.2.19.12–13). With *abis* cf. 166 below. Here, Menoetes is actually moving the ship's tiller to the left, so as for the boat to head in the opposite direction; *V.* may be playing on the contrast between what the helmsman is doing with the rudder and the direction in which the vessel is now traveling.

huc derige gressum: The phrase will be repeated at 11.855, where Opis taunts Arruns; cf. 1.401 *derige gressum*, of Venus (disguised as a huntress) to Aeneas. On the basis of these parallels *gressum* (MPR; Ribbeck; Sabbadini; Goold) would seem likely to be the correct reading, against *cursum* (M²ω; Seneca, *De Ben.* 6.7.1; Tib.; Mynors; Geymonat), though the choice is difficult. As is his usual practice in this book, *V.* takes a scene devoid of ominous associations and transforms it into something dark in his saddest book. But note, too, 6.194–195 *cursumque per auras | derigite in lucos*, of Aeneas' happy (*laetus*) appeal to his mother's doves to lead the way to the Golden Bough, especially in light of the dove that will close the present games (though observe Horsfall ad 6.193 *maternas ... aves*: "Aen. thinks the birds were sent by Venus; do we? Were they?"—unquestionably Venustian birds, even if for "post-Class. Greece"). Horsfall rightly notes that Sappho, fr. 42 Lobel-Page proves nothing about the matter—a passage that probably has no relevance to the bird of the archery contest either.

V. thus balances 1.401 and 6.194–195, with Venus figuring in both passages, and 5.162 and 11.855. With *derige gressum* cf. Seneca, *Phoen.* 120 *derige gressum pedum* (with Frank's note); Silius has *huc derige signa* (*Pun.* 8.224). For *derige cursum* cf. Cicero, *Pro Ses.* 98.2 *cursum suum derigere*; Livy 37.27.2.1 *missae onerariae derigebant cursum*; 39.25.9.4 *cursum derigerent*, also of *onerariae*; Pliny, *NH* 4.38.7 *priusquam derigat cursum* (of a river); Seneca, *Dial.* 10.2.2.4. With *gressum* cf. 649 below, when Pyrgo notes the gait of Berōë/Iris; in defense of *cursum* here, one might note that *gressus* is never used elsewhere in *V.* except

of feet (human or equine; note *G.* 3.117 *gressus glomerare superbos*). But the parallel passages are compelling here, and the extension of the normal use of *gressus* is not outside the realm of Virgilian innovation.

Why would *V.* associate *Opis'* slaying of *Arruns* with a reminiscence of the regatta? The loss of *Menoetes* prefigures *Somnus'* casting of *Palinurus* overboard, a scene that has affinities with the nymph's murder of the killer of *Camilla*. *V.* thus crafts a multi-layered set of associations: *Gyas/Menoetes* balanced by *Somnus/Palinurus*; *Somnus/Palinurus* balanced by *Opis/Arruns*; the flight of birds in *A.* 1 balanced by the doves of 6; *Gyas* with *Menoetes* balanced by *Turnus* with *Juturna*.

derige: For the spelling (*PR.*, vs. *M.*, *Tib.* *dirige*) cf. the same orthographical confusion at 1.401; *derigere* is the original spelling: "no certain example of *dir-* occurs in inscriptions before the 4th century A.D. MSS. and edd. vary greatly in their practice." (*OLD* s.v.).

163 litus ama et laeva stringat sine palmula cautes;

ama: The imperative appears nowhere else in *V.*; see *Henry* ad loc. on the force of the verb.

laeva: So *MP*, vs. *laevas* *R*; the difference in meaning is not so great, unless one realizes that the left side of the ship is not the same as the left side of the *meta*. In defense of *laevas* one could note the strong repetition of the adjective at the parallel 3.412 *laeva tibi tellus et longo laeva petantur*. There, *Helenus* was giving instructions on how to avoid *Scylla*; here, the *Scylla* of *Cloanthus* is gaining on *Gyas*, which encourages his reckless instructions to *Menoetes*—this *Scylla* will not be evaded as easily as the one in *Book 3*. See below on 170 for the leftward path of *Cloanthus* as he rounds the *meta* and passes *Gyas*; the captain of the *Chimaera* may be reckless, but his instruction to his helmsman does point the ship toward the lucky left. Note here *G. Sfameni Gasparro*, *EV* III, 99–100.

stringat: Vid. *V. Ugenti*, *EV* IV, 1037–1039, with illustration of the turning of the *meta* of a chariot race.

palmula: A rare word, which occurs only here in *V.*, who probably borrowed it from *Catullus*, c. 4.17 (the author of *Catal.* 10 chose not to use it); *Carrion* may be right to read it at *Decimus Laberius* fr. 27 *Panayotakis* (where see the ed. ad loc.). "Extrema pars remi in modum palmae protenta" (*Servius*); more commonly, the word is applied to the fruit of a palm-tree, i.e., a date (as in *Suetonius'* quote of *Augustus'* letter about his *panem et palmulas* diet [*Div. Aug.* 76.2.1], and frequently in *Varro* and *Celsus*). "There are only three proper diminutives in the whole of the *Aeneid*." (*R. Nisbet*, "The Style of Virgil's *Eclogues*" [from the 1991 *Proc. Virg. Soc.*], in *Volk* 2008, 48–63, 50). Here the diminutive may work

with the force of *stringat*, where Gyas asks that the oar just graze the rock; the emphasis is on a careful, even artful rounding of the *meta* that will be close enough to win, but not to crash.

sine: For the imperative see also below on 717, of Nautes' advice to Aeneas regarding settlement in Sicily; in V. *sine* is usually linked to the requests of the headstrong young. At 11.505 Camilla asks Turnus for permission to undertake the cavalry battle before the walls of Latinus' capital. Cf. also 9.90 (Cybele to Jupiter); 291 (Euryalus to Ascanius); 409 (Nisus to Luna); 10.598 (Lucagus to Aeneas); 12.25 (Latinus to Turnus); 680 (Turnus to Juturna). The present "request" connects, then, to the similarly reckless appeals of Camilla, Euryalus, Nisus, and Turnus. Lucagus' appeal for mercy is thus associated with the acts of impetuous youth; after the death of Pallas, his wish to be spared is without hope of fulfillment. Latinus' hope to reconcile Turnus to the idea of a Trojan settlement and Aeneas' winning of Lavinia is just as foolhardy; the only two appeals that will "work," *in fine*, are Nautes' and Cybele's, both in marine contexts related to the voyage to Hesperia and its settlement.

164 *altum alii teneant' dixit; sed caeca Menoetes*

altum ... teneant: Cf. Livy 23.24.3.1 *inde profecti cum altum tenerent*.

caeca: Cf. the "blind shallows" of 1.536, during the storm that drives the Trojans to Carthage. *Caecus* appears 2× in Book 5 and 2× in 11; cf. 589 below, of the "blind walls" of the Cretan labyrinth; 11.781, of Camilla in pursuit of Chloereus' raiment; 889, of those Latins who hurl themselves against the walls of the city in frenzied flight after the death of the Volscian heroine.

165 *saxa timens proram pelagi detorquet ad undas.*

proram: "The bow always faces seaward ... for ease of swift departure, if required" (Horsfall ad 3.277, a rather different context).

pelagi: Vid. here A. Borgo, *EV* IV, 4–6; for the poetic synonym, Cordier 1939, 134–137.

detorquet: See below on 832, as the Trojan fleet departs from Sicily; the verb occurs elsewhere in V. at 4.196, where Rumor travels to Iarbas; 9.746, where Juno deflects a wound from Turnus during the assault on the Trojan camp; 12.373, of Phegeus' frenzied attack on Turnus' chariots and horses. But the main parallel is 11.765, where Arruns shadows Camilla and directs his reins in whatever direction she takes over the battlefield. The verb is not common in poetry until the Silver Age; cf. Horace, c. 2.12.25; Ovid, *Met.* 6.515; Statius, *Theb.* 4.487; 7.737; *Ach.* 1.98 (with Uccellini); Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.120 (with Zissos' note); 4.571; 4.685; 5.397; Silius, *Pun.* 2.170. Tacitus has *nam verba vultus in crimen detorquens recondebat* (*Ann.* 1.7.26). As noted above on 162 *dexter*, Menoetes is

actually turning the ship's rudder toward the rocks, so as for the ship to move to the right and the safety of the open water.

166 'quo diversus abis? iterum 'pete saxa, Menoete!'

quo diversus: Cf. Valerius, *Arg.* 4.387 (with Murgatroyd). In Quintus' horse race Sthenelus' steed is new to racing and resists staying on the course, preferring to gallop off into the plain; the son of Capaneus comes in second to Agamemnon, so that the Atreidae take the first prizes for the chariot and equestrian events—in the case of the ill-fated Agamemnon, the prize = the silver breastplate of Polydorus. For *quo* cf. 162; here the point is once again that Menoetes is going somewhere contrary to Gyas' intention.

The present scene offers the most dramatic clash between participants in the ship race, and it is a microcosm of a civil war; for V's relative lack of contention in the regatta (in contrast to Homer's chariot race narrative), see Cairns 1989, 242–243. *Diversus* here will be echoed at 676 *ast illae diversa metu per litora passim*, of the Trojan women in their state of shame after the failed attempt to burn the ships. At 11.261 *militia ex illa diversum ad litus abacti*, Diomedes recalls the varied fortunes of Menelaus and Odysseus. Cf. Silius, *Pun.* 7.572.

abis: Cf. 2.675 *si periturus abis* (Creüsa to Aeneas); and especially both 11.855 *'cur' inquit diversus abis?* (Opis to Arruns) and 11.366 *pulsus abi* (with Horsfall's note). The Opis/Arruns scene links back to 2.675 as well; cf. 11.856 *huc periture veni*, whereby in his second and second to last books V. associates Opis (who has affinities with Camilla)/Arruns (who functions as a shadowy doublet of Aeneas) with *Creüsa/Aeneas*. The language of comedy may lurk in this scene, which is lighthearted enough in some of its aspects, even if it ultimately serves as a prefiguring and type of later, more disturbing realities.

iterum: Probably to be taken closely with the prefix and tense in 166 *revocabat*; Servius realized that it could be used either of the poet or of Gyas (with not much difference in meaning). The predominate point is that what Gyas said, he said repeatedly.

pete saxa: Cf. Ovid, *Her.* 15.175; *Met.* 14.47.

167 cum clamore Gyas revocabat, et ecce Cloanthum

The ultimate victor is, fittingly enough, the same contestant who is first to round the *meta* successfully.

cum clamore: The phrase occurs in the same *sedes* at *G.* 4.439; also Ovid, *Met.* 8.839; Statius, *Theb.* 12.588; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.502.

revocabat: See below on 476 *revocatum*, of Dares. It is almost as if Gyas envisions himself as frozen in place, with Menoetes heading off to the right;

the captain shouts for the helmsman to return, though both men are, at least for now, on one and the same boat. The imperfect may be inceptive; conative; durative; frequentative.

ecce: The interjection occurs 4× in this book, twice during the games (cf. 324 below), and once each with reference to the ship burning (793) and the loss of Palinurus (854). The interjection is, as often, deictic; cf. Horsfall on the “energetic pointer” *ecce autem* (6.255).

168 *respicit instantem tergo et propiora tenentem.*

respicit: Cf. 689 below, when Aeneas asks Jupiter if *pietas antiqua* looks back over the labors of men; here, the Scylla is envisioned as a monster in pursuit of Gyas’ Chimaera, in a reversal of the Odyssean threat to those who actively draw near to the marine peril. *Respicit* continues the emphasis of 167 *revo-cabat*; Gyas is calling Menoetes back, when the crucial moment has perhaps already passed. We shall soon see how V. moves backwards in his poetic allusions to historical naval contests, as he evokes first Actium and then the sea hazards Octavian suffered in his war against Sextus Pompey; see further F. Brenk, “Wind and Waves, Sacrifice and Treachery: Diodorus, Appian and the Death of Palinurus in Vergil,” in Brenk 1999, 64–75 (reprint of *Aevum* 62 [1988], 69–80).

instantem tergo: Pliny has *mox ipsum te sublimem instantemque curru domitarum gentium tergo* (*Pan.* 17.2.4–5).

propiora: The substantive occurs only here in V.; the comparative *propior* reappears in its adverbial form at 11.564 at *Metabus magna propius iam urgente caterva*, as the infant Camilla and her father approach the Amasenus. See below on 320, 388, and 543 for the superlative *proximus*. P’s *propiora* is the *difficilior lectio*, indeed perhaps too difficult to admit. On the neuter plural of the adjective used substantively see Horsfall ad 6.170 *non inferiora secutus*, citing Williams’ note here.

169 *ille inter navemque Gyae scopulosque sonantis*

scopulosque sonantis: V. here recalls the peril of Scylla and Charybdis: 1.200–201 *vos et Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantis | accessit scopulos*, fittingly just at the moment the captain of the Chimaera sees the Scylla gaining on his vessel. Cloanthus will successfully navigate between the Chimaera (cf. Charybdis) and the scopulos (cf. Scylla). But the other important connection here comes at the end of the present book, at 864–866 *iamque adeo scopulos Sirenum adiecta subibat | difficilis quondam multorumque ossibus albos | (tum rauca adsiduo longe sale saxa sonabant)*, as the sound of the Sirens is muffled by the crash of the waves on the rocks. At 159 above, V. uses the singular *scopulo* as the ships

draw near to the *meta* of the race; the plural here, especially with the evocative *sonantis*, prepares us for the Sirens the Trojan vessels will successfully evade near the close of the book. For the Virgilian uses of *sonare* see also on 506 *sonuerunt*, and cf. on 521 *arcumque sonantem*.

There may also be an echo of the present passage at 11.863–864 *extemplo teli stridorem aurasque sonantis / audiit*, of Arruns' reaction to Opis' arrow shot, where we should probably read an accusative plural and not a genitive singular (with *auras* as a striking archaism, and with *stridor* perhaps carrying avian associations; see further Maltby ad Tibullus, c. 1.2.49–50; cf. Camilla's Harpyesque associations and the Sirenian parallels between Arruns/Palinurus and Opis/Somnus). See here too Roiron 1908, 222–224, with detailed commentary on the sound effects.

170 *radit iter laevum interior subitoque priorem*

radit: Elsewhere in V. at 217 below; 3.699–700 *hinc altas cautes proiectaque saxa Pachyni / radimus*; 7.10 *proxima Circaeae raduntur litora terrae*. See further Bömer ad Ovid, *Met.* 10.654 *posse putes illos sicco freta radere passu*, with consideration of the influence of the games sequence on the celebrated race of Atalanta and Hippomenes.

V. will echo this scene at 11.694–695 *Orsilochum fugiens magnumque agitata per orbem / eludit gyro interior sequiturque sequentem*, of Camilla's pursuit of her quarry (see further Henry ad loc.), another of the many correspondences between the related books. On the associations of *interior* with spectacle contests (and similar scenes in Latin literature as part of analysis of the present passage), note G.C. Whittick, "Petronius 44.5," in *CR N.S.* 2.1 (1952), 11–12. There is no explicit indication that V. was inspired by Roman *naumachiae*, which were apparently introduced by Julius Caesar (Beacham 1999, 79–80, citing Suetonius, *Div. Iul.* 39.4).

For *priorem* in close association with *praeterit* cf. 155–156 above. There, the Pristis and the Centaurus were described as vying for the third place; here, the prize for first is being hotly contested. The emphasis here is on the suddenness (*subito*) of Cloanthus' passage; for Gyas the key moment has been lost in but an instant (vid. R. Reggiani, *EV IV*, 1051–1053).

iter laevum: Tacitus has *laevum iter* at *Ann.* 12.27.11. The left was the side of good omen (Bailey 1935, 23, who notes 9.630–631, of Jupiter's thunder on the left as a sign of favor to Ascanius, a passage noted by Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 282.78); for Cloanthus, it will be the route of his victory over Gyas, whose leftward instructions to Menoetes were disobeyed. Burton ad loc. defines *iter* as an "accusative of kindred meaning."

171 praeterit et metis tenet aequora tuta relictis.

aequora tuta: As at 1.164 *aequora tuta silent*, of the safe harbor in north Africa; cf. Ovid, *Her.* 9.15; *Trist.* 1.10.12. Cf. the *ultima aequora* of 210–219 below that Mnestheus' Pristis cuts through, and 212 *prona ... maria*, of the waters Mnestheus seeks; in *aequora tuta* V. does not announce just yet that Cloanthus will win, but merely that he has safely passed the hazards of the rock.

metis relictis: The phrase is imitated by Juvenal, s. 14.232. V. plays effectively throughout the regatta with the contrasting images of holding something (*tenere*) and striving for something (*tendere*).

172 tum vero exarsit iuveni dolor ossibus ingens

tum vero: Elsewhere in V. at *E.* 6.27–28 *tum vero in numerum Faunosque ferasque / ludere*; *G.* 3.505–506 *tum vero ardentes oculi atque attractus ab alto / spiritus*; in the *A.* the phrase is usually associated with moments of high drama, indeed some of the darkest in the epic: 1.485 *tum vero ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo* (Aeneas' reaction to the pictures in Dido's temple); 2.105 *tum vero ardemus scitari et quaerere causas* (the Trojans with Sinon); 2.228–229 *tum vero tremefacta novus per pectora cunctis / insinuat pavor* (the prelude to Laocoön's death); 2.309–310 *tum vero manifesta fides, Danaumque patescunt / insidiae*; 2.624–625 *tum vero omne mihi visum considerare in ignis / Ilium et ex imo verti Neptunia Troia*; 3.47 *tum vero ancipiti mentem formidine pressus* (of the omen at Polydorus' grave); 4.397 *tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido*; 4.450 *tum vero Aeneas subitis exterritus umbris*; 5.227, 659 and 720 below; 7.376 *tum vero infelix ingentibus excita monstris* (of Amata); 7.519–520 *tum vero ad vocem celeres, qua bucina signa / dira dedit* (of the start of the war in Latium); 9.73 *tum vero incumbunt (urget praesentia Turni)*—during the attempted burning of the ships; 9.424 *ibat in Euryalum. tum vero exterritus, amens* (Nisus' reaction to the attack on his lover); 10.647–648 *tum vero Aenean aversum et cedere Turnus / credidit* (the apparition of the phantom Aeneas); 11.633 *tum vero et gemitus morientum et sanguine in alto*; 11.832–833 *tum vero immensus surgens ferit aurea clamor / sidera*; 12.257 *tum vero augurium Rutuli clamore salutant*; 12.494–495 *tum vero adsurgunt irae, insidiisque subactus* (of Aeneas); 12.756 *tum vero exoritur clamor ripaeque lacusque / responsant circa et caelum tonat omne tumultu*; 12.776 *tum vero amens formidine Turnus*. Cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 6.1153 *omnia tum vero vitae claustra lababant*, during the description of the plague at Athens; Propertius, c. 2.1.14 *tum vero longas condimus Iliadas*. Once again, V. imports dramatic resonance to the seemingly more relaxed world of the games; the language is an integral element of the transformation of the contests into a microcosm of the epic. “Barely adversative” (Horsfall ad 3.47, who also notes Austin ad 2.228).

exarsit: *Exardescere* occurs 5× in the epic (if the Helen episode is authentic); the main parallel is 11.376 *talibus exarsit dictis violentia Turni*, of the Rutulian in the wake of Drances' address to the Latin war council; at 2.575 *exarsere ignes animo*, Aeneas is angry at the sight of Helen; at 7.445 *talibus Allecto dictis exarsit in iras*, the Fury is enraged with Turnus (who inherits her wrath); at 8.219 Hercules is furious at Cacus' cave protection. The verb is thus associated with both Turnus and Aeneas (and cf. the associations of both heroes with Hercules); Gyas here prefigures the angry neo-Achilles in Latium. The present passage is also echoed at 9.66 *ignescunt irae, duris dolor ossibus ardet*, also of Turnus. Throughout the Gyas-Menoetes scene, the poet continues to offer foreshadowings of the Rutulian hero whose epiphany will be announced by the Sibyl in the next book, before his physical appearance in the seventh. See on 31 above for the bones as the locus for strongly felt emotions (also Uccellini ad Statius, *Ach.* 1.303–304); for an interesting account of the effects of the visual on one's sense of *dolor*, Kaster 2005, 86 ff. Gyas is not angry in the precise sense, but he comes very close, and his reaction to Menoetes' caution is a foreshadowing of Turnus' *violentia*. For V's "vocabulary of anger," with particular reference to Philodemus' influence, see Indelli 2004, in Armstrong et al. 2004, 103–110; note also Scafoglio 2010, 66. For how the theme relates to the putative hero of the epic, see K. Galinsky, "The Anger of Aeneas," in *AJPh* 109 (1988), 321–348.

Vero exarsit appears in Cicero (*Ep. ad Brut.* 2.3.7–8); Ovid has *tum vero placuit, nudaque cupidine formae / Salmacis exarsit* (*Met.* 4.346–347). But the collocation is rare in extant Latin.

dolor: Cf. Negri 1984, 216–217, 219, 226, 303.

iuvēni: For the connotations of vigor and youthful energy, see Murgatroyd ad Tibullus, c. 1.9.55–56; note also Uccellini ad Statius, *Ach.* 1.7. The dative of personal interest in lieu of a possessive genitive is a poeticism; cf. 1.429; 1.477–478.

173 *nec lacrimis caruere genae, segnemque Menoeten*

caruere: 3× in *G.*, and 7× in the *A.*; for the image of anger so great that one cannot withhold tears, Servius compares Cicero's reaction to Verres: "Cicero de Verre cum irasceret, lacrimas interdum vix tenere." On Virgilian tears see V. Viparelli Santangelo, *EV* III, 94–96. The cheeks are often the locus of great emotion in *V.*; cf. 4.644, of Dido; 6.686, of the tears Anchises sheds when he sees his son in the underworld; 12.65 and 606, of Lavinia. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 11.418 *lacrimisque genae maduere profusis. Genae* is old (Ennius; Catullus, c. 68B.56 *tristique imbre madere genae*).

segnem: 1× in the present book, and 1× in Book 11 (64), where the Trojans

are *haud segnes* as they prepare for Pallas' requiem. The whole point is one of perception; Menoetes is really not dilatory, sluggish, lazy or anything of the sort, *except* from the perspective of his reckless captain.

174 *oblitus decorisque sui sociumque salutis*

"The detached reflection of the poet" (J.C. Murley, "Reflection and Commentary at the Beginning of a Verse," in *AJPh* 49.4 [1928], 354–360, 358, on *oblitus decorisque sui*). On certain comic aspects of casting someone into water, see Howell ad Martial, *ep.* 5.2.

oblitus: *Obliviscor* occurs 3× in Book 5; at 334 below, Nisus behaves dishonorably in the foot race because he is not forgetful of his love for Euryalus; at 703, Aeneas wonders if he should disregard his destiny (*oblitus fatorum*) and settle in Sicily. At 11.866, Arruns' companions leave him unburied and forgotten; Servius ad loc. compares the present passage and 5.703. See further R. Dimundo, *EV* III, 804–805.

decoris: *Decus* is a recurring motif in the regatta, where spectacle aesthetic is an important element of the excitement of the contest; cf. 229 and 262 below, and Haynes 2003, 83–84 for the *A.* as an epic of visual imagery. The word also appears 3× in Book 11, where it is associated with the premature death of young heroes and heroines: 155 *praedulce decus*, during Evander's lament for the dead Pallas; 508, *decus Italiae*, Turnus' praise of Camilla; 657, of the virgin coterie that is Camilla's glory (whose fates *V.* does not record, in contrast to the grisly and lurid spectacle of Quintus' *Penthesilead*). The Servian tradition focuses on how it is *inhonestum* for a leader in particular to lose his control and to become angry; *V.* here distantly presages the emotional reaction Turnus will have to the death of Camilla, whose *decus* he praises. *Sui* is artfully placed to work with both *decoris* and *socium salutis*; "his own glory" and the safety of his own companions (which, he does not realize, is inextricably linked to his own).

socium: Servius notes that without a helmsman, the entire vessel would be in jeopardy, and so the genitive plural encompasses all the crew. See further Williams 1960 ad loc. for *V.*'s use of such seemingly syncopated genitives plural; Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 484 ff.; and especially Kühner-Holzweissig I, 460–461 on this poetic form. *Sociorum salutem* is Ciceronian (*In Caec.* 27.6; *In Verr.* 2.2.28.3; 2.3.21.3; 2.3.213.14; 2.5.139.5; 2.5.188.10; *Pro Leg. Man.* 71.9; *Ep. ad Quint. fr.* 1.1.2.10). There is, of course, one companion in particular whose safety is most in jeopardy, even if *socium* does not work well as accusative singular here, except as a jarring quasi-accusative that verbally enacts the throwing overboard of the helmsman.

175 in mare praecipitem puppi deturbat ab alta;

praecipitem: See above on 144.

deturbat: The verb is old (Plautus); cf. 6.412, of Charon's treatment of the dead souls he jostles aside to make room for Aeneas and the Sibyl; 10.555, of Aeneas' treatment of the headless corpse of Dryope's son Tarquitus. Tacitus has *ut ventum in manus, deturbati ruinae modo praecipitantur* (*Hist.* 4.71.25–26). Williams 1960 comments ad loc. on the Plautine use of the word; in V. two of the three uses are in decidedly grim contexts, so that any comic associations of the present use are transformed into the darker occurrences of the verb in the underworld and on the battlefield.

puppi ... ab alta: Cf. 12 above, of Palinurus during the storm; the phrase also recurs at 8.115 *tum pater Aeneas puppi sic fatur ab alta*, as the Trojans arrive at Pallanteum. In the immediate context of Book 5, the collocation contributes to the unfolding of the Palinurus narrative; the casting overboard of Menoetes will prefigure Somnus' attack on Aeneas' helmsman. Souls were pushed aside to make room for Aeneas on Charon's bark; Palinurus will be thrown overboard, in some sense, so that Aeneas can be a captain without a mortal *gubernator* (as Gyas is at 176).

176 ipse gubernaclo rector subit, ipse magister

gubernaclo: The word is rare in V.: at 859 below, Somnus hurls both Palinurus and the rudder overboard, which the helmsman recalls at 6.349 *namque gubernaculum multa vi forte revulsum*. For *rector* see above on 161. The present scene opens a great ring with the end of the book, where Aeneas will take over the helm for Palinurus in the wake of Somnus' assault on the latter.

subit: One of V.'s favorite verbs, with over 100 occurrences; at 864 *subibat* below, Aeneas' flagship was beginning (inchoative imperfect) to approach the *scopulos Sirenum* when the hero realizes that his vessel is bereft of its helmsman (*magistro*); cf. 281 *subit ostia*, of Sergestus' vessel as it limps into port. At 12.471 *ipsa subit*, Juturna will see to Metiscus' abrupt departure from her brother's chariot, as she takes the reins of his car. The pause before the repeated intensive comes at the bucolic caesura.

177 hortaturque viros clavumque ad litora torquet.

hortatur: The verb is almost a technical term for calling out instructions to rowers, as Servius notes; cf. 189 below, where Mnestheus similarly exhorts his men. The verb also appears 2× in Book 11 (13, of Aeneas after the death of Mezentius; 521, of Turnus in his instructions to his lieutenants before the cavalry engagement). Verbs frame a chiasmic verse.

clavumque: At 852 *clavumque adfixus et haerens*, Palinurus will refuse to

succumb to Somnus' charms and loosen his grip on the tiller. *Clavum torquere* appears nowhere else in extant Latin; see Skutsch ad Ennius, fr. 508 *clavum rectum on clavum tenere*. We speak conventionally of "rudders" on Roman and other ancient vessels, though typically ships were maneuvered with steering oars on the stern; vid. *OCD*.3 s.v. "ships"; and, for different sorts of vessels, also L. Casson, "Harbour and River Boats of Ancient Rome," in *JRS* 55.1-2 (1965), 31-39; also Casson 1986 and 1994. It appears that stern-mounted rudders existed by the first half of the first century A.D., though it is difficult to be certain regarding the precise nature of the navigational control envisaged for the vessels at the regatta and elsewhere. For rudders and steering oars cf. also Hunink ad Lucan, *BC* 3.555: "Ancient rudders were not installed at the stern but both at the port and starboard." Cf. Knapp ad loc.: "Vergil is writing loosely here. He means merely that Gyas turns the prow of his boat toward the *scopulus*, as he had ordered Menoetes to do. The steering-gear of a Roman ship consisted of one or more broad-bladed paddles, not of a rudder proper. The steering-paddle was called *clavus*."

litora: There is not much difference between the plural and the singular (163 *litus ama*) in V.'s references to the *meta*, but there may be a sense here of the hazards of the shallows and the unseen perils to which Gyas is steering his vessel.

torquet: Cf. 738 *torquet medios Nox umida cursus*, as Anchises' shade warns Aeneas that he must return to the underworld. Here, Gyas is moving the tiller *right*, so as for the ship to head left around the rock. For the associations of the verb with Nisus and Camilla, see S. Ratti, "Le sens au sacrifice de Camille dans l'*Énéide* (11, 539-566)," in *Hermes* 134.4 (2006), 407-418, 409.

178 at *gravis ut fundo vix tandem redditus imo est*

V. crafts a suspenseful atmosphere; it is not at all clear at first what has happened; the language reflects the difficulty with which Menoetes reached safety. The swimmer emerges from the water: a reworking of Homer, *Od* 5.319.

fundo ... imo: Cf. 2.419, of the comparison of the Greek warriors on the last night of Troy to a wind storm that stirs up the sea; 3.577, of Enceladus' blasts and Etna; 6.581, of the locus of the Titans in Tartarus; 7.530, of the comparison of the start of the war in Latium to a marine tempest (in parallel to the night Troy fell). The five occurrences of the phrase balance neatly: 2× in descriptions of war, once as Troy falls and once as the *Iliad* is reborn in Italy; and 2× in contexts related to the gigantomachy. The emphasis in the Tartarus and Etna passages is on the manner in which the giant struggles to escape confinement; Menoetes, in contrast, will be freed from the depths and grasp the *meta* that symbolizes the transformation of Troy into Italy (cf. Palinurus' "successful" arrival in Hesperia, if only to die soon thereafter).

vix tandem: Cf. Horsfall ad 11.550 *subito vix* for mention of doubled adverbs.

redditus: The language underscores how Menoetes' safety was not entirely his own doing; it is as if he were sent back from a Charybdis-like fate by the water that here returns him to land.

imo est: This is the reading of M^Pp, vs. R's *imest*; Sabbadini (followed by Geymonat) conjectured *imost*, which may well be right.

179 iam senior madidaque fluens in veste Menoetes

iam senior: The phrase first appears at Lucretius, *DRN* 3.955 *grandior hic vero si iam seniorque queratur*; in V. it is used of Charon (6.304); Latinus (7.46); and Oebalus' father Telon (7.736): two occurrences, then, of the inhabitants of Italy, and one in a decidedly grim nautical context. Here, the force of the *iam* is interesting to construe: it should perhaps be read closely with 180 *petit* and *resedit*; Menoetes was "already" climbing to safety on the rock as his captain takes control of the ship's rudder. There may be a hint, too, that Menoetes was older in the sense of how this anxious situation has taken years from his life. Menoetes was barely saved (178 *vix*); in *tandem* there is a strong indication of the suspense engendered by the near drowning: would Menoetes reappear from the depths? The Servian tradition concludes that Menoetes is *senior* (and in wet clothes) to explain how a helmsman—who should be skilled at swimming—had difficulty reaching the rock. But the main point is the evocation of Charybdis' whirlpool; the waters around the *meta* are dangerous, even for an expert swimmer (cf. 178 *redditus*). On the vocabulary of increased age see especially A. Mamoojee, "Antiquus and Vetus: A Study in Latin Synonymy," in *Phoenix* 57.1–2 (2003), 67–82.

madida ... in veste: *Madidus* occurs elsewhere in V. only at 6.359 *madida cum veste*, where Palinurus' shade describes his "landing" on Italian soil.

fluens: Cf. 11.828 *fluens*, where the feminine of the present participle describes Camilla as she falls from her horse in death; the verb *labor* (181 below) will also recur in the description of her fall from her horse when mortally wounded (11.818); the situation there will somewhat reverse Menoetes' successful reprieve from doom. Here, the description of the "flowing" Menoetes offers a neat contrast to his heavy (178 *gravis*) state from his drenched garments; for the powerful sea even the weighted Menoetes is a mere plaything.

180 summa petit scopuli siccaque in rupe resedit.

resedit: The verb can connote settlement in a new home, as at 702 *resideret* below, of the question of Sicilian colonization.

summa ... scopuli: Lucan has *scopulosa Ceraunia nautae* / *summa* (*BC* 5.652–653). Ovid has *summa petit livor* / *summa petunt* (*Rem. Am.* 369–370).

sicca: Cf. *A.* 2.358 and 9.64, of the dry throats of wolf cubs/a wolf, and 8.261, of Cacus' strangled throat; the more parallel 3.135 and 510 (with *litore*), and 10.301 (substantively, with understood *litus*).

rupe resedit: Valerius Flaccus has *Caucaseis specularix Iuno resedit | rupibus* (*Arg.* 7.190–191). For the verb at line-end cf. 290 below, of Aeneas at the foot race; Lucretius has *quo magis in nobis, ut opinor, culpa resedit* (*DRN* 5.1425); cf. *A.* 1.506 *saepta armis solioque alte subnixa resedit* (of Dido); 2.739 *erravitne via seu lapsa resedit* (*Creüsa*); 7.27–28 *cum venti posuere omnisque repente resedit | flatus*; 8.232 *ter fessus valle resedit* (of Hercules); 8.503–504 *tum Etrusca resedit | hoc acies campo monitis exterrita divum* (of the admonition to seek foreign rulers). 2×, then, of Aeneas and Hercules; 2× of important women in Aeneas' life.

181 *illum et labentem Teucri et risere natantem*

risere: There is not much laughter in the *A.*; cf. 358 below, of Aeneas at the close of the foot race (*pace* Addison's "I remember but one laugh in the whole Aeneid" at *Spectator*, 279, cited by Burton ad loc.); 4.128, of Venus' laugh when she thinks she has tricked Juno. The Trojans laughed as they saw Menoetes slipping in the waves and crag and making his swim for the rock; they laugh below as they see him coughing up saltwater. For *V.*'s various constructions in expressions of laughter see H. Greene, "Virg. *Ecl.* IV.62," in *CR* 30.7 (1916), 191–192: "I do not know of any instance where *ridere* is used with the accusative in the sense of smiling approvingly or fondly on a person or thing; always, as far as I can find, it implies a sense of superiority in the laughter and inferiority in the person or thing laughed at, whether the laughter be contemptuous or good-natured." On the allegedly lighthearted touch of these lines of laughter see C. Knapp, "*Molle atque Facetum*," in *AJPh* 38.2 (1917), 194–199, 198. Page (who compares *Il.* 23.784, of the laughter of the Greek assembly at Ajax' accident) was not happy with the description: "Such merriment is natural, but we could spare the description of it in poetry." Cf. also J. Uden, "The Smile of Aeneas," in *TAPA* 144.1 (2014), 71–96, where the argument is made that Aeneas at 358–360 is like Jupiter, and that the world of the games offers something of an alternative to a universe that is governed by the unchanging, unyielding dictates of fate. "Pleasantry is perfectly in order in this account of games and diversions." (Knapp ad loc.). We can imagine that Aeneas is one of the Teucrians in the present scene, which renders the laugh or smile after the foot race rather less unique (cf. Achilles' reaction during the chariot race narrative at Homer, *Il.* 23.555).

natantem: The participle recurs at 856 *natantia lumina* below, of Palinurus' sleepy eyes; for other uses of the verb in *V.* cf. the threshold of the Cyclops that swims with gore (3.625), and the departure of the Trojan fleet from

Carthage (4.398 *nata uncta carina*). There is no association here between the hapless mariner and Cloelia, whose famous swim will be recalled on the shield (8.651).

182 et salsos rident revomentem pectore fluctus.

salsos: Alongside the *vada salsa* of 158 above, cf. the *salsos* / *fluctus* in the offerings at 237–238 and 775–776 below and the *salsa ... aspergine* off Castrum Minervae (3.534). Sweat is salty at 2.173–174 in reaction to the portent of the Palladium (another Minervan context); cf. the *salsae fruges* of the imagined Sinon human sacrifice at 2.133 (with 12.173 *fruges ... salsas*, of the treaty that will soon be broken). The *salsos fluctus* have a long literary history; cf. Plautus, *Trinummus* 821; also Cicero (*TD* 2.19), and Accius (cited at Cicero, *TD* 7.19), who has it of Philoctetes' wish that someone would drown him.

rident: On the progression of time from *risere* to *rident*, see H. Pinkster, "The Present Tense in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *Mnemosyne* 52.6 (1999), 705–717, 707 (following Otis 1964, 59). The effect is one of continuous laughter at Menoetes' fate; the Trojan assembly is unaware of the deeper implications of the present scene.

revomentem: The verb is rare in extant Latin; this is its only use in V. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 13.731 *vorat haec raptas revomitque carinas*, of Charybdis; Seneca, *Ag.* 500 *hauritque et alto redditam revomit mari*; *Thyestes* 581 *quod rapax haustum revomit Charybdis* Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.821; 2.25; Silius, *Pun.* 2.308 *contorta e fundo revomentem transtra Charybdin*; 10.325 *ac miseri fluitant revomentes aequora nautae*. The verb likely evoked the image of the notorious whirlpool; Menoetes has survived his near fatal brush with Charybdis. On the language of coughing up the salt water, see Heuzé 1985, 378–379.

183–226 Sergestus' Centaurus and Mnestheus' Pristis, which had been vying for the third place, now aspire to pass Gyas' Chimaera. Mnestheus prays that he might not suffer the shame of last place; Sergestus' vessel comes too close to the *meta* and crashes into jutting rocks. Mnestheus takes heart from the Centaurus' accident and sails past the wreck with renewed vigor and hope, like a dove that has escaped from a cave. He quickly glides by Gyas' Chimaera, leaving only Cloanthus' Scylla ahead of him. V.'s regatta offers a microcosm of both his *Odyssey* and his forthcoming *Iliad* In Italy; the reminiscence of the past, however, is not mere recollection of past Trojan travails, but an artful reimagining that turns memory into foreshadowing and remembrance into prediction. Gyas' Chimaera presages the introduction of Turnus with his monstrous helmet; his loss to Mnestheus will introduce a complex web of associations with other developments in the poet's epic narrative.

183 hic laeta extremis spes est accensa duobus,

laeta: The keyword of the book returns, this time of the expectation of Sergestus and Mnestheus to capture the second place. Cf. 283 *laetus* below, of Aeneas' happiness over the salvation of Sergestus' vessel, with J. Blanco, "Un rasgo da humanidade de Eneas: Notas tiradas do livro V da *Eneida*," in *Grial* 26.99 [1988], 87–92, 88–89.

extremis: Cf. 196 *extremos*. Sergestus and Mnestheus are currently more or less tied for last place; each now hopes to pass Gyas and let the other vie with the Chimaera for that shameful position.

spes ... accensa: With the rekindled hopes of the two contestants cf. Livy 24.35.6.3 *erant adeo accensae spes*, of the Carthaginian dream of expelling the Romans from Sicily. *Accendere* is one of V's favorite verbs, but the form *accensa* occurs but twice in his corpus, here and at 11.709 *dixit, at illa furens acrique accensa dolore*, of Camilla's anger at the lying Ligurian.

184 Sergesto Mnestheique, Gyan superare morantem.

Mnestheique: The orthography is predictably confused in the manuscripts; P has *Mnesthique* (favored by Geymonat), MR *Mnestique*; Mynors, and Goold print Heinsius' *Mnestheique* (followed by Usener). For the declension of Greek names in -εως see Kühner-Holzweissig I, 469. The trochaic caesura marks the separation of two of the contestants from another.

superare: At 155 *superare priorem*, the Pristis and the Centaurus were in close competition for third place; now both vessels struggle to take the second spot from Gyas.

morantem: The verb over 30× in V; cf. 4.168 *morantem* (in the same *sed.*), of the warning to Aeneas not to linger in Carthage.

185 Sergestus capit ante locum scopuloque propinquat,

The repetition of Sergestus' name underscores his seizure of the second place; Gyas' land monster, the Chimaera, had faltered before the approach of the marine Scylla, while now the land creature passes the sea.

capit ante: Valerius Flaccus has *ante capit* (*Arg.* 7.33). The form *locum* appears 3× during the regatta (155, 185, 258); once in the foot race (315); once in the boxing match (442).

propinquat: See above on 159; this is the second and last appearance of the verb in 5 (2× also in 11). Before, the Chimaera and the Scylla were both drawing near to the rock; now the Centaurus takes the lead over the Pristis and approaches close to the *meta* before its rival, though V. quickly gives a more precise account of the relative positions of the ships.

186 nec tota tamen ille prior praeunte carina;

nec tota: The Centaurus and the *Pristis* had been racing neck and neck, and now the Centaur's lead—however significant—is revealed as being breathtakingly slim. “Notice the emphatic *ille*, of which Vergil is rather fond” (Sidgwick ad loc.). Germanicus (*Arat.* 215) has *nec totam ille tamen formam per singula reddit* (of Pegasus, probably inspired by the equine advance of the Centaurus in the present scene); cf. Martial, *ep.* 5.37.1 *nec tamen tota*; Silius, *Pun.* 6.14 *nec tamen adversis ruat Itala virtus. Tota ... carina* occurs nowhere else in extant Latin.

praeunte: The verb occurs only here in V. (several times in Livy); the form appears elsewhere only at *Ep. Drus.* 408 *et venit stella non praeunte dies* (cf. *Fasti* 1.81 *iamque novi praeunt fasces, nova purpura fulget*). For the vowel corruption see Williams here and Horsfall ad 6.52.

187 parte prior, partim rostro premit aemula Pristis.

The exceptional alliteration of *p* and *r* in this and the preceding line expresses well the efforts of the *Pristis* to surpass the Centaurus.

partim: This reading (PR) can stand (*vs. partem* M; Tib.), if one takes it (so Goold; Williams ad loc.) as accusative singular and not as adverb (for the form vid. Kühner-Holzweissig I, 322–324, with examples); *partim* (adv.) is found in V. only at 10.330–331 and 11.205–206. On the “connective repetition” of *parte*, *partim*, see Hahn 1930, 132–133n55; for the asyndeton, Hahn 1930, 131–132.

rostro premit: Germanicus imitated this phrase at *Arat.* 429–430 *huic primos tortus Crater premit, ulterioris | vocali rostro Corvus forat*. If one reads *partim* as adverbial, then it is ambiguous whether the *Pristis* presses with its prow, or presses on that of its rival; the vessel can after all only press on a prow with its own prow.

aemula: The adjective is old (Plautus, *Rudens* 240), and not particularly common in poetry until the Silver Age (especially if one excludes the instances where it = an amatory rival [OLD 2]); cf. Catullus, c. 71.3; *Laus Pisonis* 90; Ovid, *Ars* 2.436; 3.360; *Rem.* 768; *Met.* 1.476; 6.83; 13.17; *Ep. Pont.* 3.1.107; Lucan, *BC* 1.120; 8.307; Statius, *Theb.* 3.226; 4.292; 6.713; 736; *Silv.* 3.5.101; 4.2.26; 4.80; *Ach.* 1.175 (with Uccellini); 864; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.665 (with Zissos); 5.86; Silius, *Pun.* 1.510; 3.9; 4.4; 5.439; 8.519; 594; 13.463; 14.223; 14.680; Juvenal, s. 11.74. V. has it below at 415 (of Entellus' *senectus*); at 6.173 of Triton, the rival of Misenus; and at 10.371 *spemque meam, patriae quae nunc subit aemula laudi* (Pallas' address to his men). See also Ps.-V., *Culex* 96 (with Seelentag). In V., then, the adjective appears 2× in contexts associated with the death of Aeneas' companions (Misenus and the Arcadian Pallas), and 2× during the games; the use at 10.371 is of particular interest, since it begs the question of whether Pallas is seeking to rival or emulate Evander. We can thus link the uses of *aemulus* in

contexts related to old age (Entellus, Pallas' relationship with his father), and the present regatta and the death of Misenus (a doublet of Palinurus) at the hands of the sea god Triton.

188 at media socios incedens nave per ipsos

Gyas hurled his helmsman overboard unceremoniously and took command of the ship's navigation; Mnestheus, in pointed contrast, walks among his sailors in the very middle of the vessel and urges a cooperative effort (hence the repetition, too, of *socios*, 190 *socii*). *At* moves us from the macrocosm of the regatta to the microcosm of one captain's address on one ship (see below on 210).

incedens: The verb occurs 10× in the *A.*, 4× in 5: cf. 68 above and 533. V. uses it of stately entrances and of divine gait (1.46, of Juno; 1.690, 1.497, of Dido; of Cupid in his Ascanius guise; 10.764, of the constellation Orion); note also 9.308 *incedunt*, of the armed cohorts of Mnestheus et al. (a happy inversion of the conquered peoples on the shield at 8.722 *incedunt*). The descriptor is artfully placed in the middle of the line to reflect how Mnestheus is literally in the midst of his crew.

189 hortatur Mnestheus: 'nunc, nunc insurgite remis,

insurgite: Cf. 443 below, of Entellus during the boxing match; elsewhere in V. the verb appears at 3.207 *remis insurgens*; 3.560 *insurgite remis* (of Anchises' commands during the flight from Charybdis, an action that Mnestheus is in a sense replicating in his attempt to pass Gyas' Chimaera); 8.234–233 *stabat acuta silex praecisis undique saxis | speluncae dorso insurgens*, of Cacus' cave; 9.34 *tenebras insurgere campis* (of the dust kicked up by horses); 11.755 *arduus insurgens* (of a wounded serpent); 12.902 *altior insurgens et cursu concitus heros* (of Turnus). Ovid imitated the present scene at *Met.* 10.657 *nunc, nunc incumbere tempus*, during the race sequence of Atalanta and Hippomenes (where see Bömer).

190 Hectorei socii, Troiae quos sorte suprema

Hectorei: See above on 116 *Mnestheus* for the association of these sailors with Hector. V. here introduces the detail that Mnestheus personally chose these men as his companions on the last night Troy fell (or at least in the wake of Hector's death; *sorte suprema* is temporally imprecise). Homeric-style adjectival name; see further Harrison ad 10.156–157.

The principal Hectorean passage in the *A.* is his ghostly nocturnal visit to Aeneas at 2.268–302 (Steiner 1952, 29–37; Kragelund 1976, 11ff.; P. Kyriakou, "Aeneas' Dream of Hector," in *Hermes* 127.3 [1999], 317–327; Bouquet 2001, 23–

28); alongside the dream we find Aeneas' meeting with Andromache at Buthrotum (3.294 ff.). But Hector is prominent in other, less often studied moments of the epic; at 1.99 *saevus ubi Aeacidae telo iacet Hector*, Aeneas' first speech in the poem ruefully notes the good fortune of those who died at Troy where Hector, Sarpedon, and so many others fell. Jupiter's speech identifies the three hundred year reign of the Alban kings as the dominance of the *gens Hectorea* (1.273). Hector's mutilation behind Achilles' chariot, and the ransoming of his body by Priam for gold = two of the pictures on the walls of Dido's temple to Juno (1.483–484). Near the close of Book 1, Hector is one of the specific topics Dido requests of Aeneas at her banquet (750 *super Hectore multa*). Hecuba tries to dissuade Priam from arming for battle just before the invasion of the royal enclosure, noting that not even Hector could save them now (2.522). At the dramatic moment just before his murder, the Trojan monarch reminds Pyrrhus of how Achilles had given back his son's lifeless body (2.543). Dares boxed with Paris on a regular basis, besides his combat with Butes during the funeral games for Hector (see below on 371). Iris/Beroë asks if she will ever again see Hector's rivers, the Xanthus and the Simois (634 below). Misenus is emphatically linked to Hector as one of his companions (6.166 *Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes, Hectora circum*—was he one of the sailors on Mnestheus' Pristis?). Turnus responds to the portent of the magical transformation of the Trojan vessels into sea creatures by noting *inter al.* that Hector kept the Greeks at bay for a decade (9.155). Venulus reports Diomedes' assessment that it was Hector and Aeneas who delayed the ultimate Greek victory at Troy (11.289). Aeneas' famous *disce, puer* address to Ascanius closes powerfully with 12.439–440 *sis memor et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum / et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitet Hector*.

On the Virgilian Hector see also A. Thill, "Hector dans l'*Enéide* ou la succession homérique," in *BAGB* (1980), pp. 36–48.

Mnestheus' Pristis will not win the regatta in part because its Hectorean associations link the vessel too closely with the death of the old Troy (cf. the fate of Misenus, whom V. strongly identifies with Hector).

sorte suprema: Cf. *Ilias Latina* 966–967 *nec suffere valet ultra iam sorte suprema / instantem Aeaciden defectis viribus Hector*; Manilius, *Ast.* 5.210–211 *divinat cineres orbis fatumque supremum / sortitur* (with Hübner). On "consolation by *exempla*" see Bond ad Euripides, *Hypsipyle* (Oxford 1963), 73.

191 **delegi comites; nunc illas promite viris,**

delegi: Cf. 11.657–658 *Italides, quas ipsa decus sibi ipsa Camilla / delegit pacisque bonas bellique ministras*, which is exactly parallel to the present passage. There, Camilla's companions Larina, Tulla, and Tarpeia are explicitly identified as

companions in peace and war, and as daughters of Italy; here, the reference is to Mnestheus' having chosen these men as comrades in the last crisis of Troy *post Hectoris mortem*. Cf. 8.52–53 *qui regem Evandrum comites, qui signa secuti, / delegere locum et posuere in montibus urbem*, of the Arcadian establishment of Pallanteum.

promite: The verb occurs elsewhere in V. only at G. 2.255 *promptum*, and at A. 2.260 *promunt*, of the Greeks as they take their leave of the Trojan horse—a pointed reference to the association of Mnestheus' companions with the last night of Troy and the doom of their city. For the form cf. Propertius, c. 2.9a.38 *tela, precor, pueri, promite acuta magis*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.41 *ergo duces solasque, deae, promite gentes*; Septimius Serenus, c. 21.1 *graphidem date, promite bolarium*.

192 nunc animos, quibus in Gaetulis Syrtibus usi

Gaetulis Syrtibus: *Pars pro toto* (see Servius here). Cf. 54 *Gaetulis ... Syrtibus* above, where Aeneas announces how he would be celebrating the anniversary of his father's death wherever he might be. If Aeneas' address had more of poetic hyperbole than cartographic verisimilitude, Mnestheus' miniature speech recalls specific localizations of marine prowess and valorous seamanship, even if the Gaetulians were not literally denizens of the region of the famed sandbars; see Nisbet and Hubbard ad Horace, c. 2.20.15 *Syrtisque Gaetulas*, where the poet marks the southern border of the Roman world; Florus 2.31.2–3 *Gaetulos, accolas Syrtium*; Silius, *Pun.* 2.63–64 *atque infidae litora Syrtis / parebant nullaque levis Gaetulus habena*.

Cicero has *animis enim usi sumus virilibus, consiliis, mihi crede, puerilibus* (*Ep. ad Att.* 15.4.2.3, of the Ides of March).

193 Ionioque mari Maleaeque sequacibus undis.

Ionio: At 3.211 *Ionio in magno*, the Strophades are the home of Celaeno and the Harpies; at 3.671 *Ionios fluctus*, Achaemenides recalls to the Trojans how the Cyclops was unable to pursue Odysseus' fleeing ship through the sea; at G. 2.108 *Ionii ... fluctus*, V. compares the variety of wines to the Ionian waves (changing the Catullan allusion to the stars of the sky to a more oeno-appropriate comparison to water); there may be a learned allusion to Homer's wine-dark sea. After the evocation of Hector (= A. 2, 3), V. introduces allusions to Dido (4) and Celaeno's Harpies and the Cyclops (3), with specific reference to the mythological monsters of the Trojan's westward journey.

Maleaeque: Only here in V. Cape Malea, in the southeast Peloponnese, was celebrated for its association with Odysseus (vid. S. West ad *Od.* 3.287; Pomponius Mela mentions it without comment at 2.49, 50, 110); its citation here as the

climax of an ascending tricolon of marine perils is a summary of the *Od.*/the first half of the *A.*, as V. arranges his Odyssean allusions in a book pattern of 2–3–4–3 (3 = the most Odyssean book of the epic). Hector was a mainstay of the Trojan force in their decade long resistance, and Malea was a significant factor in the ten years of Odysseus' wanderings; Mnestheus' exhortation to his crew embraces both halves of the Homeric world.

sequacibus: *Sequax* occurs elsewhere in V. at 8.432 *miscabant operi flammisque sequacibus iras*, of the Cyclopes as they forge Aeneas' divine arms; 10.365 *ut vidit Pallas Latio dare terga sequaci*, just before the Arcadian addresses his men; the *capraeaeque sequaces* of G. 2.374; *fumosque manu praetende sequacis* (G. 4.230), of instructions to beekeepers. The mainly poetic adjective is Lucretian (*DRN* 2.48, of *curae*; 3.315, of *mores*); Propertius has it of Medea (c. 4.5.41); cf. Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 1.31; Grattius, *Cyn.* 411–412; Manilius, *Ast.* 5.143; Ovid, *Her.* 19.12; Persius, s. pr. 6; Seneca, *Phaed.* 1087; Statius, *Theb.* 3.500; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.124; 6.263; 7.619; Martial, *ep.* 13.57.1; Silius, *Pun.* 15.720. For a brief study of Virgilian descriptions of the sea's action, see Hahn 1930, 54n220; the metaphor is from hunting: the waves chase down their marine victims. "Prone to pursue passing ships" (Knapp, who compares the image of Scylla as marine hazard).

194 non iam prima peto Mnestheus neque vincere certo

On the aposiopesis (195) this line introduces, see S. Lundström, "Der Eingang des Proömiums zum Dritten Buche der Georgica," in *Hermes* 104.2 (1976), 163–191, 180; L. Ricottilli, *EV* I, 227–228; P. Knox, *VE* I, 103; Macrobius, *Sat.* 4.6.20–21. Mnestheus' statement is true enough, but the point is at once rendered somewhat suspect by his rather wistful expression in the following line. *Non iam* expresses Mnestheus' rueful awareness that victory is highly unlikely if not impossible. There may be a hint of arrogance in Mnestheus' use of his name (which dominates the line) with the first person verbs. But cf. Knapp ad loc. on the use of the name instead of the personal pronoun: "[it] contains a certain mixture of pride and humility; he says in effect, 'Victory is not for such as I.'"

195 (quamquam o!—sed superent quibus hoc, Neptune, dedisti);

The implication of the prayer is that if Neptune wants the *Pristis* to win, then of course Mnestheus would not object, even if he is not striving to be victorious—though he would, of course, be delighted with that outcome. There may be a connection between the present aposiopesis and the similar rhetorical feature of Neptune's address to Aeolus' winds at 1.135.

quamquam o: Cf. the parallel 11.415 *quamquam o si solitae quicquam virtutis adesset*, of Turnus' wish during the Latin war council. These are the only

occurrences “sine verb.” (Wetmore) in V. For the aposiopesis cf. 1.135 (with Austin’s note).

Neptune: For the god see on 14 above. This is the second of three named appearances in this book (cf. 782 below); the first and last relate to Palinurus, while here he is invoked in a scene that directly foreshadows the loss of Aeneas’ helmsman.

Flavius Caper (*De Orthographia* 97.2–3) cites this passage among those where a poetic periphrasis is used to express some concept, here “pro vincant.”

196 **extremos pudeat rediisse: hoc vincite, cives,**

pudeat: The verb is rare in V; cf. 9.598, of Numanus Remulus’ taunts against the Trojans; the parallel 9.783, where Mnestheus upbraids his men for their seeming cowardice; the extraordinary 11.55–56 *pudendis / vulneribus* (where see Fratantuono), during Evander’s lament to his dead son; 12.229, of Juturna/Camers as she chides the Rutulians for not fighting alongside her brother. In 11, Evander will reflect on how Pallas has not returned from war with shameful wounds incurred in flight; here, Mnestheus remarks on how unbearable it would be to finish in the last place. The language is strong (cf. 197 *nefas*); there is perhaps something of a disconnect between the seemingly lighthearted world of the games and the dramatic references Mnestheus recalls from the Odyssean A.; the path continues to be paved to the rebirth of the *Iliad* in Italy.

hoc vincite: The quantity of the vowel in *hoc* is ambiguous; it could be accusative object of *vincite* (with resultant balance with and anticipation of 197 *prohibite nefas*) or ablative singular (causal); the balanced clauses favor the former interpretation (but see Conington on taking *hoc ... nefas* together). Neatly, the demonstrative is “conquered” amid the activity of three verbs, with one of which it elides.

cives: The word recurs powerfully 2× below (631, 671), first as Iris/Beroë addresses the Trojan women, and then as Ascanius calls on them to halt their incendiary madness. At 11.119, Aeneas uses it of the soon to be cremated war dead; Venulus (243), Latinus (305), and Turnus (459) all use it in the context of the Latin war council; cf. Drances’ attack on Turnus (360)—an extraordinary 4× of the Italians, and 1× in the same book of Aeneas’ dead, as V. subtly confirms the future ethnography of Italian Rome. Elsewhere in V. it appears 2× in conjunction with Mezentius, first of those who sought to evict him from Etruria, and then of those he had slain (8.571; 631); once each of the Trojans, as Laocoön warns them of the horse (2.42), and Caicus of the approach of Turnus to the camp (9.36); and once each of the Trojans and the Latins, as Aeneas calls for Latinus’ city to be burned (12.572; 583). “The word *cives* is used with special emphasis here and again in ll. 631 and 671, as not only meaning ‘fellow-citizens’

but indicating that the city which the exiles seek is being more nearly found” (Mackail).

197 *et prohibite nefas.* olli certamine summo

nefas: Cf. 2.184 *nefas ... triste*, of the theft of the Palladium; 585, of Helen (if genuine); 658, of the idea of Aeneas abandoning his father in Troy’s last hour; 719, of the *nefas* Aeneas has incurred from participation in war and slaughter that prevents him from taking the Penates until he has been purified; 3.365, of Celaeno’s dire warning; 4.306, of Dido’s characterization of Aeneas’ plan to flee Carthage; 563 *dirum ... nefas*, of Mercury’s description of what Dido plans for the Trojans; 6.391, of the idea of conveying living souls in Charon’s keel; 624 *ausi omnes immane nefas ausoque potiti*, of the grave sinners in Tartarus; 7.73, of the portent of Lavinia’s burning hair; 386 *maius adorta nefas*, of the crazed Amata’s plans for her daughter; 596–597 *te, Turne, nefas, te triste manebit | supplicium*, of Latinus’ warning; 8.173 *quae differre nefas*, of the rites in honor of Hercules; 688, of Cleopatra’s following Antony on the shield; 10.497 *impressum nefas*, of the story of the Danaids engraved on Pallas’ baldric; 673 *quosque (nefas) omnis infanda in morte reliqui*, of Turnus’ lament after he has chased the phantom Aeneas; 901 *nullum in caede nefas*, of Mezentius’ words to Aeneas just before his death. For *prohibite nefas* cf. Ovid, *Met.* 10.322; Silius, *Pun.* 2.373. Elsewhere *prohibite* appears at 3.265, of the prayer that Celaeno’s curse be averted; *G.* 1.501, of the powerful petition near the close of the first *G.* that Augustus be permitted to aid a fallen world. Farrell notes ad loc. that *nefas* is very strong for the context, with possible religious overtones; the point would seem to be that Mnestheus has something of an inappropriate level of concern about his status in the race (perhaps a concern that could even be considered un-Epicurean). On *nefas* see S. Commager, “Fateful Words: Some Conversations in *Aeneid* 4,” in *Arethusa* 14.1 (1981), 101–114, 102–103. Ovid has *prohibite nefas* at *Met.* 10.322 of Myrrha’s appeal to the immortals that she not succumb to her lust for her father.

olli: The form adds an archaic flavor to the brief vignette that has recalled so much of the epic tradition.

certamine summo: Elsewhere in *V.* only at 11.891, where the women of Latinus’ capital see the example of the heroine Camilla and begin to rain down weapons on the Trojans from the city walls; cf. *Ilias Latina* 560; Livy 6.24.11.1; Petronius, *Sat.* 124.3.4; Silius, *Pun.* 17.518 *iuvat in certamina summa*. See also on 558 *pectore summo*. “The abl. is partly modal, partly instrumental” (Knapp ad loc.).

198 *procumbunt: vastis tremit ictibus aerea puppis*

procumbunt: Finite forms of the verb occur 2× each in Books 5 and 11: 481 below, of the sacrificed bull after the boxing match; 11.150, of Evander’s action over his

son's bier; 11.418 *procubuit moriens et humum semel ore momordit*, of Turnus' wish during the Latin war council for death before dishonor.

tremit: Cf. Lucan, *BC* 3.527–528 *impulsae tonsis tremuere carinae / crebraque sublimes convellunt verbera puppes*.

ictibus: The word is old (Lucilius, Plautus); note Lucretius, *DRN* 1.1055; 2.136 (with Fowler). In the present book it is used during the boxing match, not surprisingly (377, 459); Germanicus has it of Pegasus' formation of Hippocrene (*Arat.* 200).

aerea puppis: “nam puppis aerea non est, sed prora” (Servius, who takes the metal as indicative of the strength of the prow—“fortis;” see P. Damsté, “Annotationes ad *Aeneidem*,” in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 26 [1898], 172–181, 172 for the brazen *rostra*). Correctors of M and P changed the metal (*aurea*), probably because of the gilt Apollo of 10.171. The point of the descriptor may be more than ornamental; if one continues to beat a brazen object, it will shiver and vibrate, but of course the entire ship is not made of bronze. Mnestheus' brazen vessel, however = the mysterious *Pristis*; it may be envisaged here as having a metallic monstrosity character (besides any merely heroic associations), even if the point should not be pressed too far. For the anachronistic use of bronze in epic convention, see West ad *Op.* 150.

199 *subtrahitur solum, tum creber anhelitus artus*

subtrahitur: Elsewhere in V. only at 6.465 *siste gradum teque aspect ne subtrahe nostro*, of Aeneas' plea to Dido's shade. *Subtrahitur solum* is found only here in extant Latin; the surface of the water is literally drawn out from under the vessel (*OLD* s.v. 1, though there are no good parallels to report, and the Virgilian use may be innovative). The sibilant alliteration describes well the smooth action of the ship on the waves. On the possible Tacitean imitation at *Ann.* 1.70.12 *aliquando subtract solo disiecti aut obruti*, see Baxter 1972, 261. For the influence of the metaphor on Milton's *Lycidas* 167 “Sunk though he be beneath the watery floor,” see M. Parry, “The Traditional Metaphor in Homer,” in *CPh* 28.1 (1933), 30–43, 34–35.

creber: The adjective is a favorite of Lucretius; cf. 436 and 460 below, of blows during the boxing match; 764 *creber et aspirans rursus vocat Auster in altum*; the grim 11.209, of the fires for the Latin war dead; 11.610–611, where weapons fly in the manner of snow.

anhelitus artus: Cf. 9.814, where the same phrase describes Turnus just before he plunges into the Tiber, as *fulmineus Mnestheus* and other Trojan warriors advance on him—Mnestheus will be central to the climactic expulsion of Turnus from the *Trojan* camp; the Rutulian will escape via the *Tiber*—a crucial sequence in the poet's unfolding and revelation of the future settlement of Italy.

Elsewhere in V. the related verb describes the fiery forge of the Cyclopes (8.421); Aeneas as he embraces the body of the dead Pallas (10.837); both noun and verb appear most frequently during the description of the games (cf. 254 and 432 below; also the panting horses of the dawn at 739 *equis ... anhelis* below). Lucan has *creber anhelitus* (*BC* 4.622, 756, where see Asso).

200 *aridaque ora quatit, sudor fluit undique rivis.*

aridaque ora: Ovid has *arida nec sitiens ora levabis aqua* (*Rem. Am.* 230); the phrase occurs nowhere else in extant Latin.

quatit: The verb occurs 2× in 5 (cf. the parallel 432 *vastos quatit aeger anhelitus artus* below), and 4× in 11 (513, 656, 767, 875, twice of horses and twice of the brandishing of weapons). For *quatit ora et artus* cf. Ps.-Seneca, *Octavia* 735 (with Ferri); Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.501 *fulmineus quatit ora fragor*.

sudor fluit: Cf. *Ilias Latina* 746 *fluit cum sanguine sudor*; 804 *per vastos sudor pugnantum defluit artus*; Ovid, *Met.* 9.173 *caeruleusque fluit toto de corpore sudor*. *Ilias Latina* 955 has *sudor agit rivos*. *Rivis* is probably a sort of instrumental ablative.

The appearance of Mnestheus and other Trojan warriors as they advance into battle at 12.441 owes much to the present scene. The passage follows the aforementioned dramatic close of Aeneas' address to his son, with its mention of Hector; verbal echoes thus connect the Trojan march with the regatta: 442 *quatiens*; 444 *fluit*; 445 *tremitt*.

201 *attulit ipse viris optatum casus honorem:*

Mnestheus is the father of the *gens Memmia*, with its clear link to Lucretius, and here V. announces the role of mere chance in mortal affairs: it was the *casus* that befell Sergestus' vessel that brought the Pristis its desired honor. One could argue that the avoidance of the shame of last place does not equal an *optatus honor* in the strict sense, especially given Mnestheus' understandable desire to be victorious. But the honor the *casus* brings is the chance to be in the second place in Gyas' stead.

optatum: The verb is one of V.'s favorites; the form, however (albeit with a change of gender), occurs only here and at 11.270 *coniugium optatum et pulchram Calydonia viderem*, of Diomedes to the Latin envoys. Other forms of the verb occur 2× in the present book (247; 813), and 2× in 11 (57; 582)—another sign of the close links between the two books that V. crafts even on a minute level.

202 *namque furens animi dum proram ad saxa suburget*

Once again the poet introduces something of an element of suspense, given what is soon revealed as a fairly abrupt change of subject. Cf. 165, where

the prow is more safely turned to the waves of the sea and not the perilous rocks.

furens animi: Cf. *Ilias Latina* 602 (of Telamonian Ajax); Apuleius, *Ap.* 79.23; *Met.* 6.2.4 (of Venus); Silius, *Pun.* 10.210. For *furens* see above on 6. The description here has connection both to Catiline, the most infamous scion of Sergestus' future *gens Sergia*, and to the image of the Centaur as patron of the vessel. P reads *animo* here, but cf. 11.417 *egregius animi*, during Evander's lament over the body of Pallas; M has *prora* as subject of the verb. Phillipson takes *animi* as either a genitive of reference or an old locative; cf. 73 *aevi maturus*; 1.299 *fati nescia*; 10.225 *fandi doctissima*; Distler 1966, 344–345.

Mnestheus, the progenitor of Memmius, will soon surpass Sergestus partly because of the latter's *furor*; V. thus illustrates the Lucretian response to fury and irrationality in the disposition of the regatta; see further Adler 2003, 77–101.

suburget: The verb occurs only here in extant Latin; Mackail wonders if it might be a Virgilian invention. See also below on 226 *urget*.

203 interior spatia subit Sergestus iniquo,

Sergestus executes the movement that Gyas had failed to convince Menoetes to perform; the result rather validates the anxiety of the Chimaera's helmsman.

subit: Cf. on 176.

spatio ... iniquo: Manilius has *succedit iniquo / divisio spatia* (*Ast.* 1.351–352). The form *interior* occurs 3× in the epic: cf. 170 above, of Cloanthus as he sails past Gyas; 11.695, of the deadly ballet Camilla dances in pursuit of Orsilochus. With *spatio* cf. 316, 321, 325, 327, and 584 below. *Iniquus* can convey notions of hostility; the space in which Sergestus' vessel has sailed is hazardous (in part because of the danger of hidden rocks).

Sergestus will remedy the current disaster, at least somewhat; his ship will soon come into port creeping along “like a snake” (273 ff.), an image that Cicero used to represent Sergestus' best-known descendent (*In Cat.* 4.6.9–13): *quantum facinus ad vos delatum sit videtis. huic si paucos putatis adfinis esse, vehementer erratis. latius opinione disseminatum est hoc malum; manavit non solum per Italiam verum etiam transcendit Alpibus et obscurae serpens multas iam provincias occupavit*. It is uncertain whether V. has this passage in mind, or simply coincidentally decides to make the creeping ship into a slithering snake. In either case, the assonance of Sergius and *serpens* is likely to have been on the minds of both authors; see further Muse 2007.

204 infelix saxis in procurrentibus haesit.

The successive spondees enact the scene; cf. the similar fate of Eumelus at *Il.* 23.391.

procurrentibus: Cf. 11.624, of the ebbing and flowing sea to which the equestrian engagement before the walls of Latinus' capital is compared. Elsewhere in V. forms of the verb occur at 9.689–690 *et iam collecti Troes glomerantur eodem / et conferre manum et procurrere longius audent*; 12.667 *procurrans* (of Tolumnius' truce-breaking shaft); 279–280 *quos agmina contra / procurrunt Laurentum*; 785 *procurrit fratrique ensem dea Daunia reddit*. The jutting rocks were likely momentarily concealed by water and wave.

The calamity that befalls Sergestus' vessel may be inspired by Roman naval disasters during the First Punic War; more generally, "like the arrow of Acestes or the beseiging Dares, the ship race in these waters [off Sicily] would have evoked the subject matter of Naevius' *Bellum Punicum*, *primum illud Punicum acerrimum bellum* ('that most sharply contested First Punic War' (Cic. *Brut.* 76)), whose battles Ennius left out." (Goldschmidt 2013, 124).

205 *concussae cautes et acuto in murice remi*

concussae cautes: The noun occurs once in this book, and once in 11 (259–260 *scit triste Minervae / sidus et Euboicae cautes ultorque Caphereus*), as Diomedes recounts the troubles of the Greeks on the way home from Troy to Venulus and the Latin emissaries.

acuto in murice: The *murex* signals the ethnographic problems posed by the regatta and its turning of the *meta*. At 4.262–263 *ensis erat Tyrioque ardebat murice laena / demissa ex umeris*, Aeneas observes the building of Carthage while dressed in Tyrian raiment; here, Sergestus' Centaurus is beached on the sharp *murex*—moored, as it were, in the Trojan past, unable to turn the goalpost to the Roman future. Significantly, the only other occurrence of *murex* in the *A.* comes in another ethnographic context, as Numanus Remulus taunts the Trojans: 9.614–616 *vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis, / desidiaae cordi, iuvat indulgere choreis, / et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae*. P omits *in*.

Acutus is reused at 208 below, of the sharp points of the implements used to dislodge the beached vessel. The image of this sharp marine hazard is especially baleful in light of 1.45 *scopuloque infixit acuto*, where V. describes Minerva's impalement of Ajax; 3.46 *iaculis increvit acutis*, of Polydorus' ghastly grave; 3.635, of the sharp stake used to blind the Cyclops (see here Heuzé 1985, 84). Sharp weapons will be associated with Turnus' killing of Pallas (10.479); with Mezentius as he arms for battle against Aeneas (10.868); with the young Camilla (11.574). Cf. also the *silex acuta* that marks Cacus' home (8.433). We move, then, from the divine killing of Ajax, to the salvation of a beached ship (under Triton's care), to the beaching of another vessel, and back to a divine killing (of Misenus by Triton).

206 obnixi crepuere inlisaque prora pependit.

obnixi: See above on 21 *obniti*, and below on 208 *trudes*. The closest parallels in V. are the uses of *obnixi* in the battle scenes at G. 4.84 and A. 12.721 (of the comparison of fighting to the struggle between two bulls).

crepuere: The verb is rare and occurs in V. only here and in the sister Book 11 (775), where Camilla's prey Chloereus is adorned with a *croceam chlamydemque sinusque crepantis*—another evocation of the ethnographic problems of the A., as Chloereus, the devotee of Cybele, is hunted by the Volscian Camilla.

inlisa: Cf. 1.112 *inliduntque vadis*, during the storm that drives the Trojans to north Africa; 480 below, at a grisly moment in the boxing match; 7.589–590 *scopuli nequiquam et spumea circum / saxa fremunt laterique inlisa refunditur alga*, of the comparison of Latinus to a crag that remains unmoved despite the violence of the sea; 9.712–713 *sic illa ruinam / prona trahit penitusque vadis inlisa recumbit*, of the comparison of the death of the giant Bitias to the collapse of a harbor pier (see further Hardie ad loc.). The principal parallel, then, is the Latinus simile, with possible ethnographic associations for the image of the immutable Latin monarch. Cf., too, G. 3.261–262, during the miniature catalogue of what the love-crazed young man will endure. For the beaching of ships see Olson ad Aristophanes, *Ach.* 1159–1161.

207 consurgunt nautae et magno clamore morantur

consurgunt: The sailors rise as a unit, in unison (*con-*).

clamore morantur: The phrase also occurs at Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.28. The line is artfully arranged to highlight the frustration of how the men rise up with a great shout, caught in a state of frustration and possessed of an eager desire to press ahead, even as they are delayed by the accident. On the verb see Page ad loc., and especially Henry's lively note; on *clamore* he observes, "Shouting, not on account of the danger of being drowned, for there was none, and they were not alarmed; but on account of the danger they were in of not winning the race." "*Morari* serait ici un équivalent poétique de *inhibere navem* ... il s'agit de ramer à rebours, soit pour ralentir le navire sur la lancée, soit pour l'arracher en arrière après un éperonnage" (Perret ad loc.).

208 ferratasque trudes et acuta cuspidē contos

trudes: A barge-pole, tipped with metal. The noun is exceedingly rare and occurs only here in V. (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.46); the related verb appears 5× in the G. and once in the A., at 4.406–407 *pars grandia trudent / obnixae frumenta umeris*, where the verbal repetitions of *trud-* and *obnix-* secure the parallel. There, the workers laboring to erect the city of Carthage were compared to a line of ants; once again, as with the question of the *murex* and its evocation

of the scene of Aeneas watching the construction of Dido's city, we see the ethnographic theme at work, though here the beaching of Sergestus' ship is a tangible sign of the death of the old Troy that was either predestined from time immemorial (only to be revealed to Juno at the climax of the divine action of *A.* 12), or, if not predetermined, was then perhaps achieved by the goddess' wrath: a proof that while some things (e.g., the foundation of Rome) are apparently fated, other things are subject to change. The verb is frequently found (most especially in its compound forms) in comedy; Lucretius has it, also Horace (c. 2.18.15 *truditur dies die*; *ep.* 2.31; *Epist.* 1.5.17; 2.2.11 *extrudere*) and Tacitus; cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 4.616. There is also a connection with *A.* 1.144–145 *Cymothoe simul et Triton adnixus acuto / detrudunt navis scopulo*, where the sea gods help to rescue Aeneas' shipwrecked sailors—but we should remember that Triton will soon be responsible for the murder of Misenus, a likely member of Mnesteus' crew.

M has *sudes* here, which would have parallels in Book 11: 473–474 *praefodiunt alii portas aut saxa sudesque / subvectant*, of the Latin preparations for the Trojan assault on their capital; and 894, where the women of the city follow the example of Camilla and begin to risk their lives to defend their home (cf. 7.524, of the weaponry that is employed in the earliest movements of the war in Latium). The rare *trudes* may have occasioned the “problem” here, and while the associations with the Book 11 passages would be noteworthy, besides the stronger manuscript support, the ethnographic link of the *trudes* with the ants of Book 4 is more compelling than the more tenuous echoes of the *sudes*.

acuta cuspide: Cf. Ovid, *Am.* 1.1.11; *Her.* 3.119; *Met.* 1.480; 4.299; 6.78; *Ibis* 483–484; Martial, *ep.* 14.92.1. The *murex* that harmed the vessel was described as sharp (205 above), and so a sharp-pointed tool is fittingly used to try to remedy the situation.

contos: Another rare word, used significantly by V. of Charon's implement to steer his vessel across the Styx (6.30), and elsewhere in the poet only at 9.510 *duris detrudere contis*, where the repetition of *trud-* and *cont-* secures the echo: the Trojans are trapped in their camp and are seeking to prevent the Volscians (505) from battering their way into the enclosure: another echo of ethnographic import. Lucan imitated this passage at *BC* 6.175; Propertius has *baridos et contis rostra Liburna sequi* (c. 3.11.44), of Cleopatra's vessels at Actium.

209 *expediunt fractosque legunt in gurgite remos.*

expediunt: The verb occurs once each in Books 5 and 11 (12× elsewhere in the *A.*; 2× in the *G.*), with different shades of meaning; at 11.315 *expediam*, Latinus explains his position to the Latin war council (*OLD* s.v. 4, the metaphorical use of the sense of unpacking something).

gurgite remos: The line-end is borrowed from Catullus, c. 64.183 *quine fugit lentos incurvans gurgite remos?*; Statius has *cum Thetis Idaeos—numquam vana parentum / auguria!—expavit vitreo sub gurgite remos* (*Ach.* 1.26, where see Uccellini).

fractos ... remos: Cf. Horace, *ep.* 10.6, and see below on 222 *fractis ... remis*. Here Sergestus' men gather up the pieces of their broken vessel; below they will try to learn how to sail with shattered oars.

210 at laetus Mnestheus successuque acrior ipso

The conjunction serves again (cf. 188 above) to introduce a change of scene, with another return to Mnestheus and his Pristis. The Memmian captain had wanted to avoid the indignity of the last place; now the ill fortune of Sergestus' Centaurus gives him cause to aspire to the higher goals of which he had never lost sight.

successu: Cf. 231 below. The noun otherwise occurs in V. at 2.386, where the ill-fated Coroebus is happy at his success; at 12.616 *iam minus atque minus successu laetus equorum*, where Turnus grows increasingly displeased at the business of chasing down Trojan stragglers, just before his attention is drawn to Aeneas' assault on Latinus' capital; 12.914 *successum dea dira negat*, where Turnus is not given strength in his final fight with Aeneas. 2×, then, of Turnus, and in decidedly dark contexts (especially in the latter case); 1× of the doomed lover of Cassandra. These occurrences bookmark the present scene, where Mnestheus takes heart at Sergestus' fate—though, in the end, he will be disappointed in his hopes for victory. For *laetus successu* cf. Livy 27.16.14.1.

211 agmine remorum celeri ventisque vocatis

agmine remorum: The phrase occurs only here in extant Latin, which makes it problematic to conclude that the *agmen* = a row of oars. For another interpretation, note Farrell ad loc., who argues that *agmen* = “movement” or “drive,” not “line” of oars.

ventisque vocatis: The phrase is repeated from 3.253 *Italiam cursu petitis ventisque vocatis*, as the Harpy Celaeno makes her address to the Trojans; cf. 8.707 *ipsa videbatur ventis regina vocatis*, where Cleopatra prepares to flee Actium. V. thus continues his associations between the present regatta and the celebration of Octavian's victory at Actium, while at the same time he draws connections between the narrative of the ship race and the larger ethnographic considerations of the epic. Mackail notes perceptively that from the evidence of 281 it would seem that there are no fully furled sails on the vessels as they race, “so that *ventis vocatis* must merely mean now aided by the wind, supposed to be blowing inshore: it having the effect of producing the *prona maria* of the next line.”

212 *prona petit maria et pelago decurrit aperto.*

prona ... maria: The phrase occurs elsewhere in extant Latin only at Pliny, *Pan.* 86.4.2. In *prona* (and *aperto*) we find a contrast with the dangerous waters near the rock, where the projecting stones present a hazardous challenge to navigation. For *pronus* cf. 147 above (of the comparison of the ships' crews to chariot racers); 332 (of Nisus as he falls). Servius takes *prona* as meaning "close to the shores" ("vicina litoribus"), as opposed to the *altum* that is located at a greater distance from the coast, but the emphasis would seem to be on the flatness of the open expanse of sea and the safety of not drawing too close to the *saxum*, where even if the waters seem flat, dangers may well lurk just beneath the surface. Phillipson is best here: "We find sailing away from land spoken of as 'mounting' the sea (the horizon appearing as something of an eminence), and approaching land as a descent; cf. *demittere*, l. 29, and *decurrit* in this line. We may therefore suppose that a Roman would picture the outward half of the boat-race as an ascent, the return as a descent. To give too much colour in our translation to this idea (by making *prona* = sloping, and *decurrit* = runs down) would jar on English ears. We may render the line, 'makes for the land-ward waters, and runs home on a clear stretch of sea.'" "Dort *pronus* von der Strömung des Flusses. Also die Schiffe sind den Wellen entgegen abgefahren; jetzt werden sie von ihnen getrieben, s. dem Vergleich" (Ladewig ad loc.). For the enallage of *prona ... maria* see Conte 2007, 99.

pelago ... aperto: Cf. Lucan, *BC* 532–533; Statius, *Theb.* 5.351; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.678; Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.67.11. Quintilian (7.9.10) read *caelo* here for *pelago*, no doubt under the influence of the following simile of the dove (Mynors compares *A.* 1.155, of Neptune riding the waves after calming the storm). The word order of the verse is chiasmatic.

decurrit: 2× in this book, and 2× in 11: cf. 610 below, of Iris; 11.189 *decurrere*, during the requiems for Pallas et al.; 11.490 *decurrens*, of Turnus.

213 *qualis spelunca subito commota columba,*

The commencement of the celebrated simile of the dove in flight (note here Putnam 1965, 78–79; Hornsby 1970, 55–56, citing Otis 1964, 59–61; F. Capponi, "Nota a Virgilio (*Aen.* 5, 213–217)," in *Helmantica* 33 [1982], 235–243), an image that looks both forward to the climactic archery contest at 485 ff. below, and back to Apollonius' comparison of the Argo to a hawk (*Arg.* 2.932–935). Nelis 2001, 214 considers the replacement of the hawk by a dove as part of V's plan to link Mnesteus' approach to the rock with the Argo's navigation of the Symplegades. The simile will also connect to the comparison at 11.721–724 of Camilla's slaughter of the Ligurian to an accipiter's attack on a dove.

Doves (the bird *deest* in Royds; cf. Toynbee 1973, 258–259) figure infrequently but significantly in the *A.*; for the present scene the poet envisions a rock pigeon (Aelian, *De Animal.* 4.58). At 2.516–517 *praecipites atra ceu tempestate columbae, | condensae et divum amplexae simulacra sedebant*, Hecuba and her daughters are compared to doves as they await the Greek invasion of the royal enclosure. At 6.190–192, twin doves appear to Aeneas and Achates to help in the quest to find the Golden Bough. These are the only appearances of the bird in the epic outside Books 5 and 11. The dove was sacred to Venus (Pollard 1977, 146–147, citing Aelian, *De Animal.* 4.2 on the significance of doves to the Embarkation festival of Aphrodite at Eryx in Sicily, which is probably in V.'s mind here), and in all the passages except the archery contest, the bird is clearly associated with the Trojan favorites of the goddess: 1) the Trojan royal family's most vulnerable members; 2) the ship of Mnestheus and his *Hectorei socii*; 3) the birds we can imagine his mother sent to help Aeneas find the Bough; 4) the Ligurian ally of Aeneas, about to be slain by the rather anti-Venusian Camilla. On the precise identification of these Virgilian birds, Horsfall notes well ad 6.190 *geminæ ... columbae*: “‘Dove’ is probably near enough, much though we might prefer tiresome ornithological precision.” There seems to be no hint in V. of any association of the dove with the Pleiades (cf. Aeschylus, fr. 312 Sommerstein).

In the archery contest, a dove will be the target doomed to be sacrificed, a seemingly strange choice of prey for the children of Venus as they celebrate memorial games for the goddess' *quondam* lover Anchises. As we shall see below, the portent of the flaming arrow at the contest—a fiery omen that follows the death of the dove—will presage the loss of the Arcadian Pallas; significantly, the last appearances of the dove in the first and second halves of the epic, in the penultimate books of V.'s *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, announce the death of Venus' bird. The comparison of Priam's wife and daughters to doves on the very threshold of the destruction of Troy presages the death of the city that will be heralded definitively in the reconciliation of Juno. In one sense, the dove of the present simile that seems to find safe and tranquil flight will be the dove slain soon enough at *Trojan* hands as they fire at it in prefiguration of the war in Italy, a war in which Aeneas is, after all, in some sense fighting against his own destiny.

spelunca: The nervous flight of the dove from the cave connects to the *spelunca* as locus for the “marriage” between Dido and Aeneas; cf. the repeated lines 4.124 = 4.165–166, with the key verb *devenire* changing from future to present tense as Juno's plan comes to fruition.; V. underscores the significance of the cave by the striking repetition. Venus thinks the plan is to her benefit (4.127–128), but in the end it is Juno who proves to be the more strategically minded goddess. Mnestheus' flight is parallel to Aeneas' eventual escape from

the Carthaginian cave; cf., too, the cave as locus of the marine horror Scylla (3.424 *at Scyllam caecis cohibet spelunca latebris*), and V's emphasis on how the regatta is a symbolic reenactment of an encounter with the sea monster. Besides the cave of Cacus in Book 8, the other *spelunca* in the epic is the cave of Avernus (6.234), which Aeneas and the Sibyl enter soon after Venus' doves show the way to the Bough, in rather a reversal of the present scene. Mnestheus, the progenitor of the *gens Memmia* that will be admonished and chided by Lucretius, is like Aeneas in his escape from Dido, but the image of the dove connects also to the descent to Avernus (where the Trojan will learn of the advent of Turnus, and of the lessons of *Romane, memento*); in the end, Aeneas will not absorb his father's *parcere subiectis*, any more than he will understand the Lucretian lessons that may well lurk at the end of the underworld in the enigma of the Gates of Sleep. See further Fratantuono 2007b.

Significantly, too, the aforementioned Sicilian Embarkation festival described by Aelian celebrated the departure of Venus for *Libya*, and the appearance of a dove of exceptional beauty after nine days figured prominently in the rites. Venus' travel to Libya has a baleful connection with Aeneas' escape from Carthage; the *novemdiales* of that liturgy connect here to the nine day period before the games and the memorial rites for Anchises. And Venus Erycina was depicted on coins of the *gens Memmia* (Galinsky 1969, 220–221).

The release of the dove connects the present passage with the question of return to north Africa and the ethnographic problems posed by Aeneas' sojourn there in Book 4 (Aelian notes the return of Venus to Sicily was celebrated with its own sister festival to the Embarkation); like a frightened dove that has found serenity, the Memmian Mnestheus' vessel (we might compare the importance of the goddess Venus to the proem of Lucretius' first book) has seemingly escaped from peril (just as Lucretius offers his poetry as a cautionary remedy against excessive passions of the sort that Aeneas and Dido succumbed to in Carthage; cf. Aeneas' ultimate surrender to wrath at the end of Book 12). But Mnestheus will not win the regatta; the Lucretian lessons of V's eschatology will not be mastered by his hero.

For the poet's use of his own observation of birds in the crafting of his avian and other similes, with reference to this passage, see G. Williams 1968, 668; and, for the "gap, and its accompanying element of surprise" between the narrative and the simile, *ibid.*, 736. This is the third simile of the book, following on the snake that portends doom like a rainbow (84–93), and the regatta's comparison to a chariot race (137–150). On Dante's imitation of this simile at *Inf.* 5.73–87, see J. Whitfield, "Virgil into Dante," in Dudley 1969, 94–118, 113–114.

Mnestheus' ship is like a dove; at 242–243 below, Cloanthus' vessel will be compared to an arrow in flight—the Scylla is swifter than any flying shaft. These

two images will be combined in the arrow shot of Acestes that provides a climax to the archery event (519 ff.).

Doves figure in foundation legends (see Horsfall's *A.* 6, p. 155): the ethnographic theme again.

214 cui domus et dulces latebroso in pumice nidi,

latebroso in pumice: V. repeats this phrase at the parallel 12.587–588 *inclusas ut cum latebroso in pumice pastor / vestigavit apes fumoque implevit amaro*, where Aeneas is compared to a shepherd smoking out bees as he contemplates the burning of Latinus' capital. The passage in Book 12 is deeply associated with the ethnographic drama that attends the ultimate reconciliation of Juno to the future Italian Rome; V. considered it important enough to encode his *sphragis* in *pu- ve- ma-* (see here M. Carter, "Vergilian *Vestigare*: *Aeneid* 12.587–8," in *CQ* 52 [2002], 615–617; Fratantuono 2008 for the Latin bees in V.'s Lavinia narrative). Interestingly, V. does not reveal the reason for the dove's being roused from its dwelling place; the simile of Book 12 will show bees trapped in their hive and unable to escape from the smoke. These are the only occurrences of *pumex* in the *A.*; cf. *G.* 4.42–44 *saepe etiam effossis, si vera est fama, latebris / sub terra fovere larem, penitusque repertae / pumicibusque cavis exesaeque arboris antro* (where *pumex* and *latebrae* are used of the home of the eminently Roman Lar); 4.374–375 *postquam est in thalami pendentia pumice tecta / perventum*, of Cyrene's arrival at the abode of her beekeeper son—the *G.* parallels help to reinforce the ethnographic import of the language.

The only other appearance of the adjective *latebrosus* in V. = 8.713 *latebrosaque flumina*, where the shield of Aeneas depicts the Nile as it welcomes the defeated Antony and Cleopatra after Actium. The dove is terrified here after it leaves the safety of its haunt in the cave, only to recover its serenity once it soars aloft; the games (especially the regatta) are in part a celebration of Actium, and on the shield V. will reverse the present image, as Antony and Cleopatra return to the *latebroso* in defeat. Mnestheus and his Hectorean crew are like a dove that has departed from the same sort of home that Aeneas will seek to smoke out in Book 12; the home with its *latebrosus pumex* and *dulces nidi* will ultimately be shown to be Italian, not Trojan. The dove that escapes from the cave is premature in its serene flight; war in Italy still looms, with the inevitable loss of Pallas.

The parallel with the scene from Turnus' chariot in Book 12 also tightens the connections between the loss of Gyas' helmsman Menoetes and the replacement of the charioteer Metiscus by Juturna. Ultimately, the Juturna-bird that seeks Trojan sustenance for her nestling Turnus will be chased away by the heaven-sent Dira that assumes avian form (12.843–886).

nidi: The opposite of this home is the home for the nestlings of dread birds at Cacus' cave (8.235 *dirarum nidis domus opportuna volucrum*); the only other nestlings in the *A.* appear at 12.475 *pabula parva legens nidisque loquacibus escas*, of Juturna/Metiscus as she in effect (one might well think) finds Trojan human morsels of food for her hungry brother—scraps to try to satisfy him, but relatively unimportant targets to try to keep him from his ultimate doom: the *loquacibus nidis* = the Italian Turnus. “Vergil is as usual humanizing his animals, whether rook, dove, or bee” (Hahn 1930, 233n1084; 233–234 on the different meanings of nest/nestling in *V.*). With the *dulces nidi* cf. *G.* 1.413–414 *iuvat imbribus actis | progeniem parvam dulcisque revisere nidos*; 4.17 *ore ferunt dulcem nidis immitibus escam*; 4.55–56 *hinc nescio qua dulcedine laetae | progeniem nidosque fovent*.

215 fertur in arva volans plausumque exterrita pennis

fertur in arva: The phrase occurs also at 2.498 *fertur in arva furens*, of the foaming river to which Pyrrhus is compared as he breaks into the Trojan royal enclosure (the collocation is found nowhere else in extant Latin). The parallel is deliberate, since *V.* had already associated the present dove simile with the description of Hecuba and her daughters. But here, the dove is the subject of *fertur in arva*, not the son of Achilles, the marauding invader; much later, the image of the *latebrosus pumex* will reappear as the abode of the *Latin* bees, as the shepherd Aeneas is madly inspired to try to smoke out his own destiny. Here, Mnestheus and his sea monster *Pristis* (cf. below on the deliberately worded 218 *sic ... sic*) are like the dove: the *Pristis* connects to the watery rage that was Pyrrhus and, fittingly enough for the monster it is, it presages the war in Italy, while the *Trojan* (cf. doves/*Venus*) Mnestheus here escapes, as it were, from the *latebrosus pumex* that will later describe the *Latin* capital when it is under attack at the hands of the Trojan Aeneas. *OLD* s.v. 5 takes *arva* as = “dry land (as opposed to the sea or water).” The normal meaning would = tilled soil, in contrast to uncultivated meadows (cf. Ahl’s “farmlands”), but no agricultural undertones seem to attend to the dove’s course. *V.* had described the sea voyage in agricultural terms; the dove’s flight describes the watery voyage of the ship, and the poet retains the land metaphor: rather a total picture.

plausum: The terrified bird applauds, as it were, with the beating of its wings. The immediate comparison is to the clapping of the spectators as they watch the regatta; the dove’s fear and “applause” is a harbinger of the doom that is soon to come.

exterrita: The image is exactly paralleled at 505–506 below, of the dove in the archery contest: *exterrita pennis | ales, et ingenti sonuerunt omnia plausu*, just before Mnestheus fires his shot; he breaks the dove’s bonds and sets it free, in

an incarnation of the present simile. His rescue will be in vain, as Eurytion, the brother of the notorious truce breaker Pandarus, slays the dove—a prefigurement of the utter futility of civil war; of the ultimate destruction of Troy; and, too, of the truce-breaking of the Trojans in *A. 11* (on which see further Fratanuono 2005a).

216 *dat tecto ingentem, mox aëre lapsa quieto*

tecto: The displacement of the word effectively enacts the dove's situation (ablative of separation after 215 *ex-territa*, which also conveys the intensive notion of the bird's fear as being very great); whatever the cause of the terrified flight, it all happened very quickly (213 *subito*), and before the dazed dove could fully regain her bearings, she found herself outside the shelter of the *tectum/spelunca*. Williams takes *tecto* as "local ablative" with *dat* (rather than ablative of separation with *exterrita*), but the poet is more concerned with the deliberately skewed word order that is employed to illustrate the bird's sudden and unexpected rousting from the cave.

ingentem: Soon to be repeated (223) of Gyas' huge Chimaera, which Mnesotheus seemingly effortlessly surpasses. The contrast with the small pigeon or dove is effective; the emphasis on *hugeness* that colors both the regatta and the boxing match is part of the poet's highlighting of the micro/macrocosmic nature of the games.

aëre ... quieto: Petronius has *premebat illa resoluta marmoreis cervicibus aureum torum myrtoque florenti quietum aëra verberabat* (*Sat.* 131.9.2), in a scene between Encolpius and Circe.

aëre lapsa: So at Ovid, *Ep. Pont.* 4.4.16, of Fama.

217 *radit iter liquidum celeris neque commovet alas*:

"The figure is unusually apt" (Burton ad loc.). The dactylic rhythm expresses the rapid flight of the dove.

radit iter: Cf. 170 above, of Cloanthus' safe flight past Gyas, with the other Virgilian occurrences; the "liquid path" appears also at Propertius, c. 3.21.14 *liquidum ... iter*; Silius, *Pun.* 3.156 *iter liquidum volucris rapiente carina*. On V's uses of *iter* see M. Coccia, *EV* III, 50–51.

celeris ... alas: Somewhat surprisingly, this is the only occurrence of the noun-adjective combination in extant Latin, a fact that should probably not, however, encourage the idea that *celeris* could be taken as nominative with the preceding clause (see Williams 1960 ad loc.). The dove is no longer moving the wings that had flapped so quickly in the immediate aftermath of its frightened roust; the bird's glide through the air, admittedly, is exceedingly swift too—the action of this simile is imagined as having transpired quite quickly. For this form of the accusative plural see e.g. Conway ad 1.217.

neque commovet: Non-participial forms of the verb occur in V. only here and at 7.494 *commovere*, of Ascanius' rabid hunting dogs (Wetmore's citation of 7.794 is a typographical error): the dove's glide is the very embodiment of peace. The verb's prefix underscores how the wings work together, and how during the bird's glide they both stay unmoved.

218 sic Mnestheus, sic ipsa fuga secat ultima Pristis

fuga: Significantly, the word is applied not to the bird as it flees its unspecified source of terror, but to the Pristis as it begins the last leg of the race. If the *meta* is symbolic of the future Rome, then here the Trojan, Hectorean Mnestheus flees from that destiny.

secat: V. may have intended a reminiscence here of G. 1.406 *secat aethera*; 410 *secat aethera*, of Scylla as she flees Nisus (especially given the recurrent associations of the present scene with the avoidance of the "other" Scylla, and the imminent use of "Nisus" as the name of a key figure in both the foot race and the events of the war in Italy (on which see below ad 294)). Another rich link, then, with ominous undertones to darken further the mood of the race.

ultima: A subtle, timely reminder that the race is half over.

219 aequora, sic illam fert impetus ipse volantem.

fert impetus: The phrase recurs in V. in a rather different context at 12.368–370 *sic Turno, quacumque viam secat, agmina cedunt | conversaeque ruunt acies; fert impetus ipsum | et cristam adverso curru quatit aura volantem*, of the Rutulian in battle, with his flying helmet crest (the form *volantem* occurs only in these two passages in V.); cf. *Aetna* 506 *fert impetus ingens*; Ovid, *Fasti* 5.523; also A. 1.476 *fertur*, with Conway's note.

The sea monster has now taken flight, as it were; slowly and inexorably, the war in Italy and the rebirth of the *Iliad* draws near for the Trojan exiles. Mnestheus will hold the Trojan gate against Turnus in the battle for the camp in Book 9; here the Mnestheus-dove begins its glide past almost all the competition. *Impetus ipse* is borrowed from Lucretius, *DRN* 6.591 *tamen impetus ille animai*.

Statius imitated the present passage (*Silv.* 5.2.25) *illum omnes acuunt plausus, illum ipse volantem* (where see Gibson).

220 et primum in scopulo luctantem deserit alto

Once again, the poet introduces a briefly held element of surprise: whom or what exactly is Mnestheus abandoning?

luctantem: The masculine form of this participle recurs at 11.756, in the simile of the eagle and the serpent that describes Tarchon's assault on Venulus;

the audience would remember, too, the feminine use with *animam* that is employed of Dido's soul in its death agonies (4.695). Elsewhere in the epic the verb describes Aeolus' struggling winds (1.53); wrestlers in Elysium (6.643); the action of the Trojan ships on arrival in Italy (7.28); the wounded and limping Aeneas, as Mnestheus, Achates, and Ascanius help him to walk (12.387); Aeneas as he struggles to free his javelin from Faunus' sacred oak (12.781); cf. also the struggling oxen of *G.* 2.357, and the goats of 2.526.

deserit alto: This passage is imitated at Ps.-Seneca, *Oct.* 879–881 *ratis implevit vexitque procul, | languidus idem deserit alto | saevoque mari*, where see Ferri.

221 *Sergestum brevibusque vadis frustra que vocantem*

The *Pristis* passes the Centaur: the natural order of monsters is thus preserved, as the marine horror wins out at sea over the terrestrial.

Sergestum: Noun and participle frame the verse.

brevibusque vadis: This passage inspired Seneca, *HF* 322–324 *cumque deserta rate | deprensus haesit Syrtium brevibus vadis | et puppe fixa maria superavit pedes*. There is a certain degree of pathos in the description of the shoals; they were brief, but all too substantial a hazard for the Centaur's successful navigation of the *meta*. There may be a hint that the traditionally bibulous equine monster cannot negotiate the turn.

frustra que vocantem: Silius imitates the phrase at *Pun.* 6.680. The enjambement is effective: the calling for help is in vain and frustrated as it were, and the *auxilia* is literally held over to the next line.

222 *auxilia et fractis discentem currere remis.*

auxilia: Cf. 8.7–8 *contemptorque deum Mezentius undique cogunt | auxilia et latos vastant cultoribus agros*.

discentem: This is the only appearance of a participial form of the verb in *V.*; see further below on 737 *disces* (the ghost of Anchises to his son).

fractis ... remis: Cf. Ovid, *Her.* 19.184–186 *tu tua plus remis brachia posse putas? | quod cupis, hoc nautae metuunt, Leandre, natare; | exitus hic fractis puppibus esse solet*.

currere: The verb recurs at 862 *currit iter* below, as Aeneas' flagship sails safely near the Sirens' rock in the wake of the loss of Palinurus; cf. also 235 and 251, in very different contexts: 4 of 14 occurrences of the verb in the *A.* appear in this book of games.

223 *inde Gyan ipsamque ingenti mole Chimaeram*

The fortune that secured a victory for the *Pristis* over the Centaur now helps to spur Mnestheus on to loftier goals; he has ensured that he will not be

last, and now he aspires to win (at least?) second and not third place. The reminder of the Chimaera's great size (*ingenti mole*) helps to underscore the magnitude of the undertaking. The associations of Gyas' Chimaera with Turnus that will be revealed later in the epic also serve to increase the impressiveness of Mnestheus' daring. Gyas, too, is the only contestant in the regatta who is not explicitly associated by V. with a future Roman *gens*; the father of Catiline has been surpassed, and the Gyas whose offspring V. does not delineate; the final contest will be between the progenitors of the *gens Memmia* and the *gens Cluentia*. Mnestheus surpasses Gyas without difficulty; in Book 9 (778 ff.), he will be among those Trojans who hold the gate of the camp against Turnus (see here especially Otis 1964, 113); there Mnestheus will stand fast against his foe, while here he glides by as if on a liquid path (cf. 217 above).

ingenti mole: See above on 118; here there is almost a hint of military maneuvering, as if in the description of a sea battle; the phrase can be used in martial contexts (cf. Frontinus, *Strat.* 1.5.5.6).

224 *consequitur; cedit, quoniam spoliata magistro est.*

The speed with which Mnestheus overtakes the Chimaera is expressed by the effective juxtaposition of *consequitur; cedit*; again, there is a brief moment of suspense before it becomes clear that the Chimaera gives way (despite, or perhaps better because of its bulk) in the absence of its helmsman. Turnus will lose his charioteer in Book 12, when his sister dispenses with Metiscus; that loss will be made worse when his sister is forced to leave him by Jovian decree.

consequitur: The verb occurs 6× in the *A.*; besides 153 above (of Cloanthus), cf. 494 below, again of Mnestheus (during the archery competition); 2.409 *consequimur cuncti et densis incurrimus armis*; 11.722 *consequitur pennis sublime in nube columbam*, of the celebrated image of the Camilla-accipiter and the dove; 12.375 *lancea consequitur*, of Phegeus' unsuccessful attack on Turnus. 3×, then, in Book 5, and always of the two finalists in the regatta; once in the plural of a hopeless attack during the night Troy fell, and once each in the poem's last two books of an assault from each side in the Latin war.

spoliata magistro: The language will be repeated at 6.352–354 *non ullum pro me tantum cepisse timorem, | quam tua ne spoliata armis, excussa magistro, | deficeret tantis navis surgentibus undis*, as the shade of Palinurus addresses Aeneas in the underworld. *Spoliare* occurs 8× in the *A.*: cf. 661 below, of the despoiling of the altars by the frenzied Trojan women; 6.168, of Achilles' killing of Hector; 7.599, of Latinus' rueful observation that he is deprived of a happy outcome in the wake of the eruption of hostilities in Italy; 11.80, of the weapons Pallas had seized from his victims that are now part of his requiem rites; 12.297, of the Italians as they rush to strip the arms from the Etruscan Aulestes; 12.935,

of Turnus' prayer (unanswered in the *A.*) that if he is to die, his body might at least be returned to his people (a key passage near the end of the epic that balances the remembrance of Achilles' slaughter of Hector). The uses of the verb are artfully balanced, then; 2× of the Achilles-Hector motif as reborn in the single combat of Aeneas-Turnus; 2× of the stripping of arms, once of Pallas' deeds, and once of the Italians; 2× with reference to the loss of a helmsman.

"The captain of a Trojan ship was evidently not as expert in guiding the vessel as its helmsman was. Palinurus was evidently a better helmsman and seaman than Aeneas was; to his judgment Aeneas deferred" (Knapp ad loc.).

225 *solus iamque ipso superest in fine Cloanthus,*

solus: Cf. the same form below at 370, of Dares; 519, of Acestes; 542, of Eurytion (who actually hits the bird in the archery contest and thus would have "won" the competition, had Acestes' arrow shot not been transformed into a dramatic portent: *solus* is thus used of two victors, of one recipient of signal favor, and of the loser in the boxing match).

superest: Cf. the same form (with *quod*) at 691 and 796 below, of respective prayers of Aeneas and his mother Venus. For *solus ... superest* cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4.607–608; 6.98. The language (*solus, superest*) on one level describes how Cloanthus is Mnestheus' only remaining competition; on another it presages how Cloanthus will be alone at the finish line as the victor, and may distantly herald his gentile associations in the future Rome. Cloanthus will disappear from the narrative after the regatta, in contrast to the other contestants, who will reappear in martial contexts before the end of the epic.

226 *quem petit et summis adnixus viribus urget.*

adnixus: P has *enixus*; *enitor* appears elsewhere in V. at 3.327 *enixae*, of Andromache's declaration of the slavery of the Trojan captives; 3.391 *enixae*, of the portentous sow (and cf. 8.44); 7.320, of Hecuba's fateful pregnancy of Paris; 8.44: every appearance in the *A.* of the verb, then, is of a female human or animal. *Adnitor* appears at 1.144, of Triton leaning on a rock; 3.208 and 4.583, of sailors; 4.690, of Dido trying to lift her head; 9.229, of the Trojan war council as they lean on their spears; 9.744, of Turnus as he prepares to hurl his spear at Pandarus; 12.92, of a spear leaning against a column.

summis ... viribus: Cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 4.1210, of amorous canines; elsewhere in V., besides 9.744 *summis adnixus viribus* cf. 9.531 *summis quam viribus omnes*, of the Italian effort to destroy a Trojan tower.

urget: The form occurs 2× in 5 (see on 442 below, of Entellus), and 2× in 11 (524, of a valley; and 755, of the eagle to which Tarchon is compared as he attacks Venulus).

227–285 The dramatic end sequence of the regatta now commences; Mnestheus and Cloanthus are now the only two contenders for the prize of victory. The *Pristis* performs stunningly well, but Cloanthus makes a most timely prayer to the gods of the deep; his entreaty is heard, and Portunus himself conducts the *Scylla* to the finish line in the first place. Prizes are distributed to the winners of the first, second, and third places in the race; Sergestus, meanwhile, has managed to bring his crippled Centaurus safely back to harbor, as it creeps along like a snake that has been wounded either by a wheel or a wayfarer; Aeneas rewards him, too, with a prize for the fourth place. The awarding of the prizes is transformed by V. into a sequence with deep resonances for the ethnography of the poem; the first award is a cloak that is illustrated with the story of the Trojan Ganymede, while the sequence closes with a clear foreshadowing of the future Rome of Romulus and Remus, even as allusions are also made to the future history of both the Catilinarian conspiracy and the war of Octavian against Antony and Cleopatra.

227 **tum vero ingeminat clamor cunctique sequentem**

tum vero: For the phrase see above on 172. Here it underscores the reaction of the crowd to Mnestheus' feats of athletic vigor.

ingeminat: The verb recurs below at 434, during the boxing match; cf. 1.747, of the applause at Dido's banquet; 2.770, of Aeneas during the search for Creüsa; 3.199, of the lightning during the storm after the departure from Crete; 4.531, of Dido's anxieties; 7.578, of Turnus after the outbreak of war in Italy; 9.811–812 *ingeminant hastis et Troes et ipse | fulmineus Mnestheus*, of the attack on Turnus in the Trojan camp (the passage most parallel to the present scene, as Mnestheus presses on to overtake Cloanthus). Cf. also *G.* 3.43–45.

cunctique sequentem: Seneca may have had this passage in mind at *HF* 435–436.

228 **instigant studiis, resonatque fragoribus aether.**

instigant: The verb is another of those words that appear only in Books 5 and 11, or at least the same number of times in each book; cf. 11.730, where the Etruscan Tarchon tries to rouse his men to respond to Camilla and her Volscians. *Studiis* would naturally refer to the factionalism of the supporters of each vessel as they view the performance of their favorite ship; here, the point is that *everyone* (227 *cuncti*) is encouraging Mnestheus, since he has performed so amazingly well, and now seems to have a chance of winning the first place.

resonat: Cf. 3.432 *Scyllam et caeruleis canibus resonantia saxa*, another of the connections between the regatta and the avoidance of the marine peril in *A.* 3; the parallel 4.668 *resonat magnis plangoribus aether*, of the reaction

in Carthage to the death of Dido; 7.11–12 *dives inaccessos ubi Solis filia lucos / adsiduo resonat cantu*, of the hazardous abode of Circe, another threat the narrative of the regatta also prefigures, particularly in the matter of her transformative powers; 12.607 *turba furit, resonant late plangoribus aedes*, of the reaction in Latinus' palace after Lavinia has torn her hair and her rosy cheeks. See further Roiron 1908, 230.

fragoribus: The noun occurs 11× in the epic, once each in Books 5 and 11 (cf. 11.214, of the reaction in the Latin royal enclosure to the funerals of the war dead). Cf. also Lucan, *BC* 1.152 *aetheris impulsu sonitu mundique fragore* (with Roche). Pω have *clamoribus* here, which would be unlikely after 227 *clamor*, even if such repetitions did not bother the ancients as much as they may concern moderns.

229 **hi proprium decus et partum indignantur honorem**

decus: See above on 174 *decoris*; for *proprium decus* cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.84.8.

partum: Forms of *pario*, *parere* occur 9× times in the *A.*, 1× each in 5 and 11; cf. 11.25 *hanc patriam peperere*, of Aeneas' remarks concerning the soon to be buried war dead.

indignantur: At 651 below, Pyrgo tells the Trojan women how (the real) Beroë is *indignantem* at being unable to be present at their gathering; the verb is most famous in *V.* for its use at 11.831 and 12.952 at the deaths of Camilla and Turnus.

230 **ni teneant, vitamque volunt pro laude pacisci;**

ni: *V.* here gives the first of two mixed conditions in quick succession; cf. 233 below, of the start of Cloanthus' prayer. Both conditions relate to the Scylla, which does not wish to lose its *proprium decus* (a phrase that further connects *V.*'s Scylla to Camilla, the *decus Italiae*; see above on 174 *decoris*, and cf. on 229 *indignantur*: the verb is emblematic of the bitter ends of Camilla and her Rutulian superior, and *V.* subtly presages the ethnographic victory of Camilla and Turnus in the triumph of Cloanthus' Scylla).

pacisci: Forms of the verbs occur 6× in the epic; at 4.99 Juno refers to the *pactosque hymenaeos* between Aeneas and Dido; the goddess complains at 10.79 during the divine council of the abduction of promised brides (*et gremiis abducere pactas*). Turnus mocks the phantom Aeneas about his flight from his intended bride (10.649 *thalamos ne desere pactos*); at 10.722 *pactae* refers to Acron's promised spouse. Besides these nuptial passages, at 12.48–49 *quam pro me curam geris, hanc precor, optime, pro me | deponas letumque sinas pro laude pacisci* Turnus asserts his willingness to die for praise, in a passage directly inspired by the present description of the attitude of the crew of

Cloanthus' Scylla as they see their expected victory suddenly put in jeopardy. See further H. Nehr Korn, "A Homeric Episode in Vergil's *Aeneid*," in *AJPh* 92.4 (1971), 566–584, 576n21.

231 *hos successus alit: possunt, quia posse videntur.*

successus: See above on 210, where the noun refers to Mnestheus' glide past the damaged ship of Sergestus.

alit: The verb occurs once in the present book and once in 11, in the description of the cut flower during the requiem for Pallas (71 *non iam mater alit tellus virisque ministrat*).

posse videntur: The phrase is Lucretian (*DRN* 3.325–326 *nam communibus inter se radicibus haerent | nec sine pernicie divelli posse videntur*); 4.107–109 *reiectae reddunt speculorum ex aequore visum, | nec ratione alia servari posse videntur, | tanto opera ut similes reddantur cuique figurae*.

On the "proverbial quality" of the second half of this line, and similar instances of verse-capping, see R. Steele, "Incomplete Lines in the *Aeneid*," in *CJ* 5.5 (1910), 226–231, 231. The force of *possunt* is that Mnestheus' Pristis truly could win by the sheer will of the crew, however unlikely victory might seem; V. will at once give more detail on exactly what he means by winning. On the Pindaric sentiments of this quasi-aphorism see S. Skulsky, "ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΠΕΙΡΑΤΑ ΣΥΝΤΑΝΥΣΑΙΕ: Language and Meaning in *Pythian* 1," in *CPh* 70.1 (1975), 8–31, 16n12.

232 *et fors aequatis cepissent praemia rostris,*

An interesting expression to clarify the abilities of the Pristis: V. once again introduces the idea of chance, here contrafactually; perhaps they would have been able to take the prize "with prows having been equaled"—in other words, Cloanthus' Scylla was the likely winner, and Mnestheus might have been able to *tie* the Pristis for the first place. The adverbial use of *fors* occurs also at 11.50 *fors et vota facit cumulatque altaria donis*, where Aeneas imagines how Evander is waiting for news of his son Pallas; in both instances, the expectations will not be fulfilled.

fors: On the archaic flavor of the adverbial use, vid. Cordier 1939, 38; Horsfall ad 6.537: "In V., presumably an archaism; odd that it is not attested earlier."

aequatis: Cf. 4.587 *vidit et aequatis classem producere velis*, as Dido at dawn sees the Trojan ships departing from the Carthaginian harbor.

cepissent praemia: Suetonius has *omnem collationem palam recusarent, consensus flagitantes a delatoribus potius revocanda praemia quaecumque cepissent* (*Nero* 44.2.7–45.1.1).

233 ni palmas ponto tendens utrasque Cloanthus

Cloanthus commences his prayer that victory might remain his (and only his); cf. the Homeric prayer of Odysseus to Athena in the foot race at *Iliad* 23.770–771. On the language of Virgilian prayer and supplication see especially Heuzé 1985, 620–622; F. Sullivan, “*Tendere Manus: Gestures in the Aeneid*,” in *CJ* 63.8 (1968), 358–362; Naiden 2006, 364 has a listing of acts of supplication in the *A.* that holds to fairly strict definitions of what constitutes such an act. On certain aspects of Christian allegorical reception of Cloanthus’ prayer see Kallendorf 1999, 184–185.

palmas ... tendens: Cf. *G.* 4.498, where Eurydice stretches forth her weak hands to Orpheus before suffering her second death; 1.93, of the first appearance of Aeneas in the epic during the storm (and his appeal is to the *sidera*, not the gods of the sea); 2.405–205, where Cassandra can stretch only her eyes to the *caelum*, since her hands are bound (a scene imitated at *Ps.*-V., *Ciris* 405–406, where see Lyne). See below on 256 for the aged guardians of Ganymede and their similar gesture after the bird of Jove absconds with their royal charge. “P. often available as a useful spondaic alternative for *manus ... p.* has a sense much wider than that of Eng. ‘palm’” (Horsfall ad 6.685).

palmas ... utrasque: The gesture will be repeated at 6.685 *alacris palmas utrasque tetendit*, of Anchises’ shade as Aeneas draws near in the underworld; cf., e.g., the reported supplicatory prayer of Hippolytus at Euripides, *Hipp.* 1190. Page notes the use of the plural of *uterque* “even in prose” of those things for which there is a (natural) pair; he compares 855–856 *utraque* / *tempora* below, of Sleep’s enchantment of Palinurus with his Stygian wand. See further Horsfall ad 6.685 for the qualification of the noun with some descriptor.

234 fudissetque preces divosque in vota vocasset:

fudissetque preces: Cf. 780–782 below, where Venus will pour forth prayers to Neptune for the safe transit of the Trojan fleet to Italy; 6.55, where Aeneas makes a similar supplication of Deiphobe; *Ilias Latina* 551–552, of Hecuba praying for her children; Horace, *ep.* 17.53 (with Watson); Statius, *Theb.* 10.516; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.16–17 *fundunt maestas ad sidera voces: | precor*, of an address to Apollo. *Fudisset* opens a small ring that will close with 238 *fundam*. Interestingly, while Cloanthus will pour forth prayers (despite the subjunctive verb), it is not stated that he does pour out a libation, notwithstanding the future indicative *fundam* below. “Common language in both verse and prose for any form of aroused expression; the original metaphor of pouring a liquid presumably a good deal enfeebled” (Horsfall ad 6.55). Two verbs enclose the verse.

divosque in vota vocasset: The phrase will be paralleled at 7.471 *divosque in vota vocavit*, where Turnus calls the immortals as witness to his prayers after

Allecto has spurred him on to war, another connection between the Scylla and the Rutulian leader.

235 'di, quibus imperium est pelagi, quorum aequora curro,

imperium ... pelagi: The same phrase is used at 1.138–139 *non illi imperium pelagi saevumque tridentem, / sed mihi sorte datum*. There, Neptune had chastened the winds and sent them back to their lord Aeolus; at the end of this book, Venus will make an appeal to her uncle that will perhaps be answered only at the cost of the helmsman Palinurus. In the present scene, Neptune will make no appearance (though he is of course to be included among the *di* addressed here), and only lesser marine deities will assist in Cloanthus' victory; cf. Mnestheus' address to the supreme sea god at 195—there may be a subtle foreshadowing here that Neptune will make a future appearance in the book. Does Neptune demand a Trojan sacrifice because he was not explicitly named in this passage? (Cloanthus' prayer is perhaps too inclusive). In any case, *pietas* wins the day for Cloanthus.

aequora: Note *aequore* (PR; Macrobius), also the question of whether we should read *pelagi est* (so the second corrector of M; R), *vs. est pelagi* (M's first corrector; Pω; Macrobius; Servius). Mackail compares 1.524 *maria vecti* to defend the accusative plural.

236 vobis laetus ego hoc candentem in litore taurum

candentem ... taurum: Forms of *candere* occur 8× in the *A.* (and never in the *E.* or *G.*); cf. 3.573, of the white hot ash from Etna; 4.61 *candentis vaccae*, at Dido's sacrifice; 6.895, of the gleaming ivory of the Gate of Sleep; 8.720 *candentis limine Phoebi*, of Augustus at the threshold of the temple of the Palatine Apollo; 9.563, of the white swan to which one of Turnus' victims is compared; 9.627–628, of the *iuvenus* Ascanius promises to offer to Jupiter before the attack on Numanus Remulus; 12.91, of the white hot metal of the sword that Vulcan had forged for Turnus' father Daunus. Significantly, the related noun *candor* appears only 2× in *V.*: 3.538, of the snow white horses that Aeneas sees on the coast of Italy upon landing; and 12.84, of the horses of *Turnus*, which surpass the snows for their white gleam. On these terms (and the related adjective *candidus*) see further Edgeworth 1992, 112–117; he sees a connection between the white horses of Rhesus and foreshadowing of Turnus' doom, but the point of the two uses of *candor* is to underscore the future *Italian* nature of Rome. For *candidus* see below on 571, where Ascanius rides a horse *candida* Dido had given him; the souls soon to be reborn are like bees around white lilies at 6.708–709; the *candida luna* illumines the night for Aeneas' ships as they approach the Tiber mouth at 7.8; the promised omen of the white sow appears at 8.82–83;

Aeneas asserts that Mercury, the son of *candida Maia*, is the progenitor of the Arcadians (8.138); Venus is the *dea candida* as she appears with the divine arms (8.608); Euryalus' *candida pectora* is transfixed at 9.432. 3×, then, in Book 8, in contexts associated with the arrival of Aeneas to his promised land and both the divine favor he enjoys and the relationship of the Trojan exiles to their Arcadian allies (so also at 7.8, as Aeneas draws near to the signal river); the other occurrences (Dido, the bees in Elysium, Euryalus) relate to matters of death and rebirth.

Candentem is reminiscent of *cadentem*, which would of course describe the fate of the white bull.

The main parallel for the present promise of Cloanthus is *A.* 2.201 ff., where Laocoön offers his taurine sacrifice to Neptune before his death (note here especially R. Smith, "Deception and Sacrifice in *Aeneid* 2.1–249," in *AJPh* 120.4 [1999], 503–523). In point of fact, we never see the Cloanthus-sacrifice that is promised here; the god is neither named nor the sacrifice recounted (cf. on 461–484 for Entellus' bull offering). The bull is the right animal for Neptune (Horsfall ad 3.119, with the Homeric and scholiastic notes); Roman sacrifice was concerned with the right animal for the right god, but here the problem is that it was *Mnestheus* and not Cloanthus who invoked Neptune by name.

Both captains command vessels connected to the sea; it is eminently fitting that the last two competitors are in charge of the *Pristis* and the *Scylla*.

237 *constituam ante aras voti reus, extaque salsos*

constituam: The verb occurs 2× in 5 and 2× in 11; with 130 above cf. 11.6 *constituit tumulo* and 11.185 *constituere pyras*, of Aeneas and Tarchon as they oversee the erection of pyres for the war dead (cf. 6.216–217, of the similar construction of the pyre for Misenus). At 6.506 Aeneas tells the ghost of Deiphobus of how he set up a *tumulus* for him when his fate was unknown; that passage presages the aforementioned aftermath of the death of Mezentius (where V. is silent as to whether or not Aeneas fulfilled the Etruscan's final wishes). Elsewhere in the *A.* the verb appears 1× in the first book and 1× in the last; at 1.309 Aeneas sends out men to investigate their new home in north Africa, while at 12.194 he announces how the Teucrians will erect *moenia* for his new city in Italy. Except for those framing uses, therefore, the verb usually appears in contexts related to funeral rites; if the present scene does indeed foreshadow the death of Palinurus by giving a reason why Neptune would demand a sacrifice, then *constituam* has grim associations. Servius perceptively associates these altars with the *arae* that will be despoiled at 661 below to give fuel for burning the fleet; significantly, those altars will be dedicated to Neptune (639–640).

Constituam coordinates neatly with the verbs of the following verse; two at line-start, one at line-end.

voti reus: Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 6.198.

exta: A detail of the proper religious rites performed for the marine gods; cf. Livy 29.27.5 for the throwing of sacrificial entrails into the water in a grisly sort of lustration. This passage will be deliberately echoed at 775 below, where Aeneas will be the one to offer up the *exta* to the sea (and not throw them in; see below on 238 *porriciam*); Neptune will be introduced immediately thereafter for his colloquy with his niece Venus. Dido consults the *exta* at 4.64; *exta* are offered to the infernal deities at 6.254; Aeneas and his men feast on lustral *exta* at 8.183. For the *salsos* / *fluctus* see above on 182.

238 *porriciam in fluctus et vina liquentia fundam*.’

As with the bull sacrifice, so with the libations there will be no description of Cloanthus’ fulfillment of his vow, only the similar rites Aeneas performs at the departure from Sicily—where, significantly, there will be libations and no bull sacrifice: Neptune will demand the remedy for the omission from Venus immediately thereafter. See further here O’Hara 1990, 22–23; also Moskalew 1982, 143 ff., on “patterns of association” in sacrifice and prayer rituals. Entellus will, of course, sacrifice a bull after the boxing match (and in dramatic fashion).

porriciam: Or *proiciam*? *Porriciam* has weak manuscript support (only in the eighth century p; the seventh corrector of M); the verb is old and occurs nowhere else in V. N. Heinsius emended 5.776 *proicit* to balance the two related passages (*edd. vet. seq.*); Servius knows both possibilities; Geymonat defends *porriciam*; Henry uncharacteristically silent (he prints *porriciam*). The decisive evidence here is perhaps Macrobius 3.2.1, on V’s unflinching proper use of terminology, in this case of “offering up” *exta* to the sea; Kaster ad loc. is inclined to accept the strength of Macrobius’ reading. If it is correct that the point of the sacrifice narrative here and on the departure from the island is to emphasize how Cloanthus does not sacrifice a bull, while Aeneas does offer the promised *exta* and Neptune consequently demands the slaughter of one life (cf. Entellus’ offering of a bull *pro morte Daretis* at 483 below), then the use of *porricere* only in these two passages would serve to highlight the connection between the scenes and to underscore their importance.

For defense of *proiciam*, either with or without comment: Tib.; Ribbeck; Nettleship (Page *seq.*, and Farrell); Conington’s text prints *porriciam*; Perret; Gould (without acknowledgement of the alternative); Conte; García and his co-editors. The evidence of Varro, *DRR* 1.29.3 is problematic, since there, too, the text is vexed. Servius notes that *porriciam* = *porro iaciam*; if *porricere* is correct and the point here is that the *exta* are indeed offered and not hurled (cf. the

feast on the *exta* that the Trojans enjoy ad 8.183), then perhaps there is a degree of learned allusion to how the sacrificial victim Palinurus will be thrown into the sea because the Cloanthus-sacrifice was left incomplete (though cf. Entellus' action—he is of course Sicilian and not Trojan): Aeneas offers the *exta*, and Neptune himself demands the sacrifice that will see Palinurus hurled into the waves. For the notion of the “imperfect sacrifice,” see Dyson 2001, 84–85.

liquentia: Forms of this verb occur 5× in the *A.*; besides here and the related 776 below, note 1.432, of honey; 6.724 *camposque liquentis*, at the outset of Anchises' great discourse on metempsychosis; 9.679 *liquentia flumina*.

239 dixit, eumque imis sub fluctibus audiit omnis

eum: Oblique forms of this pronoun are rare in high poetry (Horsfall ad 7.757); in the *A.* the masculine accusative occurs here and at 4.479, of Dido's plan to have Aeneas returned to her (Austin ad loc. notes that this is the only time in *V.* where the pronoun is used without a named referent nearby); 7.757, of Umbro; 8.33, of Tiberinus; 8.576, of Evander's prayer that he might see Pallas alive again; 11.12, of the crowd that surrounds Aeneas (1× each again in 5 and 11). The six occurrences of the form in *V.* do not neatly correlate, though the contexts are usually if not always of weighty importance (note Horsfall's observation that *V.* does not use such pronouns “casually”). 2× of Aeneas, in connection with Dido and the death of Pallas; Carthage's queen has associations with the loss of the young Arcadian.

imis ... fluctibus: Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 4.105–107.

240 Nereidum Phorcique chorus Panopeaque virgo,

Nereidum: Delos is sacred to Doris, the mother of the Nereides (3.74); at 9.102 Jupiter refers to the Nereid Doto. Aeneas compares the initial movements of the invasion of Troy to a storm, with mention of Nereus (2.419); Venus reminds her husband Vulcan of how the daughter of Nereus was able to obtain arms for her son (8.382); Mezentius is compared to Orion as he advances *per maxima Nerei / stagna viam scindens* (10.763–764). See further the illustrated entry of G. Barzà, *EV* III, 706–708; on the role of the Nereids in saving ships, West ad Hesiod, *Theog.* 243. Ovid mentions a temple of the Nereids at *Met.* 11.359 ff., in the midst of the book where he most evokes the spirit of *A.* 5.

Phorci: *V.* names this deity only here and at 824 below, of the *Phorcique exercitus omnis* that assists Neptune in calming the sea in response to Venus' entreaties. At 10.328 ff., the seven sons of Phorcus do battle with Aeneas (see Harrison ad loc.); Venus protects her son so that the weapons of the brothers cannot harm him (331–332). The god Phorcus is one of the three sons of Pontus (vid. West ad *Theog.* 233 ff.: “Orphics made him a Titan (fr. 114, cf. fr. 16), and

he is obviously a figure of some importance"). His mythological children are monsters, at least in later traditions (Ovid, *Met.* 4.743; Lucan, *BC* 9.626, of Medusa). The name *deest* in Paschalis; West connects it with the name of a sea creature. The marine deities here connect powerfully with the list at 824; for the evocation of the Homeric lament for Patroclus and, more generally, links between Achilles/Patroclus and Aeneas/Palinurus, see Dyson 2001, 85–86.

In Homer, "Phorcus" also appears twice: in the *Iliad*, Phorcus the son of Phaenops is killed by Telamonian Ajax (2.862; 17.218; 17.312; 17.318), while in the *Odyssey*, he is the grandfather of the Cyclopes (1.72; 13.96; 13.345). V. thus follows Homer's example in having two characters of the same name, one in a peaceful context and the other in a martial. Pontano has *heu male iactatas defenderit ancora naves, / ni labor et placidi succurrit dextera Phorci* (*Urania* 1.89–90). The *chorus* here works with both the Nereids and the companions of Phorcus (possibly = seals). For the Statian imitation at *Silvae* 2.2.19, see Newlands ad. loc. and 2002, 166.

Panopea: See here Hesiod, *Theog.* 250 (with West); Littlewood ad Ovid, *Fasti* 6.599 (on Panope and her "fairytales" hundred sisters. Together with Phorcus, the "Panopean virgin" recurs at 825 below; V. notes that rescued sailors make offerings to her [*G.* 1.437: "These figures are fairly obscure"—Thomas]). A Sicilian Panopes appears below as a contestant in the foot race (300). For both the goddess and the mortal, vid. L. Polverini, *EV* III, 954–955. Servius amusingly notes that V. specifies that Panopea is a *virgo* lest we think that all of the Nereids are virginal. On the name see Paschalis 1997, 186; Panopea is the one who sees all, and Paschalis notes that fittingly enough she oversees the sequestration of Cloanthus away from the sight of his competitors (243 *condidit*).

On V.'s use of connectives to link the names of immortals, vid. Hahn 1930, 228–230, with comment (230n1048) on Heyne's idea that the Panopean virgin should be joined with Portunus.

241 et pater ipse manu magna Portunus euntem

Neptune is nowhere in the scene, as a minor sea god answers Cloanthus' prayer; Nelis 2001, 213–214 notes the Apollonian parallel of *Arg.* 2.598–600, where Athena helps Jason through the Clashing Rocks, as well as 4.930–967, where Thetis and her fellow Nereids help the Argo through the Planctae, and similar ship interactions with marine gods (1.1310–1328, of Glaucus; 4.1597–1600, of Triton).

pater ipse: Normally of Jupiter (*G.* 1.121 *pater ipse colendi*; 1.328–329 *ipse pater media nimborum in nocte corusca / fulmina molitur dextra*; 1.353 *ipse pater statuit quid menstrua luna moneret*; *A.* 2.617 *ipse pater Danais animos virisque secundas* [almost certainly of the supreme god]; 6.780, of Jupiter as he pre-

pares for Romulus to join the immortals [again, almost certainly—but Jupiter is named in neither place]; 7.141–143; 7.770–772); V. may have remembered Catullus, c. 64.20–21 *tum Thetis humanos non despexit hymenaeos, / tum Thetidi pater ipse iugandum Pelea sensit*. Anchises is similarly described (3.610); also Latinus (7.61–62, 92; 11.469); the god Pluto (7.327); Nisus' father Hyrtacus (9.406–407); Camilla's father Metabus (11.558); Appenninus (12.701–703). See further Horsfall ad 2.617.

Portunus: The only appearance of this god of harbors and safe arrivals thereto in V.; vid. J. Scheid, *EV* IV, 227; Littlewood ad Ovid, *Fasti* 6.546–547 *in portus nato ius erit tuo: / quem nos Portunum, sua lingua Palaemon dicet*: “Portunus was given a temple in the Forum Boarium, a flamen (Fest. 238L), and a festival, the *Portunalia*, which was celebrated on 17 August” (through the 27th); see also Harder ad Callimachus, *Aetia* fr. 92a, 2–5; Varro, *DLL* 7.19. Portunus was associated with the son of Ino (the new goddess Leucothea, the *Mater Matuta*), for which the Servian tradition gives the background; for the Virgilian etymology of his name, see Bartelink 1965, 223–224. On Palaemon and the significance of V.'s shift from the Roman Portunus to the Greek Palaemon in this book see below on 823; part of the point of the *Roman* harbor god's appearance here is to underscore the ethnographic significance of the regatta; the introduction of Palaemon below in the Palinurus episode will bring interesting twists to the marine plot. For V.'s interest in “marine fantasy” see Nelis 2001, 223–224.

euntem: The masculine accusative present participle occurs elsewhere in V. only at 11.46, where Aeneas recalls his exchange with Evander when Pallas was sent off to war; for other forms of the participle of *ire*, see below on 554, 607, 649, 777.

242 *impulit: illa Noto citius volucrique sagitta*

impulit: The verb occurs 2× in 5 and 1× in 11 (278 *ne ... impellite*, where Diomedes asks the Latin emissaries not to impel him to join the fight against Aeneas' Trojans).

Noto: The south wind, associated along with its fellow blasts elsewhere in V. with storms (cf. 1.85; 1.108; 1.575; 2.417); at 11.798 *inque Notos vocem vertere procellae*, the breezes blow Arruns' expectation that he might return home into the southern winds. Cloanthus' ship is faster than the south wind and a flying arrow. Significantly, the ghost of Palinurus will note that he was conveyed by the *south* wind for three stormy nights (cf. 1.108) after Sleep threw him overboard: 6.355–356 *tris Notus hibernas immensa per aequora noctes / vexit me violentus aqua*; the direction is reasonable enough for his trajectory, but the south wind connects to the present scene, where Cloanthus' ship is described as faster than Notus, once we consider how the loss of Palinurus is in part linked to the

prayer the captain here makes to the marine gods. For Virgilian winds see the illustrated entry of M. Labate, “Venti,” *EV V**, 490–498.

The dove Mnestheus frees in the archery competition escapes into the south wind and the clouds (512 *illa Notos atque atra volans in nubila fugit*; cf. 10.266, where the Strymonian cranes to which the Trojans are compared *flee* the south wind). As we shall see below on 512, the dove Mnestheus seems to save flies straight into the storm clouds; it will soon enough be slain, and its flight into wind and storm cloud is a harbinger of its imminent doom.

Perseus’ mother Danae was brought to Ardea by the south wind (7.411); at 3.268 *tendant vela Noti*, the south wind is “suitable for a journey N. up the western coast of Greece” (Horsfall ad loc.).

citius: The adverb occurs elsewhere in V. only at 1.142 *dicto citius*, significantly just as Neptune has decided to placate the winds Aeolus had stirred; the passage connects directly to the present work of the minor marine gods in seeing to Cloanthus’ victory, and to the absence of Neptune from the scene. For the brief double simile and its Homeric color cf. Harrison ad 10.247–248.

volucris ... sagitta: See below on 502–503, during the archery contest (with Conte 2007, 99 on the enallage, where the *volucris* is transferred from the shaft to the breezes); cf. *Ilias Latina* 735; Manilius, *Ast.* 1.850; Ovid, *Met.* 9.102; Serenus, *Lib. Med.* 45.825 *volucris nec felle sagittae*. Mnestheus’ *Pristis*, which aspired at least to tie Cloanthus’ *Scylla*, had been compared to a dove in flight (213–217); now the *Scylla* is compared to an arrow, so that both images can be combined in the forthcoming narrative of the archery contest and its portentous end; see further on 494 *viridi ... oliva*.

243 ad terram fugit et portu se condidit alto.

The language here is interesting for its emphasis on how Cloanthus’ *Scylla* is responsible for its own actions; the ship is the subject of *fugit* and *condidit*, not any sea god. While the marine deities may well have impelled the vessel’s course and eliminated the chance of Mnestheus’ tying Cloanthus for first place, it might well have been more remarkable had the *Pristis* actually succeeded in its quest for victory.

condidit alto: The same line-end occurs at 8.66, of Tiberinus after his address to Aeneas; 12.886, where Juturna hides herself in her river after she is forced to abandon her brother to his fate. The verb is fitting to describe the *Scylla*, given that the monster is associated with caves and hiding (3.424 ff.; cf. how the Mnestheus-dove was roused from its *spelunca*). Page calls this the “perfect of rapidity,” and emphasizes the speed with which the *Scylla* finds its (natural) home in the harbor. The language plays on the meaning of *altum* = the deep; the harbor is a safe refuge from the perils of the open sea.

244 tum satus Anchisa cunctis ex more vocatis

satus Anchisa: This periphrasis for Aeneas occurs below at 424, during the boxing match, and elsewhere at 6.331, as Aeneas reacts to the Sibyl's explanation of the fate of those who are not conveyed across the Styx; 7.152 *tum satus Anchisa*, where Aeneas chooses a hundred orators to visit Latinus. The reference here is appropriate given that the games are in memory of Aeneas' father. On Virgilian periphrases of proper names see especially Klause 1993.

ex more: "Ludorum, scilicet per praeconem" (Servius). Everyone gathers as if for a normal assembly. The emphasis is on the universality of the gathering (*cunctis*); cf. 227 *cuncti*, when everyone was cheering for Mnestheus after they saw the extraordinary performance of the Pristis. The audience includes Sicilians alongside Trojans; V's language helps to underscore the future union of all in the new Rome.

245 victorem magna praeconis voce Cloanthum

victorem: The title is repeated at 250, also of Cloanthus, and at 261, significantly, of Aeneas in the reminiscence of how he once defeated Demoleos; there is an association between the two recipients of divine favor. The verse is framed by two nouns in apposition (one common, the other proper).

praeconis: The word occurs nowhere else in V., and is rare in poetry; it is borrowed from Lucretius, *DRN* 4.563–564 *praeterea verbum saepe unum perciet auris | omnibus in populo missum praeconis ab ore*. Cf. Catullus, c. 106.1; Horace, *ep.* 4.12; s. 2.2.47; *Ep.* 1.7.56; Juvenal, s. 8.95; Martial, *ep.* 5.56.11.

246 declarat viridique advelat tempora lauro,

declarat: A second rare word is used for Aeneas' announcement that Cloanthus is the victor; the verb occurs nowhere else in V.; *advelat*, too, is a Virgilian *hapax* (*TLL* 1.0.827.78–81). The preponderance of unusual vocabulary serves to highlight the significance of the passage for its connections to other scenes in the epic. *Declarare* is an older word that seems to have fallen out of the poetic vocabulary until a late resurrection; it does not occur in poetry outside Plautus, Terence, Lucretius, Catullus, V., Phaedrus, Ausonius, Claudian (*TLL* 5.1.182.83). For the alleged connection between Aeneas and the Roman practice of covering the head while at prayer see Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 266C ff.

viridi ... lauro: Valerius has *implicat et viridi conectit tempora lauro* (*Arg.* 4.334). The present passage connects to 539 below, where Acestes is hailed as the victor; again, the archery contest portent that nets Sicily's king the title of *victor* (540) represents the fulfillment of the similes of the Mnestheus-dove and the Scylla that is swifter than the south wind or a *volucris sagitta*. For the line-end *tempora lauro* cf. also *A.* 3.81, where king Anius, a priest of Apollo, is fittingly

crowned with the god's laurel; the laurel here is particularly appropriate for the evocation of Actium, which was won under the patronage of the great god of the Augustan program (note also *E.* 8.12–13, with Clausen). Tibullus has *ipse triumphali devinctus tempora lauro* (c. 2.5.5, where see Murgatroyd); cf. also Ps.-Tib. 3.4.23; Ps.-V., *Ciris* 121 (with Lyne); Ovid, *Trist.* 4.2.51; Statius, *Silv.* 1.2.227–228; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.334.

See below on 493 or the seeming contradiction between Cloanthus' victory here and Mnestheus' wearing of the olive of apparent victory there; also Hunt 1973, 23–24, who perceptively connects Cloanthus' success (stolen from Mnestheus, in a sense) with the abduction of Ganymede by Jupiter that adorns his cloak: Virgilian allegiance to Lucretian doctrine, we might think, and dismissal of the fantasies of the Trojan past, including the Jovian rape of Troy's prince. The poet thereby links ethnography and philosophy; the Italian ethnicity of the future Rome is associated with Lucretian Epicureanism, while the (mythical) Trojan past that will be suppressed is joined with other falsehoods about the immortals and their response to human prayers. Or, put concisely, Cloanthus did not “really” win. Note also Camps 1969, 41 ff. for sober remarks on the general problem of fate and the gods in the *A.*

247 *muneraque in navis ternos optare iuencos*

Bullocks are offered for the crews of the vessels (first = Cloanthus; second = Mnestheus; third = Gyas); three animals for each ship, to be chosen by the winner (see Williams 1960 on the use and meaning of the epexegetical infinitive here). While *virides ... coronae* were announced as prizes for the regatta (110), there had been no mention of *iuenci*; the sacrifice imagery continues here, as a leisurely description of the awards ceremony commences.

navis: The plural offers a subtle note of detail: the *Pristis* and the *Chimaera* have also arrived in harbor; V. does not mention their crossing the finish line, choosing to focus instead only on the entry into port of the victorious *Scylla* and the wrecked *Centaurus* of *Sergestus* (281 below).

optare: See Conington ad loc. for the idea that the winner “takes his choice, leaving the rest to follow him.” The word order expresses how the choice applies to the bullocks, where there would be more cause for interest in selection than for wine and talents. There are nine prize bullocks; Cloanthus picks the first triad, and presumably the other winners follow in suit. The highly condensed Latin period does not lend itself to a literal English translation.

248 *vinaque et argenti magnum dat ferre talentum.*

vina: Wine had also not been mentioned among the expected prizes for the ship race, but wine was part of the sacrificial libations the victorious Cloanthus

had promised (238). There may be significance in the fact that wine is given here as a prize before it has been paid as dues to the gods.

argenti ... talentum: Talents of silver and gold were promised at 112 above. Burton ad loc. argues that “the latter part of the sentence seems to mean that a talent was distributed among them all, not that a talent was given to the crew of each ship,” but cf. the plural *talenta* at 112 (admittedly set forth for all the contests). In any case the point of the distributive seems to be that each vessel received certain prizes, including a talent apiece.

dat ferre: The same construction recurs at 262 *donat habere*, as Servius noted; see further Page ad 247 for V’s use of the infinitive after finite forms of *dare*. For the poetic use of the infinitive where prose would employ a participle (*ferendum*), see Quintilian 9.3.9.6. Burton ad loc. construes *ferre* as having “rather the nature of an infin. of purpose,” cf. A. 1.319 *diffundere*.

249 *ipsis praecipuos ductoribus addit honores*:

praecipuos: Cf. 8.177 *praecipuum*, of Aeneas in Evander’s presence; 11.214 *praecipuus fragor*, of the commotion and tumult in the Latin capital on receipt of the news that the Trojans have resumed military operations. M has the adverb *praecipue* here (and cf. Nonius Marcellus 320.26); the meaning is not particularly affected by the reading, but the line has a better balance if we retain the adjective with *honores*.

addit honores: For the line-end cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.129 (with Zissos).

250 *victori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum*

chlamydem: The noun is first cited in Plautus (*TLL* 3.0.1011.73), and is rare in prose.

Once again, there had been no mention of a *chlamys* as a prize for the regatta; V. here opens a great ring that will close during the equestrian battle of Book 11, as Camilla sees the *chlamys* of Chloreus (the C-s is significant) and is distracted by the finery of the servant of Cybele (11.768 ff.). Scylla, the partly lupine marine horror, may have associations with Camilla (see above on 122 *Scylla*); here, the Scylla’s captain is awarded a *chlamys* to wear as a sign of honor, and the cloak, we learn soon enough, is eminently *Trojan* in its associations. Camilla, for her part, will experience curiosity, covetousness, distraction, indeed many things in reaction to Chloreus’ cloak; the divine intervention of Apollo in aiding Arruns in her murder will mean that she will *not* receive the cloak of Cybele’s devotee, i.e., another eminently Trojan garment: V. is once again unrelenting in his development of the ethnographic theme of Troy vs. Italy that underpins his epic of Rome’s founding and Augustan renewal. We are very far from the revelation of the final ethnographic settlement of the future Rome, and the

victorious Cloanthus will be wrapped in a cloak that represents so much of the old Troy, but a facet of that Trojan past that V. had made clear from the outset (*A.* 1.28) was a source of particular rage for Juno: the Jovian abduction of Ganymede. In V.'s ethnographic conception, it is a blessing that Camilla does not attain the cloak of Chloreus.

For more on the "cloak of Cloanthus," see especially M. Putnam, "Ganymede and Virgilian Ekphrasis," in *AJPh* 116.3 (1995), 419–440; Putnam 1998, 55 ff.; J. Axer, "Haftowany płaszcz Eneasza (Wergiliusz 'Eneida' V, w. 250–257," in *Meander* 29 [1974], 328–332); P. Hardie, "Another Look at Virgil's Ganymede," in *Wiseman* 2002, 333–362; also the useful discussion of Lersch 1843, 245. On the Virgilian use of *chlamys*, see T. Pearce, "Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.588," in *Mnemosyne* 40.1–2 (1987), 154–157, 155. The garment has ominous associations; besides Cloanthus' Ganymede cloak and Chloreus' raiment, we find a *chlamys* offered by Andromache to Ascanius at 3.482 ff.; Dido's cloak at 4.136 ff.; Pallas' *chlamys* at 8.588; the vesture of the son of Arcens that is described before he is killed by Mezentius at 9.581 ff. (see Hardie ad loc.). The garment is thus always linked to the Trojans and their allies, and except for Cloanthus and Ascanius (who are replaced, as it were, by the sacrifices of Camilla and Pallas respectively), all of its wearers die. On the abduction of Ganymede see especially Richardson ad *hym. Aph.* 202–217. On the associations of Ganymede with Ascanius, note F. Bellandi, "Ganimede, Ascanio, e la gioventù troiana," in *Studi di filologia classica in onore di Giusto Monaco* (ii), Palermo, 1991, 919–930. On the rich decoration and similar passages in V., see S. Harden, "Decoration," in *VE* I, 345–346.

For Aeneas' description of his lineage to Achilles at Homer, *Il.* 20.231 ("where the story of [Ganymede's] fate first appears)," see Howell ad Martial, *ep.* 1.6.1, with extended commentary on literary and artistic references and representations. Ovid, *Met.* 10.143 ff. depicts Orpheus in the midst of animals, trees and birds as he sings of the pederastic loves of the immortals (and the illicit passions and loves of girls), starting with Ganymede; cf. 75–76 above.

On the question of whether there are two pictures on the cloak or one, see H. Pinkster, "The Present Tense in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *Mnemosyne* 52.6 (1999), 705–717, 708–709.

For the associations of the *chlamys* with "male leadership," see K. Coleman, "Clothing," in *VE* I, 275.

circum: On the common instances of anastrophe of the disyllabic preposition see Horsfall ad 6.706.

251 *purpura maeandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit*,

purpura: The noun occurs only 2× in the *A.* (Edgeworth 1992, 150); at 7.251, Latinus is not moved by gifts of Trojan purple garments. Edgeworth connects

these two occurrences with the purple work of Helen and Andromache from *Il.* 3.126 and 22.441.

maeandro: The adjective (and name) appears only here in V. (and should probably not be capitalized); the poet slowly and deliberately reveals the significance of the cloak, the exotic nature of which is emphasized by a line of two rare *M*- words that are balanced by the adjective *duplici*. For the Meander in Latin poetry (*deest* in Jones 2005), see Propertius, c. 2.30b.17; c. 2.34-35; Ovid, *Her.* 7.2; 9.55; *Met.* 2.246 (with Bömer); 8.162 (with Hollis); 9.451; 9.574; Lucan, *BC* 3.208; 6.475; Seneca, *HF* 684; *Phoen.* 606; Silius, *Pun.* 7.139.

duplici: The numerical adjective recurs at 421 *duplicem ... amictum*, of Entellus' garment. Servius takes the adjective as = "flexuoso," "sc. doubling upon itself" (Mackail). There may be some point to the fact that there are two main illustrations on the cloak, namely the royal boy at the hunt and the abduction; the notion of doubling is relevant, too, as one considers the rebirth of so much of the Homeric apparatus in V's epic reimagining of Troy lore. Certainly the notion of the doublet will recur in the soon to be announced love of Nisus and Euryalus, who will both race together and die together.

Meliboea: The name occurs in the *A.* only here and at 3.401, of Philoctetes, the Meliboean prince responsible for the wall that defends little Thessalian Petelia (see Horsfall ad loc.); V. borrowed the image here from Lucretius, *DRN* 2.500–501 *iam tibi barbaricae vestes Meliboeaque fulgens | purpura Thessalico concharum tacta colore*, where see Fowler.

252 *intextusque puer frondosa regius Ida*

intextus: This is one of five occurrences of *intexere* in the *A.*; at 2.16, it describes the construction of the wooden horse; at 6.216, the building of Misenu's pyre; at 7.488, Silvia's adornment of her stag with garlands; at 10.785, the triple bull's-hide shield of Hercules' companion Antores (slain by Aeneas).

puer ... regius: The royal boy is Ganymede, who is named in V. only at *A.* 1.28, in the series of explanations early in the epic for why Juno hates the Trojans; very much in the poet's fashion, the story is unveiled only slowly, with a modicum of suspense. Cf. 1.677–678, where the same description is used of Venus' announcement to Cupid that Ascanius is preparing to go into Dido's presence; two occurrences, then, of two royal Trojan boys. The phrase is also used by Ovid (*Her.* 16.90) of Paris; see further below on 297 *regius ... Diores*.

frondosa: The adjective occurs 1× in the *E.*; 2× in the *G.*, and 3× in the *A.*; cf. 7.387, of the leafy mountains where Amata absconds with Lavinia in her simulation of Bacchic rites; 8.351 *frondoso vertice*, of the leafy hill that is the home of the god who Evander's Arcadians think might be Jupiter. Valerius

Flaccus imitated this passage and its description of Ida (*Arg.* 2.414–415 *pars et frondosae raptus expresserat Idae | inlustremque fugam pueri*); cf. Silius' *at Pyrenaei frondosa cacuminal montis* (*Pun.* 3.414).

253 *velocis iaculo cervos cursuque fatigat*

The tale that is woven on the *chlamys* is fitting for a prize in the games, given the competitive aspect of the illustration; the royal youth is depicted as a skilled hunter of deer and a keen runner. The hunting image helps to connect the present scene with other Virgilian hunters and huntresses, including Camilla (of whom the verb is used at 11.714 in a martial context). The adolescent Camilla hunted Strymonian cranes and swans (11.580), targets with decidedly Trojan associations in the narrative of the *A.*; significantly, deer are not mentioned among her prey. On certain aspects of hunting imagery in the epic see A. de Villiers, "The Deer Hunter: A Portrait of Aeneas," in *Akroterion* 58 (2013), 47–59.

cervos: On deer in the *A.* see especially R. Katz, *VE* I, 347–348. At 12.749–757, Turnus is compared to a stag that is fleeing a hound (sc., Aeneas); the image there may have association with the idea of Aeneas as (Trojan) Ganymede, in pursuit of an animal that was, after all, associated with the Italian Diana (cf. 6.802 and the idea of Aeneas as a new Hercules).

cursuque fatigat: The same line-end occurs at Manilius, *Ast.* 1.520; cf. Silius, *Pun.* 15.209. "Laus picturae, quasi gerat" (Servius). See further Horsfall ad 6.533 *te fatigat*.

254 *acer, anhelanti similis, quem praepes ab Ida*

anhelanti similis: See above on 199 for *anhelitus* and related words. Cf. Tibullus, c. 1.8.37. Conington was bothered by the idea that the cloak showed Ganymede being carried off with an expression that seemed unsuitable for such a depiction; see above on 250 for the problem of whether there is one picture or two. On "V's four instances of of pres.partic. in dat. + *similis*" see Horsfall ad 6.603.

praepes: Cf. 3.361 *praepetis omina pennae*, of Helenus' mastery of bird omens; 6.15 *praepetibus pennis*, of Daedalus' wings. The word is old (an archaic word for ancient history); see Skutsch ad Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 1.86; 89; 15.397 ("in poetic language *praepes* as a noun is a synonym of 'bird'"); *s.i.* 457. The identity of the bird is quickly established; the story remains vaguely mysterious until the next line. On *praepes* see further Lazzarini ad Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.33.

Ida: The repetition of the name of the sacred Trojan mountain serves to underscore the ethnographic significance of the cloak's illustration; this *chlamys* is deeply invested in the Trojan past (Williams 1960 considers the repetition "weak," but V. is deliberate in his choice of words here).

255 *sublimem pedibus rapuit Iovis armiger uncis;*

sublimem: On the “literary history” of the word see Hardie 2009, 200–202. Ida is high, but the eagle snatches him aloft still higher, as it were. For the eagle as abductor of Ganymede, a detail that cannot be found earlier than the middle of the fourth century, see Gantz 1993, 560; Bömer ad Ovid, *Met.* 10.15–161; 4.362, etc., with full references. There is likely no hint here of the eagle as a particularly auspicious bird; see further Goodyear ad Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.17 (of Germanicus’ alleged sighting of eight eagles, one for each of his legions, before battle with Arminius). On eagles in Roman epic see especially Hawtree 2011, 198–222.

armiger: 1× in 5 and 1× in 11, where the aged Acoetes is mentioned as Pallas’ squire; the connection between the lost youths is deliberate. At 2.477 Automedon is part of Pyrrhus’ retinue as he bursts into the Trojan enclosure; at 9.564, the *armiger* Remus (or the *armiger* of Remus; see further Hardie, and Dingel ad loc.) is slain during the night raid of Nisus and Euryalus; at 9.648 Apollo takes on the form of Butes, the *armiger* of Anchises, to warn Ascanius off from further involvement in battle. But the direct parallel to the present scene is 9.564 *sustulit alta petens pedibus Iovis armiger uncis*, in the simile of the eagle’s assault on a rabbit or swan that describes Turnus’ attack on Lycus, an attack that is also compared to how a wolf absconds with a lamb—a wonderful play on the Greek and Latin words for wolf, of interest for the ethnographic implications of the *lupus* striking the *Lycus*, as well as for exploration and investigation of the poet’s presentation of civil war. We might have expected *armiger* to be used of the hunter Ganymede, but the apex predator of this particular hunt = the bird of Jove. With the compound cf. also 6.500 *armipotens* (with Horsfall). On the eagle as bird of Zeus and avian player in the Ganymede story, see Howell ad Martial, *ep.* 5.55.

The present scene is also echoed at 11.722–723 *consequitur pennis sublimem in nube columbam / comprehensamque tenet pedibusque evisceratque uncis*, of the simile of the accipiter and the dove that describes Camilla’s fatal attack on the Ligurian: the poet thereby fashions yet another connection between the ecphrasis on Cloanthus’ cloak and his later *Camilliad*. The poet probably also remembered his *et primum pedibus talaria nectit / aurea, quae sublimem alis sive aequora supra* (4.239–240), of Mercury’s obedience to his father’s command.

pedibus ... uncis: V. uses this phrase of the Harpies (3.233); for the connection between the Harpies and Camilla (who has affinities to V.’s Harpalyce, the Snatcher She-Wolf), see Fratantuono 2009a, 184n160. In Book 11, it will be Camilla who takes on the role of the raptor.

256 *longaevi palmas nequiquam ad sidera tendunt*

longaevi: So of Anchises at 535 below, and of Beroë (620) and the aged Trojans who might want to stay in Sicily (715). *A.* 5 is concerned with the interrelation of the generations (see on 74 above); the ecphrasis illustrates this theme effectively.

palmas ... tendunt: The gesture has very different results from Cloanthus' similar motions at 233. Rather cleverly, the poet also stretches out the present action through enjambment. Servius argues that the old men were either marveling at the sight, or else were chastening the gods; likelier is that they were trying in vain to reach up to save Ganymede.

ad sidera tendunt: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 7.580; also Juvenal, s. 8.149–150 *sed sidera testes / intendunt oculos*.

257 *custodes, saevitque canum latratus in auras.*

saevitque: See on 462 *saevire*.

latratus: V. uses this noun of Cerberus at 6.417; at 12.751 *venator cursu canis et latratibus instat*, the word is part of the simile where Aeneas (still suffering from his serious arrow wound) pursues Turnus in the manner of a hunter with his Umbrian hound. Cf. Lucan, *BC* 6.688; Silius, *Pun.* 2.418. On dogs in the *A.* see F. Capponi, *EV* I, 646–648; R. Thomas, *VE* I, 86–87. The scene imagined here is likely a hunting expedition; for hunting as a pastime of the rich and royal see especially Hyland 1990, 243.

There is likely an allusion here to the metamorphosis of Hecuba into a canine horror, a story first attested in Euripides (*Hecuba* 1260–1274); cf. *Alex.* fr. 62h Collard et al. (with their notes). The ecphrasis thus ends effectively with an evocation of one of the last episodes of the Troy cycle; we have moved from an explanation for a cause of Juno's hatred of Troy to the devastation that is attendant on the city's destruction and its aftermath. The illustration of Jupiter's abduction of Ganymede may also be a precursor of the imminent introduction of the *erastes* Nisus and his *eromenos* Euryalus in the narrative of the foot race (cf. 253–254 *cursuque fatigat / acer*). On this and other ecphrastic Virgilian descriptions in general see S. Bartsch in *VE* I, 403–405.

258 *et qui deinde locum tenuit virtute secundum,*

The second prize will go to Mnesteus. *Locum tenuit* is a prosaic phrase found in Caesar, Cicero, and Livy; in *virtute* we find a concise summation of a stirring performance. Servius is correct here (*pace* Williams), with a perceptive note: Cloanthus had won by the favor of the immortals, and so his prize depicts a fantastic scene of divine intervention; Mnesteus performed solely by means of his *virtus*, and so he will be awarded a *lorica*.

locum tenuit: The phrase is prosaic (Caesar; Cicero; Livy; Suetonius). Cf. 315 *locum capiunt*, of the contestants in the foot race.

259 *levibus huic hamis consertam auroque trilicem*

consertam: The participle also appears at 11.771 *auro conserta*, of Chloereus' *pellis*; cf. 2.398 *conserimus*, of the battles waged during Troy's last night; 3.467 (see next note); 3.594 *consertum tegimen spinis* (of Achaemenides' shabby attire); 9.741 *consere dextram* (Turnus to Pandarus); Ps.-V., *Culex* 398 (with Seelentag). *Hamus* appears in V. only here and at 3.467.

trilicem: The adjective also appears in V. at A. 3.467, which is almost a repetition of the present line: *loricam consertam hamis auroque trilicem*. Part of the trick here is that the nearly repeated line is used to describe a prize for *second* place; in Book 3, the gift had been part of the arms of Neoptolemus that Helenus had given to Aeneas as parting presents from Buthrotum. An identical *lorica* appears at 7.639–640 shortly before V. calls on the Muses to open Helicon with the story of the rebirth of the *Iliad* in Latium. Three breastplates, then, and all connected to tremendous threats to the Trojans: 1) Achilles' son, the "new war" responsible for the invasion of Priam's inner sanctum; 2) the mysterious Demoleos, a bane of Trojans of seemingly mythical proportions; 3) the Latin preparations for the war in central Italy; and all this in a second place prize description that marks the second of the three occurrences: a brilliant example of the poet's careful workmanship and arrangement and repetition of images and words.

It is unlikely that in notations of triplets and threefold this or that we are to understand any reference to the traditional three years that Aeneas has left to live after either arrival or settlement in Italy; see further Horsfall ad 6.760–766, with reference to the problems of Aeneas' age ("already middle-aged"). Still, the matter is one that likely loomed over the Virgilian audience more seriously than it seems to have vexed modern critics.

260 *loricam, quam Demoleo detraxerat ipse*

loricam: See Lersch 1843, 64 on the language of Virgilian descriptions of breastplates.

Demoleo: The name Demoleon occurs of a Trojan slain by Achilles at *Il.* 20.395; as Edwards notes ad loc., the character/name appears nowhere else. V. offers a brief glimpse of what for him is clearly a Greek warrior (see below on 265); it was difficult to lift the *lorica*, but once upon a time Demoleos chased Trojans over the plains while wearing it. The name *deest* in Paschalis; vid. T. Gargiulo, *EV* II, 23–24, especially on the orthography; also P. Knox in *VE* I, 350. Ovid has it (12.377) of a Centaur killed by Peleus; see further P. Kretschmer, "Mythische Namen," in *Glotta* 10.1–2 (1919), 38–62, 57.

ipse: The first corrector of M has *ipsi* here, to emphasize Demoleos, but the main point is not the admitted greatness of the Greek, but the fact that Aeneas was the one who killed him.

261 victor apud rapidum Simoenta sub Ilio alto,

In line with Servius' interpretation of the significance of the prizes and their appropriateness, the emphasis is on the glorious feat of Aeneas during the Trojan War; this reminiscence offers a rare Virgilian glimpse of Aeneas' battle prowess in that bygone struggle; the rapid dactyls enact the speed of the mighty river where brave men fought and died. The keyword, as often, occurs first in the verse.

rapidum: This epithet, like *alto* with *Ilio*, is Homeric for river and city descriptions; cf. *Iliad* 15.71 (of Troy); 21.332 (of Xanthos).

Simoenta: The great Trojan river is mentioned below at 634, when Iris/Beroë asks if she will ever see it again; at 803, Neptune swears to Venus by the Xanthus and the Simois that Aeneas has always been dear to him (the passage connects to the present scene of Aeneas' victory by a body of water). Aeneas recalls the many brave dead whose weapons were washed into the river at 1.100; Dido greets Aeneas by noting that he was born by its waves (1.618 *alma Venus Phrygii genuit Simoentis ad undam*). There is a false Simois in the "toy Troy" at Buthrotum (3.302). The Sibyl Deiphobe announces to Aeneas that the Simois will return to him, along with the Xanthus and the Doric camps, once the *Iliad* is reborn in Italy, where a new Achilles already waits (6.88). Diomedes gives a *praeteritio* of those men who were overwhelmed by the Simois' waters (11.257). Part of V.'s point in the mention of the Simois here is the association he will draw between Palinurus and Aeneas; Palinurus will be a proxy sacrifice for Aeneas, whose death will be associated with a river (see further on 12 above; Jones 2005, 27–30). On the vision of the false Simois at Buthrotum, see Smith 2005, 71 ff. Here the rapidity of the river adds to the picture of glory in martial victory.

sub Ilio alto: There may be an intentional contrast between the mention of lofty Ilium as a locus for the defeat and stripping of the arms of Demoleos, and Ida, where Ganymede was abducted. For other instances of semi-hiatus (where a cretic is essentially converted into a dactyl) cf. 3.211 *insulae Ionio* (with Williams 1962, and Horsfall); 6.507 (with Austin); and see Burton 1919, xx. The only other example of hiatus in the book = 735.

262 donat habere, viro decus et tutamen in armis.

donat habere: The phrase recurs at 10.701, of Mezentius' gift to Lausus of the arms of Latagus. The punctuation, as Hirtzel notes, is Schröter's; "vulgo *donat habere viro* iungunt."

tutamen: Another Virgilian *hapax*; the word may be borrowed from Catullus, c. 64.324 (and cf. *decus* at 323), where the future prowess of Achilles is hailed; the rare word appears elsewhere in Livy and Apuleius. Mackail considered the line-ending here “a mere stop-gap,” and sees evidence of lack of revision in the aforementioned repetition of *Ida* (252, 254) and the alleged “lack of rhythm” in 261–262.

263 *vix illam famuli Phegeus Sagarisque ferebant*

For the conceit of the *lorica* that scarcely two men of “today” could carry, see the remarks of Quintilian 8.4.25.2.

Phegeus: The name appears 3× in the *A*. At 9.765 *confixa Phegea parma*, Phegeus is listed among the casualties of Turnus. At 12.371 ff., the same character (?) is killed a second time by Turnus in a more extended vignette that ends with the Trojan’s decapitation. In that scene, Turnus is compared to the blasts of the north wind Boreas; Paschalis 1997, 407–408 draws an association between the wind and the meaning of Phegeus as “Oak Man.” The name also appears at *Ilias Latina* 405; Statius, *Theb.* 7.603; 12.681; Hyginus, *Fab.* 244.3.3; 245.2.2. See here R. Rocca, “Fegeo,” *EV* II, 485.

Sagaris: Vid. A. Fo, “Sagari,” *EV* IV, 646–647. The name recurs at 9.575, of another victim of Turnus; cf. the river at Ovid, *Ep. Pont.* 4.10.47 (vid. Jones 2005, 89–90); for V’s fondness for using the names of rivers for his warriors, see A. Cucchiarelli, “Vergil on Killing Parthenius (*Aen.* 10.748),” in *CJ* 97.1 (2001), 51–54, 53ⁿ⁷.

Both men, then, are definitively associated with the victims of Turnus, in one case a double death. Aeneas had been Achilles-like in slaying the original wearer of the *lorica*; the two men who can barely carry it now will both be slain by the new Achilles in Latium. Servius says that honor is added to both men by giving their names, but they are introduced to foreshadow future casualties of the Rutulian, and the difficulty with which they are carrying the *lorica* is a presaging of those later deaths.

Famuli ... ferebant will be repeated in the very different context of 8.584 *famuli conlapsum in tecta ferebant*, where Evander is carried off after collapsing in anxiety over the fate of Pallas; the first and last books of the second third of the epic thus have the same image of the servants bearing some burden, with foreshadowing in both passages of 11.149, where Pallas is stretched out on his bier before being carried off to his requiem rites and funeral pyre.

264 *multiplicem conixi umeris; indutus at olim*

multiplicem: Elsewhere in V. the adjective appears at 4.189 *multiplici ... sermone*, of the workings of Rumor. “The force of *multiplicem* will be obvious to any one who tries to lift and carry a coat of chain-mail” (Mackail).

conixi: The verb is not common in V. (1× in the *E.* and 6× in the *A.*); at 642 below it is used of Iris/Beroë as she brandishes a torch. The form *conixi* recurs at 11.613, of Tyrrhenus and Aconteus as they clash in battle.

indutus: So of Turnus as he arms for battle at 11.487. At 674 below, *indutus* is used of the helmet Ascanius had worn for the *lusus Troiae* that he throws off when the hazards become all too real in the firing of the ships; at 11.83 *indutos* describes the trunks that are decorated with enemy arms during the requiem preparations for Pallas; forms of the participle thus occur 2× in each book.

olim: Perhaps with a force of “that well-known [Demoleos]”; cf. H. Tracy, “*Olim* as Participle,” in *CW* 69.7 (1978), 431–433.

265 Demoleos cursu palantis Troas agebat.

cursu: Ganymede used to chase deer (253); Demoleos pursued Trojan quarry over the plains.

palantis: The verb recurs at 11.734 *femina palantis agit atque haec agmina vertit*, of Tarchon’s reproach to his men about Camilla’s performance on the battlefield; Mnestheus and Serestus see their companions scatter in the wake of Turnus’ assault (9.780 *palantisque vident socios hostemque receptum*). Elsewhere in V., at 10.674 *et nunc palantis video*, Turnus laments as he sees his own men chased off; at 12.674 *palantis sequitur paucos*, Turnus is in pursuit of stragglers (cf. 12.738 *dum terga dabant palantia Teucri*). The only other occurrence of the verb in the poet is at 9.20–21 *medium video discedere caelum / palantisque polo stellas. sequor omina tanta*, of Turnus’ reaction to the arrival of Iris. Every occurrence of the verb, then, has some connection to Turnus, with the exception of 11.734, of his proxy Camilla, and the present scene that recalls Demoleos’ destruction of the Trojans in a seemingly bygone age.

Silius imitates this passage at *Pun.* 13.228 *pondere loricae palantis victor agebat*.

266 tertia dona facit geminos ex aere lebetas

Gyas wins the third prize; the twin cauldrons here may be equated with the *sacri tripodes* of 110. Like the *lorica*, the cauldrons echo back to the presents given by Helenus at Buthrotum; the only other appearance of *lebes* in V. is at 3.466 *ingens argentum Dodoneasque lebetas*. Especially in light of the announced sacred tripods, both prizes are invested with an oracular aura; they herald and distantly foreshadow the events of the war in Italy and the final settlement of affairs in Latium.

tertia dona: Cf. Martial, *ep.* 8.15.4 *et ditant Latias tertia dona tribus*. For the “poetic plural” of this verb see J. Gummere, “The Neuter Plural in Vergil,” in *Language* 10.1 (1934), 5–55, 22; cf. 385, 391, 400.

geminos: On doublets in Virgilian descriptions of objects used in sacred rites, see Lersch 1843, 210–211.

ex aere lebetas: Cf. Ovid, *Her.* 3.30–32 *auxerunt blandas grandia dona preces / viginti fulvos operoso ex aere lebetas, / et tripodas septem pondere et arte pares*. The Servian tradition ad *A.* 3.466 notes that “*lebetas ollas aereas. Graece dixit; zemas enim vulgare est, non Latinum.*”

267 *cymbiaque argento perfecta atque aspera signis.*

cymbia: The word is rare and occurs elsewhere in *V.* only at 3.66 *inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte*, where it appears as part of the memorial requiem rites for Polydorus. Once again, these (significant) presents were not explicitly mentioned in the announcement of the prizes for the regatta. There is probably a connection here, too, to the use of *cumba* as a virtual technical term for Charon’s boat; Servius notes “*pocula sunt in modum cymbae navis.*” On the bestowal of these prizes Hyginus has *Mnestheus lorica adeptus est, Gyas abstulit lebetas cymbiaque argento caelata, Sergestus captivam cum duobus filiis nomine Pholoën* (*Fab.* 273.15.4). For *cymbia* note also Propertius, *c.* 3.8.4; Statius, *Theb.* 6.212; Martial, *ep.* 8.6.2; Griffiths ad Apuleius, *Met.* 11.4 *cymbium ... aureum*.

argento perfecta: Besides the recurrence at 9.263 discussed below, the phrase appears at 9.357–358 *multa virum solido argento perfecta relinquunt / armaque craterasque simul pulchrosque tapetas*, of the aftermath of Nisus and Euryalus’ killing spree. The ominous associations continue, even as *V.* slowly and deliberately begins the shift from regatta to foot race.

aspera signis: The phrase will be repeated at 9.263 *bina dabo argento perfecta atque aspera signis*, of the presents offered to Nisus and Euryalus by Aeneas’ son before the fateful night raid. Here, *V.* presents further ominous associations for the gifts Gyas is given; the cauldrons were twinned because of the imminent introduction of Nisus and Euryalus in the foot race, a sequence that will begin a great cycle that ends with their deaths in the night raid; Gyas and his Chimaera prefigure Turnus, who is himself also doomed to death. The funereal associations of the mention of the *cymbia* from Polydorus’ obsequies continue, then, in the description of the *signa* whose significance will not be understood fully until the events of Book 9. Cf. also Silius, *Pun.* 2.432. The markings on the *cymbia* are not specified, in contrast to the detailed description of the illustrations on the *chlamys*; in a sense, the art alluded to here without specification will be elaborated on in the coming books of the epic; *V.* quite deliberately makes a contrast between the Trojan art of the cloak and the *Roman* art that is yet to be crafted; there may also be a point in the change of medium from the embroidered garment to the embossed drinking vessels, which are, after all, rather more permanent.

Aspera is echoed at 6.360 *prensantemque uncis manibus capita aspera montis*, where the ghost of Palinurus describes to Aeneas how he arrived in Italy (only to be killed soon after); in one line V. recalls both the scene of the abduction of Ganymede on the cloak of Cloanthus *and* the death goblets with their *aspera* reliefs.

268 iamque adeo donati omnes opibusque superbi

iamque adeo: Significantly, the phrase will recur at 864 below *iamque adeo scopulos Sirenum advecta subibat*; the language there (in the aftermath of the loss of Palinurus) also connects to the *saevum scopulum* of 270 and Sergestus' safe return (281 *subit*) to port.

opibusque superbi: Silius has *opibusque superbis* at line-end (17.620); the winners do not realize, of course, the ominous associations of the presents they have just received. For *superbus* in relation to Turnus, see Schenk 1984, 83n113; more generally R. Lloyd, "Superbus in the Aeneid," in *AJPh* 93 (1972), 125–132; D. Christenson, "Superbia in Vergil's Aeneid: Who's Haughty and Who's Not?," in *Scholια* 11 (2002), 44–54. See on 473 *superbus* for Entellus' similar response to his bull award.

On V's arrangement of tenses and temporal markers in the sequence that commences here, see Heberlein 2008 in Freund and Vielberg 2008, 237–255, 255.

269 puniceis ibant evincti tempora taenis,

puniceis: The color (Edgeworth 1992, 42, 149) is mentioned elsewhere in V. only at 12.76–77 *cum primum crastina caelo | puniceis invecta rotis Aurora rubebit*, just as Turnus (in the presence of Amata and the silent Lavinia) promises to advance to single combat with Aeneas, and at 12.750 *puniceae ... formidine pennae*, where Turnus is compared to a stag that has been caught in a snare of red feathers (Putnam 1965, 187 ff., 197 ff.; Hornsby 1970, 134 ff.); the simile of the red feathers owes much to V's description of the Scythians and their hunting practices at *G.* 3.371–375 (see further Thomas 1982, 35 ff., besides his commentary ad loc.). Adjective and noun enclose the verse.

The red fillets introduce, then, a great chromatic unfolding of the ethnographic theme of the epic (see further here Fratantuono 2013b). Here, the three "winners" of the regatta are crowned with a color that will elsewhere in V. be associated only with Turnus; the color is named just after the third place prize is awarded to Gyas, who has associations with the Rutulian through the Chimaera-emblem. Sergestus is nowhere in this scene, but V. will soon enough craft an even more explicit association between a regatta contestant and the future Rome in the prize Catiline's ancestor will receive for bringing his dam-

aged vessel safely to port. We have moved slowly but inexorably from the divinely-charged presents that were bestowed on Cloanthus, the symbols of the Trojan past (and of how much immortal aid Aeneas will receive in the epic), to gifts more emblematic of the forthcoming war in Italy and, ultimately, of the future Italian Rome. The image of dawn's chariot in *A.* 12 connects to the Homeric chariot race of which the present regatta is a recreation of sorts; in a sense we see the conveyance of the Roman future in the red wheels of Aurora's car.

ibant: Henry notes that "*Ire*, as here used, is something more than *esse*, and something less than *ferre*. It may perhaps be defined to be *esse* with the additional notion of motion, and as *ferre* without notion of conscious dignity or importance," before embarking on a characteristically discursive and occasionally entertaining digression. But there is a certain pride here in what could even qualify as the preening of the three winners; their victorious crowning is juxtaposed with the sudden news (270 ff.) of how Sergestus has succeeded (without the help for which he called in vain) in bringing his damaged vessel to shore.

evincti: The verb is rare; besides *E.* 7.32, cf. 364 below, during the boxing contest; Mnestheus' olive crown at 494; the similar wreath Aeneas wears at 774; and the poplar crowns of 8.286 *populeis adsunt evincti tempora ramis*. On the Virgilian description of crowns and garlands, see Lersch 1843, 190. There may be Apollonian associations with the garlands here, given the regatta's connections to Actium and the signal importance of the god to the Augustan program; see further Mayer ad Horace, c. 1.7.4 for the tradition of the garlanded Apollo.

taenis: Elsewhere in *V.* only at 7.352 *fit longae taenia vittae*, of the Fury Allecto's serpent, which becomes Amata's necklace and fillet (see Horsfall ad loc. for the precise definition; we move from the triumphant scene of the crowned winners with their colored woolen headbands to the successful return of the injured Centaurus, and then forward to the eventual outbreak of the war in Italy, a war instigated in part by Allecto's actions). The syncopated form *taenis* occurs only here and at Apuleius, *Met.* 8.28.8 *contortis taenis lanosi velleris prolixae fimbriatum*. The word is old (Accius; Ennius, *Alex.* fr. 67 *Jocelyn cum corona et taeniis*); Jocelyn speculates that the word might have been borrowed from "the sacral language" of southern Italians. "The common language contained a large number of obvious borrowings from Greek. The poets restricted these in comedy largely to the speech of slaves and persons of low degree and used them even less in tragedy."

270 cum saevo e scopulo multa vix arte revulsus

saevo ... scopulo: For the first time in the long narrative of the race, the location of the *meta* is described in specifically ominous terms; the rocks have asso-

ciations with the Sirens that will be revealed as the book draws to its close. Sergestus will survive the rocks; Palinurus will meet his doom near a more fatal set of stones, though he, too, will successfully navigate his human ship safely to Italy—only to find his death. On *saevus* see C. Craca, *EV* IV, 643–645; W. de Grummond, *Saevus: Its Literary Tradition and Use in Vergil's Aeneid* (Diss. North Carolina), 1968. For the *saevus scopulus* see Lazzarini ad Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.192–193 *saeva / saxa*.

multa ... arte: The emphasis is on the skill Sergestus employed in order to free his ship from the crags. Servius connects *ars* here with *virtus*, which would introduce a connection with 258 *virtute*, V's description of Mnestheus' performance.

revulsus: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2.316–317, during the Phaëthon narrative.

271 *amissis remis atque ordine debilis uno*

amissis remis: The line opens with a general description of how oars have been lost; this revelation is then particularized to how one bank is weak (from having lost most of its rowing capacity).

debilis: The adjective occurs elsewhere in V. only at 12.50–51 *ferrum haud debile dextra / spargimus*, where Turnus confronts Latinus; the related verb is “a slightly prosaic word appearing in only a few scattered places in verse” (Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 220). The conjunction *atque* here clarifies the ablative absolute: Sergestus' Centaurus is weak in one bank of oars; it has some power of navigation, but the lost oars amount to the effective destruction of one of three banks. It is possible that in *uno ... ordine* there is a pointed reference to Catiline, the infamous scion of the *gens Sergia*. On adjectives of this termination in V. see B. Segura Ramos, “El adjective in *-bilis/-bile* en Virgilio y en las ‘Metamorphosis’ de Ovidio: consideraciones métrico-semánticas,” in *Durius* 2 (1974), 89–94. On the likely Claudian imitation at *Pan.* 137 *scissis velorum debilis alis* see Dewar ad loc.

272 *inrisam sine honore ratem Sergestus agebat.*

inrisam: The adjective is used by Dido to describe what she considers her unrealistic possibilities for action in the light of Aeneas' departure (4.534); of Turnus as Allecto mocks him (7.425); of Turnus, as he laughs at the Fury (4.435). The prizes have just been distributed, and for now, at least, the Centaurus is without honor (*sine honore*); that will soon enough be remedied by Aeneas' bestowal of a gift with eminently Roman associations. *Inrisam* echoes 181 *risere*, 182 *rident*, of the Trojan reaction to Gyas' helmsman Menoetes and his climbing of the crag to safety after having been tossed overboard; V. never reveals how or when he managed to return to safe harbor. The poet thereby fore-

shadows the loss of Palinurus, who will arrive in Italy only to be slain (6.358–361).

Sergestus: The name is delayed, which creates a modicum of suspense; more importantly, the man and the ship are melded into one: exactly the scenario that will occur when Palinurus becomes a human rudder after he is thrown overboard by Somnus.

273 *qualis saepe deprensus in aggere serpens,*

The fourth simile of the book, and the second of the regatta; the repeated *qualis* (cf. 213) helps to connect the two images. The present comparison of Sergestus' salvage operation to the movement of a wounded snake is nine lines in length, three longer than the simile where Mnesteus' vessel was compared to a dove; the most pertinent parallels and coordinate scenes from the *A.* are the "Androgeos as snake" simile from the second book of the Odyssean half of *V.*'s epic (2.379–382), and the simile of the eagle and the snake from Book 11 that describes Tarchon's attack against Venulus. See here Hornsby 1970, 62–63; E. Swallow, "The Strategic Fifth *Aeneid*," in *CW* 46 [1952–1953], 177–179; A. Rose, "Vergil's Ship-Snake Simile (*Aeneid* 5.270–81)," in *CJ* 78.2 (1982–1983), 115–121. The Androgeos episode is concerned with confusion of identity (Greek or Trojan?); the regatta has as its key underlying theme the problem of the Trojan ethnographic future. We can well imagine that the snake of the simile is doomed to die; Sergestus' vessel successfully returns to harbor, though the comparison to the serpent is baleful and looks forward to the eventual historical ignominy of the captain's scion Catiline (see above on 203).

The Apollonian model = *Arg.* 4.1541–1545 (see here Nelis 2001, 214–215); the *Argo* is desperate to escape Lake Tritonis after a storm drives it off course near the Syrtes. The allusion to Triton's lake is significant in light of the forthcoming death of Misenus, besides the parallel to the storm that brought Aeneas' Trojans to Sicily. Conington is right that any influence of Lucretius, *DRN* 3.657 ff. is "extremely faint."

saepe: The adverb provides evidence that road kills were likely as commonplace in *V.*'s time and place as in our own.

deprensus: Cf. above on 53, where Aeneas speaks of his faithful devotion to his father's memory, and how it would endure even if he were trapped in Greek waters or at Mycenae. *Agger* often has military connotations (cf. Servius ad 12.446). The *serpens* is Sergestus, in the sense that the captain can be said to be wounded in his broken ship; the *agger* is then the rock formation where he ran aground; cf. 275 *saxo*, of the rock where the heavy-footed (or stick-wielding) pedestrian leaves behind the lacerated serpent. But more significantly, the

agger is a mark of a truly *Roman* road: “Roman roads were raised above ground level and banked with a rampart” (Farrell’s revision of Page and his reminiscence of Lincoln Heath); “Roman roads were not only well rounded, but often, to avoid a grade, were raised above the general level” (Burton *ad loc.*).

One problem here is the identity of the driver or wayfarer responsible for the wounding of the snake, if indeed the poet intended for there to be any such allusion; in his narrative of the regatta, V. does not draw a clear correspondence between the unwitting if not careless injurer of the serpent and the action of the ship race (and, too, there is the question of what the wheel is meant to conjure; if a chariot, then what specific referent in the regatta is meant by the comparison, if any?).

It was mere chance that was the cause of Sergestus’ accident (201); in one sense, the combination of the imagery of chariots (see below on 274 *rota*) and foot traffic (275 *viator*) helps to create cohesion between the regatta and the next contest, the foot race that will feature Nisus and Euryalus as the most memorable participants (not to mention a close association between regatta and its Homeric chariot race antecedent); the present simile’s two verbal echoes with the night raid and its aftermath help to secure the close links between the wounded snake scene and the later ill-fated adventure of the young lovers (cf. *ad* 275 below). There is no chariot/wagon driver or pedestrian, of course, in the regatta, and therefore no parallel character. Further, the *Centaurus* is not the likeliest of the four ships to be compared to a serpent; the *Pristis* or the *Chimaera* might be more obvious candidates. The former vessel has already been described in avian terms; the bird image in the race is positive (though not sufficiently positive so as to portend or reflect victory), while the serpent signifies the limping travel of the mocked ship that has no honor (272 *inrisam sine honore*). The two images combine, in a sense, in the eagle and serpent simile that describes Tarchon and Venulus; the dove, though, will also be the defeated bird of the Camilla-as-accipiter simile (11.721–724). The images progress, then, in V.’s sister penultimate books from the Anchises-Schlange of 5.84–96 (by way of introduction to the serpent/bird sequence) through the Mnestheus-*columba*, the Sergestus-*serpens*, the *aquila/serpens* of Tarchon (roused by Jupiter and thus connected to Jove’s bird)/Venulus, and the *accipiter/columba* of Camilla and the Ligurian (a passage that is key to the unfolding of the idea that Venus, the goddess of the dove, suffers a defeat in the final ethnographic settlement of the epic). V. may have been influenced in all of these depictions by Cicero’s *hic Iovis altisoni subito pinnata satelles / arboris e trunco, serpentis saucia morsu, / subrigit ipsa feris transfigens unguibus anguem / semianimum et varia graviter cervice micantem* (*Marius* 2.1–4 Ewbanks, from *De Div.* 1.47.106).

In the end, *casus* or blind chance may be personified in the (chariot?) wheel or the serious blow of the *viator* that injures the serpent; it may be true after all that the somewhat *recherché* language of the simile owes something to Lucretius.

274 aerea quem obliquum rota transiit aut gravis ictu

aerea ... rota: Cf. 198 *aerea puppis*, of Mnesteus' ship; bronze is not a surprise for either ship (prow) or chariot, but the image of the wheel does not neatly correspond to the actual regatta, since in reality it is the ship that is damaged and that = the serpent of the simile, while there is no room for a chariot (unless part of the point is a recollection of the Homeric episode of Menelaus complaining that Antilochus was driving recklessly; see further Richardson ad *Il.* 23.362–447).

obliquum: The word is not common in V.: besides *G.* 1.98 and 4.298, it occurs only here and at 11.337, *oblique invidia stimulisque agitabat amaris*, of Drances' extreme jealousy toward Turnus—another of the close correspondences between the sister books. The parallel is likely deliberate: if Drances is indeed an allegory of Cicero, then it is eminently fitting for Sergestus—the scion of Lucius Sergius Catiline—to be connected to the Latin orator, with perhaps a hint of commentary on the part of the poet on Cicero's character as well as Catiline's. The adjective illustrates vividly the position of the snake relative to the wheel: the vehicle moves straight on toward the serpent that is oblivious of the proper lane, as it were, which it is to maintain; Sergestus' vessel, too, is meant to be pictured as having been beached when it was aslant to the rocks. At the point of impact, the courses of wheel and serpent form an oblique angle.

rota: The point of the comparison is especially appropriate given the association of the ship race with the Homeric chariot competition. But there may be a hint, too, of the car of Neptune (cf. 1.147) that traveled by sea to calm the waves during Aeolus' storm.

transiit: Cf. 326 *transeat*, of Dioreas in the foot race; 11.719, of Camilla as she outruns the horse of the Ligurian: the emphasis here is also on speed, as the wheel moves over the snake faster than either the serpent could slither off or the driver notice the victim (cf. 275 *liquit*, which conveys something of the same idea as concerns the *viator*).

gravis ictu: The phrase is Lucretian (*DRN* 6.323 *mobilitas autem fit fulminis et gravis ictus*). There is more briefly held suspense; it is unclear who or what is *gravis* until the end of the next line. Farrell ad loc. takes the blow (*ictu*) as caused by a pedestrian's walking stick.

275 **seminecem liquit saxo lacerumque viator;**

seminecem: Elsewhere in V. at 9.455 *seminecisque viros*, of the victims of Nisus and Euryalus in the night raid; 9.542, of the victims of the collapsed tower at the Trojan camp; 12.329 *seminecis voluit multos*, of Turnus' victims.

saxo: For clarification of the meaning, see here especially D. West, "Multiple-Correspondence Similes in the *Aeneid*," in *JRS* 59.1–2 (1969), 40–49, 45. The snake is half dead on the stony path, *and* the stone contributes to the laceration as much as the pedestrian. The wordplay between *liquit* and *saxo* is deliberate and effective: there is just a hint in the sound of the perfect of *linquo* to make one think of *liquidus*, as the snake's fragile *corpus* is compared to the hard stone that cuts and rends its flesh; the alternation of sibilants and liquids contributes to the effect, while the word placement helps to highlight the deadly significance of the stone—which corresponds to the *scopulos sonantis* (169) where Sergestus was beached. Mackail suggests ad loc. that by reading *saxi* (with *gravis* then taken as genitive) the "awkward" collocation of the ablatives *ictu*, *saxo* would be avoided—though he admits that their uses are Virgilian. But there is neither any authority for such a reading (as Mackail concedes), nor certainty that the action of the driver or the wayfarer = intentional. Rather, the emphasis is on chance (*casus*), at least in the case of the wheel; Page is right to question the idea that *saxo* is used as a balance to *ictu*, to describe an accidental and a deliberate assault—though it is just possible that V. intentionally introduced the two ideas of random chance and determinism, ideas that underpin so much of the action of the book and poem, in one and the same simile. The *saxo* most likely = the *meta* of the race: the ship was pierced on the jutting rocks, and the serpent left lacerated on the stone. The rock of the present simile likely evokes the cliff in the race (270 *scopulo*); the traveler may just recall the sailors (what D. West might call "transfusion of metaphor"; cf. his *Multiple-Correspondence Similes* in Harrison's *OR*, 437–438).

lacerum: The adjective occurs 3× in V.; cf. 6.495 (of Deiphobus); 9.491 (of the *funus* or dead body of Euryalus, as his mother makes her lament from the Trojan camp). The present passage may have inspired Seneca, *HO* 863–865 *abrupta cautes scindat et partem mei | ferat omne saxum, pendeant lacerae manus | totumque rubeat aspei montis latus*. There may be a hint of the idea that stones and rocks were used as makeshift weapons in the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs.

viator: The word is rare in V.; cf. *G.* 4.97; *A.* 10.805 *omnis et agricola, et tuta latet arce viator*, where Aeneas is caught in a hailstorm of weapons as if he were a buffeted ploughman or wayfarer. There may be a hint in the simile, too, of the fate of Orpheus' bride Eurydice: *G.* 4.457–459 *illa quidem, dum te fugeret per*

flumina praeceps, | immanem ante pedes hydrum moritura puella | servantem ripas alta non vidit in herba. Significantly, that story is told by Proteus, the old man of the sea; the situation is identical to that of the present simile in terms of the treading on a snake. An unappreciated point of the Eurydice scene is that the emphasis is placed on how the girl traverses the river (*per flumina*) in such headlong rush that when she emerges on the other side she does not notice the snake on the bank: successful navigation is followed by doom on land. Here, too, Sergestus' vessel will succeed in limping back to shore, but the doom of Catiline's fury looms. V. is not explicit about how the *viator* of the simile harms the snake; s/he may indeed use some sort of stick or crook either to harm the serpent deliberately or (far less likely) as an accidental weapon. But it is also possible that the traveler inadvertently stepped on the creature, with attendant risk to the careless foot.

276 *nequiquam longos fugiens dat corpore tortus*

For detailed consideration of the problems of the next few lines, see especially T. Pearce, "Virgil, *Aeneid* 5.279," in *CQ* N.S. 20.1 (1970), 154–159. The construction offers participle/finite verb/finite verb/participle.

Nequiquam fugiens occurs only here in extant Latin.

dat corpore: The phrase is Lucretian (*DRN* 2.310–311 *summa tamen summa videatur stare quiete, | praeter quam siquid proprio dat corpore motus*).

tortus: *Torquere* is a favorite verb of V.'s (vid. M. Tartari Chersoni, *EV* V*, 217–219), but the related noun occurs only here. The scene, if not quite the Latin, is clear enough; the serpent flees away from the site of its wounding, giving "long twists" with its sinuous body. What is more problematic is the force of the adverb *nequiquam*; in reality, Sergestus' Centaur will successfully return to shore (cf. 283 *servatam ob navem* below), while the snake of the simile is said to have fled away, performing its long twistings in vain (the snake, of course, does not benefit from anything like the force of the wind that the Centaurus will enjoy). V. here alludes to the future doom of Catiline; the ship of his ancestor Sergestus may arrive safely back in port, but the real hazard looms large for his scion. *Longos tortus* appears nowhere else.

277 *parte ferox ardensque oculis et sibila colla*

ferox: The snake is fierce at least in part; the emphasis in *parte* is on its partially wounded state, which still permits a lashing out of frenzy—and in *ferox* we dimly glimpse the future Catiline; in *parte* there may be a hint that Catiline was not entirely without honor, and/or a subtle criticism of Cicero (though of course his other part is then wounded). With V.'s *parte ferox* cf. Livy 21.54.6.2; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.615; the poet may also have intended some comment

on the biform nature of the Centaurus, which could be considered to be *ferox* in its equine half.

ardens ... oculis: Cf. Ovid, *Trist.* 4.2.31 *oculis hostilibus ardens*; Lucan, *BC* 6.179; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.658; Silius, *Pun.* 9.65. The image is old; Ennius, *Alex.* fr. 32 Jocelyn has *sed quid oculis rapere visa est oculis ardentibus?*; V. has *ardentem oculis* of Bitias (9.703); cf., too, 12.101–102 *his igitur furiis, totoque ardentis ab ore | scintillae absistunt, oculis micat acribus ignis* (of Turnus).

sibila colla: The phrase is borrowed from *G.* 3.420–422 *cape saxa, cape robora, pastor, | tollentemque minas et sibila colla tumentem | deice, iamque fuga timidum caput abdidit alte*, where the shepherd is urged to strike the snake that then flees in timid flight (and cf. Columella's recollection of the passage at *DRR* 7.6.4.15).

278 *arduus attollens; pars vulnere clauda retentat*

arduus attollens: Cf. Silius, *Pun.* 10.258–259 *sic ait atque aegrum coeptanti attollere corpus | arduus insurgens totum permiscuit ensem*; cf. 16.442–444. The adjective is old (Ennius; cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 1.659 *ardua dum metuunt, amittunt vera viai*); 41× in V. See on 567 *ostentans arduus*.

clauda: This is the only occurrence of the adjective in V.; cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 2.258–259 *Taurus | succidit incurvo claudus pede*; the present use was probably inspired by Lucretius, *DRN* 4.436–437 *at maris ignaris in portu clauda videntur | navigia aplustris fractis obnitier undis*. For limping from a wound note Cicero, *De Orat.* 2.249.3; Pliny, *NH* 26.135.5; Statius, *Ach.* 2.161.

retentat: Only here in V.; for later uses cf. Lucan, *BC* 4.723; Ovid, *Ep. Pont.* 3.9.26; Seneca, *Phaed.* 1073; *Oedipus* 1056. V. may have borrowed the verb from Cicero's *menteque divina caelum terrasque petessit, | quae penitus sensus hominum vitasque retentat | aetheris aeterni saepta atque inclusa cavernis* (*De Consul.* 2.3–5 Ewbanks, from *De Div.* 1.17).

279 *nixantem nodis seque in sua membra plicantem;*

nixantem: So MP; a corrector of M (another corr. offers the bland *nitentem*); Ribbeck; Sabbadini; Phillipson, Williams vs. *nexantem* in RV ω ; Priscian (Keil II, 469; 593; Eutyches, Keil V, 485); Henry; Page; Mackail (*sans commentaire*); Mynors; Pearce; Goold; Geymonat; and *OLD*, which hedges its bet by sending the reader to *nixor*. Pearce is right that the manuscript evidence is no help in the face of the frequent confusion of *e* and *i* in the rustic capitals; the decision is ultimately a more or less subjective judgment. Two participles enclose the verse.

If *nixantem* is correct, this is the sole occurrence in V.; if *nexantem*, we have another *hapax*. Neither word is particularly common; the confusion arising

from orthographical similarity is easily understood. Lucretius has *atque in eo semper durum sufferre laborem / hoc est adverso nixantem trudere monte / saxum, quod tamen e summo iam vertice rursum* (DRN 3.999–1001, of Sisyphus; cf. also DRN 6.836). The serpent is exerting itself in the face of its wounded state. *Nexantem* is attractive because of the strongly expressed image of the snake plaiting itself in knots; this image remains with *nixantem*, which also introduces a parallel to Lucretius in its description of the serpent's struggle; the Sisyphus image is not only appropriate to the action of the snake, but also a precursor of the underworld allusions to the punishments in Tartarus that V. soon introduces to foreshadow ultimately the appearance of Catiline on the shield. "The frequentative form of *nitor* may well have been invented by Lucretius" (Kenney ad loc.). The snake is imagined as quickly retracting itself into knots, and then only with difficulty trying to move off to safety, unable to unravel itself, as it were, without great pain and travail.

Pearce's introduction of the "evidence" of 11.753 to support *nexantem* fails on the critic's own admission that there is no *nect-* word in the passage, though G. 3.423 does indeed have *nexus* of a snake—but the etymological connection does not seem decisive. *Nexo* should not be ruled out (so Williams) because it is especially rare (it is also old: Livius Andronicus; Accius)—but neither should *nixor*. Page defends *nexantem* on the grounds that it *does* duplicate *plicantem*, and deliberately so, with added emphasis on the twisting of the serpent in upon itself; Farrell's reworking of Page does not reprint his predecessor's note, and offers no new comment. *Nixantem* would also seem to work better with *retentat*: the wounded part of the snake's body holds it back and inhibits flight; the serpent struggles against its unresponsive "limb."

The similar textual problem of A. 1.448–449 *aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina nexaeque* (or *nixaeque?*) | *aere trabes* is relevant; there *nexae* has the greater support (MPR ω ; the second corrector of F; Tiberius; a possible imitation by Claudian, DRP 1.239 cited by Mynors—Gruzelier *seq.* ad loc.), but *nixae* was clearly an ancient reading (the first corrector of F; "multi" according to DServ.; Mynors cites Homer, *Od.* 7.89). Here, *nixae* can be considered the *difficilior lectio*; the image of the beams of Dido's temple straining under the heavy bronze is attractive, but one can see readily enough how *nexae* might have been read. For the possible borrowing from Livius Andronicus (if *nexantem*—and "merely lexical" in any case), see Wigodsky 1972, 171n74.

nodis: Knots appear 2 \times in A. 5, and 2 \times in 11: cf. 510 *nodos et vincula linea rupit*, during the archery contest, as the twine that binds the dove is struck (see ad loc.); 11.553 *solidum nodis et robore cocto*, of the weapon to which Metabus binds the infant Camilla; 11.776 *fulvo in nodum collegerat auro*, of Chloereus' outlandish costume: the snake and the dove; Camilla and her prey.

See further Horsfall ad 11.553 for the “familiar detail in descriptions of rustic weaponry.”

sua membra: Cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 5.540; Propertius, c. 3.2.6; Ovid, *Met.* 11.261; 13.903; 15.222; *Fasti* 1.374; 4.221; 6.708; Lucan, *BC* 3.431; 6.529. Catiline, of course, is one of the snake’s *membra*.

plicantem: Another Virgilian *hapax* in a simile replete with words the poet rarely employs, and another borrowing from Lucretius (*DRN* 4.828; 6.1087). Seneca imitated the present passage at *Medea* 689 *nodis corpus aggrestitis plicat*, of a snake (where see Boyle). Mackail rightly dismisses Servius’ pedantry in pointing out that snakes have no limbs.

280 *tali remigio navis se tarda movebat*;

The somewhat exotic language of the simile gives way to a less dramatic description of the Centaurus’ limping return to port; the present line serves as a brief respite between the vividness of the simile and the rich literary associations of the *ostia* where Sergestus anchors his Centaurus. The repeated emphasis on the self-propulsion of snake and ship (*seque, sua, se*) underscores how there is no help for Sergestus’ vessel: an underappreciated aspect of the present scene is that no one from the shore makes any move to assist the damaged ship and its endangered crew.

navis ... tarda: the phrase occurs only here in extant Latin; the language, as elsewhere in the regatta narrative, offers something of a personification of the vessels.

281 *vela facit tamen et velis subit ostia plenis*.

Anacolouthon, Servius notes, since V. did not previously say that Sergestus could not steer with his oarage (but cf. 271; the problem is that the vessel is far more difficult to control with only two banks of oars undamaged). *Vela facit* occurs only here in extant Latin. Cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.184.

velis ... plenis: Cf. Propertius, c. 4.6.23 *hinc Augusta ratis plenis Iove omine velis* (with Hutchinson); Petronius, *Sat.* 45.10.4; 71.9.2 (with Schmeling); Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* 5.10.1.2; 6.26.1.7; 7.25.7.5. The oarage is shattered and unreliable for safe navigation; the sails provide the only hope. M reads *plenis ... velis* here; Mynors notes 1.400 *pleno ... velo*.

ostia: The word is not common in V., and most immediately associated with the Tiber harbor (1.13–14 *Tiberinaque ... / ostia*); cf. also the direct allusion to 1.400 *aut portum tenet aut pleno subit ostia velo*, when the disguised Venus announces the safe return of vessels thought lost in the storm. At 3.688–689 *vivo praetervehor ostia saxo / Pantagiae*, Aeneas describes part of his journey to Sicily with Achaemenides; there are a hundred entrances to the underworld (6.43; 81; 109); the nervous mouths of the Nile (6.800 *trepida ostia*).

But perhaps most significantly, on the shield of Aeneas we find 8.666–669 *hinc procul addit | Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis, | et scelerum poenas, et te, Catilina, minaci | pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem*, where we encounter a penalty that is identical to the fate of Sergestus' vessel before it managed to arrive back in port, and a connection between the *ostia* of the underworld (the word is almost a technical term in *A.* 6 for the entrance(s) to Dis, and is linked, significantly, to the Nile that is most associated with Cleopatra), and the seemingly safe return of Sergestus' ship to port.

The return of the fractured vessel to port in safety connects to the reception, then, of Trojan ships both in Carthage and, soon enough, in Italy, but also to the arrival of the broken dreams of Antony and Cleopatra in Alexandria after Actium; see above on 122 for the possible associations of the Centaurs with the vessels of the Egyptian queen and her Roman confederate.

The ship race has commemorated Actium; in the last portraits V. presents in his sequence of marine images, we see the vanquished forces retire to safe harbor without help, of course, from the Romans they challenged—but with clemency in the form of the prize Aeneas soon bestows—however tinged with irony the prize may be (as we shall soon see). Catiline and Antony are thus associated in the depiction of the end of the regatta and the arrival of the Centaureus in port.

282 *Sergestum Aeneas promisso munere donat*

Sergestum Aeneas: The names of recipient and donor are juxtaposed.

munere: The promised rewards were described at 109–112: in point of fact the present prize of a Cretan slave and her two children was never announced as part of the intended roster of gifts; V. thereby highlights the significance of the *munus* by its surprise appearance, which comes in the important final place in the depiction of the regatta, so that the audience is left with the image of the Cretan and her twins as we shift our attention to the foot race. Burton argues *ad loc.* that “it has not been stated that all competitors were to receive a reward,” but 109–112 seems clear enough. With *promisso munere* cf. Silius, *Pun.* 16.524, also in the context of the prizes for games. Servius comments on *promisso* that the force of the adjective is either that the presents were great, or that they were promised before (he may have noted that, in point of fact, most of the prizes were not previously announced); *promisso* may be a deliberate nod to the reader that raises the question of the special significance of awards that had not been forecast in the list from 109–112.

donat: Of seven occurrences of this verb in V., five appear in this book of competitions and prizes. For the line-end see below on 361.

283 *servatam ob navem laetus sociosque reductos.*

servatam: Cf. 699 *servatae* below, of the ships saved from the firing of the fleet. Lurking here may well be the civic crown awarded to Augustus *ob cives servatos*; for its prominence in “Augustan ideology” see Wardle ad Suetonius, *Aug.* 92.2

laetus: The closing scene of the regatta resumes the image of the keyword of the book; Aeneas is happy on account of the salvation of his ship and its crew, even if in point of fact the boat is severely damaged and nobody seemed ready to rush to its aid as it ran aground. See Mackie 1988, 100–101 for the characterization of Aeneas here, and the reminiscence of *Il.* 23.534 ff., where Achilles gives a prize to Eumelus, despite the fact that he came in last because of an accident.

sociosque reductos: The present scene owes much to the announcement of the disguised Venus to her son of the safe arrival of the companions he thought lost at sea: 1.390–391 *namque tibi reduces socios classemque relatam | nuntio.*

284 *olli serva datur operum haud ignara Minervae,*

olli: For the archaism see on 10 *olli* above; the point here may be the introduction of what will prove to be a passage where in brief compass there is a deep investment in commentary on the establishment of the future Rome and its ethnographic identity; the pronoun opens a brief coda to the long narrative of the regatta that is of the greatest significance to the future Roman settlement, in a manner that is very much in the poet’s style.

serva: The word occurs elsewhere in *V.* only at 9.546, where the slave Licymnia is said to have given birth to Helenor. “It is a curious fact that the word *servus* does not occur once in the recognized works of Vergil or in the Appendix.” (Haarhoff 1949, 68, with commentary).

datūr: The diastole before the caesura may be intended to make us dwell on the presentation of the gift. See below on 521 for diastole that reflects an original Greek quantity; Burton 1919, xix; also Conway ad 1.668 *iactetur* (“in all these cases ... there is something a pause”). Lengthening of this sort can occur before both nouns and verbs; cf. also 2.563; 3.112.

operum ... Minervae: For the association of the goddess with *opera* cf. Caesar, *BG* 6.17.2.2 *Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia trader*; Tibullus, c. 2.1.65–66 *textrix operata Minervam | cantat*; Horace, c. 3.12.4–5 *tibi telas operosae / Minervae stadium aufert*. *V.* is fond of the genitive plural (*G.* 1.277; 2.155; 2.472; 4.184; 4.215; *A.* 1.455; 1.507; 3.20; 9.607; 11.228; cf. *Ps.-V.*, *Culex* 107; *Ps.-V.*, *Aetna* 598), which he borrowed from Lucretius (*DRN* 1.153; 6.56). Otherwise the form is frequent in Manilius, and not uncommon in Horace and Ovid, though most of its occurrences are in prose.

haud ignara: The phrase appears elsewhere in V. at 4.508, of Dido's knowledge of the future as she plans her suicide; 618 below, of Iris/Beroë as she instigates the firing of the Trojan fleet; 10.247, of Cymodocea's knowledge of how to handle ships; cf. Horace, s. 1.1.35 *haud ignara ac non incauta futuri*. The masculine form *haud ignarus* appears at 8.627 (of Vulcan with respect to the images on the shield); 11.154 (of Evander with reference to what might well happen to his son Pallas in the matter of *nova gloria in armis* and *praedulce decus primo certamine*). The feminine form may have been novel to V.; the masculine is found in the historians (Sallust; Livy; Tacitus).

Minervae: For the goddess see especially J.-L. Girard, *EV* III, 532–534; Fratanuono in *VE* II, 831–832; M. Wilhelm, “Minerva in the *Aeneid*,” in Wilhelm and Jones 1992, 74–81; Bailey 1935, 152–157; also G. West, *Women in Vergil's Aeneid* (Dissertation Los Angeles), 1975, 95–111. The image of the woman who is not ignorant of the works of Minerva will return at the close of the procession of Latin warriors at the commencement of the war in Italy, as Camilla is said to pursue not the domestic arts of the goddess, but rather the works of war (7.805–806).

The goddess Minerva is mentioned once by name in this book and once in 11 (259 *scit triste Minervae*, during Diomedes' recollection to Venulus and the Latin emissaries about the returns of the Greeks from Troy); cf., too, 11.477 and the retreat of the women of Latinus' capital to the temple of Pallas Athena as the Trojans attack the city, a passage that balances the depiction of the goddess among the pictures in Dido's temple, where the women of Troy are portrayed as supplicating her in the last hour of their city (1.477); *Tritonia* will occur 1× in 5 and 1× in 11 as well (see on 704). The rather emasculated Vulcan rises to fashion divine arms for Aeneas at the hour when a woman begins the work of Minerva (8.408–415). Minerva joins with Neptune and Venus on the shield as part of the divine action of Actium (8.699); she is the first goddess venerated by the Trojans on Italian soil (3.529–544).

V. does not present Minerva as a reliable patroness of Troy; she is an ambivalent figure of divided loyalties—an appropriate depiction of a goddess who will ultimately be especially sacred to the future Rome and not the dead Troy. And so the wooden horse was crafted by her art (2.15–16; 186; 226–227); the goddess hates the Greeks, however, for the abduction of Cassandra from her own temple (1.39–41, of the goddess' fatal assault on Ajax, the son of Oileus; 2.403–404; cf. 6.840). Sinon asserts that the wooden horse was meant as a gift to appease the goddess after the theft of the Palladium by Odysseus and Diomedes (2.162–194); Turnus says that his Rutulians will not engage in such deceitful arts as the ruse of the horse (9.150–152). Camilla (who embodies in her conflicted nature something of the ambiguities of the Virgilian ethnography as they relate to

reader sympathies to the “right” vs. the “wrong” side in the Italian war) is fittingly associated with the goddess of ambiguous associations.

285 *Cressa* genus, *Pholoë*, *geminique sub ubere nati*.

A good example of how V. can compress a tremendous amount of deeply evocative material into one line that could be blithely dismissed as ornamental detail that does not significantly advance the action. The narrative of the regatta ends here with a seemingly minor note about the prize for the last contestant, an award that is in fact linked inextricably to the future Rome.

On the awarding of a woman as a prize for athletic contests, see M. Poliakoff, “Euripides *Alkestis* 1029–1032,” in *Mnesmosyne* 35.1–2 (1982), 141–143.

Cressa: The adjective occurs elsewhere in V. only at G. 3.345, of a quiver (the reading *crassam* can be safely dismissed); *Cretaeus* appears at 3.117 and 12.412, and see below on 558 *Creta* for the mention of the Cretan labyrinth that closes a ring V. opens here with his mention of the slave woman’s provenance, and for the connection of both passages with the signal appearance of the story of Daedalus and Icarus on the doors of Apollo’s temple at the start of Book 6 (a tale that for V. connects also, as we shall see, to the denial of Crete as a home for the Trojans in A. 3; for wise caution about any parallelism between Icarus and Palinurus see Horsfall ad 6.14–41, n. 19—though it is true that both men rather fall to their deaths, after a fashion at least—Palinurus of course reaches land—and as Horsfall notes, association of Daedalus and Aeneas is “certain beyond reasonable doubt”). For the island in V. see G. Pugliese Carratelli, *EV* I, 929–930. Ps.-Acro ad Horace, c. 3.9.9 has an interesting reading *Thressa*, probably under the influence of Servius ad A. 1.316 (but ad s. 1.5.54 he reads *Cressa*). The adjective is almost exclusively poetic and not particularly common; cf. Horace, c. 1.36.10; Propertius, c. 2.1.61; 4.7.57; Ovid, *Am.* 1.7.16; *Her.* 2.76; 4.2; *Ars* 1.327; 1.558; *Met.* 9.703; Ovid, *Ibis* 510; Seneca, *Phaed.* 177; Statius, *Silv.* 2.6.25; Juvenal, s. 10.327; a rare prose use = Pliny, *HN* 5.104.2 *portus Cressa, a quo Rhodus insula passuum XX*. Crete was associated with the stories of Jupiter’s infancy (his birth was linked to Ida as well as Arcadia; cf. the locus of Ganymede’s abduction, and the origins of Evander/Pallas). The very special twins named here are the children of a Cretan, and Jupiter (in his capacity as supreme god, as Rome will be the supreme city on earth) will be the one to announce the future ethnographic settlement of Rome in his speech to Juno in A. 12. See further T. Joseph in *VE* I, 311 (with comment on the labyrinth as image of the “regressive” features of the Trojan quest for Hesperia); also R. Armstrong, “Crete in the *Aeneid*: Recurring Trauma and Alternative Fate,” in *CQ* N.S. 52 (2002), 321–340.

There is likely also an association between the Cretan provenance of the gift for the progenitor of Catiline and the tradition that the Cretans were liars

(e.g., Callimachus, *h.* 1.8, with McLennan); V. is fond of mixed associations that serve to give voice to ambiguity and ambivalence. Any Cretan associations with irrational passion and erotic love might also presage the forthcoming introduction of Nisus and Euryalus.

Pholoë: For the name see Paschalis 1997, 204–205; he sees a connection between the slave and her twin children and the nestlings of the simile of 214, though that image is connected to Mnestheus and not Sergestus, and there is no specification that the rock pigeon has two offspring. Elsewhere the name occurs at Tibullus, c. 1.8.69, where it appears as the “surprise” name of the girl who is warned about what harm her arrogance may incur for her (see further Maltby ad loc.); cf. Horace, c. 1.33.7, 9, for another arrogant woman (*Cyrus in asperam / declinat Pholoën; sed prius Apulis / iungentur capreae lupis, / quam turpi Pholoë peccet adultero*); c. 2.5.17 *quantum non Pholoë fugax*; c. 3.15.7; also Ovid, *Fasti* 2.273; Lucan, *BC* 3.198; 6.388; 7.449; 7.827; Statius, *Theb.* 3.604; 6.461; 10.228; *Ach.* 1.168; 1.238 (of the mountain in Arcadia); see Zissos ad Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.140–141 for the connection of the Arcadian height with Centaurs—Pholoë is an appropriate name of a prize for the captain of the Centaurus (and note his commentary ad 3.336–338 on Pholus). At *A.* 8.294–295–296, Hercules is praised for his defeat of the Centaur Pholus and the monsters of Crete (*Hylaeumque Pholumque manu, tu Cresia mactas / prodigia*)—V. thus crafts a comparison of Augustus/Hercules and Antony-Cleopatra/the Centaurs, with attendant commentary on the conquest of disorder. Cf. also Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.65–67 *qualis in Alciden et Thesea Rhoecus iniqui / nube meri geminam Pholoën maioraque cernens / astra ruit*.

Pholoë, then, has relevant connections to Centaurs and the various heroic struggles against the bibulous horse-men; in the Augustan arena, there may also be an allusion here to the twins of Antony and Cleopatra, Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene, whose lives were spared after the deaths of their parents (sections of Crete, too, were part of the gifts Antony had bestowed on his lover).

The regatta closes, though, with the eminently Roman image of twins being suckled; no one could have missed the clear evocation of Romulus and Remus and the suckling by the she-wolf; V. will later develop associations between Camilla (who has lupine affinities) and Cleopatra, and here he commences a rich series of images: 1) the woman who knows the domestic works of Minerva (and has children); 2) the woman who understands the martial Minervan arts and not household science (and who remains a virgin); 3) Camilla's ambivalent status as an image of Cleopatra at Actium, and as a foreshadowing of the wolf that would nourish the future Rome (see further Fratantuono 2009b for the connections between Camilla, her close friend Acca, and the Romulean she-wolf; V. may have Dido anticipate some of these associations when she accuses

Aeneas of having been reared by Hyrcanian tigresses at *A.* 4.367, in light of the later association of Camilla with tigers at 11.576–577: in the sense that Aeneas' Trojans will be transformed into Romans, and that Camilla is a prefiguration of the she-wolf that nourished that future Rome, Dido has something of a point, however unaware of its resonances and ultimate ethnographic context though she may be; see further R. Katz, *VE* III, 1270).

Pholoë and her twins are given as a prize to Sergestus, the scion of the *gens Sergia* that will produce Catiline; the award is a detail very much in the Virgilian style of undercutting what could have been a triumphant foreshadowing of Roman glory by introducing dark associations. A powerful note, in any case, on which to end the dramatic narrative of the ship race that symbolizes the ethnographic movement of Troy to Rome.

For the presence of Cretans amid the Trojan exile band, see Reed 2007, 4. The award of the servant and her twins to Sergestus stands in striking contrast to the eminently *Trojan* prize of the cloak for the victorious Cloanthus; the longer ecphrasis of that Trojan royal gift has given way to the ultimately Roman image of the humble slave and her twin sucklings. In a nice touch, too, not only would Crete *not* be the final home for the Trojan exiles, but a Cretan would not, in fact, be the mother or foster mother of Romulus and Remus—just as Crete was not the locus of Zeus' tomb, despite the proverbial lies of its islanders.

ubere: So also the first corrector of P and V ω ; Tib. in his *lemma*; Ribbeck; Mynors; Geymonat, *vs. ubera* M, the second corrector of P; R (Mynors also compares Ausonius, *cent. nup.* 63); Tib. in his commentary; Sabbadini; some critics cf. 3.392 *albi circum ubera nati*, of the progeny of the portentous sow. The passages are indeed deliberately balanced in the related Books 3 and 5; the close of the regatta is deeply evocative of the traditions of the founding of Rome. With *sub ubere* cf. Statius, *Theb.* 3.682; Silius, *Pun.* 3.63.

286–314 After the regatta and the awarding of the prizes, attention turns to the foot race, where V. will introduce the figures of Nisus and Euryalus, Trojan youths who will reappear in the lengthy sequence of the ill-fated night mission and raid in Book 9; the poet introduces these major figures by means of a likely deliberate half-line that draws immediate attention to the pair (294). After introducing the other competitors in the race, V. describes the prizes for the victors, gifts that will once again be invested with special significance. The foot race will be quite short compared to the regatta, thus = a contrasting pair that will be balanced by the boxing match and the archery contest; V. thereby enacts in verse the reality that boat races and pugilistic bouts are usually longer than sprints and archery competitions. As with the introduction of Camilla at the end of the procession of Turnus' allies in *A.* 7, so with Nisus and Euryalus

background details will emerge later, as a relatively brief introduction serves to herald a lengthier later narrative. See further Monaco 1960/1972, 101–111.

On Nisus and Euryalus the bibliography for the later episode often contains material relevant to a close study of the race, as well as to the complicated question of the nature and reception of the erotic, passionate love between the two men in a Roman and Augustan context; see especially M. Bellincioni, "Eurialo," in *EV* III, 424–426 (the entry also includes "Niso"); Heinze 1902/1908/1914, 216 ff., 266 ff., 450 ff.; Cartault 1926, 374–377, 666–676; E. Hahn, "Poetic Justice in the *Aeneid* (Concluded)," in *The Classical Weekly* 27.21 (1934), 161–164; Büchner 1955, 354, 386; Otis 1964, 44–51; G. Duckworth, "The Significance of Nisus and Euryalus for *Aeneid* IX–XII," in *AJPh* 88.2 (1967), Quinn 1968, 201–207; 129–150; Monaco 1960/1972, 104–111; W. Fitzgerald, "Nisus and Euryalus: A Paradigm of Futile Behavior and the Tragedy of Youth," in Martyn 1972, 114–137; P. Lennox, "Virgil's Night-Episode Re-Examined (*Aeneid* IX, 176–449)," in *Hermes* 105.3 (1977), 331–342; Lee 1979, 109–114; S. Farron, "The Aeneas-Dido Episode as an Attack on Aeneas' Mission and Rome," in *G&R* 27.1 (1980), 34–47; Gransden 1984, 102–119; B. Pavlock, "Epic and Tragedy in Vergil's Nisus and Euryalus Episode," in *TAPA* 115 (1985), 207–224; Cairns 1989, 228–229; J. Makowski, "Nisus and Euryalus: A Platonic Relationship," in *CJ* 85.1 (1989), 1–15; Farron 1993, 1–30; E. Potz, "*Fortunati Ambo*: Funktion und Bedeutung der Nisus/Euryalus-Episode in Vergils Aeneis," in *Hermes* 121.3 (1993), 325–334; Hardie 1994, 23–34; Horsfall 1995, 170–178; Putnam 1995, 296–297; C. Williams, "Greek Love at Rome," in *CQ* N.S. 45.2 (1995), 517–539; Horsfall 1995, 170–178; J. Makowski, "Bisexual Orpheus: Pederasty and Parody in Ovid," in *CJ* 92.1 (1996), 25–38; Petrini 1997 (Chapter Three); A. Ramírez, "La prueba atlética en la *Eneida* (V 286–361) de Virgilio," in *Humanística* 11, 1999, 51–58; C. Williams 1999, 116–119; D. Fowler, "Epic in the Middle of the Wood: *Mise en abyme* in the Nisus and Euryalus Episode," in Sharrock and Morales 2000, 89–113; P. Perotti, "Eurialo e Niso: *fides e perfidia*," in *Minerva* 14 (2000), 71–85; S. Casali, "Nisus and Euryalus: Exploiting the Contradictions in Virgil's *Doloneia*," in *HSCP* 102 (2004), 319–354; P. Perotti, "L'eroismo 'privato' di Eurialo e Niso," in *Latomus* 64 (2005), 56–69; D. Meban, "The Nisus and Euryalus Episode and Roman Friendship," in *Phoenix* 63.3–4 (2009), 239–259; L. Fratantuono, "*Pius Amor*: Nisus, Euryalus, and the Footrace of *Aeneid* V," in *Latomus* 69.1 (2010), 43–55. For an important study that considers the problem of the motivation for Nisus and Euryalus in the night raid (with useful commentary for a study of the race as well) note J. O'Hara, "'Some God ... or His Own Heart': Two Kinds of Epic Motivation in the Proem to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," in *CJ* 100.2 (2004–2005), 149–161. For an especially sensitive reading of some key features of V's presentation of the doomed lovers, with comparisons to Aeneas' relationship with Creüsa, vid. M. Putnam, "Virgil's Inferno," in *MD*

20–21 (1988), 165–202; best on the vexed question of their relationship (see further below on 296) = Oliensis 1997 in Martindale 1997, 294–311, 309. On some aspects of the reception, including the “imputed homosexuality” of Aeneas (a frequent topos of the *Roman*), note M. Paschal, “The Structure of the *Roman d’Enéas*,” in *The French Review* 54.1 (1980), 47–51. The last of the celebrated s. 16 Limoges enamels is dedicated to Nisus and Euryalus, on which see Usher 2012 in Usher and Fernbach 2012, 161–188. Nisus and Euryalus were a byword for the power of friendship as early as Ovid, *Trist.* 1.5.23–24 *si non Euryalus Rutulo cecidisset in hoste, | Hyrtacidae Nisi gloria nulla foret.*

One less appreciated facet of the appearance of Nisus and Euryalus here, in the wake of the regatta, is the connection between Scylla the marine horror, her homonym *Nisi filia*, and the Nisus of the race; as we shall see below, this association will also link the games closely to the problems posed by the opening of the sixth book, just as the scene of the foot race will presage the blissful groves of the underworld’s Elysium, as V. continues to craft his games narrative as an A. in miniature, with both positive and less than optimistic intertexts. See further below on 344.

If the regatta represented in part the Trojan journey toward Rome, then now—with the ships having come full circle—we can see the nature of the Troy whose destruction will be described metapoetically in the boxing match, where Sicilians will begin to dominate over Trojans.

286 hoc pius Aeneas misso certamine tendit

pius Aeneas: The descriptor introduces a sequence that will be dominated by what V. describes as the *pius amor* (296 *Nisus amore pio pueri*) of Nisus for Euryalus. At 26 above, the adjective is used to describe Aeneas as he announces to Palinurus that Sicily, the land of not only Acestes’ kingdom, but especially his father Anchises’ bones, is not far off; at 734 and 745 below it will be used in contexts connected to Anchises and his existence in Elysium. For a study of Aeneas’ *pietas* and whether it is sufficient for the tasks he faces, with special reference to his first appearance in the poem, see A. Gossage, “Aeneas at Sea,” in *Phoenix* 17.2 (1963), 131–136. Horace has the appellation 1× (c. 4.7.15, where see Thomas); Ovid has it (bitingly) at *Am.* 2.18.31.

Tendere is also used in the present tense of Aeneas at 7.5–7, where the Trojan hero continues his journey after the rites for Caieta; cf. the angry Aeneas of 12.580–581 *ipse inter primos dextram sub moenia tendit | Aeneas, magnaue incusat voce Latinum* (the passage is a direct parallel to 12.195–196 *sic prior Aeneas, sequitur sic deinde Latinus | suscipiens caelum, tenditque ad sidera dextram*, of the treaty establishment). Cf. Also 6.388 *qui ... tendis* (with Horsfall).

Pietas is an old concept; cf. Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 1.4 Skutsch, *o pietas animi*, with the ed.'s note ad loc. on the probable vocative; the term is deeply rooted in the Roman religious tradition (cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 5.1198); A. Traina in *EV* IV, 93–101; L. Fratantuono on *pietas/pius* in *VE*. In V. it is not a peculiarly Trojan trait, and it can thus survive the ultimate suppression of Trojan *mores* in the final reconciliation of Juno.

misso certamine: The phrase will be repeated at 545 below, during the archery contest, where, significantly, Aeneas is introduced as *pater* and not *pius* in the wake of Acestes' portent, which the Trojan hero did not seek to confirm with an *augurium impetrativum*; *certamen* in both passages refers to the specific contest that has just ended; here the regatta is truly finished, while in the latter scene the archery match is not yet (*nondum*) officially "closed," so that the Trojan youth can perform their equestrian display. Cf. also *Ilias Latina* 1013–1014 *tandem certamine misso | in sua castra redit turbis comitatus Achilles*. Cf. 113 *commissos ... ludos*; the games were "commissioned," as it were, and now the individual competitions are one by one discharged.

287 *gramineum in campum, quem collibus undique curvis*

For the enallage and other stylistic features of V's description of the locus see Conte 2007, 86–87. On the theatrical associations of the setting, the Virgilian emphasis on spectators, and the notion of a Trojan commonalty, see A. Bell, "The Popular Poetics and Politics of the *Aeneid*," in *TAPA* 129 (1999), 263–279, 269, with reference to Pomathios 1987. "In epic, such valleys [as the Campus Martius], with their grassy slopes for seats, form natural circuses and theatres even before the application of human construction" (Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 615 *cavae ... vallis*).

gramineum ... campum: With V's grassy plain cf. Silius, *Pun.* 6.217 *cornea gramineum persultans ungula campum*. The poetic adjective *gramineus* occurs elsewhere in V. at 6.642 *pars in gramineis exercent membra palaestris* (of Elysium); 7.105–106 *cum Laomedontia pubes | gramineo ripae religavit ab aggere classem* (of the Trojan arrival in Latium); 8.175–176 *haec ubi dicta, dapes iubet et sublata reponi | pocula gramineoque viros locat ipse sedili* (of the reception of Aeneas at Pallanteum); 11.565–566 *dat sese fluvio, atque hastam cum virgine victor | gramineo, donum Triviae, de caespite vellit* (of Metabus with the infant Camilla); 12.116–119 *campum ad certamen magnae sub moenibus altae | dimensi Rutulique viri Teucrique parabant | in mediosque focos et dis communibus aras | gramineas* (of the ill-fated treaty settlement between the Rutulians and the Trojans).

1× each, then, in the sister books 5 and 11; further, the grassy plain of the foot race presages the similar yet very different *campus* of Elysium. The image of the

grassy meadow is associated, too, with receptions (Latium, Pallanteum, indeed Sicily); the Nisus-Euryalus episodes will have important connections to the question of ethnography, which will recur in the short-lived treaty negotiations of A. 12. Cf. Ovid, *Am.* 2.6.10 (with McKeown); 3.5.5; *Met.* 3.162; *Fasti* 3.519; *Trist.* 5.5.9; Lucan, *BC* 4.199 (with Asso); Statius, *Theb.* 1.583; 6.57; 7.335; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.255 (with Spaltenstein). On the associations between grass and plains, see F. Boldrer, "Virgilio, *Georg.* 2, 332," in *MD* 27 (1991), 145–157, 145n3.

collibus ... curvis: Statius has *collibus incurvis viridique obsessa corona | vallis in amplexu nemorum sedet* (*Theb.* 6.255). "A strangely inverted form of expression" (Burton ad loc.): the hills are wooded (288 *silvae*), and the emphasis is on how the whole locus is forested.

Juvenal may have had this locus for the foot race of Nisus and Euryalus in mind for his *ne trepida, numquam pathicus tibi derit amicus | stantibus et salvis his collibus; undique ad illos | convenient et carpentis et navibus omnes* (s. 9.130–132). Servius has a pedantic concern on this and the next line: "non enim silva colles habet, sed est in collibus silva. debuit ergo dicere, quem colles cingebant silvae." For the theatrical associations of the locus of the race, with consideration of the unity of the Trojans (and Sicilians) on display for the games (though it should be noted, too, that there is a fair degree of conflict as well in the sequence overall) see below on 288 and note A. Bell, "The Popular Poetics and Politics of the *Aeneid*," in *TAPA* 129 (1999), 263–279, 269; the ultimate resolution of the drama of Nisus and Euryalus will have affinities to certain aspects of tragedy.

On V's language for the setting of the foot race, and its connection to the vocabulary of city building, see Lersch 1843, 33. For the influence of V's evocative description on Tasso's lines on the locus of single combat for Argante and Raimondo, see L. Seem, "The Limits of Chivalry: Tasso and the End of the *Aeneid*," in *Comparative Literature* 42.2, "Virgil and After," (1990), 116–125, 121–122.

288 cingebant silvae, mediaque in valle theatri

cingebant silvae: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 3.709 *cingentibus ... silvis*; 5.388 *silva ... cingens*. *Cingebant* appears only here at the start of a hexameter; Catullus has *pars sese tortis serpentibus incingebant* (c. 64.258), but the passage V. has in mind here is c. 64.286 *Tempe, quae silvae cingunt super impendentes*. Cf. also V's description of the sacred site near Caere that is chosen for the Trojan camp at 8.599–600 *religione partum late sacer; undique colles | includere cavi et nigra nemus abiete cingunt*, which is modeled on the present scene. Seneca opens *Phaed.* with the memorable *Ite, umbrosas cingite silvas | summaque montis iuga Cecropii*.

media ... valle: The phrase appears in Livy; cf. also Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 5.111 (where see Vinchesi's note); Lucan, *BC* 4.158; 6.343; Silius, *Pun.* 5.383. There is one valley in *A.* 5, and one in 11, where at 522 *est curvo anfractu valles, accommoda fraudi* the word describes the locus for Turnus' planned ambush of Aeneas and his infantry force in the wake of the news from scouts that the Trojans were planning a surprise attack over difficult terrain on Latinus' capital; cf. the trickery that will be a key element in the foot race. The blissful locale of the foot race, with its links to Elysium, will be the scene of cheating and, more significantly, the rewarding of cheating by Aeneas (with ramifications, as we shall see below, for a consideration of his *pietas*); in *A.* 11, the trickery and deception will be of a far more serious sort (Fratantuono 2005a).

theatri: The word appears in *V.* elsewhere only at 1.427, where it describes part of the building projects at the site of the nascent Carthage, and at 664 below (*nuntius Anchisae ad tumulum cuneosque theatri*), of the announcement of the burning of the Trojan fleet. *V.* may have borrowed the word from Lucretius (*DRN* 4.76; 81; 6.109); it appears also in Horace and Propertius. The Virgilian appearances of a "theater," then, come only outside Italy proper (let alone Rome); further, they are associated with the establishment of the capital of Rome's greatest foreign enemy, with the race that will introduce the doomed Trojan lovers Nisus and Euryalus, and with the burning of the Trojan ships: a grim trio of circumstances that contrasts effectively with the seeming peace and leisure of the present interlude in the wooded vale. Servius argues here that "omne spectaculum theatrum dicere possumus," without any special connotation of dramatic performance. But the events that occur in this *theatrum*, and especially the ones that are presaged on this day of leisure and games, are pointedly evocative of tragic traditions; this particular play will not be completed until Book 9: the *theatrum* here is the stage for the play that now happens to be a foot race.

289 *circus erat; quo se multis cum milibus heros*

circus: See above on 109, and below on 551. The mention of the *circus* does serve to highlight the spectacle entertainment aspects of the games.

multis cum milibus: Cf. 75 above. Here, the emphasis is on the great throng that accompanies the *heros* Aeneas, which represents a significant expansion on the reminder of his *pietas*. The two passages link together; there, the focus was on Aeneas' dutiful performance of the memorial rites for his father, which 286 *pius* recalls; here, while the crowd is an essential concomitant of spectacle entertainments, but there is also consideration of the expectation of a crowd regarding its host that is engendered by the title of *heros*: Aeneas' heroism and *pietas* are on full display before the assembly; the contrast with the absent

Aeneas of the battle scenes of 11 is striking. The phrase probably has no connection to Lucretius' *milibus e multis vallo munitur eburno* (*DRN* 2.539 ff.), of India's wall of elephantine fortification.

heros: The first of four occurrences of this title in 5; significantly, the word never appears in 11. Acestes uses the term at 389 below in his addresses to Entellus, in a mention of the heroes of a bygone age; at 453 it is used of Entellus again during the ensuing boxing match (cf. *A.* 1.196, of Acestes), while at 459 it recurs a third time of Entellus as he pummels Dares. The bout between those two powerful warriors is redolent with the spirit of a lost world; *heros* is an appropriate term whose occurrences in the narrative appear in deliberate sequence as part of the poet's unfolding commentary on the nature of the hero. At 3.345–346 *heros* is used of Helenus; at 4.447 of Aeneas as he resists Dido's blandishments; at 6.103 of Aeneas as he addresses the Sibyl; at 6.169 (*fortissimus heros*) of Misenus; at 6.192 (*maximus heros*) of Aeneas as he recognized his mother's doves; 6.449 (pl. *heroes*) of Trojan shades (cf. Catullus, c. 64.23 *heroes, salvete, deum genus*; 51; 385; *E.* 4.16; 35; *Culex* 359); at 6.451 (*Troius heros*) of Aeneas with the ghost of Dido; at 6.672 of Musaeus; at 8.18 (*Laomedontius heros*) of Aeneas; at 8.464 of Evander; at 8.530 (*Troius heros*) of Aeneas before he receives his divine arms; at 10.584 (*Troius heros*) of Aeneas as he battles Liger; at 10.886 (*Troius heros*) of Aeneas vs. Mezentius; at 12.502 (*Troius heros*) of Aeneas; at 12.723 (*Daunius heros*), of Turnus; at 12.902 of Turnus.

The appearances of this signal word reveal a striking pattern. In the poem's first book, it is used of a perhaps surprising figure, of whom it will be repeated in 5. It does not appear at all during the drama of Troy's last night. In 3, it is used of an Acestes-like figure in the person of Helenus. In 4, it is used first of Aeneas, and, deliberately, as he resists Dido. In 5, except for the present passage it is always associated with the lore of the distant, heroic past. In 6, Aeneas is admittedly the *maximus heros*, but in the context of receiving his mother's special favor, the doves that help him to find the body of the *fortissimus heros* Misenus (who balances Marcellus' ghost at the end of the book). Musaeus is also a hero; he is the underworld's eschatological spokesman before Anchises' shade, in deliberate replacement of Orpheus (with implied rejection of Orphic doctrines). In 8, besides Evander (cf. Acestes and Helenus), it is used of *Trojan* Aeneas, indeed *Laomedontean* Aeneas, in arguably the most "Roman" of books. There are no occurrences in 7, 9 and 11 (the odd-numbered books), while in 10 the 2× it appears = *Trojan* Aeneas as he battles his foes. In 12, Aeneas is once again the *Troius heros* (he is never mentioned as a hero in the second half of the epic *except* with specific reference to his Trojan past): but *Turnus* is first the *Daunian* hero (with reference to his father; cf. his final plea to Aeneas and the Trojan's own underworld colloquy with his father's shade regarding sparing the

subiecti and all that), and, in the title's last use in the poem, so close to the end, he is simply the *heros* or hero.

The penultimate occurrence of *heros*, then, is associated with the image of the father; its ultimate appearance has no qualifier, and is a powerful attestation of the status of Turnus in light of the poem's final ethnographic settlement. The image of the hero at the games is also associated with the Homeric model of Achilles as host; Aeneas as *heros* here = the new Achilles, with the Sibyl's announcement of the *alter Achilles* in Latium a twist on the neat and easy equivalence.

At issue here, then, is the significance of Aeneas' appellation as *heros* in the immediate context of the foot race, especially just after his being called *pius*. The latter title will be refined below when V. notes the *pius amor* between Nisus and Euryalus; the collocation of *pius heros*, as it were, will define Aeneas' behavior in this scene and in its sister, sc. the trickery of Book 11 and the probable breaking of the truce there.

In the end, the poet will use the occurrences of *heros* to describe the ethnographic victory of the Daunian Turnus and the ascendance of Italy over Troy (cf. Ovid's *Troius heros* at *Met.* 11.773 to describe Aesacus in his pursuit of Hesperia); the failure of the Augustan succession in the death of Marcellus, whose end Misenu foreshadows; and the philosophical problem of the afterlife and immortality (including through verse; cf. the authorial intervention at 9.446–449). The note that the hero Aeneas is accompanied by many thousands of followers in retinue also links to the sole plural use of *heros* in the epic (6.449): Aeneas as part of the line of Trojan worthies. For the application of the term in Greek traditions see West 1978, 370–373.

290 *consessu medium tulit exstructoque resedit.*

A line that has caused much controversy over the exact nature of what Aeneas is doing as he arrives at the site of the race; the main problems are the precise meaning of *consessu* (if indeed that is the correct reading), and its relationship to *exstructo*. Overmuch has been made of the difficulties here; the line is very much in V's style for intervenient narrative: a clear enough picture emerges of the action, even if on closer examination the details paint a picture that is more impressionistic than not.

consessu: An interesting textual crux that occurs 3× in this book (cf. 340 and 577); here M (and its second corrector; on the assignment of this correction note H. Fairclough, "Observations on Sabbadini's Variorum Edition of Virgil," in *TAPA* 63 [1932], 206–229, 209) has *consensu* (so also the s. 9 Bernensis); at 340, *consensum* has more support (see below ad loc.); at 577, the problems are more numerous. A form of *consessus* occurs only once in V. without textual

controversy; cf. 8.635–636 *nec procul hinc Romam et raptas sine more Sabinas / consessu caveae, magnis Circensibus actis*, of the shield; the rape of the Sabines was traditionally located in the Circus Maximus (J. Bacon, “Aeneas in Wonderland: A Study of *Aeneid* VIII,” in *CR* 53.3 [1939], 97–104, 102).

The word is old (Afranius) and may have been borrowed by V. from Lucretius (*DRN* 4.78–79 *namque ibi consessum caveai supter et omnem / scaenai speciem partum matrumque deorsum*; 4.981–983 *et citharae liquidum carmen chordasque loquentis / auribus accipere et consessum cernere eundem / scenaique simul varios splendere decores*; both passages have theatrical associations). V. alone among the Augustan poets uses it; no argentine follows; at Tacitus, *Ann.* 13.54.16 *consessum caveae* the historian imitates Lucretius. *Consensu* appears at *DRN* 3.739–740 *neque enim poterunt suptiliter esse / conexae neque consensus contagia fient*; some form of the noun occurs 5× in Manilius; there are no certain Virgilian uses; 1× in Ovid. *Consessu* is the correct reading here, then, with shades of the Lucretian theatrical uses and appropriateness in the context of the games (cf. *A.* 8.635–636). But both *consessus* and *consensus* are rare in verse, and the error of *consensu* not hard to appreciate, especially given the great popularity of forms of the noun in Livy. Gossrau conjectured *consessum*; see further Williams 1960 ad loc.

exstructo: Forms of the verb occur 5× in the *A.*, 1× each in 5 and 11. At 11.66 *exstructosque toros*, it refers to the resting place of Pallas’ corpse; that passage is also connected to 3.224 *exstruimusque toros*, of the Trojan meal preparations just before the arrival of the Harpies. At 4.267 *exstruis*, the verb is used by Mercury to chide Aeneas over the foundation of Carthage (and not Rome); at 9.326 *exstructus*, Rhamnes is stretched out in drunken slumber before the night slaughter of Nisus and Euryalus. Cf. *G.* 1.283 *exstructos ... montis*, of the gigantomachy. The word is used, then, 2× in contexts associated with Nisus and Euryalus (race and raid); 2× in contexts linked ultimately to the untimely death of the young (Nisus/Euryalus and Pallas).

Conington took *exstructo* as a substantive apart from *consessu*, following Henry (*contra* Servius); the point of the rather interlaced word order is to emphasize that while Aeneas may take his seat on an elevation, he is among his fellows (and many of them), as something of a *primus inter pares*: “It is not as king, but as agonotheta that Aeneas ... sat down in state (took the chair, as we say)”; cf. also the emphasis on the midst of the assembly at 303. See E. Steinmeyer, “Die deutschen Virgilglossen,” in *Zeit. f. deutsches Altertum* 15 (1872), 1–119, 80, for scholarly attempts to explicate both words. Henry argues that *consessus* is never used of the place where one sits in assembly, but of the assembly itself, but cf. the aforementioned Lucretius, *DRN* 4.78–79. Mackail found the line unclearly worded, for much the same reason as Henry and Con-

ington; there may be a hint of verbal enactment of the bustle accompanying the change of venue and transition to the excitement of the foot race.

resedit: Henry took this to be an almost technical term for stately seating, but cf. 180 above, of Sergestus on his rock.

Ribbeck speculated that there was a lacuna after this line; the hemistich 294 has lent support to the idea that this passage lacks the *ultima manus* (see Williams 1960, who sees evidence of lack of revision in 291–292 in particular), but there is no need to imagine that anything has been lost, or that the final product would have been any different from what we have.

“... though Aeneas presides from a mount of turf (290) with the affability of a civilian Princeps, military lessons are implicit” (R. Nisbet, “Aeneas Imperator: Roman Generalship in an Epic Context,” in *PVS* 17 (1979–1980), 50–61).

291 **hic, qui forte velint rapido contendere cursu,**

qui forte: The phrase recurs at 486, during the archery competition, and, significantly, at 9.325–326 *Rhamnetem adgreditur, qui forte tapetibus altis | exstructus*, of the night raid of Nisus and Euryalus (where the rare word *exstructus* also connects the two passages). In contrast to the regatta, the foot race has an air of spontaneity; preparations are less extensive, and last minute contestants more feasible.

rapido ... cursu: Cf. 7.676 *cursu rapido*, of the Centaurs as they descend the mountain heights; 12.683 *rapido cursu*, of Turnus; 12.711 *procurso rapido*, of Aeneas and Turnus as they clash on the battlefield. *Contendere cursu* is Lucretian (*DRN* 6.28); significantly, V. will echo the phrase below at 833–834 *princeps ante omnis densum Palinurus agebat | agmen; ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi*. There, the doomed helmsman will lead the fleet from his post on the deck of Aeneas’ flagship; ship race and foot race will mold into one, as it were, as the Trojan voyage commences its last major leg. Palinurus will die, just as Nisus and Euryalus are doomed; as helmsman, Palinurus will serve as a proxy for Aeneas, to whom he will show the way both to Italy and, more distantly, to death. The phrase is repeated at Ovid, *Met.* 4.303 (of the nymph Salmacis, who does not care for racing and hunting); Statius, *Theb.* 6.828–829 *ille quidem et disco bonus et contendere cursu, | nec caestu bellare minor*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.548 (during the Hylas episode). *Ilias Latina* 652 has *ne contra sua dicta velint contendere divi*, of the attitude of the immortals toward Jupiter.

292 **invitat pretiis animos, et praemia ponit.**

The emphasis is strongly on the rewards for the race (*pretiis, praemia*); there may be a play on how the *praemia* are, strictly speaking, the actual prizes, while the *pretia* hint at the price for the race, i.e., the merit for the behavior displayed

during the contest. Juvenal may have been inspired by this passage for his s. 11.15 *numquam animo pretiis obstantibus*; cf. Pliny, *NH* 35.50.10. With this line cf. 486, of the introduction of the archery contest; the two shorter events have similar commencements.

invitat: The verb occurs elsewhere in *V.* at 486, during the archery contest; at 8.178, of Evander's reception of Aeneas; and at 9.676, of the mad decision of Pandarus and Bitias to admit Turnus into the Trojan camp (cf. also *G.* 1.302; 4.23). Cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 118.8.3. Two verbs enclose the verse.

293 **undique conveniunt Teucri mixtique Sicani**

undique conveniunt: Ennian (*Ann.* fr. 15.391 Skutsch, who collects the parallels where the phrase opens a hexameter; his conclusion is that there would not be a particular reminiscence of Ennius here, and indeed the contexts do not seem particularly connected). Cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 5.600; *A.* 9.720, curiously also followed by a hemistich (likely deliberately); *Ps.-V. Ciris* 452; Silius, *Pun.* 12.485.

mixti: A key ethnographic term; at *A.* 4.144–146 *deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo / instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum / Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi*, it describes the concerted worship of the god; the key parallel = 11.34–35 *per silvas Teucri mixtique impune Latini / erravere iugis*, where it describes the intermingling of Trojans and Latins during the truce to bury the war dead—a truce that the Trojans may well break in an act of trickery that is foreshadowed by the deceit of the contest about to commence. At 12.835 *commixti corpore tantum*, Jupiter will make his great declaration of the future ethnographic status of Rome. The Sicilians will be a part of that Roman destiny; the Trojans alone participated in the regatta, and now they are joined by the Sicani, those ancient denizens of the island that is so linked to the Roman heart. A failed ethnography is glimpsed at 2.396 *vadimus immixti Danais haud numine nostro*, where the Trojans—also in an exercise of deceit—don Danaan armor to mix with the Greek invaders; Trojan tricks for the second and the second to the last books of the epic. Three occurrences, then, of *mixti* (prefixed or not) in close conjunction with *Teucri*: the sister books 5 and 11, and the great ethnographic revelation of 12.

294 **Nisus et Euryalus primi,**

A perhaps deliberate hemistich (the question cannot be settled definitively) that will be balanced by 322 *tertius Euryalus*. If the two men are together in a shared “first” in numerical paradox, then Euryalus can logically be alone as third below; *V.* announces here the problem posed by this pair in the future ethnography of the city, where there can be no place, in one sense, for the *pious amor*

(296) Nisus has for Euryalus, while in another, perhaps more important arena (= poetic immortality), the pair may enjoy a perpetual honor (9.446–449)—though not without complications we shall explore below. Nisus and Euryalus are the first to come forward as contestants, but they are also the only characters destined to reappear later in the epic in a significant narrative sequel. See here Sparrow 1931; F. Miller, “Evidences of Incompleteness in the *Aeneid* of Vergil,” in *CJ* 14.8 (1909), 341–355; R. Steele, “Incomplete Lines in the *Aeneid*,” in *CJ* 5.5 (1910), 226–231.

For a convenient catalogue of the Virgilian half-lines (divided into editorial categories), and for the view that all would have been “finished” in the “final” poetic product, see G. Goold, “Servius and the Helen Episode,” in *HSCPh* 74 (1970), 101–168, 151 (citing Sparrow 1931, 30ff.). There are two in the narrative of the foot race, one in the *lusus Troiae* (574), one in the ship-burning (653), and one in the colloquy of Venus and Neptune (792).

Paschalis 1997, 189–190 connects the names of these runners with *nisus/nitor* and the idea of “leaping wide,” along with consideration of the *dolus* of the race and connections to the Laocoön/wooden horse episode of 2; the second and second to last books of the epic are mired in trickery, but the deceit of the Greeks from the epic’s Odyssean half becomes the Trojan trickery of the Iliadic. The foot race, which follows at once on the ethnographically centered regatta, represents the moment of the transition.

Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 10.448–449 *forsitan et comites non aspernabitur umbras / Euryalus Phrygiique admittet gloria Nisi* (Hopleus and Dymas are Statius’ response to V’s pair, though without the status of lovers); also Ovid, *Trist.* 1.9.33–34 *Euryali Nisique fide tibi, Turne, relata / credibile est lacrimis inaduisse genas*; 5.4.26 *te vocat Aegiden Euryalumque suum*.

Jean-Baptiste Romin (1792–1835) sculpted a Nisus and Euryalus (now in the Louvre) that depicts Nisus falling over his already fatally wounded friend.

295 Euryalus forma insignis viridique iuventa,

V. introduces his pair of prime contestants with defining characteristics: Euryalus is beautiful and glorious in appearance. See here Canali 1976, 30–31; Syson 2013, 120–122. On the Euryalus of the Phaeacian games see Garvie ad *Od.* 8.115–117.

forma insignis: Cf. Livy 30.12.17.1 *forma erat insignis et florentissima aetas*; Ovid, *Met.* 15.130–131 *victima labe carens et praestantissima forma / nam placuisse nocet vittis insignis et auro*. On *forma* in V. see Heuzé 1985, 282–283; for *insignis*, 312–313; note also Hardie ad 9.181. *Insignis* is one of V’s favorite adjectives (nearly 50×); cf. 310, 367 and 705 below with 11.89, 291, 334, and 769: 4× each in the sister books. P has *insigni* here; cf. its reading of 296 *quem*.

viridi ... iuventa: Cf. Ovid, *Ep. Pont.* 4.12.29; Statius, *Silv.* 5.2.152; Martial, *ep.* 7.40.5; also Silius, *Pun.* 1.376–377 *emicat ante omnis primaevae flore iuventae / insignis Rutulo Murrus*. Servius focuses here on the divisions of a man's life: *infantia, pueritia, adolescentia, iuventa, senectus*, citing Varro; Euryalus is in the full bloom of youth, but so is Nisus; the point of distinction is expressed by *viridi*. This passage will be echoed at 9.179–181, where Euryalus' *iuventa* and his exceptionally good looks are highlighted even more dramatically; there, so soon before his untimely death, he will be defined as the most handsome of the sons of Aeneas (*quo non pulchrior alter*). “Green, and therefore youthful and flourishing” (Henry ad 6.304). See further Bradley 2009, 7.

V. does not often use *iuventa/s*. At 1.590 it appears of the sheen of light Venus imparts to her son before he meets Dido; at 2.473, of the rejuvenated snake of the simile that describes Pyrrhus as he bursts in on Priam and his family. It is applied to Dido at 4.32 and Mercury at 4.559; Entellus speaks of the youth that has passed him at 398 below (cf. Evander's sentiments at 8.160), while Dares relies on just that stage of life (430). The powerful sentiment *prolesque virilis / nulla fuit, primaque oriens erepta iuventa est* (7.50–51) describes Latinus' bereft state; Turnus' *iuventa* inspires confidence (7.473). On the Virgilian preoccupation with the death of the young and lovely, *vid.* (e.g.) Nelis 2001, 321; for general remarks on the Virgilian language of youth (especially in peril), Guillemin 1931, 84–85.

296 Nisus amore pio pueri; quos deinde secutus

amore pio: A crucial description that follows the designation of Aeneas at the foot race as the *pious* host and arbiter (286); cf. the description of the *amor unus* of *erastes* and *eromenos* at 9.182–183 (with Hardie, and Dingel). *Pius amor* is a rare collocation that V. may have introduced; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 10.451 *Erigoneque pio sacrata parentis amore*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.2 *natique pios miseratus amores* (Jupiter of Hercules' infatuation with Hylas). Euryalus is exceptionally good-looking, and Nisus has a *pious amor* for the handsome youth. The notion of striving that is inherent to his name now takes on a new dimension; Nisus wants to win not only the race, but also his *eromenos* Euryalus. The *pious amor* is Nisus' (and he resorts to a trick to help his beloved); we learn nothing of Euryalus' feelings during the foot race. In the context of the race, *pietas* might be a defining characteristic of athletic prowess; on this conception of *pious* in connection with “sober Roman virtue and typically Greek ‘heroic’ behaviour,” see Eden on 8.84.

V. here introduces the question of the reception of a sexual relationship between two (citizen) men in the future Rome, on which see T. Hubbard, “Ped-erasty,” in *VE* II, 983–985; R. MacMullen, “Roman Attitudes to Greek Love,” in

Historia 31 (1982), 484–502; Lilja 1983; Hardie 1994, 32–34. Nisus and Euryalus are of course Trojans, not Italians, and thus not liable to Roman social customs in the strict sense. Beside this pair we find the aforementioned allusions to Cycnus and Phaëthon (cf. 10.189–193, with Harrison), and, too, Clytius and Cydon at 10.324–327 on the Latin side (see C. Williams 1999, 115–116, who states incorrectly that Cydon dies). What is interesting about that later case of (Latin) homoeroticism in the *A.* is that Cydon *escapes* death at the hands of Aeneas while in pursuit of his beloved Clytius; V. does not make it at all clear whether or not their relationship is mutually consenting, but he does indicate that the seven sons of Phorcus proved a sufficient distraction to allow Cydon to escape. The Latin *erastes* and *eromenos*, then, survive; the Trojans will be destroyed. “Casto, non infami,” says Servius here, *multi seq.*, especially Forbiger, Conington, Paratore; Henry: “pius ... is neither “castus” nor “amans” and “amicus,” but exactly our *tender, affectionate* ... In our text, therefore, the adjunct PIO expresses neither the innocence and chasteness of Nisus’ love for Euryalus, nor the general character of all love, but the tenderness and affectionate nature of the love of Nisus for Euryalus, how tenderly Nisus loved Euryalus.” See Cairns 1989, 242 for useful commentary on the Homeric intertext of the Iliadic and Odyssean Euryaluses, and especially the parallelism of Aeneas-Dido in 4 and Nisus-Euryalus in the fourth book of the epic’s second half; Petrini 1997, 24–25 on the general problem of non-sexual vs. sexual relationship (the likeliest possibility would seem to be that V. shows us the progression from the one to the other, with the sexual union coming as a result of Nisus’ act of “devotion” during the present race). See also below on 328 for further reflection on the significance of the *pius amor*; for consideration of the nature of Nisus and Euryalus’ relationship in light of both the demands of *pietas* and their actions in the night raid (with curious dismissal of Nisus’ trickery in the race), see E. Hahn, “*Pietas* versus *Violentia* in the *Aeneid*,” in *The Classical Weekly* 25.2 (1931), 9–13. For a study of V.’s use of Nisus and Euryalus as a case study in the nature of heroism, see R. Rabel, “The Composition of *Aeneid IX*,” in *Latomus* 40.4 (1981), 801–806.

Nisus’ participation in the race also evokes the traditional pursuit of Scylla by her angry father, the “other” Nisus; in the present contest, Nisus is not chasing anyone, but darts forth in the first place ... though the winner of the previous competition was none other than Cloanthus’ Scylla, so that in a sense the Trojan Nisus is indeed in pursuit of Scylla, this time so that he can follow Cloanthus’ vessel as the winner of the second event of the games: he will be no more successful than Nisus *pater* in pursuit of his treacherous daughter (and cf., yet again, the trickery and deceit theme that pervades the race narrative). On V.’s conflation of the two Scyllas as a display of his “poetic learning,” see J. Huyck, “Vergil’s Phaethontides,” in *HSCP* 91 (1987), 217–228, 225–226. It is

unlikely that we are to imagine any evocation of Castor and Pollux lore (even in light of the forthcoming boxing match).

On the presence of Diomedes in the sister Book 11, with special reference to his minor role (as it were) in the Virgilian Doloneia of 9, see K. Fletcher, “Vergil’s Italian Diomedes,” in *AJPh* 127.2 (2006), 219–259, 239; V. inverts the Homeric trickery and deceit of Odysseus and Diomedes by transferring it to the Trojans Nisus and Euryalus—and the trickery starts during the present contest. The Virgilian response to the Doloneia comes in 9; 5 and 11 present prelude and postlude.

deinde secutus: The same phrase occurs at 3.327 *qui deinde secutus*, where Andromache describes how Neoptolemus transferred her to Helenus after he pursued Hermione; cf. Silius, *Pun.* 5.362 (*quem*). P reads *quem* here for the plural, but V’s emphasis is on how Nisus and Euryalus are *together* as *primi*. *Secutus* may have a hint of the erotic pursuit of the *erastes*, especially given that the immediate follower is Diodes, another Trojan.

297 **regius egregia Priami de stirpe Diores;**

regius: So also Ganymede on the cloak of Cloanthus (252); see also below on 645 (of Pyrgo). The three occurrences of the adjective in 5 are all associated with the old Troy.

egregia ... stirpe: Cf. Livy 1.26.9.4.

Diores: Vid. L. Polverini, *EV* II, 87–88; P. Knox in *VE* I, 373. For the name cf. Paschalis 1997, 206; this Trojan royal scion (presumably) reappears in the grisly vignette of 12.509–512, where Turnus slays the brothers Amycus (cf. *A.* 1.221, and see below ad 373) and Diores and suspends their severed heads from his chariot in something of a terrible perversion of the present games narrative (there is no foreshadowing of the beheading in the present sequence; see further, though, L. Fratantuono, “Amycus,” in *VE* I, 71). The verbal echo of Neoptolemus’ dismissal of Andromache is followed at once by the introduction of a victim of Turnus, who will finish the work Achilles’ son started on the night Troy fell. Homer has Diodes, the father of Automedon (*Il.* 17.249; 474); Diodes, the son of Amarnyceus (*Il.* 2.622; 4.517).

298 **hunc Salius et Patron, quorum alter Acarnan,**

The opening of a rich description that links the race with the opening of the *G.* through a series of verbal echoes (1.16–19; see here Paschalis 1997, 205–206). We had been told that Sicilians would participate in the race; now Greeks join the ethnographic expansion on display. The subtly crafted reminiscence of the opening of the *G.* just as the Arcadians and Sicilians are named underscores the connection between the cultivation of land and the development of a new

ethnographic reality: we move from the two Trojan lovers and the royal scion of Priam's house to the presentation of the Arcadians and Sicilians in language that evokes the opening of the poet's second work.

Salius: The eponymous founder of the leaping priests of Mars (Servius ad 8.285; Isidore, *Orig.* 18.50, with attribution to Varro); after being tripped by Nisus, Salius will be awarded a lion pelt that may foreshadow the iconic pelt of Hercules, whom the Salii worship with liturgical hymnody (8.285–303). See further L. Polverini, *EV* IV, 655–656. There is no apparent connection between V's Salius and the god Mars; on the appearances of the latter in the epic see especially the forthcoming (2014) *Arctos* article of L. Fratantuono, "Saevit Medio in Certamine: Mars in the Aeneid."

Salius reappears in the difficult scene of 10.753–754 at *Thronium Salius Sali-umque Nealces | insignis iaculo et longe fallente sagitta* (where see Harrison; A. Fo, *EV* IV, 656). There, in the general context of Mezentius' aristeia, Salius both kills and is killed in a striking polyptoton that highlights his name. Thronium, as Harrison notes, is a town of Locris (Homer, *Il.* 2.533); it is possible that V. intends for us to imagine the (Greek) Salius of *A.* 5 as the same Salius who will (anachronistically) be associated with the *Salii* of *A.* 8, and then be both slayer and slain in *A.* 10; the *iaculum* and *sagitta* of his death scene remind us of the games sequence, especially the javelin throw that is curiously announced and omitted from the competitions.

Patron: Vid. L. Polverini, *EV* IV, 1028–1029, who correctly explicates the chiasmic structure of V's description of the provenance of his two Greek runners: Patron is Acarnanian, Salius Arcadian (cf. the mention of the Salii in the sojourn at Pallanteum); Mynors' index reverses the ascriptions. Dionysius (1.51.2) describes how "Patron the Thyrian" was a guide for the Trojan fleet after the departure from Onchesmus and the erection of a temple to Aphrodite. According to Dionysius Patron stayed with the Trojans and was said by some to have settled at Aluntium in Sicily; Leucas was handed over to the Acarnanians in 196 B.C. in alleged reminiscence of what Patron and his compatriots had done: V. thus once again remembers the Actian victory in his games narrative.

Acarnan: The only mention of Acarnania in V. Cf. Grattius, *Cyn.* 183–184 *clandestinus Acarnan: | sicut Acarnanes subierunt proelia furto*. See Reed 2007, 4 for the foreign colonists gathered by Aeneas on his voyage to Hesperia. "Virgil does not trouble himself to explain how it is that an Acarnanian and an Arcadian are among the Trojan crews ..." (Mackail ad loc., who speculates on Buthrotum and some earlier migration of Salius or his father to Troy before the war). But the poet's ethnographic concerns outweigh any checking of when and how exile passports were issued.

299 alter ab Arcadio Tegeaeae sanguine gentis;

An evocative line to describe Salius' Arcadian ancestry. The mention of Arcadia here serves to herald the important reference to Arcadia during the boxing match (cf. 453 below); once again V. draws together his narrative in close-knit sequence by the crafting of subtle links between juxtaposed sections of his narrative.

Tegeaeae: The adjective (from a town in Arcadia's southeast) occurs elsewhere in V. at *G.* 1.18 (of Pan); and at *A.* 8.459 (of Evander's sword). The use of the adjective to describe Arcadia is old (Pacuvius), and much favored by Ovid (*Ars* 2.55; *Met.* 8.317; 380; *Fasti* 1.545; 627; 2.167; 6.531; Statius, *Theb.* 7.605; 8.599; *Silv.* 4.6.52). For the depiction of Arcadians and Arcadia in V., note D. Musti, and A. Rinaldi, *EV* I, 270–285 (with numerous illustrations); R. Jenkyns, "Virgil and Arcadia," in *JRS* 79 (1989), 26–39. For the textual confusion occasioned by *Tegeaeae*, see especially Williams 1960 ad loc. One wonders if there was any thought of the Arcadian Atalanta and the matter of her own celebrated foot race on the poet's mind as he commenced his narrative of this contest; matters both erotic and deceptive figured in that contest, too: the seemingly stray reference to Arcadia and Tegea that V. makes here *en passant* may well constitute a nod to Atalantan lore (and see further Hollis ad Ovid, *Met.* 8.317 *nemorisque decus Tegeaea Lycaei*).

sanguine gentis: Cf. Lucan, *BC* 5.502; Statius, *Theb.* 7.12; *Silv.* 4.6.78.

300 tum duo Trinacrii iuvenes, Helymus Panopesque

Two Sicilians now join the two Greeks and the three Trojans; these will be the seven named contestants for the race (the number is significant; see on 85 above). For consideration of Virgilian doublets, though without specific mention of this pair, see D. Krasne, "Twins," in *VE* III, 1309–1310.

Trinacrii: Cf. 530 and 573 below; the appellation also occurs 3× in Book 3 (384; 429; 554), and elsewhere in V. at *A.* 1.196, in the context of the reminiscence of Acestes' gifts to the Trojans when they left Sicily after the first sojourn there. On "Sicily's unique suitability to the blending of nationalities" and reflections on the Virgilian "quest for identity," see Smith 2011, 121. M has *Trinacri*.

Helymus Panopesque: These individuals appear nowhere else in V. outside of the foot race; the first Sicilian reminds us of the Elymi, and the second of the goddess Panopea (240). On this pair see L. Polverini, "Elymo," *EV* II, 199; "Panope," *EV* III, 954–955, and the useful article of H. Mørland, "Nisus, Euryalus, und andere Namen in der *Aeneis*," in *SO* 33 (1957), 87–109 (with the etymological connections between Panopes and Panormus). Dionysius (*Rom. Ant.* 47.2; 52) has an account of how Elymus was among those who left the

Troad before Aeneas when the imminent doom of the city was clear. Homer has Panopeus as the father of Epeus at *Il.* 23.665; for the locale in Phocis, see *Il.* 2.520; 17.307. R has *Helymusque*; on the textual issues of this line see E. Kraggerud, "Further Textual Issues in the *Aeneid* (2.749; 5.300; 9.539)," in *SO* 86 (2012), pp. 102–110.

301 *adsueti silvis, comites senioris Aestae;*

adsueti silvis: Hunters, as Servius notes; the mention of Arcadia and the *venatores* may have inspired Ovid in his depiction of the Tegeaeon heroine Atalanta at both the Calydonian boar hunt and the race with Hippomenes (*Met.* 8; 10). The preeminent hunter and runner in the epic will be Camilla, on whom Ovid's Atalanta will be modeled quite closely (Fratantuono 2005b); Nisus too has connections to hunting (9.176–178). In the oldest extant version of the metamorphosis of Atalanta and Hippomenes (Palaephatus, *Per Apiston* 13, where see Stern), the lovers enter a lions' lair to engage in sexual intercourse and are killed by the disturbed animals; the pair's hunting partners saw the lions and thought the lovers had been transformed (the same story the mythographer rationalizes for Callisto's ursine metamorphosis).

adsueti: V. has *ille manum patiens mensaeque adsuetus erili | errabat silvis* of Silvia's stag (7.490–491; cf. 7.487); cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 1.442; Silius' description of Asbyte (*Pun.* 2.68–69). At *A.* 9.511, the Trojans are (perhaps somewhat sarcastically) described as well accustomed to sieges (*adsueti longo muros defendere bello*); cf. the birds around the river banks of Circe's haunts at 7.33. Euryalus mentions his father Opheltes, *bellis adsuetus*, to Nisus at 9.201; as often, there is one occurrence of the adjective in 5 and one in 11; at 11.495 *aut adsuetus aquae perfundi flumine noto*, Turnus is compared to a stallion among the mares (just before the appearance of Camilla and her retinue). At 9.617–618, Numanus Remulus taunts the Phrygians: *o vere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges, ite per alta | Dindyma, ubi adsuetis biforem dat tibia cantum*. Helymus will win the second place and, appropriately enough, the Amazonian quiver and arrows; cf. the huntress Camilla and her fondness for projectile weapons (*spicula* 5× in 11, always in the Camilliad). V. will play with the theme of the hunter who abandons the forest (with disastrous consequence) both for Camilla and, probably, Nisus, the son of a huntress; cf. Diana's hiding of the reborn Hippolytus and the parallel Venusian safeguarding of Ascanius to further her amatory trick with Dido.

comites: Cf. 191 above; the nominative or accusative plural occurs 2× in 5 and 2× in 11 (655 and 805, in both places of Camilla's companions). *Senioris Aestae* will be repeated at 573; Burton notes ad loc. that there is no difference here between the comparative and the positive, though the question of relative ages

is of significance not only for the foot race, but also (indeed especially) for the forthcoming boxing match.

302 *multi praeterea, quos fama obscura recondit.*

For the possible reminiscence of a similar games sequence in Ennius' *Alexander*, see Macrobius, *Sat.* 6.1.61; Wigodsky 1972, 76–77, and, for associations between the memorial games for Anchises and prefiguration of the death of Troy, 130: Book 5 as requiem for the old city, in the epic's first extended sequence on soil that can be considered the future Roman homeland (on a related theme, note G. Miles, "Glorious Peace: The Values and Motivations of Virgil's Aeneas," in *CSCA* 9 [1976], 133–164, which argues that the essential characteristics of V.'s hero are set *before* he meets his father in Elysium).

Homer's race (*Il.* 23.740–797) has only three contestants (Lesser Ajax; Odysseus; Antilochus).

fama obscura: The phrase is Livian (1.16.4.3; 30.19.11.2–3; 45.9.4.1; 45.12.9.2). Cf. Lucan, *BC* 4.718 *obscurat ... famam* (with Asso); Statius, *Silv.* 5.3.109 (with Gibson); Silius, *Pun.* 14.48. In *A.* 4 *obscura* appears once of the moon and once of the night (80; 461); *obscura* has ominous associations in V. Servius notes that all the runners are noble, even if many have lost whatever fame they once had to merciless time.

recondit: The verb is not common in V. (cf. *G.* 3.137); at *A.* 1.681, Venus describes how she will hide Ascanius; at 2.748, Aeneas speaks of how he conceals Ascanius, Anchises, and the Trojan Penates with his companions in a curved valley (cf. the *vallis* of the race at 288). Diana smuggles away the reborn Hippolytus (7.774); Pallas buries his weapon in Hisbo's lung (10.387); Aeneas similarly hides his weapon in Lausus (10.816, closing a neat ring with Pallas' action).

303 *Aeneas quibus in mediis sic deinde locutus:*

Transitional lines that introduce speeches are not particularly common in the *A.*; the present instance continues the emphasis on how Aeneas is a leader in the very midst of his men.

sic deinde locutus: The phrase occurs 3× in V., always in this book: cf. 14 above, during the storm, and 300 below, during the boxing match; *in mediis* is especially appropriate given this second of three uses.

304 *'accipite haec animis laetasque advertite mentes.*

accipite ... animis: Cf. 3.250 *accipite ergo animis* (Helenus to Aeneas); 10.104 *accipite ergo animis* (Jupiter at the council of the gods). On the speech here see Highet 1972, 36, 38. *Animis* points to the zeal a worthy contestant will feel in the

face of the chance to win prizes and esteem; Aeneas' point is that the runners should already imagine themselves as victors, so great is their confidence and passion. The sentiment expressed in the next line, however, will lessen the prestige of the race. For comparison of this speech to its Homeric antecedent, see especially Mackie 1988, 101–102.

advertite mentes: The phrase is imitated by Ovid (*Ars* 1.267; cf. *Ibis* 69); Silius, *Pun.* 4.821.

laetas ... mentes: A marvelous use of the book's keyword that portends the ultimate settlement of Rome's destined ethnography. At 12.841 *adnuisit his Iuno et mentem laetata retorsit*, Juno's reaction to the announcement of Jupiter is one of joy and rejoicing. Cf. Ovid, *Am.* 2.15.3; Silius, *Pun.* 3.674. *Mentes* here refers to the intention of the contestants; the adjective is proleptic.

305 *nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit.*

Prizes had been announced for the victors in the regatta (109–112); there was no specific delineation of who would receive what award, or indeed if any crew or captain would be rewarded other than the winner. In the end, everyone did receive a prize for participating in the ship race; now the universal grant of rewards is codified from the start.

nemo: See Williams 1960 here for the rare use of the unpoetic pronoun *nemo* in V; it is repeated at 349, also in the context of the prizes for this race; it recurs at 383, when Dares notes that no one has dared to challenge him in the boxing match, and at 9.6, where Iris appears to Turnus and observes that the day has come that no one of the immortals would have dared to promise (i.e., the day the Trojan camp and its fleet are vulnerable to attack in Aeneas' absence). The word is intimately associated with the recurring Virgilian exploration of the problem of identity, which is especially highlighted in the race; there are affinities, too, between Dares in search of an opponent and Turnus in the absence of Aeneas.

donatus: Cf. the plural at 268.

abibit: The verb will be echoed at 314 *abito* below.

306 *Cnosia bina dabo levato lucida ferro*

Everyone will receive two Cretan shafts, and a double axe. The emphasis in 306–307 is on the duality of the prizes for all; the *bina* and 307 *bipennem* reflect the notion of twinning seen in the three pairs (Trojan Nisus-Euryalus, Greek Salius-Patron, Sicilian Helymus-Panopes). *Cnosia* = Cretan; see Harrison ad 10.324–235 for the associations of the island with pederasty. The Cretan arrows (or javelins; see further Williams 1960 ad loc. for the ambiguity) follow on the regatta prize of the Cretan Pholoë and her twins; we have moved from the

world of slavery and the promise of increasing wealth through offspring to the violence of the shafts and the axe.

Cnosia: The descriptor appears at 3.155 *Cnosia regna petamus*, of Anchises' ill-fated advice; in an important sense, Aeneas' father will be right (cf. the symbolism of the sons of Cretan Pholoë as emblems of Romulus and Remus). At 6.23 *Cnosia tellus*, Crete is part of the illustration of the story of Daedalus and Icarus on the doors of Apollo's temple at Cumae; at 6.566, Rhadamanthus is *Cnosius*. But most importantly for the present scene, at 9.305 Ascanius offers a sword crafted by Cretan *Lycaon* to Euryalus as a reward for his bravery in agreeing to undertake the night mission. In part the lupine name of the sword maker anticipates the wolf-like activity of the zealous Euryalus during the slaughter that will characterize the Virgilian Doloneia; Nisus will also pray in vain to the moon/Diana for help during the mission (and cf. the hunting of his father Hyrtacus [9.403–409]).

dabo: The form (prevalent in comedy, but also, e.g., Ennian tragedy) occurs elsewhere in the *A.* at 8.519; 9.263 (a passage that owes much to the present scene, both in language and in subject matter); 323; 12.192; 645.

levato: Cf. Columella, *De Arb.* 6.4.6–4.7. The verb is very rare; it has a secondary meaning of “depilate,” which was associated with pathic homosexuality (C. Williams 1999, 129–132). Especially in conjunction with *Cnosia*, and the general context of introducing the relationship between Nisus and Euryalus, it is probable that the use of the unusual word is deliberately evocative of effeminacy.

lucida ferro / spicula: Statius imitated this passage (*Theb.* 10.532–533). V. has *lucida spicula* at 7.626, of the weapons seized after *Ausonia* reacts to the Junonian opening of the *Belli Portae*; the shift in emphasis in the progression from the twins of Pholoë and the evocation of the future Rome to the arms associated with the ruin of Troy and the future victory of Camilla's Italy over the sons of Aeneas serves to bring the destruction of the old into sharp relief. That evocation of past destruction (and prefigurement of future ruin) is presented in the context of the relationship between the “twins” Nisus and Euryalus, so very different from the image of the “twins” Romulus and Remus that was evoked by the award of the children of the Cretan slave. *Lucidus* is not common in V.; cf. 3.585–586, during the description of the terrifying night spent in the shadow of Etna; the aforementioned parallel 7.626; *G.* 1.205; 459; *Ps.-V.*, *Culex* 102.

307 *spicula caelatamque argento ferre bipennem;*

spicula: Paired nouns enclose the verse.

caelatam: Forms of the verb are rare in V. (*E.* 3.37); cf. *A.* 1.640, of the engraved deeds of Dido's ancestors in her home; Inachus' engraved urn on Turnus' shield

at 7.792; Mars on the shield of Aeneas at 8.701; Pallas' *balteus* with the engraving of the Danaids at 10.499; the *defossa talenta / caelati argenti* with which Mago unsuccessfully seeks to bribe Aeneas (10.526–527).

argento: Cf. 112, 248, 267; for the chromatic associations of the metal, Edgeworth 1992, 72, who notes that V. employs colors that contrast with the Homeric uses from *Il.* 23.

bipennem: Double axes are also mentioned at 2.479, as Automedon attacks Priam's royal enclosure; cf. Homer's Diores, the father of Automedon (see above on 297 *Diores*), and the significance of the double axe motif to Crete. At 2.627 *bipennibus*, the immortal destruction of Troy is compared to the work of farmers in the woods with their double axes. The second and second to last books of the epic have two occurrences each of the word; at 11.135, the forest resounds with the sound of the Teucrians and the Latins as they work on the procurement of wood for the funeral pyres (a direct balance to the gods' destruction of Troy and the agricultural simile that describes it, a simile that thus comes to terrible fruition *again* in *A.* 11); at 651, the *bipennis* is one of Camilla's weapons as she manages the equestrian battle against the Trojans and their allies (cf. Automedon, the *auriga Achilles*, on the night Troy fell). On the rarity of b-alliteration in V., see C. Headlam, "The Technique of Virgil's Verse," in *CR* 35.3–4 (1921), 61–64, 62.

Every participant here, then, Trojan, Greek, and Sicilian, will receive the very weapon that symbolizes the destruction of Troy. Like the cauldrons of 266–267 that were awarded for the third place in the ship race, the *bipennis* is of unspecified decoration; Camilla's *aristeia* will in a sense be the artwork that completes the image. See also here T. Whittaker, "Sex and the Sack of the City," in *G&R* 56.2 (2009), 234–242.

308 **omnibus hic erit unus honos. tres praemia primi**

A line of striking emphasis on the numerical theme that underpins the narrative of the foot race: there will be *one* honor for all, though in fact V. named not one honor but two, the *spicula* and the axes; each contestant will receive two shafts and an axe, for a total of three items. The first three (again, something of a contradiction in terms) will receive *praemia* peculiar to their gold, silver, and bronze statuses. The fixation of Nisus and Euryalus on prizes and success in their endeavors is highlighted by the triple repetition of *praemia* and *primi* in close connection: cf. 292–294 and 346–347.

unus honos: Cf. Propertius, c. 4.2.64. For *omnibus* with *unus* cf. *A.* 3.716, of the end of Aeneas' long narrative; *G.* 4.184 *omnibus una quies operum, labor omnibus unus*, of the life of the bees. There is probably no intentional reminiscence of Lucilius' *nam omnibus unus dolor turpi re captus labosque* (s. fr. 5.215 Warming-ton)

309 accipient flavaque caput nectentur oliva.

flava: For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 128–130; the chromatic detail may seem problematic in light of 494 below, where *flava* has been replaced by *viridi* in the description of Mnestheus' olive wreath during the archery contest; the present passage is the only one in extant Latin where *flava* is used of the olive. Edgeworth notes that the olive quickly turns yellow after being taken from the tree; in V. the color is used prominently of Dido's lock that must be cut for Proserpina (4.698), and of Lavinia's hair as she tears it in grief after learning of Amata's suicide (12.605). Elsewhere in the epic the color is used of Aeneas' good looks, which are compared to silver or marble inlaid with tawny gold (1.592); Mercury's blond hair (4.559, in the same book, Edgeworth notes, where Dido's blondness is emphasized); the tawny Tiber of 7.31 and, possibly, the interesting 9.816, in the scene where Turnus is purified by the Tiber after his slaughter in the Trojan camp (where see Hardie, and Dingel). For Servius' *fulva*, and S.J. Harrison's suggestion of *glauca*, cf. his "The Colour of Olive Leaves: Vergil, *Aeneid* 5.309," in *Ordia Prima* 2 (2003), 79–81.

We move, then, from the occurrences of the color adjective in the Odyssean half of the epic (Aeneas, Mercury as he visits Aeneas to urge him to leave Dido, Dido in her death agonies, the present scene with the awards for the winners in the race) to the Tiber and Lavinia in the Iliadic half: a deliberate ethnographic progression from Troy to Rome by way of Carthage; the highlighting of Mercury's blond hair serves to show how Aeneas is being called to advance to his Roman future.

The significance of the color shift from *flava* here to 494 *viridi* is that in this anticipatory passage, the future transformation of the Trojan past into the Roman future of the Tiber and Lavinia is signaled; of the winners of the race (and note the victory Euryalus will achieve by Nisus' cheating), we may observe that the first and third places go to *Trojans* doomed to die (Euryalus and Diores); the only "survivor" of the victorious trio will be the *Sicilian* Helymus: the tawny olive of the plucked leaf (cf. Dido's lock in 4, and the Golden Bough in 6) is a symbol of the Roman future. See on 494 below for speculation on the significance of Mnestheus' *viridis oliva*. Henry associates the *flava oliva* here with the yellow pollen he experienced walking from Pietra Santa to Massa "in the flowering season." The commentary tradition since Martyn cites Aeschylus, *Pers.* 617, where Garvie ad loc. notes well that Atossa is unlikely to be carrying a pollen-laden branch.

Servius reads *fulva* here and at 4.261 (where it is certainly correct); see also below on 313 *gemma* and the parallel 10.134. *Fulvus* (Edgeworth 1992, 130–132; the color is probably a dull yellow that approaches a shade of brown) is also associated with Roman ethnography; its first appearance at 1.275 of the "tawny

pelt of the wolf” sets the tone. At 2.722, Aeneas has the pelt of a *fulvus leo* on his shoulders as he takes up the burden of Anchises in the flight from Troy. At 4.159, Ascanius hopes to see a *fulvus leo* on the hunt at Carthage (he will not, for he is not in Rome!). At 4.261–262 *atque illi stellatus iaspide fulva / ensis erat*, Aeneas has a sword he was given by Dido; this is likely the sword she will later use to commit suicide. At 5.374, Dares is recalled to have killed Butes on Troy’s tawny sand; he will soon enough be defeated himself (Troy is not Rome). At 6.643, the sand of Elysium is *fulva*; as we shall explore below, the athletic competitions in the underworld offer a commentary on the Sicilian games. At 7.279, the horses of Latinus chomp on tawny gold; at 7.688, Caeculus’ men have wolf-skin headgear (cf. the Romulean she-wolf). At 8.552, Aeneas is given a tawny lion-pelt by Evander’s men; cf. the Anchises lion-pelt and the significance of the gift on Italian soil. At 10.134, Ascanius is compared to a jewel set in yellow gold; at 10.562, Aeneas chases the tawny Camers; at 11.642, Catillus kills Aeneas’ blond ally Herminius (who may be Etruscan). The Etruscan Tarchon (11.751) and the Trojan Chloerus (11.776) have associations with *fulvus*, as does the tawny bird of Jupiter (12.247) that carries off a swan (= Venus’ bird). The truce-breaking augur Tolumnius slays the son of Gylippus on tawny sand, just as the pieces of Turnus’ sword shine on *fulva ... harena* (12.276; 74; they are now on *Italian* soil). Lastly, and significantly, Jupiter addresses Juno as she looks at the scenes of war from a tawny cloud (12.792 *fulva ... de nube*)—just before he announces the suppression of Trojan *mores* in Italy.

Fulvus, then, like the related *flavus*, has clear associations in V. with the Roman future, with the only seemingly problematic passages being those in Book 11, where a cluster of three occurrences use the color in contexts seemingly opposed to the Roman future. Two of those uses, however, link *fulvus* to Etruria (V. is ever conscious of the essentially *civil* nature of his *Iliad* in Latium, in contrast to Homer’s Troy tale); the outlier = Chloerus’ brooch of yellow gold (11.776). This striking exception to the otherwise patterned uses of the color may explain something of Camilla’s attraction to the Cybelian devotee’s outlandish raiment. The correct reading in the present passage is almost certainly *flava* and not *fulva*, but the difference is not so very great and the Virgilian chromatic associations the same in either case. See further Wiltshire 1989, 77–78 for the ethnographic progression here and elsewhere in the games narrative. On the problems of defining *flavus* precisely, see Bradley 2009, 1–11, especially 4.

nectentur: The verb is not common in the *A.*; of the finite form occurrences, at 4.239 it is used of Mercury’s donning his winged sandals to visit Aeneas (cf. the *raison* for the night raid); at 12.603 it is employed for Amata’s suicide. But most significantly, at 9.219 *nectis* Euryalus chides Nisus for his concerns over his lover’s safety. Euryalus will be wreathed with a woven crown he does not

deserve; Nisus will weave arguments Euryalus would have done well to heed. For the verb with *caput* cf. Ps.-V., *Copa 32 et gravidum roseo nocte caput strophio* (no comment in Franzo); nowhere else in poetry and very rare outside of the medical writers.

oliva: Cf. 494 and 774 below; Royds 1920, 86–92 on *oliva* and *olea*. Elsewhere in the *A.* the olive is mentioned by name at 6.230, during the rites for Misenus; the *ramum olivae* borne by Allecto/Calybe at 7.418; the crown of the priest Umbro at 7.751; the *ramum olivae* Aeneas extends to the Arcadians at 8.116.

310 **primus equum phaleris insignem victor habeto;**

The opening line of an artfully arranged description of the three main prizes. One line each describes the first and third prizes, which will be won by Euryalus (after a fashion) and Diore; the second prize receives three lines. Hyginus summarizes the prizes for the foot race at *Fab.* 273.16.4. The parallel to this horse = Pallas' steed Aethon at 11.89–90 *post bellator equus positus insignibus Aethon / it lacrimans guttisque umectat grandibus ora*, where the *insignia* that we might say make the horse *insignis* are put aside in requiem mourning for the dead Arcadian. Carefully, after his usual fashion, V. is preparing for the equestrian drama of the *lusus Troiae* that will balance the deadlier horse competition of 11, with the omnipresent problem of the Augustan succession ever lurking (Ascanius; Pallas). The present scene will also be echoed at 11.769–770 *insignis longe Phrygiis fulgebat in armis / spumantemque agitabat equum*, of the introduction of the Cybelian devotee Chloereus, whose *insignia*, as it were, will serve to distract Camilla: V. thus recalls the doom of his Iliadic tale of tragic feminine youth. This horse replaces the Homeric silver mixing bowl (*Il.* 23.740–749), which had been crafted by Sidonians and given as a ransom to Patroclus for Priam's son Lycaon.

equum: M reads the feminine *equam* here, *fortasse recte*; the mare would be an appropriate additional foreshadowing of Camilla, whose presence permeates the narrative.

phaleris: At 9.359, Euryalus will steal the *phalerae* of Rhamnes during the night raid; at 9.457–458 *agnoscunt spolia inter se galeamque nitentem / Messapi et multo phaleras sudore receptas*, the *phalerae* recur in the description of the immediate aftermath of the death of the two Trojans. The horse is *insignis*, and so it will of course be won by the *insignis* youth Euryalus; for commentary on the artistic depictions of show horses for the circus from Etruria, with some indication of the image V. may have been trying to craft for his reader here, see Hyland 1990, 202–203, with detailed description of certain features of Roman circuses and arenas. Lersch 1843, 93 perceptively compares Pallas' horse Aethon (11.89 *bellator equus, positus insignibus*)—the inversion of the present steed.

habeto: This solemn, future imperative also appears at 12.192–194, where Aeneas makes his declaration before Latinus: *sacra deosque dabo; socer arma Latinus habeto, | imperium sollemne socer; mihi moenia Teucri | constituent urbiue dabit Lavinia nomen*, which is the Trojan's prelude to the great Jovian ethnographic revelation of 12.833–837; the two passages form a great ring. These are the only two occurrences of the form *habeto* in the epic (cf. *E.* 3.107; 8.60; *Ps.-V., Ciris* 267); there is something jarring about the use of the rare form here and at 314 *abito*, especially in light of how Aeneas will be something less than solemn in the actual adjudication of the race and awarding of prizes. Williams 1960 ad loc. notes V's fondness for this form in the *G.*; especially in light of the reminiscence of the opening of the poet's didactic epic in the list of competitors. There are nineteen occurrences of the future imperative in the *A.* (*esto* 5×; *memento* 3×); the second singular predominates.

311 alter Amazoniam pharetram plenamque sagittis

Amazoniam: Cf. *A.* 1.490, of Penthesilea's company of heroines; 11.648 and 660, during the Camilliad. The quiver Helymus will win is directly associated with the swift-footed Camilla who will be introduced at the end of the Gathering of the Clans. Significantly, the prize associated with Camilla and Pallas will be won by the Sicilian and not either of the Trojan finalists. Cf. Propertius, c. 3.14.13; Horace, c. 4.4.20; Ovid, *Her.* 4.2; *Ep. Pont.* 3.1.95; Seneca, *Phaed.* 232; *Ag.* 736; *HO* 1450; Statius, *Theb.* 4.394; 5.144; 9.611; 12.578; *Silv.* 5.1.131; *Ach.* 1.353; 1.833; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.602; Martial, *ep.* 4.29.8; 4.42.16; Silius, *Pun.* 8.430.

Amazoniam ... pharetram: Cf. 11.648–649 *at medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon | unum exserta latus pugnae, pharetrata Camilla* (with Fratantuono); Seneca, *Ag.* 217–218 (with Tarrant); Statius, *Silv.* 5.130–131 (with Gibson).

plenam ... sagittis: Only here in extant Latin. The full quiver has martial connotations that will come to fulfillment in the outbreak of war and the destruction Camilla will wreak with her Volscian shafts. For *plenus* in different contexts cf. 281 and 745. This Amazonian quiver replaces Homer's ox.

312 Threiciis, lato quam circum amplectitur auro

Threiciis: Thrace is mentioned at *A.* 1.316, of the provenance of Harpalyce, the Snatcher She-Wolf; 3.51, of Priam's sending away of Polydorus for a keeping that will prove not so safe; 6.120, of Orpheus' Thracian *cithara*; 6.645, of Orpheus, the Thracian *sacerdos*, as Aeneas enters Elysium with his father (cf. *E.* 4.55 *non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus*); 7.208, of Samothrace, where Dardanus is said to have fled; 10.350, of the three sons of Boreas; 11.659, of the icy Thermodon where the Amazons galloped; 11.858, of Camilla's avenger Opis; cf. also the Thracian Cisseus who presented the *crater* to Anchises that

Aeneas offers Acestes as a mark of victory in the archery contest (5.536–537): two mentions in 5 and 11, then, in association with Amazons and archery. At 5.565–566, a Thracian steed carries Polites in the *lusus Troiae*, which is echoed by the near repetition at 9.49 of the same sort of mount that Turnus rides: another neat balance, and one that explicitly links Turnus with one of the Trojan youths of the equestrian display (see further below ad loc.).

The appellation is associated with violence and the chill of the untamed, wild north, as well as the Amazons and Amazonian figures (the Dianic trinity of Harpalyce; Camilla; Opis); of one of the first stopovers for Trojans who leave their homeland (Polydorus; Dardanus); and, twice, of Orpheus. See Williams 1960 ad 311–312 for how the Amazons and the Thracians were Trojan allies; Camilla is not an Amazon, despite her clear Amazonian traits; Orpheus is Thracian, and, significantly, it will be Musaeus and not Orpheus who educates Aeneas in Elysium—a possible hint of Virgilian lack of credulity for Orphic doctrines of rebirth. In the end, the *quondam* allies of Troy vs. Greece will be transformed in Italian reimagination.

lato ... auro: Cf. Ovid, *Her.* 9.127 *ingreditur late lato spectabilis auro*. The point of *lato* (transferred epithet) is the amount of gold and the great value of the *balteus* for the quiver: the conspicuousness of certain prizes and accoutrements will be highlighted by V. in his accounts of the deaths of both Camilla and Turnus. For the description here see Campbell ad Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.156.

amplectitur: Cf. 8.369 *nox ruit et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis*, of Aeneas as he takes his rest in Evander's humble abode. *Circum amplectitur* is likely inspired by Cicero's *qui terram tenero circumiectu amplectitur* (ap. *De Nat. Deorum* 2.65.9); *tenero* may have influenced 313 *tereti*. V. may also have in mind the Lucretian *morte obita quorum tellus amplectitur ossa* (*DRN* 1.135; cf. *DRN* 4.734, and see above on 31 *et patris Anchisae gremio complectitur ossa*). The associations are ominous; Anchises' death and especially Pallas' are connected (cf. the theme of the generations). M reads *plectitur* here; the uncompounded verb is not found in V. and is rare elsewhere.

313 **balteus et tereti subnectit fibula gemma;**

balteus: Practically a technical term in V. for the sword-belt of Pallas (10.496; 12.942); at 12.274, it is used of the locus of the fatal wound inflicted by the augur Tolumnius during the breaking of the truce, when one of the nine sons of Arcadian (cf. Pallas' provenance) Gylippus and his Etruscan bride is slain. Camilla will be Turnus' Pallas, the proxy for whom he will fight Aeneas and the ghost of Pallas; the Volscian heroine will share Turnus' death line in striking, tragic communion. The elaborate gold belt that is wrapped around the Amazonian quiver

thus connects the second prize to the doomed Camilla and Pallas, the respective understudies of Turnus and Aeneas. The term is not particularly common in poetry (especially if one excludes the astronomical uses); Ovid has it once in the *Met.* (9.189 *Thermodontiaco caelatus balteus auro*), significantly of the girdle of Hippolyta won by Hercules.

tereti ... fibula: Cf. Ps.-V., *Ciris* 127–128 (with Lyne); Statius, *Theb.* 9.694–695. V. uses *teres* elsewhere at 6.207 *et croceo fetu teretis circumdare truncos* (during the description of the Golden Bough); 7.665 *et tereti pugnant mucrone veruque Sabello* and 7.730 *teretes aclydes* (during the Gathering of the Clans); 8.633 *illam tereti cervice reflexa* (of the Romulean she-wolf with her human pups on the shield of Aeneas); 11.579 *et fundam tereti circum caput egit habena* (of the adolescent Camilla's slingshot weapon). 1× each, then, in 5 and 11, and in contexts that either presage or celebrate Camilla; 2× of the native Italian warriors who will fight alongside her; 1× each of the Bough and the she-wolf: a deliberate arrangement of uses. Cf. also *E.* 8.16; Ps.-V., *Ciris* 128. See further Smolenaars ad Statius, *Theb.* 7.658ff. on the poetic use of *fibula* with different descriptors.

subnectit: The verb occurs elsewhere in the *A.* at 1.492, of the golden *cingula* of Penthesilea's exposed breast; 4.139 *aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem*, of Dido's hunting attire (a passage very much in V's mind here); possibly 4.217 *subnexus* (see the edds. here for *subnixus*), of Iarbas' mockery of Aeneas' effeminate attire; 10.138 *accipit et molli subnectens circulus auro*, of Ascanius' golden torque (see further Harrison).

gemma: Gems, and for that matter jewelry, are not mentioned often in the *A.*; cf. 1.655 *duplicem gemmis auroque coronam* (of Aeneas' presents for Dido); 1.728 *hic regima gravem gemmis auroque* (of Dido at her banquet; a stunning parallel passage that may well have evoked Cleopatra for V's audience); 7.75–76 *accensa coronam | insignem gemmis* (of Lavinia's fiery locks); 10.134 *qualis gemma micat fulvum quae dividit aurum* (of Ascanius, the living image of a successful *Augustan* succession). For the “proper” sense of a “bud in the bark of trees,” the analogy to gem stones, and the Virgilian uses of the noun, see D. Petrain, “Gems,” in *VE* II, 525. “*Gemmae* are very often linked with gold in phrases, and seem an almost inevitable concomitant of gold” (Campbell ad Lucretius, *DRN* 5.912).

314 *tertius Argolica hac galea contentus abito.*

Argolica ... galea: Diores, the royal Trojan, will ultimately be revealed as the winner of the Argive helmet. The helmet that closes the description of the prizes is the award for the *third* winner ... *tertius*; in Book 9 we learn why in only a few lines we shall encounter the stunning hemistich *tertius Euryalus*: the fren-

zied young warrior will steal a helmet of Messapus during the night raid, and its glint in the moonlight will betray him to the Latins and lead to his death—a stunning twist of Aeneas' *contentus abito* here (Andrew Carstairs-McCarthy notes well *per litt.* that *either* helmet, of course, presumably would have had a telltale glint in the moonlight). The helmet is Greek because up to this point the Greeks have been the principal foe for the Trojans, who have yet to meet Turnus' Rutulians and the Latins; by the time of the night raid, another *Iliad* will have commenced in Italy, and the Argive helmet here links directly to Messapus' there.

contentus: The form occurs 1× also in 11; cf. 815 *contentusque fuga mediis se immiscuit armis*, of Arruns after the death of Camilla. V. thus artfully concludes the prize narrative with a parallel passage to the Etruscan slayer of his Volscian heroine just after the description of the second place prize that so evokes the "Roman Amazon." Both Arruns and Euryalus will die; *contentus abito* could be said to either after the violent deeds that precede their respective ends. Cf. also 7.737, the only other occurrence of the form in V.; Ps.-V., *Culex* 92 (with Seelentag). Like Arruns, Euryalus will have his reward, though not what he expected. This helmet replaces Homer's half talent of gold.

The prizes move, then, from Crete to Thrace to Argos: the Greek flavor connects to the two Arcadian participants, one of whom will be cheated of his rightful prize, though his name will be recalled in the Herculean celebrations at the Arcadian settlement of Evander's Pallanteum; in a sense the cheating of Salius by a Trojan cabal will be avenged in the deaths of Nisus and Euryalus; Aeneas will countenance the unfair treatment of the Arcadian Salius, only to lose his own quasi-*eromenos*, the Arcadian Pallas.

abito: For the use of second for third person, vid. Porphyrio ad Horace, c. 3.3.39.3. Cf. 11.855 *abis*, of Opis' indignant question to Arruns, and note 318 *abit*.

315–361 Rapid narrative befitting the occasion describes the foot race. Nisus, the first contestant named, at once takes the corresponding first place; Salius, the first Greek named, is second; Euryalus, the lover of Nisus, is third. Helymus, the first Sicilian named, is fourth; Dioces, the third Trojan, takes the fifth place, as V. continues to *return* to Troy in his account of the race's progress. Patron, the second Greek named, and Panopes, the second Sicilian, are left unmentioned, along with those many unnamed competitors.

Nisus suffers a slip and falls, but he trips the Arcadian Salius so that Euryalus can surpass him and take "second," now first place, with Helymus as the new second and Dioces the new third. Salius raises a reasonable objection to Nisus' trick; Dioces, the *other* Trojan in the race, complains out of fear that if Salius

were to be given a prize, then he would be deprived of a top award. Aeneas decides that the awards will stand as “won,” but he offers a consolation prize of sorts to Salius. Nisus then complains that he, too, should be given something to compensate him for his slip; Aeneas concurs with the arguably outrageous suggestion. On the perceived difficulties of the opening lines of this passage see F. Sandbach, “Virgil, *Aeneid* V.315 ff.,” in *CR* N.S. 7.2 (1957), 102–103; M. Dyson, “A Note on Virgil, *Aeneid* 5.315–19,” in *CQ* N.S. 48.2 (1998), 569–572. On why V. placed the foot race first among the land contests, in contrast to Homer’s placement after boxing and wrestling, see Heinze 1902/1908/1914, 150 ff. For some consideration of the Virgilian reception of *dolus*, with particular reference to the night Troy fell and the labyrinth of 6, see J. Abbott, “The *Aeneid* and the Concept of *Dolus Bonus*,” in *Vergilius* 46 (2000), 59–82. For the important recurrence of the theme of falling and Arcadia during the boxing match, see on 453.

315 *haec ubi dicta, locum capiunt signoque repente*

haec ubi dicta: See above on 32.

locum capiunt: The phrase is Livian (6.29.4.1–2; 21.11.10.1; 34.25.4.2).

signo ... repente: The language is borrowed from Sallust, *BI* 50.4.1; 69.2.1; cf. Apuleius, *Met.* 9.11.25. For *repente* in close connection with *corripiunt* cf. *G.* 3.471–472 *nec singula morbi | corpora corripiunt, sed tota aestiva repente*; Plautus, *Merc.* 661 *Ut corripuit se repente*.

316 *corripiunt spatia audito limenque relinquunt,*

For the connection between the action of the framing verbs see here A. McDewitt, “Hysteron Proteron in the *Aeneid*,” in *CQ* N.S. 17.2 (1967), 316–321; Williams 1960 ad loc.; A. Allen, “Lucretius II, 356,” in *Mnemosyne* 38.1–2 (1985), 153–155, 154. The effect of V.’s language is to enact verbally the rush of the race, especially the excitement of its start: even before the signal is given, the runners eye the finish line, and they simultaneously leave the starting line and arrive, at least in spirit, at the end of the sprint; the sense of *possunt quia posse videntur* is very much applicable here.

spatia: The first of four occurrences of the word in the race narrative (cf. 321, 325, 327). The *spatium* is a section of the race (so at 327 the runners are approaching the *extremum spatium*); the plural here reflects the different speeds of the competitors as they seize the different spaces.

audito: The form recurs at 12.697 *at pater Aeneas audito nomine Turni*. Sounds in V. are frequently associated both with storms and with portentous events (music is comparatively rare, but always significant); with this passage cf. 4.302 *audito ... Baccho* with Roiron 1908, 591. For the stress on the sound of the signal that is marked by “an elision before the exceptional word, and ...

‘apparent caesura,’ see A. Verrall, “The Metrical Division of Compound Words in Virgil,” in *CR* 18.6 (1904), 288–290, 290.

317 *effusi nimbo similes. simul ultima signant,*

effusi ... signant: Two verbs enclose the verse.

nimbo: The second of three almost evenly placed occurrences of *nimbus* in 5. At 13 it is used of the storm that drives the Trojans to Sicily (where wind and rain define the tempest); at 666 *respiciunt atram in nimbo volitare favillam*, it recurs of the sight of the burning of the ships. The first and last uses of the word, then, appear in circumstances of grave difficulty for the Trojans; the second is applied now to the Trojan and other competitors in the race as they dart forth. In the regatta, the journey to the *meta* had clear associations with the ethnographic progression of the Trojans to their Roman destiny; in the foot race, the principal episode of the contest will be Trojan trickery. When Venus intervenes to save Aeneas from his arrow wound, she will descend to earth in something of a dark stormcloud (12.16 *hoc Venus obscuro faciem circumdata nimbo*). The Trojans escaped the storm at the opening of the book, and here the runners (with the Trojans the largest named block of competitors at 3 vs. 2) are like a storm (and the Trojan Nisus will be swifter than the winds and a bolt of lightning); there will be no tempest at the end of the book, but the Trojan Palinurus will be sacrificed.

The foot race is the briefest of the four competitions, and it has what could be considered the shortest simile (see on 319 for the same device); we can compare 254 *anhelanti similis*, of Ganymede at the hunt, another passage redolent with the spirit of the old Troy (Hornsby 1970, 17). The present scene owes something to *G.* 3.103–104 *nonne vides, cum praecipiti certamine campum / corripuere, ruuntque effusi carcere currus* (see on 144–145); the equine imagery thus continues, even as the contestants are somewhat dehumanized thereby (see below on 318 *omnia corpora*); carefully, too, V. works to link his athletic competitions together in a tightly constructed narrative. On Virgilian language to describe running see especially Heuzé 1985, 438–440.

simul ultima signant: Mackail calls this phrase “unintelligible,” and the commentators have exercised or lacked restraint in trying to explicate the scene. V.’s emphasis throughout is on the swiftness of the race; barely off the starting block, the runners are already marking the finish line (significantly, unlike the regatta, the foot race has no return leg; these runners are advancing on a one-way journey; for Nisus and Euryalus, embodiments of the dead Troy who are themselves both literally doomed, this is particularly appropriate): *effusi* and *signant* thus frame the line, as *primus ... Nisus* will be the next. See Farrell especially ad loc. for the question of punctuation, which determines whether

this phrase is used with what precedes (possible) or what follows (better); also Monaco 1960/1972, 107n10 more generally on the interpretive problems.

318 *primus abit longeque ante omnia corpora Nisus*

primus: Cf. the positional words located carefully in initial place in evenly spaced different lines, which we are in effect to imagine as if they were the runners themselves (*primus, proximus, tertius*).

abit: Cf. 9.386 *Nisus abit*, of escape from peril in the night raid, where the runner is said to have fled not just the enemy but also *Alba* ... more Virgilian ethnographic commentary (see further P. Bleisch, "Nisus' Choice: Bovillae at *Aeneid* 9.387–8," in *CQ* N.S. 51.1 [2001], 183–189).

omnia corpora: A difficult phrase that has not received much critical attention. The action is clear: Nisus takes the lead, and appreciably so (*longe*), "before all the bodies." The *omnia corpora* refers to the other runners; V. may have adopted language from Lucretius (cf. *DRN* 1.1083–1084 *praeterea quoniam non omnia corpora fingunt / in medium niti*, where the poet describes how nothing can remain motionless in the void, with potentially interesting lines of thought regarding both the race as metaphor for Troy's future and, in the philosophical realm, for the potentially cyclic nature of both urban and individual life). See below on 320 *intervallo* on the Lucretian echoes in this scene. The sentiment somewhat dehumanizes the runners, who are reduced to mere bodies, indeed perhaps mere atoms. "Perhaps here the use of *corpora* of his rivals tends to bring Nisus more vividly into relief. As compared to him, they constitute an inert mass, while he flashes ahead like something less corporeal, the wind or the lightning" (Hahn 1930, 200n894).

longe: Strengthened by 320 *longo*; V. makes clear that Nisus would have won the race without question, just as in 9 Nisus will have the opportunity to survive the night raid.

Farrell ad 318–326 offers metrical analysis of the sound effects of V's description of the race.

319 *emicat et ventis et fulminis ocior alis*;

emicat: 8× in the *A.*: once in the perfect (2.175 *emicuit*, of the Palladium portent), and elsewhere always in the third singular present indicative active: 337 below, of Euryalus (thus joined in yet another way to Nisus); 6.5 *iuvenum manus emicat ardens*, of the Trojan reaction to the arrival in Hesperia; 9.736, of Pandarus in angry address to Turnus; 11.496, of the simile of the stallion (= Turnus) amid the mares; 12.327, of Turnus after he sees Aeneas retreat with his arrow wound; 12.728, of Turnus just after Jupiter weighed his fateful scales, and just before the Rutulian's sword breaks. On this verse cf. 242 above.

We move, then, from Nisus and Euryalus to the excitement of the Trojans on arrival in Italy; then, significantly, we advance from the doomed Trojan Pandarus to the equally doomed Turnus as subject of the verb in an ascending tricolon that proceeds from 1) the opening of the sequence of his planned infantry ambush and Camilla's cavalry raid (with legitimate expectation of winning the war at one stroke minus divine intervention), to 2) Turnus in triumph after Aeneas is seriously wounded, to 3) Turnus facing impending defeat. Every mortal of whom the verb is used, then, will die; the Trojans, too, despite their excitement on arrival in Hesperia, will be doomed in the matter of their customs and habits (cf. Pandarus' end).

fulminis ocior alis: The hyperbole is cited e.g. by Quintilian (8.6.6.69.2); Nisus is swifter than the winds and the "wings of the bolt." The sentiment is imitated by Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.97; Silius, *Pun.* 8.476. Manilius, *Ast.* 5.488–489 may have been inspired by the rare image of the winged bolt (see further Hübner ad loc.); *ictus* is more usual with *fulmen*, but V. here wants to emphasize Nisus' swiftness.

Fulmen occurs 1× each in 5 and 11; at 1.616 *fulminis in morem* it describes the etymologically appropriate death of the Etruscan Aconteus; in both uses in the sister books, then, the word is metaphorical and applied to a doomed partisan of Aeneas (in a neat appropriation, V. models his Camilla-Arruns narrative after Callimachus' Cydippe-Aconteus, and the death of *Tyrrhenus Aconteus* just before the introduction of the Etruscan Arruns signals the borrowing; see further Fratantuono and McOsker 2010; on the Ovidian treatment, especially E. Nesholm, "Inscribed Consent: Reading, Writing, and Performative Speech in *Heroides* 20," in *SyllClass* 20 [2009], 53–70).

In close conjunction with *nimbus*, the *fulmen* also evokes the gigantomachy; here, the runners—especially the first one, Nisus—are associated with the Jovian powers over storm and tempest. The image will be renewed and refined through the Iliadic *A.*, as with the shifting correspondences of Aeneas and Turnus to Achilles and Hector: a jarring series of heroic associations that reflects ultimately the complexities inherent to civil war. In the present instance, the seeming triumph of Nisus will prove vain and ephemeral. Burton perceptively refers ad loc. to numismatic evidence for the winged lightning bolt.

320 *proximus huic, longo sed proximus intervallo,*

See here O. Skutsch, "Virgil, *A.* 5.320," in *LCM* 6 (1981), 217.

The repetition of *proximus* and delayed naming serve to engender suspense over who will be next; we might reasonably expect Euryalus. The anaphora also reflects how the Arcadian Pallas will be the proxy for the Trojan Aeneas. Page notes the difference between *proximus* and *secundus*: the second is nearest the

first, but near is a relative term (even in the superlative degree). On Virgilian anaphora see especially Eden on 8.564 ff. The spondaic line contributes to the effect of the description of the long interval; cf. 761, of the heavy solemnity of the description of the honors for Anchises' *tumulus*.

huic: For the dative of association with an adjective, cf. 2.794; 3.621; 4.294; 6.602–603.

sed: On “postponement of particles in general” see Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 394 (referencing Norden).

intervallo: The word is not common in verse, except in Lucretius (some dozen occurrences), and appears only here in V., almost certainly under the influence of its use in the *DRN*. The atoms here will connect in more or less fortuitous combinations, with the Trojan Nisus' tripping of the Arcadian Salius having its own implications both atomic and ethnographic. The long quadrisyllabic line-ending enacts the length of the interval.

For the possible Ennian source of this line and Cicero, *Brutus* 173 *duobus igitur summis Crasso et Antonio L. Philippus proximus accedebat sed longo intervallo tamen proximus*, see Skutsch, “Vestigia i” (p. 778 of his commentary; see ad loc. for the original ideas of E. Fraenkel, and Hosius). Skutsch tentatively assigns the potential original to *Ann.* 7 and the narrative of the boat race likely related there.

321 *insequitur Salius; spatio post deinde relicto*

insequitur: The form is repeated at 788, in Venus' complaint to Neptune over how Juno is pursuing even the ashes and bones of the dead Troy; here, the Arcadian Salius pursues the Trojan Nisus.

spatio ... relicto: Caesarian (*BG* 5.44.6.1; 7.46.3.4–5); also Livian (9.37.3.1–2; 22.4.2.4; 24.47.2.2); 3× in Columella; Vitruvius 2.1.4.7. V. does not specify the exact difference between a *longum intervallum* and a *spatium*, but the former is clearly imagined to be a greater distance.

322 *tertius Euryalus;*

The second hemistich in the book, and, as at 294, V. highlights the names of his tragic Trojan couple; in some sense the sentiment of 9.446–449 is expressed by these two half-lines. Euryalus here is alone, both in third place and the line; the race is in a sense a harbinger of the possible separation by death that Nisus strives to forestall during the night raid. Here, Nisus will cheat so that Euryalus can win. The trick will do nothing to correct the separation of the lovers during the race; Nisus will somewhat redeem himself by reuniting with his lover during the drama of the night raid. The two lovers were together (contradictorily) as *primi* above, so that now Euryalus is alone as *tertius* according to the strange

logic of the race. If Nisus had not tripped his nearest competitor, Salius would have won, and Euryalus would have come in the second place, with Helymus third (and no prize for the Trojan royal Dioces): an Arcadian, then a Trojan, and finally a Sicilian. Aeneas' decision will be a victory for the Trojans (especially Priam's royal family)—but the victor is as doomed as the old Troy he represents. The repetition of the hemistich motif for Euryalus also underscores the problem of the succession; the premature death of the young renders the Augustan succession incomplete.

Euryalus would have been in third place, had Nisus not fallen and then cheated; his prize would have been an Argive helmet. During the night raid, he will take the helmet of Messapus that will then spell his doom (9.365–366; 373–374). At 9.303 ff. Aletes gives his *helmet* to Nisus, and Ascanius his sword to Euryalus, before the two set out; the emphasis is on how Euryalus will be overcome both by love for spoils and blood lust, and on how Nisus would have been able to survive the raid, had his love for Euryalus not driven him back to die with his *eromenos*.

323 Euryalumque Helymus sequitur; quo deinde sub ipso

Sicilian Helymus follows Euryalus, with no indication of how closely; the synaloepha of the names may be a hint that Helymus is giving Euryalus serious competition. Sicily has no runner in the top three, and, we soon learn, even the fourth place is not assured.

quo deinde sub ipso: More suspense; it is not at all clear at first what is happening to Helymus and who is doing it. Cf. 327–328 *sub ipsam / finem*, when the contestants are just about at the finish line. The suspense may have engendered the textual confusion; cf. MR *quod*; P *quem*.

324 ecce volat calcemque terit iam calce Dioces

ecce volat: The phrase is reversed at 12.650 *volat ecce*, where Saces rushes to summon Turnus to the aid of Latinus' beleaguered capital: a careful balance of Trojan and Italian, which will be continued in the description of Dioces' close press on Helymus.

calcem: At 10.444, Pallas' victim Rhoeteus plows the Rutulian fields with his ankles in a vivid death scene; at 10.730–731 a similar scene plays out for Mezentius' victim Acron in carefully arranged balance. At 11.714 *quadripedemque citum ferrata calce fatigat*, Camilla's Ligurian victim tries to escape the Volscian heroine once he realizes that his trick has been discovered. The four scenes involving the rare word are thus evenly presented: the Trojan Dioces opens a ring closed by the Volscian Camilla. "The phrase is strange, not to say anatomically impossible" (Williams); this is the first use of *calx* in V., and every other

appearance is in a martial context, and always in connection to someone's death, actual or imminent (2× of someone biting the dust, as it were). The polyptoton expressing proximity is Homeric.

terit: 4× in the *A.*, 1× in the *E.* and 7× in the *G.* At 4.271 Mercury asks Aeneas why he is wasting away his leisure in Carthage; at 9.609 Numanus Remulus uses it to describe the Iron Age in Italy; at 12.273 *teritur qua subtilis abvo*, it recurs of the fatal wounding of one of the nine sons of Gylippus.

See Hahn 1930 on the supplement of a genitive pronoun after an ablative.

325 *incumbens umero, spatia et si plura supersint*

incumbens umero: Servius identifies the main problem: is Dioces leaning forward with his shoulder in a runner's posture, or is he brooding, as it were, over Helymus' shoulder? The former is perhaps likelier, though the nature of *V.*'s poetry allows both images to coexist in a description of just how closely the Trojan prince is pressing on the Sicilian runner. At 858, Somnus will lean over Palinurus (*incumbens*); leaving aside the textually vexed 10.727 (of the Acronlion), the form appears 1× each in the second and second to last books of the epic, both times in the feminine: 2.514, of the laurel over the altar in Priam's inner sanctum, and 11.674, of Camilla ... a marvelous pairing that may point to the ethnographic associations of the laurel in Latinus' palace, the death of the old Troy, and the importance of Camilla in the nourishing of the future Rome.

Here, a Trojan royal broods over the Arcadian; at the end of the book, Sleep will do the same with the Trojan Palinurus, who has affinities with the Arcadian Pallas. In the brooding of the Trojan over an Arcadian, there is also the question of the transmission of Trojan culture and manners to the west, with particular reference to the Arcadians who are already in central Italy—and whose king Evander will soon enough be revealed as an ally of Aeneas and his Trojans in the Latin war. The difficult 326 *ambiguum* could well have reference to such ethnographic considerations; either Troy would survive and surpass Arcadia (no), or there would be a blending of the two that would yield some ambiguous result (also no).

Henry notes here that he understands the Virgilian picture; regarding Augustine's *Conf.* 4.7 *et ecce tu imminens dorso*, "I fear I shall never understand it until I see it on canvas."

spatia si plura supersint: Servius associates this line with 225 *superest in fine*, of Cloanthus at the regatta. For the present subjunctives of 325–326 cf. 11.912 *ineant pugnans* with Horsfall's note: "pres. subj. as livelier and handier than plpf. (or indeed impf.)."

326 transeat elapsus prior ambiguumque relinquat.

transeat: Cf. 294 *transit* above; at 11.719 *transit equum* Camilla outruns the horse of the deceitful Ligurian; the two scenes are parallel, with the foot race transformed into the equestrian combat and the linked emphasis on trickery in both the race and the encounter between Camilla and Aunides. On “dead heats” in ancient races see E. Gardiner, “The Method of Deciding the Pentathlon,” in *JHS* 23 (1903), 54–70, 64n44.

elapsus: Elsewhere in V. of Antenor (1.242); Panthus (2.318); Polites (2.526); Dares (5.445); Mezentius (8.492): mostly of Trojans, and mostly of the doomed.

ambiguumque: Williams, followed by Goold (and Conte), reads *-ve* here (following Heinsius, Bentley, and Ribbeck, without manuscript support—and “it is a bold thing to tamper with MS. readings, and should be avoided as far as possible”—Phillipson ad loc.); the point would be that if there were a longer course left to run, then Diore could either have passed Helymus, or at least left the outcome in serious doubt (Mynors does not note the problem, which is a non-issue so far as our witnesses go; Geymonat prints *-que*, but vid. his *app.*, where concern over the rightness of the reading is apparent). Page has a useful note defending *-ve*, which he prints; Farrell *silet* (but *-que* is printed, and Page’s note omitted). Hirtzel prints *-que*, with a note on the lack of manuscript support for *-ve*.

It should be noted that the interpretation “leave the outcome uncertain” can still be had from reading *-que*; the fact that the two conjunctions are often confused in the manuscripts is due to what often amounts to interchangeability with scant if any impact on meaning. See here especially A. McDevitt, “A Note on *Aeneid* 5.326,” in *CQ N.S.* 17.2 (1967), 313–315, who opts for *-que*, with consideration of the difficulties of meaning: for McDevitt, the point of *ambiguum* is the question of the race, not the specific case of Helymus. For the argument that *-ve* is supported from V’s Homeric model (*Il.* 23.382; 526 ff.), see H. Fairclough, “Virgil’s Knowledge of Greek,” in *CPh* 25.1 (1930), 37–46, 44. In close connection with *prior*, it might seem better to take *ambiguus* of a contestant and not the general question of the outcome of the race; it is possible to take *ambiguumque* as meaning that Diore would dart past Helymus (as opposed to achieving a dead heat) and leave him uncertain as to his status, (so fast did the Trojan outrun him). All the emphasis is on how Diore was so close to Helymus that it was already nearly a dead heat, even if V. is clear that Helymus was in the lead. If Diore did pass Helymus, it is possible that Helymus would have regained the lead. But especially in light of the relative brevity of the race, it seems best to take V’s point as = if there were more of the course left to run, then either Diore would beat Helymus, or it would be a dead heat in need of an umpire. *Ambiguumque relinquat* could also be taken to mean that doubt has been left behind;

the translation seeks to convey something of the untranslatable sentiment of the deliberately ambiguous Latin that verbally enacts the scene to great effect.

Ambiguus recurs at 655, of the Trojan women's uncertainty over whether to burn the ships; at 1.661 *domum ... ambiguam*, it refers to Venus' worry over Carthaginian trustworthiness; at 2.98–99, of Sinon's characterization of Odysseus' gossip and malice; at 3.180 *prolem ambiguam*, of Anchises' awareness of the confusion over Crete in Troy's destiny; at 8.580 *curae ambiguae*, of Evander's fearful anticipation for Pallas' safety. Forms of the adjective are not common in verse; cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 4.1137 *aut quod in ambiguo verbum iaculata reliquit*; Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 2.38–39 *quae neque diversi speciem servare parentis / possit et ambiguo testetur utrumque colore*; Horace, c. 1.7.29; 2.5.24; *Ep.* 1.16.28; *AP* 449; Ovid, *Am.* 1.4.8; 2.9b.50; 3.12.28; *Her.* 10.62; *Ars* 1.490; *Met.* 1.537; 1.765; 2.9; 3.253; 4.280; 7.281; 7.821; 8.163; 9.588; 11.236; 11.667; 13.129; 15.333; *Trist.* 1.2.32; 4.3.12; 5.8.15; *Ep. Pont.* 4.13.30; Manilius, *Ast.* 2.161; 2.231; 2.903; 4.215; 4.795; 5.418; Lucan, *BC* 5.225; 9.307; 9.710.

327 iamque fere spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam

iamque: On this “mark of transition” see Conway ad 1.223 *et iam ... cum*; Horsfall on 2.254 (with reference to his note ad 7.25), with no comment on how *iamque* is commoner (“perhaps for metrical reasons”—Conway).

fessi: The first hint of anything other than great zeal and vigor from the runners, and, significantly, the news—which is applied to all the competitors without distinction—comes just as time rather slows down for Nisus' untimely slip. The runners are tired, though this will not be the cause of Nisus' fall; still, the result of the accident will be a prone (332) Nisus in a position of quasi-repose.

sub ipsam: Cf. 323 *sub ipso*. The enjambment neatly places the *finem* as the desired goal at the head of the next line; in the description of Dioces' closing in on Helymus, the referent was named first, with *ecce volat* in a similarly dramatic placement.

See Hahn 1930, 22n97, on “the combinations of present and imperfect in examples of the ‘*cum inversum*’ construction.”

328 finem adventabant, levi cum sanguine Nisus

As the contestants approach the finish, Nisus slips. The fall is Homeric, but in V's reimagining of the Lesser Ajax's accident, the main reference is to *G.* 2.536–538 (see here J. Dyson, “*Caesi Iuvenci* and *Pietas Impia* in Virgil,” in *CJ* 91.3 [1996], 277–286).

But the first question: what is the significance in context for the evocation of Homer's Ajax? The answer is linked to the fact that the blood will come

from slaughtered cattle (329 *caesis ... iuvenicis*): not only did Ajax famously slaughter the Greek herd when he thought he was killing the Atreidae, but in V's conception of the Jovian world that has supplanted the Saturnian, men now feast on slaughtered cattle—and they are an *impia gens* (*G.* 2.537).

In the present instance, the scion of an *impia gens* will slip in the gore left from the sacrifice, his *pious amor* notwithstanding. What constitutes *pietas*, then, for a Jovian Trojan may be very different from the Saturnian, Italian conception, even if the memory of the suppressed endures; that memory, too, will be crowned by the very act of suppression with which the *A.* reaches its climax.

In V's *A.*, the Saturnian image is associated not only with the progenitor god of the Olympian family, but with Juno (*Saturnia*; useful here = W. Anderson, "Juno and Saturn in the *Aeneid*," in *Studies in Philology* 55.4 [1958], 519–532; C. Amerasinghe, "*Saturnia Iuno*: Its Significance in the *Aeneid*," in *G&R* 22.65 [1953], 61–69; more generally, M. Schiebe, "The Saturn of the *Aeneid*: Tradition or Innovation?," in *Vergilius* 32 [1986], 43–60, and the same author's "Saturnus—idealgestalt och skräckfigur," in *Medusa* 6.3 [1985], 14–27). Further, in the *A.* the Golden Age over which Saturn reigned is located in Latium, *after* Saturn's expulsion from the heavens—and Latinus is his great-grandson (see here especially R. Thomas, "Torn Between Jupiter and Saturn: Ideology, Rhetoric, and Culture Wars in the *Aeneid*," in *CJ* 100 [2004–2005], 121–147; T. Joseph in *VE* III, 1120, who points out the apparent inconsistency in Latinus' description of his people as having natural justice and no need of law at 7.203–204, and Evander's statement that Saturn gave laws to the aborigines at 8.321–322: different perspectives indeed; cf. R. Moorton, "The Genealogy of Latinus in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *TAPA* 118 [1988], 253–259).

If the Trojans are to be associated with Jupiter, and the Latins they will soon meet are to be linked with Saturn, then here, in the continuing unfolding of the ethnography of the epic that the games encapsulate, we see the perils of life under Jupiter's reign; Jupiter may have supplanted his father on Olympus, but in the *A.*'s conception of the Golden Age, Saturn how runs to hide (*latere*) among the Latins—and Troy (Jovian allegiance or not) is dead in the face of the Rome that will be Italian (and Saturnian?).

The eventual suicide of the Homeric Telemonian, *Greater Ajax* (and Nisus, too, will in a sense commit suicide) is in part a piece of epic reflection on the passage of ages (cf. the differences between the world of Ajax and that of Odysseus in the tradition of the contest for the arms, and the Homeric emphasis on the age of heroes in his race narrative at *Il.* 23.785–792), in this case, the Trojan advance to Hesperia that is a march (however unwitting) to a rebirth that spells destruction. On V's reception of Homer here see also A. Köhnken,

“Der Endspurt des Odysseus: Wettkampfdarstellung bei Homer und Vergil,” in *Hermes* 109.2 (1981), 129–148, 137n22. There is no divine intervention in the Virgilian foot race, unlike the Homeric, in part because the Lesser Ajax who slipped in Homer’s race has already been divinely slain at *A.* 1.39–40, where his graphic impalement by Pallas in retribution for the rape of Cassandra is described, a rare instance in *V.* of the mention of direct immortal involvement in the death of a mortal (cf. the admittedly somewhat different, though essentially parallel cases of Somnus with Palinurus and Opis with Arruns). Homer’s Odysseus prayed, and Athena answered; in *V.*, the Lesser Ajax’s death is mentioned near the epic’s opening, and no goddess is needed to cause any slips at this race.

adventabant: The verb is a favorite of Sallust and Tacitus, with military connotations. Elsewhere in *V.* it occurs at 11.514 *per deserta iugo superans adventat ad urbem*, of Aeneas’ planned infantry attack on Latinus’ capital that he prepares to launch over difficult terrain (1× again in each of the sister books); cf. *G.* 4.192 *adventantibus Euris*; *A.* 6.258 *adventante dea* (of the Sibyl); 7.69 *adventare virum* (of the *externus* suitor for Lavinia): significant Trojan parallels for the struggling, tired runner. The trick of Aeneas to take the capital by surprise will fail, though in the end the hero will win Lavinia (a victory *V.* does not show us). See further Malloch ad Tacitus, *Ann.* 11.18.1 for both the military associations and the frequentative nature of the verb; frequentatives “popular with archaisers such as Varro and Sallust ... and amongst the poets Lucretius and Vergil (after Ennius) and Propertius. They are especially common in the early decades of Livy. *T.* uses them more often in the *Annals* than the *Histories* and minor works.”

levi ... sanguine: Only here. The blood is smooth and light, the same as Nisus’ step; the small amount of blood is enough to cause a fall. There is no divine intervention in *V.*’s description of Nisus’ slip; in Homer, Ajax is harmed by Athena (who favors Odysseus): the Homeric race has an undertone of cheating and trickery then, which *V.* has appropriated for his own ends. In Homer the goddess intervenes to help her favorite, who will one day vie with Ajax for the arms of the games’ host; in *V.*, the Trojan trick of Nisus on behalf of his lover reverses something of the Homeric pattern: in the *A.*, the age of the deceiver is passing, not that of the deceived. *Levis* may also indicate that there was not that much blood on the course; the point in any case is that the *sanguis* is not so very great in one sense, but it was sufficient to determine the course of the race. There may be a play on the elegiac idea of *levi*s as “fickle,” with relevance both to the capriciousness of fortune as the front runner loses his chance for victory, and the quest of the *erastes* to win the favor of his beloved.

329 *labitur infelix, caesis ut forte iuencis*

On the “Inzidenz-Klimax-Typ” see F. Heberlein, “Zeitbestimmung und Diskurssorganisation: Temporalsätze bei Vergil,” in Freund and Vielberg 2008, 237–258, 252–253.

labitur infelix: The phrase occurs elsewhere in V. at G. 3.498 *labitur infelix studiorum atque immemor herbarum* / *victor equus fontisque avertiturque et pede terram*, etc. (H. Rebert, “Vergil, *Georgics* III.498 ff.,” in *CJ* 23.7 [1928], 539–542 + “The Felicity of *Infelix* in Virgil’s *Aeneid*,” in *TAPA* 59 [1928], 57–71). In the G. the animal falls down, unwilling to eat or drink; in the A. the human slips in the gore of the sacrificial victims, and is himself doomed to die as a sacrifice of a different sort. Lucan and Silius imitate the phrase (*BC* 5.799; *Pun.* 5.526).

caesis ... iuencis: Besides the evocation of the Golden Age (G. 2.537), the phrase conjures Virgilian associations with the Bugonia (G. 4.284; cf. V.’s use of the bees as ethnographic symbol at A. 7.64–70), and Helenus’ instructions to Aeneas (A. 3.369, also part of the advance from Troy to Rome, especially as concerns the particular worship of Juno). Burton notes ad loc. that 333 *sacro* reveals the detail that the cattle had been slaughtered for sacrifice; the delayed specification may be part of an evocation of Ajax’s slaughter of the cattle of the Greeks; cf. the Ajax image that lurks behind the forthcoming boxing match. On V.’s possible “squeamishness and lofty seriousness” in the change from Homer’s dung to sacrificial blood, see Farrell 1991, 106n84. The plural leaves the gender ambiguous.

330 *fusus humum viridisque super madefecerat herbas.*

fusus humum: Only here. *Fusus humo* appears at Ovid, *Met.* 10.210; Seneca, *Troad.* 1162–1163; Statius, *Theb.* 1.407; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.710. The language wonderfully enacts how Nisus first experiences the slippery patch of gore, and then falls; *fusus* is in agreement with the *sanguis* that had wetted the *humus* and the *herbae*, but it also evokes how Nisus is also *fusus* (so also the sacrificial cattle before him), though the actual fall comes at 332–333. For comparison of the present scene to how Homer’s Ajax elicited hearty laughter from his fall (*Il.* 23.784), see Block 1984, 309–310n64.

viridis ... herbas: Elsewhere in V. at G. 3.162 *cetera pascantur viridis armenta per herbas*; cf. Columella, *DRR* 10.1.1.342 *hinc mala Rubigo viridis ne torreat herbas*. The animal imagery from the G. parallels continues; Nisus will die, and his sacrifice will also nourish the future Rome insofar as his death incarnates the end of the old Troy. *Viridis* = 11× in the E.; 9× in the G.; 18× in the A., 10× in the present book: 110 *viridesque coronae*; 129 *viridem ... metam*; 246 *viridique iuventa*; 388 *viridante toro consederat herbae*; 494 *viridi ... oliva*; 539

viridanti ... lauro: the more frequent occurrences in this book reflect the locus of the games, the vigor of youth, the crown of victory, and, too, the ethnographic significance of the *meta* for the race and the laurel of 539 (see further below).

super: The adverb “serves to emphasize the fact that enough blood remained on the surface to make the course slippery” (Burton ad loc.); in part the point may also be that what may not have been very much blood (*levi*) stained only the surface, but that was enough to cause the runner to slide.

madefecerat: The verb is rare in poetry (common in Celsus and Columella); cf. Tibullus, c. 2.6.32 (with Murgatroyd); *CT* 3.6.6; 3.8.1; Ovid, *Med.* 99; *Ars* 3.765; *Met.* 4.126; 4.481; 5.76; 6.396; 6.529; 8.402; 12.301; Silius, *Pun.* 11.40; 12.18.

331 *hic iuvenis iam victor ovans vestigia presso*

On the sound effects of this and the following line, see H. Johnstone, “Rhymes and Assonances in the *Aeneid*,” in *CR* 10.1 (1896), 9–13, 13; also R. Austin, “Virgilian Assonance,” in *CQ* 23 (1929), pp. 46–55. For Statius’ reception of the passage, see G. Krumbholz, “Die Erzählungsstil in der *Thebais* des Statius,” in *Glotta* 34.1–2 (1954), 93–139, 106–107.

victor ... ovans: Cf. the neatly inspired Ps.-V., *Culex* 327–329 *huic gerit aversos proles Laertia vultus, / et iam Strymonii Rhesi victorque Dolonis / Pallade iam laetatur ovans rursusque tremescit* (with Seelentag); also Silius, *Pun.* 1.283; 11.259; 16.521–523 *tardato laetus ovansque / Eurytus evadit iuvene atque ad praemia victor / emicat et galeae fert donum insigne coruscae*. V. underscores the point that Nisus was the victor, but for the untimely slip; in *iuvenis* the Virgilian preoccupation with the tragedy of youth also continues; cf. 295 *viridique iuventa*, of Euryalus. There, the emphasis was on the handsome appearance of the *eromenos*, flourishing in the bloom of young manhood; here, the grass is wetted by blood, and the would-be victorious youth will lose his crown and resort to trickery for the one whose good looks will sway the crowd, as Nisus’ infatuation becomes a shared indulgence (343–344).

Forms of *ovare* occur 2× in 5 and 2× in 11; cf. 563, of one of the cheering cohorts of equestrians in the *lusus Troiae*; 11.13 *ovantis*, of the crowd of *socii* that surrounds Aeneas as he addresses them in the wake of Mezentius’ death; 11.758 *portat ovans*, of Tarchon as he carries off Tiburtus.

vestigia: For the noun see on 566.

presso: V. uses the form of the suppression of voice (*G.* 1.410, with *guttur*; *A.* 6.155, with *ore*); cf. also *G.* 2.203 *presso pinguis sub vomere terra* and the parallel *G.* 2.356 *presso exercere solum sub vomere*: the agricultural metaphor continues.

332 *haud tenuit titubata solo, sed pronus in ipso*

On the language of Nisus' fall see Heuzé 1985, 439–440.

titubata: Only here in V; the word is old (6× in Plautus; once in Terence) and not particularly common in poetry; cf. Calpurnus Siculus, *E.* 5.4 *talia verba refert tremulis titubantia labris*; Columella, *DRR* 10.1.1.309 *Et titubante gradu multo madefactus Iaccho*; Horace, *Ep.* 1.13.19 *vade, vade, cave ne titubes mandataque frangas*; Manilius, *Ast.* 2.14 *titubantia sidera*; Ovid, *Ars* 1.598; *Met.* 3.608; 4.26; 11.90; 15.331; *Fasti* 3.539; 6.677; *Tristia* 3.1.21; Phaedrus, *Fab.* 4.16.10 *Sero domum est reversus titubanti pede*; Lucan, *BC* 5.221; 6.482; Seneca, *HF* 777; *Medea* 937; *Ag.* 685; *HO* 1599; Juvenal, s. 15.47–48 *adde quod et facilis victoria de madidis et / blaesis atque mero titubantibus*; Silius, *Pun.* 5.628; 7.201; 10.631; 11.4.

pronus: See above on 147, and cf. 11.484–485 *frange manu telum Phrygii praedonis, et ipsum / pronum sterne solo portisque effunde sub altis*, of the prayer of the Trojan women to Minerva that she might defend them against Aeneas' attack on Latinus' capital.

333 *concidit immundoque fimo sacroque cruore.*

concidit: Cf. Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 16.411 Skutsch *concidit et sonitum simul insuper arma dederunt*; 448 below (during the boxing match). At 11.245 *contigimusque manum qua concidit Ilia tellus*, Venulus describes the Latin embassy's meeting with Diomedes, with ethnographic consideration of the fall of Troy. On Nisus' fall note Edgeworth 1992, 166.

immundo: 3× in the *G.* (1.81; 1.400; 3.564); at *A.* 3.227–228 *diripiuntque dapes contactuque omnia foedant / immundo; tum vox taetrum dira inter odorem*, it describes the Harpies, while at 12.610–611 *coniugis attonitus fatis urbisque ruina, / canitiam immundo perfusam pulvere turpans*, it is used of Latinus' reaction to the news of his wife Amata's suicide. The evocation of the foul and noisome Harpies may raise the question of the efficacy and divine reception of the Trojan sacrifice whose filth and gore now stain the green meadow of the race.

fimo: Elsewhere in V. at 358 below, and at *G.* 1.80–81 *ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola neve / effetos cinerem immundum iactare per agros*. V. does not immediately introduce the *fimus*; the “sacred gore” of this line follows naturally after 329 *caesis ... iuvenicis*; the discordant juxtaposition of the *immundus* and the *sacer*, which only appears after the fall (*concidit*), underscores the complex problem posed by Nisus—a problem that is numerically illustrated by the move from *pious amor* to *amorum* (334). On the Ennian use of *fimus* see Wigodsky 1972, 122 (citing Norden). “Qui v. 333, 357 legit naso adunco, is nescit hoc loco hilaritatis plena esse omnia, quae in re seria inepta essent, hic aptissima sunt. Si quis autem haec omnino indigna iudicaverit poeta, nescit molliculo et del-

icatulio suo animo comprehendere antiquorum simplicitatem et probitatem, qui quae facta erant verbis aequare non dubitabant, neque dicere inhonestum habebant ea, quae factu non erant turpia” (Gossrau).

sacro ... cruore: Cf. *G.* 4.542 *constitue, et sacrum iugulis demitte cruorem*; also at Horace, *ep.* 7.20 *sacer ... cruor* (of the stain of Remus’ blood on his descendants); Seneca, *Phoen.* 277–278; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 7.358–359; the *sacrificum ... cruorem* of Silius, *Pun.* 13.495. The juxtaposition of the filth and the “sacred gore” of the slaughtered victims is striking; the *cruor* is *sacer* because the slain animals had been dedicated to the immortals; the *fmus* introduces an agricultural metaphor that connects to the ethnographic theme and the fact that Nisus is now dehumanized and transformed into the animal that helps to further the development of Rome by its death. *Cruor* occurs 2× in this book and 3× in 11; cf. 469, of Dares’ injuries during the boxing match; 11.646 *funditur ater ubique cruor*, of the general slaughter before the appearance of Camilla in the equestrian battle; 11.724, of the *cruor* that drips down from the Aunides-dove; 11.804, of the gore Arruns’ spear “drinks” (*bibit*) from Camilla. The plural occurs in V. only at 4.687, when Anna stains her clothes with Dido’s blood.

See Conte’s apparatus for the full stop after *cruore*, *contra* Ribbeck.

334 non tamen Euryali, non ille oblitus amorum:

oblitus amorum: Ovid imitates the phrase at *Trist.* 5.7.21. This is the second occurrence (of three) of *oblitus* in 5; at 174 it described Gyas’ frenzied tossing of his helmsman Menoetes overboard (another fall); at 703, Aeneas will muse over the question of settlement in Sicily and abandonment of his Italian destiny; the first occurrence, then, describes how Gyas did not remember his helmsman’s welfare; Nisus, then, slips in sacrificial blood, and his memory is focused on his lover; Aeneas, finally, contemplates what he should do in light of developments in Sicily. *Oblitus ... est* occurs at 3.628–629, where Achaemenides describes the behavior of the eminent trickster Odysseus, who was “not forgetful of himself” when he planned the doom of the Cyclops—a deliberate association of the Greek deceiver with the Trojan. For the topos of the lover’s concern over memory, see Cairns 1989, 299n63.

amorum: I.e., the lover. Significantly, the singular *pious amor* that defined Nisus at 296 has been transformed into the plural *amores* that provoke his trickery; the problem of the difference in number was noted by Servius (“amare nec supra dictis congrue: ait enim ‘pio amore pueri’: nunc ‘amorum’, qui pluraliter non nisi turpitudinem significant.”). Whatever the *pious amor* of Nisus at the beginning of the race, in the exceedingly brief duration of the sprint, it has been transformed into the plural *amores* of a relationship that would not be counte-

nanced by Roman social mores. First comes the name, then the nature of Nisus' attachment: the hero and his role neatly balance the two halves of the line. Henry *silet* on the implications of the line, focusing instead on the Virgilian use of negation (citing Chateaubriand's *Génie*). Williams notes that the use of the plural (for singular) occurs in prose as well as poetry, with no consideration of the specialized meaning. See further C. Williams 1999, 313n83. It is possible that Nisus' act here on behalf of his *eromenos* is what secured his beloved's affection; a sexual relationship may have commenced after the events of the foot race precisely because of Nisus' successful effort to secure Euryalus the first prize. On Virgilian instances of "a cause that is objective associated with a result that is subjective," see Hahn 1930, 159.

ille: On the use of "semi-pleonastic *ille* with a participle," see Hahn 1930, 135.

For the Apuleian echo of this passage in the description of the bearskin-clad robber Thrasyleon and his ursine struggle against a pack of dogs (*Met.* 4.20), see S. Harrison, "From Epic to Novel: Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and Vergil's *Aeneid*," in *MD* 39 (1997), 53–73, 72.

335 nam sese opposuit Salius per lubrica surgens;

"Nisus trips Salius to let his companion Euryalus win: no dignity here, no liturgy, just slapstick." (M. Halligan, "Musa Mihi Memora," in *CJ* 63.6 [1968], 251–252). But the slapstick, if that is indeed what Nisus' action evokes, points to an essential and defining quality of the Trojans, a "virtue" that V. first introduces on the night Troy falls, when Trojans decide to masquerade as Greeks (the *dolus an virtus* theme); here, a Trojan trips an Arcadian so that his lover might win a race. The tricks of a relatively insignificant foot race will be transformed into the deadly deceit of the war games of 11.

lubrica: Cf. above on 84; the occurrence of the adjective here allows more detailed consideration of the other Virgilian occurrences, especially the two non-explicitly serpentine: *A.* 2.473–475 *nunc, positus novus exuviis nitidusque iuventa, | lubrica convolvit sublato pectore terga | arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trisulcis* (= Pyrrhus; cf. Euryalus' *iuventa* at 295); 7.353 *innectitque comas et membris lubricus errat* (= Allecto's serpent); 11.716 *nequiquam patrias temptasti lubricus artis* (Camilla to Aunides). 1× each, then, in 5 and 11, both times in contexts of trickery and deceit (Nisus with Salius; the Ligurian with the Volscian). The Pyrrhus passage reminds us of the destruction of Troy; the Allecto of the instigation of the war in Italy that will reach its climax in the Jovian declaration of Rome's ethnographic future. The Pyrrhus-snake was a new, reborn serpent, bright in youth after having sloughed off its old self; V. here reverses the image from that terrible night by having *Euryalus* be the one who is preeminent in appearance. V. likely borrowed his uses of *lubricus* from

Lucretius (*DRN* 4.59–61 *et vituli cum membranas de corpore summo / nascentes mittunt, et item cum lubrica serpens / exuit in spinis vestem*; 5.950). Parallel to the use of *lubricus* with sacrificial gore = Tibullus, c. 2.5.13–14 *tuque regis sortes, per te praesentit haruspex, / lubrica signavit cum deus exta notis* (where see Murgatroyd). In *surgens* we might just hear an echo of *serpens*; the alliteration of the line contributes to the effect as well.

The Nisus-*serpens* imagery connects this scene with the herpetological description of Sergestus' damaged vessel (273–281), where the injured snake tried to escape the hazards of road and wheel. Here, rather like the Androgeos-snake that tries to flee, but not before rousing its anger and swelling with fury (2.379–382), Nisus rises up to confront Salius—who was not expecting to find a snake in the grass, as it were.

336 ille autem spissa iacuit revolutus harena,

Nisus slipped and fell in filth and gore; the Arcadian Salius, in contrast, is tripped onto thick sand that was likely intended to absorb the blood from the sacrifices. Out of context, the language could be used to describe a battle victim, or, indeed, an arena casualty. V. balances his demonstratives (cf. 334 *ille*) to highlight the two contestants.

spissa: Cf. G. 2.236 *spissus ager*; 2.241 *spisso vimine*; A. 2.621 *dixerat et spissis noctis se condidit umbris* (before the revelation of the divine destruction of Troy—an important ethnographic passage); 9.508–509 *qua rara est acies interlucetque corona / non tam spissa viris* (during the description of the assault on the Trojan camp); Ps.-V., D. 50–51 *accipite has voces: migret Neptunus in arva / fluctibus et spissa campos perfundat harena*. Burton notes ad loc. an inconsistency with the *gramineum campum* of 287, citing V.'s evocation of the world of the Roman circus.

revolutus: The form occurs only here and at 11.671, during Camilla's attack on Liris and Pagasus. For the Homeric expression cf. *Iliad* 8.86.

337 emicat Euryalus et munere victor amici

emicat: See above on 319. The verb coordinates with 338 *prima tenet*; Euryalus darts ahead and secures his victory by an appreciable margin (deliberate plural *prima*).

Euryalūs: See Phillipson here for the length of the final syllable; also F. Shipley, "Hiatus, Elision, Caesura, in Virgil's Hexameter," in *TAPA* 55 (1924), 137–158, 142; the effect of the lengthening is to emphasize the "victor" as he darts forth. Cf. the same phenomenon at 284.

munere ... amici: Cf. Horace, *Ep.* 1.9.5 (the commentators are silent on the phrase, but see W. Allen, Jr., "On the Friendship of Lucretius with Memmius,"

in *CPh* 33.2 [1938], 167–181, for full consideration of the relationship between *Roman* friends and the expectations of the bond, with consideration of this passage and other parallels), and see on 348 and 350 below. Nisus and Euryalus are but a pale foreshadowing of the idealized Roman *amicus* relationship.

victor: In marked contrast to the *victor* (= Nisus) of 331; V. underscores his point about how Euryalus won his “victory.”

338 *prima tenet, plausuque volat fremituque secundo.*

prima tenet: A brilliant appropriation from the poet’s *A.* 2.612–614 *hic Iuno saevissima portas / prima tenet sociumque furens a navibus agmen / ferro accincta vocat*, of the divine destruction of Troy that Venus reveals to her son: once again, V. underscores the ethnographic theme (cf. on 336 *spissa* above). The phrase is repeated at 10.156–158 *Aeneia puppis / prima tenet rostro Phrygios subiuncta leones, / imminet Ida super, profugis gratissima Teucris*, where the theme of the old Troy and its fate continues. See further on 340 *prima* for V.’s expansion of his numerical theme.

plausu ... fremitu: See above on 148, where the same pair appears at the start of the regatta; here, in neat balance, the collocation recurs for the close of the foot race. There was no trickery *per se* during the ship race, though the fall of Menoetes is balanced here by Nisus’ tripping of Salius: the circumstances are quite different, but the race has two falls, as V. rather improves on the single tumble of the regatta. Burton comments *ad loc.* that “the trick of Nisus, which appears to us unsportsmanlike in the extreme, would have seemed to the Romans quite natural and even commendable,” but without evidence for the judgment.

secundo: “bene ‘secundo’ addidit, quia est et irascentum” (Servius). *Secundo* is appropriate for the seething or dull roar of the crowd as they watch the victory of Euryalus and its deceitful circumstance, given the emphasis on the order of the runners; there is no hint that they are angry, but rather that they are carried away by the thrill of the victory and the drama of the race’s last moments—they have barely had any time to process what they have seen, and many have an instinctive reaction of urging on the winner with cheers and applause. See below on 491 *clamore secundo*, of the reaction to the drawing of the first and seemingly key lot in the archery contest.

339 *post Helymus subit et nunc tertia palma Dioces.*

V. economically ensures the the reader’s runner roster is adjusted in light of the sudden changes occasioned by 1) perhaps blind fortune (Nisus’ fall) and 2) certainly deliberate action (Salius’ tumble): the Sicilian Helymus is now second, and the Trojan Dioces third.

subit: Cf. 346 *subiit* (of Diores' protest).

tertia palma: Manilius imitates the image for his *Fabricius Curiusque pares, et tertia palma | Marcellus Cossusque prior de rege necato* (*Ast.* 1.787–788); also Silius at *Pun.* 16.503–504 *et, modo postremus, nunc ordine tertia palma, | Hesperon infestat sua per vestigia pressum* and 16.573–574 *tertia palma habuit geminos insignis Aconteus | nec timidos agitare canes latratibus aprum*.

340 *hic totum caveae consessum ingentis et ora*

caveae: “The part of the theatre in which spectators sat, spectators’ seats or benches” (Lewis and Short s.v. I.I.D); once again V. employs the language of spectacle drama for the natural setting of the race.

consessum: For the textual problem cf. on 290 *consessu*; here, the first corrector of M as well as R provide witnesses to *consensum*. As Williams et al. note, V. uses here the language of the “theater or circus,” just as he had for the opening of the sequence; a neat ring now prepares to close the race with the judgment of the spectators. In a “normal” foot race, there would only be a question of adjudication if there were a dead heat; here, Nisus’ actions engender Salius’ justifiable appeal to the audience (though V. maintains some degree of suspense in this line by not making clear from the start exactly what is happening to or amid the assembly). *Consensum* has more support here than at 290, and may be the correct reading; if so, the point may be that Salius’ objections fell initially on receptive ears, and that there was agreement among the spectators that the Arcadian was wronged, despite any initial thrill in seeing Euryalus—the sudden and unexpected victor—cross the finish line first. In this case, the mood of the crowd changes quickly once Euryalus’ handsome appearance enters the equation. Servius notes that “‘cavea’ consessus est populi.”

ingentis: One of V.’s favorite words here serves to remind the reader of the macrocosmic significance of the events that take place on the relatively small grassy track of the sprint.

341 *prima patrum magnis Salius clamoribus implet,*

prima: An interesting refinement of 338 *prima*, where the adjective referred to the “first places” Euryalus held in the wake of Nisus’ tripping of Salius. Here, *prima* can be taken as a transferred epithet from *patrum*; Williams et al. are right to see an evocation of a senatorial assembly, and there may be a shade of the sense that the Trojan leaders are the ruling council that will be called upon to deal with Nisus’ cheating (interestingly, the host king Acestes is left unmentioned—in the end Aeneas alone will speak on the matter). There may also be a shade of the idea of the elite as sitting in the front rows as at Rome (cf. the *lex Roscia theatralis*). With *ora ... prima* cf. *G.* 3.399 *primaque*

ferratis praefigunt ora capistris, during the description of the care of kids; the reworked use of the language at *A.* 9.181 *ora puer prima signans intonsa iuventa*, of Euryalus. *Ora patrum* occurs at *A.* 1.95, as Aeneas laments that he was not among the fortunate who died before their fathers at Troy—a wish that will in some sense be terribly fulfilled when the heads of Nisus and Euryalus are paraded before the Trojan camp. See also Smith 2005, 178–181.

magnis ... clamoribus: Cf. 345 *magna ... voce*.

342 *ereptumque dolo reddi sibi poscit honorem.*

The snatched honor bookends the line, with participle and noun in framing agreement.

ereptum ... dolo: Ovid imitates the phrase at *Trist.* 5.12.65–66 *nec nisi pars casu flammis erepta dolove | ad vos ingenii pervenit ulla mei*. Salius bluntly states the problem: *dolus*. At 590 below it refers to the *dolus* of the Cretan labyrinth; in 11, where Trojan trickery is central to the book's battle narrative, it occurs 3× (523, of the site of where Turnus waits for Aeneas' surprise infantry attack; 704 and 712, of Aunides' planned trick against Camilla). The penultimate book 11's Trojan trickery balances the Greek tricks of the night Troy fell in the second book of the epic (*dolus* 6×). On 11.522–523 *fraudi | armorumque dolis* Barnes 1993 notes: "Not only do these two words almost always have evil connotations but they also form the opposite to the Roman heroic ethic." Barnes concludes that V. does not present Turnus in a favorable light because of the site of his planned ambush for Aeneas. But just as the trickery of the Greeks infected the Trojans in 2, so in 11 Trojan deceit threatens to infect the Rutulian Turnus; in a sense it will be Camilla's death and the emotional effect it engenders that ends the opportunity for Turnus to return trick for trick. Jupiter's savage will, then, can be seen as demanding both that Aeneas be spared from Turnus' deadly plan, *and* that the Latins not win a victory through anything remotely connected to *dolus* or *fraus*, no matter how justified the ambush action in response to the Trojan secret attack plan would be. See further Nelis 2001, 388 for how V. will connect the memory of Nisus and Euryalus to the very existence of Rome; the pair will be remembered, but perhaps not for the reasons they would wish, and certainly not without mixed associations in light of Roman social mores.

poscit: Cf. 3.456 *precibusque ... poscas*, with Horsfall ad loc. ("the language is that of *Gebetstil* ... enough to give an aura of formality").

343 *tutatur favor Euryalum lacrimaeque decorae,*

tutatur favor: The verb occurs 3× in V.; cf. *A.* 2.677 (Creüsa's pleas to Aeneas); 7.469 (Turnus' instructions at the start of the war in Italy: *tutari Italiam*). The

passages are significantly balanced: Creüsa understandably seeks protection for her family unit from its natural guardian, while Turnus orders that Italy be defended from the Trojan invaders (more of the theme of the Trojans becoming Greek-like). Here, Euryalus is guarded by *favor*; this is the only occurrence of the noun in V. (the word is not common in poetry; cf. Propertius, c. 4.6.12 *res est, Calliope, digna favore tuo*). Williams muses that Euryalus enjoyed *favor* because he did not make “a song and dance” about the race after Salius’ fashion—but one must wonder why he would have given up his apparent victory.

lacrimae ... decorae: Euryalus’ tears are worthy and becoming (*OLD* s.v. *decorus* 4). The image is borrowed from 173–174, where Gyas was crying in emotion as he prepared to throw the helmsman Menoetes overboard: *oblitum decorisque sui sociumque salutis*. Statius may have had this passage in mind at *Ach.* 1.942–943 *i felix nosterque redi! nimis improba probo: | tam te sperabunt lacrimis planctuque decorae*. “*Lacrima* was an old borrowing from Greek which drove the inherited word out of the ordinary language” (Jocelyn ad Ennius, *Erech.* fr. 139).

Euryalus’ tears here (and his verbal silence) will be balanced by the silent Lavinia’s crying at 12.64–80. There, Turnus will react with a fiery passion for the daughter of Latinus; we see no such reaction to her from Aeneas, who is among those moved instead by the crying of the Trojan youth over the chance he might lose the prize he did not merit. Heinze takes the tears as evidence of Euryalus’ just barely having left his childhood.

344 *gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus*.

The climactic element of an ascending tricolon of what should be irrelevant considerations: first there was the vaguely defined *favor*, then the young man’s tears (engendered either by excitement or, we might well think, for deliberate effect; Servius notes that Euryalus may have been crying over his unexpected victory with tears of joy—cf. the natural excitement of cheering on the winner in the rush of the moment), and finally the *virtus* in his handsome form: Euryalus’ manhood is better appreciated (*gratior*) in his attractive body (in *veniens* there is a hint of his liminality, as he is on the verge of “manhood” while still retaining a youthful loveliness—cf. Servius’ “*crescens*”). Seneca quoted this line at *Ep.* 66.2.2; cf. Cicero, *DRP* 2.59.17. “And his manliness more winsome for showing in a comely form” (Phillipson).

For a consideration of V’s use of *pietas*, *virtus*, and *amor*, see L. Thompson, “A Lucanian Contradiction of Virgilian *Pietas*: Pompey’s *Amor*,” in *CJ* 79.3 (1984), 207–215. “The Roman ethical economy is very rich in what we can call ‘virtues’” (Braund 2009, 31); here, the emphasis is not on Euryalus’ courage or even excellence, but on the fact that in terms of youthful masculine perfection of

form he seems an ideal specimen. For the image of the attractive adolescent cf. 10.324 (with Harrison).

pulchro ... corpore: The phrase is Lucretian (*DRN* 5.1115–1116 *divitoris enim sectam plerumque secuntur | quam lubet et fortes et pulchro corpore creti*); V. may also have in mind his description of Scylla at *A.* 3.426–427 *prima hominis facies et pulchro pectore virgo | pube tenuis, postrema immani corpore pistris*. V. tells the story of *Scylla Nisi* “in full” at *G.* 1.404–409 (and see further Clausen ad *E.* 6.74, especially on the Virgilian language of pursuit with reference to the story of the Megaran traitor). King Nisus failed to capture his daughter; V.’s foot race contestant Nisus has similarly failed to seize his intended prize, though the strange awarding of gifts will not leave him without something, however unmerited. The drama of the two lovers, in any case, will not be crowned until they reappear in 9, where Euryalus’ handsome appearance will be decidedly unhelpful in saving him from his doom.

veniens: This feminine form also occurs at 4.258 (of *Cyllenia proles*); 11.145 (of *Phrygum turba*).

345 *adiuvat et magna proclamat voce Diores,*

adiuvat: For the verb form at the same *sed.*, cf. *A.* 12.219 (of Turnus).

proclamat: The verb occurs only here in V.; not surprisingly, the royal Trojan helps his Phrygian fellow.

magna ... voce: Cf. Salius’ *magnis ... clamoribus* (341). Cf. Petronius, *Sat.* 68.4.2–3 *a domino suo proclamavit subito canora voce*: ‘interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat.’

346 *qui subiit palmae frustra ad praemia venit*

Diores had come in “last place” among the three finalists, and even that distinction would now be lost if the order of winners were to become Salius, Euryalus, Helymus.

subiit: There may be a hint in the prefix that Diore was not deserving of a prize; the antelapsarian order should have been Nisus; Salius; Euryalus, and the post should also have excluded Priam’s son. Diore managed to achieve the *palma*, and he came to the last place in vain—if victory room is to be made for Salius.

frustra ... praemia: An interesting intertextual history may lurk here; cf. Catullus, c. 64.101–104 *cum saevum cupiens contra contendere monstrum | aut mortem appeteret Theseus aut praemia laudis! | non ingratis tamen frustra munuscula divis | promittens tacito suscepit vota labello*, and Manilius, *Ast.* 3.108–110 *format amicitias et saepe cadentia frustra | officia, et cultus contingent praemia quanta | edocet, appositis cum mundus consonant astris*.

347 ultima, si primi Salio reddantur honores.

reddantur: So MR ω and the first corrector of γ (Sabbadini, Geymonat *leg.*); P γ have *reddentur* (supported by Ribbeck; Williams; Mynors; Goold); note also M's second corrector's *redduntur* (also pbr; Tib.). Williams says there is "good manuscript authority" for all three before saying that the "authority [of *redduntur*] rests on a correction"; Henry does not enter the fray. This crux may qualify as the most vexed textual problem in V. where the answer is supremely unimportant. Page supports *reddantur* with the correct explanation that the condition has special vividness from the perfect indicatives *subiit* and *venit*; Farrell ad loc. also reads *reddantur* and is correct that all three readings give satisfactorily good sense. Conington argues that we have the emotionally expressed, less than grammatically precise comments of the angry Salius; he may well be correct (Williams is doubtful). In the end, the decision rests mainly on how strongly one wants to word the protasis, if the first honors will be or should be restored to Salius.

348 tum pater Aeneas 'vestra' inquit 'munera vobis

munera: With direct reference to 337 *munere* above; cf. the repetition of *amici* at 350 and *munera* at 354. The *munera* here, we soon enough learn, will remain *certa*; cf. 108–109 *pars et certare parati. | munera principio ante oculos circoque locantur*, at the start of the competitions: here, the act of *certare* has been perverted by the cheating of Nisus, but the prizes, Aeneas makes clear, will remain *certa*.

In *vestra ... vobis* there is a subtle hint of the host's flattery of his audience; the prizes belong to the *pueri*, and nobody will take them back; Aeneas rather misses the point of Salius' complaint, which was more about a point of honor than the disposition of the awards. On how this speech of Aeneas alone during the games does not begin with the opening of the verse, with discussion of the "informal" registers of the "genial" decision to settle the race without controversy, see G. Highet, "Speech and Narrative in the *Aeneid*," in *HSCPh* 78 (1974), 189–229, 197.

349 certa manent, pueri, et palmam movet ordine nemo;

pueri: Possibly vocative plural (so Heyne; Conington; Benoist; Götte; Williams; Perret; Goold; Geymonat, *vs.* the genitive singular of Ribbeck; Hirtzel; Mynors) as Aeneas addresses the contestants with a hint of paternal affection; the close conjunction of *pueri ... palmam*, however, does provide an echo of the main point: Euryalus' handsome appearance has swayed the assembly, and the real question is whether Euryalus or Salius deserves the first place. The genitive accords better with 296, and keeps our attention focused on Euryalus, who, like

Lavinia in a much later scene, is silent in words and yet so expressive in tears and appearance: the race is ultimately about the different responses to a single youth. *Palmas* refers particularly to the first prize, though of course any alteration would have an effect on all the winner spots after it. The morphological richness of the Latin deliberately suggests more than one possibility that cannot be rendered fully in English.

nemo: Echoing 305 *nemo*, where Aeneas declared that no one would go home without a prize.

350 *me liceat casus miserari insontis amici.*

me: See Conte's apparatus here for the construction as subject accusative, with reference to Servius.

casus: The word will recur in the deadlier circumstance of the preparation for the night raid; cf. Ascanius' words regarding the care he will show to Euryalus' mother at 9.299 *casus factum quicumque sequentur*; also 9.211 and Euryalus' promise to go forth *in casus omnis* at 9.291–292: V. thus keeps the fall of Nisus very much in mind as the two young men advance to their dooms.

miserari: So Mptrv, the second corrector of P, Servius and Asper (536.3; the grammarian is concerned with the use of the accusative for the dative) vs. P's first corrector, R, ω *misereri*. V. prefers *miserari* over *misereri*, but not by a great margin; as at 347, the choice does not much alter the meaning.

insons: A significant word, which will recur at 841 in the dramatic first *sedes* to describe Palinurus as Somnus seeks him out. The word appears 2× in the speech of the liar Sinon to the Trojans (2.84; 93), and the present passage echoes the second occurrence: *et casum insontis mecum indignabar amici* (the *insons* = Palamedes). Elsewhere it appears in the speech of Celaeno, where she refers to the Harpies as *insontis* (3.249); and at 6.435, of the shades of the suicides. V. here deliberately gives to Aeneas language that is associated with the Greek liar Sinon; once again, the point is that the Trojans have inherited the trickery of the Greeks (at least in the epic narrative; given Laomedon lore, the imputation of deceit is not without precedent). The seemingly insignificant matter of the games takes on greater meaning; the "innocent" up to this point in the poem = Palamedes in the speech of Sinon + the Harpies in that of Celaeno; the word will be used only once more, then, and in a context that reminds us of the preminent suicide of the epic, the Carthaginian Dido.

The *insons amicus* = Euryalus before all, who did not ask to profit from cheating; Nisus, however, will soon introduce the idea that he, too, is more or less innocent, given that it was not his fault that he slipped in the sacrificial blood. But the word is ambiguous (cf. the *pueri* question); Nisus' *casus* was his actual fall, while his beloved's metaphorical *casus* was Salius' legitimate

questioning of his alleged victory. See further Mackie 1988, 100–106. But the identity of the *insons amicus* is somewhat ambiguous; does it refer to the friend who fell, or to the friend who benefited from the fall?

351 sic fatus tergum Gaetuli immane leonis

Aeneas moves at once to the presentation of prizes. There are two elements of briefly held suspense: it will be *Salius* who receives a reward first, and the gift (which is named before the recipient is identified) is *not* among those announced before the race. V. here raises the idea that *Salius* was the legitimate victor once Nisus fell victim to his fateful slip, even as Aeneas is forced to improvise a prize for Salius, who by the order of the *pater* regarding the order of prizes is ineligible to receive the horse, the quiver, or the helmet of 310–314.

sic fatus: See above on 72.

tergum: See Phillipson ad loc. for the use of this noun to describe a hide and not a back *per se*.

Gaetuli: See above on 51 and 192, of the geographical associations of the Gaetulians with the *Syrtes*. Here, in a wonderful instance of Virgilian intratextuality, we are reminded of Dido and the north African sojourn, just after the mention of the *insons amicus*: there will be only one further use of *insons* in the epic, and it will be in the underworld's wood of suicides.

immane: One of V.'s favorite adjectives, with over 50 occurrences; cf. 11.552 *telum immane*, of the spear to which Metabus binds the infant Camilla; also 8.245 *immane barathrum*, of Cacus' cave dwelling. There may be a hint of the consolation Aeneas hopes to bestow on the disgruntled Arcadian.

352 dat Salio villis onerosum atque unguibus aureis.

villis: Elsewhere in V. at A. 1.702, *expediunt tonsique ferunt mantelia villis*, during the description of the banquet Dido hosts; G. 3.386; 446; 4.377. *Villosus* occurs at A. 8.177 *praecipuumque toro et villosi pelle leonis*, of the lion skin Evander offers to Aeneas for his bedding; 8.266–267 *vultum villosaque saetis | pectora semiferi atque extinctos faucibus ignis*, of the dead Cacus. V. will thus draw a direct connection between the lion skin that is awarded to the *Arcadian* Salius and the hide that Evander will present to Aeneas in Pallanteum; the noun *villus* occurs only 2× in the A., and the link = another reminiscence of Dido. The Herculean overthrow of Cacus is a symbol of the Augustan triumph over the forces of disorder; in his usual fashion of drawing complex, sometimes even seemingly contradictory heroic associations, the dead Cacus has affinities with the (Herculean) Aeneas lion skin (*villosus* also = 2× in the A.).

The Arcadian Salius receives the prize that will later be associated with the reception of Aeneas when he is so near to the site of the future Rome; the

Virgilian decision to link an association of that gift with the savage natural appearance of Cacus offers a subtle commentary on the poet's ethnographic theme. See below on *unguibus aureis*; V. neatly arranges three key passages of 8 in sequence, as we move from the lion skin Evander gives to Aeneas for his bed, to Cacus, to the lion pelt on Aeneas' steed (= the same skin?).

onerosum: The adjective recurs at 9.384–385 *Euryalum tenebrae ramorum onerosque praeda / impediunt*, where the “winner” of the present race is trapped by the spoils he has seized from his murderous nocturnal escapade.

unguibus aureis: So also of the lion skin for the horse the Arcadians give to Aeneas at 8.552–553 *ducunt exsortem Aeneae, quem fulva leonis / pellis obit totum praefulgens unguibus aureis*. Once again, the poet underscores the connection between the Arcadian Salius and the settlement of Evander and Pallas in 8, with its close association to the future Rome. What Aeneas gives away here to the Arcadian will be precisely what Evander's people will bestow on him in Pallanteum; Aeneas, whose language evokes that of the liar Sinon, honors the cheating Nisus and his beloved Euryalus by parting with what will be a symbol of his future Roman destiny and a key mark of his association with Hercules, the preeminent heroic wearer of a lion pelt—a savage costume for the sometimes savage hero whose rage is not dissimilar to that of the Cacus he slays. With the synzesis of *aureis* cf. 432 *genua*; 589 *parietibus*; 663 *abiete*; 697 *semiusta*; cf. Phillipson 1901, 103; Horsfall ad 6.412.

With *leonis ... unguibus* cf. Horace, c. 2.19.22–24 *cohors gigantum scanderet impia, / Rhoetum retorsisti leonis / unguibus horribilique mala* (of Bacchus), and see Nisbet and Hubbard ad 24 for the depictions of lions in art.

353 *hic Nisus 'si tanta' inquit 'praemia victis,*

Nisus is aware of the outstanding value of the lion skin; we learn here another detail about the psychology of the cheater: he covets a superlative reward, besides the questionable appropriateness of the tripper referring to the tripped as *victus*. In *tanta* Nisus' preoccupation with the quality of the prize is underscored. How different is the argument after V's foot race from Homer's depiction of the fight of Menelaus and Antilochus at the chariot race (*Il.* 23.540–611).

tanta ... praemia: The phrase is prosaic (Cicero; Sallust; Livy; Pliny Minor), and occurs only here in verse. *Praemia* opens an interesting pair with 354 *munera*; the former is properly of the awards Aeneas has presented for the contest, while the latter has connection to the service Nisus first provided to his beloved, and, now, seeks from his Trojan *pater*.

victis: The plural is interesting; the essence of Nisus' argument is that Aeneas has constructed a contest where prizes of exceptional merit are to be given even to the defeated (i.e., to Salius and Nisus); cf. below on the plural *lapsorum*. For

praemia with *victis* cf. Lucan, *BC* 9.1066–1068 *unica belli / praemia civilis, victis donare salute, / perdidimus*.

354 et te lapsorum miseret, quae munera Niso

lapsorum: The form occurs only here; cf. Livy 44.26.3.2 *prolapsorum equitum*; V's *conlapsos artus atque arma cruenta cerebro* (9.753, of the gruesome death of Pandarus). For the "specious plural" see Dunkle 2005, 167–168. Nisus comments on the question of pity for those who have fallen; on the ethnographic level his request for *munera* (the plural is striking and deliberate) is also a prayer for prizes to be awarded to all three Trojan competitors.

miseret: The form is repeated powerfully at 7.360–361, where Amata pleads with Latinus, and at 9.787, where Mnestheus tries to rouse the Trojans to shame before the name of *magnus Aeneas*. Aeneas' pity for those who fall (Salius; Nisus) is mentioned *after* the value of the Salian lion pelt.

munera: M has *praemia*, likely by diplography from 353.

355 digna dabis, primam merui laude coronam

digna: For *digna* with *munera* cf. Ovid, *Am.* 1.14.54; Martial, *ep.* 9.72.5; and especially Silius, *Pun.* 16.281–282 *sed, postquam miti reiecit munera vultu, / Ausonio non digna viro*. It is possible that V. borrowed the phrase from Plautus, *Poen.* 1176–1177 *deamavi ecastor illi hodie lepidissima munera meretricum, / digna dea venustissima Venere*, with wry comment on the nature of the present scene as regards the situation between Nisus and Euryalus and the reaction of the assembly to the latter's appearance. Especially in conjunction with the plural *munera*, there is in *digna* foreshadowing of what will be resolved in Book 9, as Nisus' infatuation with Euryalus leads to his doom after a deadlier sort of contest.

merui: Repeated at 801, as Neptune outlines his credentials to Venus for why she should have confidence in him. The repetition closes a ring that opens here, as Nisus is given a consolation prize of sorts that will soon enough be linked to the marine god (see below on 360). The form is used only twice else in V.: 4.317, where Dido pleads with Aeneas; and 12.931, where Turnus acknowledges what he has merited to Aeneas. The indicative *merui* is in strong contrast to the subjunctive *tulisset* (356); Nisus is aware that he would have won the race were it not for the untimely slip, and he considers himself justly wronged by circumstance, especially if Salius is to receive a prize.

laude: See Hahn 1930, 158–159 on the different shades of meaning for the Virgilian *laus*; "Here the favor which the *others* manifest for Euryalus is mentioned side by side with his own *personal* merit (*virtus*) and the outward manifestation of his commendable qualities (*lacrimae ... decorae*). This objective *favor*

shown to Euryalus is probably in large part the result of his *lacrimae* and his *virtus*.”

coronam: Laurel wreath crowns were offered at 110 for victory in the regatta; the crowns of the games will be transformed into the military ring of 11.475. For *laude coronam* cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 6.94–95 *Calliope, requies hominum divomque voluptas, | te duce ut insigni capiam cum laude coronam*; Horace, *Serm.* 1.10.48–49 *neque ego illi detrahere ausim | haerentem capiti cum multa laude coronam* (with Gowers).

356 ni me, quae Salium, fortuna inimica tulisset?

ni: Cf. 230 *ni teneant* and 233 *ni palmas ponto tendens utrasque Cloanthus*, during the regatta.

inimica: At 671 Ascanius will address the women of Troy as he witnesses the attempted firing of the ships with the observation that they are not amid *inimica castra*; there are five occurrences in 11 (84 *inimica nomina*, of the names of enemies on the trunks carried in Pallas' funeral procession; 685 *inimico pectore*, of Camilla's heart as she addresses Ornytus; 720 *inimico ex sanguine*, of Camilla's slaughter of Aunides; 809 *tela inimica*, of the weapons Arruns seeks to flee after he kills the Volscian; 880 *inimica ... turba*, during the chaos as the cavalry seeks to flee back to the safety of the Latin capital). Nisus argues that Fortune is personally hateful in causing the falls of both Salius and himself, when in reality one could argue that only half of the accusation is true: Nisus slipped, and without the directly expressed divine intervention found in Homer's account of Ajax's fall—but Fortune cannot take the blame for Nisus' direct intervention in the matter of Salius' tumble. In the notion of personal hatred contained in *inimica*, V. conveys Salius' real point: Nisus personally tripped him (though not, of course, out of distaste for the Arcadian).

357 et simul his dictis faciem ostentabat et udo

There is something of an atmosphere of the defense table in the law courts here, as Nisus engenders sympathy (and amused reaction) by showing the embarrassing evidence of his fall. Nisus “wins” his gambit in that Aeneas will laugh amid a general mood of levity; unwittingly, his action may also reveal something of the state of his character in light of his trickery and deceit.

faciem: Cf. the uses of the noun at 619, where Iris becomes Beroë; 722, of the face of Anchises' ghost as it visits Aeneas in a dream; 768 *visa maris facies*; 822 *tum variae comitum facies*, of the marine gods. This is the only occurrence of the noun in Book 5 that is not associated with the immortals, underworld shades, or nature; as with *ostentabat* (see below), V. contrasts solemn and mysterious uses of the word with the homeliness of a man smeared with filth; there is no

mention of sacrificial blood in the humorous display of Nisus' limbs, only of the *fimus*: a sanguinary spectacle would ruin the joke.

ostentabat: Three of the ten Virgilian occurrences of this verb are found in 5; at 521, Acestes displays his archery skill before the assembly, while at 567 Polites' horse has a white front at the *lusus Troiae*. Elsewhere Acragas displays its great walls (3.703); Dido shows off Carthaginian wealth (4.76); Musaeus reveals Elysium (6.678); Anchises' shade remarks on the great strength displayed by the future Roman worthies (6.771); Hercules' son Aventinus displays his impressive steeds (7.656); Evander speaks of what *fors inopina* has shown forth (8.476); Juturna displays her brother in triumph, while at the same time restraining him from the fray (12.479). The present use of the verb thus stands out as the exception in a catalogue of images of glory and great abundance; Nisus also provides a contrast between his own soiled appearance and the handsome display of Euryalus, who has used image without words to engender the favor of the crowd.

udo: The adjective is not common in V; at 681 it will reappear of the moist wood of the ships during the attempted firing; elsewhere cf. *G.* 2.77; 3.388; 429; 446; *A.* 7.354 *udo ... veneno* (of Allecto's serpentine venom); 7.533–534 *udae / vocis iter*, of Almo's throat wound.

358 *turpia membra fimo. risit pater optimus olli*

turpia membra: Cf. Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 412. *Turpis* is not a common adjective in the *A.*; at 2.400 it describes the *formido* of the Greeks (from Aeneas' point of view) as they try to scurry back into the wooden horse for safety; at 4.194 it describes the *cupido* with which Dido and Aeneas are consumed as they forget their leadership obligations; at 6.276 it is the label for the personification *Egestas*. The parallels are grim; they point to the night Troy fell (the Greeks in question may have been shamefully frightened, but the city was still doomed), to the recent sojourn of Aeneas with Carthage's queen, and, soon enough, to one of the terrible denizens of the underworld.

Turpia membra likely evokes some reference to Nisus' sexual practices; see here Adams 1982, 55–56, who cites the phrase and parallels, but omits the present passage. With *turpia membra fimo* cf. Phaedrus, *Fab.* 4.19.5 *fimoque turpi maximam expleret famem*.

risit: See on 181–182, of the other mortal laugh (or smile?) in the book. The most important smiles and laughs in the *A.* may be those that are made more subtly than the hearty laughter (if not a guffaw) that Nisus' soiled body probably inspires here; cf. *A.* 1.254 *olli subridens*, where Jupiter prepares to address his daughter Venus, with 12.829 *olli subridens*, where the father of gods and men opens his speech to his sister and wife Juno. *Subridere* appears elsewhere in

V. only at 9.740 *olli subridens*, where *Turnus* addresses *Pandarus* calmly and with assurance, and at 10.742 *ad quem subridens mixta Mezentius ira*, where *Orodes* dies with a threat to the Etruscan monster that he, too, will soon perish in the same fields; *Mezentius* replies that *Jupiter* will see to his fate (and cf. 745 *olli*; V. enjoys using forms of the archaic demonstrative in passages connected to laughter and smiles, perhaps because he often employs said mode of non-verbal communication in passages that relate to the ultimate destiny of Rome, a weighty topic of solemn import that lurks beneath the lighthearted surface of the games).

Smiles of *Jupiter* thus bookend the poem and fashion a mighty ring of relative amusement; V. does not tell us definitively what the supreme god knows about the final ethnographic settlement of Rome when he speaks to *Venus* about the Trojan future in a speech that calms her—perhaps prematurely (she is of course absent from the address to *Juno* in 12). In the space of ignorance of a future that may well be predetermined, room exists for an apparent freedom of will. And, too, the subtle smiles and laughter of the immortals reflect in part the ultimate concerns of a more lasting world, the resolutions that matter *sub specie aeternitatis*—such as whether Rome will be Trojan or Italian.

optimus: Only the best of fathers, it would seem, makes certain that all competitor complaints are redressed. *Aeneas* is similarly labeled at 9.40, in the description of his instructions to his camp before his departure for *Pallanteum*; cf. 1.555 *optime*, as *Ilioneus* addresses (the invisible) *Aeneas* during his speech to *Dido*; 4.710 *pater optime*, as *Aeneas* speaks of his dead father; 6.669 *optime vates*, of *Musaeus* as *Aeneas* asks after *Anchises*; 8.127 *optime Graiugenum*, where *Aeneas* addresses *Evander*; 10.402 *optime Teuthra*, in the description of *Rhoteus'* death during *Pallas'* *aristeia*; 11.294 *rex optime*, of *Venulus'* address to *Diomedes*; 11.353 *optime regum*, of *Drances'* speech to *Latinus*; 12.48 *optime*, of *Turnus'* response to *Latinus*; 12.777–778 *optima | Terra*, where *Turnus* addresses the god. The line has a neat juxtaposition of *turpia*, which dominates its first half, and *optimus*, its second.

359 et clipeum efferi iussit, Didymaonis artes,

efferi iussit: Cf. *Cicero, De Leg.* 2.66.10; *Livy* 10.19.13.1. There may be a hint in *efferi* that the shield is very large, but the point should not be pressed too far.

Didymaonis: The opening of a wonderfully mysterious enigma; who is the artisan, what is the significance of his name, and what is the story of his artwork? On the unknown craftsman, for what little there is to know see *T. Gargiulo, EV* II, 48; *R. Thomas, VE* I, 371 (who notes the similarity of the name to *Didyma* by the *Iasian* gulf and its temple to *Apollo*, and the fleeting reference to a spear of the same [?] artist at *Valerius, Arg.* 3.707). There may

be a connection to Dindymus, the Asian mount that was associated with the worship of Cybele (see further Howell ad Martial, *ep.* 5.83.2; Martial uses [the name] for boys, in erotic contexts). If so, the point may be the appropriateness of the associations of the craftsman of the prize in the immediate context of the homoerotic relationship between Nisus and Euryalus. For how a named craftsman may reflect Roman connoisseurship, cf. *E.* 3.37.

Didymaon fashioned a shield that somehow, we might imagine, traveled to a temple of Neptune (presumably at Troy), where it was stolen by the Greek invaders when the city fell, only to return to Trojan hands in time to be given as a special prize to the cheater Nisus. Paschalis 1997, 189 analyzes the connections between gift-giving, trickery/stealing, and twinning (= Nisus and Euryalus, the now inseparable lovers). The shield may have been part of the haul of presents and provisions that were obtained in Buthrotum (this is essentially the Servian argument). If there was in fact any decoration or other adornment, we do not hear of it, though *artes* does raise a question as to the shield's possible artwork. Whenever V. is silent about the illustration on some canvas, there is likely a forthcoming story to be told—in this case the drama of the night raid.

The most detailed study of the problems of this line = T. Page, "Note on Virgil, *Aeneid* 5, 359," in *CR* 8.7 (1894), 300–301 (the substance of which is reprinted in his commentary), together with his supplemental note in *CR* 13.5 (1899), 273, with more study of parallels for items being taken from temples: "This quotation [Arrian, *Anab.* 9.6] seems to me decisive and to remove this passage, about which much rubbish has been written, from the still considerable list of Virgilian puzzles." Page wonders, in short, if the point is that the Greeks took the Neptunian shield from a *Greek* temple of the god, so that then we might imagine that Aeneas won the shield in combat against its Greek bearer. In this case, Aeneas slew a Greek warrior who was under the special protection of Neptune; the god's demand for a sacrificial victim would make sense with this reading: a vengeful settling of a score, as it were, for Aeneas' slaying of his favorite (see further on 360). The case of Neptunian Messapus, who was immune to fire and sword, may also be relevant here; he will appear soon enough as one of the Trojans' leading foes (and cf. 9.351 *iamque ad Messapi socios tendebat*, of Nisus during the night raid; it will be a helmet of *Messapus* that spells Euryalus' doom at 9.365–366 and 373–374—Neptunian presents will end up in the hands of both men). See also J. Miller, "The Shield of Argive Abas at *Aeneid* 3.286," in *CQ* N.S. 43.2 (1993), 445–450; Nethercut 1971–1972, 138. Williams is not convinced by Page's arguments regarding the shield; he argues that the main issues are the exceptional quality of the shield and the fact that the Greeks (and not the Trojans) were responsible for its plunder from a sacred site. But of greater

interest to the poet is the fact that Aeneas awards it to Nisus as a prize for his clear instance of cheating.

For the sexually charged connotations of twinning (which should not be pushed too far here), see Adams 1982, 67–68, and cf. Fratantuono 2010b on Catullus, c. 57. The night raid will separate the lovers, though Nisus' reckless heroism will reunite them. For notions of duality and duplicity in the giving of gifts, see S. Frangoulidis, "Duplicity and Gift-Offerings in Vergil's *Aeneid* 1 and 2," in *Vergilius* 38 (1992), 26–37.

artes: For the plural see M. Cunningham, "Some Poetic Uses of the Singular and Plural of Substantives in Latin," in *CPh* 4.1 (1949), 1–14. The second corrector of M has *artis*, probably out of discomfort with the "poeticism" (Farrell ad loc.). It is possible that the plural also connects to the notion of twinning that is inherent in the name of the artist.

360 *Neptuni sacro Danais de poste refixum.*

Neptuni: For the god see above on 14. The mention of Neptune here draws a subtle but neat connection between the close of the second competition and the contest that preceded it; V. is careful throughout the *A.* to link his episodes together tightly and to weave a cohesive narrative. The scene of Aeneas' bestowal of the shield that had been stolen from Neptune's temple directly presages the god's demand of Venus at 814–815 that one life be sacrificed for the many; if a reason for that life and death wish is to be found in *A.* 5, it is here, in the relaxed atmosphere of the games. *One* life is demanded; the "twinning" signaled by the name of the craftsman, a doubling that reflects the likely success of the *erastes* in his pursuit of the *eromenos* after the trickery of the race, will be sundered in the blood offering that Neptune will demand for the fleet's safe passage to Italy. The blood that had not appeared on Nisus' soiled arms and legs will be spilled on Italian soil when Palinurus is slain on arrival. On the sacrifice theme in the Nisus and Euryalus episode of the foot race, see especially Hardie 1993, 51–52.

sacro ... poste: Cf. 7.183 *multaque praeterea sacris in postibus arma*. Ovid has *ante sacros vidi proiecta cadavera postes*, of the victims of the plague at Aegina; note too Tibullus, c. 1.2.86 *et dare sacratis oscula liminibus* (with Murgatroyd, and Maltby). *Sacro* highlights the inappropriateness of the gift for the Trojan trickster, stolen as it was from a temple by the very men condemned by the Trojans for trickery.

refixum: The verb occurs 3× in the *A.*; cf. 527, of the falling stars to which the Acestes arrow shot is compared; 6.622 *fixit leges pretio atque refixit*, of a class of sinners in Tartarus: solemn contexts, as would be the stripping of a shield from a temple, either in an act of plunder or a desire to have the protection of

the immortal in some future endeavor. See further Servius ad *A.* 1.248 for the fixing of arms as consecrated offerings; also R. Basto, “The Swords of *Aeneid* 4,” in *AJPh* 105.3 (1984), 333–338, 336–337. Page is correct that the point must be that the shield was taken down (so as to be absconded with by some hero, thief or not), despite the attempts of some to strain the meaning of the clear enough Latin.

361 hoc iuvenem egregium praestanti munere donat.

egregium: So the royal Diores was *egregia de stirpe* (297); the adjective occurs a striking 5× in 11 (23 *egregias animas*; 355 *egregio genero*, Drances on Aeneas; 417 *egregiusque animi*, Turnus on his idealized hero; 432 *egregia de gente*, Camilla; 755 *quid tam egregium*, Aunides on Camilla’s aristeia). But the key parallel = 6.861 *egregium forma iuvenem et fulgentibus armis*, where the shade of Marcellus is described—another grim association that reflects Nisus’ ultimate doom. That line is repeated at 12.275, at the death scene of the Arcadian Gylippus who is slain by the truce-breaking shaft of the augur Tolumnius.

Three youths are thus connected: the Trojan Nisus, the Roman Marcellus, and the Arcadian Gylippus; all three are doomed, and all three reflect the ethnographic associations and connections that V. links together and underscores as part of his unfolding of the future Roman destiny. On the connection between Marcellus and Gylippus, see further Tarrant ad 12.275 for the argument (following Goold) that the latter passage was the source for the former (on the grounds that the *fulgentibus armis* is more appropriate to the battle casualty than to the underworld shade). The framing *iuvenes egregii* are thus presented in contexts connected to trickery (Nisus with the race and Gylippus as victim of the truce breaker Tolumnius). Tolumnius is introduced at 11.429 *felixque Tolumnius* (see further Tarrant in *VE* III, 1279 on the force of the adjective), just before the news arrives of the probable Trojan breaking of the burial truce. In contrast to Marcellus and Gylippus, Nisus is guilty, though in V.’s dark vision all three die.

praestanti munere: The descriptor for the *munus* correlates closely with that of the *iuvenis*; the verse ends with resonances of the *munus* by which Nisus ensured Euryalus’ victory, and the giving (*donat*) of the fateful prize that both rewards Nisus’ cheating and serves as a harbinger for the fatal pursuit of spoils during the night raid. The line’s emphasis is on the present, which is signaled by the demonstrative *hoc*; four of six words in the sentence are used of the giving of the shield. With *praestanti* cf. *A.* 1.71 *sunt mihi bis septem praestanti corpore Nymphae*; 6.164 *praestantior* (of Misenus’ ability to rouse men with his instrument); 7.783 *praestanti corpore* (of Turnus); 8.207 *praestanti corpore* (of the four cattle Cacus tries to steal from Hercules); 8.548 *praestantis virtute legit* (of men Aeneas chooses for battle); 11.291 *praestantibus armis* (Diomedes’

description of Hector and Aeneas). Latinus addresses Turnus as a *praestans animi iuuenis* at 12.19; in the animal kingdom, Silvia's stag is a *cervus ... forma praestanti* (7.483). 2×, then, of Turnus; once each of the doomed Misenus and the pet deer.

munere donat: Cf. the same ending at 282, where Sergestus is rewarded for the safe return of his damaged vessel (how different the circumstances), and cf. Horace, c. 4.2.20 (with Thomas).

Significantly, V. focuses on the lion pelt for Salius and the Neptunian shield for Nisus; he does not mention how an exceptionally splendid horse would have been given to Euryalus for the first prize, let alone the Amazonian quiver et al. for Helmyus and the Argive helmet for the Trojan Dioces (Hyginus remedied the omission). Part of the point of the silence is to underscore how the prizes are not legitimate; the awarding of the horse to Euryalus is connected by Paschalis with the wooden horse of Greek trickery. In part the gift of a horse for the outstanding youth prepares us for the *lusus Troiae* of the young worthies of Troy; cf. the horses Nisus observes just before he urges Euryalus to cease from the slaughter in the enemy camp (9.352–353; cf. *nactus equis* of Nisus at 331). In an important sense, the presents that V. does not explicitly bestow on Euryalus here will be taken by the young hero when he indulges in excessive slaughter and plunder during the night raid that will finish the story the poet has begun here on his grassy field.

Fittingly, the second contest ends with a word that reminds the reader of the signal importance of the question of prizes in V.'s continuing unfolding of his epic in the microcosm of the games. Novák deleted this line without just cause.

362–386 After the foot race and the distribution of prizes, attention turns to the third contest, the boxing match. At first the competition seems destined to be even shorter than the sprint, since only Dares steps forth to participate. Nisus may have had the audacity to demand a prize even after he had cheated to help his beloved; Dares requests his reward by default, since it seems that no one is willing to challenge the man who had sparred regularly with Paris, and who had fought against Butes in the pugilistics at Hector's funeral games.

On the boxing match and its two star athletes see Monaco 1960/1972, 113–127; G. Stégen, “Un match de pugilat vu par Virgile (*En. V* 362–472),” in Bardon and Verdière 1971, 344–357; M. Poliakoff, “Entellus and Amycus: Virgil, *Aen.* 5.362–484,” in *JCS* 10 (1984), 227–231; R. Hunter, “Bulls and Boxers in Apollonius and Vergil,” in *CQ* N.S. 39.2 (1989), 557–561; M. Poliakoff, “Overlooked Realities: Sport Myth and Sport History,” in *Stadion* 16 (1990), 91–102; D. Matz, “Expectorating Blood and Teeth: Vergil, *Aen.* 5.469–470,” in *CW* 87.4 (1994), 310–311; A. Sens, “The *Dementia* of Dares: *Aen.* 5.465,” in *Vergilius* 41 (1995), 49–54; Her-

shkowitz 1998, 87 ff.; R. Sammartano, “Per una rilettura della gara del pugilato nel V libro dell’ “Eneide,”” in *Parola del passato* 1998, 115–130; D. Traill, “Boxers and Generals at Mount Eryx,” in *AJPh* 122.3 (2001), 405–413; A. Feldherr, “Stepping Out of the Ring: Repetition and Sacrifice in the Boxing Match in *Aeneid* 5,” in Levene and Nelis 2002, 61–80; M. McGowan, “On the Etymology and Inflection of “Dares” in Vergil’s Boxing Match, *Aeneid* 5.362–484,” in *CPh* 97.1 (2002), 80–88; Lovatt 2005, 141–192 (especially useful for the associations of the Dares-Entellus bout with gladiatorial combat); Fratantuono 2007, 141–144; T. Papanghelis, “*Aeneid* 5.262–484: Time, Epic, and the Analeptic Gauntlets,” in Grethlein and Rengakos 2009, 321–336; M. Leigh, “Boxing and Sacrifice: Apollonius, Vergil, and Valerius,” in *HSCP* 105 (2010), 117–155; Smith 2011, 121–122; Goldschmidt 2013, 119–122 (with consideration in particular of how the boxing match may foreshadow the later Roman conflict with Carthage). Nelis 2001, 7–21 offers a detailed study of the Apollonian intertext as the introductory study of his monograph; on the Statian, vid. H. Lovatt, “Mad About Winning: Epic, War, and Madness in the Games of Statius’ *Thebaid*,” in *MD* 46 (2001), 103–120; on the Valerian, see especially A. Bettenworth, “Giganten in Bebyrien: Die Rezeption der Amykosgeschichte bei Valerius Flaccus,” in *Hermes* 131.3 (2003), 312–322. The scene may even have influenced historiography; note P. O’Brien, “Ammianus Epicus: Virgilian Allusion in the *Res Gestae*,” in *Phoenix* 60.3–4 (2006), 274–303, 289–290.

On the sport in antiquity note K. Frost, “Greek Boxing,” in *JHS* 26 (1906), 213–225; Harris 1964, 97–98; Harris 1972, 22–25; N. Crowther, “The Evidence for Kicking in Greek Boxing,” in *AJPh* 111.2 (1990), 176–181; Plass 1995, 57 ff.; Köhne et al. 2000, 75 ff.; Fagan 2011, 75–76; Potter 2011. The most extensive extant ancient account of the sport = Philostratus, *Gymnasticus* 9–10, which credits the Spartans with the invention. See Heinze 1902/1908/1914, 155–156 on the significance of the different ages of the competitors in the various contests and why, e.g., Mnestheus and Sergestus would not, in his estimation, be depicted as boxers. On the ludic use of the boxing match in cento composition, note McGill 2005, 21–22. For the Virgilian intertext with *G.* 3.19–20, and the Augustan interest in the sport (Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 45.2), see below, and K. Coleman, “Boxing,” in *VE* I, 203. There is some discussion of the depiction of boxing in the visual arts at L. Roller, “Funeral Games in Greek Art,” in *AJA* 85.2 (1981), 107–119; note also H. Fairclough, “Vergil’s Relations to Graeco-Roman Art,” in *CJ* 2.2 (1906), 59–68, 61. For other ancient boxing matches cf. the bouts of 1) Odysseus and Irus (*Od.* 18.66–101; see also Nelis 2001, 11 on the Phaeacian skill at boxing mentioned at *Od.* 8.100–103); 2) Capaneus and Alcidamas (Statius, *Theb.* 6.729–825, on which see Hershkowitz 1998, 87 ff.); 3) the long Amycus episode at Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.99–343 (where see Murgatroyd, especially on 150–153

for the question of sacrifices of travelers to Neptune); 4) Epeius and Acamas (Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Post.* 4.323–404); 5) Melisseus and Eurymedon (Nonnus, *Dion.* 37.485–545, where an Indian bull is the prize), with Crowther 1990, 180; Nonnus' account shows particularly strong Homeric modeling, while for the difficulty in detecting Virgilian (or Quintan, Statian, or Silian influence) on the funeral games for Opheltes cf. Frangoulis 1999; also Hopkinson 1994. On the influence of the Virgilian boxing match on the combat of Tancredi and Argante in the *Gerusalemme liberata*, see L. Seem, "The Limits of Chivalry: Tasso and the End of the *Aeneid*," in *Comp. Lit.* 42.2 (1990), 116–125, 122. On the quaint (if not bizarre) idea that the boxing match represents the quest for truth, see H. Coffin, "Allegorical Interpretation of Vergil with Special Reference to Fulgentius," in *The Classical Weekly* 15.5 (1921), 33–35; Hardie 2014, 87–88.

Boxing, especially in the Roman fashion, is a ferocious mimicry of war; the contest about to unfold offers the most violent scene in the book, and, in tandem with the climactic hurling of Palinurus overboard, the closest a character comes to death. Significantly, both Dares and Palinurus will *survive* the present book, wherein V. foreshadows so much of the future war in Latium, only to die later (Palinurus once he reaches Italy; Dares in 12 at the hands of Turnus). See Dunkle 2005, 171 for the parallel between the end of the Virgilian boxing match and that of the Homeric (5.470–471 = *Il.* 23.696–697); as Dunkle notes, at the start of the Virgilian contest, it would seem that Entellus will have no chance in his challenge to Dares given the Homeric model—but it is the *Apollonian* that proves the decisive antecedent for determining the outcome, in the correspondence between the braggart Amycus and the boastful Dares, who is identified as having defeated someone from Amycus' *gens*. V. resumes his fidelity to Homer only at the *end* of the bout, where Dares suffers the same sort of vomiting of blood as Homer's Euryalus. As Nelis observes, the Homeric and Apollonian antecedents are "almost inextricably" woven together in V. (so, too, the Theocritean); the poet embeds his Hellenistic models within the larger frame of his archaic.

Di Cesare 1974, 74 ff. sees the Dares/Entellus bout as a clash between Greece and Troy, with ultimate celebration of the victory of the latter over her *quondam* foe. But V. is more concerned with the shift from the Trojan victories of the first half of the games to the Sicilian domination of the second. There is just possibly a hint of the tradition of martial single combat in the depiction of the boxing match, in this case a single combat, as it were, between different ethnicities if not races.

The match of Dares and Entellus is the subject of two descriptions of statues in Book 2 of the *Anth. Pal.* (= hexameters on the statuary in the gymnasium of Zeuxippus in Constantinople). Verses 222–227 depict the preparation for

combat. Aeneas, Creüsa, and certain other divine and mortal figures from the epic also appear; perhaps significantly, Virgil is the last statue.

For some artistic representations of Dares and Entellus, see S. Howard, "Some Eighteenth-Century Restored Boxers," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 56 (1993), 238–255; also E. Langmuir, "Arma Virumque ... Nicolò dell'Abate's *Aeneid Gabinetto* for Scandiano," in 39 (1976), 151–170. For the story's reception (complete with a drunken Entellus) in the "popular" *Aeneid* that marks the first work of modern Ukrainian literature, see C. Manning, "The *Aeneid* of Kotlyarvesky," in *The Classical Weekly* 8.7 (1942), 91–93.

362 post, ubi confecti cursus et dona peregit,

The rapid narrative of the foot race continues, as V. moves quickly to the boxing match, which in length will balance the regatta. In Homer's account of the boxing match at the funeral games for Patroclus, Epeius had successfully knocked out Euryalus (*Iliad* 23.689–691); now, in the wake of Euryalus' victory thanks to the trickery of his *erastes*, we move to the Virgilian boxing match, an episode that will be rich with commentary on the inevitable cultural (as well as physical) fall of Troy. For how the Homeric match foreshadowed the fall of the city via the trick of the wooden horse, see G. Franco, "The Trojan Horse at the Close of the *Iliad*," in *CJ* 101.2 (2005/2006), 121–123.

confectus cursus: Caesar has *nostrae naves duae tardius cursu confecto in noctem coniectae* (*BC* 3.28.1.1). With *confecti* cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 3.946–947 *si tibi non annis corpus iam marcet et artus | confecti languent, eadem tamen omnia restant*; Sallust's *magna pars volneribus confecti abeunt* (*BI* 60.7.4); Seneca's *gnati cruenta caede confecta iacent* (*HF* 1160). Silius has *proxima gloria cursus* to describe a second place finish in his foot race (*Pun.* 16.460).

peregit: A venerable hexameter ending (Ennius, *Ann.* fr. s.i. 485, of a trumpet); cf. Propertius, c. 4.7.95 *haec postquam querula mecum sub lite peregit* (with Hutchinson ad loc.). Lucan has it of *bella* (*BC* 4.354) and *fata* (*BC* 4.361; 6.820). The language of this line is somewhat strongly worded for the seemingly light-hearted world of the foot race; V. prepares carefully for the far deadlier environment of the boxing bout.

363 'nunc, si cui virtus animusque in pectore praesens,

virtus ... pectore: Cf. *pectore virtus* at Grattius, *Cyn.* 254; Lucan, *BC* 10.188; Statius, *Theb.* 4.319 (with Parkes); 8.183; Silius, *Pun.* 5.126; 15.121. V. here makes a connection between the *virtus* needed for the boxing match and 344 *in corpore virtus*, where Euryalus' handsome appearance was a major factor in swaying the crowd to his favor; cf. 258 *virtute*, of the second prize for the regatta—the meaning of virtue is a theme of the foot race, especially in the case of the *eromenos* Euryalus.

virtus ... animus: Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 1.416–417.

animus ... praesens: The same phrase appears at Horace, c. 2.16.25; cf. Cicero, *De Orat.* 2.84.11; Seneca *Ep.* 92.30.2; *Nat. Quaest.* 4a.2.15.5. *Praesens* provides a foreshadowing of how there will soon be a question over who is willing to step forward to challenge the impressive Dares.

pectore: On this key term see L. Lenaghan, “Lucretius 1.920–50,” in *TAPA* 98 (1967), 221–251.

364 *adsit et evinctis attollat bracchia palmis*:

adsit: The form occurs elsewhere in V. at A. 1.734 and 3.116, both times of divine invocations; cf. *E.* 2.68; 4.56.

evinctis: Cf. *E.* 7.32 *puniceo stabis suras evincta coturno*; A. 8.286, and especially 269 above, of the fillets that adorn the temples of the captains at the regatta (see below on 366 *vittis*), and 774 below (of Mnestheus); also Ovid, *Am.* 3.6.56 *vitta nec evinctas impedit alba comas*; *Met.* 15.676 *evinctus vitta crines albente sacerdos*; *Trist.* 4.4.73 *protinus evincti tristem ducuntur ad aram*; *Ep. Pont.* 3.2.72 *evincti geminas ad sua terga manus*; Seneca, *Ag.* 15 *ubi ille celeri corpus evinctus rotae*; Statius, *Theb.* 1.554; 5.208; Silius, *Pun.* 2.340–341 *vidi ego, cum, geminas artis post terga catenis | evinctus palmas*; Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.53.7 *dicabatur evinctum vittis coronisque*; *Ann.* 11.4.6 *spicea corona evinctum*. P has *vinctis* here.

bracchia palmis: Ovid has *ille cavis velox adplauso corpore palmis | desilit in latices alternaque bracchia ducens* (*Met.* 4.352–353, of Hermaphroditus); cf. Germanicus’ *dextro namque genu nixus diversaque tendens | bracchia, suppliciter passis ad numina palmis* (*Arat.* 68).

365 *sic ait, et geminum pugnae proponit honorem*,

sic ait: Aeneas is, as usual, far from prolix; see here D. Feeney, “The Taciturnity of Aeneas,” in *CQ* 33 N.S. (1983), 204–219 (reprinted in Harrison’s *OR*, 167–190).

geminum ... honorem: Fittingly enough, the twinning theme continues for the pugilistics; for this contest there can be only a pair of athletes and two prizes, and so not “double” here but “twin,” as both winner and loser will garner a prize.

pugnae: This passage is reworked at 11.76–78, where Pallas receives the *supremum honorem* at his requiem, with *multa ... praemia pugnae* as part of the offerings; cf. also 12.630 *nec numero inferior pugnae neque honore recedes* (Juturna-Metiscus to Turnus).

proponit: The verb occurs 4× in Lucretius (*DRN* 3.183; 627; 879; 6.1165), and is otherwise relatively rare in verse (Horace, *Ep.* 2.1.265; Propertius, c. 3.23.23; Ps.-V., *Ciris* 187; Manilius, *Ast.* 3.148; Ovid, *Ars* 2.516; *Trist.* 3.9.29; Seneca, *Ag.* 222; *Phoen.* 626; *Troad.* 582; Juvenal, s. 3.24; 4.46; Silius, *Pun.* 16.313).

366 victori velatum auro vittisque iuencum,

The marked alliteration gives the verse an appropriately pounding cadence.

victori: Cf. 367 *victo*, with balance at the opposite ends of successive verses.

velatum ... iuencum: See on 246–257, where Aeneas veils his head in myrtle before the selection of *iuenci* for the crews in the regatta; cf. Ovid, *Am.* 3.13.12–13 *it per velatas annua pompa vias; | ducuntur niveae populo plaudente iuencae* (with Gibson ad loc.). Nisus had slipped in the blood and gore of a sacrificial victim, while now Aeneas offers a *iuencus* that is adorned as if ready for sacrifice to the winner of the boxing match. Entellus will himself slaughter this bullock at the end of the bout, so as to effect a balanced sacrificial economy.

auro vittisque: On the relationship between the gold and the fillets, see E. Hahn, “Hendiadys: Is There Such a Thing? (Based on a Study of Vergil),” in *Class. Week.* 15.25 (1922), 193–197, 194. For the gilding of the horns the commentators cf. *Il.* 9.627 and *Od.* 3.384. On *vittae* see Maltby ad Tibullus, c. 1.6.67–68. The animal is already decked out as if ready for a sacrifice, for which the *vittae* are essential as a sign of rejoicing (see Harder ad Callimachus, fr. 3–7b, pp. 118–119 for the contrasting mood of “wreathless sacrifices”).

Burton ad loc. notes the chiasmus of *victori ... 367 victo*; V. moves effectively from the victor to the vanquished, who enclose the two lines with the description of the two prizes.

367 ensem atque insignem galeam solacia victo.

ensem ... insignem: The adjective goes most especially with the helmet, but extends its range over both offensive and defensive prizes. Not a paranomasia worthy of Lucretius, but an interesting confluence of sounds nonetheless, as *insignem* sounds like *ensem*, with a “spark” (*ign-*) thrown in the middle. *Insignem* may indicate that there is a story on the helmet (i.e., related in *signis*), but this should probably not be pressed too far.

galeam: The helmet is noteworthy (*insignem*), though its provenance and decoration are left unspecified; we are reminded of the Argive helmet that was the third prize for the foot race (Euryalus, properly; Dioreas, *in fine*). The prize for the loser is reminiscent of the helmet, shield, and sword of Androgeos: 2.391–393 *sic fatus deinde comantem | Androgei galeam clipeique insigne decorum | induitur laterique Argivum accommodat ensem*; cf. also 3.468–469 *et conum insignis galeae cristasque comantis, | arma Neoptolemi*; at 11.91–92, the funeral procession for Pallas includes his spear and helmet; Turnus has the rest: all grim associations. At 673 Ascanius will throw forth his *galeam ... inanem* at the sight of the attempted firing of the fleet.

solacia victo: Ovid imitates the line-end at *Met.* 9.7; for *solacia* in the same *sedes* cf. 8.514 *solacia nostri* (Evander of Aeneas, just before he adds *Pallanta*

adiungam); 11.62 *solacia luctus* (the funeral honors for Pallas); Lucretius, *DRN* 5.21; 113; 1405: V. is already preparing for the loss of Pallas, which, as we shall soon enough see, will be signaled in part by the portent that accompanies the arrow shot of Acastes.

The winner, then, will receive the sacrificial offering; the loser the means to slaughter it. The loser will be in no position to carry off his prize; as ever with the drama of 5, the fulfillment will come only in 11. The curious reversal of the prizes (the winner seemingly cast as victim, the loser as victor) is in one sense an image of the final resolution of the epic's heroic problem (Italian Turnus vs. Trojan Aeneas); in another, it offers reflection on the relationship between the ages that lies at the heart of the book, in particular the tragic death of the young (Entellus will live, as will Evander).

368 *nec mora; continuo vastis cum viribus effert*

nec mora: See Lazzarini ad Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.112 *Nec mora fit*.

vastis ... viribus: Cf. *Ilias Latina* 759; Seneca, *Troad.* 721–722. There is yet again a briefly held suspense; the description of Dares' advent here could apply to a force of nature or something immortal.

effert: Also at line-end at *G.* 3.553; the form occurs in Lucretius, Cicero, and Manilius, never in Ovid and 1× each in Statius, Juvenal, and Martial.

369 *ora Dares magnoque virum se murmure tollit,*

ora: V. opens a ring here that closes with the gruesome *470 ore eiectantem mixtosque in sanguine dentes*: rather a humbling of the braggart pose adopted here. Burton argues ad loc. that *ora* is used instead of the reflexive for "picturesque effect"; the point may be that the *ora* thrust forth here in a gesture of braggadocio will soon be smashed by Entellus' blows.

Dares: On this boxer (V's response to the Homeric Epeios at *Il.* 23.653–675) see L. Polverini, *EV* I, 1000; L. Fratantuono, *VE* I, 338. Dares figures in the *A.* here and at 12.363, where he is named alongside Chloereus, Sybaris and Thersilochus in a miniature catalogue of Turnus' victims (presumably this is the same figure); the homonym of *Il.* 5.9 and 27 is a different character. On V's depiction of Dares and Entellus et al. in general see the useful remarks of M. Griffith, "What Does Aeneas Look Like?," in *CPh* 80.4 (1985), 309–319, 311n14. It is possible that there is some intended connection between Dares and the god Ares.

magno ... murmure: The phrase is usually used of nature, and continues the theme of the seemingly otherworldly combatants of the boxing match, men who evoke the spirit of a bygone age. So at *A.* 1.55 and 1.124 it is used of storms and winds; so also of the fateful tempest at 4.160. V. borrowed the language from Lucretius (*DRN* 6.101; 197); cf. *Ilias Latina* 600; 1055; Ovid, *Met.* 8.552–553; 9.40.

There is a wonderful morphological ambiguity here; the men murmur (genitive plural *virum*), and Dares brings himself forth as a man (accusative singular *virum*) amid their murmur.

370 *solus qui Paridem solitus contendere contra,*

Paridem: Paris makes his first appearance in the *A.* early in the epic (1.27), as the Judgment is recalled among the reasons for Juno's wrath; the image is repeated at 7.321 *quin idem Veneri partus suus et Paris alter*, as the goddess prepares to approach Allecto. At 2.602 *culpatusve Paris*, Venus admonishes her son that neither Helen nor Paris is to blame for the disaster at Troy. At 4.215 *et nunc ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu*, Iarbas complains of Aeneas as a new Paris, while Aeneas recalls a very different one at 6.57, as he calls on Apollo as the director of the prince's fatal arrow shot against Achilles. One of Mezentius' casualties, the Trojan Mimas, was born to Theano on the same night on which Hecuba gave birth to Paris, whose name is repeated in a powerful threefold repetition (10.702–705) that closes with the rueful observation that Paris lies dead on native soil, while Mimas is an unknown corpse in Laurentine land (on this passage see Harrison ad loc., and A. Ring, "Rereading *Aeneid* 10.702–6," in *CQ N.S.* 60.2 [2010], 486–496). Cf. *E.* 2.61, where Alexis observes to Corydon that the immortals live in forests, as did Dardanian Paris.

V. here underscores the generational theme, which encompasses both chronological age and relative heroic merit: Dares fought Paris on a regular basis (*solitus*), and, at the funeral games for Hector, he vanquished Butes—right in the shadow, as it were, of the mightiest of Trojan heroes. The ages of the various contestants overlap, as do the relative merits. For how Paris was apparently the bravest of the Trojans in the estimation of Nero (in his *Troica*), see Champlin 2003, 82–83. The tradition of Paris as athlete is not Homeric, but Euripidean (cf. the hypothesis to *Alexandros*, with Paris recognized as winning athletic contests with Trojan princes).

On the accusative *Paridem* (the declension was already a matter of concern to Servius) see below on 456 *Daren*, vs. *Dareta* at 460; 463; 476; for the names of the two sparring partners, V. varies the accusatives (cf. 10.705 *Parim*, with Harrison; see also McGowan 2002, who notes that the change from *Daren* to *Dareta* marks the movement of the boxer from putative winner to actual loser). *Paridem* is rare (Juvenal, s. 6.87; Tacitus, *Ann.* 13.9.20; 13.21.14 of the Neronian *histrion*); it is a sign of the poet's careful craftsmanship that the only other example of a similarly varied onomastic declension in V. = that of Dares' *quondam* athletic companion, who is of course already dead at the time of the Sicilian games: thus we move from the *Paridem* of 5 to the *Parim* of 10, where his *birth* is mentioned, in a reversal of the Dares pattern. On Virgilian heteroclisia more

generally see W. McLeod, “The Wooden Horse and Charon’s Barque: Inconsistency in Virgil’s “Vivid Particularization,”” in *Phoenix* 24.2 (1970), 144–149, 146.

contendere contra: Inspired by Catullus, c. 64.101 *cum saevum cupiens contra contendere monstrum* (of Theseus and the Minotaur); Lucretius, *DRN* 4.471 *hunc igitur contra minuam contendere causam*; cf. *A.* 4.107–108; Grattius, *Cyn.* 530; *Ilias Latina* 652; 934. “In Homer Paris is unwarlike and effeminate” (Page ad loc.); there may be something of an undercutting of Dares here in the detail of his regular association with Paris as a boxing partner. On Paris’ athletic prowess see especially R. Nickel, “Euphorbus and the Death of Achilles,” in *Phoenix* 56.3–4 (2002), 215–233, 220n20 (with reference to the hypothesis of Euripides’ *Alex.*); and Williams ad loc. for the “obscure” tradition of Paris’ superior skill in boxing (with citation of Hyginus, *Fab.* 91, 273).

371 *idemque ad tumulum quo maximus occubat Hector*

idem: I.e., “et qui” (so Phillipson ad loc.). Together with 370 *solus* the demonstrative serves to underscore the solitary figure of the storied pugilist.

tumulum quo: Cf. 12.561–563 *Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum | ductores, tumulumque capit quo cetera Teucrum | concurrat legio*.

occubat: The form occurs in *V.* of three great Trojans: cf. 1.547 *occubat umbris*, of the fear that Aeneas is dead; 10.706, of Paris.

Hector: See above on 190. *V.* expresses a contrast here between Paris and Hector; the one brother was a great boxer at the funeral games that were held in memory of his storied sibling, but in *maximus* there is an expression of the relative worth of the two, a value judgment made all the more interesting by the fact that it would be Paris and not Hector who would be responsible for Achilles’ death (admittedly with divine intervention). It is possible that *V.* is making some comparison between the pugilistic prowess of Paris and Butes; the former was Dares’ regular partner for sparring, while the latter was his foe at the Hectorean games. With *maximus ... Hector* cf. *Ilias Latina* 577; 620; 636; 832. Servius offers a charming tale of the relationship between the brothers Hector and Paris, complete with children’s rattles; see Williams 1960 for the “obscure” tradition of the funeral games for Hector. The remembrance of those games is ominous, and recalls the memorial to the Trojan prince at Buthrotum in the related Book 3; Mnestheus and his men had been identified as *Hectorei socii*, while the likely younger Dares was a sparring partner of the younger Paris and is identified with feats that were performed *post Hectoris mortem*.

372 *victorem Buten immani corpore, qui se*

victorem: Echoing 366 *victori*, regarding the disposition of prizes; in *V.*’s epic vision the question of the victor’s identity is more complex than the mere mat-

ter of who wins and who loses, since for the poet it is linked inextricably with the larger issues of the transformation of Troy into Rome and the sacrifices required along the way so as to enact that new future. Butes had been a victor himself before Dares defeated him; the advancing age of a boxer usually impedes his performance, but V. has surprises planned for the present contest.

Buten: The name of three possibly distinct figures in the *A.* (L. Polverini and T. Gargiulo in *EV* I, 584–585; L. Fratantuono in *VE* I, 213). The Bebrycian mentioned here was slain by Dares during the funeral games for Hector; at 9.647–649, the name recurs for Anchises' attendant who accompanies Ascanius, whose guise Apollo assumes to warn the youth not to engage in further combat after the death of Numanus Remulus. Lastly, in a neat parallel to the present scene, one of Camilla's casualties at 11.690–698 is the giant Butes, who may well be the same Butes as Anchises' squire. See on 24 above, where Palinurus names Aeneas' brother Eryx; he was the son of Venus and the Argonaut Butes, though V. does not make mention of the association. The Apollonian Butes was a victim of the Sirens (*Arg.* 4.912–919), who thus has affinities with V.'s Palinurus alongside his connection to pugilistics (another careful link is thus drawn between the present contest and the forthcoming loss of the helmsman, as the poet continues to construct his narrative tightly and with glances both forwards and back). See on 373 *Bebrycia* for the evocation of Theocritus' boxing match between Polydeuces and Amycus (*Id.* 22.27–134).

The name's derivation (= "oxherd") points to the sacrificial theme in the boxing match (Entellus' killing of the prize bullock *pro morte Daretis*), as well as Camilla's slaying of "her" Butes (another element in the close union of the sister books); see further Paschalis 1997, 192–193; Butes was a sacrificial offering of Hector. The expression of the sacrifice theme is enhanced by the locus of the funeral games, both the present series of memorial contests of Anchises, and the memory of the older ones for Hector—a member of a younger generation whose life was cut short (in contrast to the aged Anchises' fate). For the absence of the name in Homer, see Saunders 1940, 537–538.

Butes had been the attendant of Anchises; when Apollo assumes the aged man's appearance to warn Ascanius not to pursue any further military adventures after the death of Remulus, the generational theme is once again brought to the fore (and with special resonance given the fact that Apollo had aided Paris in slaying Achilles).

immani corpore: So of Scylla at *A.* 3.427, and the Tiber at 8.330. The phrase is Lucretian (*DRN* 5.33 *asper, acerba tuens, immani corpore serpens*, of the guardian of the golden apples of the Hesperides); cf. Ps.-V., *Culex* 164 *immanis vario maculatus corpore serpens* (with Seelentag); Silius' *monstrum Gery-*

ones immane tricorporis irae (*Pun.* 13.201, of Geryon). Lucretius has *quam libet immani proiectu corporis exstet* (*DRN* 3.987) of Tityos, which V. imitates with variation at 6.596–597 *cernere erat, per tota novem cui iugera corpus / porrigitur, rostroque immanis vulture obunco*. Cf. also the plural *hic et Aloidas geminos immania vidi / corpora* (6.582–583), and Ps.-V., *Ciris* 451 *aequoreae pristis, immania corpora ponti* (with Lyne). The phrase is thus frequently associated with the monsters of mythology, which continues the fantastic tenor of the boxing match. Henry notes that the *immani corpore* is to be taken with Butes and not Dares (cf. the punctuation of the Oxford and other texts; Wakefield's full stop after *Buten*, comparing 8.199). But the image shades the entire line; V. very much enjoys this impressionistic use of phrases that are deliberately ambiguous as to precise referent. See also below on 401 *immani pondere*, of the gloves Entellus throws forth in response to Dares' challenge. For the commonplace idea that men of former times were larger than the comparative dwarves of "today," see Garland 1995, 172–174 (with reference to G. 1.497 and the discovery of the huge bones of those who fought in the civil wars).

With the final monosyllable here cf. 481 *bos*, where "the ox drops dead" (Coleman s.v. "Boxing" in *VE* I, 203). V. does not note who boxed against Paris at his brother's funeral games.

373 *Bebrycia veniens Amyci de gente ferebat*,

For the topos of expressing the provenance of a fabled warrior, see D. Quint, "The Brothers of Sarpdeon: Patterns of Homeric Imitation in *Aeneid* 10," in *MD* 47 (2001), 35–66, 38–39. V. draws something of a connection between the braggart Butes and the boaster Dares; both men carry themselves as if near invincible, and both are defeated. Fittingly, the younger Dares will be vanquished by the older Entellus at games that memorialize the death of the aged Anchises; cf. Dares' (at a younger age) defeat of Butes (of unspecified age) at the games for the prematurely dead Hector.

Bebrycia: This is the only mention of the likely Asian land in V.; vid. especially V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* I, 175; also F. Della Corte, *EV* I, 473; J. Shelton, "The Argonauts at Bebrycia: Preservation of Identity in the Latin Argonautica," in *CJ* 80.1 (1984), 18–23; Gow on Theocritus, *Id.* 22.29: "these people, who are not mentioned by any extant early authority, were reported to have been of Thracian origin (Strabo 7.295, 12.541, *al.*) ... They had however ceased to exist before the time of Eratosthenes (Plin. *NH* 5.127), and there may well have been different accounts of their precise geographical position."

Amyci: A name of rich and complex resonances in V.; the Neptunian associations of the end of the foot race continue here. Amycus was a son of Poseidon,

who was noted for forcing those strangers who traversed his kingdom to box with him (to their deaths); Polydeuces defeated and spared him on the condition that he would cease his bloody tolls (so Theocritus), though in Apollonius he is killed by Pollux (*Arg.* 2.88–97—a possible intertextual model for the fight, on which see Nelis 2001, 9ff., and cf. 144 above). The name recurs in V. at *A.* 10.704 of the father of Mimas, the companion of Paris. Aeneas mourns the possible loss of the Trojan Amycus to the storm at *A.* 1.221; in Books 9 and 12, there are two Trojan victims of Turnus who bear the name: 9.771–773, of an Amycus who was noted for fighting with poisoned arrows, and 12.509–512, of an Amycus who was the brother of Dioreas from the foot race. Whether the name was accidentally or intentionally repeated, the Amycus who survived the Junonian storm of 1 is likely imagined to have been slain by Turnus either in 9 or 12 (it is appropriate that a survivor of the storm be associated with Poseidon; cf. Gow ad Theocritus, *Id.* 22.97). See further L. Fratantuono in *VE* I, 71; Fratantuono and Faxon 2013, 404–405, and especially the illustrated entry at *EV* I, 137, with consideration of the question of the Turnus casualty passages. The mention of a name associated with a reason for Poseidon's anger provides more grist for the mill of the Palinurus sacrifice episode (besides another example of the “twinning” theme, as a second source of potential Neptunian wrath is described); the association of the Argonaut Butes with the Sirens as a Hellenistic precursor of Aeneas' helmsman moves us a step closer to the climactic scenes of this book: what was vaguely ominous in the awarding of the Neptunian prize for the foot race now comes into sharper relief as V. moves inexorably to the colloquy of Neptune and Venus and the appearance of Somnus on Aeneas' flagship. Dares will lose the present bout, and Entellus will specifically make an offering *pro morte*; the wrath of Neptune would seem to be justly quelled, though anger over the awarding of the shield from his temple to Nisus will still remain.

374 *perculit et fulva moribundum extendit harena.*

perculit: The verb is old (Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 12.368 Skutsch; cf. Catullus, c. 68B.114 *perculit imperio deterioris eri*; also in Cicero and Lucretius). It occurs at 11.310 *cetera qua rerum iaceant percussa ruina*; 1.513 and 8.121 are textually vexed. R has *percutit*, which also has venerable archaic roots (Ennius, *Ann.* fr. s.i. 565 Skutsch); cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 2.886; M has *perutilit*, a more mundane and certainly less colorful choice. The s.g. Wolfenbüttel (*cod. Guelf.* 66), as so often, preserves the correct reading.

fulva ... harena: Cf. *G.* 3.110–111 *nec mora nec requies; at fulva nimbus harena / tollitur*; *A.* 6.643 *contendunt ludo et fulva luctantur harena*; 12.276 *transadigit costas fulvaque effundit harena*; 12.740–741 *mortalis mucro glacies ceu futilis ictu*

| *dissiluit, fulva resplendent fragmina harena*; also Manilius, *Ast.* 5.527; Ovid, *Met.* 9.36; 10.716; 11.499; *Trist.* 4.6.31; *Ep. Pont.* 1.4.11; Silius, *Pun.* 4.241. With *extendit harena* cf. *A.* 9.589 *diffidit ac multa porrectum extendit harena*. For the color see above on 309. On *harena* in *V.* see Heuzé 1985, 191–193: “Le mot plait au poète de *l’Énéide*. On l’y trouve vingt-cinq fois, toujours à la fin du vers (ce qui peut indiquer un avantage métrique).”

moribundum: The adjective appears once in Catullus (c. 81.3–4 *praeterquam iste tuus moribunda ab sede Pisauri | hospes inaurata pallidior statua*), and recurs in Lucretius’ book of death (*DRN* 3.129; 232; 542; 653; 1033). *V.* has it at *G.* 3.488 (in a sacrificial context); *A.* 4.323 (of Dido); 6.732 *terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra*; 10.341 *dexteraque ex umero nervis moribunda pependit*; 590 *excussus curru moribundus volvitur arvis*; the Virgilian uses display the range of meanings from the sickness unto death of the lover to the weakness of individual parts of the body (*TLL* 8.0.1489.45 ff.). 6× in Ovid, once in Lucan, 5× in Statius, twice in Valerius Flaccus.

375 *talis prima Dares caput altum in proelia tollit*

altum: Once again, Dares’ arrogance is underscored. Lucretius has *altum caput* of the moon (*DRN* 5.754); Seneca of a bull (*Oed.* 337); cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 5.95–97; Juvenal, s. 6.502–503 (where see Watson and Watson); Silius, *Pun.* 6.233–234, and the famous description of Fama at *A.* 4.176–177. *Talis*, too, is rich with connotations: at issue is Dares’ performance as a boxer of some fame, as well as the attitude his success seems to have engendered.

proelia: There is a military undertone to all of the athletic competitions (see here especially Rossi 2004, 98–104), but boxing is especially deadly and warlike. *Prima* is a transferred epithet: Dares was the first to volunteer to box. But there is also a hint of the idea that the “first battles” of a pugilistics bout = the preening and boasting that precede the actual boxing. See further Henry’s taking Wagner to task for thinking that *prima* was at all associated with Dares. Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 7.20–21 *sonat orbe recusso | discus et Oebalii coeunt in proelia caestus*.

376 *ostenditque umeros latos alternaque iactat*

ostendit: More visual intimidation and self-pride in physical appearance and strength, as Dares begins to shadow box. For its use with *umeros* cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.434. Two verbs enclose the verse.

umeros latos: So of Aeneas’ broad shoulders as they prepare to assume the burden of Anchises, in whose honor the present games are being held (2.721); and of Camilla’s victim Ornytus at 11.679–680 *cui pellis latos umeros erepta iuvenco | pugnatori operit* (with neat reversal of the word order in the sister book). Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 1.489; Cicero has *cauda Centaurum retinens ad se rapit*

ipsa, / nec potis est caput atque umeros obducere latos. V. does not make clear precisely how Dares showcases his shoulders, whether by flexing his muscles *vel sim.*; for boxing the shoulders are crucially important (both in dodging and in absorbing blows).

alterna: Also with *bracchia* at Manilius, *Ast.* 5.423 *nunc alterna ferens in lentos bracchia tractos* (where see Hübner); Ovid, *Met.* 4.353 (= Hermaphroditus); cf. Statius, *Theb.* 12.670–671.

377 *bracchia protendens et verberat ictibus auras.*

protendens: More preening, as Dares indulges in shadow boxing to show his pugilistic form and, perhaps, to discourage competition. *Bracchia protendens* is likely borrowed from Catullus, c. 66.9–10 *fulgentem clare, quam cunctis illa deorum / levia protendens bracchia pollicitast* (where see Fordyce); cf. Ovid, *Met.* 14.190–191. On the action of the arms as if in boxing see Reeson ad Ovid, *Her.* 14.69 *bracchia iactas*, with citation of Seneca, *NQ* 7.14.1.

verberat: Cf. *G.* 1.141–142 *atque alius latum funda iam verberat amnem / alta petens*; *A.* 3.423 *et sidera verberat unda*; 9.669 *verberat imber humum*; 10.208 *verberat adsurgens*; 10.892–893 *tollit se arrectum quadripes et calcibus auras / verberat*; 11.756 *simul aethera verberat alis*; no other forms of the verb occur in V., and this is the only use where the subject is a mortal. See further below on 5.502–504 (especially 503 *diverberat auras*), during the archery contest. Manilius may have been influenced by the present passage for his description of the combat between Perseus and the sea monster at *Ast.* 5.599–602 *in tantum revolat laxumque per aethera ludit / Perseus et ceti subeuntis verberat ora. / nec cedit tamen illa viro, sed saevit in auras / morsibus, et vani crepitant sine vulnere dentes* (where see Hübner). The verb is used of the lash from Plautus, but also in P. in paranomasia with metaphorical force (Cf. the use of *verberare verbis* at *Truc.* 112). Here clearly enough “striking blows,” but not yet landing them.

378 *quaeritur huic alius; nec quisquam ex agmine tanto*

quaeritur huic: Something of a reworking of *G.* 4.299–300 *tum vitulus bima curvans iam cornua fronte / quaeritur; huic geminae nares et spiritus oris*. Baehrens conjectured *aptus* here, reasonably if unnecessarily. The passive is impersonal, allowing for a wide range of interpretation: does he solicit a competitor himself (as his display of shadow boxing and muscle flexing might suggest)?

agmine tanto: So also of the crowd of souls at 6.712 *quive viri tanto complerint agmine ripas* (where the verb neatly fills in the space between the two words); V. thus reworks a passage from the seemingly lighthearted world of the games

for a scene of the greatest solemnity. Homer's Epeius warns his assembly that friends and relatives of any challenger should stand ready to carry off their kin (*Il.* 23.674–675, which opens a ring that closes at 695–699, when Euryalus is taken away and the prize brought to Epeius); V. omits the taunt and boast in the preparation for his bout, but *Dares* will be carried off all the same at the end.

379 **audet adire virum manibusque inducere caestus.**

audet adire: Silius has *non feta furore Megaera | audet adire ferum* (*Pun.* 13.593). On the order of events, as V. moves from the “general to the particular,” see A. McDevitt, “Hysteron Proteron in the *Aeneid*,” in *CQ N.S.* 17.2 (1967), 316–321, 319. With *audet* cf. 383.

virum: See below on 386 *viro*.

caestus: See on 69 above for this savage, essentially offensive weapon (Cicero's two references to it ad *TD* 2.40.8 and 2.56.6 both come with mention of groaning—*ingemiscunt*); just as V. echoed the *G.* in the foot race, so here the main association is with *G.* 3.19–20 on the Greek conversion to the Roman world of both running and boxing (i.e., the world of the *crudus caestus*). In Homer, however, the boxing match (*Il.* 23.653–699) was between Epeius (the inventor of the wooden horse and victor in the bout; cf. the trickery theme) and the vanquished *Euryalus*; one cannot easily imagine the Virgilian Euryalus participating in pugilistics, but the recycling of the name of the falsified winner of the foot race from the loser of the Homeric boxing match is deliberate and foreshadows the Trojan's eventual doom. With *inducere caestus* cf. Statius, *Theb.* 6.729 *tollite caestus*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.148 *tollere caestus*; 4.209–210 *hic mihi lex caestus adversaque tollere contra | brachia*. Roman boxing was different from Greek; any differences in foot races would have been far less significant, and so it is no accident that V. links foot racing and boxing as examples of what Greeks will do when they abandon their old games and come to the dedication of his new temple. On the different gloves of the Virgilian and Apollonian boxing match, see Nelis 2001, 14–15. At *Ann.* 14.20, Tacitus relates the view of some critics of Nero in A.D. 60 that soon Roman nobles would be expected to don the *caestus* and box in competition.

See here Thomas ad *G.* 3.1–48 (and D. Meban, “Temple Building, *Primus* Language, and the Proem to Virgil's Third *Georgic*,” in *CPh* 103.2 [2008], 150–174), where, at the midpoint of the poem, V. dramatically envisages a temple on the banks of the Mincius, and the desertion of Greek games in favor of Italian—races (20 *cursibus*) and pugilistics (*crudo caestu*): precisely the *middle* two competitions of the present games sequence. If the metaphorical temple of the proem = the *A.* (and here Thomas is surely right *contra* the view it = the *G.*),

then it is striking that the nascent *A.* should be heralded with specific reference to these two middle competitions, as if perhaps we were to find commentary of particular relevance here, in these two events. Both competitions focus ultimately on a pair, first Nisus and Euryalus, then Dares and Entellus. The first contest highlights particular features of the ethnography of the future Rome, while the second, as we shall see, steps past the microcosmic level of one city (even if Rome = the queen and mistress of nations), past the urban plane, and focuses on the metapoetic and, in particular, the artistic depiction of the city in verse: Rome, then, and the *A.* in sharper relief.

V. seems to have introduced the *caestus* to Latin verse (*TLL* 3.0.114.55–75).

On the different styles of ancient boxing and the use of the *caestus*, see R. and M. Brophy, “Deaths in the Pan-Hellenic Games II: All Combative Sports,” in *AJPh* 106.2 (1985), 171–198, 189n57.

inducere: For the verb as synonym = *induere*, and on constructions with verbs of “donning” and “doffing,” see E. Hahn, “The Origin of the Greek Accusative in Latin,” in *TAPA* 91 (1960), 221–238, 235n55.

380 *ergo alacris cunctosque putans excedere palma*

For the possible influence of this passage on Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Post.* 4.284 ff.; 323 ff.; 479 ff., see Gärtner 2005, 85; 86 ff.; 108.

alacris: Dares is eager to receive the first prize by default; the language expresses the continuing preoccupation with rewards (*excedere palma*); all the others are depicted as being swift to withdraw from consideration. See Williams 1960 here for the archaic form (also Cordier 1939, 36), which contributes yet more to the evocation of a fading heroic age. *Pugna* (or *pugnae*) has weak support (Cerde reads it here); García compares 383 and 9.789. But the poet’s own alacrity here is to underscore the concern with prizes.

excedere palma: Cf. 9.789–790 *Turnus paulatim excedere pugna | et fluvium petere ac partem quae cingitur unda*.

381 *Aeneae stetit ante pedes, nec plura moratus*

ante pedes: The first hint of what might seem to be something other than arrogant preening; the language has the air of supplication about it, as Dares humbles himself before the game’s host to secure his wanted prize. See also 673 below, where Ascanius throws forth his helmet as he sees the women attempting to burn the fleet; and cf. *G.* 4.458–459 *immanem ante pedes hydrum moritura puella | servantem ripas alta non vidit in herba* (of Eurydice); Lucan, *BC* 4.340 *victoris stetit ante pedes* (with Asso). With *stetit* cf. 384 *standi*; 414 *stetit*. See below on 477, where *Entellus* stands before the bull he will sacrifice in lieu of Dares.

plura moratus: Imitated by both Ovid (*Met.* 12.322) and Valerius (*Arg.* 4.243), the latter in a passage influenced by the present scene: *tunc Amyci moriere manu? nec plura moratus*; Statius has *nec plura morati* (*Theb.* 2.197).

382 *tum laeva taurum cornu tenet atque ita fatur:*

At once, the tone changes: Dares may be before the feet of Aeneas, but he is standing, after all, and here he grasps the horn of the bull that he covets and asserts to be his rightful prize. With the description of the holding of the bull cf. Seneca, *Oed.* 610 *dextra ferocem cornibus taurum premens*.

laeva: For the left as the side of good omen in the Roman psyche, see on 170; the poet plays with the point that we are not yet, after all, in Rome. *Laeva tenet* will reappear at 825, as Thetis, Melite, and the Panopean virgin are among the sea goddesses that guard the deep for the safe passage of Aeneas' fleet; at 10.535–536 *sic fatus galeam laeva tenet atque reflexa | cervice orantis capulo tenus applicat ensem*, Aeneas refuses the pleas of Mago and slaughters him like a sacrificial victim in the aftermath of Pallas' death. Especially given the Neptunian undertones of the present scene, we might remember, too, the taurine sacrifice of Laocoön, Neptune's priest (who would himself become a live offering); the sacrifice that was not completed before the arrival of Minerva's serpents (2.223–224) will be finished at the end of the boxing match, when Entellus slays the prize bull.

ita fatur: Also at line-end at 11.822 *atque ita fatur*, of Camilla's dying words to Acca; *atque ita fatur* also occurs at the end of 10.480, as Turnus takes his fatal aim at Pallas.

Ovid may have been influenced by this scene in his depiction of Achelous' reminiscence of his wrestling bout with Hercules (*Met.* 9.1–92).

383 *'nate dea, si nemo audet se credere pugnae,*

nate dea: The salutation is common in the *A.* of its eponymous hero; cf. 1.582 (Achates as addressor); 615 (Dido); 2.289 (Hector's ghost); 3.311 (Andromache); 374 (Helenus); 435 (Helenus); 4.560 (Mercury); 5.474 (Entellus); 709 (Nautes); 8.59 (Tiberinus). The address is used, then, mostly on solemn occasions, indeed of divine and supernatural visitations; in the present instance, it lends to the otherworldly air of the scene, and may also carry of hint of flattery. Horace has *dea nate* of Chiron to Achilles (*ep.* 13.12). The ring that is opened here will close at 474, when Entellus uses the same address to the Trojan hero at the awarding of the prize bull.

audet credere: Another of the many careful correspondences between 5 and 11; at 11.808 *credere nec telis occurrere virginis audet*, it describes Arruns' reaction in the immediate aftermath of his fatal attack on Camilla. Arruns did not

dare to take any chances after his divinely assisted shot; his caution (not to say cowardice) would not avail him. Here, no one seems willing to rise up against Dares—but, as with Opis' avenging of Camilla, someone will be found to challenge the braggart (and cf. Arruns' preening once he feels some sense of security in the wake of his apparent escape from the fray).

With *nemo audet* cf. Plautus, *Casina* 697 *nemo audet prope accedere*.

384 *quis finis standi? quo me decet usque teneri?*

The apodosis is terse, even condensed; the ellipsis of a form of *esse* is not surprising, but nevertheless it adds to the compressed effect.

finis standi: The phrase occurs only here; Ovid has *ecquis ... tibi finis amandi* (*Am.* 3.1.15). *Standi* reinforces 384 *stetit*: Dares is impatient. Soon enough the question will be raised of whether Entellus can remain standing during the boxing bout; the answer is yes, and with grim consequence for the younger, faster Dares. The question about how long one must stand around waiting for a prize is especially pointed in light of how Dares will soon enough face Entellus, whose name suggests that he is rooted in the earth. The gerund after a temporal terminus has a Lucretian ring (*DRN* 1.339 *principium ... cedendi*; 5.826 *finem ... pariendi*).

quo ... usque: “There is an archaic flavor in the use of tmesis” (Williams 1960 ad 603). There may be a hint here of the language of the law courts: Dares is pressing his case.

decet: The form recurs in V. at A. 12.152–153 *tu pro germane si quid praesentius audes, | perge; decet* (Juno to Juturna).

385 *ducere dona iube.' cuncti simul ore fremebant*

dona: The plural here and at 386 *promissa* and 391 *dona* = poetic language, but there may also be a hint of the idea that Dares is laying claim not only to the first prize bull whose horn he has grasped, but to the *solacia victo* as well; this interpretation would give greater force to *ducere*, since there is little need strictly speaking to lead forth a bull that is already in Dares' hand. Paschalis 1997, 192 notes that *Dares* evokes *dare*.

iube: Cf. 471–472, where Dares' companions are called (*vocati*) to accept the helmet and sword that constitute the *solacia victo*. M's original copyist wrote *iubet* but seems to have corrected it while it was still in his hands; there are only two occurrences of the imperative of the verb in the epic (cf. 10.242).

ore fremebant: Also at 11.132 *dixerat haec unoque omnes eadem ore fremebant*, of the response to the end of Drances' speech before the establishment of the truce for the burials (note the close correspondence of names between the braggart Dares and the arrogant Drances); elsewhere in V. the phrase occurs

only at 1.559–560 *talibus Ilioneus; cuncti simul ore fremebant* / *Dardanidae*, just after the Trojan spokesman notes that his exile band can seek Acestes (*regem petamus Acesten*). Note also 6.175 *ergo omnes magno circum clamore fremebant* (just before the commencement of the rites for Misenus).

386 *Dardanidae reddique viro promissa iubebant.*

Dardanidae: For the patronymic see above on 45; V. here underscores the Trojan approval of Dares' demand (the Sicilians are silent, significantly—it will be Acestes who encourages Entellus to respond to the braggart's challenge). The present moment offers the second potentially controversial prize decision in relatively short compass; Aeneas explicitly awarded the prizes for the foot race, while here, in contrast, the general mood of the audience dictates the result. Homer's boxing match is brief, and if the story were to end here, V's contest even briefer—but the Sicilian monarch Acestes will soon intervene. The silence of Aeneas is especially striking given that Dares' appeal was not to the Trojan (let alone Sicilian) assembly, but specifically to his leader (381 *Aeneae*; 383 *nate dea*, with special reference to Aeneas as the son of an immortal); on the subject of silence in the *Aeneid* see especially Nurtantio 2014; L. Fratantuono in *VE* III, 1175. The Trojan assembly that murmurs their approval is the implied subject of *ducere*; Dares has asked Aeneas to order the crowd to lead forth the prize. V. here balances leader and assembly; Aeneas was the prime mover of the prize situation after the race, and here the *Dardanian* crowd (the patronymic is deliberately used to evoke the spirit of the old Troy) pushes for Dares to be given his prize. V. thus also highlights the different key responsibilities for controversial decisions; here there is no hint of cheating, or of any improper conduct *per se*, merely the apparent lack of a competitor. Paris, we might note, is dead—Dares has lost his regular sparring partner.

promissa: Cf. 8.612–613 *promissa* / *munera*, as Venus describes the shield.

viro: Cf. 379 *virum*; the emphasis is on the manhood, indeed the *virtus*, of Dares; Euryalus' *virtus* had been defined by his comely appearance, and Dares' is also aesthetic: he eminently looks the part of a fierce pugilist, and no one is willing to challenge his claim to the bull.

For the “oratorical-pause argument” regarding the half-lines in V., with comparison of the present scene to the hemistich at 1.560, see F. Miller, “Evidences of Incompleteness in the *Aeneid* of Vergil,” in *CJ* 4.8 (1909), 341–355, 344. It is interesting that in the first, seemingly unfinished passage, the point is precisely that *Aeneas* is missing; in the present scene, where the line is “completed,” the conclusion will, in fact, not come to pass, and it will be Acestes and not Aeneas who takes action in response to Dares' demand.

See Williams 1960 ad loc. for the rhyming endings that end this section (*fremebant; iubebant*); also H. Johnstone, “Rhymes and Assonance in the *Aeneid*,” in *CR* 10.1 (1896), 9–13; W. Knight, “Repetitive Style in Virgil,” in *TAPA* 72 (1941), 212–225; O. Ewald, “Virgilian End Rhymes (*Geo.* 1.393–423),” in *HSCP* 93 (1990), 311–313. The jingling effect here underscores the unanimity of the crowd, and accords with the frequentative nature of their murmurings and mutterings (= the imperfects); still, the parallel uses of *ore fremebant* in 1 and 11 occur in scenes of dramatic tension (for the Trojans in 1, the missing Aeneas; for the Latins in 11, the question of a truce for burials): *fremebant* may conceal something of disdain for the braggart Dares, the apparent friend of Paris.

387–460 King Acestes at once chides the aged Entellus, who had been trained by Eryx, the son of Venus and Butes (and who had once faced Hercules in a boxing match). Entellus is roused by the monarch’s speech to confront the boastful Dares, and he produces the fearsome gauntlets that his teacher had once used in his fight with Hercules. Dares is cowed by the presence of the gloves, and the match begins with the “even” gloves that Aeneas brings forth for the bout. After a brief description of the opening sparring, V. describes how Entellus tries to land a decisive blow on Dares, only to strike at the air and fall with a heavy crash; once Acestes helps him to his feet, however, he begins to pummel his younger opponent with savage intensity.

Entellus is mentioned nowhere else, except for Hyginus’ brief summary of the match at *Fab.* 273; for Entella the locale, note especially Silius’ *necon altus Eryx, necon e vertice celso | Centuripae largoque virens Entella Lyaeo, | Entella, Hectoro dilectum nomen Acestae* (*Pun.* 14.203–205); Cicero references it twice in the *Verrines* (2.3.103.6; 2.3.200.11–14). In an odd detail, Servius notes that according to Hyginus, Entellus was originally a Trojan, and that V. changed the tradition (“sane sciendum hunc secundum Hyginum, qui de familiis Troianis scripsit, unum Troianorum fuisse, de quo Vergilius mutat historiam”).

If true—and there is little reason to doubt the report—the question of why the poet would alter the provenance of this aged boxer must be raised; there is probably no connection here to the similar problem of Arruns’ background in 11. If the preparatory rites at Anchises’ tomb are paralleled by the requiems in 11 (preeminently that of Pallas), with the equestrian *lusus Troiae* mirrored in the cavalry battle before the walls of Latinus’ capital and the attack on Palinurus by Somnus = a twin with Opis’ assault on Arruns, then in the progress of the games we might look for parallels to the Latin war council debates, especially the question of trickery and deceit that is raised in both books (here during the foot race; later in the matter of the possible Trojan breaking of the burial truce).

Dares and Entellus have affinities with Drances and Turnus; V. artfully reverses the ages of the combatants for his war council scene, besides transforming the all too deadly combat of the boxing match into the verbal fireworks of the debate, so that a carefully balanced pattern is effected: 1) the memorial of Anchises' death *vs.* the all too recent loss of Pallas and his actual requiem; 2) possibly the ethnographic associations of the regatta *vs.* Diomedes' reminiscence of the Greek returns; 3) the trickery of the race *vs.* the possible Trojan deceit of the attempted infantry assault on Latinus' city; 4) the ferocity of the boxing match *vs.* the oral debate of the war council; 5) the beautiful pageantry of the *lusus Troiae* *vs.* the ghoulish aestheticism of the equestrian battle and the sexually charged death of the lovely Camilla; 6) the loss of the noble helmsman Palinurus and Aeneas' awareness thereof *vs.* the death of Arruns and his forgotten status.

Book 5 is more episodic than 11, which has a fundamentally tripartite structure, in contrast to the more variegated arrangement of 5 (though the present book also has something of a three act structure). The correspondences, while not mathematically precise, provide a balanced union for the sister books, with the pattern of trickery in the race + boxing reversed for the sparring at the war council + the trickery of the truce breaking. Below, we shall explore how the archery contest presages the death of Pallas, the shadow of which hangs over the first movements of 11 (so that the opening movements of 5 end with a foreshadowing of the death whose pall covers the start of 11), while the attempted burning of the ships by the Trojan women corresponds to the inspiration Camilla provides to the women of Latium to defend their city against invasion, with the Trojan women acting badly in the wake of the description of the equestrian pageant, and their Latin sisters performing heroically as they see the example of the equestrian Camilla.

Kraggerud 1968, 211 ff. sees Dares and Entellus as a foreshadowing of Turnus and Aeneas in the epic's final combat, and there are indeed connections to be found between the two bouts. In their presentiments of doom and conflict the games move more or less forward in order through the epic, with ethnographic concerns looming over all: *inter al.* the regatta presages the death of Palinurus in the tossing overboard of Menoetes (Palinurus is the sacrifice demanded by Neptune as the price for the safe passage of the Trojans to Italy); the foot race is a precursor to the night raid of 9, and reflects Trojan fortunes once they have arrived on land in Italy; the boxing match (where a non-Trojan is victorious) anticipates the debate between Drances (who favors Aeneas) and Turnus in Latinus' capital; the archery contest (where, again, a non-Trojan is the signal champion because of the portent of the flaming arrow) foreshadows the death of the Arcadian Pallas (and, by extension, the Volscian Camilla and the Rutulian

Turnus). The correspondences are not exclusive; the foot race also presages the likely Trojan trickery in 11, as well as certain aspects of the Numanus Remulus episode in 9. The games of 5 do not present a puzzle for which some convenient cipher can serve to decode the events of the rest of the epic, but they do offer a commentary on the ethnographic concerns that lie at the heart of the poem, with the omnipresent emphasis on the death of Troy that marks the second and second to last books of the Virgilian *Odyssey*.

For Entellus' lasting impression on an American president, see M. Ronnick, "Virgil's *Aeneid* and John Quincy Adams' Speech on Behalf of the Amistad Africans," in *The New England Quarterly* 71.2 (1998), 473–477, 475, with the memorable tale of Adams' reworking of *A.* 5.484 in an address to the Supreme Court. For the homonymous *libellus* who was involved in the plot to kill Domitian (cf. Martial, *ep.* 8.68) see A. Collins, "The Palace Revolution: The Assassination of Domitian and the Accession of Nerva," in *Phoenix*, 63.1–2 (2009), 73–106, 81.

387 hic gravis Entellum dictis castigat Acestes,

gravis: The adjective introduces a rich array of associations; we wait for the line-end to learn that the Sicilian monarch has reentered the narrative (he has not been mentioned since 106, when his name was sufficient to attract participation and attendance at the games from far and wide). V. here subtly prepares us for the signal appearance of Acestes during the archery contest; in *gravis* there is a hint of the old king's age and bearing, and also, perhaps, of his somber reaction to the Trojan braggart. This line is heavy with the weight of a seemingly bygone age that has been replaced by the youthful Nisus and Euryalus, and the boastful Dares; if Servius is right that V. changed the tradition of Entellus' provenance, the point may be that the response to the Trojan pair from the foot race, and Paris' onetime sports partner Dares, will come from the Sicilians; note too how Acestes and Latinus offer an interesting comparative pair. At 437 Entellus will be *gravis* as he stands firm against Dares' pummeling.

On the Virgilian preference for having a Sicilian win the boxing match over a Trojan, see Galinsky 1968, 174. Significantly, V. will have the first two contests of his Anchises games be won by Trojans (the second through deceit); the last two will be "won" by Sicilians (see here Otis 1964, 274), since the Acestes arrow shot overawes the assembly and eclipses the technical winner of the contest: the second event of the second half of the games is marked not by trickery, but rather by a portent that glorifies the Sicilian monarch even as it presages the eventual doom of the Arcadian Pallas (a trick, one might say, of a different sort from that perpetrated by Nisus at the foot race). The Servian

evidence, in any case, points to a definite and likely deliberate change of Entellus' provenance on the part of the poet; a reader of the epic might well imagine that Entellus had migrated to Sicily at some earlier date, but the easier and likelier interpretation is that V. intends for us to think of him as a Sicilian (naturalized or not).

gravis ... dictis: Cf. Statius' Jupiter at *Theb.* 1.284 *at non ille gravis dictis, quamquam aspera motu*. Acestes is distressed at the idea that the young Trojan boaster will carry off the prize; he is also depicted in an appropriately regal style, despite the humble location and the clearly quasi-democratic nature of the king on the grass at leisure with his subjects (and cf. the close relationship between subject and ruler that is implicit at 450–451).

Entellum: See Paschalis 1997, 192–193 for the name (*tellus*; P. connects this meaning with V.'s emphasis below on the ability of Entellus to stand and hold his fixed ground); also L. Polverini, *EV* II, 321; L. Fratantuono in *VE* I, 434. This aged hero might evoke the image of the gigantomachy, certainly of a stronger, more physically impressive and fearsome age; this reading accords with his Turnus-like associations. The name is artfully introduced after *gravis*, which agrees with *Acestes*, but shades the first mention of the old boxer. The age and bearing of Entellus make for an even stronger impression when one remembers that he is the equivalent of the Homeric *Euryalus*; the contrast between V.'s Entellus and his *Euryalus* could not be greater. For the associations of the "actually" old Entellus and one of his Homeric models, the disguised Odysseus, see Nelis 2001, 15. See also C. Julius Hyginus, fr. 14 Cornell (with full commentary), for the question of Entellus' provenance (Sicilian in V.; Trojan in Hyginus; cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the "compromise position" of Trojan descent for certain Sicilian heroes).

castigat: One of three occurrences of the verb in V.; cf. 4.407 *castigantque moras*, of the ants in the simile that describes the preparation for the departure from Carthage; 6.567 *castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri*, of Rhadamanthus' underworld judgments. Once again, the language of the games is mirrored elsewhere in decidedly graver contexts. Elsewhere the verb is rare in poetry; it may carry some of the mood of comedy. Acestes chides Entellus in words (cf. the debates of 11); the real conflict, however, is soon to commence. For a comparison of the present scene with Mercury's admonishing of Aeneas to leave Carthage, see Glazewski 1972, 88. See further Horsfall ad 6.567: "the sense of 'verbis corrigere', virtually synonymous with *reprehendere*, *obiurgare*, is very common in prose."

In Homer there is no scene of chastisement; *Euryalus* rises of his own accord to face *Epeius* (*Il.* 23.676–680), though *Diomedes* does encourage him after he stands forth to compete, making clear that he favors the challenger (681–682).

388 *proximus ut viridante toro consederat herbae:*

proximus: Entellus has not been mentioned before in the book, but his presence so close to Acestes points to his position in the community and in the estimation of the king. There may be a reflection here of the tradition that Entella was named after Acestes' wife (Silius, *Pun.* 14.205; Tzetzes ad Lycophron, *Alex.* 905)—Entellus may well be Acestes' brother-in-law.

viridante toro ... herbae: A throne of nature, as it were, for the Sicilian monarch; the humble resting place is of a piece with the reception that Evander will offer to Aeneas in Pallanteum, and in striking contrast to Dido's nascent Carthage. The old men are presented as spectators, but both will soon enough participate in and win the remaining contests of the games. For the absence of the old from the Homeric games for Patroclus, in contrast to V.'s depiction of a mixed assembly of ages, see Pavlovskis 1976, 204n47. With *viridante* and the repose of Acestes and Entellus cf. Ascanius as Allecto infects his hunting hounds with rage cf. 7.494–495 *commovere canes, fluvio cum forte secundo / deflueret ripaque aestus viridante levaret*; for the bucolic scene, note also Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 4.130 *et cantus viridante licet mihi condere libro*; 5.112 *gregum viridante cibo* (with Vinchesi ad loc.). V. probably borrowed his use of *viridans* from Lucretius (*DRN* 2.32–33 *praesertim cum tempestas aridet et anni / tempora conspergunt viridantis floribus herbas*; 5.785 *florida fulserunt viridanti prata colore*; 1396 *tempora pingebant viridantis floribus herbas*); Catullus has *viridantia Tempe* (c. 64.285); the adjective is rarely found in verse after V. (once each in Statius; Valerius; Silius; never in Ovid; cf. Ps.-V., *Culex* 50 *tondebant tenero viridantia gramina morsu*). The *torus herbae* is found only here. See further below on 539 *viridanti tempora lauro*; on the “improvised” furniture, note G. Trimble in *VE* I, 309 (s.v. “couches”), with comparison to *A.* 3.224.

Entellus, who will fall and yet rise again as a symbol of the rise of the future Rome, sits on green grass; there may be associations with the rebirth of spring (see here Campbell ad Lucretius, *DRN* 5.783–785).

consederat: The line has a pastoral ring, appropriate for the imitation of Theocritus' boxing match; cf. *E.* 7.1 *forte sub arguta consederat ilice Daphnis*; Calpurnius Siculus, *E.* 2.21 *iamque sub annosa medius consederat umbra*. At *A.* 10.780 *haeserat Evandro atque Itala consederat urbe*, the same verb form strikingly describes Aeneas' battle casualty Antor, a companion of Hercules. Ovid has the form of the destruction of Troy (*Met.* 13.408 *Ilion ardebat, neque adhuc consederat ignis*). V. here continues to explore his theme of the invasion of the idyllic realm; Acestes and Entellus are sitting quietly in peaceful rest, but the most violent scene of the games narrative is about to unfold in this bucolic arena. For the pluperfect see the detailed analysis of Quinn 1963, 203 ff.; he imagines that Entellus had come with the expectation to compete (hence

the convenient presence of Eryx's gloves), but that he had sat down once Dares began his bragging. This may well be correct, though one might then argue that Entellus was planning something akin to Dares' attitude: victory by default. "Commentators on Virgil tend to be resentful of the lack of clarity which results from his technique of elliptical narrative. The fifth book, because of the wealth of complicated incidence related, provides many examples of the sort of thing that annoys them. Details that seem important are left obscure."

Mackail envisages Acestes as sitting next to Aeneas "on the turfed *exstructum* of l.290," but the main point is that Acestes is *proximus* to Entellus.

389 'Entelle, heroum quondam fortissime frustra,

heroum: For the genitive plural cf. Catullus, c. 64.51; 385; *E.* 4.26 *at simul heroum laudes et facta parentis*; *G.* 4.476 (= *A.* 6.307) *magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae* (in the underworld); 684 below (where the strength of heroes and the water of rivers is not sufficient to quench the fires that threaten the Trojan ships); also *Ps.-V., Culex* 296. See above on 289, where exactly a hundred lines earlier the same term occurs for the first time in the book.

fortissime: This vocative is applied elsewhere in the *A.* to Diomedes (1.96–97 *o Danaum fortissimo gentis | Tydide*); Aeneas (8.154 *fortissime Teucrum*; the expanded 8.513 *Teucrum atque Italum fortissime doctor*); Cunarus (10.185–186 *non ego te, Ligurum doctor fortissime bello | transierim*); Mezentius' horse Rhaebes (10.865–866 *neque enim, fortissime, credo, | iussa aliena pati et dominos dignabere Teucros*); Turnus' victim Cretheus (12.538–539 *dextera nec tua te, Graium fortissime Cretheu, | eripuit Turno*). A wide range of addresses, then, both human and animal, on both sides of the war, and of different generations of warriors. *Quondam* is a significant detail; Acestes considers that Entellus is no longer the strongest of heroes (despite his past glories), in light of his present non-response to Dares—he will be proven wrong.

"Vocatives in Latin are not normally accompanied by *o*, as they are in Greek. *O* with the vocative in Latin indicates a formal ... impassioned, or pathetic address. Its frequent use in tragedy and epic is to be attributed among other things to their 'elevated' literary style" (Boyle ad Seneca, *Medea* 595–598).

frustra: In vain, because in the presence of the bravest of heroes, a Dares would never have been so boastful; the line is redolent with the spirit of regret and wistful longing for a lost age that the fricative alliteration helps to express. The match between Entellus and Dares looks back to the past; soon enough, we shall see how it also anticipates the future Roman history (Traill 2001, 408). Cf. 392 *nequiquam* for the same theme. Some prefer to punctuate *fortissime, frustra*, which gives a weaker sense, though the difference is not very great

(see further Götte's *Textgestaltung ad loc.*). Servius takes the adverb with what follows, in the sense of Entellus' allowing the prizes to be taken without a fight—but it is more pointed for Acestes' argument to be that Entellus' past glories have been vain in light of Dares' impertinence.

390 *tantane tam patiens nullo certamine tolli*

tanta: The referent does not come until the beginning of the next line, so that both verses highlight the impressive nature of the prizes; there is a contrast here between Acestes' estimation of the importance (*tanta*) of the gifts (*dona*) and Entellus'.

tam patiens: Cf. Horace, c. 1.7.10–11 *me nec tam patiens Lacedaemon | nec tam Larisae percussit campus opimae*.

nullo certamine: Livy has *et illo quidem die nullo inito certamine in castra revocati sunt* (33.6.6.1–2); cf. Silius, *Pun.* 7.246. *Tolli* implies that Dares' taking of the prize(s) would be tantamount to a sort of theft. See Paschalis 1997, 193n53 for the balance of *tolli* here with 452 *ab humo ... attollit amicum*, where Acestes will help his countryman regain his footing. The ablative is likely one of attendant circumstance.

391 *dona sines? ubi nunc nobis deus ille, magister*

dona: The poetic plural once again raises the idea that Dares might well have thought of having both prizes; see on 385 *dona*.

deus ille: The phrase is strongly resonant with the spirit of the *E.*; cf. 1.7 *namque erit ille mihi semper deus*; 5.64 *deus, deus ille, Menalca*; 10.61 *aut deus ille malis hominum mitescere discat*. The title is borrowed from Lucretius' description of Epicurus (*DRN* 5.8 *deus ille fuit, deus, inclyte Memmi*); cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15.761–762 *ille deus faciendus erat; quod ut aurea vidit | Aeneae genetrix*. Some prefer to omit the comma after the demonstrative, but the phrase is best understood somewhat separately from what follows in light of the evocation of its other Virgilian uses. Burton perceptively comments here on the use of *deus* for Eryx, who was all too mortal notwithstanding his semi-divine parentage; Acestes is dramatizing the pugilistic lineage of the old competitor in his efforts to rouse his ire for the fight. See below on 467 *cede deo*, where in a sense Acestes' question will be answered.

392 *nequiquam memoratus, Eryx? ubi fama per omnem*

memoratus: The adjective occurs once more in *V.*, at 7.564 *nobilis et fama multis memoratus in oris*, of the vale of Ampsanctus that is associated with Allecto. Acestes' question goes to the heart of a key problem of the book; what is the value of memory in a world where so much has changed for the worse?

Eryx: For this half-brother of Aeneas see on 24; Eryx was most probably the son of Venus and the Argonaut Butes, the victim of the Sirens (but see ad 24 *fraterna* for the evidence that he was actually the son of Venus and *Neptune*): V. continues to advance his narrative, moving inexorably toward the loss of Palinurus in Sirenic waters. Entellus was taught by a member of Aeneas' family, as it were, though a representative of a different branch of Venus' *amours* (and a love from an older generation of heroes); the name is firmly invested in the traditions of Roman Sicily and the cult of Venus Erycina. Helpful here, especially for the important connection of Hercules to the destruction of Troy = K. Gilmartin, "Hercules in the *Aeneid*," in *Vergilius* 14 (1968), 41–47 (with reference to M. Wigodsky, "The Arming of Aeneas," in *Classica et Mediaevalia* 26 [1965], 192–221). There is a brief reference to *superbus Eryx* at Ps.-V., *Cat.* 9.6.

The Neptunian associations continue here, especially as we move toward the conclusion of the Laocoöntic bull sacrifice that was never finished in Book 2 (a neat balance for the second and second to last books of the Virgilian *Odyssey*). On the connections between the present passage and sacrifice imagery elsewhere in the epic, see E. Genovese, "Deaths in the *Aeneid*," in *PCPh* 10 (1975), 22–28, 24; note also the related observations of Pöschl 1978, 198–199 (on deaths at or near the ends of books).

393 *Trinacriam et spolia illa tuis pendentia tectis?*

In a short but telling description, we learn much about Entellus; he was trained by the legendary Eryx, and his trophies adorn temples throughout Sicily. The most immediate connection, especially if Eryx were the son of Neptune, is to the *clipeum* from the god's temple that was awarded to Nisus: Entellus' *spolia* remain in his home (*tuis ... tectis*), and they were earned without trickery; there is an implicit contrast here between the real trophies that remain somewhat hidden in private dwellings, and the objects taken from sacred places that are handed around as prizes at such events as the present games. For the importance of Neptune to the boxing match, especially its climax, see on 464 ff.

Trinacriam: For its use with *omnem* cf. *A.* 3.581–582 *intremuere omnem / murmure Trinacriam et caelum subtexere fumo*.

spolia: On this key term see especially V. Cleary, "To the Victor Belong the *Spolia*: A Study in Vergilian Imagery," in *Vergilius* 28 (1982), 15–29.

pendentia: The form recurs at 9.331 *nactus equis ferroque secat pendentia colla*, in the terrible slaughter of the night raid; cf. *G.* 4.374–375 *postquam et in thalami pendentia pumice tecta / perventum*.

394 ille sub haec: 'non laudis amor nec gloria cessit

On this sentence see J. Fontenrose, "The Meaning and Use of *Sed Enim*," in *TAPA* 75 (1944), 168–195, 173–174. See Conington on the Homeric parallel of Nestor's lament to Achilles of the loss of his youthful physical strength (*Il.* 23.626 ff.).

sub haec: The point may be that Entellus' response to Acestes' chiding is in contrast to Dares': he speaks quietly and with calm assurance about his status and the reason for his not having risen to the Trojan's challenge; this adds a purposeful nuance to the prosaic "then, thereupon" that = the basic meaning (cf. Servius' glosses of either "post haec" or "statim": all these shades of interpretation are likely present).

laudis amor: So also at 7.496 *ipse etiam eximiae laudis amore*, of Ascanius as he indulges in his fateful hunting; the keyword there = *eximiae* (cf. Horace, *Ep.* 1.1.36 *laudis amore tumes*; *Laus Pisonis* 221; Manilius, *Ast.* 4.150 *laudis amor tacitae*; Ovid, *Met.* 11.527 *spe potitur tandem laudisque accensus amore*; *Trist.* 5.12.38; *Ep. Pont.* 4.7.40; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.717; Silius, *Pun.* 16.530). "Love of praise" is not a bad thing *in se*, and Entellus will soon enough add detail to his attitude by revealing his view on the question of prizes as inducement for athletic participation. See further Wiltshire 1989, 115–119.

gloria: There are twenty occurrences of the noun in the *A.*, with six in 11 (154; 336; 421; 431; 444; 708)—twice as many as the 3× in 4 and 6, three times the 2× in 2 and 12 (1× each in 5; 7; 9; 10). For the collocation of *amor* and *gloria* cf. *G.* 4.205 *tantus amor florum et generandi gloria mellis*; the pair occur in a negative context at Horace, *c.* 1.18.14–15. The *gloria Turni* is a source of *invidia* for Drances (11.336–337).

395 pulsa metu; sed enim gelidus tardante senecta

pulsa metu: Cf. *Ilias Latina* 792. The form *pulsa* appears 2× in 11 of Camilla (653–654 *illa etiam, si quando in tergum pulsa recessit, | spicula converso fugientia derigit arcu*, of her Parthian tactics; 793 *pulsa cadat*, during Arruns' prayer that she might be destroyed—and cf. 790 *pulsa eve tropaeum*). At 11.659–660 *quales Threiciae cum flumina Thermodontis | pulsant et pictis bellantur Amazones armis*, the finite verb is used of the icy gallop of the female warriors; an extraordinary four occurrences, then, in Camillan contexts.

The emphasis of Entellus' argument comes with *metu*; he has not lost his love of praise and his glory in his accomplishments because of dread or apprehension of the boastful Dares; there is an implicit comparison between the two men in Entellus' mention of his *gloria*, a word that was not applied to Dares. Cf. also 10.143–144 *adfuit et Mnestheus, quem pulsi pristina Turni | aggere murorum sublimem gloria tollit* (with Harrison).

sed enim: On the archaic flavor see Cordier 1939, 40 (referencing Quintilian 9.3.14). The language of Entellus' recusal is inspired by Homer's description of Achilles' award of the unclaimed fifth place in the chariot race to Nestor (*Iliad* 23.615 ff.). The prize there was a two-handled urn that is identified as a memorial of Patroclus' burial; Achilles notes that because of Nestor's age, he will not participate in boxing, wrestling, the javelin throw, and running. In the Virgilian manipulation of Homer, *his* old man *will* contend in the games—and he will win.

gelidus ... sanguis: A favorite Virgilian phrase; at 3.30 it describes Aeneas' reaction to the Polydorus portent; at 259, the Trojan response to Celaeno. Most significantly, it appears at 12.905 *genua labant, gelidus concrevit frigore sanguis*, of Turnus as he faces Aeneas in single combat (another of the affinities between Entellus and Turnus). See further M. Putnam, "*Frigidus Sanguis*: Lucretius, Virgil, and Death," in Lateiner et al. 2013, 28–39, 36n6, with special reference to the Virgilian use of the image of frigid blood in both the *A.* and the *G.* Elsewhere note Lucan, *BC* 7.467; Seneca, *Oed.* 585–586; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.226 *tum pavor et gelidus defixit Castora sanguis*.

tardante: The verb occurs 8× in *V.*, 2× each in 5 and 11 (5.453 *tardatus ... heros*, of Entellus; 11.21 *tardet*; 11.550 *tardatur*).

senecta: *V.* may here have had in mind his own "simultaneously boastful and self-deprecating description of his younger self as *audaxque iuventa* (*Geo.* 4.565)" (Hardie 2009, 200n66). The noun occurs 10× in *V.*, once each in 5 and 11 (165–166 *sors ista senectae / debita erat nostrae* [Evander to the Trojans]). *Tardante senecta* may have been inspired by Ennius, *Thyest.* fr. 151 Jocelyn *tarda in senectute*. See also Maltby ad Tibullus, c. 1.4.31–32 *fata senectae*: "T., like Virgil, Ovid, and Lucan, uses both *senecta* and *senectus* (2.2.19). *senectus* and the oblique cases of *senecta* occur at the the end of the hexameter"; vid. Cordier 1939, 39 for the archaic tone.

396 *sanguis hebet, frigentque effetae in corpore vires.*

The verse has a chiasitic structure.

hebet: The verb occurs only here in *V.*; cf. *hebetare* at 6.732 *terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra*, during Anchises' great eschatological discourse; 2.605 *mortalis hebetat visus*, where Venus prepares to show Aeneas the divine destruction of Troy. The Entellus story is a precursor of the doctrine of the rebirth of souls, as the once *fortissimus heros* regains his crown, as it were, with a new victory; Neptune is the first of the gods named in Venus' catalogue of immortal wrath against her beloved Troy (2.610, where his description, which stretches into three lines, balances that of Juno, whose action follows on her brother's for the same number of verses). For the idea

of old age or lack of activity rendering a man *hebes* see Skutsch ad *Ann.* fr. 16.402.

frigēt: So of the body of the dead Misenus (6.219 *corpusque lavant frigētis*); these are the only appearances of the verb in V. Lucretius prefers the inchoative *frigescere* (*DRN* 4.703; 6.865); the verb and its compounds are common in Celsus and Columella and rare in verse (cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 1.314–315 *proxima frigētis Arctos boreanque rigentem | nixa venit species genibus, sibi conscia causae*).

effetae: Servius notes that the word is used of women who have been weakened by frequent childbirths (cf. the striking use of the adjective at Sallust, *BC* 53.5.4 *publica magnitudine sui imperatorem atque magistratum vitia sustentabat ac, sicuti effeta esset partu, multis tempestatibus haud sane quisquam Romae virtute magnus fuit*); Lucretius has *iamque adeo fracta est aetas effetaque tellus* (*DRN* 2.1150), which was probably the inspiration for Entellus' description of his aged, weakened state; cf. *DRN* 6.843 *quo magis est igitur tellus effeta calore* and Manilius, *Ast.* 4.824–825 *et fecunda suis absistunt frugibus arva | continue negant partus effeta creando*.

The other Virgilian uses of the adjective also refer mostly to old age; so of Allecto in her disguise at 7.440 and 452; Evander's note about his own inability to fight at 8.508 *sed mihi tarda gelu saecisque effeta senectus*; cf. also *G* 1.81 *effetos cinerem immundum iactare per agros*; Cicero, *De Sen.* 29.10 *et intemperans adulescentia effetum corpus tradit senectuti*; Ovid, *Met.* 7.252 and 312 (of the Aeson-rejuvenation story).

in corpore vires: Opening a ring that will close at 475 *et mihi quae fuerint iuvenali in corpore vires*, once Entellus has won. For the line-end cf. Propertius, c. 3.15.23; Ps.-V., *Ciris* 448 *iam fessae tandem fugiunt de corpore vires* (with Lyne); *Ilias Latina* 971 *et toto languescunt corpore vires*; Manilius, *Ast.* 2.455 *in quis praecipuas toto de corpore vires*; Ovid, *Met.* 11.343 *virtutem antiquam, maiores corpore vires*; 13.864 *sentiet esse mihi tanto pro corpore vires*; *Fast.* 4.541 *pallor abit, subitasque vident in corpore vires*; *Ep. Pont.* 1.4.3 *iam vigor et quasso languent in corpore vires*. For a comparison of Entellus' appearance here with Menoetes, see Hahn 1925, 190n32.

397 si mihi quae quondam fuerat quaque improbus iste

fuerat: "A poetic use of the plpf. for the impf.; it is probably intended to emphasize the idea that youth is completely gone." (Burton ad loc.).

improbus: Entellus' label for Dares is richly critical. Turnus uses it of Aeneas in describing the Trojan plans to Camilla (11.512); significantly, it recurs later in the same book (767) of Arruns as he stalks Camilla. The Turnus-wolf is also *improbus* (9.62); so the bird of Jupiter at 12.250; Aeneas in Tolumnius'

estimation (12.261); the *mons* to which Turnus is compared at 12.687; *Amor* at 4.412; Aeneas in Dido's eyes (4.386); the *improba ... ora* of the Mezentius-lion at 10.727–728. *Iste* carries its usual pejorative force; the alliteration that introduces the reference to Dares contrasts neatly with the sharp rhythm of the line's opening, with its reference to Entellus' former strength.

398 *exsultat fidens, si nunc foret illa iuventas,*

exsultat: For the Virgilian use of the verb see Schenk 1984, 212–214.

fidens: See above on 69 *fidit*; the verb occurs 3× in 5 and 3× in 11. At 800 below Neptune assures Venus that she can have trust in his kingdom; at 11.351 *fugae fidens* Drances insults Turnus (cf. 370 *aude atque adversum fidens fer pectus in hostem*); at 11.706 *fidis equo* Aunides taunts Camilla.

nunc foret: V. neatly reverses this phrase at 11.586 *foret nunc*, where Diana laments that Camilla has left behind her sylvan life for the world of war. Note also 2.522 *non, si ipse meus nunc adforet Hector*, where Hecuba tells Priam that all hope is lost: the scene represents another instance of an old man seeking to fight, though in the poem's second book that attempt will meet with death, while in the second to last it will end with the victory of old age over youth. *Foret* also appears at 3.417, in the description of how Sicily was once one land with Italy; elsewhere in V. it occurs at 10.328, of the sudden appearance of the sons of Phorcus; and, in language similar to the present scene, at 10.613–614 *si mihi, quae quondam fuerat quamque esse decebat, | vis in amore foret*, where Juno pleads with Jupiter.

iuventas: Two lines build to this resounding, key conclusion: this is a contest of youth over age, and, especially in light of the Homeric model of the defeat of Euryalus, V. has in mind the theme he introduced at 295 *Euryalus forma insignis viridique iuventa*. With Euryalus youth spelled a comely appearance; with Dares, physical prowess. V. does not imply that either had one quality without the other, but his Entellus responds to both qualities. Euryalus will be slain, just like the beautiful bullock the aged Sicilian will offer *pro morte Daretis*. Servius notes that the demonstrative *illa* refers either to the greatness of Entellus' youth, or to the fact that it is now past: both ideas are present. "Virgil usually maintains the well known distinction that *iuventus* is the *concrete* and *collective* (a body of youths), but *iuventas* and *iuventa* the *abstract* (the season of youth, or youthful vigour)" (Bryce ad loc.).

399 *haud equidem pretio inductus pulchroque iuenco*

haud equidem: Cf. 56, where Palinurus muses about navigation abilities in the storm; here, the mention of the bullock that has tempted Dares presages the sacrificial loss of the helmsman as Neptune's price for the safe passage of the

fleet. *Equidem* introduces a “marked assertion by the speaker” (Horsfall ad 6.716).

pretio inductus: Cf. Seneca, *De Ben.* 4.19.4.3–4. Forms of the perfect passive participle of *inducere* are rare in verse outside Ovid; V. may have borrowed the present use from Lucretius, *DRN* 5.1247–1248 *sive quod inducti terrae bonitate volebant* | *pandere agros pinguis et pascua reddere rura*.

pulchroque: The adjective harks back to 344 *pulchro ... in corpore*, of how the body of the doomed Euryalus had a handsome appearance that could help to sway the crowd to his favor. Entellus is not moved by externals.

400 *venissem, nec dona moror' sic deinde locutus*

venissem: The pluperfect subjunctive of *venire* occurs also at *A.* 1.751 *nunc quibus Aurorae venisset filius armis* (of Memnon); 11.286–387 *ultra Inachias venisset ad urbes* | *Dardanus* (where Diomedes predicts what would have happened had there been two Aeneases). Cf. 411 *vidisset*.

nec dona moror: In pointed contrast to Aeneas; there may be implicit commentary here on the Trojan leader's preoccupation with prizes.

deinde locutus: As at 14 above, where Palinurus asks what Neptune is preparing, and at 303, as Aeneas opens the foot race with talk of prizes. Here Entellus, who was trained by a possible son of Neptune, foregoes any concern with the *iuvencus*, which he will in the end sacrifice to Eryx, partly in proof of his lack of interest in *dona*. Much time has been spent at these games on the question of prizes; Entellus' *nec dona moror* is an implicit criticism of Aeneas and the others who have participated in the debates and verbal jousts over presents. Servius notes here that Entellus truly does not care for prizes, since he will sacrifice his award; there is an implicit comparison not only with the attitude of others toward the question of rewards in the contests, but also the important matter of spoils and merit for victory that will be raised in 11 in the Camilla-Arruns drama, as well as the *spolia* associated with both Mezentius and Pal-las.

401 *in medium geminos immani pondere caestus*

geminos: The twinning theme continues, with special appropriateness for the boxing match with its two contestants. There may also be some evocation of the Dioscouri, who had associations with athletics (and Polydeuces with boxing; see Dover ad Theocritus, *Id.* 22 intro.). Any connections of the pair with the defense of ships (or, for that matter, equestrian pursuits) would be fitting for the present book.

immani pondere: The image recurs 2× in Book 9; first at 540–542, where the tower at the Trojan camp falls, and then at 751–752, of the gory death of the giant

Pandarus. Cf. 372 *immani corpore* and Gellius, *NA* 5.8.5.4 on similar Virgilian expressions; also the Servian notes here on the ablative *vs.* the genitive.

402 *proiecit, quibus acer Eryx in proelia suetus*

proiecit: The first of three occurrences of the form in the book. At 673 Ascanius throws forth his helmet *ante pedes* (cf. Dares' quasi-supplicatory posture before Aeneas at 381) during the attempted burning of the fleet; at 859 Somnus hurls Palinurus into the sea. At 9.444 *tum super exanimus sese proiecit amicum*, it describes Nisus' throwing himself on the body of Euryalus as he joins his lover in death; while at 12.256 the bird of Jupiter abandons its swan-prey in the river: a string of grim associations for the Trojans.

suetus: The absence of the prefix *con-* here (cf. 414) and at 403 *ferre* helps to underscore the fearsome nature of Eryx's prowess: it is almost as if he were accustomed to box alone, he was so powerful and awe inspiring. V. has *adsuetus* at 7.490 (of Silvia's stag); 9.201 (of Opheltus, accustomed to war); 11.495 (of the Turnus-horse); cf. *suetus* at Livy 5.43.8.4; 38.52.2.2; Lucan, *BC* 1.325 *bella nefanda parat suetus civilibus armis*; Statius, *Theb.* 6.317; 7.349; 11.106; *Silv.* 2.5.5; 5.2.37; 5.2.144; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.343; Juvenal, s. 10.231; Silius, *Pun.* 13.388; 13.588; 16.643; Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.17.21; 4.67.19; 6.35.4.

Eryx: Cf. Ps.-V., *Cat.* 9.6 *magnus ut Oenides, utque superbus Eryx* (with Mosconi and Truini ad loc.), and H. Schoonhoven, "*Puglice atque athleticæ*": *immo rhetorice!* (on *Catalepton* 9, 6)," in *Mnemosyne* 39.1–2 (1986), 133–134.

403 *ferre manum duroque intendere bracchia tergo.*

ferre manum: The language is military (especially after *proelia*); the games once again anticipate the forthcoming war.

duro ... tergo: Cf. Plautus, *Pseud.* 154 *numquam edepol vostrum durius tergum erit quam terginum hoc meum*. *Tergo* is deliberately singular, so that V. can quickly clarify that the *caestus* are actually fashioned from seven hides that have been joined together and studded with lead and iron to form one terrible offensive weapon. With *duro* cf. 478–479 *duros | caestus*.

intendere bracchia: The phrase opens a ring that closes at 829 *attolli malos, intendi bracchia velis*; for the phrase cf. Ovid, *Met.* 10.58 *bracchiaque intendens prendique et prendere certans*. The omission of a second relative (*quorum*) contributes to the rapid narrative as Entellus displays the gloves.

404 *obstipuerunt animi: tantorum ingentia septem*

A line of rich associations in the epic tradition, whereby V. connects his Entellus explicitly with Telamonian Ajax. The Roman *caestus* was an offensive weapon, in contrast to the protective gloves of the Greek boxing tradition; V. here plays

on the difference by connecting Entellus' Eryx-gloves with the shield of Ajax. The connection with Ajax further underscores the later parallel with Drances and Turnus (cf. the debate between Odysseus and Ajax). Entellus is like Ajax in that he represents a heroic world that is seemingly past; in contrast to Ajax, Entellus will triumph over his adversary. On the shield see further Kirk ad Homer, *Il.* 7.220–223; 245–248; Finglass ad Sophocles, *Ajax* 574–576. Page was not impressed with the description: "... Virgil's exaggeration here is unnatural, and suggests the epic style of a sporting paper." See also Steiner ad *Od.* 18.66–87 for the parallel between the fighter's preparation there and the arming of Ajax at *Il.* 7.206–218, where Hector and the Trojans are in awe.

The sevenfold *caestus* relates also to the snake that appeared on Anchises' tomb at 85 ff. (cf. the *volumina* of 408 below). That serpent was connected to Aeneas' father; the seven hides of the immense gloves described here were once worn by Aeneas' half-brother Eryx, the son of either Butes or, as we have observed, Neptune. The *caestus* of Aeneas' half-brother offers the second portentous revelation of the book, after the sevenfold coils of the Anchises-*Schlange*.

The prize for the loser in Nonnus' bout = a multi-layered shield of animal hide (37.493).

obstipuere animi: Also at *A.* 2.120, in Sinon's rendition of the question of who will be called for sacrifice; 8.530, of the reaction to the portent in the sky soon before the bestowal of the arms; 9.123, of the Rutulian response to the fantastic metamorphosis of the ships into sea creatures; cf. Statius, *Theb.* 6.738. The Virgilian occurrences are thus artfully balanced: once of the Trojans *en masse*, and once of the Rutulians, and once each in the second and penultimate books of the epic's first half; yet again, the language of the games is especially serious when compared to the other occurrences of the same verbal images. The assembly is agape at the immensity and fearsome aspect of the gloves; they are less aware of the deeper significance of what is unfolding on the Sicilian strand.

tantorum: Servius takes this with *animi* (*fortasse recte*), arguing that it would be "stultum" to take it of the *terga boum* when the poet has specified that there are seven hides (Conington has the most detailed survey of the problem; on V.'s description of the immense gloves Burton notes laconically ad loc., "the statement is somewhat staggering").

But the point of the adjective may be the size of the bulls, not the number, besides the fact that any sevenfold glove would be relatively massive; the placement of the word helps to create the poet's desired atmosphere: the evocation of an otherworldly environment of heroes larger than life, with gloves to suit their superhuman need. Attempts to emend the text (cf. Peerlkamp's *tanto*

nigrantia), or to read *Teucrorum* with weak manuscript support, are misguided. Henry notes the (somewhat) parallel *A.* 1.634–635 *magnorum horrentia centum terga suum*, where *terga* = “chines” and not “hides”: “a notable proof of the deficiency and consequent obscurity of the Latin language even in the hands of one of the most adroit of writers.” See further Conway ad loc.

405 *terga boum plumbo insuto ferroque rigebant.*

terga boum: Cf. Ovid, *Ars* 3.112; *Met.* 12.97 *terga novena boum*; Pliny the Elder, *NH* 11.226.4.

plumbo: One of three appearances of lead in the epic; cf. the rustic weapons at 7.686 ff., and the leaden slingshot bullet of Mezentius that slays the son of Arcens at 9.587–589: the leaden-studded *caestus* is meant to inflict serious harm, even to kill. For the combination with iron cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 5.1241–1242 *quod super est, aes atque aurum ferrumque repertumst | et simul argenti pondus plumbique potestas*; *Aetna* 543 (with Goodyear). On the employment of *plumbum*, useful = J. Boulakia, “Lead in the Roman World,” in *AJArch* 76.2 (1972), 139–144; note also Healy 1978. “It was the only nonprecious metal the ancients knew, and had considerable industrial importance in the Roman world. There was an abundant supply. It did not exist in Italy, but could be found in Attica, Macedonia, Cilicia, Rhodes, Cyprus, North Africa, Spain, Gaul, Great Britain, and Sardinia, and conquest provided the Romans with it.” (Boulakia).

insuto: The verb occurs only here in V.; cf. Ovid, *Ars* 3.131 *nec prodite graves insuto vestibus auro*; Statius, *Theb.* 7.310–311 *clipei septemplex tauro | laeva, ter insuto servantur pectore ferro*; also Seneca, *De Clem.* 1.23.1.3.

rigebant: The verb occurs 5× in V.; 1× each in 5 and 11. At 11.72 *tum geminas vestis auroque ostroque rigentis* it describes the two robes Dido had given to Aeneas that he takes out for the funerary preparations for Pallas (see here Fratantuono 2004, and note the recurrence of the twinning theme); in another grim use, at 1.648 *pallam signis auroque rigentem* it is used of clothing of Helen that Aeneas offers to Dido. Cf. also 4.251, of Atlas’ icy beard; 8.621 *fatiferumque ense, lorica ex aere rigentem*, of the divine weapon Venus presents to Aeneas.

406 *ante omnis stupet ipse Dares longeque recusat,*

The crowd was stunned *en masse*; V. now moves from the general to the particular, as the focus turns to the suddenly humbled braggart.

ante omnis: The first of six occurrences of the phrase in 5; cf. 492, during the archery contest; the significant repetition at 540, of Acestes after the portent of the flaming arrow; 553–554 and 570, during the *lusus Troiae*; 833 *princeps ante omnis*, of Palinurus as he sails off to his doom.

stupet: So of Aeneas' reaction to the pictures in Juno's temple before the arrival of Dido (1.495), where it is the queen who soon enough captures the Trojan's attention; 2.31, of the reaction to the wooden horse; 2.307, of the *inscius pastor* in the simile that describes the response to the invasion of Troy; 7.381, of the reaction of children to the spinning top in the Amata simile; 10.249, of Aeneas' response to the appearance of the ship-mermaid; 10.446, of Pallas in the presence of Turnus; 12.707, of Latinus in the face of war. Cf. *E.* 6.37; *G.* 2.508; 4.481. The intensive adjective is especially purposeful; everyone was in a state of wonder over the huge gloves, but even the braggart Dares (*ipse Dares*, where *ipse* is not far in meaning from *iste*) was in the greatest state of shock (*ante omnis*). See also below on 410 *ipsius*.

longe: Cf. the very different use of the adverb at 428.

recusat: The first of three occurrences of the verb in the book. At 417 it is repeated in a similar context of Dares' refusal; at 749 it refers to Acestes' assent to the transcription of tired Trojans to a Sicilian retirement (*non iussa recusat*). This is the only appearance of *longe* with the verb (a bold use); the verse describes the quick recovery of Dares from his initial shock: at once he begins to raise objections over the *caestus* of Eryx. There may be a fair amount of distance between Dares (and Aeneas) and where Acestes and Entellus are sitting (see above on 388 *consederat*), but the point is not so much geography (how far did Entellus throw the gloves?) as the frequentative nature of Dares' protests regarding the *caestus*. *V.* does not bother with the question of why Entellus showed up to the games with Eryx's gloves, especially if he did not intend to rise up and offer to participate in a bout on account of his advanced age. There is no clear indication that Dares' immediate rush to box has in some way cowed the aged fighter, though that might be a reasonable conclusion. The gloves appear as if a magical item, befitting their seemingly otherworldly provenance; *V.* needs them now for the next twist in his narrative, and so Entellus has them ready to throw forth before the assembly. See further Henry for discussion of the literal vs. metaphorical interpretation of the adverb.

We might also note the Homeric description of Antilochus commenting on the honor the gods show to old men (*Iliad* 23.785 ff.), in the context of how the older Odysseus manages to defeat the Lesser Ajax—words that win Antilochus an extra half talent of gold, likely because of the added note that only Achilles would be able to defeat Odysseus in a race.

407 magnanimusque Anchisiades et pondus et ipsa

magnanimus: See on 17 *magnanime*. The gloves are huge; the boxers are of substantial physical bearing; the son of Anchises is thus great-hearted. The

patronymic continues the poet's immersion in the spirit of a lost world, and reminds us of the sevenfold serpent that may have represented the *genius* of the father. The heavy rhythm of the line expresses the weight of the gloves; cf. the heavy *lorica* of 263.

Anchisiades: On the patronymic vid. especially E. Hahn, "Note on Vergil's Use of *Anchisiades*," in *CW* 14 (1921), 1–17.

ip̄sa: In deliberate contrast to *ip̄se Dares*. The mere gloves have cowed the man; Entellus has still another surprise for the braggart. See below on 410 *ip̄sius*. The repetition of the coordinating conjunction alongside the intensive line-end contributes to the effect of the description of the heavy weight.

408 *huc illuc vinclorum immensa volumina versat.*

Aeneas as archaeologist: the hero of a new generation investigates both the weight and the size of the gloves his half-brother once wielded. The Trojan leader is reintroduced to the narrative, only to be rendered as silent as the rest of the assembly (minus the refusals of Dares, which may well have been without voice). There is much psychology in the poet's two-verse description of Aeneas' handling of the *caestus*; he may be *magnanimus* and the son of Anchises, but we cannot imagine him donning these gloves and facing one such as Entellus, let alone his half-brother who trained the Sicilian. While all may be agape at the *immensa volumina*, V. significantly describes the specific reactions of two men from the assembly: Dares and his leader.

immensa: The adjective occurs 1× each in 5 and 11 (832, of the *clamor* that strikes the stars after the fatal wounding of Camilla). The Cyclops is *immensus* (3.632) as he lies stretched out in his cave in drunken slumber after his gory feast.

huc illuc: V. enjoys employing these deictic demonstratives; cf. *G.* 2.297 *huc illuc media ipsa ingentem sustinet umbram*; *A.* 4.285 *atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc*; 4.363 *huc illuc volvens oculos totumque pererrat*; 701 below *nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas* (also of Aeneas); 8.20 *atque animum hunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc* (Aeneas again); 8.229 *accessum lustrans huc ora ferebat et illuc*; 9.755 *huc caput atque illuc umero ex utroque pendit* (a grisly twist on the usual use); 12.763–764 *quinque orbis explant cursu totidemque retexunt / huc illuc*; 1× in Lucretius (*DRN* 2.130–131 *commutare viam retroque repulsa reverti / nunc huc nunc illuc in cunctas undique partis*). This is the only use in the *A.* where the collocation refers to a physical turning over of an object. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 10.376, of the uncertainty and wavering of Myrrha before her illicit union with Cinyras.

versat: The verb has venerable epic origins (Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 1.27 Skutsch *qui caelum versat stellis fulgentibus aptum*); fr. 10.338 *quae nunc te coquit et versat in*

pectore fixa. The present scene is also echoed at 11.753 *saucius at serpens sinuosa volumina versat*, of the Tarchon-eagle. “Tests the weight and turns over and over the thongs; the verb has somewhat different meanings with its two objects” (Burton ad loc.).

409 *tum senior talis referebat pectore voces*:

senior: V. returns at once to Entellus; Aeneas says nothing as he handles the *caestus*. *Senior* underscores the conflict of the ages; the principal comparison is to Dares’ relative youth, even if the point may also be that Entellus has not yet entered into what we might call his dotage. *Tum senior* is repeated at 572, of Nautes; at 11.122 it is used of Drances, whose age (in comparison to Turnus) the poet now highlights as he reverses the situation from the games: there, the younger man will effectively silence the older, though with help from the news of the resumption of Trojan military operations. Williams glosses the comparative as “the veteran,” which correctly denotes one aspect of the poet’s point; Entellus is physically old, and, in consequence, has seen greater men and participated in more impressive bouts than the one Dares would (comparatively) offer at the present games. Servius comments on the comparative force of the adjective (so also the use of *iunior*), noting that it does not accord with an old man’s abilities both to win and to kill a bull with one blow—therefore Entellus is to be understood as somewhere between old and young (however closer to the former). See further here M. Martina, “Senex,” in *EV* IV, 768–772, with special reference to Entellus and illustration of the third century mosaic showing him with the bull after his victory. It is just possible that the *senior* = Acestes here; the two older Sicilians have many affinities.

pectore: The localization has special force; Entellus will display much strength of heart and chest in the coming bout. Valerius has *hanc residens altis Hecate Perseia lucis | flebat et has imo referebat pectore voces* (*Arg.* 6.495–496). *Pectore voces* is Catullan (c. 64.125; 202); V. repeats the line-end at 482, and, in a neat balance, 2× in 11 (377 *dat gemitum rumpitque has imo pectore voces*, of Turnus’ reaction to Drances; and the parallel 840 *ingemuitque deditque has imo pectore voces*, of Opis’ to the death of Camilla). Ennius has *effudit voces proprio cum pectore sancto* (*Ann.* fr. s.i. 553), which Skutsch notes is probably the opening of a Jovian speech; he compares the aforementioned 482 *talis effundit pectore voces*; Pedo, c. 15 *in talis effundit pectora voces*. Lucretius has *nam verae voces tum demum pectore ab imo* (*DRN* 3.57); Lucan has *pectore voces* at line-end 3× (*BC* 2.285; 9.255; 565); Statius 2× (*Theb.* 10.189; *Ach.* 1.887); Valerius 3× (*Arg.* 1.504; 6.496; 7.308); Silius, like Ovid, but once (*Pun.* 3.696; *Met.* 15.657).

410 *quid, si quis caestus ipsius et Herculis arma*

ipsius: A third use of the intensive in quick succession, as Entellus introduces Hercules to the scene. Dares has been cowed by the appearance of the *caestus* of Eryx; Entellus implies that he has seen, or at least heard of, the gloves Hercules wore when he boxed against the son of Venus. The line is artfully arranged to leave a moment's surprise before we learn of the referent of the adjective; *quis* offers the significant detail that not just Dares, but anyone—including Aeneas—would be agape at the sight of those *other* gloves that loom in the background of the present bout. Entellus creates a pugilistic comparison: Dares *vs.* Entellus is as Eryx was *vs.* Hercules. The introduction of Hercules here offers a foreshadowing of the drama of Hercules and Cacus in 8, which ended in the destruction of the monster (cf. Dares' survival here—however close to death he comes).

Herculis arma: Repeated at 10.319, where Herculean arms do not save Cisseus and Gyas from Aeneas' rampage. Cf. Seneca, *Troad.* 730–731. Heyne argues that “*arma non possunt esse alia quam ipse cestus. Sic et mox v. 424. 425,*” which may be correct (we may add 412 *arma*)—though the likely effect of the present line is to create the image of how big everything else must have been if the Herculean boxing gloves were so much larger than Eryx's. See Harrison ad 10.319 for the *Herculis arma* = the famous club. Hendiadys, says Servius: the *arma* and the *caestus* are one. But V.'s concern is to underscore the Hercules motif. On the contest between Heracles and Eryx see Pseudo-Apollodorus 2.5.10 (with Scarpi); cf. Lycophron, *Alex.* 866 ff.; Diodorus 4.22.6 ff.; Pausanias 3.16.4 and 4.36.3–4 (with Frazer); Hyginus, *Fab.* 260.

411 *vidisset tristemque hoc ipso in litore pugnam?*

vidisset: Cf. 400 *venissem*; Entellus' past contrafactual language helps to convey the image of a world lost but to memory.

tristem ... pugnam: In another close tie between the sister books, the only other *tristis pugna* in V. comes at 11.589 *tristis ubi infausto committitur omine pugna*, of the cavalry battle Diana sends Opis to observe so that she may avenge Camilla's death (which is a *tristis mors* at 11.839). Phillipson notes ad loc. that the bout Entellus references was *tristis* because it ended in Eryx's death, and Eryx was both Entellus' teacher and Aeneas' half-brother. Servius records that Varro observed that under Mount Eryx there was an infertile field of some three acres that marked the site of the struggle where Aeneas' half-brother lost his life.

ipso ... litore: A subtle commentary on the current games sequence; once, on this same strand, Eryx boxed with Hercules. With the intensive cf. 407 *ipsa*, during the description of the gloves; there is an unusually high number

of verbal repetitions in the boxing match (which contributes to the doubling theme that was introduced in the foot race, where it helped to prepare for the twofold nature of the present bout), and the intensives at 407 and here underscore the reality of the present moment, with implicit comparison to past events. The Hercules lore connects the first and last books of the epic's second third.

412 *haec germanus Eryx quondam tuus arma gerebat*

germanus ... tuus: The possessive adjective is pointed; there is an implicit comparison between Aeneas and his (half)-brother. Servius cites Varro for the specific import of *germanus* (= matrilinear descent); Venus is the referent for the mention of Aeneas' sibling, and there is tension between the goddess' conflicting favor for Sicily and Troy, a question that will be rendered moot in the ultimate disposition of the Roman future. For the precise meaning of *germanus* and the use of the lexicon of siblings in Latin poetry, see Reeson ad Ovid, *Her.* 11.89 *germane* (with consideration of the use of the word as a mark of the high epic style, in contrast to the more mundane *frater*).

quondam ... gerebat: Silius has *fususque catervis / Boiorum quondam patriis antiqua gerebat / vulnera barbaricae mentis* (*Pun.* 5.646–648).

arma gerebat: Only here as a hexameter ending. The imperfect indicates that these gauntlets constituted Eryx's regular boxing equipment and were not reserved for special feats of valor.

On "the old technique for lending interest to minor figures," see Horsfall ad 6.166 *Hectoris ... magni ... Hectora*.

413 (*sanguine cernis adhuc sparsoque infecta cerebro*),

For now, at least, V. transfers the grisly result of the brutality of boxing to the pugilist's accoutrements; on the gory description of a veteran boxer's head at *AP* 11.78 see B. MacLachlan, "To Box or Not to Box with Eros? Anacreon Fr. 396 Page," in *CW* 94.2 (2001), 123–133, 124n6.

sanguine ... infecta: Cf. Propertius, c. 2.17.2 *hoc erit infectas sanguine habere manus*; Ovid, *Ep. Pont.* 3.4.108 *Rhenus et infectas sanguine portet aquas*; Seneca, *HF* 499 *adeste multo sanguine infectae manus*; Statius, *Theb.* 5.590; 9.187; the bloody snows of Silius, *Pun.* 3.547–548; in prose, Sallust, *BI* 101.11.7 *humus infecta sanguine*. The line is enclosed by two linked ablatives.

sparsoque: More vividly grisly than the inferior reading *fractoque*.

cerebro: Cf. 480 *effractoque inlinit in ora cerebro* below, of the bull Entellus sacrifices in place of Dares; 9.419 *stridens traiectoque tepefacta cerebro*, of a gory spear shot; 9.753 *conlapsos artus atque arma cruenta cerebro*, of Pandarus' death; 10.416 *ossaque dispersit cerebro permixta cruento*, of Thoas'; 11.698 *vulnus*

calido rigat ora cruento, of Orsilochus'; 12.537 *olli per galeam fixo stetit hasta cerebro*, of Hyllus': a gory catalogue of head injuries. Lucan has *nam pallida taetris / viscera tincta notis gelidoque infecta cruore / plurimus asperse variabat sanguine livor* (BC 1.619–620).

414 his magnum Alciden contra stetit, his ego suetus,

Alciden: Cf. A. 6.123 *quid memorem Alciden*, of those who braved the journey to the underworld; 6.392 *nec vero Alciden me sum laetatus euntem*, of Charon's complaint about conveying living bodies across the Styx; 6.801 *nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit* (in comparison to Augustus); 8.203; 249; 256; 363 (during the Cacus epyllion); 10.461; 464 (of Pallas' prayer to Hercules and the response of Jupiter to the demigod). The boxing match is the first mention of Hercules in the A.; the last book of the poem's second third will dwell at length on the hero and his connection to Evander (cf. the aged Entellus) and Pallas; between the latter and Evander's companion Antor (10.779 *Herculis ... comitem*), Alcides will endure a grim Book 10.

stetit: In marked contrast to 381 *stetit*, where Dares virtually assumed the posture of a suppliant before Aeneas (*ante pedes*). Entellus has the gloves with which his teacher Eryx was accustomed to stand against Hercules. At 477 *contra stetit*, Entellus will face his final opponent, his own prize. The notion of standing is central to the narrative of the boxing bout, whose metaphorical climax will come with the image of the crash of the tree that = the destruction of Troy.

suetus: Also of Eryx at 402; the repetition underscores the point that Eryx was a regular boxer in a season of giants.

415 dum melior viris sanguis dabat, aemula necdum

melior ... sanguis: Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 4.540. The emphasis on blood is striking; blood stains the gloves of Eryx that Entellus now wields, and "better blood" once coursed in the boxer's veins and gave him strength to compete regularly with the gauntlets he inherited from his mentor. The sanguinary descriptions prepare, too, for the gory unfolding of the bout. On the association of advanced years with chilly blood and a generally sluggish nature, see M. Rose, "Disability," in *VE I*, 374–375.

aemula: Only here with *senectus*; see above on 187, where it describes the *Pristis* (which does not win the regatta).

necdum: See Williams 1960 ad 733 *namque* for line-end with a "colourless word." The arrangement here is artful; old age creeps up on a man, and here the delayed *senectus* conveys the slow onset of what now possesses the aged Entellus—but the placement of *necdum* after *aemula*, and at the end of its

line, indicates neatly the remembered time when old age had “not yet” won its jealous pursuit of Entellus, when metrically it was not yet ready to hold the last place in the verse, as it were.

416 temporibus geminis canebat sparsa senectus.

geminis: More twinning; with *temporibus* cf. 9.750 *gemina inter tempora*, of the death of Pandarus (the frequent allusions to which in the boxing match connect to the gigantomachy theme).

canebat: Cf. *De rosīs nasc.* 13–14 *rara pruinosis canebat gemma fructibus / ad primi radios interitura die*. V. has the verb elsewhere in the *A.* of the swan metamorphosis of Cupavo (10.192 *canentem molli pluma duxisse senectam*); also 10.418 *ut senior leto canentia lumina solvit* (where see Harrison, and especially Henry on the optometric details); note also *G.* 2.13; 2.120; 3.325.

sparsa: Cf. 413, where bits of brain were sprinkled alongside blood on the gloves; white hair had not begun to appear on Entellus’ head when he wielded his teacher’s fearsome gauntlets.

417 sed si nostra Dares haec Troius arma recusat

Troius: With special reference to the ethnographic theme; Entellus draws a sharp distinction between the Trojan Dares and the Sicilian (*nostra*). See further on 419 *Troianos*.

nostra ... arma: Cf. the threefold repetition of *nostris ... armis* at 11.411 *si nullam nostris ultra spem ponis in armis*; 536 *o virgo, et nostris nequiquam cingitur armis*; 789 *da, pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis*. In 11, the point of the repeated emphasis on *nostra arma* is the question of Arruns’ provenance (Fratantuono 2006) and whether he is a partisan of Aeneas or Turnus; in 5 the emphasis is on the transformation of the Trojan into the Roman, and here, in the wake of the trickery of the foot race (cf. the fact that not only the possible Trojan truce breaking in 11, but also Arruns’ killing of Camilla *ex insidiis*), Entellus makes pointed reference to the *Trojan* Dares and his apparent cowardice in the face of Eryx’s weapons. The fact that Eryx and Aeneas are half-brothers (which Entellus also emphasizes) provides an additional dimension to the implicit criticisms; the first and last books of the second third of the epic relate memories of Herculean combat. In the present scene, a Trojan is challenged to take on the Hercules mantle, as it were, and fight against gauntlets once wielded by a Herculean opponent (cf. Dares’ practice with Paris), and will essentially refuse; in 8, Aeneas will hear of how Hercules battled Cacus. The Trojan Dares would not box against the *caestus* Hercules had faced, and so when we arrive in Pallanteum the Trojan Aeneas hears a story of yesteryear, a memory and not a living reality.

418 idque pio sedet Aeneae, probat auctor Acestes,

pio: As at 286, when Aeneas prepared to convene the foot race. The line has interesting subtleties. Acestes is the *auctor* of the games (see further below); the Sicilian Entellus acknowledges his monarch as the host of the memorial funeral contests. The main question here is the extent of 417 *si*; there are three separate but related issues at play: 1) Dares' refusal to box against the Eryx-*caestus*; 2) Aeneas' agreement that his half-brother's gloves should not be used; 3) Acestes' approval of the arrangement to even out (419 *aequemus*) the fight (since one might think that the gloves themselves represent a leveling of the playing field, since Entellus is so much older than Dares). Significantly, neither Aeneas nor Acestes makes verbal response to Entellus' polite invitation for referees.

probat: One of three occurrences of the verb in the epic; cf. 4.112, of Venus' musing to Juno over Jupiter's ethnographic intentions; 12.814, of Juno's discussion with Jupiter of her management of Juturna.

auctor: Servius glosses this as "huius certaminis," which indicates that someone wondered about the force of the label; *auctor* need not have ethnographic associations, but the use of the term is interesting in close juxtaposition to the mention of *pius* Aeneas, who might especially merit the title given the funerary memorial.

419 aequemus pugnās. Erycis tibi terga remitto

aequemus: The singular *aequem* occurs at 11.125 *vir Troiane, quibus caelo te laudibus aequem*, of Drances' fawning praise of the Trojan Aeneas—a matched pair of uses of the verb that connect the themes of Trojan inferiority and the parallel between Dares and Drances (whose similar names also aid in the association). On Entellus' concern with equality see Cairns 1989, 240–241. Cf. 424 *aequos*.

pugnās: That is, "arma," says Servius; Entellus will forego the gloves his teacher bequeathed him, and Dares the Trojan gloves with which he used to spar with Paris and with which he felled Butes (and if Butes sired Eryx, then it is even more telling that Dares refuses to fight against the *caestus* of the son of the man he once defeated).

420 (solve metus), et tu Troianos exue caestus.'

solve metus: So Aeneas to Achates at 1.463, after the viewing of the pictures in Dido's temple to Juno that arguably should have inspired dread rather than solace; 9.90, of Cybele's prayer to Jupiter that she might be freed from worry over the fate of Aeneas' ships. Statius has *solve metus animo, dabitur, mihi crede, merentum | consiliis tranquilla dies* (*Theb.* 2.356).

Troianos: As at 417, there is emphasis on the ethnographic theme: Dares is a Trojan, with Trojan gloves, and he will doff them here: they have already been proven inferior to Eryx's, and so the evening out of the contest is a relative question—Dares has already been seriously humbled, without a blow having been struck.

exue: The stripping of arms, as it were (cf. 11.395 *exutos Arcades armis*) will precede the fight, not follow it (and see on 423 *exuit*); the games provide a foreshadowing of the war, where the point will shift to the arming of the combatants and the stripping of the casualties.

421 *haec fatus duplicem ex umeris reiecit amictum,*

haec fatus: Also at *A.* 2.692, where Aeneas does the *opposite* of what Entellus here commences: there, the Trojan cushioned his broad shoulders (*latos umeros*) with a lion's pelt so that he could bear the burden of his father; here, the Sicilian tosses back the cloak from his shoulders as he prepares to box with a Trojan braggart. Elsewhere *V.* has *haec ita fatus* (10.594), as well as *haec effatus* 3× (= the older form; see Skutsch ad *Ann.* fr. 1.46; 57).

duplicem: The doublet recurs, this time in part out of fidelity to Apollonius (*Arg.* 2.32 ff.; see Williams 1960 for the parallel to the description there of Amycus' clothing; also Nelis 2001, 16). *V.* also makes clear in the preliminaries to the bout that Entellus is huge (see on 422); the double-folded cloak is large because it covers shoulders that are vastly broad. Entellus told Dares to remove his Trojan *caestus*, and now he throws back his cloak (cf. 402 *proiecit*, where the gauntlets were thrown forth in a silent gesture of response to Dares' boasting, and *reiecit* here, as Entellus makes final preparations to fight)—he may have agreed not to use Eryx's gloves, but here he reveals the natural weapons of his giant physique. The first corrector of *P* did not understand Entellus' action here and corrected the verb to *deiecit*. "Woven doubly thick or, possibly, large enough to be worn with double folds" (Burton ad loc).

422 *et magnos membrorum artus, magna ossa lacertosque*

All the emphasis is on Entellus' immense size; he will stand huge (423 *ingens*) on the strand as he awaits his competitor; the heavy spondees reflect the huge size of the man. The hypermetric line contributes to the crafting of the effect as the giant Entellus reveals his commanding physique; the lone dactyl in the fifth foot comes as Entellus' powerful arms are named, arms that will prove vigorous indeed. See further on 753.

magnos ... artus: Cf. Silius, *Pun.* 6.306; Statius has *effulsere artus, membrorumque omnis aperta est / laetitia, insignes umeri* (*Theb.* 6.571). With *membrorum* cf. 431 *membris*.

magna ossa: Macrobius, *Sat.* 6.1.43 cites Lucilius' (?) *magna ossa lacertique apparent homini* (see Kaster here for the manuscript attestations to "Lucius" and "Lucretius"). For the possible connection between the discovery of fossil bones and the development of gigantomachic lore, see Mayor 2000, 199–202. The bones are so big and prominent that it is as if one can note them as easily as *artus* and *lacerti*.

lacertos: Lucretius has *an tum bracchia consuescunt firmantque lacertos* (*DRN* 6.397); cf. 141 above, during the regatta; V. has *A.* 7.503 *Silvia prima soror palmis percussa lacertos* and 8.387 *niveis hinc atque hinc diva lacertis* (of Venus seducing Vulcan) alongside a number of passages where the noun appears in the context of wielding weapons (*A.* 7.164; 9.402; 10.339; 11.561 (when Metabus sends Camilla over the Amasenus); 11.693).

423 *exiit atque ingens media consistit harena.*

exiit: Cf. 420 *exue*. Ovid has *sic ubi mortales Tirynthus exiit artus* (*Met.* 9.268), of Hercules' metamorphosis into a god; cf. Statius, *Theb.* 10.937–939 *sed membra virum terrena relinquunt, | exiiturque anmus; paulum si tardius artus | cessissent, potuit fulmen sperare secundum*; Silius, *Pun.* 6.124–126 *tuus ille parens alta paravit | restando adversis nec virtutem exiit ullam | ante reluctantis liquit quam spiritus artus*. Macrobius (*Sat.* 6.1.43) reads *extulit*, perhaps because of confusion over how not only limbs but also bones could be bared.

media ... harena: The phrase is used in Dido's wish for Aeneas' destruction: 4.620 *sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena*, a parallel V. introduces here to underscore the revelation of Trojan suppression that lies at the heart of his ethnography. "In the climax of his description of the huge Entellus Virgil turns naturally to the adjective *ingens* of which he is so fond" (Williams). *Media* continues the expression of the book's interest in the midpoint or middle, which reflects the transitional nature of the Sicilian sojourn and the games.

424 *tum satus Anchisa caestus pater extulit aequos*

On the sound effects of the following section see C. Headlam, "The Technique of Vergil's Verse," in *CR* 35.3–4 (1921), 61–64, 63–64; and, for the heavy alliteration of the whole sequence, Williams ad loc.; the point of the repetitions is to create a verbal and aural atmosphere that mimics the incessant blows of the contestants.

satus Anchisa: Continuing the emphasis on the ghost that broods over the games (cf. 407 *Anchisiades*); the son of Anchises does not speak, but simply takes out equal *caestus*—and, significantly, V. does not identify their provenance (Trojan? Sicilian?). The verse is rich with the tensions inherent in the relationship between the father (Aeneas as *pater*) and the son (*satus*), espe-

cially in the context of the generational struggle represented by the Dares-Entellus bout. Aeneas donned a lion skin to carry his father from Troy; Entellus strips off his *duplex amictum* to prepare to do battle. The emphasis here on Aeneas as the son of Anchises also creates a neat balance between the generations; Aeneas can be viewed as on par with Dares, and Anchises with Entellus; in his capacity as the “son of Anchises,” the younger man can be seen to act fairly to both contestants.

aequos: Cf. 419 *aequemus*; the emphasis on equality is especially striking in the wake of the questionably fair adjudications of the foot race, and raises the matter of the equality of the present bout, with the different advantages of the two combatants: the identical gloves do not necessarily make for an equal fight. The stated concern for equality foreshadows the question of the fair fight that will emerge in the Virgilian *Iliad* (Aeneas/Lausus; Turnus/Pallas); the fact that the allegedly equal *caestus* are left unidentified as to provenance may presage the related question of the appropriate disposition of spoils, in particular the problem of whether to wear the arms of a slain foe (Camilla's premature question in the matter of Chloereus; Turnus/Pallas). The arms may be “equal,” but the contestants are still ill-matched, though V. deliberately leaves room for individual judgment.

425 *et paribus palmas amborum innexuit armis.*

paribus ... armis: The “equal arms” balance the line nearly perfectly; the contest is not evenly balanced, of course, given Dares' youth, though Entellus' implicitly larger size might be thought to cancel out the younger man's likely greater vigor and swiftness of reaction (cf. 430). The phrase recurs at 6.184 *hortatur socios paribusque accingitur armis*, amid the Misenus-Golden Bough sequences; 6.826 *illae autem paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis*, of Anchises' revelation of the future Pompey and Caesar; 9.655 *concedit laudem et paribus non invidet armis*, where Apollo/Butes warns off Ascanius from further participation in the war; 11.710 *tradit equum comiti paribusque resistit in armis*, as Camilla reacts to the lying Aunides; 12.344 *nutrierat Lycia paribusque ornauerat armis*, of Glaucus and Lades: the main parallel is to the Ligurian's taunts to Camilla, where he urges her to leave her horse and fight on the ground, infantry to infantry. Cf. G. 4.245 *imparibus se immiscuit armis*.

amborum: The boxing match is, appropriately enough, replete with images of pairing, with implicit questions of equality or lack thereof; the theme of the fair fight will recur with special reference to Pallas/Turnus and other matched pairs in the Iliadic *Aeneid*.

innexuit: Cf. 51 *innexa*, of the dove that is bound to the mast for the archery contest; V's technique is to link together his events by verbal echoes and

reminiscences. On the verb see Horsfall ad 7.353: “Corrupt at Hor. *Epd.* 17.72, and thus apparently introduced by V. into poetry.” The first corrector of M has *intexuit*, a verb V. uses half as often in the *A.* as *innectere* (5× vs. 10), but prefers in the *E.* and *G.* (2× and 2× vs. 0); see Horsfall ad 2.16.

426 *constitit in digitos extemplo arrectus uterque*

Quintilian (8.3.63.6) cites this line (and what follows) as an example of “verbal painting” (*verbis depingitur*) in his discussion of *enargeia*. There is effective suspense until the end of the line over the question of subject; for a passing moment the two boxers shade into one pugilistic figure, as they assume the stance of their craft and prepare to exercise their training before the assembly. “Ornate and baroque” says R. Williams of this passage, in contrast to the “plain and matter-of-fact” 151 ff. of the regatta (*CHCL* II.3, 66). Quintus Smyrnaeus has a similar scene (*Post.* 4.345–348) in his boxing match between Epeius and Theseus’ son Acamas (see here Gärtner 2005).

constitit in digitos: A passage where we would welcome Henry’s idiosyncratic and precise style of explication. The image is Apollonian (see Williams 1960 here on the parallel from *Arg.* 2.90 ff.). Peerlkamp cites Quintilian’s *statura breves, in digitos eriguntur* (2.3); the posture assumed here may have an intentional effect of increasing stature, but the prime motivation is to allow for the nimblest of responses to the first moves of one’s opponent. The construction is not dissimilar to the *pendent in verbera* (147) of the charioteers to whom V. compares the participants in the ship race. For the verb form at the opening of a verse, Horsfall notes ad 6.331: “Eight lines in *Aen.* begin thus, but none continue in the same way.”

arrectus: See above on 138. The present passage is echoed at 11.451–452 *extemplo turbati animi concussaue vulgi | pectora et arrectae stimulis haud mollibus irae*, of the Latin reaction to the news that the Trojans have resumed military operations, a development that effectively silences Drances and ends the deliberations of the war council with something of a vindication of Turnus’ positions; cf. the imminent defeat of Dares.

427 *bracchiaque ad superas interritus extulit auras.*

interritus: Neither man knows fear as the adrenaline of the start of the bout takes over. *Interritus* is used 2× in 5 and 2× in 11; at 863 it describes Aeneas’ fleet in the aftermath of the loss of Palinurus, as it sails on without a helmsman to Italy. At 11.711 *ense pedes nudo puraque interrita parma* Camilla prepares to face Aunides on land (just before he flees in cowardly terror). At 11.837, Opis is unafraid as she watches the cavalry battle and prepares to avenge Camilla. V. thus artfully balances the adjective in deliberate fashion; it occurs 1× in each

book of a matched pair, and 1× each in the Palinurus-Somnus and Opis-Arruns sequences that offer climaxes of divine intervention to the sister books.

superas ... auras: Cf. *G.* 4.486 *redditaque Eurydice superas veniebat ad auras*; the related *A.* 6.128 *sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras*; 7.768 *aetheria et superas caeli venisse sub auras* (of Hippolytus). 4×, then, with three of the occurrences in eschatological contexts; here there is perhaps a hint of mortal defiance of the gods, as the men who incarnate a new gigantomachy seemingly rail against the heavens. What we would call boasting and prayer are sometimes difficult to disentangle in Homer (see here Redfield 1975, 129 ff.); in Dares' arrogance there is no hint of particular respect for the immortals, in contrast to what will prove to be Entellus' *pietas* in his sacrifice ritual after his victory.

extulit: An artful repetition from 424, where Aeneas brought out the "fair" gloves; there is a significant gulf between his action there and what each contestant is doing now as the bout commences; see below on 444.

428 *abduxere retro longe capita ardua ab ictu*

abduxere: The verb is rare in *V.*; at 3.601 *abducite* it is used of Achaemenides' pleas to the Trojans; at 7.362 *abducta virgine* of Lavinia; at 10.79 *quid soceros legere et gremiis abducere pactas* of Juno's complaints at the divine council; cf. *E.* 2.43; *G.* 1.507. For the illustration of this defensive stance on vases, see Frost 1906, 219.

retro: Used of the motion of water at 11.405 and 627.

longe: Cf. 406 *longe*; the metaphorical has become the literal, as Dares moves from refusing to fight against the gloves of Eryx to the fighter's stance with its defense of the head.

capita ardua: Only here in *V.*; cf. Statius, *Theb.* 4.461–462; 10.29; Silius, *Pun.* 5.239; 16.386. At 480 Entellus is *arduus* as he rises to slay his prize bull. For the adjective cf. 695 and 831 below.

429 *immiscentque manus manibus pugnamque lacessunt,*

immiscent: The verb occurs 1× each in 5 and 11: Arruns flees into the crowd in fear after his fatal wounding of Camilla (*contentusque fuga mediis se immiscuit armis*). The sparring begins here, as the two men make physical contact and commence the bout. Two verbs enclose the verse.

manus ... manibus: Cf. 8.486 *manibusque manus*, where the phrase is reversed to indicate the torments to which the Etruscan monster Mezentius subjected his enemies—a neat balance for the first and last books of the epic's second third. For the plural see Wills 1996, 199–200 on the language of "hand-to-hand" combat.

laccessunt: 12× in the *A.*; at 11.254 Diomedes uses it to chide the Latins for their war with the Trojans (cf. 11.585 *militia tali conata laccessere Teucros*, of Diana's similar lament for Camilla, echoed by Opis at 842 *supplicium Teucros conata laccessere bello*). Lucan has *sed Grais habiles pugnamque laccessere pinus* (*BC* 3.553); cf. Statius, *Theb.* 1.413 *exsertare umeros nudamque laccessere pugnam*; Silius, *Pun.* 4.404 and 17.386. "The basic meaning of the verb *laccesso* is to provoke or molest, usually by pawing, or tickling, or something of that sort, as in Vergil ..." (L. Richardson, "Furi et Aureli, Comites Catulli," in *CPh* 58.2 [1963], 93–106, 101). Servius glosses the verb as = "provocant' potius quam 'gerunt,' vel certe 'irritant,'" and the Virgilian parallels point to a sense of the unfinished fight: Diomedes' reflection on the Latin war against the Trojan exiles; Camilla's part in the same fight; the presaging of the war of ethnicities that is occurring now on the beach near Anchises' tomb (= the grave of the man who will unveil the future Roman history in the underworld). The boxing match, too, will be somewhat unfinished; Dares will not die, and the prize will be sacrificed in his stead: Troy is, after all, not yet quite finished.

For Conington's full stop at the end of this line, see Hahn 1930, 132; 135n563 on the supplying of *est* in the following.

430 ille pedum melior motu fretusque iuventa,

The language is reminiscent of the opening of the games (67–68 *quique pedum cursu valet / aut iaculo incedit melior levibusque sagittis*), as V. introduces the second half of the athletic contests. Balance is neatly expressed by the paired matching terms at the openings of the lines at 430–431 and 433–434.

fretus: The adjective is repeated at 790–791 *maria omnia caelo / miscuit Aeoliis nequiquam freta procellis*, as Venus recounts the storm of 1 to her uncle; Mercury relies on his wand at 4.245–246 *illa fretus agit ventos et turbida tranat / nubila*, while Orpheus has his lyre (6.119–120 *Orpheus / Threicia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris*). Pandarus and Bitias rely on their arms (to their doom) at 9.675–676 as they violate Aeneas' directive to keep the gates of the Trojan camp closed. The firewalkers on Socrate rely on their *pietas* (11.787).

431 hic membris et mole valens; sed tarda trementi

mole valens: Entellus relies on his immense bulk, though he shows the first signs of trouble in the bout as he begins to feel the effects of Dares' blows. Ovid has *membrisque valens* of Hercules' foe Nessus at *Met.* 9.108. The huge Entellus reminds us of the massive Chimaera Gyas captains during the regatta—another of the associations between the two lengthier contests, which are marked by the pronounced presence of nautical and human entities of especially impressive size.

trementi: Entellus trembles as he tries to maintain his footing and stance under the rain of the blows; there is no hint of fear, but the superior speed and dexterity of the younger man takes a fairly early toll in the bout. The *bos* Entellus sacrifices at 481 is also *tremens* (closing the ring that opens here) cf., too, the similar situation of Mnestheus' Pristis at 198 *vastis tremit ictibus aerea puppis*, a correspondence between the ship race and the present bout.

432 *genua labant, vastos quatit aeger anhelitus artus.*

genua labant: The phrase recurs at 12.905 *genua labant, gelidus concrevit frigore sanguis*, of Turnus as he faces Aeneas—an important link between Entellus and the Rutulian, which is reinforced by the use of *fessos quatit aeger anhelitus artus* of Turnus after his withdrawal from the Trojan camp at 9.814. For the knees giving way cf. Silius, *Pun.* 1.529; for the *vastos ... artus*, *Ilias Latina* 804 *per vastos sudor pugnantum defluit artus*.

With the *tarda genua* here cf. the aftermath of Aeneas' arrow wound at 12.746–747 *quamquam tardata sagitta | interdum genua impediunt cursumque recusant*, where the seriousness of the injury continues to afflict the Trojan even after his mother's divine healing intervention.

Entellus' knees give way: the disyllabic scansion of *genua* metrically enacts the action of the verb.

quatit: The present scene echoes 199–200 *tum creber anhelitus artus | aridaque ora quatit, sudor fluit undique rivis*, during the regatta; the two moments of breathlessness balance the action of the longest of the contests.

433 *multa viri nequiquam inter se vulnera iactant,*

multa viri: So V. describes Dido's impression of Aeneas at 4.3–4 *multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat | gentis honos*; with the repeated line opening or ending with different sense cf. 435 *tempora circum*.

nequiquam: One of the eight occurrences of the adverb in the book (cf. 81; 256; 276; 392; 632; 791; 860); the first use comes during the preliminary rites at Anchises' tomb; the next two during the aftermath of the regatta, as the prizes are awarded; then two again during the boxing match (the other long competition); 1× as Iris/Beroë seeks to stir the Trojan women; 2× during the long Palinurus episode (once as Venus addresses Neptune; again as the helmsman is thrown overboard).

inter se ... iactant: Ennius has *pars ludicre saxa | iactant inter se licitantur* (*Ann.* fr. 69–70 Skutsch).

vulnera: The *caestus ... aequos* Aeneas produced at 424 were not described in any detail, though the name may point to their Roman style; the blows inflicted are serious, as we soon learn, though the toughness and stamina of both men make the present wounds bearable.

434 **multa cavo lateri ingeminant et pectore vastos**

Burton, who comments ad loc. on “the involuntary sounds which escape ... as they deliver the blows,” compares Cicero, *TD* 2.56 *pugiles vero, etiam cum feriant adversarium, in iactandis caestibus ingemiscunt; non quod doleant, animove succumbant, sed quia profundenda voce omne corpus intenditur, venitque plaga vehementior*.

cavo: Cf. the “hollow pine” at 448–449. Lucan has *vincula nervorum et laterum textura cavumque | pectus et abstrusum fibris vitalibus omne* during one of his descriptions of herpetological horror (*BC* 9.777). On Virgilian and other poetic uses of the related *cavum* see R. Heine, “*Cavum und Caverna*,” in *Glotta* 49.3–4 (1971), 266–289.

ingeminant: See on 227. The doubling theme continues, as the mutual blows rain down on the two pugilists. See Williams 1960 for the question of whether the line is to be taken in antithesis to the preceding. The anaphora of *multa* effectively conveys the showering of blows; there are many that miss, and many too that land on the body, since both men are focused on protecting their heads. The sounds said blows produce = *vastos* both because of the size of the boxers and the strength of their punches. There is also a hint of the groaning that would accompany such intense battery, involuntary or not, especially the repeated groans of a boxing match.

435 **dant sonitus, erratque auris et tempora circum**

The language is reminiscent of Laocoön’s attack on the horse (2.52–53 *uteroque recusso | insonuere cavae gemitumque dedere cavernae*). Achaemenides reports that he saw the *vastos* Cyclopes, and heard the *sonitum* of their feet (3.647–648). There are shades of mountain imagery, as the two boxers (especially the huge Entellus) are like the mighty prisons that pin down the defeated giants of yore.

dant sonitus: Only here; Silius has *fit sonitus* at *Pun.* 4.309. See here Roiron 1908, 230–232, with detailed analysis of the sound effects and their epic precursors. P reads the singular *sonitum*, which is less vivid and not as appropriate to the noises emitted by the *two* combatants. V. enjoys pleonastic uses of *dare* (as a mark of the high style); compare, e.g., the uses of *dare amplexus* at *A.* 1.687; 8.405; *dare dicta* at 2.789; 852 below; 6.628; 7.323; 471; 8.541; 9.431; 10.600; 644; 12.81; 441; *dare motus* at *G.* 1.350.

errat: On the verb see Horsfall ad 7.353 (of the Allecto-serpent), who notes that it is common of “free-range animals.” The form is used in other decidedly grim contexts at 4.684, during Anna’s lament after Dido’s suicide; 9.393, of Nisus’ frantic search for Euryalus (cf. 1.578, of Dido’s promised hunt for the lost Aeneas). There is one use of the verb in 5 and one in 11 (135 *erravere*, of

the Trojans and Latins mingling with impunity during the gathering of wood for the pyres). For a different interpretation see J. Hewitt, "Humor in Homer and in Vergil (Concluded)," in *The Classical Weekly* 22.23 (1929), 177–181, 178, who sees a lighthearted, indeed elegiac tone even in the detail here of the wanderings of the frequent hand around the ear—of interest to the writer of centos.

auris: With the blows around the ears cf. 11.637 *hastam intorsit equo ferrumque sub aure reliquit*, of Camilla's attack on Orsilochus: once again the games are a suitably violent pantomime of the coming savagery of war.

A highly metaphorical image, suspended because dependent on the enjambment. The verb gives a sense of the imprecision of landing a blow in boxing, whether in antiquity or now. Clubbing as far back as the ear implies a wide swing, something approximating a modern "hook." The second place for the blows to land, the *tempora*, need not imply such a swing, but rather a cross or jab. The two together cover most of the standard boxing blows, save upper cut and body blow.

tempora circum: The line-end is Lucretian (*DRN* 3.1005, with a different sense); *V.* has it at *E.* 8.12 of an ivy crown; *A.* 2.133 *et salsae fruges et circum tempora vittae* (during the Sinon episode); 2.684 *lambere flammis comas et circum tempora pasci* (the Ascanius flame portent); 8.285–286 *tum Salii ad cantus incensa altaria circum / populeis adsunt evincti tempora ramis*; 9.808 *strepit adsiduo cava tempora circum* (of the ringing inside Turnus' helmet during his battle in the camp); 12.162–163 *quadriiugo vehitur curru cui tempora circum / aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt* (of Latinus). For the anastrophe cf. 27 and, e.g., *A.* 1.466.

436 *crebra manus, duro crepitant sub vulnere malae.*

crebra manus: Only here in *V.* in agreement with *manus* (though see below ad 459–460); cf. also 199, 764 in this book, and the parallel 11.610–611 *exhortantur equos, fundunt simul undique tela / crebra nivis ritu, caelumque obtexitur umbra*, near the beginning of the cavalry battle. We move from the plural verbs of the doubling of blows and the sounds emitted from the struck chests to the singular of the *crebra manus*, almost as if the two pairs of hands were one entity—so fast do they move—before returning to the plural *crepitant*, of the cheeks that rattle beneath the force of the relentless punches.

duro: On the descriptor see Schenk 1984, 315 ff. The adjective conveys both the sense of the hardness of the blow *and* the tough reaction of the pugilists to the repeated hits. For the placement of the adjective see T. Pearce, "The Enclosing Word Order in the Latin Hexameter. II," in *CQ* 16.2 (1966), 298–320, 311. Cf. also 403 and 478–479 for the adjective applied to the boxing gloves; the

caestus cause wounds rather different from the *duri dolores* that opened the book (5).

crepitant: The verb occurs 6× in the *A.*; at 459–460 it reappears (with *creber* [of the *heros* Entellus] *manu*) to close a neat ring; at 3.70 it is used of the *Auster* that speeds on the fleet after the departure from Thrace and the grave of Polydorus; at 6.209 *crepitabat* of the Golden Bough; at 7.74 of the *flamma* that portentously appears on Lavinia's head (*crepitante cremari*, with onomatopoeic crackling); at 11.299 of *undae* in a simile.

vulnere malae: Also at line-end at Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.247; Silius, *Pun.* 7.607. With the *durum vulnus* cf. Propertius, c. 3.14.8 *et patitur duro vulnere pancratio*; *G.* 3.257 *atque hinc atque illinc umeros ad vulnura durat*. *Mala* (in the plural) occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11, where at 681 *malae* describes the wolf-head ornament of Ornytus. See Williams on the meaning (technically = the cheek bones), here in contrast to the *auris* and the *tempora* that are higher up on the head. For *V.*'s response to Homer's mention of bruxism as a mark of serious physical exertion (*Il.* 23.688) by way of Apollonius' description of the "clashing of teeth" from blows to the cheeks, see Nelis 2001, 17. "The most obvious boxing injuries would have been loss of teeth and broken noses. The most serious injuries were less obvious." (Potter 2011, 85).

The midpoint of the book comes as the Trojan Dares and the Sicilian Entellus are locked in fierce combat, a brutal image of the struggle of the generations and ages, and the bloody unfolding of the ethnographic future of Rome (see here S. Bertman, "The Generation Gap in the Fifth Book of Vergil's *Aeneid*," in Bertman 1976, 205–210; to the degree that Trojans and Sicilians are destined to be one people, the boxing match is a mimicry of internecine strife). The present contest, like so much of the drama of the games, is a pantomime of what will unfold in savage reality in the war of the Virgilian *Iliad*; significantly, the "final" bout between Aeneas and Turnus will come after the ethnographic settlement Jupiter reveals to the pacified Juno, not before: the combat between the Trojan and the Rutulian, and the former's decision to slay his foe as he assumes the wrath of the goddess, offers an incarnation of the admonition of the underworld Anchises to the Roman of the future regarding *parcere subiectis* (an admonition Turnus raises and Aeneas ignores). The remainder of the boxing match will foreshadow the injunction of Anchises' ghost and Aeneas' response thereto.

437 *stat gravis Entellus nisuque immotus eodem*

gravis: As was Acestes at 387 when the king urged his subject to respond to Dares' challenge. For *stat gravis* in a rather different context cf. Ovid, *Ars* 1.233–234 *vinaque cum bibulas sparsere Cupidinis alas, | permanent et capto*

stat gravis ille loco. Here the adjective conveys the grim mien and fierce stance of the fighter, as well as his heavy bulk and determined poise; this full range of meaning is clarified and supported by the details that follow. The image is underscored still further at 447, as Entellus falls when his attempted blow fails to make contact with Dares.

nisu: The noun appears only 3× in V, 1× in 5 and 1× in 11, where at 852 *rapido* ... *nisu* it describes Opis' ascent of the *bustum* of Dercennus whence she will slay Arruns; elsewhere at 3.37 *maiore* ... *nisu* of Aeneas' efforts to pull up the *hastilia* that mark Polydorus' grave. Its use here is somewhat different in conjunction with *immutus*, but the point is that Entellus does move with his body and eyes (as we soon learn), but in lieu of footwork he remains fixed on the spot. *Nisu* here, of Entellus, is balanced by 442 *adsultibus*, of Entellus; *nisus* is not particularly common, but *adsultus* is exceptionally rare (though we should be hesitant to consider it a Virgilian coinage): V. may be indicating that the skilled Dares tried every trick in the boxer's repertoire to attack his opponent. "Not the effort made by the muscles, but their preparedness to make the effort when the moment came" (Phillipson ad loc.).

immutus: Like the wave at 127 when there was calm and the *meta* of the ship race could rise up from the surface of the water and provide a peaceful haven for birds; the verbal repetition links together the two lengthier contests, and Entellus is not unlike the rock of the regatta in his effort to remain unmoved despite the lashings of his opponent (cf. the waves crashing into the *saxum* above).

438 corpore tela modo atque oculis vigilantibus exit.

tela: For the noun of blows, see Heuzé 1985, 196.

oculis ... *vigilantibus*: Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 5.212; Rumor's *vigiles oculi* (*A.* 4.182). The only other participial form of *vigilare* in the *A.* = 9.345 *vigilantem*, where Rhoetus hides in vain during Euryalus' slaughter (cf. Homer's Euryalus in his boxing match). Here the participle has lost something of its verbal force and simply means "vigilant" or "attentive" (cf. Cicero, *Pro Rosc. Am.* 48.139). The vigilance of the eyes, undoubtedly revealed through their capacity to anticipate the blows (*tela*), contrasts with the stalwart, unmoving pose of the boxer.

exit: Cf. 492, where Hippocoön wins the coveted first slot in the archery competition; the verb also occurs 2× in 11: 749–750 *contra ille repugnans / sustinet a iugulo dextram et vim viribus exit*, of Venulus' resistance to Tarchon's attack (a parallel perceptively noted by Servius); 903 *vix e conspectu exierat campumque tenebat*, of Turnus' fateful abandonment of the ambush he had planned for Aeneas. The first two uses in each book are in scenes of combat; the second two in moments connected to opportunity and chance: Hippocoön

seems to have secured the best opportunity to win the archery contest, but surprises loom; Turnus seems to have lost his best chance to win the war at one stroke—and so the savage will of Jupiter demanded—but surprises loom there, too.

439 *ille, velut celsam oppugnat qui molibus urbem*

Dares is like one who besieges a city (= the fifth simile of the book); the image of such an attack on a fortified site connects to the similar episodes in 9 and 11, where first the Trojans' makeshift camp and then Latinus' unnamed capital come under assault. "This simile is Virgil's own" (Papillon and Haigh ad loc., who cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 2.70 ff., of a rogue wave). The ethnographic theme continues: Dares is a would-be city sacker, a Trojan seeking here to attack a Sicilian town, as it were. All of the images contained in the richly connotative simile of Dares' attack will be fulfilled in 11, with cross-references forwards and back to the sack of Troy in 2 and Turnus' siege of the Trojan camp in 9. Hornsby 1970, 113–115 connects this simile with *A.* 4.665–671, of the comparison of the reaction of the Carthaginians to Dido's suicide to that of the population of an invaded city—a foreshadowing of the eventual sack of Carthage by Rome. On hyperbolic descriptions of "important heroes of great awesomeness" see Hardie 1986, 286.

celsam ... urbem: In the same *sedes* at *A.* 3.292–293 *portuque subimus / Chaonio et celsam Buthroti accedimus urbem*; the reminiscence may be an intentional evocation of ideas of a city in miniature (the "toy Troy" where Helenus and Andromache dwell; the boxer who is compared to a city), and even of an old and weak locale. V. draws another parallel here with the regatta; cf. 119 *urbis opus*, of the immense Chimaera.

molibus: A famous ambiguity: is the city *celsa* with *molibus* (so Williams), or are the *molibus* part of the imagined attack Dares is launching on the city? The present passage evokes *tantae molis erat Romanae condere gentem* (1.33) and the spirit of the *altae moenia Romae* (1.7). The form *molibus* occurs once else in V., at 9.712 *saxea pila cadit, magnis quam molibus ante / constructam ponto iaciunt*, of another comparison, as in the wake of Turnus' eminently Roman attack on Bitias (cf. 705 *phalarica*) the giant's fall evokes the image of the collapse of a pier at Baiae. The two scenes balance each other; there, a Trojan giant is felled by a Rutulian wielding a peculiarly Roman weapon, while here a Trojan seeks in vain to defeat a Sicilian giant, who will indeed fall, only to rise again and win after a vigorous resurrection. Arruns and Camilla are doublets of Aeneas and Turnus; here the poet presages both the combat between the Etruscan and the Volscian, and the ambush and siege actions both Aeneas and Turnus will practice in 11 and 12. Knapp considers *molibus* either an ablative

of specification (with *celsam*), or an instrumental ablative (also with *celsam*). Cf. 431 *mole*, and see on 275 above.

440 *aut montana sedet circum castella sub armis*,

Dares is like one who lies in wait; the image of an ambush now subtly joins the siege theme, as V. prepares to link the present competition with Arruns' stalking of Camilla.

montana: The adjective is poetic and occurs once else in V., at A. 2.305 *rapidus montano flumine torrens*, where Aeneas hears the Greek destruction of Troy (caused by their *insidiae* [2.309–310]), which is compared to a torrent of water whose destruction is heard by a shepherd—an image that will be fulfilled in Book 12 in an artful reversal, where Aeneas is like a shepherd smoking out bees as he launches his attack on Latinus' city (587–588), and Turnus' raging across the battlefield is compared to a rushing flood (681–690). The description of the forts continues the gigantomachy theme, with Dares as if he were a giant trying to scale the Entellus mountain; if Entellus is like some huge height, then every place where Dares probes for weakness is compared to one of many *montana castella*.

sedet circum: Tmesis, as Servius notes (and see here Horsfall ad 6.515 *super ... venit*); *circumsedere* does not occur in poetry: the language is that of the historians, especially Livy.

castella: The noun occurs elsewhere in V. only at G. 3.475, of the Noric *castella* on their *tumulis*, where the “hillocks” (Thomas) evoke burial mounds in V.'s description of the lasting effects of the cattle plague. *Castellum* is rare in poetry (cf. Lucan, *BC* 6.40; 126; 268), and is borrowed from the language of military history (Caesar; Sallust; Livy).

441 *nunc hos, nunc illos aditus, omnemque pererrat*

The line is virtually repeated at 11.766 *hos aditus iamque hos aditus omnemque pererrat*, where Arruns relentlessly pursues Camilla over the battlefield. The repetition is significant; once again there is reinforcement of the close connection between the sister books, and Dares is here associated with the Etruscan Arruns (who is also *improbus* [11.767]); cf. Drances' fawning over Aeneas. The differences between the two scenes are crucial to understanding the links; Camilla is unaware of Arruns' stalking, and both parties in the veritable ballet of death move vivaciously across the battlefield; if Arruns is a partisan of Camilla, there is a connection, too, to the favorite Virgilian theme of civil war that is present in the boxing match, as the Trojan and Sicilian fight savagely despite the alliance between Acestes and Aeneas. *Aditus* coordinates with 442 *locum* to convey the idea that the boxer is like a military target to be seized.

perrerat: Besides here and 11.766, the verb occurs in the same form at *A.* 4.363, of Dido surveying Aeneas before accusing him of tigrine parentage; 7.375, of the *serpentis furiale malum* of Allecto that infects Amata—two grim associations. Cf. also *A.* 2.294–295 *hos cape fatorum comites, his moenia quaere / magna pererrato statues quae denique ponto*. The verb encompasses both visual and tactile investigation; Dares both looks for an opening and aims for potentially weak points in Entellus' frame. *V.* greatly expands on Homer's brief mention of Epeius' looking for an opening during his bout (*Il.* 23.689–690).

442 *arte locum et variis adsultibus inritus urget*.

arte: So Arruns in his pursuit of Camilla at 11.760–761 *velocem iaculo et multa prior arte Camillam / circuit* (see Fratantuono ad loc.). The problem in 11 is whether *V.* is saying that Arruns is superior to Camilla in *ars*; here, the point is principally that the boastful Dares is a talented boxer, with deft skill and nimble maneuvers. The connection with Allecto's serpentine attack continues, too, with the parallels moving from the Fury's assault on Amata to that on Aeneas' son; cf. 7.477–478 *arte nova, speculata locum, quo litore pulcher / insidiis cursque feras agitabat Iulus*.

inritus: 1× in 5, and 1× in 11, where at 735 *quo ferrum quidve haec gerimus tela inrita dextris* Tarchon upbraids his men for their poor performance in the fight against Camilla and her Volscians. Cf. also 2.458–459, of Trojan weapons hurled down in vain on the invading Greeks; 9.312–313 *sed aurae / omnia discerpunt et nubibus inrita donant*, of the commands given to Nisus and Euryalus; 10.94–95 *nunc sera querelis / haud iustis adsurgis et inrita iurgia iactas*, of Juno's retort to Venus; 10.330–331, of the weapons of the sons of Phorcus that bounce harmlessly off Aeneas' helmet and shield.

adsultibus: Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.21.4 (on the *Germanis animus*, in an ethnographic passage): *praelongas hastas non protenderet, non colligeret, neque adsultibus et velocitate uteretur, coacta stabile ad proelium* (with Furneaux, who considers it a possible borrowing from *V.*). The noun effectively illustrates the contrast between Entellus, whose feet remain fixed on the spot, and Dares, who practically leaps now here, now there in his efforts to scale the mountain, as it were. For the gigantomachy theme, we begin to see more clearly an image of Dares as rebellious giant and Entellus as fixed point. The rare noun occurs 10× in Ammianus (*TLL* 2.0.913.65–73), but is not found otherwise outside Virgil and Tacitus until Prudentius.

urget: See above on 226, where Cloanthus makes his great effort in the regatta—another link between the two longer contests; Lazzarini ad Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.23 for the sense of *ferire*.

443 ostendit dextram insurgens Entellus et alte

Entellus finally responds to the repeated provocations of his foe.

insurgens: The form recurs at 11.755 *arduus insurgens*, of the Venulus-snake as the Tarchon-eagle seeks to carry it off; at 12.902 *altior insurgens et cursu concitus heros*, Turnus is so described as he seeks to hurl an immense boulder at Aeneas. Cf. also the *silex* of 8.234 near the entrance to Cacus' cave; *insurgere* of the dark dust that rises on the plain at 9.34; and the nautical uses of the finite verb at 3.207; 3.560; 5.189. The parallels continue to support the pervasive association between the two longer contests; the relationship between 5 and 11; the Dares/Entellus bout as model for Aeneas/Turnus.

dextram: Entellus raises his right hand to attempt to land a heavy blow on the darting Dares; one might wonder at first if the Sicilian were planning a feint to allow for a left hook (see here W. Borthwick, "Two Scenes of Combat in Euripides," in *JHS* 90 [1970], 15–21, 18). But there will be no trick; Entellus will fail to land his desired blow, which would have caused ghastly harm to his opponent.

444 extulit, ille ictum venientem a vertice velox

For the triple alliteration at line-end Williams 1960 refers to Austin ad 4.29 for the bibliography on the question of whether this was a feature of the Saturnian meter that adds an "Italian ornament" to the line, which if true would add to the ethnographic import of the scene as the Sicilian Entellus seeks to strike the Trojan. The other occurrences of the phenomenon in the book lend interesting analysis; cf. 174, where Menoetes is hurled overboard; 466, where Dares is severely injured; 866, where the harmless Sirenic rocks sound not with the deadly voices of their inhabitants but with the crash of waves. Two framing occurrences, then, in related contexts (Menoetes will climb on *his* rock, in contrast to the ill-fated Palinurus); Entellus' blow here will fail, but he will succeed in defeating Dares, who is carried off at 469 in a terrible state: we move in both narratives from a harmless precursor to an all too serious sequel. In the present scene, the alliteration may also verbally enact the forcefulness and aggression of the fight.

extulit: The last occurrence of the form in an ascending tricolon of uses; at 424 Aeneas brought out "equal" *caestus*; each boxer raised his hands in a fighting stance at 427; now Entellus alone seeks to land a decisive blow on his opponent: we have moved in a progressive sequence to a key moment in the bout narrative.

ictum venientem: Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 5.563.

velox: For the adjective see on 116, where it describes the Pristis; 2× in 5 and 2× in 11; Dares is swift like Mnesteus' boat (another connection to the regatta), and like Opis and Camilla (of whose speed V. makes special emphasis).

445 praevidit celerique elapsus corpore cessit;

The hard alliteration here contrasts neatly with that of 444; a single heavy blow was aimed at Dares, and he nimbly escapes it, possibly with rapid motion in more than one direction.

praevidit: The verb occurs only here in V.; the passage may have influenced *Ilias Latina* 605 *ille ictum celeri praevidit callidus astu*, of Hector's avoidance of Ajax's blow (something of a reversal of the present scene). Appropriately enough, it opens the line that describes Dares' successful avoidance of what would have been a potentially fatal strike. The line is framed by the actions, first of the visual, then of the physical; V. here balances the mention of how Entellus used his 1) body and 2) his vigilant eyes to evade Dares (438).

elapsus: See above on 326, of Diores. The participle is placed artfully between *celeri* and *corpore*, and also between the two main verbs that describe the action, as Dares uses his nimble body to escape the heavy frame of his opponent.

446 Entellus viris in ventum effudit et ultro

The alliteration here coordinates with that of 444, where Dares swiftly avoided the blow.

viris: On "virtue, boldness, toil" in the games narrative, see Cairns 1989, 226; Entellus for him is a Trojan ally and thus able to be associated with the Trojans in this regard, though V.'s point is that this Sicilian will defeat his Trojan opponent, and that the boxing match will embody and foreshadow the coming suppression of Troy—Trojan tolerance and endurance notwithstanding.

ultro: The adverb introduces an element of surprise; it is unclear at first what will happen almost reflexively; cf. the rather different use at 55, where Aeneas describes how he and his men happen to have arrived back in Sicily in time for the year's anniversary of his father's death. Dares sought to topple the Entellus-mountain, which will fall of its own accord, as it were—only to rise again and prove rather more mobile.

447 ipse gravis graviterque ad terram pondere vasto

For an association of Entellus here with Priam at the fall of Troy, vid. Paschalis 1997, 191n47; unlike the Trojan monarch, this Sicilian will rise again. For comparison to Achilles' mourning for Patroclus at *Il.* 18.26–27, see Wills 1996, 239, especially n. 43.

gravis graviterque: For the alleged tautology, see Hahn 1930, 128, who takes the adjective closely with the subject and the adverb with the verb: "the adjective expresses a permanent, the adverb a transient, character, so that even apart

from their diverse grammatical forms they are not true parallels logically.” The alliteration here echoes the sound of a heavy fall (cf. the strong repetition of *concidit* at 448, where present and past blend into one image, with more alliteration for verbal enactment of the crashing). On the force of the enclitic see Conway ad 1.668.

pondere vasto: Cf. *Aetna* 71–73 *gurgite Trinacrio morientem Iuppiter Aetna / obruit Enceladon, vasto qui pondere montis / aestuat et petulans exspirat faucibus ignem*; Ovid, *Her.* 9.87–88 *ut Tegaeaeus aper cupressifero Erymantho / incubet et vasto pondere laedat humum*; Silius, *Pun.* 4.199; 6.235; 10.235. On the connotations of *vastus* see Murgatroyd ad Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.149 *vasto ... vertice*.

448 *concidit, ut quondam cava concidit aut Erymantho*

The sixth simile of the book; the Homeric sources = *Il.* 13.177–181 (Teucer slays Mentor’s son Imbrius, who falls like an ash tree that is cut down by bronze); 389–391 (Idomeneus kills Asius, who falls like an oak, a poplar, or a pine that is felled for a ship’s timber); 14.414–419 (Hector falls to Ajax’s blow like an oak that is struck by Zeus’ lightning); 16.482–484 (repeated from 13.389–391, of Patroclus’ slaying of Sarpedon); the Apollonian intertext = *Arg.* 2.90–94. All of the Homeric parallels describe *Trojan* battle casualties. Hornsby 1970, 81–82 emphasizes the connection between the *hollow* tree that falls and how Entellus appears to be weak, but is actually strong; the tree in the simile, of course, falls and presumably stays fallen: a useful association for the Trojan tree that will indeed remain on the ground and be suppressed, though there will be a *Roman* resurrection. Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.373 ff., of the comparison of Myrrha’s hesitation before her incest to a tree that has been felled by lumberjacks that does not know where to topple.

On V’s fallen trees and their literary antecedents see Clausen 1987, 50–52. The influence of Catullus, c. 64.105 ff., where Theseus’ felling of the Minotaur is compared to the fall of an oak or a pine, is also present here (see on 478; Fernandelli *silet*), especially as V. prepares for the description of the artwork on the doors of Apollo’s temple at Cumae (6.20–31). On the piney associations of the wooden horse, with some general consideration of Virgilian trees, vid. L. Losada, “Maple, Fir, and Pine: Vergil’s Wooden Horse,” in *TAPA* 113 (1983), 301–310.

concidit: First in the present tense, of Entellus’ fall, and then in the perfect, of the fall of pines on mountains across the seas. The present occurs only here in V; for the perfect, cf. 333, of Nisus’ fall (also, significantly, in the past tense, like the tree on Ida mentioned at 449); the same form of the dead Trojan Polites at 2.532, slain by Pyrrhus in Priam’s inner sanctum, and yet again at 11.245

concidit Ilia tellus, where Venulus reports that he touched the hand of Diomedes by which Troy had fallen (Horsfall cfs. 3.2 *cecidit superbum Ilium*). All of the emphasis of the parallels is on the fall of Troy; here V. first notes the collapse of a tree in Arcadia, then that of one uprooted in the Troad, so as to underscore the destruction of both the conqueror of Troy and the conquered Trojan; there is also a foreshadowing of the death of the Arcadian Pallas, Aeneas' surrogate son.

quondam: "On occasion" or "at times" (*OLD* s.v. 3, citing this passage *inter al.*); the word may nonetheless carry a shade of the sense of that which happened long ago, in former times—a suitable image to evoke for the sake of V.'s contemporary, Augustan reflections on the ethnographic progression that has brought Rome to its present state.

cava: The epithet (whose use correlates with 434 *cavo*, of the *latus* of each boxer) has occasioned difficulty given that pines are not usually hollow ("being resinous," as Williams notes); Mackail argues that there are two similes here, one of the weak, decayed Arcadian tree, and the other of the uprooted Trojan. Erymanthus is indeed weak in part because of Hercules' conquest of the boar; Ida is appropriately called *eruta* because of the forcible Trojan removal from their home and relocation in Hesperia. At 434 the boxers' "hollow flanks" were enduring blows; here, in a bit of a surprise, it is Entellus' own blow that causes him to tumble. See on 810 for the hollow clouds that connect 5 and 11. The hollow pine, however botanically problematic, accords with the ethnographic theme of the dead worlds that will experience a Roman rebirth (signaled by Entellus' rise from this fall to victory). What is botanically impossible is ethnographically feasible.

Erymantho: The Arcadian mountain associated most especially with Hercules' conquest of the storied boar; V. mentions it elsewhere at 6.802–803 *aut Erymanthi | pacarit nemora et Lernam tremefecerit arcu*. Horace has *quae-cumque aut gelido Algido | nigris aut Erymanthi | silvis aut viridis Gragi* (c. 1.21.7–8), of the haunts of Diana and Apollo: "the wildest and most impassible" in Arcadia (Nisbet and Hubbard, who note the particular association of the locale with Artemis). The shifting associations continue; Hercules triumphed on Erymanthus over its local pest, though here the seemingly fallen mountain tree will rise again. See on 453 for the important connection of this tree to the fall of the Arcadian Salius, who was tripped by the Trojan Nisus (335–336), who himself will die in the night raid.

449 aut Ida in magna radicibus eruta pinus.

Ida: The Arcadian (i.e., Greek) mountain is now joined by the key height of the Trojan homeland (see Horsfall ad 2.801); the association with Troy out-

weighs any with Crete, though this is the only use of the mountain in the *A.* where its provenance is not specified—cf. Servius’ “modo non Cretae, sed Phrygiae, propter pinus”; cf. 2.801; 3.6; the repetition of Ida at 252–254 above (in the description of Cloanthus’ cloak and its depiction of the abduction of Ganymede); 9.80, amid Cybele’s complaint about her sacred pines; 10.158; the home of the ill-fated Aeolus at 12.546; *contra* the specifically Cretan Ida of 12.412, the source of the *dictamnium* that Venus brings to heal Aeneas’ arrow wound. Significantly, the fallen Entellus embraces *both* worlds of the ancient, Homeric conflict; the Sicilian (i.e., Roman) giant/mountain embraces both the Greek and the Trojan worlds, just as the Roman world of V’s day would control both geographical areas. In the comparison of Entellus to a *Trojan* mountain, there is also the recurrent theme of civil strife in light of V’s proleptic anticipation of the future settlement in the Mediterranean. Any connection to Crete would underscore the gigantomachy theme given the island’s association with the birth of Jupiter. For the place of Anchises as “the human Idaean father” of the Trojans and Jupiter as the divine, with nuptial and maternal connections to Venus and Cybele, see Cruttwell 1947, 31–32.

radicibus: So MP, *vs. radicitus* in RV. The former form occurs elsewhere in V. at *G.* 1.319; *A.* 3.27; 650; 8.238; the latter nowhere. The meaning is substantially the same with either choice, though *radicibus* might imply a less final destruction, which would accord better with the rebirth of the destroyed Troy as Rome, albeit with the suppression of Trojan *mores*. *Radicitus* might be supported by the same reading at Catullus c. 64.108.

eruta: The neuter plural occurs at 11.279–280 *eruta* / *Pergama*, where Diomedes recalls the overturning of Troy; these two passages = the only two participial uses of *eruere* in V. Cf. also 2.5 *eruerint*, of the Danaans, 2.612 *eruit*, of Juno, and 2.628 *eruere certatim*, of the farmers in the simile, all complicit in the destruction of Troy; 12.569 *eruam*, of Aeneas’ shocking announcement that he will level Latinus’ capital; also 6.838 *eruet*, of Mummius’ sack of Corinth. The language continues the heavy correspondences with the ethnographic theme of the destruction of lands, especially the Trojan. The only appearance of the verb in the *A.* that is not in such a context = 4.443 *eruere*, of the Alpine blasts of Boreas that describe Aeneas’ lack of assured resolve on the matter of leaving Dido. For how the participle is to be construed with both *aut Erymantho* and *aut in Ida magna* see Conway ad 1.62–63 (where such a double construction is taken to be “more Vergilian”).

pinus: “Mostly for torches” in the *A.* (Parker on trees in *VE* III, 1292, citing 7.397; 9.72; 9.522); the pines of Ida served to build the Trojan ships that will be threatened with burning both in 5 and 9.

450 consurgunt studiis Teucri et Trinacria pubes;

Another connection with the regatta: cf. 149–150, of the applause and shouts as the ship race commenced. Cf. 555, where a ring is closed as the Trinacrians and Teucrians (in reverse order from the present scene) marvel at the entrance of the Trojan youth for the *lusus Troiaie*.

consurgunt: One of four occurrences of the form in the book; we move from the winds that rise at 20 to the oars of the race triremes at 120 and the sailors at 207 after Sergestus' ship is beached on the rock; the reaction of those *nautae* is exactly parallel to the present scene. See Dunkle 2005, 172–173 on the force of the verb in light of the death and rebirth of Troy.

studiis: Referring to the ethnic factionalism in support of either contestant; the fall might seem to signal the victory of the Trojan.

pubes: V. describes the reaction of the Sicilian *youth* to the aged Entellus' fall; it will be his age mate Acestes who will respond to help his friend. The description is carefully focused on the generational interplay (is there a sense of shame on the part of the Trinacrian youth that they did not have a challenger willing to face Dares?). Just as Troy will be reborn in new guise as Rome, so the reborn Entellus will be vigorous and youth-like in his pursuit of Dares—a foreshadowing of the Virgilian tragedy of youth that will mark the war in Latium, but with the clear announcement of the future victory of the Italy of Turnus and Camilla in Entellus' resurrection and defeat of the Trojan Dares.

451 it clamor caelo primusque accurrit Acestes

it clamor caelo: Cf. 140 *ferit aethera clamor*, at the start of the regatta; neat alliteration and assonance at the beginning and end of the line balances the reaction of the crowd with the king's immediate rush to help his friend; the prominent placement of *primusque* (which effectively elides with *accurrit* to enact metrically the monarch's action—cf. M's weaker omission of the conjunction) highlights how Acestes was the first to respond. The language is seemingly hyperbolic for a boxing match, but completely appropriate for the larger urban issues that are incarnated in the bout. For the archaic flavor vid. Wigodsky 1972, 48; on the use of the dative instead of *ad* or *in c. acc.*, with over sixty occurrences in the first half of the epic, see Distler 1966, 347; also Conway ad 1.725; with this dative of limit of motion, cf. 1.6; 1.112; 1.377; 2.398; 6.126. On “epic *clamor*” see Lazzarini ad Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.129.

accurrit: The verb occurs elsewhere in V. only at A. 10.352, of Halaesus' entry into war; the verb highlights Acestes' alacrity, even as V. moves to underscore his equality in a shared older age with his friend.

452 aequaevumque ab humo miserans tollit amicum.

aequaevumque: Cf. 2.561 *regem aequaevum*, where Aeneas recalls his own father once he witnesses the slaughter of Priam. The poetic word does not occur before V. and is rare elsewhere (5× in Statius). See Williams 1960 here on compound adjectives in V., especially those that may be coinages; V.'s decision to utilize them far less often than Lucretius may be a reflection of the latter's subject matter and its vocabulary needs.

ab humo ... tollit: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2.448 *vix oculos attollit humo*; 11.110 *tollit humo saxum*; *Fasti* 2.354 *membraque de dura vix sua tollit humo*; 3.375 *tollit humo munus caesa prius ille iuvenca*; Statius, *Silv.* 2.1.202 *tollit humo*. The Sicilian ruler, and not the Trojan, will be the one to help Entellus to his feet and rebirth. See Williams here on the use of the ablative of separation with and without a preposition; the effect of its use here is to underscore Acestes' kind act for his friend. In Statius' boxing match Capaneus struggles to rise from the ground under Alcidas' repeated blows (*Theb.* 6.807 *illum ab humo conantem ut vidit Adrastus*).

miserans: The form occurs only once elsewhere in the epic, at 10.823 *ingemit miserans graviter dextramque tetendit*, of Aeneas' reaction to his killing of Lausus; there is a careful progression here that encompasses both the relationship between the generations and the movement from Troy to Italy via the death of young heroes (two major concerns of 5).

453 at non tardatus casu neque territus heros

For the associations of 453–457 with Virgilian war narratives, see Di Cesare 1974, 81.

tardatus: Cf. the reaction of Aeneas to his arrow wound at 12.745–747.

territus: The form occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11, where at 699 it describes the reaction of Aunides when he comes upon the sight of Camilla's killing of Orsilochus. Elsewhere it occurs of the Turnus-lion at 9.793, as the Rutulian is trapped in the Trojan camp; 12.752, of Turnus as the wounded Aeneas pursues him—a second verbal link to that scene. Entellus has fallen, but he is not cowed by the setback and will rise to defeat the Trojan—an athletic commentary on how despite the death of Turnus, in an important sense his cause will be victorious. Significantly, Entellus embodies in himself two images that will be separated in 12 (the slowed Aeneas; the frightened Turnus)—the Sicilian is a living symbol of the coming union.

heros: See above on 289; of the four uses of this key term in 5, three are of Entellus. Aeneas was called a hero as he assembled with a multitude of spectators before the foot race; that contest would be resolved both by Nisus' cheating to favor Euryalus, and by Aeneas' agreement that the trickery could

stand. Significantly, it is *Acestes* who now assumes a prominent role in the boxing match; his move to help his friend is a parallel to the fall of the Arcadian *Salius* (cf. the comparison to the tree that fell on *Erymanthus*, which is in Arcadia), where there was no one to help the Arcadian to his feet, and even his legitimate protest over the question of first place was essentially dismissed by *Aeneas*. The falling of the trees reverses the order of the falls in the race: there, the Trojan had slipped, and then the Arcadian *Salius* was tripped; in the simile of *Entellus'* fall, *Erymanthus* is named first, and then *Ida*, so that we end on a note of Trojan destruction.

454 *acrior ad pugnam redit ac vim suscitāt ira;*

ad pugnam redit: Cf. *Ilias Latina* 784 *inde iterum ad pugnam redeunt*.

suscitat ira: For the line-end cf. 12.108, where *Aeneas* is described before the settling of treaty negotiations with *Latinus* (see *Tarrant ad loc.* for the place of anger in the repertoire of an “effective warrior”); the parallel probably confirms taking *ira* as ablative, though the difference with the nominative is not very great. At 11.727–728 *Tyrrhenum genitor Tarchonem in proelia saeva / suscitāt et stimulis haud mollibus incit iras*, *Jupiter* stirs the Etruscan *Tarchon* to renewed vigor in the fight against *Camilla*. For a different use of the verb see on 743. With *Entellus'* *ira* here cf. 462 *iras* (possibly of the anger of both men, though the main referent is *Entellus*) where, as it were, the ferocity of the pummeling engenders wrath upon wrath: there is a hint here of the risk of excess that accompanies all anger, however justified.

455 *tum pudor incendit viris et conscia virtus,*

This line is echoed at 12.667–668 *uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu / et furiis agitatus amor et conscia virtus*, where *Turnus* reacts to *Saces'* report of *Aeneas'* attack on *Latinus'* capital; *Saces*, like *Aeneas*, has an arrow wound (651–652 *vectus equo spumante Saces, adversa sagitta / saucius ora*); *V.* thus continues to presage the action of *Turnus* in the closing movements of the epic. For *Entellus* as “*Turnus* figure” see *Dyson 2001, 107–111*. Cf. also *Rumor's* effect on *Iarbas* at 4.197 *incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras*.

pudor: On *pudor* with *virtus* see *Thomas ad Horace, c. Saec. 57–58*; cf. *Stattius, Silv. 2.5.17*; *Pliny, ep. 2.20.13.1*.

viris: First came the singular *vim* (454) of anger, and now the strength that follows as the fighter regains his composure and prepares to move against his opponent. Cf. 466 *viris alias*, as *Aeneas* recognizes the new found *Entellan* vigor.

conscia virtus: Cf. *Seneca, HO 1207*; *Stattius, Theb. 1.644*; *6.826*; *Silius, Pun. 1.493–494*; *2.575*. The *virtus* here is very different from that of 344. *V.* now

succinctly describes Entellus' full incarnation of what Acestes had chided him for at 387 ff.; the fall impels him to save face before the spectators and to pummel the young braggart. *Consciuis* occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; at 812 *consciuis audacis facti*, the Arruns-wolf hides after its attack on both shepherd and bullock. In *conscia* there is a move from the merely private to the public; Entellus needed encouragement to enter the fight, but now he appreciates how his *virtus* demands display before fellows and foreigners alike.

456 *praecipitemque Daren ardens agit aequore toto*

praecipitemque: Cf. 144, of chariots; 175, of Menoetes; 860, Palinurus; see on 144 for the three occurrences in 11. Here the adjective offers another connection to the regatta, in this case in the sense that Dares is now like Gyas' helmsman; *aequore toto* refers to the wide open plain of the boxing match, but there is also an evocation of the sea where first one and then a second helmsman will be tossed overboard: there is an effective balance between the fiery Entellus (cf. the idea of trees felled by lightning) and the water imagery evoked by *praecipitem* and *aequor totum*. Dares has not yet fallen, but his dramatic return to the narrative already declares his ultimate fate: after the heavy fall of the Sicilian, we reencounter the nimble Trojan as if he were already "overboard." Servius glosses *praecipitem* as *celerem*, but the main association is with Menoetes and Palinurus, rather than the sense that Dares is swift because Entellus is hitting him around the ring so hard and fast.

Daren: Mackail may be right to think that the orthography was influenced by the following adjective; the name = the object of the burning force of the hero who drives his victim across the ring.

ardens: Like the snake at 277; the adjective will recur 2× in the plural at 637 and 648, in the context of the burning of the ships. With *ardens agit* cf. 10.514 *ardens limitem agit ferro*, of Aeneas in pursuit of Turnus after the news arrives that Pallas has fallen. Interestingly, in the parallel passage the Trojan does not drive a man on, but rather a path with his weapon; Entellus assaults Dares to the point of likely death, while Aeneas will be deprived of his hope to slay Turnus for more than two books after his own *ardens ... agit*. For *ardens* as a mark of divinity, cf. 648, where Pyrgo identifies the disguised goddess Iris in part because of her "burning eyes."

457 *nunc dextra ingeminans ictus, nunc ille sinistra,*

The language recalls the scene at 434 *ingeminans*, when both men were more or less holding their own in the bout; now the singular participle describes the action of the one ambidextrous (cf. 460 *utraque manu*) man who controls the ring; see on 459–460.

nunc ... nunc: “Repeated” at once with 458 *nec ... nec*, where each word is another blow against Dares.

ille: See Servius ad *A.* 1.1.3 for the pleonasm, which he labels an archaism employed here and elsewhere for the sake of the meter; the present scene presents another Trojan who is being buffeted (the land/water allusions of 456 connect to the description of Aeneas’ being assailed on land and sea at 1.3–4). See further Williams 1960, especially on the Servian citation of the present line *ap.* 6.186 as a *tibicen*; Conway ad 1.3 for *ille* “used, as often, with resumptive and emphasising force.” The demonstrative here strongly highlights the reborn Entellus, who is a living reminder that the old generation is still vigorous and well. M has *deinde*, which would be less effective a reading, though the difference in meaning is not very great. At 468 *illum* the demonstrative appears in the accusative of Dares as his age mates carry him out of the ring. It rather misses the point to imagine that *ille* = Dares and that a Sicilian right hand is striking a Trojan left.

458 *nec mora nec requies: quam multa grandine nimbi*

The seventh simile of the book, and the third in the boxing match (almost one third of such images in the book, and a fittingly artful treatment for the midpoint scene of 5, where V. gives a poetic presentiment of the ultimate revelations of Rome’s future in the combat of Trojan and Sicilian): Entellus is like a hailstorm. The closest parallels in the *A.* are 9.668–671 and 10.803–810 (and cf. *G.* 1.449); on the passage in 10 see Harrison and J. O’Hara, “Vergilian Similes, ‘Trespass,’ and the Order of *Aeneid* 10.707–718,” in *CJ* 87.1 (1991), 1–8, 4. The first parallel comes during the battle that rages between the removal of Ascanius from combat and the appearance of the giants Pandarus and Bitias; again, there is an artful reversal of the present sequence, as the imminent withdrawal of the Trojan Dares from the ring balances that of Ascanius, and the appearance of the two giants in 9 (admittedly brothers on the same side) evokes the world of the gigantomachy that pervades the boxing match. The second is more specific; Aeneas is, as it were, buffeted by hail as he rages in battle before his fateful encounter with Lausus. Hornsby 1970, 27 sees a parallel between Entellus, buffeted but reborn, and Aeneas. But it is *Dares* who is assailed here by hail, like his Trojan counterpart Aeneas in 10. See further Hardie ad 9.668–671 for storm imagery in Homer and Pacuvius (*Teucer* fr. 355 Warmington).

nec mora nec requies: The phrase is Lucretian (*DRN* 4.227; 6.931; cf. *G.* 3.110; *A.* 12.553, of the battle that is raging just before Venus gives Aeneas the idea to attack Latinus’ city).

grandine: For “real” hail in the epic cf. *A.* 4.120 and 161, of the storm during the hunt at Carthage. Servius notes the hypallage in *quam multa grandine nimbi*

in lieu of “quam multo nimbo grando praecipitatur,” since the hailstones strike the roofs and not the clouds—but the point may be to highlight the intensity of the attack, such that it can be compared hyperbolically to a thunderstorm that seems to come so low that the very storm cloud seems to strike the roof.

For the onomatopoeia see Distler 1966, 298–301; cf. 481, as the sacrificial ox is slain and falls.

459 *culminibus crepitant, sic densis ictibus heros*

The language again recalls the earlier, more balanced phase of the bout (436). The hero Entellus’ blows are like hail on rooftops; the attack on Dares is compared to nature’s assault on the man made world, with reference to the city-building theme.

culminibus: Curiously, the form occurs 2× elsewhere in V., and in related contexts: 4.462 *solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo*, of the portents that haunt Dido, and 12.863–864 *quae quondam in bustis aut culminibus desertis / nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras*, of the small bird whose form the Dira assumes to torment Juturna and ward her off from helping her brother. In both cases, the afflicted woman is doomed to a particular type of defeat (Juturna, like Turnus, is ignorant of the future ethnography of Rome); here, no bird of ill omen assails Dares, but an almost Jovian force of nature in the form of hail and storm.

The word is used most often in V. in A. 2, where it is frequently employed in contexts related to the fall of Troy (cf. 290; 410; 446; 458; 462; 478; 603); fittingly, in the last of its many appearances in the book, it is used to describe the path of the shooting star portent: 695–696 *illam summa super labantem culmina tecti / cernimus Idaea claram se condere silvam*, a passage of rich and complex associations of relevance to the forthcoming archery contest. Cf. 12.569 *eruam et aequa solo fumantia culmina ponam*, of Aeneas’ shocking vow to destroy Latinus’ city; 4.671, of the *culmina* mentioned amid the horror in the wake of Dido’s suicide. Allecto sounds the clarion of war *de culmine summo* (7.512; cf. the locus of Rumor at 4.186); more peaceful is the *culmen* of Evander’s hut at 8.456. The hail is plural, of course; they come from one man, and *crepitant* soon gives way to 460 *pulsat* and *versat*, where *creber* (= *crepitant* in sound and effect) picks up the sense of the plural. Silius imitates the present passage at *Pun.* 14.309–312. See further here J. Dorchak, “From Collapsing House to Cataclysm: Images of Ruin in Vergil, Seneca, and Lucan,” Dissertation Harvard, 1995, Chapter 2.

ictibus: The repetition from 457 *ictus* verbally enacts the relentless pummeling (as does the alliteration of *c* that describes the crashing of the hail on the roofs).

460 creber utraque manu pulsat versatque Dareta.

As V. continues to evoke the start of the match, the declensional shift from *Daren* to *Dareta* signals the defeat of the Trojan (McGowan 2002, 87). Cf. 463 and 476.

creber: See on 436 *crebra manus*, of both men as they battle; now the singular refers truly to one, and it is the older man who is frequent with his blows (the adjective constitutes something of a transferred epithet; man and blow virtually shade into one). With 459 *densis* there is an effective combination of the nimble and the heavy.

utraque manu: Cf. 469 *utroque caput*; Propertius, c. 3.3.36; 3.15.24; Ovid, *Met.* 8.397; 15.803.

pulsat: Finite forms of the verb occur 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; at 660 *pulsant* describes the galloping of Amazonian horses. Participial forms appear at 138 and 150, during the regatta—another connection between the longer contests. The uses of the verb in V. are varied; at 4.249, Atlas' piney head is buffeted by wind and rain—something of a parallel to the present scene, as Dares' head suffers repeated blows (cf. his gruesome state at 469–470).

versat: Effectively repeated from 408, where Aeneas was inspecting the gloves that Entellus did *not* use to fight Dares: in the end, he did not need them.

461–484 Entellus savagely pummels Dares, and Aeneas intervenes to stop the fight and to save his Trojan comrade. Dares is carried off as he vomits up blood and teeth; his men take the helmet and sword offered for the vanquished, while the palm of victory and the bull are awarded to Entellus. The Sicilian immediately makes a sacrifice of the animal for Dares, whose life was spared; he smashes its skull as the final blow of his boxing gloves, before he announces his retirement from the ring.

Nisus had slipped in the blood and gore left from sacrificial cattle (328–330) in presentiment of his death in Book 9; now Entellus conducts impromptu rites to his master Eryx as Dares is carried off the field. The significant point is that Dares' life is spared, and V. makes clear that Entellus would have killed him had Aeneas not intervened; as we shall see, the final insult Entellus offers the braggart Dares is that the dead animal represents a *melior anima* (483), a “better life” in lieu of the defeated Trojan (note also the ambiguity of the animal's gender, which may be a comment on the stereotypical effeminacy of the Trojans). Aeneas' resumption of military maneuvers interrupted the Latin war council debate (11.444–450), at almost exactly the same point in the book as Aeneas here makes an end of the boxing match; in the defeated Dares we have a precursor of Drances, whose talented tongue will be silenced by the Aeneas whose cause he had tried to champion in his bitter rivalry with Turnus.

The match at Achilles' funeral games in *Posthomerica* 4 is also interrupted, though without a clear winner, and Quintus focuses his attention on both the savagery of the bout and the friendship between the opponents that is restored after the match is halted, including tenderly worded details concerning the medical treatment of the wounds incurred by the gloves.

Significantly, Pallas (Aeneas' proxy) will be compared to a bull at 10.454–456, with Turnus as a lion: it is a mark of the Virgilian Golden Age that cattle will no longer fear lions (*E.* 4.22). Aeneas and Turnus are compared to bulls that compete for heifers at 12.715–722. Cf. the Scylla-captain Cloanthus' promise of a white bull to the sea deities in the event of victory at 235–238 (another of the correspondences between the two contests—we do not see Cloanthus' taurine sacrifice, but rather Entellus', which is to Eryx and not Neptune et al.); Aeneas' offering of three bullocks to Eryx (and, again, not the marine gods) at 772–773 (followed soon by the loss of Palinurus, who is, in a sense, the *iuventus* that fulfills the Cloanthine regatta vow; cf. the associations with Laocoön and the interrupted bull sacrifice ritual at 2.201ff. that is completed with the ultimate offering, that of the priest himself); the animals sacrificed to Mors/Orcus at 11.197–199. See further R. Thomas, "Animals, Domestic: Bovines," in *VE* I, 80–82.

461 *tum pater Aeneas procedere longius iras*

pater: Fittingly so, since he will end the bout that threatens his countryman's life; Acestes is nowhere in the present scene. For *tum* vid. Horsfall ad 6.278: "After that', shading into 'next in a spatial sequence', or indeed in an enumeration, *OLD* s.v., § 8."

procedere longius: More military language (Caesar, *BG* 4.11.1.3; 7.16.3.2; Livy 44.7.6.2; Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.24.9–10); cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 2.393–394.

Whatever one's preferred interpretation of the final movements of the epic, the present scene, where Aeneas is depicted as quelling anger and forbidding any continued expressions of rage, stands in sharply contrasting relief with the poem's closing scene.

462 *et saevire animis Entellum haud passus acerbis,*

saevire: While the adjective *saevus* is a favorite of V's, the related verb is comparatively rare; cf. 257, of the dogs barking after the abducted Ganymede on the Cloanthus cloak. The crowd rages in the simile at *A.* 1.149 *saevitque animis* (cf. the youth of Latium with war fever at 8.5); Nereus in that at 2.418. Dido rages at 4.300, as does her love at 4.532 (cf. the *amor ferri* at 7.461; Mavors on the shield at 8.700; Tisiphone at 10.761). The Turnus-wolf rages at 9.63 (cf. the Circean animals at 7.17–18); so also Euryalus' slayer Volcens at 9.420. Aeneas rages at 12.387, as he tries to remove the shaft that has wounded him. Deiphobus uses *ne saevi*

in addressing the Sibyl (6.544). The plural *iras* is likely focused on Entellus alone (one imagines Dares is in a dazed state now—cf. 463 *fessumque*—though of course he can be expected to be defending himself to the best of ability, alongside his emotional response to the sudden turn of fortune). Cf. 473 *animis*.

With the present scene cf. Seneca, *Troad.* 1095–1096 *saevire dente iam tamen tollit minas | morsusque inanes temptat atque animis tumet*; Juvenal, s. 15.51–54 *hinc ieiunum odium. sed iurgia prima sonare | incipiunt; animis ardentibus haec tuba rixae. | dein clamore pari concurritur, et vice teli | saevit nuda manus. paucae sine vulnere malae*, of the effects of hunger.

haud passus: Cf. A. 3.628 *haud impune quidem, nec talia passus Ulixes*, of the hero's reaction to the Cyclops; 10.436–437 *ipsos concurrere passus | haud tamen inter se magni regnator Olympi*. Ulysses, Aeneas, Jupiter: an interesting array of those who will not suffer.

acerbis: See on 49 *acerbum*. The adjective has a rich force here; there may be a hint of the youthful vigor that empowers Entellus, and the fact that the present bout is a foreshadowing of the final ethnographic settlement of Rome, not its enactment: the metaphor from unripe fruit (see Fratantuono ad 11.28), with its point about the tragedy of youth in war, may be present. Here, Entellus will not die (perhaps, paradoxically, because in spite of his youthful vigor, he is *old*)—but his desire to continue fighting with and pummeling Dares will be arrested: V. gives no hint that he would have stopped (absent Aeneas' intervention), though the following lines will show Aeneas urging his fellow Trojan Dares to yield.

463 *sed finem imposuit pugnae fessumque Dareta*

Dareta: The same declensional form as at 460 and 476, once again to mark Dares' defeat.

finem imposuit: Cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 1.96–97 *nec prius imposuit rebus finemque modumque | quam caelum ascendit ratio*. Curtius has *ut finem oration Coenus imposuit* (9.3.16.1); Livy 38.32.5.1; Pliny, *ep.* 7.6.9.3–10.1 *finem cognition quaestio imposuit*. *Finem pugnae* is Livian (21.14.4.3–4; 32.10.12.3). This boxing match will not end with the usual gesture of the defeated to end the bout (vid. further Olson ad Antiphanes fr. 189.15).

fessumque: See on 29. One adjective succinctly conveys Dares' state as Aeneas halts the fight.

464 *eripuit mulcens dictis ac talia fatur*:

mulcens: Like Neptune at A. 1.153 *ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet*, but with the important difference that the comparison might be more apt if Aeneas were addressing Entellus and not the exhausted, defeated Dares.

Aeneas soothes his men at 1.197 *et dictis maerentia pectora mulcet*; Juno credits Aeolus with power over softening the force of the winds (1.66); Umbro is skilled at calming serpents (7.755 *mulcebatque iras et morsus arte levabat*). Cf. the birds at 7.34 *aethera mulcebant cantu lucoque volabant*; the she-wolf on the shield at 8.634 *mulcere alternos et corpora fingere lingua*.

dictis: Cf. 467 *dixit*; Aeneas the man of words vs. Entellus' actions.

Aeneas here does exactly what Neptune will boast to his niece at 809–811 that *he* did during the Trojan War: save a Trojan from an unequal fight. In that key passage below, the sea god will mention his saving of Aeneas from Achilles, but also his role in the destruction of Troy. Aeneas here usurps the role of the god, and Entellus will offer a sacrifice in place of the battered Dares; in the closing movements of the book, the god will choose his own sacrifice in the person of Palinurus.

465 'infelix, quae tanta animum dementia cepit?

infelix: See on 3; we move from *infelix* Dido to Sergestus (i.e., a loser in the regatta) to Nisus (the foot race) to Dares (the boxing match) to the *infelix gens* (Troy) that Iris/Beroë addresses: a careful progression from Carthage to Troy, by way of the first three of the four contests. Servius argues that the point of the vocative is consolatory; Aeneas does not attribute Dares' defeat to any particular ineffectiveness in combat, but merely to what we might call luck or fortune.

dementia: Elsewhere in the *A.* only at 9.601, in another ethnographic sequence, as Numanus Remulus upbraids the Trojans: *quis deus Italiam, quae vos dementia adegit?* (and cf. the similar question about immortal involvement at 466–467). On Dares' madness (*deest* in Hershkowitz) see especially A. Sens, "The Dementia of Dares: *Aen.* 5.465," in *Vergilius* 41 (1995), 49–54, who notes the intertext with *Il.* 20.332–336, where Poseidon urges Aeneas to withdraw from combat with Achilles (and see further on 464 *mulcens*).

animum cepit: Cf. Seneca, *Ag.* 275–276 *sed nulla Atriden furtive abstulit | nec cepit animum coniugi obstrictum suae*.

466 non viris alias conversaque numina sentis?

conversaque numina: The phrase occurs only here; the point in part is that Aeneas does not realize the presence of the god Neptune, whose role he is usurping as he urges Dares to give in to Entellus. And, too, there is the question of whether Dares is in any state to make such a rational decision, given Entellus' pummeling; Aeneas' words here are aimed only at his Trojan comrade, and the language would have one think that Dares was refusing to surrender—which even if true would be of less significance than the near fatal assault that ren-

dered Dares *fessum* (463). The phrase conveys a certain presumption: Aeneas seems to think that the *numina* had favored Dares; according to this rationale the gods have transferred their allegiance—again, the Trojan hero is unaware of the deeper implications of the action and his analysis of what is transpiring in the ring.

Henry has a vituperative note here attacking Wagner et al. for the idea that Aeneas imagines that Eryx is helping Entellus, or that Dares' gods have deserted him (all valid ideas that the Latin permits, relative likelihood notwithstanding); his conclusion is that Entellus is "some god" in disguise, and for him non-mutually exclusive propositions are rare indeed.

sentit: For the verb with *numina* cf. Horace, *Ep.* 2.1.134 *poscit opem chorus et praesentia numina sentis*.

467 *cede deo' dixitque et proelia voce diremit.*

cede deo: The *deus* is the *numen* that has inspired Entellus, but there is also a hint of the idea that the Sicilian is himself divine or at least quasi-immortal; Aeneas is ignorant of the Neptunian intertexts, both Iliadic and Aeneidic. Here we find an answer to Acestes' query at 391 *ubi nunc nobis deus ille*, when the king wondered where the power and force of the Eryx of old was to be found in the spirit and body of his student Entellus. Eryx, of course, was all too mortal; Entellus is no god either, but he knows when to retire. Henry compares Ovid's Pallas' *cede deae* to Arachne (*Met.* 6.32), but there the identity of the deity is beyond question. See further Lazzarini ad Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.102 *Cede adeo*.

diremit: The verb occurs 3× in V.; cf. from Ilioneus' speech in Latium 7.226–227 *si quem extenta plagarum | quattuor in medio dirimit plaga solis iniqui* (with Horsfall); 12.79 *nostro dirimamus sanguine bellum*, of Turnus' pledge for single combat: we move from Aeneas' indicative settlement of the fight here to Turnus' subjunctive declaration of intention. Cf. Livy 1.13.2.1 *impetu facto dirimere infestas acies*, *dirimere iras*. For the use with *proelia* vid. *TLL* 5.1.1259.80, and cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 4.9.9.3 *actionem meam, ut proelia solet, nox diremit*.

468 *ast illum fidi aequales genua aegra trahentem*

aequales: Poetic; cf. 452 *aequaeuum*, where Acestes helped his fellow senior; Catullus, c. 62.11; 32; Ennius has it of Cassandra's *virgines vereor aequalis* (tr. fr. 44 Jocelyn; vid. *TLL* 1.0.993.74). With *fidi* cf. 547 *fidam*. The *aequales*, by extension, would likely be in the same position as their charge if they were in the ring with Entellus; this is a victory of age over youth.

genua aegra: At 432, Entellus' knees had begun to give way under the force of Dares' repeated efforts to topple him; now V. closes a ring with the younger

man's dragging of his sick, ineffectual knees as his age mates carry him off. Cf. Statius' imitation at *Theb.* 9.43 *ita maestus genua aegra trahens*; 5.544–545 *audii Hypsipyle, facilemque negantia cursum / exanimis genua aegra rapit*.

469 *iactantemque utroque caput crassumque cruorem*

iactantemque: Macrobius (4.1.2) reads *quassantemque* (Kaster cfs. *A.* 7.292; 12.894) in a discussion of passages designed to stir the emotions. Cf. Dares' boastful stance at 376–378. Tibullus has *haec cecinit vates et te sibi, Phoebe, vocavit, / iactavit fusas et caput ante comas* (c. 2.5.65–66)—an imitation of Lucilius' *iactari caput atque comas* (s. fr. 7.288). There is an effective contrast between the passive dragging that ends the one line, and the rather active—however involuntary—tossing of the head as Entellus pummels Dares' face.

utroque caput: Cf. 460 *utraque manu*. One might note that by tossing his head in either direction it is almost as if he is attempting to make response both to Aeneas and Entellus; it is difficult for him to speak, of course, given his currently quite sanguinary dental state.

crassumque cruorem: So of Clausus' victim Dryops at 10.348–349 *at ille / fronte ferit terram et crassum vomit ore cruorem*. Elsewhere in *V.* *crassus* occurs at *G.* 2.110 *crassisque paludibus*; 2.236 *glaebas cunctantis crassaque terga*; 3.205–206 *tum demum crassa magnum farragine corpus / crescere iam domitis sinito*. The heavy alliteration underscores the ferocious assault and the resultant tossing of Dares' head in either direction. “C. normally of blood no longer contained in the body” (Horsfall ad 3.74).

470 *ore eiectantem mixtoque in sanguine dentes*

eiectantem: The verb occurs only here in *V.*; cf. the imitations of Ovid (*Met.* 14.211–212 *mandentemque videns eiectantemque cruentas / ore dapes et frustra mero glomerata vomentem*, of the Cyclops); Silius, *Pun.* 12.149–150 *fumantem permit Iapetum flammisque rebelli / ore eiectantem*. Not surprisingly, the rare verb occasions manuscript variety; *R* has *iactantem* by diplography (it may be *eiectantem*); *M* and *V* *iectantem*; cf. *reiectantem* ω; *Tib.*; the imitations help to secure the correct reading. On the close following of *Il.* 23.697 see especially Farrell 1991, 242–243. For the addition of a prefix to a repeated verb, see Wills 1996, 443–445.

mixtoque in sanguine: Lucretian (*DRN* 1.866 *ossibus et nervis sanieque et sanguine mixto*); cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4.728–729 *belua puniceo mixtos cum sanguine fluctus / ore vomit*; *Fasti* 1.577 *ille cadit mixtosque vomit cum sanguine fumos*; Lucan, *BC* 8.408–409 *sic sanguine mixto / nascitur Arsacides*; 9.614 *noxia serpentum est admixto sanguine pestis*; Statius, *Theb.* 5.256–257 *cernere erat, iugulisque modo torrentis apertis / sanguine commixto redeuntem in pocula Bacchum*.

Page was not pleased with V's description of Dares' injuries: "Virgil's exaggeration of his model in *crassumque ... dentes* is hardly an improvement." But the poet is at pains to foreshadow the bloody reality of the war in Latium, of which the present sequence is a type.

471 *ducunt ad navis; galeamque ensemque vocati*

Dares' friends are forced to accept the prize helmet and sword that had been promised to the loser. Kaster ad Macrobius 4.1.2 notes that the mention of Dares' friends' reception of the helmet and sword is likely to stir not sympathy for the loser, but bitterness over his reception of war implements in his defeated state; there is also the black humor that Dares could have used the helmet during the bout.

ducunt ad navis: A neat connection to the regatta, as the boxing match draws to a close.

galeamque ensemque: As announced at 367, though here the helmet is no longer described as *insignem*. The prizes described as a *solacia victo* are especially pointless for the broken man.

vocati: Presumably by Aeneas; Servius argues that the *aequales* have a sense of *pudor*, and thus wait to be summoned before they move to take the prizes, "vel, quia errant occupati circa amicum" (both senses likely present). Conington remarks on the increased ceremony of V's essentially Roman games.

472 *accipiunt, palmam Entello taurumque relinquunt.*

The verbs frame the line (cf. 116 above): the first looks back, even as there is an artful tease with *palmam* of the object that they would have wished for their friend; the second verb introduces the transition to the coda of what the Sicilian will do with his prize bull.

palmam: As announced at 111 *palmae pretium victoribus*, of the general prizes to be awarded for the games. Significantly, while the palm of victory was promised to the victors in every contest, V. mentions its award only in the case of Entellus.

relinquunt: The verb choice is interesting; there is no explicit award of the victor's prizes, but rather an effective description of how Dares' men leave behind that which their friend had expected to win by default. With the form at line-end cf. *G.* 3.547 *praecipites alta vitam sub nube relinquunt*; 4.104 *contemnuntque favos et frigida tecta relinquunt*; 4.237 *spicula caeca relinquunt*; *A.* 3.244 *semesam praedam et vestigia foeda relinquunt*; 4.155 *pulverulenta fuga glomerant montisque relinquunt*; 5.316 *corripiunt spatia audito limenque relinquunt*; 6.444 *curae non ipsa in morte relinquunt*; 8.125 *progressi subeunt luco fluviumque relinquunt*; 9.357 *multa virum solido argento perfecta relinquunt*;

10.604–605 *tandem erumpunt et castra relinquunt* / *Ascanius puer et nequiquam obsessa iuventus*; Lucretius, *DRN* 1.743 *constituunt et res mollis rarasque relinquunt*; 5.1238–1240 *quid mirum si se temnunt mortalia saecla* / *atque potestatis magnas mirasque relinquunt* / *in rebus viris divum, quae cuncta gubernent*.

473 **hic victor superans animis tauroque superbus**

superans animis: Cf. 462 *saevire animis*. Note *animo V*.

superbus: At 268 *opibusque superbi*, the adjective described the attitude of the captains in the regatta (another connection between the longer contest narratives); see ad loc. for commentary on Turnus as (arguably) eminently prideful: *superbus* need not have negative associations, though *superbia* is readily prone to excess. Bernardus Silvestris comments that the boxing match is a model for fortitude, since one learns to bear heavy burdens with endurance (the regatta = temperance/moderation/prudence); he does not speak about any of the prize sequences and the behavior of the contestants there in his attempt to connect the four contests with the cardinal virtues of Christian moral theology. In V's Catullan model for the felling of trees on heights, the geographic locus was Mount Taurus in Asia Minor (c. 64.105 ff.); the bull is the right prize and sacrifice for this contest in part because the scene evokes Theseus' slaying of the Minotaur, which lends special resonance to the idea that the bull is Entellus' last opponent.

474 **'nate dea, vosque haec' inquit 'cognoscite, Teucri,**

nate dea: The salutation closes the ring opened at 383, when Dares addressed Aeneas and demanded the prize that Entellus here receives for his merit. The title has especially rich resonance soon after 467 *cede deo*; there is a tone of careful respect in Entellus' words: Aeneas is the undisputed son of the goddess, and the Sicilian's use of the ablative of divine origin is a subtle response to the ambiguities of Aeneas' *cede deo*: Eryx was a god, though like Aeneas doomed to die; Entellus, however, has no divine blood and here makes a response, as it were, to any hint of impropriety that might well be incurred by acceptance of the label for himself.

cognoscite: Cf. the imperative of old Silenus at *E.* 6.25 *carmina quae vultis cognoscite*; Ovid's *Actaeon ego sum: dominum cognoscite vestrum* (*Met.* 3.230). *Haec* has understated elegance; V. will move from the general to the specific, as he delineates two key features of the boxing match from his perspective.

Teucri: Significantly, the announcement of Entellus' renewed vigor is made to the Teucrians; the specification is fitting after the address to Aeneas, but the Sicilian is making his point to the Trojan visitors (cf. Servius' "habet rationem personarum, quia virtutem eius noverant Siculi").

475 et mihi quae fuerint iuvenali in corpore vires

iuvenali in corpore: At 395 ff., Entellus had spoken of the feeble state of his older frame; now he announces that the Trojans have seen the strength that he once had in his youth, the loss of which he had lamented earlier. Entellus' audience has been given a window into a lost world.

The phrase will be repeated at 12.220–221 *suppliciter venerans demisso lumine Turnus / pubentesque genae et iuvenali in corpore pallor*, of the Rutulian's appearance just as his men begin to be filled with sympathy for him (cf. the very different situation with Euryalus and the question of audience favor, and, in general, the Virgilian theme of the unequal fight). The older and slower Entellus should have lost the match, and by the time Turnus faces Aeneas in single combat, he will be slowed and feel his knees weaken (905 *genua labant*); the unexpected victory of the Sicilian is a foreshadowing of the ultimate triumph of Turnus' Italy over Aeneas' Troy.

476 et qua servetis revocatum a morte Dareta.'

revocatum: So of Hippolytus at 7.769 *Paeoniis revocatum herbis et amore Dianae*. For the participle in very different poetic usages cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 4.1243 *liquitur extemplo et revocatum cedit abortu*; Lucan, *BC* 2.101–102 *nobilitas cum plebe perit, lateque vagatus / ensis, et a nullo revocatum pectore ferrum*.

servetis: The plural is interesting; it is one thing for Entellus to tell the Teucrians to recognize what strength he had in his youthful body, and another to credit them with saving their fellow Trojan from death, since properly it was Aeneas who made the decision to intervene; the point is to underscore the national question and to emphasize the ethnographic undertones of the passage.

morte: Cf. the repetition at 483; Entellus makes clear that Dares would have been killed had Aeneas not stopped the fight. Slowly, the tone of the book is changing as it enters its second half. We never see Dares in a state of restored vigor; if the victim of 12.363 is the same man, he reappears only as a name in a list of Turnus' casualties (cf. the association of Entellus with Turnus). At his son's requiem Evander rejoices that his wife was not preserved from death: 11.58–59 *tuque, o sanctissima coniunx, / felix morte tua neque in hunc servata dolorem*. With *morte* here cf. *A.* 4.375 *amissam classem, socios a morte reduci* (of Dido).

477 dixit, et adversi contra stetit ora iuveni

adversi: With this genitive cf. 504 *et venit adversique infigitur mali*, during the archery contest; the language from the games is repeated in deadlier circumstances at 9.587–589 *ipse ter adducta circum capit egit habena / et media*

adversi liquefacto tempora plumbo / diffidit ac multa porrectum extendit harena, where Mezentius kills the son of Arcens; 12.306–308 *ille securi / adversi frontem mediam mentumque reducta / dissicit et sparso late rigat arma cruore,* of Podalirius' assault on Alsus. Camilla's first victim, Eunaeus the son of Clytius, is transfixed and vomits blood as he faces her (*adversi*) at 11.667–669. *Adversi* denotes the bull's role as Entellus' last opponent; the notion of hostility (L&S s.v. 2. *adversus* 2) is the usual classical sense, though the present sacrifice scene is hardly a *tauromachia*. P's *aversi* has the wrong sense in the opposite direction; there is no reason to imagine that the bull is turned away, which would be an ill omen and undercut the sense of confrontation. The language, like the scene, has a subtle tone; Entellus may be facing his final foe, but he is retiring, and with a properly performed sacrifice (right animal/god/context).

stetit: Closing another ring; at 381 Dares stood before the feet of Aeneas as he grasped the horn of the bull he was ready to claim as his prize. Cf. also 414 *contra stetit*, of Entellus' reminiscence of Eryx's Herculean pugilistics; the three uses of the perfect give balance to the passage, as we move from Dares' stance before his leader, where the young Trojan seeks to use words to win his desired prize by default, to Entellus' memory of the past and his present killing of his own prize, where, significantly, he does not use the *caestus* of his teacher.

478 *qui donum astabat pugnae, durosque reducta*

astabat: Durative imperfect; the bull had been standing there during the bout, watching for its winner as a mute spectator; the verb contrasts with the aoristic *stetit* as Entellus assumes his final pugilistic stance. There may be a hint of the idea that the bull is waiting as if it were Entellus' last opponent; in the close of the boxing match we may see a foreshadowing of the Cretan Minotaur lore soon to be described on the doors of Apollo's temple at Cumae (6.20 ff.); Theseus saved the young of Athens by slaying Minos' monstrous bull, and here Entellus saves the younger Dares by offering the bull as a substitute sacrifice. We might note that mention of the Minotaur is missing from the description of the labyrinthine *lusus* described below precisely because the monstrous bull is already dead.

donum ... pugnae: The phrase occurs only here; significantly, no one presents the sacrificial animal to Entellus, who asserts his right to it just as Dares had done so very prematurely.

duros: Cf. 403 *duro ... tergo*. The referent is effectively delayed to the end of the following line. On the "anatomy" of V's style here, see Conte 2007, 108–109.

reducta: Only here with *dextra*.

479 **libravit dextra media inter cornua caestus**

libravit: Cf. 11.556 *quam dextra ingenti librans ita ad aethera fatur*, of Metabus as he offers the infant Camilla to Diana; 9.416–417 *hoc acrior idem / ecce aliud summa telum librabat ab aure*, of an attack by Nisus during the night raid; 10.421 *libro* (of Pallas); 480 *librans* (of Turnus as he prepares to slay Pallas); 773–774 *dextra mihi deus et telum, quod missile libro, / nunc adsint*, of Mezentius before he tries in vain to kill Aeneas. For the verb's use with weapons vid. *TLL* 7.2.1352.19 ff. The verb conveys the sense both of Entellus' brandishing of his powerful glove, and the balanced blow to the middle of the animal's head; Page argues that it does not = "swung," as many render it, but that it describes the 'balancing' or 'poising' of the hand necessary to ensure a true stroke." See Conington for the synthesis of the "action before the blow and the blow itself," and C. (and Henry) for Cesare Borgia's imitation of Entellus' feat. There may be a hint in the verb that Entellus has struck the right balance between defeat of his opponent in the most perilous of the competitions, and the proper reverence due to the gods—and of course the Sicilian hero spares the vanquished Trojan.

media inter cornua: So at 4.61 *candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit*, of the rites Dido performs; 6.244–246 *constituit frontique invergit vina sacerdos, / et summas carpens media inter cornua saetas / ignibus imponit sacris, libamina prima*, of Deiphobe's liturgy before the descent to Avernus, with Horsfall ad loc. on the "anastrophe of disyll. prepos." Greek, not Roman in practice, as Horsfall notes—though it is not clear to what extent the provenance of the sacrificial gesture matters in the present instance. "This detail has not escaped students of sacrificial ritual ... But this is familiar *Greek* practice, not Roman." (Horsfall ad 6.245);

caestus: The key word is delayed to the end. The gloves that slay the bull are those that Aeneas provided for the contestants and not the *caestus* that Entellus had inherited from Eryx, though the sacrifice will be offered to the dead trainer (483). The bull may be a relatively easy prey, but it embodies a city (cf. the siege imagery of 439–442, as Dares sought in vain to land a decisive blow against Entellus). The *caestus* that Aeneas presented to the competitors were of unspecified provenance; whatever the fate to which Troy is destined, Aeneas is the *de facto* conduit—a fact that is of relevance for the question of the hero's own choices in Book 12 given the revelations and injunctions of 6. Mackail speculates that Entellus has picked up the *caestus* that had been cast down earlier, so that now the sacrifice to Eryx is performed with the demigod's own gloves; the victor "swings them down by their long straps in his right hand, and brings them down, rising to his full height as he does so, on the crest of the bull's head like a sledgehammer." But V. does not allow us to settle the matter definitively.

480 arduus, effractoque inlisis in ossa cerebro:

Camilla's killing of Orsilochus is not unlike Entellus' sacrifice of the bull: *tum validam perque arma viro perque ossa securim | altior exurgens oranti et multa precanti | congeminat; vulnus calido rigat ora cerebro* (11.696–698).

arduus: At 348 *capita ardua*, both men held their heads back and high as they assumed a fighting stance; now the giant Entellus rises up to sacrifice his prize. The opening of this line contrasts effectively with that of the next, as Entellus rises up and the bull sinks low under his mighty blow.

effracto ... cerebro: Imitated by Statius at *Theb.* 6.811 *effracto quam misceat ossa cerebro*, where Adrastus stops the boxing match after observing that Capaneus will soon have a fractured skull if he suffers more of Alcidas' blows; Statius conflates the two Virgilian issues of whether or not a human contestant is mad, and the brain-smashing of a victim. The skull, and indeed the brain, has been broken open; the prefix has gory force. Hypallage (Servius); enallage (Conte): the shattered skull fragments are imagined as being driven into the brain. It is reasonable to wonder how even a great young hero could survive the injuries inflicted here. The focus, too, is on the brains and not the blood.

inlisis: See on 206 *inlisa*. Sergestus' ship was moored on the *meta* of the regatta that was invested with ethnographic associations, as Troy advanced towards a Roman future; now Entellus' right hand smashes into the brain of the bull that embodies the old city. The verb is mostly poetic (L&S are incorrect that it does not occur in Ciceronian prose; cf. *Har. Resp.* 55 *nido illis cruribus*; *TLL* 7.1.377.15); the meaning here is that the bones are smashed to bits/the skull fractured, with vividly grisly detail as the *caestus* enters the bone (R omits the preposition). While Entellus did not use the gloves of Eryx, we see the stains of brains and gore on another set now (cf. 414).

481 sternitur exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos.

On Virgilian monosyllabic line-ends see A. Ashcroft, "Vergil's Hexameter Line," in *G&R* 20.60 (1951), 94–114, 111–113; also Raven 1965, 100–101; J. Hough, "Monosyllabic Verse Endings in the *Aeneid*," in *CJ* 71.1 (1975), 16–24. Servius was not pleased with the technique ("pessimus versus"); the commentators cf. *A.* 1.105 *insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons*, where there is less emphasis on auditory effects. "... the almost grotesque rhythm" (Sidgwick). For the possible Virgilian response to Lucilian metrical advice (cf. Servius ad *A.* 8.83), see L. Morgan, "Getting the Measure of Heroes: The Dactylic Hexameter and Its Detractors," in Gale 2004, 1–26, 9.

sternitur: The form is repeated in the same *sedes* at 821, where Neptune's minions calm the sea soon before the loss of Palinurus. Cf. the death of Almo at 7.532–533 *natorum Tyrrhi fuerat qui maximus, Almo, | sternitur*; the mass

attack on Turnus at 9.666 *sternitur omne solum telis*; 10.429 *sternitur Arcadiae proles, sternuntur Etrusci*; 730–731 *sternitur infelix alieno vulnere, caelumque / aspicit et dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos* (of Hercules' companion Antor); 11.87 *sternitur et toto proiectus corpore terrae* (of Pallas' companion Acoetes).

exanimis: The adjective occurs 3× in 5; at 517 below it is used of the dove that is slain in the archery contest, and at 669 of the exhausted *magistri* who cannot restrain Ascanius from his frenzied reaction to the burning of the ships. Elsewhere it describes Anna (4.672); the unknown *socius* who must be buried before entrance to the underworld (6.161); both Pallas (10.496) and Lausus (10.841). Cf. Lucretius' *exanimare homines, pecudes prosternere passim* (*DRN* 6.243); Celsus has *interdum etiam sic exanimat, ut tamquam comitali morbo prosternat* (*De Med.* 4.27.1a.3); Tacitus *sternuntur fluctibus, hauriuntur gurgitibus; iumenta, sarcinae, corpora exanima interfluunt, occursant* (*Ann.* 1.70.9–10). Here, the adjective is especially vivid in light of the gruesome description of the bull's head injuries, as the very life breath is crushed out.

tremens: As did the wooden horse at *A.* 2.52 when struck by Laocoön's spear, a neat connection between the two bull sacrificers.

procumbit: See on 198, in a very different context during the ship race.

humi: An effective balance to 451 *ab humo*; Acestes had helped to lift his friend from the earth, and now the bull falls to the ground with a monosyllabic thud at line-end that enacts the collapse. Ovid may have playfully imitated this passage at *Met.* 1.375–376 *ut templi tetigere gradus, procumbit uterque / pronus humi gelidoque pavens dedit oscula saxo*, of Deucalion and Pyrrha; the original model = Lucretius, *DRN* 5.1199–1201 *vertier ad lapidem atque omnis accedere ad aras / nec procumbere humi prostratum et pandere palmas / ante deum delubra*. Curtius has *Nabarzanes ceterique parricidae procumbentes humi* (5.10.13.2); cf. also Livy 38.21.12.1 *parvae perimentis versi pestis prosternunt corpora humi, sicut tum passim procumbebant*.

For Entellus' "reversal" of Dares' killing of Butes in the slaughter of the *bos*, vid. Paschalis 1997, 193. The regatta had seen the threat of death in the fates of both Sergestus' ship and Gyas' helmsman Menoetes; the foot race had presented a harbinger of doom in Nisus' slip in the blood and gore of sacrificial victims; now we move a significant step forward, as a contest ends in an actual death; the archery match, too, will witness an animal's destruction.

482 ille super talis effundit pectore voces:

Cf. 409 *tum senior talis referebat pectore voces*, as V. closes another ring.

super: In addition to the physical act of slaughter, Entellus offers words: like his epic antecedent Ajax, the old hero is capable of eloquence as well as deeds of valor. The adverb also highlights the classic boxing scene of the victor standing

over the vanquished; the bull = the defeated Dares, and embodies the dead Troy, too, just as Laocoön was slain like the bull he was trying to sacrifice on the very eve of his city's invasion.

effundit pectore: The phrase opens a ring that closes some three hundred lines later at 780 *adloquitur talisque effundit pectore questus*, where Venus begins her complaint to Neptune: another connection between the present sequence and the god's forthcoming sacrificial demand. In a related passage, similar language describes Juno's lament over the seeming success of the Trojans at 7.292 *tum quassans caput haec effundit pectore dicta*. For *effundere* with *voces* cf. 722–723, where Anchises' shade visits Aeneas in a dream (cf. Silius' depiction of Dido's ghost at *Pun.* 8.166–167); 8.70 *talis effundit ad aethera voces*, where Aeneas prays to the Laurentine nymphs. Pedo has *ut nihil erepto valuit dinoscere mundo | obstructa in talis effundit pectora voces* (c. 14–15, *ap.* Seneca Rhetor, *Suas* 1.15.21). Lucan has *tum lumina pressit | continuitque animam, ne quas effundere voces | vellet et aeternam fletu corrumpere famam* (*BC* 8.616) of the death of Pompey. In V., then, the phrase is used in quasi-divine, dreamlike contexts; the otherworldly tone continues as the aged student of Eryx announces the end of his career in the ring.

483 *hanc tibi, Eryx, meliorem animam pro morte Daretis*

Eryx: The offering of the bull is made explicitly to Eryx; the student makes a fitting tribute to his teacher, whose gloves, of course, he was not able to use. If Neptune were offended by the offering of the shield to Nisus at 358–361, then there is no appeasement as yet of the marine god. Entellus here fulfills his claim *ne dona moror* (400); prizes are of no real concern to him, but he discharges his duties regarding the gods and prizes/spoils in a manner that offers an example to other characters in the epic. Page emphasizes that the demigod is the one who demands the offering, so that Entellus is thus the faithful executor of his patron's will; Neptune will be explicit about his demand for a life, but here there is no divine intervention or vignette, merely the student's proper discharge of honor and duty to his teacher. 483–484 echoes the form of dedicatory epigram (cf. *Anth. Pal.* 6); see further on 870–871 below, of what amounts to a rather different sacrifice.

meliorem animam: Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 6.162 *hanc animam vobis pro meliore damus*, of the substitution of a pig for Proca's life, with Littlewood ad loc. (who compares *Fasti* 3.342, of Numa's similar act in response to a Jovian demand). In Ovid's imitation the *melior anima* is the human life, as we might expect; Entellus lobs a final insult at the defeated Dares by describing the bull as the better soul. Williams opts for an intentionally vague statement that encompasses both sarcasm and the idea that the bull is *melior* because it would

be crueler to sacrifice a human life (the Servian interpretation); Page agrees with Donatus' note that a bull would be a worthier offering given it would be devoid of ritual impurity or contagion. See also Rivoltella 2005, 23–24; Tarrant ad 12.296 *melior ... victima*, of Messapus' (the son of Neptune's) slaying of Auletes, where "Messapus' abuse of ritual terminology is either avenged or replicated (depending on one's view of the poem's end) in A.'s killing of T." We might note that *meliores animam*, referring to the animal, = feminine.

For the reception of Entellus' sacrifice of the *melior anima* in Fracastoro's *Syphilis*, see P. Hardie, "Virgilian Imperialism, Original Sin, and Fracastoro's *Syphilis*," in Gale 2004, 223–234, 226–227.

484 *persolvo; hic victor caestus artemque repono.*'

persolvo: Elsewhere in V. at A. 1.600, of Aeneas' rendering of thanks to Dido; 2.537, of Priam's wishes for Pyrrhus; 8.62, of the rites Tiberinus enjoins on the *victor* Aeneas; 9.422–423 *tu tamen interea calido mihi sanguine poenas / persolves amborum*, of Volcens' taunt to Euryalus.

victor: As at 473; V. underscores the point. Interestingly, the first corrector of V reads *ultor* here.

caestus artemque: Hahn 1930, 144 compares 521 *ostentans artemque ... arcumque sonantem* as part of her discussion of passages where V. denotes the "concrete [as] the outward sign of abstract" (142–144); the passage below reverses the order found here, as the *ars* is demonstrated to be alive and well. In context, Acestes is the clear loser; there is no target left for him to hit. But the resurrection of Entellus—followed so soon by his definitive retirement—leads to the rebirth of Acestes, as it were, as another, older Sicilian takes the *de facto* crown of the climactic contest of the memorial games for aged Anchises.

repono: Note *reponit* RV; Serv.; the first person present does not occur elsewhere in V., while the third recurs at 619, as Iris throws off her disguise; note too the first person future *reponam* at 11.594, of Diana's promise to bury Camilla in her *patria*. Cf. Juturna's indignant *pro virginitate reponit* (12.878). In *repono* there is a sense that this is Entellus' second retirement; is there room for another return engagement?

Entellus disappears mysteriously from the narrative now, as befits a character from another age; there is no response to his sacrifice and no further word from either Aeneas or Acestes, as the narrative moves briskly to the archery competition. The spondaic rhythm of the line's opening underscores the solemnity of the veteran boxer's announcement both of the discharge of his duties to Eryx and of his removal of the *caestus* for good and all; the gloves are those that Aeneas had provided, so that there is also a hint of how the Eryx-gloves

are never again to be used. “The slow spondees and the simple words are most effective” (Williams ad loc.).

485–518 The archery contest follows at once, with the target of a dove bound to a ship’s mast. Hippocoön, the son of Hyrtacus, wins the lot to shoot first; Mnestheus is second; Eurytion, Pandarus’ brother, is third, with Acestes himself in the seemingly hopeless “last” place; the previous competitions are in some way recalled in the presence of one of the regatta captains and Nisus’ brother Hippocoön (cf. 9.175–176), and the ship’s mast that serves as the locus for the avian target rings back to the first of the quartet of games. Hippocoön shoots the mast; Mnestheus the rope that ties the bird; Eurytion the dove; there would thus seem to be nothing left for the Sicilian host in his only participatory event. Significantly, in the wake of the resolution of the boxing match and Entellus’ sacrifice of his prize, the archery match is the only one of the four games that does not open with a description of what the prize will be for the winner (486 *praemia dicit* is all we learn); the silence in the prelude to the competition will only underscore the surprise of what the award will be (531ff.). Neither Hippocoön nor Mnestheus deserve an award; the “true” winner = Eurytion, who has no connection with a previous contest; Acestes, the sponsor of the games and local monarch, will prove the *de facto* victor, as a second “title” goes to a Sicilian in the second half of the games in the move from Troy to Rome.

The archery contest is in part a response to the one use of the bow by Aeneas (1.187–194), when the Trojan kills seven deer to provide food for his shipwrecked men; three of the deer there are stags (cf. 772 *tres Eryci vitulos*, where Aeneas offers three bullocks to Eryx before setting sail for Italy). The game also looks forward to the key episode of archery in the war in Latium: Ascanius’ shooting of Numanus Remulus after making a prayer to Jupiter, and before a disguised Apollo warns him to avoid further involvement in battle (9.621–623). Significantly, Ascanius will appear immediately after the archery contest here, as he takes the central part in the *lusus Troiae*: foreshadowing of his attack on Remulus during the battle at the camp.

The principal model for V’s match = *Il.* 23.850–883, where Meriones wins the prize for killing a dove after Teucer cuts the cord that binds it to the mast. For V’s alleged improvement of his Homeric source, whereby the anticipation of the outcome by Achilles is removed, see Richardson ad loc.; he concludes that the Homeric passage was perhaps meant to be something of a “marvellous ... coda” to the funeral games, with Achilles aware of what will happen (sc., the cutting of the cord) by divine inspiration. Significantly, Aeneas will not have such foreknowledge.

The bow has somewhat problematic associations (“no major hero of the *Iliad* uses the bow”—R. Thomas; note also Lyne 1987, 202), though at 7.162–165, in a significant response to the games narrative, Latin youths engage in equestrian pursuits, archery, foot racing and boxing, as well as javelin throws—the one competition that seemingly had been omitted from the present memorial games (see on 68).

Apollo and Diana are preeminent archer gods, and the signal place of the archery competition here, at the climax of the games and as immediate prelude to the equestrian splendor of the *lusus Troiae*, reflects the spirit of Actium and the transformation, even, of Anchises’ eminently *Trojan* games into a *Roman* commemoration of Actium, though the metamorphosis will only be completed *in re* once the images of the games find their incarnation in the war in Latium. The association of the siblings Apollo and Diana with archery will have connection to the victory at Actium, but also to some of the more problematic “couplings” in the *A.* and *V.*’s delight in weaving ambiguous threads of correspondence; see, e.g., P. Hardie, “Virgil’s Ptolemaic Relations,” in *JRS* 96 (2006), 25–41, 37 for how Aeneas/Dido at the hunt are (inappropriately) compared to Apollo/Diana to evoke the idea of an incestuous sibling union after the fashion of Ptolemy and Cleopatra; cf. Camilla’s problematic allusive Parthian associations (11.653–654, where see Fratantuono; the descent of Jupiter’s Dira to dismiss Juturna is *explicitly* compared to a Parthian’s attack at 12.855–856, another good example of *V.*’s manipulative ambivalence), and the role that archery and missile weapons play in the Chloereus and Arruns sequences. There may be a hint here (and in 11 with the Apollonian assistance in the death of Camilla?) of the special prominence of Apollo in conjunction with the bow as weapon against Furies and as deadly accoutrement in the establishment and maintenance of order (see further Willink ad Euripides, *Orestes* 268–274).

The bibliography for this competition (especially the climactic portent) is relatively extensive; see especially Heinze 1902/1908/1914, 165–169; N. De Witt, “The Arrow of Acestes,” in *AJPh* 41.4 (1920), 369–378; Cartault 1926, 383–385; Drew 1927, 43 ff.; Prescott 1927, 219–222; Boas 1938, 165–175; E. McCartney, “Marvelous Feats of Archery,” in *CJ* 35.9 (1940), 537–541; Otis 1964, 275–276; Putnam 1965, 83–85; Klingner 1967, 468–469; Grassman-Fischer 1966, 86–91; Kraggerud 1968, 239; Galinsky 1969, 173; 81–92; Monaco 1960/1972, 129–139; G. Williams 1983, 135–136; H. Bacon, “The *Aeneid* as a Drama of Election,” in *TAPA* 116 (1986), 305–334; Cairns 1989, 243–245; Henry 1989, 58; Mellinghoff-Bourgerie 1990, 81; Horsfall 1995, 140–141; Dyson 2001, 165–166; L. Fratantuono, “*Seraque terrifici*: Archery, Fire, and the Enigmatic Portent of *Aeneid V.*,” in Deroux 2010, 196–218; Smith 2011, 122; Goldschmidt 2013, 116–119 (with consideration in particular of the historic links between Segesta and Rome).

More generally on archery in V. see R. Thomas in *VE* I, 119–120. For the loss of the dove and the connection with Neptune’s forthcoming assurance to Venus that the Trojans will reach the *portus ... Averni* (i.e., the “birdless” port) at 813–815, see Paschalis 1997, 193n54.

Statius’ games end with an archery display by Adrastus (6.924–946) that is not so much athletic contest as stage setting for a portentous event (the boomerang-like return of the arrow near to its quiver). Silius closes his funeral games with a javelin contest (16.557–591), the climax of which is not so much Burnus’ victory over Glagus and Aconteus as the casting of *hastae* by Scipio’s brother and Laelius, followed by Scipio’s similar spear toss that halts in the air, only to land and to take root as an oak tree in portent of some future great glory.

“Le jeu de l’arc, le septième de l’*Iliade*, vient faire ici une heureuse diversion au combat meurtrier du ceste.” (Eichhoff 1825, II, 345). But the lighter mood and glorious revelation of the Acestes portent looks forward both to the burning of the ships in 5 and 9, and, too, to the loss of both Palinurus and Pallas. The funeral games in the *Iliad* were in honor of Patroclus; in Virgil’s reinvention of the games for his *Aeneid*, the climactic portent of the Acestes arrow shot may fittingly serve to presage and foreshadow the death of the Arcadian Pallas, the Patroclus of his epic. Further, Pallas is a surrogate sacrifice in place of not only Aeneas, but also *Ascanius* (who must be saved at all costs—with shades of the Augustan succession problem). *Ascanius* is associated closely with the bow, both etymologically and in the action of the epic (see further McCallum 2012, 120); it is fitting that an *arrow* shot should presage the death of the one who will, in effect, die in his place.

For the influence of the archery contest on Longfellow, see A. Brinton, “Vergilian Allusions in the New England Poets (Continued),” in *CJ* 21.2 (1925), 85–99, 90–91.

485 protinus Aeneas celeri certare sagitta

protinus: In a neat, allusive balance, V. repeats this introductory word at 11.690 (1× in 5 and 1× in 11), as Camilla slays the giants Orsilochus and *Butes* (the latter victim may have a possible connection with the fact that Apollo assumes the guise of *Butes* at 9.644–658 to ward off *Ascanius*); cf. the god’s role in the destruction of the Volscian heroine. There is a sense of immediacy and even hurry here, as if Aeneas wants to move quickly to the next contest in the wake of the defeat of his fellow Trojan and the blemish on the games: the regatta had seen a beached ship and a helmsman tossed overboard, but all had been well; the boxing match has ended on a more serious and violent note, with the first death of the games.

celeri ... sagitta: For the swift arrow cf. *A.* 1.187 *celerisque sagittas*, where Aeneas prepares to shoot the seven deer; 12.394 *augurium citharamque dabat celerisque sagittas*, of Apollo's gifts to the healer Iapyx; note also the Dira sent to Juturna at 12.855–856, where the descent in a swift *turbo* is compared to a Parthian's poisoned arrow shot.

In artful balance, the word order here reverses that of 291–292, where the pexegetical infinitive followed the relative clause of characteristic.

486 *invitat qui forte velint et praemia dicit*,

dicit: So P, *contra ponit* MRV ω ; cf. Servius ad 5.112.6 “nam Homerus in ludis funebribus Patrocli ultima praemia dicit duo talenta.” *Praemia ponit* certainly occurs at 292 *invitat pretiis animos, et praemia ponit*, before the foot race; cf. Livy 21.43.5.3–4 *praemia vobis ea victoribus proponit*. The archery contest opens with language similar to that of the foot race (its sister match, with briefer description in contrast to the two longer events), though in the earlier competition the prizes are first placed in order and then later described at leisurely length (304–314). Here, *dicit* indicates the announcement of what the prizes for the arrow contest are, but V. deliberately obscures the revelation; at 532ff., the matter will be revisited, so that the archery match reverses the pattern of the foot race and has a description of the awards delayed to the end, in tandem with the “surprise” ending of the Acestes portent. *Dicit* is the *difficilior lectio* here and should be retained; for the first time in the games narrative, we are left in suspense as to what the *praemia* will be. The verbal change from 292 works better, too, in the wake of Entellus' sacrifice of the prize bull; no new prizes are explicitly brought forth and placed on display (as would be the case with *ponit*); the emphasis is instead on Aeneas' words.

487 *ingenti manu malum de nave Seresti*

ingenti manu: Of a hand and not a band; cf. Martial, *Ep.* 4.8.9–10 *et bonus aetherio laxatur nectare Caesar / ingentique tenet pocula manu*. The phrase has special resonance in the wake of the boxing match; the contestants there, especially Entellus, had participated in a savagely violent athletic display, while now Aeneas raises a mast from Serestus' vessel to prepare the target for a very different competition: V. consistently links together narrative passages by verbal reminiscences and deliberate phrasing that both recalls and anticipates, with the effect of crafting a more tightly constructed narrative. Conington is right to dismiss the (Servian) idea that *ingenti* should indicate a multitude of men ready to help Aeneas, let alone the construing of the adjective with *nave*; he perceptively connects 11.556 *dextra ingenti*, of Metabus as he prepares to hurl Camilla to safety, and indeed she will prove to be a dove-slayer, even as

the mast here will mark another dove's prison. There is something hyperbolic in the phrase here, and deliberately so, *contra* Henry's passionate note, which settles in the end for Servius' view, "the only interpretation known, or so much as dreamed of ... until the marvellous Hyperborean aurora drove the old stars from the Virgilian sky."

malum: For the composition of the mast from a tree stump, see on 504; we come to learn that the *malus* of this last game is not unlike the *meta* of the first; it has ethnographic associations that are set now not on some distant goal, but on the very ship moored in harbor: the Trojans who set sail for Rome in metaphor during the regatta are already in motion toward their destiny as a suppressed element of a nascent Rome.

With *ingenti manu* cf. 506 *ingenti ... plausu*.

de nave: The games will end as they began, with a nautical setting.

Seresti: This Trojan has a quiet history in the *A.*, but he appears in moments of significance and in a clearly key position in the hierarchy of Aeneas' men; cf. 1.611 and especially 4.288; his leadership role at 9.171–173; 9.779; the battle contexts of 10.541–543; 12.549; 561. See further G. Garbugino in *EV* IV, 792; S. Harrison in *VE* III, 1151. Serestus did not take part in the regatta, but he is repeatedly named with those captains whose vessels who did sail in the race, indeed at least once with every one of the four captains; his boat thus appears here as a sort of "fifth" ship that crowns the whole memorial games sequence and closes a ring with the ship race that opened the day's events. See Paschalis 1997, 193 for the connection of the name with *resto*; he sees a link to those who will soon be left behind in Sicily, but the principal association (see above on *malum*) is on the arrival in harbor after the regatta: this contest is focused on a ship that is home in harbor, whose mast will serve as the locus of the contest. Conington indicates the temptation to take Serestus' ship as = to Sergestus' damaged vessel, which might be a ready target for cannibalization of a mast; we might add that the removed letter might be an indication of the *debilis* vessel.

488 *erigit et volucrem traiecto in fune columbam,*

A dove, the bird of Venus, will be the target of the archery contest (for the bird see on 213); cf. Horace, c. 1.37.17, where Octavian is the accipiter and Cleopatra the dove. The bird in Homer's competition is a dove, and so on the level of epic imitation there is no reason for V. not to use the same target, though the question of Venusian propriety does come to mind, especially in a book that is in part devoted to the aetiology of her Sicilian cult at Erycina (cf. the recent close of the boxing match and the sacrifice to Eryx). In one sense, the Venusian target reflects the ethnographic foreshadowing of the previous

contests, especially the boxing match; the shooting of the goddess' own bird further underscores the future settlement of Rome, if we consider that the Venus of the *A.* can be expected to be devoted to the Trojan past.

The penultimate books of the *A.* each contain a sequence that describes the death of a dove; at 11.718–724, Camilla's slaying of Aunides is compared to an accipiter's attack on a dove (cf. *Il.* 22.129–142, of Achilles vs. Hector, with De Jong; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Post.* 1.529–572, of Achilles vs. Penthesilea); in *V.*, Camilla becomes the Achilles figure (cf. Quintus' likely play on the Virgilian reworking of Homer in his *Penthesilead*). On the parallel scene in 11 see Horsfall ad loc.; Fratantuono ad loc. and 2010, 205–206; Fratantuono and Braff 2012, 56–58. There is likely no evocation here of bird prognostication and augury (cf. Naevius, fr. 2–4 Warmington, on Anchises' powers in this regard; the dove of the present sequence rather embodies the death of Troy).

erigit: Of the forces of nature at *A.* 3.423 (Charybdis); 3.576 (Etna); 7.530 (the sea); light (8.25); the island of Vulcan's forge (8.417); smoke (9.240), as befits the description here of so immense a task; it is also used 2× of the preparation of Dido's pyre (4.495; 505); of Allecto's holding up of two snakes from her hair (7.450). The present scene was inspired by *E.* 6.63 *atque solo proceras erigit alnos*, Silenus' song of the fate of the mourning sisters of Phaëthon. The parallel points to the forthcoming loss of the young Pallas that will be forecast in the arrow shot of Acestes, and the aftermath of his death that forms the subject of the opening movements of 11; the erection of the wooden mast is invested with the image of the loss of a young life, of which the death of the dove is mere symbol; it is a precursor of the *tropaea* set up to commemorate victories and memorialize dead heroes.

volucrem ... columbam: Propertius has *et Veneris dominae volucres, mea turba, columbae* (c. 3.3.31).

traiecto in fune: The epithet is transferred from the dove to the rope; cf. Livy 30.10.5.4 *malis antennisque de nave in navem traiectis ac validis funibus*; Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 10.2.4.5–6 *circum autem orbiculum ab summo traiectus funis descendat et redeat ad suculum, quae est in ima machina, ibique religetur*; 10.2.9.9 *per quos traiecti funes traduntur*. *Traicere* occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11, where at 685 *traicit et super haec inimico pectore fatur* it describes Camilla's attack on Ornytus—another of the many associations of the archery contest with the Volscian's aristeia. Nisus kills Tagus with a shot through the brain at 9.418–419 *it hasta Tago per tempus utrumque | stridens traiectoque haesit tepefacta cerebro*; cf. Alcanor's wound as he tries to help his brother Maeon at 10.339–340 *traiecto missa lacerto | protinus hasta fugit*; Clausus' victim Dryops at 10.348 *rapit traiecto gutture*. Hector's ghost is *traiectus* at 2.273; so also Sychaeus' chest in another apparition at 1.355 *traiectaque pectora*. The grisly associations of

the adjective presage the ultimate fate of the hapless bird (516 ff.). The rope seems to be passed around the bird, but the description is not altogether clear.

489 quo tendant ferrum, malo suspendit ab alto.

tendant ferrum: Cf. the vivid Tacitean passage *iam in mortem centurioni ferrum destringenti protendens uterum* (*Ann.* 14.8.22), of Agrippina's end. For *ferrum* of the point of an arrow vid. *TLL* 6.1.584.15–19.

malo ... ab alto: So also at 511 *malo pendebat ab alto*. The mast is high; the hand that erected it was huge; the target hovers over the scene of the games and provides a new spectacle locus for the assembly's attention.

suspendit: The verb occurs 2× in 5 and 2× in 11: cf. 827 below, where *suspensam* describes Aeneas' mind under the influence of *blanda gaudia*; 11.11, of the hanging of Mezentius' spoils; 11.575, of the arming of the young Camilla with bow and arrows. At 511 *quis innexa pedem malo pendebat ab alto* V. describes the bonds Mnestheus strikes as the bird is freed; the emphasis is on the height of the mast.

490 convenere viri deiectamque aerea sortem

deiectamque ... sortem: Imitated at *Ilias Latina* 587–588 *ergo ubi deiectis auratam regis Atridae / sortibus in galeam magnus processerat Aiax*. *Deicere* is especially common in 11: 480 *oculos deiecta decoros*, of Lavinia's downcast countenance; 580 *Strymoniamque gruem aut album deiecit olorem*, of the young Camilla's hunting habits; 642 *deicit Herminium*, of Catillus' killing of his huge foe; 665 *deicis*, of the author's question to Camilla of the range of her aristeia; 833 *deiecta crudescit pugna Camilla*: 5× in the book, thrice in Camilliad contexts. For the singular *sors* see Conington ad loc.

The same verse in 11, 490 *fulgebatque alta decurrens aureus arce*, works an interesting change on ideas from the present line; the lot is thrown down in a brazen helmet, and Turnus will rush down to battle in gold from his lofty citadel. Camilla is introduced at almost the same sequence of lines in 11 as the archery contest starts in 5; her aristeia will be a martial response to the forthcoming *lusus Troiae* and its equestrian splendor.

aerea: The brazen helmet for the lots will be recalled at 10.835–836 *procul aerea ramis / dependet galea et prato gravia arma quiescunt*, during the scene of Mezentius' washing of his wounds in the Tiber before he receives the news of Lausus' death.

sortem: Cf. 9.268 *ducere sortem*, of the allotment of awards Ascanius prematurely promises to Nisus and Euryalus before the night raid, with DServ.'s note that *alii* read *deicere* because of the present passage.

491 *accepit galea, et primus clamore secundo*

accepit galea: A reversal of what one might expect; the helmet receives the lot, rather than a contestant receiving the helmet as a prize: the very receptacle for the lots contributes to the deemphasis on rewards that marks the opening of this contest: the stage continues to be set both for Acestes' portent and the ominous gift that will "celebrate" its occurrence.

primus: See on 497, of Pandarus' truce-breaking.

clamore secundo: Cf. 338 *fremituque secundo*, of the reaction of the crowd to Euryalus' early and decisive lead in the foot race; there is a hint of suspense here, as we wonder for a moment about who has won the coveted first lot. The phrase recurs at 10.266 *fugiuntque Notos clamore secundo*, of the Strymonian cranes to whom the besieged Trojans are compared as they see the approach of Aeneas to their relief; these same Trojans will eventually be just as much victims of Camilla as the Strymonian cranes she killed in her youth (11.580). Cf. also Ovid, *Met.* 8.420, during the Calydonian boar hunt; Silius, *Pun.* 16.466.

492 *Hyrtaeidae ante omnis exit locus Hippocoöntis*;

A line of rich associations with key passages elsewhere in the epic; for the hero named here vid. especially L. Polverini in *EV* III, 17–18. At 9.175–176 we learn that Nisus is the son of Hyrtacus, and thus probably though not certainly the archer's brother; "Hippocoön" appears at *Il.* 10.515–525 as a Thracian counselor ("with an obviously Greek name"—Hainsworth ad loc.) who is roused from sleep by Apollo and thus saved from the slaughter Odysseus and Diomedes perpetrate in Rhesus' camp (= the model for the night raid of Nisus and Euryalus); no connection of either man to the homonymous Spartan king and exiler of his brother Tyndareus, who was ultimately slain by Hercules along with ten of his sons (Alcman, fr. 1 Page). Homer's Hippocoön brings the news of Rhesus' death (*Il.* 10.518–522), in contrast to Ps.-E., *Rhesus* 777 ff., where a charioteer is the messenger (see here V. Rosivach, "Hector in the *Rhesus*," in *Hermes* 106.1 [1978], 54–73, 70n47). There is probably no connection between this Hippocoön and the homonymous father of sons who were said to be rivals of the Dioscouri (cf. Euphorion, fr. 31 Lightfoot).

Like his Iliadic model, who disappears from the epic after his escape from death, we do not hear of Hippocoön after this episode; his lucky lot as the first shooter, who could win the contest before anyone else has a chance to fire, is a parallel to his possible brother Nisus' early victory in the other short contest of the games. For the bookended line cf. 498 *extremus ... Acestes*, of the last lot to be drawn.

The first part of the would-be winner's name connects both to the forthcoming equestrian display and to the cavalry action in 11. The name recurs

in the Ovidian catalogue of participants in the Calydonian boar hunt: *et quos Hippocoön antiquis misit Amyclis* (*Met.* 8.314; 363). On the associations with Argonaut lore and the legends of Hercules, vid. Saunders 1940, 538–539. With the patronymic cf. Ovid, *Trist.* 1.5.23–24; *Ibis* 632. It recurs at 503, of Hippocoön's arrow shot.

Hyrtaeidae: Asius also a son of H. at *Il.* 2.837; 13.759, 771; see Hardie ad 9.177; G. Annibaldi in *EV* III, 25–26; also Dyson 2001, 165–166, for connections between the one brother's arrow shot here and the other's night raid. The patronymic and the name frame the line.

ante omnis: See on 406; the present use echoes Dares' refusal before the assembly to face Entellus if he wears Eryx's *caestus*; it also looks forward to 833, of the doomed Palinurus. But the imminent foreshadowing is of 540, where Acestes receives his portent. "The lots—pieces of wood or pebbles on which the names were written—were shaken in the helmet until one leaped out." (Butler ad loc.).

493 quem modo navali Mnestheus certamine victor

The archery match is the only contest to feature a repeat competitor, and from the start the announcement of his name is problematic: while the first place winner Cloanthus was not the only captain to be honored for his participation, Mnestheus was in second place, so that *victor*, while technically accurate, hardly tells the whole story. Mnestheus' place in the order of lots here deliberately matches his result in the boat race. In *modo* there is a neat reference to the time; the games have all taken place on one and the same day, but the temporal adverb also closely connects the first and last competitions by emphasizing how Mnestheus is fresh from his victory—first place absent Cloanthus' prayer, second in consequence of the divine machinery of the epic.

navali ... certamine: Cf. Livy 30.10.4.2; 37.13.7.4.

494 consequitur, viridi Mnestheus evinctus oliva.

viridi ... oliva: Cf. the tawny olive of 309, during the prize details for the foot race; and especially 246 *viridique ... tempora lauro*, of the adornment of the victorious Cloanthus; 269 *puniceis ibant evincti tempora taenis*, of the captains at the regatta; 110, of the *virides coronae* awarded for all the competitors. Euryalus' youth is *viridis* (295); Nisus slips on wet green grass (330 *viridisque ... herbas*). The question of the seeming contradiction between the green and the yellow olive has been addressed by Edgeworth 1992 (129, 166), who points out that the olive's leaves turn yellow quickly once they have been removed from the tree.

The chromatic question is linked to V's emphasis on *Mnestheus* (the repetition, indeed epanalepsis of his name is deliberate; cf. Horsfall ad 6.134) as

the *victor* in the naval contest, Mnestheus and not Cloanthus. Mnestheus' *Pristis* was compared to a dove as it sailed forth in the regatta (213–219); his vessel surpassed Sergestus' and Gyas', and was finally the only real challenger for Cloanthus' vessel. The Scylla's captain made a prayer to the marine gods, and his ship won the race, swifter than a flying shaft (242): the two similes balance the archery contest, where an arrow will bring down a dove. The present passage serves as a corrective to the theological implications of the regatta (for a moment, at least); Mnestheus, whose ship = dove of the ship race, is here one of the archers, and he will be pitiable because he hits not himself, as it were—the dove of the race—but the seemingly more difficult target of the rope that binds it (509–510; just as his ship had sailed forth like a dove, so his almost freak arrow shot will free this dove, though its lifespan in liberty will be exceedingly brief).

Cloanthus had won because of his prayers to the gods of the sea (he was also the first of the contestants to round the *meta*); Mnestheus, the progenitor of the gens *Memmia*, is here depicted as if he had been the rightful winner of the regatta, only to lose *this* contest “fairly”—he will come in second after Eurytion without any interference from the immortals. All of this will change when Acastes decides to take what most would consider a shot in vain; cf. the question of the order of prizes in the foot race if Salius' honors had been restored. And Mnestheus' naval crown here is *viridis*, the fresh color of the leaf on the tree, not the *flava oliva* that has been plucked from the branch: the color has changed, and deliberately so. See Paschalis 1997, 195 for a connection between memory and the wreath.

The *viridis oliva* is also connected to the *meta* of the regatta (129 *hic viridem Aeneas frondenti ex ilice metam*), a goal post that was invested with ethnographic significance. For the crowning with olive cf. the parallel 774 below, of Aeneas as he prepares to sail away from Sicily—once again, the regatta is in some sense a microcosm of the journey from Troy to Italy.

Papillon and Haigh cite a “slight inconsistency” with 246 *lauro*, but that adornment was reserved for the victor Cloanthus.

495 *tertius Eurytion, tuus, o clarissime, frater,*

The line is a reminiscence of the “incomplete” 322 *tertius Euryalus*, both ordinally and onomastically; V. repeats the fraternal image, too, by associating Eurytion with his more famous brother. The trickery of the foot race is recalled by the image of truce-breaking, divinely ordered or not; Euryalus won the foot race, despite the questionable road to his victory, and Eurytion will “win” the archery match in the sense that he slays the dove—but in contrast to the outcome for his foot race parallel, he will lose to Acastes.

Eurytion: Mentioned only here in V; vid. L. Polverini, “Eurizione,” in *EV* II, 435; for the name (εὐρύτιος; τεῖνω), Paschalis 1997, 195. Staius recycles the name for a Theban casualty who is shot first in one eye and then the other by Parthenopaeus (*Theb.* 9.749–756, with Dewar); Valerius has it of an Argonaut (1.378, with Zissos); = a centauric name at *Od.* 21.285 (one of those who becomes intoxicated at the wedding of Hippomadeia and Pirithous; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 12.220–228; also *Ars* 1.593; Propertius, c. 2.2.9–10; 2.33.1; and see further Putnam 1998, 241n16, for reference to Clonus Eurytides, the artisan of the baldric of Pallas).

clarissime: No one else is accorded this superlative in V; cf. *G.* 1.5–6 *vos, o clarissima mundi | lumina, labentem caelo qui ducitis annum*, of the sun and moon that are associated with the preeminent archer gods. The emphasis on fraternity is deliberate; cf. Entellus and his teacher, the half-brother of Eryx; the other half-brother of Aeneas, the archer god Cupid; see further on 496 *Pandare*. *Clarissime* may be V’s response to the Homeric ἀμύμων, with all its sometimes problematic associations, in which case the poet has increased the magnitude of the descriptor. For the glorious nature of Pandarus’ deed, despite its guarantee that Troy will fall, see J. Griffin, “The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer,” in *JHS* 97 (1977), 39–53; 46.

With the superlative here cf. 502 *per caelum*; *clarissime* carries with it not only a hint of fame and renown, but also of the brightness of the day (cf. V’s description of the celestial lights). There may be a hint of the relative differences between archery by day and at night, apart from the question of truce-breaking by bow shot (cf. Ascanius with Remulus vs. Nisus’ actions after Euryalus’ capture); see further here W. McLeod, “The Bow at Night: An Inappropriate Weapon?,” in *Phoenix* 42.2 (1988), 121–125. Pandarus broke his truce in broad daylight; so also the military activities in *A.* 11 and 12, *contra* Nisus and Euryalus’ behavior in 9, and the Homeric Doloneia.

496 *Pandare, qui quondam iussus confundere foedus*

Pandare: The truce-breaking of *Il.* 4.85 ff. is recalled explicitly in these lines; cf. the problem at almost the same lines of 11, where the Latins react to the news of renewed Trojan military operations during the burial truce. For Pandarus vid. M. Scarsi in *EV* III, 952; the name is applied to two figures in V: cf. 9.672–735, where Pandarus, the son of Alcanor, is introduced as the brother of Bitias; he is killed by Turnus during the episode of the shutting of the gates of the camp. On the truce-breaker’s father Lycaon see Kirk ad *Il.* 4.101. Two brothers, then, in Hippocoön and Nisus, with the revelation to come only in 9; two brothers in Pandarus and Bitias; archery plays a significant role in the characterizations of the first sibling set, while both Virgilian Pandaruses are identified by their respective brotherly relations. For the connection of Pandarus, the son of

Lycaon, with Apollo the lupine god, cf. Homer, *Il.* 4.101; the imagery will recur in the Arruns-Camilla narrative of 11, and the Trojan Pandarus has affinities with Apollo's Etruscan archer devotee.

Significantly, at some time after the Homeric episode of truce-breaking *Aeneas* seeks out Pandarus, whom he praises as blameless and of matchless reputation for the bow (*Il.* 5.171–173; see here F. Combellack, "Two Blameless Homeric Characters," in *AJPh* 103.4 [1982], 361–372, 370–371). Pandarus had been given his bow by Apollo (*Il.* 2.289); in Homer's archery contest, Meriones wins a victory over Teucer because the latter omits a prayer to Apollo to oversee his shot (see further L. Hinckley, "Patroclus' Funeral Games and Homer's Character Portrayal," in *CJ* 81.3 [1986], 209–221, 220n35).

Pandarus famously tried to attack Diomedes (*Il.* 5.95ff.); cf. the *recusatio* of the Greek hero in 11. "Few heroic encounters in the *Iliad* involve combat with the bow, and where they do occur, it is generally a Trojan who draws his bow at a Greek with little or no success." (A. Maingon, "Epic Convention in Stesichorus' *Geryoneis*: SLG 15," in *Phoenix* 34.2 [1980], 99–107, 104).

V. does not explicitly identify the Homeric Pandarus' parentage; elsewhere, though, Lycaon is mentioned at *G.* 1.138 *Pleiadas*, *Hyadas*, *claramque Lycaonis Arcton*, where the constellation of the Bear is identified by reference to the father of Callisto before her ursine metamorphosis (see here Thomas 1999, 136); and, most significantly, at *A.* 9.303–305, where Lycaon is the Cretan craftsman of the sword Ascanius gives to Euryalus before the night raid. The lupine associations of the sword correlate with Nisus' prayer to Diana and his mention of Hyrtacus' hunting skills (403–409, exactly a hundred lines after the blade is bestowed; the wrong partner may have been awarded the wolfish weapon).

iussus: One could quibble with V.'s reading of *Il.* 4.85–126, and whether Athena commands Pandarus to break the truce so much as she persuades him (see here Hammer 2002, 77). "Pandarus' action is not one which the poet expects us to approve. He has a free choice whether to agree to the suggestion put to him, and the fact that it is a god who tries to influence him is no excuse. He suffers an almost automatic punishment by being killed in the next book" (Willcock ad *Il.* 4.104). There is a faint foreshadowing here of Somnus' somewhat similar encounter with Palinurus, where suggestion and cajole give way to violence and physical intervention, and the question of whether divine suggestions are tantamount to commands. The Virgilian depiction is subtle and effective; Pandarus may have been "ordered" to commit his deed in the poet's revision of his source, but he is still accorded two lines of description that are devoted to an act that arguably redounds more to dishonor than glory.

confundere foedus: Repeated at 12.289–290 *Messapus regem regisque insignem gerentem / Tyrrenum Aulesten, avidus confundere foedus* (see Tarrant ad loc.

for the “inverted parallel” with Pandarus, who was ordered [*iussus*] by Athena to break his truce). Both cases look back to a previous act of truce-breaking: Pandarus’ shooting of Menelaus in the ever more distant, Iliadic past; Messapus’ desire to confound the truce in the aftermath of Tolumnius’ already having done just that in the recent (12.266–276). On some aspects of the basic verb *fundere* in V., especially its associations with death and dying, see Smith 1997, 49.

The language here is reminiscent of A. 1.62–63 *regemque dedit qui foedere certo / et premere et laxas sciret dare iussus habenas*, of Jupiter’s commission to Aeolus (cf. 4.703 *iussa*, of Iris’ description of her descent to the dying Dido); according to the logic of a Neptune, the wind god may be thought to have broken the terms of the *foedus* by which he was given command of the blasts. At 834 *iussi*, all of the Trojan sailors follow the lead of Palinurus, who is *princeps ante omnis*. Andromache refers to Polyxena as *iussa mori* (3.323).

The archery contest will end with a portent of a flaming arrow that connects to other epic shooting star imagery; V. here neatly reverses Homer’s similar comparison of Athena’s descent before she orders Pandarus to break the truce (*Il.* 4.73–80).

497 in medios telum torsisti primus Achivos.

in medios: An interesting tweak on the Homeric model; Pandarus’ assault was aimed at Menelaus, while in V.’s recounting the apostrophe describes a more indiscriminate assault.

torsisti: So of the young Camilla at 11.578 *tela manu iam tenera puerilia torsit*.

primus: Cf. 491, of Hippocoön’s lot; 502, of his attempt to strike the dove; V. underscores the idea of the “first” shot.

More than two lines describe the far more famous brother; the effect is to give the description of Eurytion something of the flavor of the hemistich that described Euryalus at 322; *his* brother Nisus’ action at 402 ff. is not truce-breaking *per se*, but it is nonetheless parallel to Pandarus’ shooting of an arrow into the midst of the Achaeans.

Lines 496–497 appear unaltered in the tenth century *Waltharius* of Ekkehard of St. Gall: *Tertias en Wurhardus abit bellumque lacessit, / Quamlibet ex longa generatus stirpe nepotum / O vir clare tuus cognatus et artis amator, / Pandare, qui quondam iussus confundere foedus / In medios telum torsisti primos Achivos* (725–729).

498 extremus galeaque ima subsedit Acestes,

For the conjunction with adjective and ablative adjuncts to the predicate, see A. Housman on Persius, s. 5.109–112 in his “Notes on Persius,” in *CQ* 7.1 (1913), 12–32, 24–25.

extremus: See on 544, where the last has become the first.

subsedit: Cf. *OLD* s.v. 4 “to fall to the ground or to the bottom (in a liquid or other medium).” *Subsidere* occurs 5× in *V*, 2× in this book; at 820 *subsident* the waves settle down under the direction of the marine gods; at 12.492 *poplite subsidens* Aeneas ducks down to avoid Messapus’ spear. The announcement of Trojan suppression in the future ethnography of Rome comes at 12.836 *subsident Teucrici*. In deliberate parallel, the form *subsedit* occurs in *II*, at 268 *subsedit adulter*, during Diomedes’ reminiscence of the homecoming of Agamemnon (for the textual confusion occasioned by Servius’ dislike of the “almost new metaphor,” see Horsfall ad loc., and cf. *Acestes/Aegisthus*). The associations are deliberately perverted; *Acestes*’ lot sinks to the bottom, but he is, in a sense, lying in wait for *Eurytion*, the quasi-victor—regarding whom one wonders if the brother is being punished to avenge the sins of his storied archer sibling.

The verb, then, is of problematic associations. The sea will be calm, but *Palinurus* will die; *Agamemnon* will conquer Troy (*devictam Asiam*), but *Aegisthus* lies in wait with *Clytemnestra*; *Aeneas* will be victorious, but even he must crouch down to avoid the spear of *Neptune*’s quasi-immortal son; the Trojan exiles will find a new home, but Troy will be suppressed. The catalog of grim associations would seem to include the unlucky last place lot of *Sicily*’s king; in contrast to all the other uses of the verb, *subsedit* here will prove to signal a boon.

499 ausus et ipse manu iuvenum temptare laborem.

Acestes, like his countryman *Entellus* to whom he gave encouragement before the boxing match, will compete with much younger men. *Manu* continues the spirit of the boxing match with its theme of the battle of generations. *Et ipse manu*: “these words each have point” (*Phillipson* ad loc.).

temptare laborem: The phrase occurs only here. *V* reads *manum ... labore*, but the point is on the work of the hand both in the wake of the boxing match and in the context of an archery contest, besides the poet’s fondness for verbal repetition in short sequence (487 *ingenti manu*, of *Aeneas*’ hand and not a band of helpers). See further here *Bruck* 1993, 36: “Mit *labor* bezeichnet der Autor an dieser Stelle einfach nur das Bogenschießen, dessen relative Beschwerlichkeit für einen älteren Herrn durch die Hinzusetzung von *manu* (499) und *validis viribus* (500) bezeichnet wird. Mehr steckt hier selbstverständlich nicht dahinter, und so haben wir in Beispiel dafür, daß auch der epische Erzähler den Begriff ohne die Konnotation aus den *Georgica* verwenden kann und, was zu erwarten war, nicht dogmatisch verfährt.” Cf. too *Brisson* 1966, 191.

500 *tum validis flexos incurvant viribus arcus*

Two lines of unified action precede the separate shots of the four contestants; as with the regatta, so with this last match there will be a quartet of athletes.

validis ... viribus: A phrase of venerable poetic associations. Elsewhere in the *A.* it is used of Laocoön's assault with a *hasta* on the wooden horse (2.50), where the curvature is of the horse's belly (51 *feri curvam compagibus alvum*); cf. Lucretius' *volatile telum* at *DRN* 1.287 *id validis utrum contortum viribus ire*; also 1.286–287 *ita magno turbidus imbri | molibus incurrit validis cum viribus amnis*; 3.351–352 *post ubi iam validis quassatum est viribus | corpus*; 3.494 *ventorum validis fervere viribus undae*; 5.1098 *exprimitur validis extritus viribus ignis*. The source is likely Ennian (*Ann. fr.* 9.298 Skutsch—"the alliterating phrase is common"), either a general statement of the hazards and difficulties of war, or a reference to a specific campaign; see Skutsch ad loc. for reference to Havet's idea that the occasion = Gn. Fulvius Centumalus' naval triumph of 228 B.C. during the Illyrian campaign, which might make for a nice parallel to the present scene, invested as it is in the spirit of the regatta.

flexos: Cf. 28 *flecte*; also Ovid, *Met.* 4.302–303 *sed nec venatibus apta nec arcus | flectere quae soleat* (of Salmacis); 5.56 *flectentem cornua* (of Perseus); Statius, *Silv.* 2.1.143 *torvus ab hoc Athamas insanos flecteret arcus*. "Proleptic" (Butler ad loc.): "they bend their bows into curves. They are testing their bows and their strength."

incurvant: The verb occurs only here in *V.*; for the related adjective cf. *G.* 1.494; 2.513, both times of an *aratrum*. "Mutatione usus est: nam 'curvos flectunt' debuit dicere" (Servius).

501 *pro se quisque viri et depromunt tela pharetris,*

quisque viri: Elsewhere in *V.* at 12.552 *pro se quisque viri summa nituntur opum vi*, of Etruscan and Arcadian contingents. The regatta had four captains, but also four crews; the last contest focuses on the individual action of four competitors, who are entirely dependent on personal prowess; cf. the similar case of the boxing match, *contra* the foot race, where what should have been another solitary sport became something of a team effort in the business of Nisus' actions on behalf of his beloved.

depromunt: The verb occurs elsewhere in *V.* at 11.590 *deprome sagittam*; 859 *deprompsit pharetra*; of Diana's command regarding vengeance for Camilla and Opis' execution of Arruns; cf. *Ps.-V., Ciris* 160 *aurea fulgenti depromens tela pharetra*; Statius, *Silv.* 2.3.27 *depromit pharetra telum breve*.

tela pharetris: The same line-end occurs at Statius, *Theb.* 4.156.

502 primaque per caelum nervo stridente sagitta

There is no suspense here in *prima*, since we know that Hippocoön has the first shot.

caelum: “Used as often for *aether*, the outer, more rarefied air extending to the bounds of the world, opposed to *aer*, the nearer atmosphere round the earth” (Costa ad Lucretius, *DRN* 5.434): in V’s language there is a hint of the larger aerial arena in which the archery contest is being staged.

nervo: Cf. the description of Opis’ arrow shot at 11.862 *laeva aciem ferri, dextra nervoque papillam*: 1× each for the noun in the sister books; note also *G.* 4.313 *aut ut nervo pulsante sagittae* (of the Parthians; cf. *A.* 12.856–857 *non secus ac nervo per nubem impulsu sagitta | armatam saevi Parthus quam felle veneni*; on the comparison of the arrow shot here and the Dira of *A.* 12, see Putnam 1962, 218); *A.* 10.131 *nervoque aptare sagittas*.

stridente sagitta: The same line-end recurs at 7.531 *hic iuvenis primam ante aciem stridente sagitta*, of Almo, where *primam* correlates with *prima* here: in a sense Hippocoön’s shot is the first of the new Rome in the wake of the crash of the tree on Ida and the resurrection of Entellus. *Stridente* recurs (with change of gender) at 11.563 *infelix fugit in iaculo stridente Camilla*, of the infant girl’s journey over the Amasenus.

503 Hyrtacidae iuvenis volucris diverberat auras,

iuvenis: With continued emphasis on the generational struggle.

diverberat: The verb occurs 3× in the *A.*; cf. 6.294 *inruat et frustra ferro diverberet umbras*, of Aeneas’ reaction to the monsters in the underworld; and especially 9.411 *hasta volans noctis diverberat umbras*, of the attack of the other son of Hyrtacus on Sulmo. *M* reads *deverberat*; the difference in meaning is so slight as to be negligible.

volucris ... auras: The phrase recurs at 11.794–795 *audii et voti Phoebus succedere partem | mente dedit, partem volucris dispersit in auras*, of Phoebus’ reaction to Arruns’ prayer; in both passages a votive will be lost in the winged breezes (Hyrtacides’ hope for victory; Arruns’ prayer to return home after the death of Camilla); see Horsfall ad 2.794 *volucrique ... somno*. Cf. the variation at *Ps.-Tib.* 3.7.127 *nulla nec aërias volucris perlabitur auras*. *Volucris* could conceivably agree with 502 *sagitta*, but the balance of *prima ... sagitta | volucris ... auras* seems to give a better rhythm to the verses.

504 et venit adversique infigitur arbore mali.

The son of Hyrtacus strikes the mast; if Nisus is a symbol of the dead Troy, his putative brother, despite the shared fraternal honor of being the first in the respective competitions, may be expected to be destined to lose just the same

as his sibling. There is also a parallel between the strike of the one son on the *arbor* that symbolizes the new Rome, and that of the other on Volcens' men who are identified as *ex urbe Latina* (9.367).

arbore mali: V. underscores the arboreal nature of the mast.

infigitur: So of Pandarus' spear after Juno deflects it at 9.746 *detorsit veniens, portaeque infigitur hasta* (a deliberate association of the giant brother of the battle in the camp with his archer homonym—the Pandarus of 9 is not as lucky a shot as his Homeric predecessor); cf. Minerva's impalement of the Lesser Ajax at 1.45 *turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto*.

adversi: Cf. the bull that faces Entellus at 477. The language that describes the mast (*adversi, mali*) also creates an effective sound display that comments on Hippocoön's unlucky shot: he has essentially lost any chance here of victory. Butler ad loc. calls both uses of the adjective "pleonastic," but there is a hint of an adversarial relationship, both with the bull in opposition to Entellus, and, too, the *Roman* mast and the Trojan archer.

505 *intremuit malus micuitque exterrita pennis*

intremuit: The perfect only here in V.; cf. A. 3.581 *intremere*, of Trinacria under the influence of Enceladus' rumblings (another Sicilian setting).

micuitque: All the codd. here read *timuitque*, which has occasioned question in light of the seeming tautology; Slater's emendation (citing G. 4.73 *tum trepidae inter se coeunt pennisque coruscant* as a parallel, weakly) is followed by Mackail and Mynors, not Geymonat or Conte. "*timuit exterrita* is hopelessly feeble, and *timuit pennis* is not Latin. The *ductus literarum* of the two words would be in the autograph, or in any early MS., all but indistinguishable. *micare*, as in *micare digitis*, means 'flicker' or 'flutter.'" (Mackail ad loc.). Conte agrees with Mackail's two objections, and notes that Slater's suggestion is made "non inepte"—he prefers *fremuit* or *strepuit* (by haplography), but prints *timuitque*. Williams on Slater: "ingenious"—but he prints *timuitque* even in his 1972 edition. Farrell prints *micuit* (Page *silet* on any problems of interpretation here), and he agrees with Mackail's argument for paleographical plausibility. Servius argues that the bird is not afraid with her wings, but rather that she indicates fear ("indicat timorem") with them—but the redundancy of the expression is still difficult to countenance, and it is not at all certain that Servius is right to tolerate *timuit* with *pennis*.

exterrita: For how the dove's terror evokes the comparison of Hecuba and her daughters to the same frightened bird (2.515), see Henry 1989, 204n11.

The dove here anticipates the portentous arrow shot; cf. the dramatic scene in the heavens at A. 1.90 *intonuere poli et crebris micat ignibus aether*; also 8.391–392 *non secus atque olim tonitru cum rupta corusco | ignea rima micans*

percurrit lumine nimbus, of the comparison of Vulcan's passion for Venus to celestial phenomena; 9.732–733 *tremunt in vertice cristae / sanguineae clipeoque micantia fulmina mittit*, of Turnus in the Trojan camp. The verb has varied uses in V. (A. 2.475, of the Pyrrhus-snake; 2.734 *aera micantia*, of the glint from brazen arms that Anchises sees during the flight from Troy; 7.743, of a bronze sword; 9.189, of campfires; 10.134, of a gem set in gold; 10.396, of severed fingers; 12.102, of Aeneas' furious eyes). The line is rather framed by images of fear (*intremuit*, *exterrita*—an effective contrast between the insentient object that is actually struck, and the sentient being that is frightened by the swaying mast)—with *micuit* darting out at the center in enactment of its meaning, as the dove shoots forth as far as it can from the *malus*.

For the influence of this scene on Prudentius (along with the dove image of the ship race), see M. Malamud, *The Origin of Sin: An English Translation of the Hamartigenia*, Cornell, 2011, 166–167.

506 ales, et ingenti sonuerunt omnia plausu.

The phrase recalls 148–150, during the regatta; also 215 *fertur in arva volans, plausumque exterrita pinnis / dat tecto ingentem*, of the comparison of Mnestheus' ship to a dove in sudden flight; the main problem is the source of the *plausus*: audience or dove? Servius records the ambiguity; the parallel from the ship race (and note Williams' citation of *Il.* 23.869) points to the assembly, which reacts as the first place competitor fails in his arrow shot, while the echo of the dove's *plausum / ingentem* favors the *ales* as the source of the noise here (and cf. 515–516 *et alis / plaudentem nigra figit sub nube columbam*, in a somewhat different context of “applause”).

At 487 *ingentique manu* refers to the hand that erects the mast for the contest, with another case of ambiguity: Aeneas' mighty hand, or that of some band of associates? If Aeneas, then the poet is indulging in hyperbole; Heyne, Forbiger, and Page may be right that the *ingenti ... plausu* here refers to the dove—also hyperbolically—but, as often in V., the ambiguity is deliberate, and both interpretations shade into one impressionistic image, since, after all, one can easily imagine that both dove and audience make a clapping noise. In an artful display, V. crafts an allusion to two moments of the regatta to allow one to take both images together in the aftermath of Hippocoön's arrow shot.

The trapped dove makes a tremendous sound with its wings (this interpretation works whether one reads 505 *micuit* or *timuit*); the applause of the crowd mingles with the flapping of the wings in an auditory response to Hippocoön's unlucky shot. As often, V. has taken his source material—in this case both Homer and his own language from the regatta—and crafted a delicate image; the crowd can easily be imagined to be applauding after the shot, but all atten-

tion, both from competitors and audience, is on the dove. For an antidote to oversensitivity to echoes, see A. Cook, “Unconscious Iterations (With Special Reference to Classical Literature),” in *CR* 16.3 (1902), 146–158; also K. Maurer, “*Notiora Fallaciora*: Exact Non-Allusive Echoes in Latin Verse,” in Deroux 2003, 121–156; more generally on V’s repetitions, the same author’s “Gallus’ Parthian Bow,” in *Latomus* 57.3 (1998), 578–588.

ingenti ... plausu: With 215 above cf. Livy 45.1.10.1–2; Valerius Maximus 2.10.8.6; Silius, *Pun.* 11.493.

sonuerunt: For the verb vid. Roiron 1908, 341–367; the present use is one of 8× where the subject = “le lieu où se produit le son ... 1 fois un ensemble indéterminé.”

On 506 ff., “the longest passage in the *Aeneid* of continuous rhyming verses ... a tour de force in end rhyme,” see W. Clarke, “Intentional Rhyme in Vergil and Ovid,” in *TAPA* 103 (1972), 49–77, 56–57.

507 post acer Mnestheus adducto constitit arcu

acer Mnestheus: Cf. 9.171 and 779 *Mnestheus acerque Serestus*, of the captains who are left in charge of the camp in Aeneas’ absence; 12.549–550 *omnes Dardanidae, Mnestheus acerque Serestus | et Messapus equum domitor et fortis Asilas*: significantly, Mnestheus is no longer *acer* after he loses the archery contest. Cf. 513 *rapidus*, of Eurytion’s action; the “winner” needed to be quick in order to slay the dove once Mnestheus had freed it, while one might imagine that cutting the cord required an *acer* archer, even if the adjective has problematic force given that Mnestheus was aiming for the bird and not the twine.

adducto ... acer: Ovid has *est sinus, adductos modice falcatus in arcus; | ultima praeurpta cornua mole regent* (*Her.* 2.130–131).

On the “exchange of normal objects between two verbs” in 507 ff., see Horsfall ad 6.847 *excurrent*.

508 alta petens, pariterque oculos telumque tetendit.

alta petens: As at *G.* 1.141–142 *atque alius latum funda iam verberat amnem | alta petens, pelagoque alius trahit umida lina*; *A.* 7.361–362 *nec matris miseret, quam primo Aquilone relinquet | perfidus alta petens perfidus abducta virgine praedo?*; 9.564–565 *qualis ubi aut leporem aut candenti corpore cycnum | sustulit alta petens pedibus Iovis armiger uncis* (of Turnus against Lycus); once again, there is a connection with the regatta, since the phrase can refer either to sea or air. Cf. 512 *atra* vs. *alta*, where P’s reading might gain support from the present passage, but the superior manuscript evidence and more pointed associations of the color are decisive. “Aiming high, because the other had aimed too low” (Knapp ad loc.). Eurytion will aim still higher, in a sense, since his shot will

cause the bird to abandon life in the *aetheriis astris* (517–518); cf. on 520 *aërias ... auras*.

oculos ... tetendit: The same gesture occurs at *A.* 2.687–688 at *pater Anchises oculos ad sidera laetus | extulit et caelo palmas cum voce tetendit*, just as Aeneas' father prepares to pray for a confirmation of the fire portent on his grandson's head; here, the stretching forth of his line of vision comes *before* the fiery wonder of Acestes' arrow shot—Mnestheus' name evokes memory, and he looks both back to the magical scene at Aeneas' door on the night Troy fell, and forward to the imminent splendor of the Sicilian king's miraculous archery feat.

509 *ast ipsam miserandus avem contingere ferro*

There is a modicum of suspense until the following line reveals exactly why Mnestheus is to be pitied.

ast: Archaic; cf. 468; 676.

miserandus: And for many reasons: his shot is objectively a more difficult one than striking the dove, and the miss is thus all the more pitiable; he was arguably cheated of victory in the regatta, and is thus a perhaps more sympathetic figure in his second game of the day; the word order, with the decisive participle nestled between the bird who is here freed, carries just a hint, too, of pity for the bird: Mnestheus' shot gives it a precious moment of freedom and chance for escape (if, of course, one can imagine that the heroic epic permits such emotion for the bound dove). The very bird that the pitiable hero fails to hit is arranged deliberately "around" the gerundive, with the emphatic intensive adjective preceding and the noun following—thus syntactically enacting the fluttering of the terrified bird as it offers something of a moving target for the arrow.

contingere ferro: Cf. 489 *quo tendant ferrum*; Mnestheus both stretched his eyes (a graphic and eminently Virgilian image) and his bow (508 *tetendit*), but he was not *acer* enough to strike the target. The verb occurs 3× in this book, at 5.18 Palinurus notes that he does not see how the Trojans can reach Italy in the current storm; at 836 Night had almost reached the middle of her course when the Palinurus episode commences. Mnestheus is not able to touch the bird, just as Aeneas' helmsman could not reach Italy; Night had not yet come to her midpoint when Somnus came to Palinurus (cf. 6.535–536, where Aurora has passed the midpoint of her course).

510 *non valuit; nodos et vincula linea rupit*

non valuit: See Williams 1960 for the use of the verb with an infinitive; the point may be in part that the second place finisher in the first contest cannot win the last—and indeed, by some measure Mnestheus will once again

capture the second place, even if his archery feat is more impressive than Eurytion's.

nodos: The mention of the knots may serve to mitigate the seemingly fantastic feat of Mnestheus' cutting of the cord; knots are mentioned 2× in 5 and 2× in 11: cf. on 279, of the wounded snake that describes Sergestus' ship; 11.553, of Metabus' spear; 776, of Chloereus' raiment: the "finest" knots must = those of the twine that binds the dove; the knots of 5 are broken or damaged, while those of 11, though they could not be more different, remain intact. See here also Horsfall ad 2.146–147.

vincula linea: Linen bonds occur only here in the *A.*; *lineus* is used at 10.783–784 *illa per orbem | aere cavum triplici, per linea terga tribusque | transiit intextum tauris opus* (of Aeneas' spear as it strikes Lausus' shield). With *vincula ... rupit* cf. 543. Hendiadys possible but not necessary here.

511 **quis innexa pedem malo pendeat ab alto;**

innexa: For the verb see on 425; once again the emphasis is on the height of the mast (cf. 489 *suspendit ab alto*): the entire sequence will end with mention of the *malum* (544). The verb is used in grim contexts at *A.* 6.281 *vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis*, of Discordia, and 6.609 *pulsatusve parens et fraus innexa clienti*, of a class of sinners in Tartarus; more positively, cf. 7.669 *horridus Herculeoque umeros innexus amictu*, of Aventinus' clothing; 8.276–277 *Herculea bicolor cum populus umbra | velavitque comas foliisque innexa pependit*.

pendebat: Durative; the bonds were holding the bird until Mnestheus unraveled them with his arrow shot; while one could quibble over the relative difficulty of shooting the *vincula* vs. the freed bird, again, the point seems to be that Mnestheus has accomplished the more difficult feat, intentionally or not.

512 **illa Notos atque atra volans in nubila fugit.**

Notos: For the south wind see on 242; this bird flies straight into the dark storm clouds that presage both its own doom and the forthcoming change in tone that comes with the burning of the ships and the loss of the Trojan *gubernator*. Cloanthus' ship was swifter than the south wind and a flying arrow; the dove Mnestheus has freed will fly into the tempest, as it were, and will prove not quick enough to escape Eurytion's shaft.

atra: For both the color and commentary on P's reading *alta* see Edgeworth 1992, 512; the point is that whatever chromatic brightness has been maintained for the games sequence is beginning to darken as the contests approach their climactic, portentous end, and more trouble is signaled here than the imminent death of the dove. The reminiscence of the storm that opened the book helps to prepare for the Palinurus episode and the resumption of the sacrifice theme

that dominated the opening of the book in the wake of Dido's suicide; cf. the reappearance of Iris to instigate the burning of the fleet. Cf. 516 below.

nubila fugit: For the line-end cf. 12.255–256 *pondere defecit praedamque ex unguibus ales | proiecit fluvio, penitusque in nubila fugit*, of the eagle in the portent that prompts Tolumnius to break the truce. The dove here behaves in a manner contrary to that of Aeneas' fleet under Palinurus' direction at the book's opening; at its end, no degree of serene sea and calm winds will be sufficient to save the doomed helmsman. At 516 the *nubes* recurs as the locus of the dove's death.

513 *tum rapidus, iamdudum arcu contenta parato*

tum: Servius notes that *tum* is used of order; *tunc* of time—though here the distinction is slight; Eurytion followed on Mnestheus in both *ordo* and *tempus*, and what he did, he did quickly.

iamdudum: For the adverb see on 27, where Aeneas acknowledges how long he has watched Palinurus struggle to maintain course in the storm; Eurytion is frustrated at having to wait for the third shot, nervous that either Hippocoön or Mnestheus could have won before he had even the chance to fire. Eurytion might be thought to have had little reason to assume such a ready posture; no one could have expected one of the competitors to free the bird by striking the *vincula linea*.

contenta: For the adjective with *tela*, cf. Lucan, *BC* 7.562–563 *quis languida tela, | quis contenta ferat*. The prefix here is intensive: “strictly speaking, the word means *strained* and should be applied to the bow rather than the arrow; but in the sense *to aim* it is used elsewhere of missiles” (Butler ad loc.). But *tela* has a general force here, too, despite the probable contrast with *arcu*; the emphasis is on how poised and strained Eurytion is as he watches Mnestheus free the bird and prepares to take his own shot.

514 *tela tenens, fratrem Eurytion in vota vocavit,*

tela tenens: Cf. 11.559 *tela tenens supplex hostem fugit*, of Metabus as he prepares to send Camilla across the Amasenus on a *hasta*—another of the numerous close parallels between the sister books.

in vota vocavit: The line-end recurs at *A.* 7.471 *haec ubi dicta dedit divosque in vota vocavit*, of Turnus after Allecto's visit amid plans for war; 12.780 *dixit, opemque dei non cassa in vota vocavit*, of Turnus' prayer to Faunus. On the invocation of Pandarus Servius comments “nam apud Lycios colitur quasi heros,” but the problem of calling on a notorious truce-breaker remains, archer patron notwithstanding; Eurytion's prayer will be heard, but he will not “win” in light of Acestes' imminent portent that steals the scene. See Farrell here for the com-

parison of Eurytion's invocation of Pandarus to Entellus' relationship to Eryx; on the disappearance of Eurytion (and Hippocoön) from the narrative after their participation in the archery contest, along with useful survey of the other warriors more or less dropped from the epic's narrative, see N. Horsfall, "Non viribus aequis: Some Problems in Virgil's Battle Scenes," in *G&R* 34.1 (1987), 48–55, 51–52.

515 iam vacuo laetam caelo speculatus et alis

vacuo: An interesting detail: the sky is proleptically vacant, since the bird will soon fall out of it; the description of the dove's happiness is book-ended by the empty heaven that mirrors the poignant futility of the emotion given the imminent death. The word order makes it likelier that *iam* is to be taken with *laetam* than with *speculatus*, but there is a hint too that the sky is already empty.

laetam: The keyword of the book, here in a decidedly grim context (cf. Lyne 1989, 183); the dove is joyful for but a moment before the arrow strike; cf. 531 *laetum*, of Acestes' possibly incorrect interpretation of the nature of the arrow portent. 516 *plaudentem* has special force after *laetam*, though the bird's wing-clapping is also due to the need to escape the scene of its mast-prison as quickly as possible.

speculatus: So also Tarchon at 10.290–291 *speculatus litora Tarchon, | qua vada non sperat nec fracta remurmurat unda*; and Aeneas at 10.767–769 *talis se vastis infert Mezentius armis. | huic contra Aeneas speculatus in agmine longo | obvius ire parat*.

516 plaudentem nigra figit sub nube columbam.

A variation on 512, and on 506, of the *plausus* that was heard after Hippocoön's shot. The dove was heading toward the clouds when it was shot below the *nigra nubes*.

plaudentem: Participle and noun frame the line.

nigra ... nube: That is, "alta," says Servius; one senses a more ominous register of color here than was evoked by the *atra nubila* of 512. Ovid has *fugit aurea caelo | luna, tegunt nigrae latitantia sidera nubes* (*Met.* 10.449); *arma ferunt inter nigras crepitantia nubes* (15.783); cf. Statius, *Theb.* 2.105–107 *tu, veluti magnum si iam tollentibus Austris | Ionium nigra iaceat sub nube magister | inmemor armorum versantisque aequora clavi*; the *nigrantem ... nubem* and *nigranti turbine nubem | pulveris* of *Pun.* 2.659; and 5.535–536. "A picturesque touch; the bird, presumably light-colored, could be seen distinctly against the background of the black cloud" (Burton ad loc.). See here Edgeworth 1992, 139 (who sees no reason why Venus would be disturbed over the death of her bird); also Blonk

1947, 134. *Niger* need not always have grim associations; cf. on 696, where the tempest that Jupiter sends to save the Trojan ships = *nigerrimus*.

figit: Cf. 544 *fixit*. The verb that describes the transfixion of the dove comes, appropriately enough, at the very middle of the verse that is framed by the bird that is impaled.

With the (involuntary) descent of the dove cf. 11.596 *nigro circumdata turbine corpus*, of Opis' descent to earth to prepare to avenge Camilla.

517 *decidit exanimis vitamque reliquit in astris*

decidit: As a hexameter opening cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 3.644–646 *ut tremere in terra videatur ab artubus id quod / decidit abscisum, cum mens tamen atque hominis vis / mobilitate magis mali non quit sentire dolorem*.

exanimis: So of the bull at 481 after Entellus' fatal sacrificial blow.

astris / aetheriis: So of the descent of Somnus at 838 *cum levis aetheriis delapsus Somnus ab astris* (cf. 518 *delapsa*, of the dove that now bears the arrow that was the cause of its death): V. here anticipates the death of Palinurus, as the dove falls from the heavens in prefiguration of the helmsman's fall from the deck of his ship. Cf. Seneca, *HO* 1153–1154 *premet et Pindo congestus Athos / nemus aetheriis inseret astris*. The dove leaves its life in the abode of the gods (where mortals do not regularly expire); in the case of a bird that died in the air, this is an entirely accurate description of what happened, even without recourse to Stoic beliefs in ethereal fires and the *anima mundi*. Sleep's descent to the mortal realm will be described in language that evokes the arrow that took down the dove; Somnus, in turn, will be a model for Arruns when he slays Camilla with a *iaculum*. Cf. also Ovid, *Her.* 16.71–72 *neve recusarem, verbis Iovis imperat et se / protinus aetheria tollit in astra via*; Silius, *Pun.* 6.252–653 *clamor ad astra datur, vocesque repente profusae / aetherias adiere domos*.

vitamque reliquit: For the phrase cf. Ovid, *Met.* 13.522; Statius, *Theb.* 6.881; cf. also the long day of purgation and purification that leaves behind the ethereal *sensus* at *A.* 6.746–747 *purumque relinquit / aetherium sensum*. Aeneas asserts that his fame is known above the *aether* (1.379), and Helenus urges him to bring Troy there (3.462), but both passages must be read in light of the reconciliation of Juno. In *V. aetherius* refers to the heavens and all that is contained therein; *aërius*, in contrast, tends to refer more specifically to exceptional heights (see on 520; L. Fratantuono, "Aether," in *VE* I, 32–33). Arruns' weapon that slays Camilla comes from the *aether* (11.802) because of the role of Jupiter (and Apollo) in her death; the Dirae, too, come from the ether (12.853, where they are summoned by Jove; cf. 8.701, on the shield). Significantly, Juno occupies the ether at 7.288 in defiance of her sibling spouse, while at 12.810 she has an airy

seat for her reconciliation; see further on 13 and 20 above. On expressions of our leaving life *vs.* life leaving us, see Horsfall ad 6.735 *cum vita ... reliquit*.

See Coleman ad *E.* 9.13 for a comparison of the threat to poetic composition from war to an eagle that harasses doves. On the death of this dove Burton cfs. Pope's lines from *Windsor Forest*: "Oft, as in airy rings they skim the heath, / The clamorous lapwings feel the leaden death; / Oft, as the mounting larks their notes prepare, / They fall, and leave their little lives in air."

518 *aetheriis fixamque refert delapsa sagittam.*

aetheriis: The Palatine reading, *vs.* MR; Macrobius; Tib. *aëriis*, which is preferred by Mackail on the grounds that a copyist was likely bothered at the idea that the *astra* were located in the *aër* in ignorance of the fact that the "stars" can simply = the "sky." But the point is to locate the dove's death in a rather precise place sky-wise, with a bit of dark humor at how the bird dies in the place where some would locate the ultimate haven of the immortal soul.

fixamque ... sagittam: The death of the dove inspired the grisly wound described at Lucan, *BC* 6.217–219 *ille moras ferri nervorum et vincula rumpit / adfixam vellens oculo pendente sagittam / intrepidus, telumque suo cum lumine calcat*. Cf. 527 *refixa*.

The return of the arrow inspired Statius' description of the boomerang-like archery feat of Adrastus (*Theb.* 6.924–926). Eurytion's arrow will come back to earth, while Acestes' will ascend the stars. Cf. also Apuleius' *ubi primam sagittam saevi Cupidinis in ima praecordia mea delapsam excepi, arcum meum et ipse vigorate tetendi* (*Met.* 2.16.17–18). In what may have been a misquoted paraphrase, the anonymous scholastic poet who composed an epitome of the *A. s.n.* "Ovidii" summarized the entire games sequence in two lines: *ludos ad tumulum faciunt; certamina ponunt. | prodigium est cunctis ardens delapsa sagitta*, with the fallen arrow transferred from the narrative of Eurytion's shot (where *delapsa* = the dove) and applied to the Acestes portent.

519–544 There is seemingly no reason for the Sicilian monarch to take his shot, but Acestes fires his arrow all the same; the shaft bursts into flame and marks a fiery path across the sky before it is consumed in the winds. Both Sicilians and Trojans are left stunned by the clear omen (= an *augurium oblativum*), whose import is described in mysterious and enigmatic language. Aeneas proclaims the king the *victor* of the competition; he bestows on his host a vessel that had once been presented to Anchises by Cisseus. Eurytion and the others are given unspecified presents as the narrative of the match draws to a quiet close. The traditional interpretation of the omen is that it announces the foundation and fame of Acestes' Segesta, especially given the important part played by her in

the First Punic War (see here Galinsky 1969, 173; also Perret 1942; G. Williams 1983, 135–136). For Segesta's siding with Rome in 263 B.C., ostensibly in light of the connection to Aeneas, see Lazenby 1996, 53 and 72; Henry and Mackail connect the *exitus ingens* of the portent with Acestes' own deification. For the argument that Acestes' flaming arrow presages the death of Pallas (thus investing the sister books with emphasis on the loss of the young Arcadian, with parallelism between Acestes and Evander), see Fratantuono 2010a. More generally on this passage, see Plüss 1884, 105–131. If the death of Pallas is indeed evoked, there may be something of a Virgilian reworking of the role of Apollo (the patron god of the victory at Actium); Apollo plays a significant part in the loss of the Homeric Patroclus, and he is the proximate cause of the failure of Teucer to win the Homeric archery contest (*Iliad* 23.859 ff.).

The Acestes arrow portent directly recalls the immortal sign that persuades Anchises to agree to flee the burning city of Troy at *A.* 2.680–684, where flames were seen to dance around the infant Iulus' head; the association of portents was recognized as early as Servius, who notes that Aeneas was deceived by the positive import of the earlier omen into thinking that the current arrow prodigy was of a similarly auspicious nature: “deceptus augurii similitudine quod apud Troiam probaverat pater, ut (*II* 694) ‘stella facem ducens.’” Servius does not explicate the precise nature of the negative import of the new omen; there is certainly a connection between the fires that consumed Troy and the burning of the ships, though the latter is a disaster of far less serious consequence. The portent occurs at Anchises' memorial games; for the connection of Aeneas' father to such miraculous events (cf. Iulus' flaming head), see W. Harrison, “Foundation Prodigies in the *Aeneid*,” in Cairns 1986, 131–164.

Acestes' portent can be studied in light of other supernatural fire phenomena in the epic, especially the appearance of flames around a head that is twice associated with astronomical wonders. There are in total four characters in the *A.* who are associated with fiery heads: cf. 2.680–684, of Iulus; 7.71–80, where Lavinia's hair catches on fire (see Horsfall here, and Smith 2005, 121–126, for the “traditional” context of the portent within a religious rite); 8.620 and 10.261 and 270, of Aeneas; 8.680–681, of Augustus Caesar on the shield (see here Putnam 1998, 140; Adler 2003, 188–189): the flaming crowns are all associated with Aeneas and his family (son; new wife in Italy; new Aeneas = Augustus). The present portent of the flaming arrow is paralleled in the comparison of the flames that appear on Aeneas' head to a comet of the heat of Sirius at 10.270–275; the meteor/comet passages of 5 and 10 connect to the *augurium impetrativum* that Anchises receives in answer to his wish for divine clarification at 2.689–694. Servius associated Iulus' flaming head in 2 with Livy's similar account of Servius Tullius (1.39); see further Austin, and Horsfall, ad loc. Romu-

lus does not have a fiery head at 6.779–780 *viden ut geminae stant vertice cristae / et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore*; see however Gransden ad 8.680–681; also Cruttwell 1947, 680 for a connection of the image to Augustus and his *geminas flammas* (8.680).

What of the explicit comparison of Aeneas' fiery head to a comet? The *sidus Iulium* is clearly evoked (see here especially O'Hara 1996, 162); Aeneas' flames are like the flames from comets or the Dog Star because the heat of the latter would be felt during the rescheduled (from September) July *ludi* of 44 B.C.; the ardor of Sirius may well have been taken as a metaphor for the rising tensions between Octavian and Antony that summer. The blood red comet fire of Aeneas' fiery head is viewed from the grim perspective of the Latins, but it also has ominous associations because it heralds the imminent loss of Pallas (Iulus' surrogate). It should be noted that the present portent does not, strictly speaking, = a comet; *contra*, see Briggs 1992 in Wilhelm and Jones 1992, 160.

Two meteor/shooting star portents, then—Iulus' head and Acestes' arrow—and one comet (Aeneas' crown), which appears, as it were, soon before Pallas' death (cf. *G.* 1.488 *nec diri totiens arsere cometae*, of the portents in relation to Caesar's assassination). In some sense, the death of Pallas is to Aeneas what the death of Caesar was to Octavian; the associations are not exact, but the links exist. Iulus/Ascanius will be spared (as will Aeneas), but Pallas will die; the key passage for commentary on this essential detail = *A.* 9.638–660, of the *archer* Apollo's efforts to keep Ascanius out of the war following the death of Remulus. Hardie ad loc. notes the connection to the fire portent of *A.* 2: "the prayer in book II is answered with a thunderclap followed by a shooting star, the prayer in book ix is followed by arrow-shot." Interestingly, both grandfather and grandson seem to understand proper supplicatory procedure better than Aeneas. On why *Apollo* responds to Ascanius despite the youth's prayer to Jupiter, see Hardie ad 9.638, and note also the role of both Olympians in the destruction of Camilla by missile weaponry in 11.

After Acestes' portent and the award of presents for the competition, the games end and yet do not end. Aeneas had announced a regatta; a foot race; a javelin throw; an archery match (unless these were meant to = the same competition); and a boxing bout (see above on 67–69; for the order of the games in announcement vs. the actual narrative, 69); apart from the "surprise" ending of the arrow portent, before the contest ends (545 *nondum certamine misso*), an equestrian display will serve as a coda to the memorial games. Iulus/Ascanius will take center stage in the immediate aftermath of the archery portent, where he will know glory in the equestrian display of the *lusus Troiae*; the pageantry of that splendid occasion will give way to the horror of the burning of the

ships, where Ascanius will face the first crisis of his young manhood; all of this presages the introduction of Pallas in the closing book of the epic's second third, and his eventual death in 10 and requiem in 11. If the comet fires of *A.* 10 were meant to light the way for the death of Pallas, then the association with the celebrated comet of 44 B.C. has both its link to the glory of the would-be ruler, and its sad remembrance of the death of the man whose end made the (Augustan) future possible.

Farrell notes that in contrast to the shooting star of *A.* 2., "the connection between this omen and the *sidus Iulium* is impressionistic and indirect." If there was an intended association between Acestes' portent and the comet of 44, we may connect the death of Julius and the loss of Pallas, with an interesting reversal of historical reality: Aeneas will avenge a younger man, while Octavian would cast himself as the avenger of an older father figure (cf. the emphasis in the second part of the games on the victorious participation of the older generation). The games in question originated after Thapsus in 46; they were *ludi Veneri Genetrici* or *Victoriae Caesaris* (not, as has been mistaken by some since Servius, *ludi funebres* for Julius). The Julian calendar reform moved them from September to July. See further Weinstock 1971, 370–384; Ramsey and Licht 1997; Butler and Cary on Suetonius, *Iul.* 88; Beaujeu on Pliny, *HN* 93–94; also Hutchinson on Propertius, c. 4.6.59 *Idalium astrum*; Nisbet and Hubbard on the *Iulium sidus* of Horace, c. 1.12.47; Clausen, and Coleman on *E.* 9.47; Bömer on Ovid, *Met.* 15.845–850. Seneca discusses the Julian and other comets of the early empire (*Nat. Quaest.* 7.17.2); note also Dio 45.6 on Octavian's statuary and other honorifics for Caesar after its appearance.

The arrow shot of Acestes also presages the stretching of the bow (though not its actual firing) by Apollo on the shield (*A.* 8.704–706), where the divine patron of archery presides over the victory at Actium (see here Hardie 1986, 359; cf. Propertius, c. 4.6, with Hutchinson). "In some sense Apollo holds back Ascanius in Book IX so that he himself can provide the ultimate arrow shot in Roman history (at least the vision of history conceived by Augustan propaganda" (Fratantuono 2010a, 216)). The suppression of all things peculiarly Trojan means that the treacherous archery of a Pandarus or the less than heroic bowmanship of a Paris can be reinvented in the glories wrought by Apollo Leucadius; Eurytion's "loss" will be remedied by Acestes' portentous "victory" (cf. the "correction" of Octavian's naval disaster at Cape Palinurus by means of the Actian triumph). Acestes' arrow shot at the games bursts into flame and is consumed by the winds (as befitting a symbol of death); Apollo on the shield stretches but does not fire his bow (the god oversees the victory over Antony and especially Cleopatra, but there will be no evocation of the horrors of Apollonian archery from *Il.* 1).

Henry, after calling himself a “bad augur,” offers the interpretation that the arrow portent = the apotheosis of Acestes; Lejay thinks nothing is meant here beyond the victory of Acestes. Williams 1960 argues against the ancient (i.e., Servian) view that the *omen* was baleful and Aeneas wrong to interpret it positively; he concludes that the meaning must have something to do with Acestes/Segesta, though with reservation about the king’s divinity; in his Loeb annotations Gould takes it of the “pro-Roman role” of the city. Burton ad loc. may offer the best comment: “What great event the phenomenon portended it is impossible to say” (cf. Austin’s conclusion on the *Somni portae* and the nature of Virgilian enigmas). C. Moore, “Prophecy in the Ancient Epic,” in *HSCPh* 32 (1921), 99–175 considers the aftermath of the ship burning and the plan to leave a colony behind in Sicily, but offers no speculation on the archery portent.

At Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.7, a prodigy is recorded of Roman legionary *pila* suddenly bursting into flame at the Euphrates as a bad omen before Paetus’ attempts to surpass the reputation of Corbulo.

519 *amissa solus palma superabat Acestes,*

amissa: Echoed at 794–795 *classe / amissa*, as Venus laments to Neptune about the burning of the ships; cf. 11.868 *prima fugit domina amissa levis ala Camillae*; 12.236–237 *nos patria amissa dominis parere superbis / cogemur, qui nunc lenti consedimus arvis*.

solus: From the start, the language singles out Acestes as the climactic hero of the contest; in the case of V’s archery match, the last will indeed be first.

superabat: “pro ‘restabat’” (Flavius Caper, *De Orth.* 97.4), but the point is to foreshadow the fact that Acestes will actually win the game (*superabat*).

520 *qui tamen aërias telum contendit in auras,*

aërias ... in auras: Cf. the “ethereal stars” that marked the spot where the dove lost its mortal life (517–518); Acestes aims at something of a lower and more modest target. The “airy breezes” are Lucretian (*DRN* 1.771; 5.501); cf. Ps.-Tibullus, c. 3.7.127; Ovid, *Met.* 4.700; 9.219; 10.178; 14.127.

telum contendit: Cf. Ascanius at *A.* 9.622–624 *non tulit Ascanius, nervoque obversus equino / contendit telum diversaue brachia ducens / constitit, ante Iovem supplex per vota precatus*, of Aeneas’ son as he prepares to respond to Remulus’ slander of the Trojans, where *contendit telum* reverses the present collocation in a neat balance. P reads *contorsit*, for which the commentators cf. 12.266 *dixit, et adversos telum contorsit in hostis*, of the augur Tolumnius as he breaks the truce *after* the appearance of an omen. It is perhaps overly subtle to argue for a reading one way or the other from recourse to the parallels in *A.* 9 and 12, and *contendit* has stronger support, though here the better association

might be with Tolumnius' action in the aftermath of the bird omen (cf. the central role of the dove to the present scene); see further on 532. The "airy," not the ethereal breezes are the target of the arrow shot—perhaps with a hint of the humility of the monarch.

521 ostentans artemque pater arcumque sonantem.

ostentans artem: Cf. 484, where Entellus announces his retirement from the *ars* of boxing. V. may be ascribing special archery talents to Acestes here, as he did of boxing for Entellus; cf. Evander's *recusatio* on account of old age (*A.* 8.508–509). See Farrell here for the use of the participle in expressing attendant circumstance and also purpose.

patēr: A significant appellation (the diastole helps to underscore the importance of the word, which is powerfully placed at the middle of the verse), which Aeneas will echo when he acknowledges the arrow portent (533 *sume pater*); part of the point of the descriptor is to associate Acestes with Anchises, whose present from Cisseus will be awarded to the Sicilian king. But there is also a foreshadowing of the encounter with Aeneas' father in Elysium: the Stoic imagery of rebirth and renewal of the end of the games narrative (see on 517 and 525 ff.), in a portentous passage that can be interpreted as a seemingly glorious climax of the memorial funeral rites, will give way to the loss of Palinurus in a decidedly grim setting; the shade of Palinurus will in turn be met before Aeneas is reunited with his father in the blissful grove of the underworld (*abba*). The fact that the games are a celebration in memory of *pater* Anchises is also central to the repeated emphasis on the Sicilian Acestes as the *pater* in the closing verses of the games narrative. Burton *ad loc.* takes the title as indicating Acestes' advanced age relative to the other contestants, but *pater* need not have such associations, even if there might be an implicit comparison to sons; Aeneas, after all, is also a father (and is so called at 545, once Acestes wins the present contest).

Servius preserves the remark of "Vergiliomastix" that one cannot display art in empty air.

522 hic oculis subito obicitur magnoque futurum

subito: Or *subitum*, to avoid the apparent anacolouthon? There is no manuscript confusion here, and Geymonat (though not Conte) follows Sabbadini in restoring the reading of the codd. The meaning is not very different with adjective or adverb, and the "correction" of the witnesses is based mainly on the two parallels discussed below.

For the adjective of a portent, cf. *A.* 2.680 *cum subitum dictuque oritur mirabile monstrum*, of Iulus' flaming head; 8.81 *ecce autem subitum atque oculis*

mirabile monstrum, of the appearance of the sow with her piglets in Italy; also *G.* 4.554 *hic vero subitum ac dictum mirabile monstrum*, of the miraculous regeneration of bees in the Bugonia. In the context of the *G.* and *A.* 2 portents, the *monstrum* here is of exceedingly positive import; it signals rebirth and new life, and since we have moved past the death of Troy that was marked by the crash of the pine on Ida in the simile that described the fall of Entellus—the Entellus who rose up again to victory, like his Sicilian comrade in the archery contest—we can associate the *monstrum* here with the future Italian Rome, just as at 8.81 the *monstrum* of the sow and her brood presages the settlement of Alba Longa and another crucial stage of development in the establishment of the future Rome. Significantly, in all those other passages the *monstrum* comes in the same line as its descriptor *subitum*; only here are the sister words separated out into successive lines. For this passage as an example of “l’insuffisance de la magie,” see J. Thomas 1981, 180–181.

obicitur: The portent suddenly interrupted the expected course of the match, and the verb reflects both its sudden intrusion and, too, the aforementioned separation of adjective from noun: the hypermetric thought helps to define this particular portent as something connected to and yet distinct from the other occurrences of *subitum* with *monstrum* in the epic. The current portent also receives a lengthier preface before we learn of its precise nature, besides the fact that uniquely in the catalogue of similar Virgilian omens it is left unexplained. For another Virgilian use of *obicitur* in a grim context cf. *A.* 2.199–200 *hic aliud maius miseris multoque tremendum | obicitur magis atque improvida pectora turbat*, of the death of Laocoön. On the possible association of the verb here with **obstentum* (cf. 521 *ostentans*) see O’Hara 1996, 162.

futurum: With strong emphasis on how the *monstrum* announced at 523 will be in the future, though the arrow’s bursting into flame is in the here and now; the language inextricably links this moment at the mast with whatever future event is portended. “And destined to be of great portent” (Williams, who takes *magno augurio* as a descriptive rather than predicate ablative). The mysterious language deliberately reflects the enigma of the portent; we are perhaps to imagine that the spectators assembled on the strand are just as mystified as the modern reader.

523 *augurio monstrum; docuit post exitus ingens*

augurio: See on 7 *augurium* for the mixed associations of the noun in V; Burton ad loc. for consideration of the question of ablative of quality or dative of purpose (the two meanings here shade almost into one).

monstrum: V’s term for the arrow portent does not permit definitive settlement of whether the prodigy is for good or ill, though taken as a whole the other

Virgilian occurrences are mostly grim. Besides the aforementioned portentous happenings (the Bugonia; the fiery head of Iulus; the sow with her piglets), the noun in the singular is used also of the infamous horse (*A.* 2.245 *et monstrum infelix sacrata sistimus arce*); the portent in Thrace at Polydorus' grave (3.26 *horrendum et dictum video mirabile monstrum*); the horror of the Harpies (3.214 *tristius haud illis monstrum*); the Cyclops Polyphemus (3.658 *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens*); Rumor (4.181 *monstrum horrendum, ingens*); the sea Palinurus does not trust (5.849); the Fury Allecto (7.328); the Fury's serpent that possesses Amata (7.348); the monster Cacus (8.198); the portent of the transformation of the ships into sea creatures (9.120); the phantom Aeneas Juno creates to trick Turnus (10.637); the portent of the eagle and the swan that tricks the Italians (12.246); the Dira that drives off Juturna (12.874): rather more grim than positive associations.

The plural occurs at 2.171, of the portents Tritonia sends regarding the stolen Palladium; 3.59 *monstra deum*, again of the portents at Polydorus' grave; 3.214 *magnis exterrita monstria*, of Andromache as she sees Aeneas and the Trojans; 659 below, of the portents that help to impel the Trojan women to burn the ships; 6.285, of the monsters at the entrance to the underworld; 6.729, of the creatures of the deep; 7.29, of the Circean monsters the Trojans will avoid; 7.81, of the portents from the oracle of Faunus; 7.270, of the portents that demand a foreign spouse for Lavinia; 7.376, of Allecto's monstrous serpent that possesses Amata; 7.780, of the monsters that destroyed Hippolytus; 8.289, of the twin serpents Juno sent to kill the infant Hercules; 8.698, of the monstrous divine patrons of Egypt; 9.128 *Troianos haec monstra petunt*, of Turnus' interpretation of the ship metamorphosis; cf. *E.* 6.75 *candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstria* (of Scylla); *G.* 1.184–185 *inventusque cavis bufo et quae plurima terrae / monstra ferunt*; *G.* 3.152 *hoc quondam monstro horribilis exercuit iras* (of the gadfly with which Juno tormented Io): overwhelmingly dark associations.

docuit post: The *exitus* of the portent will, of course, come *after* the omen; the perfects here and at 524 are aoristic and underscore a passage of time that is indeterminate but surely not insignificant (so also *sera*); see Henry here for a refutation of Wagner's interpretation that the seers were contemporary and the portent the coming struggle between Aeneas and Turnus; Heinze 1902/1908/1914, 165–170 for the dismissal of W's view that the portent signals the comet of 44 in preference for the settlement of Segesta. There is likely no connection between Acestes' arrow and the mysterious shot that strikes Aeneas at 12.319 ff., though that wound will be serious enough to cause Aeneas pain and limping discomfort even after his mother's divine medical attention.

exitus ingens: A great, indeed huge outcome, and an equally great mystery: V. does not define the *exitus* that is signaled by the flaming shaft. The phrase

is borrowed from Lucretius, *DRN* 4.397–399 *exstantisque procul medio de gurgite montis | classibus inter quos liber patet exitus ingens, | insula coniunctis tamen ex his una videtur*, where the description of the optical illusion of the sailors' approach to an island may have seemed an appropriate model for this eminently Sicilian portent. Cf. also Statius, *Theb.* 6.944–945 *penitus latet exitus ingens | monstratumque nefas*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.185 *haud procul hinc ingens Scythici ruit exitus Histri*.

Every other occurrence of *exitus* in the *A.* is connected with death and doom: 2.554, of the loss of Priam; 6.894, of the exit of true shades from the underworld; the *gravis exitus* of Turnus that Juno complains about to Jupiter at 10.630. The phrase points, too, to a singular event, not to a series of, e.g., wartime adventures; cf. Knapp ad loc., who connects the *exitus* with the whole gamut of Sicilian conflicts, including the local conflicts during the *bella civilia*. See Williams 1960 here for the inconclusive view that the comet of 44 B.C. could not be presaged by the arrow shot, since a comet would not be an *exitus ingens* but rather an *omen* in itself; Nisbet and Hubbard ad Horace, c. 1.12.47 *Iulium sidus* for the view that by the 20s B.C. Caesar was being downplayed in “official utterances” of the Augustan regime. There is no explicitly glorious reference to the slain dictator in the *A.*; cf. the splendid enigma of 1.286–296; the mention of the *bellum civile* at 6.826 ff. Octavian, as Pliny realized, took the comet of 44 as presaging his own glory as the son of a god.

524 *seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina vates.*

sera ... omina: The phrase occurs only here; the adjective is proleptic, of omens that are understood late (no one at the games asks for any *augurium impetrativum* to confirm any positive import from the fiery shot). Significantly, Evander refers to Pallas as his *sera voluptas* (8.581), where the adjective refers to the Arcadian father's advanced age; cf. 9.481 *sera requies*, of Euryalus' mother's description of her son: the “late omens” may point to the premature death of the young who were the late joys and consolations of their parents' lives. Little help in explicating the Virgilian crux comes from *Il.* 2.324–325 (see further Kirk ad loc.), where the Homeric phrasing is as unique as the present. Anchises followed correct augurial procedure in asking for a confirmation of the fire on his grandson's head; here the son (cf. Acastes as *pater*) does not ask for a similar divine assurance about the miraculous fire that now marks the Sicilian sky. See Henry here for how *sera* can = “too late” (so Ahl, e.g., in his translation here). “Gravia,” says Servius, in a perceptive note that recognized the dark tone of the omen and its fulfillment. Some Carolingian manuscripts did not recognize the plural of *omen* and read *omnia* here.

terrifici: “Poetic and rather rare” (Williams). Elsewhere in V. of weather-related phenomena; cf. A. 4.210 *terrificant*, where Iarbas wonders if we are frightened of Jupiter’s thunder and lightning in vain; 8.431 *terrificos*, of the bolts the Cyclopes forge for the sky god. The adjective points to a great but almost certainly grim interpretation for the omen here; the *vates* were inspired by awe, and they in turn so moved those to whom they sang. At 12.104 *terrificos*, Turnus’ rage before battle is compared to the noises uttered by a bull; see further Cordier 1939, 273; Camps 1969, 61–62.

525 *namque volans liquidis in nubibus arsit harundo*

namque: See Conington here on the similar introduction of the fire prodigy at A. 2.681. The nature of the portent is at last revealed; the arrow bursts into flame and marks a trail across the sky as if it were a shooting star.

liquidis in nubibus: V’s point is to connect the narrative of the games, which began with water as the principal element for the regatta, with the imminent burning of the ships; Servius quibbles here that “nubes pro aëre posuit: nubes enim liquidae esse non possunt,” but V. knew his meteorology better than his venerable commentator. The adjective also indicates that the sky is clear (see Henry here for a survey of the range of meanings for *liquidus*), so as for the portent to be both unexpected and conspicuous. For *nubes* (*vs. nubila*) see Smolenaars ad Statius, *Theb.* 7.583 *per nubila*: “Statius strongly prefers (dact.) *nubila* to *nubes* (48: 18), like Vergil (19: 8).”

arsit: The first real hint of the theme of fire that will soon capture our attention. At 604 *hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit*, V. will note the first change of fortune in the games sequence, as Juno sends Iris to see to the burning of the ships; the later passage with its note of *primum* does not preclude a dark reading of the present omen; *Fortuna* had nothing to do with the archery portent.

harundo: An arrow shaft (*OLD* s.v. 4); also at 544, of the very different arrow that struck the mast and thus earned Hippocoön the last place; there are likely no metapoetic associations for the term in either passage. V. uses the noun of a reed in the A. only at 8.34 and 10.205; the other occurrences = an arrow point (4.73; the 2× in 5; 7.499; 12.387).

526 *signavitque viam flammis tenuisque recessit*

signavitque viam: Cf. 11.142–144 *Arcades ad portas ruere et de more vetusto / funereas rapuere faces; lucet via longo / ordine flammaram et late discriminat agros*, of the requiem for Pallas. Williams does well to note the distinction between the meteor’s “leaving the trace of its path” and “pointing out the way.”

tenuisque recessit: The rich collection of parallels and associated passages mounts; cf. *A. 2.790–791 haec ubi dicta dedit, lacrimantem et multa volentem / dicere deseruit, tenuisque recessit in auras*, of Creüsa's ghost. Besides considering the Creüsa scene, Hornsby 1970, 44–46 also compares the description of the extinguishing of the flame with 740 *dixerat et tenuis fugit ceu fumus in auras*, of the departure of Anchises' shade from Aeneas in a dream, just before the son rekindles a fire and makes sacrifice (a rather different response than we find here). The memorial rites for Anchises opened with a serpentine portent; the climax comes here with fire, and ultimately the whole spectacle on the shore will be interrupted by the flames of the burning ships. See also on 740 *dixerat et tenuis fugit ceu fumus in auras*.

527 *consumpta in ventos, caelo ceu saepe refixa*

consumpta: The allusions to the apparition of Creüsa continue; cf. *A. 2.795 sic demum socios consumpta nocte reviso*, of Aeneas after his wife's ghost vanishes. An important aspect of the celestial light is that it is exceedingly brief in appearance (cf. the seven days of Caesar's comet); any association with the celebrated portent of 44 must take into consideration the emphasis on the ephemerality of the Virgilian wonder: Caesar did die, after all, the same as Venus' bird in the present contest. If Troy's death was announced during the boxing match (the first of two contests where a Sicilian would emerge supreme), then in the Sicilian-dominated archery match we see the death of Caesar and the inauguration of Octavian's rise to supremacy, succession crisis and all. If the arrow's shortlived fiery trace = the forthcoming death of Pallas, whose premature end the old will be left to mourn, then appropriately enough we shall soon meet the youth of Troy *ante ora parentum*, whose mimicry of war is itself a prefigurement of the all too real combat in which Pallas et al. will soon be slaughtered. In the Trojan decision to have a contest where Venus' bird is the intended victim, we may see a Virgilian comment on the rightness of the decision of Romans to slay Caesar; this may also explain something of Neptune's insistence that *one must die*: a reading of 5 as Virgilian commentary for the death of Caesar *ante ora parentum*, i.e., of the conspiring senators.

caelo ... refixa: Horace has *per atque libros carminum valentium / refixa caelo devocare sidera* (*Ep.* 17.5). *Refixa* echoes the theme of the pierced dove (516; 518; also the mast at 504; 544). "The ancients represented the stars as nailed, so as to say, to the sky" (Knapp ad loc.).

saepe: An interesting detail: the Acestes arrow portent is clearly envisaged as a rare and solemn prodigy, but it is compared to a celestial phenomenon that is, in the poet's description, a not uncommon occurrence.

528 *transcurren crinemque volantia sidera ducunt.*

Seneca quotes *crinemque volantia sidera ducunt* at *Nat. Quaest.* 1.1.5.8.

transcurren: The verb is Lucretian (*DRN* 2.163; 4.192; 207); elsewhere in V. it occurs at *A.* 9.110–112 *hic primum nova lux oculis offulsit et ingens / visus ab Aurora caelum transcurren nimbus / Idaeique chori*, as the goddess Cybele prepares to oversee the transformation of Aeneas' fleet into sea creatures to save them from Turnus' fire.

crinem: On the etymology of *cometes* and *crinita* from *coma* and *crines*, see O'Hara 1996, 162; for the suppression of explicit mention of comets here, *ibid.*, 79–82. *Crinitus* is a venerable epithet of long-haired Apollo (Ennian; cf. *A.* 9.638); the god, and his arrow shot at Actium, looms large over the present proceedings. Ahl, who associates the Acestes portent with comets, argues that the *exitus ingens* is likely an imminent event rather than something a “millennium later” (i.e., the Ides); he opts for the burning of the ships *and* their subsequent salvation as the referent (cf. the speed with which the flame here is extinguished with the rainstorm that puts out the fire that would otherwise ruin the entire fleet; and the locus for the portent of the “liquid clouds”). There may be a play here too on *crines*; *caesaries*; *Caesar*.

sidera ducunt: For the verb and its compounds with *sidera* cf. Tibullus, *c.* 1.9.10 *ducunt instabiles sidera certa rates*; rather the opposite image at Lucan, *BC* 6.518–519 *si nimbus et atrae / sidera subdunct nubes*; also Manilius, *Ast.* 4.273 *ultima quos gemini producunt sidera Pisces*.

529 *attonitis haesere animis superosque precati*

attonitis ... animis: So also of the crowd as it watches Camilla process in on horseback with her Volscians at 7.814–815 *attonitis inhians animis ut regius ostro / velet honos levis umeros*. Servius argues that the crowd is awestruck by thunder (“per tonitrua”), which, he notes, always accompanies celestial fire (“*quae semper cohaerent caelestibus ignibus*”), but V. does not mention any thunder or indeed any auditory impact; all emphasis in this portent is on the visual. For the connection between the reaction to the current portent and the sign of divine approbation and confirmation in connection with the shield (at the same point in the book that closes the epic's second third), see Galinsky 1968, 172–173.

For the plural *animis* (cf. 462 above) see Conway ad 1.149.

haesere: For the force of the verb see Conington, and Henry. The audience has its gaze fixed on the sky, both in light of what has just been glimpsed and in anticipation of what might yet happen; prayer, however, comes swiftly.

superosque precati: A moment's suspense before it is revealed that the Sicilians (mentioned first) and the Trojans are the ones praying to the immortals

(implicitly, so that any ill omen will be averted). Neither the content of this prayer, nor any divine response thereto, is revealed in the closing movements of the contest and its aftermath.

530 *Trinacrii Teucrique viri, nec maximus omen*

A line that begins a sequence of rich detail; once again there is a briefly held moment of suspense before we learn that *Aeneas* is the one identified here as the “greatest.” On this closing sequence of the portent passage see W. Hecker, E. and W. Bisschop, “Bladvullingen,” in *Mnemosyne* 1 (1852), 393–400.

maximus: Also used of Ilioneus (*A.* 1.521); Atlas (1.741; 4.481; 8.136); the Trojan Epytus (2.339); Teucer (3.107—of possible interest given his participation in Homer’s archery contest); Juno (feminine *maxima* at 4.371; 8.84; 10.685); Hector (see on 371 above); Rome (600 below and 7.602, *maxima* again); Almo, an eldest son (7.532); Hercules (8.201); the ether (8.239); Jupiter (8.572); Theron (10.312); Latinus (11.237); Orsilochus and Butes (11.690–691 *maxima Teucrorum corpora*); Actor (12.96). Venus calls Ascanius her *maxima cura* at 1.678; Celaeno refers to herself as the greatest of the Furies (3.252; cf. 6.605, of Tisiphone). No special significance here, then, except in light of 533–534, where, interestingly, Jupiter is *magnus* (see ad loc.). For the superlative of *magnus* see Horsfall ad 6.192 *tum maximus heros*, of Aeneas before his mother sends him her divine birds: “curiously stiff language, exalted but unevocative, to use, here of all places, where a depressed Aen. is about to be saved by his mother’s aid”—precisely the point; Aeneas, “the greatest hero,” is easily discomfited and in need of supernatural help; the present passage looks forward to that similar portentous moment, where, also, a dove (two in fact) will play a part.

Teucrici: In Homer’s archery contest, Teucer had failed to pray; deliberately, the *Teucricians* are said to pray *after* the Acestes portent. Aeneas will not follow his father’s example in praying for an *augurium impetrativum* here (neither will *pater* Acestes, for that matter); in this respect the Trojan leader echoes the failure of Homer’s Teucer to pray to Apollo (the only divine prayer in this contest, significantly, had been to Pandarus).

531 *abnuat Aeneas, sed laetum amplexus Acesten*

abnuat: For the verb cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 3.640–641 *at quod scinditur et partis discedit in ullas, | scilicet aeternam sibi naturam abnuat esse*; elsewhere in V. it occurs in contexts of permission or lack thereof for war or strife: *A.* 4.107–108 *quis talia demens | abnuat aut tecum malit contendere bello* (Venus to Juno); 10.8 *abnueram bello Italiam concurrere Teucris* (Jupiter at the divine council). The bar is not set very high; it would be unreasonable to ignore such a portent, but in the absence of any attempt to discern its import, Aeneas turns to the

theme of prizes and gifts that has dominated the games: Acestes will be the victor, despite the archery success of Eurytion. Homer's Teucer forgot to pray to Apollo before taking his shot; V's Aeneas neglects to seek approbation for his interpretive views and prize decisions.

laetum: Like Aeneas, Acestes also seemingly misreads the omen; unlike Anchises after his grandson's fiery hair portent, Acestes makes no attempt to discern the nature of the prodigy; cf. 515 *laetam*, of the dove's premature happiness.

532 *muneribus cumulat magnis ac talia fatur*:

magnis ... muneribus: Prosaic (only here in verse); Caesar has it (*BC* 3.21.4.5); also Nepos (*Them.* 10.2.2–3; *Con.* 4.2.1–2; *Ag.* 3.3.2); Sallust (*BI* 80.3.2). There are *munera*, but the real prize will = the *munus* of 535 ff.; cf. especially 537 *magno munere*.

cumulat: The verb is not common in the *A.*; elsewhere it occurs at 4.436 *quam mihi cum dederit cumulatam morte remittam* (Dido's mysterious words to Anna before her death); 8.284 *dona ferunt cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras*, of the banquet preparations Evander hosts for Aeneas; the almost identical 12.215 *cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras*, of the settlement of the treaty; and, of greatest significance for the present passage, 11.49–50 *et nunc ille quidem spe multum captus inani | fors et vota facit cumulatque altaria donis*, of Aeneas' imagination of Evander's fruitless votive offerings for Pallas' safe return—another connection between the sister books, and another reminiscence that spells grim fulfillment in 11 of a happy memory from 5. Cf. also Tibullus, c. 2.5.6 (with Murgatroyd); Ovid, *Trist.* 3.10.72; 4.1.55; Statius, *Theb.* 10.655 *exanimis circum cumulantur acervi*; Silius, *Pun.* 12.315; 14.609. See further Horsfall ad 6.885 *accumulem* for the related compound. The heaping of offerings is thus regularly associated in V. with dark and gloomy occasions—Dido before her suicide; the shade of the dead Marcellus; the vain offerings of Evander on behalf of his lost son Pallas; once again, a passage in 5 is mirrored by sadder scenes elsewhere in the epic.

talia fatur: For the tag see on 79, and cf. 539 *sic fatus*; on Aeneas' speech here, note especially Mackie 1988, 106–107; *not. seq.*

533 'sume, pater, nam te voluit rex magnus Olympi

The speech of Aeneas to Acestes is modeled after Achilles' to Nestor after the chariot race at *Il.* 23.618–623 (Knauer 1964, 392). Nestor had not participated in the contest due to his advanced age; Achilles honors him with the otherwise unclaimed fifth prize, a two-handled urn, which is presented as a memorial to Patroclus, who will no longer be seen among the Argives (618–620). V. has

thus taken a scene from the start of Homer's games and transposed it to the end; he has associated Acestes with Nestor, though Acestes actually *did* take part in the contest, at least after a fashion; he has reminded us of the fifth prize of the chariot race, which was specifically offered with words of memorial for Patroclus (= the model for V's Pallas).

sume: For the imperative cf. *E.* 5.88. The first word Aeneas speaks in response to the fire portent is a command to take up the unspecified prizes he has heaped before him. On the salutation and Homeric (Odyssean) intertext see Cairns 1989, 245n91.

pater: Acestes here joins Anchises as a father figure.

magnus: We should not be surprised that Aeneas refers to Jove as *magnus* after he makes a judgment without asking the supreme god for a confirmation; cf. 530 *maximus*, of Aeneas. Aeneas makes the further assumption that not only is the omen auspicious, but that Jupiter was its source; here there is surer footing for the judgment, since the sky is the god's proper realm. With *rex* cf. 11.294 *rex optime*, near the close of Venulus' report to Latinus about the unsuccessful embassy to Diomedes. The present passage is a mirror of *A.* 3.374–376 *'nate dea tam te maioribus ire per altum / auspicium manifesta fides; sic fata deum rex / sortitur voluitque vices, is vertitur ordo*, at the beginning of Helenus' great address to Aeneas at Buthrotum. Here, Aeneas addresses Acestes in language reminiscent of what he had heard in that earlier prophetic setting; the differences are great in 1) the relative ages of the heroes, 2) the fact that Acestes is not leaving his island, and 3) the absence of a portent that inspired Helenus' discourse.

534 *talibus auspicium exsortem ducere honores.*

exsortem: The sentiment evokes comparison with the disposition of the other "short" contest of the games, where controversy ensued in the wake of Nisus' tripping of Salius and Euryalus' subsequent questionable victory. The adjective recurs at 8.552 *ducunt exsortem Aeneae*, where horses are given to the Teucrians and a lion's pelt is bestowed on Aeneas at Pallanteum as if he were a new Hercules; once again, there is a connection between the Sicilian Acestes and the Arcadian Evander. But the other forthcoming connection is to those who died on the very threshold of life, to the prematurely dead whose tragedy dominates the Iliadic *A.*: 6.427–429 *infantumque animae flentes, in limine primo / quos dulcis vitae exsortis et ab ubere raptos / abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo*. Elsewhere *exsors* is comparatively rare; in prose cf. Livy 22.44.7.3; 23.10.3.1; Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.10.1; in verse 1× in Horace (*Ars* 304–305 *acutum / reddere quae ferrum valet exsors ipsa secandi*); 1× in Valerius (*Arg.* 4.340). The signal word is highlighted at mid-verse.

ducere: For the infinitive with *voluit* in a very different context cf. Plautus, *Men.* 450.

honores: So the first corrector of M and PR, vs. the singular of M's second corrector; Tib. (under the influence of *exsortem*, and possibly 541 *honori*).

535 *ipsius Anchisae longaevi hoc munus habebis,*

Anchises; Acestes; Evander: the three old men dearest to Aeneas all take their places in a scene replete with glances both forwards and back; fittingly, the honoree of the memorial games is mentioned by name here (with emphatic intensive; cf. also 537 *Anchisae genitori*) as the last competition ends. The implication of Aeneas' sentiment regarding his father is that this is a special award that would not have been presented to the "normal" winner of the contest. The ambiguity of *Anchisae munus* is deliberate; the *crater* was intended as a present for Aeneas' father, but, in a sense, the son here wishes it to seem as if the deceased father is bestowing the gift on Acestes, a man of his own generation. The short penult of the intensive here allows the poet to place the greatest emphasis on the dead hero's name, even while adding still further weight by the introductory adjective.

longaevi: For the adjective see on 256; it is used of Anchises at *A.* 3.169 *surge age et haec laetus longaevo dicta parenti*; of Priam at 2.524–525 *sic ore effata recepit / ad sese et sacra longaeuum in sede locavit*. The force of the adjective may = Anchises had the gift in his possession for some time. For Anchises' age, which is in some ways as problematic as his grandson's, see especially Austin ad 2.649.

habebis: See Conington here, and Henry, for the question of whether Aeneas is asserting that it is as if Anchises himself is bestowing the gift. 532 *muneribus*; 537 *munere*: Aeneas' mind is very much on prizes.

536 *cratera inpressum signis, quem Thracius olim*

inpressum signis: We do not learn the nature of whatever decoration adorns the drinking bowl. At 9.166 *cratera antiquum quem dat Sidonia Dido*, Ascanius offers Nisus a vessel that Dido had given to the Trojans, also of unspecified decoration. For a connection between the wine vessel offered here and the drink Acestes had offered that was mentioned at 1.195, see Smith 2011, 122. For the Homeric background of the *crater* see Dunkle 2005, 175, who connects it with the bowl that = the first prize in the Homeric foot race (i.e., the model for V's other "brief" contest); cf. *Il.* 23.740–749. That bowl had been received by Patroclus (the Pallas of the *A.*; cf. the climactic association of the portent of Anchises' games with the forthcoming death of V's Patroclus) from Euneus, the son of Jason; it had been a ransom for Lycaon, a hostage of Achilles. See

Farrell here for the question of whether the vessel is metal or clay; V. does not specify, and there may be a connection to the theme of humbler offerings that is quietly developed for this contest that comes in the wake of Entellus' sacrifice of the prize bull, as V. moves from one neat exchange (the bull for Dares) to the foreshadowing of an all too human loss (Pallas, by way of Palinurus). Cf., too, the *caelatam ... bipennem* of 307; the *signis* here may = "constellations," appropriately enough given the omen's possible astronomical associations.

The adjective *inpressum* offers further evidence of the foreshadowing of the loss of Pallas; the only other occurrence of the form in the *A.* = 10.497 *inpressumque nefas*, of the *balteus* of Turnus with its engraving of the story of the Danaid slaughter of their husbands on their shared wedding night; in the latter passage, Turnus is presenting himself with a gift of artwork as he despoils Pallas' body; cf. also 4.659 *et os inpressa toro*, of Dido at the moment of her suicide. Note that *inpressum* is the reading of all the major manuscripts (MPR); the archaizing tone works well here with 535 *longaevi*.

Thracius: Not a place of auspicious associations, especially in light of the loss of Polydorus, which also connects to the death of Pallas; cf. 11.858 *Threissa*, of Opis as she slays Arruns. See further Gregory ad Euripides, *Hec.* 3 for the tragedian's ascription of Polydorus' maternity to Hecuba, *contra* Homer's Laothoë (*Il.* 21.84–85). Cf. on 312 *Threiciis*.

537 Anchisae genitori in magno munere Cisseus

The line is framed by the giver and the recipient (cf. 282 above); the Thracian Cisseus evidently had hosted Anchises and had presented him with the drinking vessel as a mark of honor and hospitality; the reference offers a contrast to the reception Polydorus received in Thrace, and also a shade of the tradition of the Trojan exiles' landing there in search of a new home.

magno munere: See Dunkle 2005, 175–176 for the question of the relative value of the drinking bowl, and whether V. deliberately suppresses the Homeric emphasis on the value of the vessel that was awarded for victory in his foot race narrative; V.'s Aeneas is depicted, though, as moving at once to the question of awards, rather than first seeking an *augurium impetrativum* to confirm the nature of the arrow omen. With the preposition, however, the phrase may be taken to = "in the place of a great gift": while Aeneas' mind remains focused on presents, there is a definite diminution of attention to them in the aftermath of Entellus' sacrifice of his prize bull (cf. his careful ritual practice with the presumptive response to the arrow shot here); besides the unique fact that the lesser prizes are not even briefly described, one could argue that Acestes, despite the fantastic reason for which he is a *victor*, has received the least valuable of the awards from the games.

On the alliteration see Horsfall ad 6.526 *magnum ... munus* (who notes the collocation is “standard language ... not to be thought of as specially prosaic”).

Cisseus: The name (*deest* in Paschalis) is applied to two characters in the *A.*; cf. the Latin casualty of Aeneas at 10.317–319 (with Harrison ad loc.; S.J.H. notes *per litt.* that it is difficult to see any connection between the Thracian and the Latin). At 7.320 and 10.705 *Cisseis* is used of Hecuba, the daughter of Cisseus in Euripides, *Hec.* 3 (*contra* Homer’s Dymas at *Il.* 16.718; for the change see J. Gregory ad loc. and her “Genealogy and Intertextuality in *Hecuba*,” in *AJPh* 116.3 [1995], 389–397). The death of Cisseus in *A.* 10 is associated with that of the Latin Gyas (see here Hardie 1989, 286; Rivoltella 2005, 46–48); the two men are said to have been the brothers of Melampus and the companions of Hercules, quasi-giants of immense size. The mention of the two names together in 10 provides a frame of memory that encompasses the games of 5; what was meant to honor Anchises on the anniversary of his death is being transformed into a prediction of Pallas’ death. Cisseus’ Thracian provenance = the “salient feature in the tradition” (Gregory 1995, 392). A gift from the father of Hecuba helps to signal the inexorable progression toward the renewal of the *Iliad* in Italy. See Gregory ad *Hec.* 3 for the apparent conflation of Cisseus with Cisses, the Thracian king who is the father of Theano and grandfather of Iphidamas (cf. *Il.* 6.299, with Graziosi and Haubold: “later authors make him the father of Hecuba too”; 11.223).

The name = “ivy-crowned” and is a title of Apollo (Harrison ad 10.316–317); cf. Aeschylus, fr. 341 Radt (= Sommerstein *Bassarids* fr. 23a). Orpheus has left Dionysus for Apollo (the patron of archery); the god is enraged and the *Bassarids* rend him limb from limb. “The ivy-crowned *destroyer* [Apollon] is really Dionysus, more truly [Orpheus’] “Apollon” than the god he now worships who actually bears that name” (Sommerstein ad loc.). If V. had the Aeschylean passage in mind where Apollo and Dionysus are nearly conflated in the context of the death of Orpheus, then the gift takes on still darker resonance; the unspecified markings of the *crater* may = ivy (see further Gerber 1997, 32). On both Cisseus and Cisseis vid. G. Garbugino in *EV* 1, 801; note also V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* I, 268.

538 *ferre sui dederat monumentum et pignus amoris.*’

monimentum: Lucretian (*DRN* 5.311; 329; 6.242); V. has it of Anchises’ thoughts at 3.102 *tum genitor veterum volvens monimenta virorum*; of Andromache’s wishes for Iulus in conjunction with her presents (3.486 *manuum tibi quae monimenta mearum*, with Horsfall); of Dido’s wish to erase all memory of Aeneas (4.497–498 *abolere nefandi / cuncta viri monimenta iuvat*); of the Minotaur as the result of bestial love (6.26 *Minotaurus inest, Veneris monumenta nefandae*); of Dei-

phobus' complaint about Helen (6.511–512 *sed me fata mea et scelus exitiale Lacaenae / his mersere malis; illa haec monimenta reliquit*); of Aeneas' questions to Evander (8.312 *exquirique auditque virum monimenta priorum*; 356 *reliquias veterumque vides monimenta virorum*); and, most significantly, of Pallas' accouplements as Turnus is at Aeneas' mercy: 12.945–946 *ille, oculis postquam saevi monimenta doloris / exuviasque hausit*. The images, then, are largely ominous; even the reference in 3 to Anchises' reflection is connected to his failure to interpret the Delphic oracle correctly. See further here too Horsfall ad 6.512 ("Helen left ... terrible tokens of her unstable morals and loyalties"). For the association of *monimentum* with memory see Horsfall ad 6.514, referencing O'Hara 1996, 174. For *monimentum* of "a record not necessarily admonitory" see Horsfall ad 6.26; manuscript confusion over spelling is occasioned by the likely (so Horsfall) Virgilian use of the older form *monumentum*.

pignus amoris: The phrase will recur at line-end below at 572, of the horse Dido gave to Ascanius that he will ride in the *lusus Troiae* (V. continues to link his episodes together by verbal reminiscences, as one prepares the way for another and looks back in turn). Cf. *Laus Pisonis* 213; Ovid, *Her.* 4.100; 11.113; *Ars* 2.248; *Met.* 3.283; 8.92; Seneca, *HO* 490; Statius, *Theb.* 9.62; *Silv.* 3.2.81; Silius, *Pun.* 8.149; Asso on Lucan, *BC* 4.501–502 *non maiora / pignora ... amoris*. At 572 the verb *ferre* is altered to *esse* because the horse is a living entity; for *amor* as "an expression of political allegiance in the *Aeneid*" see Wiltshire 1989, 117. On the possibility that the Didonic associations signal some portent connected to the Punic Wars, see Fratantuono 2010a, 208–209; more generally cf. Gillis 1983, 63–64. All attention is fixed on the Acestes prize; there is no description of the remaining "regular" awards.

539 sic fatus cingit viridanti tempora lauro

sic fatus: Cf. 532 *talia fatur*; Aeneas' remarks are neatly framed.

cingit: Cf. 71 *cingite*; elsewhere in the *A.* the verb is used of Eurus' action during the storm at 1.112; at 2.511, of Priam's arming for his final stand; at 7.158–159 *primasque in litore sedes / castrorum in morem pinnis atque aggere cingit*, of the foundation of Latinus' settlement; at 8.274 *cingite fronde comas*, of the invitation to worship Hercules; at 9.469 *dextera cingitur amni*, of the location of the besieged Trojan camp; at 9.790 *et fluvium petere ac partem quae cingitur unda*, of Turnus' escape from the camp (closing a neat ring); at 11.486 and 536, of Turnus and Camilla, respectively, as they prepare for war; cf. also *E.* 7.28. 2× each, then, in 5 and 11. For the passive use of the verb cf. 6.665 *cinguntur tempora* (with Horsfall).

viridante tempora lauro: So Cloanthus was hailed as the victor in the first of the games (246 *viridique advelet tempora lauro*); cf. also Anius at *A.* 3.80–82 *rex*

Anius, rex idem hominum Phoebique sacerdos, | vittis et sacra redimitus tempora lauro | occurrit; veterem Anchisen agnovit amicum; E. 8.11–13. For the verb cf. on the grassy locus of repose for Entellus at 388; here the color term is associated with the other aged Sicilian who wins a surprise victory; see further Edgeworth 1992, 167–168.

The laurel is a place of shade at *A. 2.513–514*, and also in Latinus' palace (7.59); the Laurentes derive their name from the tree; here the victor's crown has associations with Apollo, the patron deity for archers, and with a key intermediary stage on the progression from the old city to the new. The Laurentes = a Latin people with inscriptional attestation at Lavinium; Turnus is *Laurentinus* at 7.650 (see further L. Fratantuono, "Laurentum and Laurentes," in *VE II*, 734, with reference to the eponymous laurel and the significance of the tree in the *A.*).

540 et primum ante omnis victorem appellat Acesten.

primum ante omnis: Palinurus will be similarly described as he sails off to his strange end: 833 *princeps ante omnis ... Palinurus*; the archery portent presages the loss of Pallas, who is prefigured by Aeneas' doomed helmsman. *Primum* is closely linked with *victorem* and *Acesten*; the ordinal adjective (not adverb, though the difference is not so great) expresses well that Acestes is not the only victor, indeed that he might not even be a victor by some standards, but that in the estimation of Aeneas, he is the "first victor" on account of the recent miracle. With *victorem* here cf. 245–246, of the *victor* Cloanthus (repeated at 250 *victori*, for the presentation of the prize *chlamys*); 493 *victor*, of *Mnestheus*. This is the only place in the games narrative where there is some sort of qualifier for the appellation. On *ante omnis* see Horsfall ad 2.40; 6.666 ("common phrasing"); 7.55.

appellat: The verb appears only 2× in *V.*; at 718 *urbem appellabunt permissio nomine Acestam*, the future tense announces how there will be a settlement in Sicily, Segesta, which will be a loyal ally of Rome and, too, a town that was founded because of the decision to leave behind weary Trojan exiles in the wake of the burning of the ships (cf. the possible connection of the arrow portent with the fire and the subsequent establishment of the colony).

541 nec bonus Eurytion praelato invidit honori,

bonus: Evidently because he accedes to the victory of Acestes, and in good humor; there is nothing of the tone of the aftermath of the foot race. Eurytion's brother may have been *clarissimus* because of his archery skill; Eurytion will in turn be *bonus* because he knows how to step aside: he will not even speak a word.

invidit: In another close parallel between the sister books, the form occurs elsewhere in the *A.* only at 11.43 *invidit Fortuna mihi*, of Aeneas' lament over Pallas' corpse.

praelato ... honori: The phrase occurs only here. Cf. 534 *honores vs. honorem*. The participle is Livian; it is rare in poetry until Ovid (1× in Manilius; never in Statius; fairly common in Lucan). For the dative *vs.* the ablative cf. *A.* 3.484 *et Phrygiam Ascanio chlamydem (nec cedit honore)*, of Andromache's present at Buthrotum, the only other Virgilian use of the dative form. P there reads the ablative *honore*, as does the first corrector of P here; cf. 272 *honore*. The association of Andromache's gift for Ascanius with the *crater* Cisseus had given to Anchises is attractive, though the declensional point may be overly subtle for the poet to have expected his reader to notice. See Horsfall ad 3.484 (citing Timpanaro 1986, 130n3 and 2001, 107), for commentary on what exactly Andromache is doing relative to Helenus, and how a scribe may have written the dative ending there because *cedere* "takes the dative" (cf. *invidere* here).

542 *quamvis solus avem caelo deiecit ab alto.*

solus: A quiet rounding off of the contest; at 519 Aestes was alone (*solus*), with seemingly no chance to win the palm (which V. does not explicitly note what was awarded to him, in any case; nor is any prize specified for Eurytion—unlike Mnesteus and Hippocoön, there is no specific mention that the technical winner did receive a prize, only that he did not begrudge Aestes the first place). Eurytion is the only killer of a dove in the epic, aside from the comparison of Camilla to an accipiter that brings down a dove; he may be *bonus* precisely because in his killing of the dove there is a presage of the killing of Caesar that made possible the coming of Augustus.

deiecit ab alto: Cf. Lucan, *BC* 5.673–674 *nec rursus ab alto | aggere deiecit*; 7.839–840 *aut cruor alto defluit ab aethere tabes | membraque deiecit iam lassis unguibus ales*. The verb form occurs elsewhere in V. at *A.* 3.320, of Andromache's downcast look; 8.226, of Cacus' fortifications against Hercules; 10.319, of Aeneas' killing of Gyas (cf. his association with Cisseus); 11.580, of Camilla's killing of a swan, where the adolescent heroine slays another white bird (*album ... olorem*). The retained indicative is a poetic usage, but it also serves to emphasize who it was who actually shot the dove.

The slaying of the dove in 5 is mirrored, too, in the death of the dove that describes Camilla's slaying of Aunides at 11.718–724; it is almost certain that Horace, c. 1.37.1 (where Octavian = the accipiter and Cleopatra the dove), predates *A.* 11, so that there may be a deliberate association of the Volscian heroine with O. that works a surprise on the expected parallel of Camilla and Cleopatra (cf. the place of Lucius Arruntius at Actium—one wonders if the rather inade-

quate consulship of Arruntius in 22 B.C. played a part in V's negative portrayal of Camilla's killer; there may be interesting associations, too, between Camilla as dove slayer/Octavian in light of the possible Caesarian allegory in the Virgilian narrative of the death of the dove in the archery contest). Camilla, like Eurytion, will both win and not win; she = a Diana-like woman who fights against Venus' Trojans and can thus appropriately be depicted as a hawk that eviscerates a dove: on one level, the death of Venus' bird in *A.* 5 is mere imitation of Homer; on another, the stage is being set both for the darker tone of the present book's second half, and the still greater sadness of its sister 11. Brooding over all is the function of Caesar's death in the rise of Octavian; cf. the image of Camilla as the Romulean she-wolf; the Volscian heroine represents a new beginning for Rome in Octavian.

543 *proximus ingreditur donis qui vincula rupit*,

proximus: The language evokes both how close Mnestheus came to victory (cf. his performance in the regatta); at once we learn how Hippocoön, despite his lucky lot, = *extremus* in the final tally. With the language of 543–544 cf. 318–322 above.

ingreditur: The form occurs at *A.* 4.177, of Rumor; 6.157, of Aeneas as he leaves the cave of the Sibyl in sorrow over the news that he must bury an unknown companion; 8.56, of Marcellus; 10.763, of Mezentius, who moves over the battlefield like Orion; 10.767, of Mezentius again, who is this time like Rumor. Significantly, Evander uses the verb in the imperative at 8.513 *ingredere, o Teucrum atque Italum fortissime doctor* (cf. 8.309 *ingrediens*, of Aeneas with Evander), as he sends Aeneas off to war with Pallas (515 *Pallanta adiungam*). Only here with *donis*; the description of Mnestheus is solemn, and there is likely a deliberate association with the two other M-s figures to whom the form is applied; we can associate the loss of Marcellus with that of Pallas, but also the Lucretian connections of Mnestheus with the ultimate question of whether the vision of *A.* 6 is tenable in light of Epicurean eschatological views (see here Fratantuono 2007); in the case of Mezentius, he is the major opponent of Aeneas and the Trojans before the coming of Camilla; cf. Mnestheus' cutting of the rope before Eurytion, like Camilla, kills a dove. See Burton ad loc. for the likely dative *donis*; Mnestheus enters in upon the realm of gifts, as it were, though the *dona* are unspecified and the language expresses something of a sense of mystery and gravity.

vincula rupit: As at 510; cf. Propertius, c. 1.15.15–16 *Alphesiboea suos ultast proconiuge fratres, / sanguinis et cari vincula rupit amor*; Lucan, *BC* 3.712–713 *cruor omnia rupit / vincula*; Petronius, *Sat.* 123.1.188 *et pavidus quadrupes undarum vincula rupit, incaluere nives*.

544 extremus volucris qui fixit harundine malum.

Cf. here Horace, *Serm.* 1.8.6–7 *ast inportunas volucres in vertice harundo | terret fixa vetatque novis considerare in hortis* (with Gowers); Silius, *Pun.* 9.336–339. Hahn 1925, 189n29 concludes that everyone in the archery contest receives a prize, comparing 305 above, where Aeneas specifically notes that every participant in the foot race will be rewarded. But uniquely, only this contest ends with no specification as to the prizes for the second and third, etc., places.

extremus: Closing a ring with 498 *extremus*, of Acestes in the winning of the lots; Hippocoön was the victor there, in the first “competition” of the match, and so the narrative also comes full circle in the awarding of the unspecified prizes. Appropriately enough, the allusive reference to Hippocoön in the very last line of the sequence comes as V. prepares to transition from archery to the equestrian display.

mālum: Notwithstanding the quantity of the vowel, the contest ends on a dark note that sets the tone for the burning of the ships and the loss of Palinurus; the *lusus Troiae* is a prefigurement, too (in a happy and glorious setting) of the cavalry battle of 11, as the numerous parallels between the archery contest and the eventual aristeia and death of Camilla continue.

545–603 The announced competitions for the memorial funeral games have ended, but the assembly is not yet dismissed; Aeneas now calls for the equestrian display that will be performed by the Trojan youth.

The brilliant splendor of the *lusus Troiae* offers a surprise ending for the games, a likely planned spectacle that the reader can imagine Aeneas having discussed beforehand with his son; there has been no hint as yet that this sequence would come as the grand closing ceremony of the memorial for Anchises. Structurally the equestrian display that now closes the games corresponds to the cavalry battle of 11, which will be dominated not by Ascanius (who is not mentioned during the military operations of that latter book), but by the Volscian Camilla.

On both the equestrian display and its labyrinthine associations see further here W. Briggs in *VE* II, 765–766; Heinze 1902/1908/1914, 155–160; L. Taylor, “Seviri Equitum Romanorum and Municipal Seviri: A Study in Pre-Military Training among the Romans,” in *JRS* 14 (1924), 158–171; Cartault 1926, 385–387; K. Schneider, “Lusus Troiae,” in *RE* XIII 2 (1927), 2059–2067; S. Mohler, “The *Iuvenes* and Roman Education,” in *TAPA* 68 (1937), 442–479; J. Heller, “Labyrinth or Troy Town?,” in *CJ* 42.3 (1946), 122–139; E. Mehl, “Troiaspiel,” in *RE* Suppl. VIII (1956), 888–905; Latte 1960, 115 ff.; Piccaluga 1965; H. Pleket, “Collegium Iuvenum Nemesiorum: A Note on Ancient Youth-Organizations,” in *Mnemosyne* 22.3 (1969), 281–298; Weinstock 1971, 88 ff.; Monaco 1960/1972, 141–

151; K.-W. Weeber, "Troiae Lusus," in *Ancient Society* 5 (1974), 171–196; P. Dinzelsbacher, "Über Troiaritt und Pyrriche," in *Eranos* 80 (1982), 151–161; Néraudau 1984, 234–236; G. Binder, "Lusus Troiae: L'Enéide de Virgile comme source archéologique," in *BAGB* 44 (1985), 349–356; G. Capdeville, "Virgile, le labyrinthe et les dauphins," in Porte and Néraudau 1988; Doob 1990; C. Rose, "'Princes' and Barbarians on the Ara Pacis," in *AJArch* 94.3 (1990), 453–467, 466–467; A. Deremetz, "Virgile et le labyrinthe du texte," in *Uranie* 3 (1993), 45–67; W. Slater, "Three Problems in the History of Drama," in *Phoenix* 47.3 (1993), 189–212; A. Barchiesi, "Immovable Delos: *Aeneid* 3.73–98 and the Hymns of Callimachus," in *CQ N.S.* 44.2 (1994), 438–443; G. Capdeville, "Sul <<(I)lusus Troiae>> e altro," in *Ostraka* 4.2 (1995), 365; P. Miller, "The Minotaur Within: Fire, the Labyrinth, and Strategies of Containment in *Aeneid* 5 and 6," in *CPh* 90.3 (1995), 225–240; Fortuin 1996 (with detailed commentary); P. Rypson, "'Homo quadratus in labyrintho': The Cubus Visual Poem from Antiquity until Late Baroque," in Szónyi 1996, 7–21, 9–10 (with particular reference to the celebrated Etruscan Tragliatella oinochoe of c. 660 B.C.); M.-L. Freyburger-Galland, "Dion Cassius et le carrousel troyen," in *Latomus* 56.3 (1997), 619–629; Futtrell 1997, 234n30; S. Bartsch, "Ars and the Man: The Politics of Art in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *CPh* 93.4 (1998), 322–342; Putnam 1998, 137 ff.; E. Theodorakopoulos, "The Name of the Game: The *Troia*, and History and Spectacle in *Aeneid* 5," in *PVS* 25 (2004), 63–72; T. Yamashita, "An Interpretation of *Lusus Troiae* in the *Aeneid*," in *ClassStud* 20 (2004), 55–64; Habinek 2005, 254 ff.; C. Rose, "The Parthians in Augustan Rome," in *AJArch* 109.1 (2005), 21–75; Smith 2005, 179 ff. (on the theme of *ante ora parentum*, with comparison to passages from 11); Sumi 2005, 61 ff.; Fratantuono 2007, 147–149; Jahn 2007, 39 ff.; Ross 2007, 102–104; Panoussi 2009, 164–166. On connections between the labyrinth of 5 and that of 6 see especially W. Fitzgerald, "Aeneas, Daedalus, and the Labyrinth," in *Arethusa* 17 (1984), 51–65.

Plutarch mentions this Troy game at *Cat. Min.* 3, where Sulla is said to have yielded to the popular demand to have Cato be one of the leaders of the equestrian display after the rejection of Pompey's nephew Sextus (see here Keaveney 2005, 148); Suetonius cites it in his lives of Julius (39, with Butler and Cary ad loc.); Augustus (43, with Shuckburgh ad loc.); Asinius Pollio's grandson Aeserninus broke his leg during one such exhibition); Tiberius (6, with Lindsay: T. was a turn leader in the *Troia* of 29 B.C., on which see Dio 51.22.4; Levick 1999, 19–20; there may be a hint here, too, of T.'s direction of a group of equestrian youths at Octavian's triumph after Actium, where he rode the left trace-horse); Caligula (18, with Wardle, and Hurley: once for the dedication of an Augustan temple, on which see Dio 59.7.4, and once for the funeral of Drusilla [Dio 59.11.2]); Claudius (21, with Hurley: "a schematic re-enactment of the battle for Troy," and Mottershead on the occasion as the scene of popular support

for Agrippina and her son, possibly in reaction to Messalina's downfall); and Nero (7, with Warmington: apparently Nero and Britannicus were the leaders of opposing sides at the *lud. saec.* Troy exhibition of A.D. 47; cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 11.11.5 *sedente Claudio circensibus ludis, cum pueri nobiles equis ludicrum Troiae inirent interque eos Britannicus imperatore genitus et L. Domitius adoptione mox in imperium et cognomentum Neronis adsitus, favor plebis acrior in Domitium loco praesagii acceptus est*, with Malloch ad loc., and see also D. Smith, "Nero's Equestrian Interpretation of Virgil (5.545–605)," in *AncW* 31 [2000], 183–196). If Sulla were credited with the revival of the *lusus* (so Plutarch, *contra* Dio 43.23.6, = Caesar in 46), then the connection of the present passage with civil war may have been acutely felt in V's time. Servius notes that Suetonius discussed the game in his *liber de puerorum lusibus*. There is no good reason to believe or disbelieve that the *lusus* was of Trojan origin; Butler and Cary consider it likely to be of Italic or Etruscan origin. It seems that it was not celebrated on a regular basis, but rather on truly special occasions, perhaps as suited the wishes of the *princeps*; it marked the dedication of Marcellus' theater in 13 or 11, the dedication of the *Forum Augusti* in 2 (see here Rose 2005, 42). The fact that the *lusus* was abandoned after the demise of the Julio-Claudian dynasty may reflect the fact that it was seen principally as a glorification of the *gens Iulia*; Tiberius may have participated in it as a youth, but significantly he did not observe it as *princeps*. There is no scholarly consensus on whether the children on the Ara Pacis who appear in foreign costume are Gaius and Lucius in "Trojan" garb for the *lusus*, or Parthian hostages; see I. Du Quesnay, "Horace, *Odes* 4.5: *Pro Reditu Imperatis Caesaris Divi Filii Augusti*," in Harrison 1995, 128–187, 142n80 (with bibliography).

It is possible that in the actual *ludus* (*contra* V.) there were two turns, the *maiores* and the *minores* (see Furneaux, and Malloch, ad Tacitus, *Ann.* 11.11.2), the former contingent one of youths under sixteen, and the latter of those under eleven (but the precise ages of the participants cannot be definitively determined); Tacitus may mention Nero for the first time in the *Ann.* in his note regarding the auspicious participation of the future *princeps* in the Troy game. In the Virgilian narrative it is conceivable that the three turns essentially divide into two opposing sides, but the poet deliberately emphasizes the tripartite arrangement of the youths, possibly to reflect the triumvirates. Tacitus may have modeled his mention of the snakes of Nero's infancy after the description of the Troy game at the *ludi saeculares* of 47 B.C. in imitation of the movement in *A.* 5 from the appearance of the serpent at Anchises' *tumulus* to the inaugural Troy game at the culmination of the funereal competitions in his memory.

See below ad 548–549 for Manilius' description of the mimicry of Troy's fall at *Ast.* 5.484 ff. For later aspects of the reception of V's narrative, see T. Greene,

“Labyrinth Dances in the French and English Renaissance,” in *RQ* 54.4 (2001), 1403–1466, with special reference to Milton and his angel dance at *PL* 5.618–627. The *lusus Troiae* is a reenactment of the final battle for Troy, but it is also by its very nature an imitation of civil war; in the immediate political context of V’s Augustan Rome, it recalls the strife that accompanied the fall of the Republic and the establishment of the two triumvirates; by the dolphin simile of 594–595 V. will connect the present game with the imagery of the shield of Aeneas, especially the naval battle of Actium (see on 594); the Troy game signifies in part the battle for Troy, which ended, of course, with the city’s destruction; the poet may intend some parallel between the defeat of the powers of the East at Actium and the fall of the great Asian city (cf. the opening line of *A.* 3), besides the reenactment of Actium in the cavalry battle of 11 (*Fratantuono* 2009a, 247 ff.). Ultimately, the poet may most intend for the reader to see a connection between the *lusus* and the *λόσις* of the old city of Troy.

Knauer sees a parallel for the *lusus* with the ball-dancing of the Phaeacians at *Od.* 8.370–386 (where see Garvie, with bibliography on artistic scenes of acrobatics and dance); C. Hardie considers this far-fetched (*CR N.S.* 17.2 [1967], 161); the main Homeric intertext with the present sequence will be the dance floor of Ariadne on the shield of Achilles. For the “Delian Crane-dance” of Callimachus, *h.* 4.310–315, a rite that was said to have been brought back from the Cretan labyrinth by Theseus after his defeat of the Minotaur (Plutarch, *Thes.* 21), see A. Barchiesi, “Immovable Delos: *Aeneid* 3.73–98 and the Hymns of Callimachus,” in *CQ* 44.2 (1994), 438–443, 443n22.

Seneca’s Andromache laments that Astyanax will never participate in the *lusus* (*Troad.* 775–782 *non arma tenera prava tractabis manu | sparsasque passim saltibus latis feras | audax sequeris nec stato lustris die, | sollemne referens Troici lusum sacrum, | puer citatas nobilis turmas ages; | non inter aras mobile velox pede, | reboante flexo concitos cornu modos, | barbarica prisca templa saltatu coles*, where see Fantham, who sees no association between the Troy game and either Roman *lustra* or quinquennial purifications); for the connection with the *Salii*, see Fantham ad 780–782, also Versnel 1990, 325 ff., with reference to Dionysius 2.64 for the *tribuni celerum* as supervisors of the game.

Claudian imitates V’s *lusus* at *Pan. de sexto cons.* 621 ff., on which see Dewar ad loc., with special reference to the Virgilian mixture of the pride and joy of the parents as they behold sons, and the sorrow inherent to the memorial rites for the dead Anchises; Ware 2012, 93 ff., with comparison of the depictions of Honorius and Ascanius; note also Statius, *Theb.* 6.213 ff. (of elaborate horsemanship around a funeral pyre); Silius, *Pun.* 4.315 ff. (where the cavalry maneuvers of Romans and Carthaginians are compared to the sort of game V. describes).

The explicitly labyrinthine associations of the *lusus* may be relevant to any similarly (though less definitive) connection of the image to the Virgilian underworld; see here Horsfall ad 6.14–41 introduction n. 13 for welcome skepticism. Hauntingly, there are similarities and affinities between the *lusus* and the similarly enacted games of bees as described by Pliny, *NH* 11.68 *effecto opera, educto fetu, functae munere omni exercitationem tamen sollemnem habent, spatataeque in aperto et in altum elatae, gyris volatu editis, tum demum ad cibum redeunt* (a passage that occurs not long before Pliny recalls the Virgilian Bugonia; cf. also the rather more mysterious and ambiguous problems of Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* 9.624b, with J.B.S. Haldane, “Aristotle’s Account of Bees’ Dances,” in *JHS* 75 [1955], 24–25).

545 at pater Aeneas nondum certamine misso

pater: As the victorious Acestes yields center stage now, Aeneas is once again invested with the title of father; here the descriptor anticipates the central role his son will play in the forthcoming display. For the idea that the summoning of the youths by Aeneas for the *lusus* is a reflection of Aeneas’ emerging role as *imperator*, see Cairns 1989, 229. But no one else could realistically have been responsible for announcing the Troy game at Anchises’ funeral.

certamine misso: Closing a ring with 286 *hoc pius Aeneas misso certamine tendit*, of the end of the regatta and the movement to the foot race; the phrase links the first and the last competitions, with the distinction that here the assembly for the archery race is described as not yet having been dismissed (see further Williams 1960 here, with reference to the Servian criticism of the tenses): the *lusus Troiae* is seen as a pendant to the archery match in particular. Cf. the imitation here, too, of *Ilias Latina* 1012–1014 *et disco forti Polypoetes depulit omnes | Merionesque arcu; tandem certamine misso | in sua castra redit turbis comitatus Achilles*; Livy has several instances of *certamine* with compounds of *mittere* in an ablative absolute. *Certamen*, then, refers to the archery contest specifically as well as to the entire sequence of the games; there may be a close association, then, between the signal portent of Acestes and the equestrian splendor that now follows (cf. connections between the death of Pallas/his funeral procession and the ensuing cavalry skirmish before the walls of Latinus’ city).

The *lusus Troiae* = a “closing ceremony” (Williams) for the games; on the middle books of the *A.* as spectacle drama, see V. Pöschl, “The Poetic Achievement of Virgil,” in *CJ* 56.7 (1961), 290–299, 295–296. For Aeneas’ role as proto-Augustus in celebrating the event, but (with caution against seeing parallelism here and on the Virgilian love for ambiguity in general), see E. Hahn, “The Characters in the *Eclogues*,” in *TAPA* 75 (1944), 196–241, 205–206. “So hat also Vergil

nach den vier (homerischen) Wettkämpfen am Ende mit einem zwar nicht ausschließlich augusteischen, aber doch dem Augustus besonders lieben Spiel überrascht und dadurch einmal mehr die Ursprünge mit der Zeit der Vollen- dung zusammengesehen ..." (Klingner 1967, 472–473).

546 *custodem ad sese comitemque impubis Iuli*

custodem: Cf. 257; the word occurs 2× in 11, both of divine guardians (Apollo of Soracte at 785; Opis at 836, where see Horsfall); Epytides' relationship to Iulus may parallel Acoetes' with Pallas at 11.29 ff. For *custos* with *comes* cf. Ovid, *Am.* 3.11a.17–18 *quando ego non fixus lateri patienter adhaesi, / ipse tuus custos, ipse vir, ipse comes?*; Martial, *ep.* 11.32.2; note also Columella, *DRR* 7.12.1.8; Quintus Curtius Rufus 3.6.1.3; 5.11.2.4.

impubis: Cf. 9.750–751 *et mediam ferro gemina inter tempora frontem / dividit impubisque immani vulnere malas*, of Turnus' killing of Pandarus; also 7.381–382 *stupet inscia supra / impubesque manus mirata volubile buxum*, of the childish amusement with the top to which the crazed Amata is compared. On Iulus' smooth young face see L. Feldman, "The Character of Ascanius in Virgil's *Aeneid*," in *CJ* 48.8 (1953), 303–313; Moseley 1926, 47–67. On the development of the character from infant to warrior, indeed encampment leader, see *inter al.* H. Ryder, "The Boy Ascanius," in *Class. Week.* 10.27 (1917), 210–214; R. Coleman, "Puer Ascanius," in *CJ* 38.3 (1942), 142–147. Turnus, in contrast, has "downy cheeks" at 12.221 *pubentesque genae et iuvenali in corpore pallor*; cf. on 5.475 and vid. Reed 2007, 44 ff. Interestingly, while Ascanius makes his appearance here to lead the equestrian *cursus*, he takes no part in the actual games; the portent of the archery match belongs to the older generation, and there will be time later in the epic for the son of Aeneas to play with the bow.

Iuli: See Williams 1960 here for the relative frequencies of the two names for Aeneas' son; here, the point is to reference Julius Caesar, who revived the equestrian display (Dio 43.23.6). The recent memory of the arrow portent and the likely association in the reader's mind with the comet of 44 is also part of the image the poet wishes to create. See Austin ad 1.267 ff. on the association V. makes explicit between *Iulus* and *Ilium*; Iulus connects with Julius Caesar, though Octavian entered the same *gens* by the blessing of fortune; what is interesting in V. is how the one name of the youth in whom the succession is so deeply invested evokes the name of the dead *dictator* who had, perhaps, wanted to move the capital of the empire back, as it were, to (the dead) Ilium—a bleak commentary in itself on the problems and hazards of the succession. For the links with an ill-fated Trojan predecessor, see L. Feldman, "Ascanius and Astyanax: A Comparative Study of Virgil and Homer," in *CJ* 53.8 (1958), 361–366. For an important study of why V. has Ascanius as the *fil. Creüsae*

and not *Laviniae* (so Livy), see R. Edgeworth, “Ascanius’ Mother,” in *Hermes* 129.2 (2001), 246–250: Ascanius is the heir to Troy, not Lavinia’s Italy. For the Virgilian readiness to blame Caesar for the catastrophe of the late Republic while Augustus is praised, see G. Williams 1980, 17–18. On the question of Roman *pietas* and its possible excesses, especially in terms of seeking to restore the Trojan capital, see Oliensis 1998, 124–125.

547 Epytiden vocat, et fidam sic fatur ad aurem:

Epytiden: See here R. Rocca, *EV* II; Paschalis 1997, 196–197 (for associations of the name and, more generally, word clusters during the *lusus*; also O’Hara 1996, 162 on Kraggerud 1960, 33n1 regarding *vocat* and ἠπύτω). Epytides is apparently one of the *magistri* first referenced at 562; at 579 he gives the signal for the start of the game.

The “son of Epytus” who appears here during the *lusus* is perhaps to be understood as the son of the Epytus named at *A.* 2.339–340 *et maximus armis / Epytus*, where the text is vexed (*Aepytus* M; *Aephitus* Tib.); Paratore conjectured *Iphitus* (cf. 435–436, where the name is also hypermetric, and where the hero’s relatively older age is cited); see further Horsfall, who accepts the “correction [that] here appears to be necessary,” principally on the evidence that the figures named around Epytus “all reappear in the narrative,” with the name owing to the present patronymic. Williams 1960 wonders if the Epytus of *A.* 2 = the son of the Homeric Periphas (see below). It is unlikely that the Epytides of the *lusus Troiae* episode = the son of the *maximus armis Epytus* of 2, though just possible. See further V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* I, 448.

The Epytides who appears here is connected onomastically and thematically to the Epytus of Homer, *Il.* 17.319 ff.: the Trojans are in serious discomfiture and facing a rout when Apollo appears to Aeneas in the form of Periphas, the son of Epytus; Homer notes that the herald P. had grown old in the house of Anchises. Aeneas recognizes the god, and is roused to help rally his men; it is possible that the son named here = Periphas (the name does not appear in Apollonius). The parallel offers a rich set of associations: there is an introduction of a note of warning, as V. presents a reverse situation from Homer (here it is the Trojan hero who approaches the herald, not a god in heraldic disguise); the poet foreshadows the appearance of Apollo to Ascanius in 9, where the god urges the opposite of his Homeric admonition to Aeneas; cf. also on *fidam* below for Camilla with *fida Acca* after the cavalry battle of 11—a neat series of reversals from the present mimicry of war. See further S. Casali and J. Morgan, “Atys,” in *VE* I, 146 on the name *Epytus* as that of an Alban king, and cf. below on 568 *Atys*.

fidam: For the adjective cf. 24 and 468; there is one occurrence in 821, where it describes Camilla’s faithful friend Acca, who receives the dying message of the

Volscian heroine to Turnus that he should *succedere pugna*. The commentators note that Aeneas here essentially whispers to Epytides; there is an element of surprise, as is fitting for a grand spectacle entertainment. With *fidam aurem* cf. Ovid, *Met.* 10.382 with Bömer.

548 vade age et Ascanio, si iam puerile paratum

vade age: The last of three occurrences in the *A.*; at 462 *vade age et ingentem factis fer ad aethera Troiam*, Helenus concludes his address to Aeneas; at 4.223 *vade age, nate, voca Zephyros et labere pennis* Jupiter sends Mercury to warn Aeneas to leave Carthage; V. may have introduced the phrase to epic (cf. *Ilias Latina* 114; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.127; Silius, *Pun.* 13.413). There is a hurried tone here, one of excitement and anticipation for the pageantry that is about to be displayed on the open plain; the conditional expression underscores the point that Ascanius has had his own work to do while others have competed in the four contests.

Ascanio: Appropriately enough, in quick succession V. employs both of his names for Aeneas' son: this is the passage where the youth makes his debut before his fellows.

puerile: The adjective occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 578, of the weapons of Camilla's youth; V. associates the present equestrian display with the forthcoming Camilla narrative.

paratum: The Palatine's first corrector has *paratus* here; the difference is very slight.

549 agmen habet secum cursusque instruxit equorum,

habet: "Has at hand," i.e., prepared and ready for the display that will give honor to Ascanius' grandfather. Ovid has *hesterna vidi spatiantem luce puellam | illa, quae Danai porticus agmen habet* (*Am.* 2.2.3–4; see McKeown ad loc.). There may be a subtle reference here to the statues of the Danaids at the temple of the Palatine Apollo that was dedicated on 9 October 28B.C. (on which see especially Gurval 1995, 87 ff.), if indeed there were not only fifty Danaid statues, but also fifty equestrian figures of the sons of Aegyptus (similar enough name to Epytus? See on 547 *Epytides* for the textual variants of 2.340). Any such association here would connect with the revelation of the artwork on Pallas' *balteus* and the pervasive theme of the premature death of the young in battle. With *agmen* here cf. 602 *Troianum dicitur agmen*, at the close of the game.

instruxit: The verb occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11, where at 449 *instructos acie Tiberino a flumine Teucros* it is used of the military preparations of the Trojans that are reported to Turnus by scouts; both exact and impressionistic parallels

continue between the present spectacle entertainment and the forthcoming battle. The verb refers both to the bringing forth of the cavalry contingents, and to the practice of the choreography for this day.

cursus ... equorum: Imitated by Silius at *Pun.* 16.312–312 *inde refert sese circo et certamina prima / inchoat ac rapidos cursus proponit honorem*. *Cursus* here opens a ring that will close at 596 *cursus*.

The game of Troy was a battle for the city; it could be taken to be a mimicry of the defense of the city against the Greek invasion (in which case it is a perpetuation of the failed final battle of the defenders). Manilius references this drama of Troy's last night at *Ast.* 5.484–485 *aequabitque choros gestu cogetque videre / praesentem Troiam Priamumque ante ora cadentem*; cf. the participation of Priam's grandson in the present game (563–565), and the description of cavalry contingents as *chori* at 581.

Servius notes ad 602 that commonly (“vulgo”) the *lusus* was referred to as a “pyrrhicha,” a sort of war dance that is attested, e.g., at Pliny, *NH* 7.204; Suetonius, *Div. Iul.* 39.1; *Ner.* 12.1. See further Beagon ad Pliny for the connections to Pyrrhus and the rites before Patroclus' pyre, also Spartan military training and the Curetes who were given custody of the infant Zeus; cf. West 1978, 371–373. The forthcoming burning of the ships is relevant here (Pyrrhus/fire); the presence of Priam's grandson, the son of Polites/victim of Pyrrhus, as a turn leader is also at play.

550 *ducat avo turmas et sese ostendat in armis*

ducat ... ostendat: For the object clauses after 551 *dic* cf. *A.* 4.635–637 *dic ... properet / ducat / veniat*, of the instructions that Dido gives to her nurse Barce for Anna. On the image of the leader as a handler of animals and master of horses, see Braund ad Seneca, *De Clem.* 1.16.4–5.

avo: The display is a special honor for Anchises, as V. closes a ring with the rites that preceded the four competitions; cf. 564 *nomen avi referens*, of Priam's grandson's name.

turmas: Cf. 560 Servius ad 9.366; Lucretius has this term from the military lexicon at *DRN* 5.1313–1314 *ne quiquam, quoniam permixta caede calentes / turbabant saevi nullo discrimine turmas*; cf. 2.119 *turmatim*. Horace has it *sexies* (c. 2.4.9; 2.16.22; 3.4.47; 4.14.23; *carm. Saec.* 38; *Ep.* 2.1.190); Propertius *bis* (c. 2.10.3 and 4.4.31); V. elsewhere at *G.* 3.179; 560 below; 10.239 and 310; and 4× in the book that features his great cavalry battle set piece (11.503; 518; 599; 620).

sese ostendat in armis: In mimicry, not real warfare. Cicero has *nunc vero hoc magis, quod illa gens quid de nostro imperio sentiret ostendit armis*, of the Judaeans (*Pro Flacco* 69.8). Ascanius is to present himself as a leader of men, conspicuous in their midst, as the generations advance from grandfather to

grandson; Aeneas opened the games for his father, and his son will close them.

551 dic, ait. ipse omnem longo decedere circo

circo: So at 287–288 *mediaque in valle theatri | circus erat*, of the locus for the foot race, also just after *certamine misso* (cf. 286 and 545). There had been no specific change of venue noted for either the boxing match or the archery contest (cf. 361; 481ff.), which may be presumed to have taken place in the center of the oval (*longo*) course (with the mast of Serestus' ship erected in the center); far more space is needed for the elaborate equestrian display, so that the audience is essentially asked here to step back and to make room for the young men and their mounts; by the use of the mast of a Trojan ship for the archery contest, V. guarantees that we never lose sight of the sea and the connection of the regatta to the rest of the games. *Circo* and *campos* in the following verse may reflect the landscape of Rome.

With the *longus circus* here cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 5.88–90 *aut solo vectatus equo nunc arma movebit, | nunc leget in longo per cursum praemia circo. | quidquid de tali studio formatur habebit* (“Zirkus in länglicher Stadion-Form”—Hübner ad loc.).

552 infusum populum et campos iubet esse patentis.

infusum populum: The participle has rich and varied associations with other passages in the epic; cf. 4.520 *nix umeros infusa tegit*, of Atlas' snow-covered shoulders; 6.726–727 *totamque infusa per artus | mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet*, during the great discourse of Anchises in Elysium; 8.405–406 *optatos dedit amplexus placidumque petivit | coniugis infusus gremio per membra soporem*, of Venus and Vulcan after the discussion of the arms of Aeneas; 9.461 *iam sole infuso, iam rebus luce relectis*; and especially 684 below, where *nec vires heroum infusaque flumina prosunt* occurs in the wake of the burning of the ships—another example of V.'s practice whereby neighboring episodes are linked by shared vocabulary. *Infusum* here may serve to convey the image that after the great Acestes arrow portent, the spectators poured into the *campus* and swarmed the mast and the lucky king; now Aeneas orders the plain to be cleared to make room for the cavalry maneuvers.

campos ... patentis: For the open field cf. *G.* 77; *A.* 4.154–154, during the fateful hunt at Carthage; note also Lucan, *BC* 4.19 (with Asso).

iubet: For the evocation in the games sequence of Aeneas as the *dux in pace* that he was briefly revealed to be in *A.* 1, “the conscientious leader of his people,” see Glazewski 1972, 87; the affinities of the episodic 5 with its predecessor 1 reflect the place of the present book as the opening of the second third of the epic. With *iubet esse* cf. 757 *esse iubet* below.

553 *incedunt pueri pariterque ante ora parentum*

pueri: “Poetica licentia,” as Servius suggests; there is no strict distinction here between a *puer* and a *iuuenis*, but rather an emphasis on the youth of the Trojan boys and how they are training for the war that will soon confront them in Italy. *Incedere* is used of a stately march; V. does not offer even the briefest narrative of Ascanius’ acceptance of his father’s order, merely the execution: he is ready and prepared, and as soon as Epytides conveys the word, the spectacle commences. The *pueri*, though, are indeed the leaders here (as Servius also notes; his two possibilities are not mutually exclusive); the point is that the present mock battle is the debut moment for the new generation of potential heroes.

pariter: A key adjective, deliberately at the midpoint of the line for greater emphasis; Ascanius may be the leader of leaders, but the entrance of the youths (with the patter of horses effectively conveyed by the alliterative effect of the verse) evokes the pride of each father in his son, with no hint of hierarchy among the potentially rival scions of the great families, and in contrast to the necessarily competitive atmosphere of the games. See further on 556 *omnibus*, and cf. 587 *pariter*. The young men both advance (*incedunt*) “equally,” and are “equally” resplendent (*lucent*) in the eyes of their (respective) parents: a brief moment of peace, as it were, before the outbreak of civil war.

ante ora parentum: The signal phrase is repeated at 576; V. here evokes two passages from *A.* 2: 1) the death of Polites in Priam’s inner sanctum and 2) the portent of Iulus’ fiery head, both of which occurred in the presence of *ora parentum* (2.531–532 *ut tandem ante oculos evasit et ora parentum | concidit ac multo vitam cum sanguine fudit*; 681 *namque manus inter maestorumque ora parentum*). Cf., too, the scene in the underworld of the prematurely dead (6.306–308 *matres atque viri defunctaque corpora* [itself an intriguing problem, on which see Horsfall ad loc.] *vita | magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae, | impositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum*); and, in 5’s sister book, 11.887 *exclusi ante oculos lacrimantumque ora parentum*, of the Latins and their allies who rush to safety in Latinus’ capital during the cavalry battle, only to be shut up by their terrified fellows. On the education of boys in the ways of war at the hands of their elders see Smith 2005, 179–180.

The parallels, then, connect the present scene with the Iulus portent (cf. Acestes’ arrow shot and the leading role of Iulus/Ascanius in the *lusus*); three other occurrences emphasize the theme of the early death of young heroes, one of them in the equestrian engagement of 11 that serves as the grim reincarnation of the spirit of the present pageant during the war in Latium.

554 *frenatis lucent in equis, quos omnis euntis*

frenatis: Cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 5.73–75 *stare levi curru moderantem quattuor ora / spumigeris frenata lupis et flectere equorum / praevalidas vires ac torto stringere gyro*. V. effectively conveys the sound of the horses with the alliteration of *frenatis* / 555 *fremis*, as the mounts chomp at the bit in anticipation of their exercise. For an argument that *frenatis* is the true reading at Propertius, c. 2.34.52 *aut cur fraternis Luna labore equis*, see A. Allen, “The Moon’s Horses,” in *CQ* N.S. 25.1 (1975), 153–155. *Frenare* occurs elsewhere in V. at *A.* 1.54 and 523; *G.* 4.136.

lucent: The form occurs 3× elsewhere in V.; at *A.* 6.603 *lucent genialibus altis / aurea fulcra toris*, it appears in the description of Tantalus’ torment; at 8.659–660 *aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea vestis, / virgatis lucent sagulis*, of Gauls on the shield of Aeneas; at 11.692–693 *qua colla sedentis / lucent et laevo dependet parma lacerto*, of Camilla’s victim Butes; cf. also the gleam of ivory at 10.137; the light from the funeral procession at 11.143–144 *lucet via longo / ordine flammaram et late discriminat agros*; 9.893 *rara per occultos lucebat semita callis*, before Euryalus is caught in the night raid. Cf. 562 *fulgent*.

omnis euntis: The line-end recurs at 9.308–309 *protinus armati incedunt; quod omnis euntis / primorum manus ad portas, iuvenumque senumque*, of the departure of Nisus and Euryalus from the Trojan camp for the night raid, in a scene where Iulus is in the possession of power as the *de facto* Trojan leader for the first and last time in the epic; cf. also Silius, *Pun.* 7.237–240.

555 *Trinacriae mirata fremit Troiaequi iuventus.*

Cf. 450, of the reaction to Entellus’ fall; the present scene is paralleled at 7.813 *turbaque miratur matrum, et prospectat euntem*, of the response to Camilla’s entrance in the gathering of the clans; note, too, 11.891–892, as the women of Latinus’ capital witness Camilla’s end: a spectacle ring around the Volscian heroine’s aristeia and death. Sicilians had dominated the last two games; the *lusus* that commences here is a solely Trojan event, even if Acestes must supply steeds at 573 ff.

Trinacriae: Alliteratively balanced with *Troiae* at the start of each line-half.

mirata ... iuventus: Cf. Lucan, *BC* 3.461 *credidit et muros mirata est stare iuventus*; Statius, *Silv.* 1.1.62–63 *operique intenta iuventus / miratur plus posse manus*.

Troiaequi iuventus: V. prefers *Troiana iuventus* (*A.* 1.467; 699; 2.63; 4.162; 8.182; 545); here the emphasis is on the name of the city whose future is embodied in the youth now arrayed for the equestrian display; the fact that Troy is essentially dead connects to the theme of the premature death of the young heroes in the war soon to commence in Italy.

Anchises was noted as a tamer of horses (cf. *Ilias Parva* fr. 30.5 West); this was a conventional enough appellation, but the tradition may have been on the poet's mind as he composed his equestrian display.

556 omnibus in morem tonsa coma pressa corona;

The opening of a more or less balanced four-line description of the riders, as we move from headwear to weaponry to jewelry. The young men are perhaps already wearing helmets, or at least one of them is later, as 673 *galeam ... inanem* makes clear (see Anthon ad loc. here, following Servius' "et re vera corona non potest intelligi, cum sequatur 'galeam ante pedes proiecit inanem'"); the helmets would then be garlanded. Servius adds the detail that Baebius Macer (on whom see Cornell 2013, I, 633) said that youths who participated in the Troy game were given helmets and two spears by Augustus, so that V. is alluding here to an established practice (hence *in morem*; see further on 596; see also J. Griffin, "The Creation of Characters in the *Aeneid*," in Gold 1982, 118–134). Henry argues passionately that the helmets that appear later would not have been worn during the initial parade (complete with eloquently expressed sarcasm on how heavily a garland would press on the head), and that the *corona* = "the round crop of the hair, the round crop into which the previously long hair of the boys had been reduced, restricted, confined, by cutting, by the shears," and that the *mos* is the custom of the cutting of the hair at Roman puberty; all of which explanation Williams finds "far-fetched"; Farrell ad loc. perhaps wisely avoids the controversy. In the absence of the poet's *ultima manus*, we can do better, perhaps, than criticize the present passage from a detail recorded a hundred and seventeen verses hence; the young men are garlanded here, as if they were already wearing fronds of victory—the *lusus* is a triumphal close to a day of games, not a competition in the strict sense, and this has been, after all, an athletic display where nearly everyone left with some sort of mark of success.

omnibus: Cf. 553 *pariter* and 562 *paribus*, of the *magistri*; V. emphasizes the fundamental equality of the youths, who may be thought to form a sort of republican senate in miniature; despite the repeated vocabulary of equivocation, there are three leaders, who may have conjured associations with the membership of both triumvirates.

Silius has *omnis in auro* / *pressa tibi varia fulgebit gemma corona* (*Pun.* 7.84–85).

557 cornea bina ferunt praefixa hastilia ferro,

cornea: Cornel appears elsewhere in V. at *A.* 3.22–23 *forte fuit iuxta tumulus, quo cornea summo* / *virgulta et densis hastilibus horrida myrtus*, of the locus of Polydorus' grave; 6.893–894 *sunt geminae portae, quarum altera fertur* /

cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris; cf. the Cyclopes' diet at 3.649 *bacas lapidosaque corna*; Turnus has an *Itala cornus* at 9.698; the *stridula cornus* of Tolumnius that breaks the truce at 12.267; also *G.* 2.34; 448. For the cornelian cherry see Horsfall ad 3.22, with full bibliography.

praefixa hastilia ferro: The same hemistich recurs at 12.488–489 *huic Mesapus, uti laeva duo forte gerebat | lenta, levis cursu, praefixa hastilia ferro*, of Neptune's son's attack on Aeneas as Juturna keeps Turnus away from his Trojan foe; cf. also 1.312–313 *ipse uno graditur comitatus Achate | bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro*; Ovid, *Met.* 14.343–344 *indigenas fixurus apros tergumque premebat | acris equi laevaue hastilia bina ferebat* (of Picus); Silius, *Pun.* 16.525–526 *intonsasque comas viridi redimita corona | bina tulit patrio quatiens hastilia ferro*. *Praefixa* recurs gorily in *V.* at 9.471–472, of the heads of Nisus and Euryalus that are displayed before the Trojan camp.

The last line of *A.* 7 also closes the description of Camilla, who comes with quiver and what may well be some sort of iron-tipped missile weapon (816–817 *Lyciam ut gerat ipse pharetram | et pastoralem praefixa cuspide myrtum*); see further N. Tarleton, “*Pastoralem Praefixa Cuspide Myrtum (Aeneid 7.817)*,” in *CQ* N.S. 39.1 (1989), 267–270, who argues that the weapon described would have been employed by a herdsman against wolves and brigands (cf. Camilla's possible lycanthropic associations, signaled, too, perhaps, by *Lyciam*). *V.* continues to draw associations between the present imitation of life and the deadlier game of the cavalry engagement of 11 and its lead player. On expressions of this sort in weapons descriptions see also S. Harrison, “The Arms of Capaneus: Statius, *Thebaid* 4.165–77,” in *CQ* 42.1 (1992), 247–252 (who considers Statius' Capaneus rather an “inversion” of *V.*'s Camilla).

558 *pars levis umero pharetras; it pectore summo*

pars: Everyone has the same headwear and the two *hastilia*; some also have quivers; the necklace described at 558–559 is probably also limited to some (the leaders?).

umero pharetras: Cf. 11.843–844 *nec tibi desertae in dumis coluisse Dianam | profuit aut nostras umero gessisse pharetras* (Opis to Camilla). The light quivers in this case reflect the age of the archers; there is something here of the adolescent Camilla, and the older, with her varied weapons (especially projectile).

it: So *M*²; *Tib.*; the reading *et* (*MR*; cf. *P*'s *iet*, where Geymonat notes “duplici lectione confusa”; “ex duplici lectione”—Conte) has caused confusion since Servius, who notes that we must read a form of *ire* here to avoid a solecism (“sic legendum ne sit soloecismus”).

pectore summo: Cf. Caesar, *BC* 1.62.2.2 *pedites vero tantummodo umeris ac summo pectore extarent*, of men crossing a river; Apuleius, *Florida* 9.16. Cf. 197

certamine summo at line-end, during the regatta that opened the present memorial games. "... resting on the top of the breast, surrounding and near to, but still at a little distance from the neck, somewhat in the manner of the upper hem of the garment in which Christ is usually painted, or of the chemise of Titian's mistress" (Henry).

559 *flexilis obtorti per collum circulus auri.*

For the genitive of material "*stricto sensu*" see E. Kenney, "Ovidiana," in *CQ* N.S. 43.2 (1993), 458–467, 460. The present passage is cited in "A Letter from Sir Tho. Mostyn, Bart. to Roger Jones, M.D.F.R.S. concerning a Golden Torques Found in England," in *Philosophical Transactions* (1683–1775), Vol. 42 (1742–1743), 24–25. The adornment of the young horsemen is not unlike something that we might imagine as a prize for the competitions; these scions of great Trojan families (as we shall soon see, the onomastic spirit of the regatta will return to close a ring on the memorial games for Anchises) are already rewarded, as it were, for an event that has no distinction between victors and vanquished, but rather a parade of heroic winners—albeit in a mimicry of real combat. Probably no association was meant here with the *torques* and the alleged etymology of *Torquatus* mentioned in Livy (see G. Chase, "The Origin of Roman Praenomina," in *HSCPh* 8 [1897], 103–184, 112; cf. below on *obtorti*). For the *lusus* as "the only state ceremony in which the patrician youths of Rome wore torques," see Rose 2005, 42. For the *bullae* of Roman puberty that was presented to the Lares (vs. the dolls for Venus offered by girls), cf. Persius, s. 2.70 *nempe hoc quod Veneri donatae a virgine pupae*; s. 5.31 *bullaque subcinctis Laribus donata pependit*. The *torques* was a coveted sign of honorable military service; cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.9, where Arminius mocks the fact that Flavius received it at the cost of an eye.

flexilis: Cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 5.694–695 *ad sua perpetuos revocat vestigia passus / numquam tincta vadis sed semper flexilis orbe*; Ovid, *Met.* 5.383 *oppositoque genu curvavit flexile cornum*.

obtorti: The verb is rare, and occurs only here in V.; for the participle cf. Plautus, *Rudens* 853 *rapi te obtorto collo mavis an trahi*; Cicero, *In Verr.* 2.4.24.3; *Pro Cluent.* 59.4; Petronius, *Sat.* fr. 10.1; Seneca, *Apoc.* 11.6.2; Apuleius, *Met.* 3.5.6. See Farrell here for the etymological association with the Roman military *torques* (named in V. only at *G.* 3.168 and 4.276); the Virgilian Troy game sequence blends Trojan, Greek, and Roman traditions with anachronistic abandon. See further here Maxfield 1981, 86 ff.; the *torques* was associated with the great men of barbarian races, and so it finds a fitting place as the neck wear of these Trojan youths; there is no certainty as to when or why the award was made to Roman equestrians, and no extant attestation for such an award to a unit until

the granting of citizenship and (*inter al.*) the *torques* in 89 B.C. to the (Spanish) *turma Salluitana*. “The Roman soldier did not wear his *torques* in traditional barbarian fashion around the neck. They were normally, though not invariably, awarded in pairs and those reliefs which show the *torques* being worn suggest that they were attached to the cuirass on either side just below the collar bones” (Maxfield). But V’s Trojan youths cannot be expected to behave like junior Roman officers. The torque is (in any case) a contemporary Augustan decoration worn by young princes on the Ara Pacis.

circulus auri: Cf. A. 10.137–138 *fusos cervix cui lactea crinis / accipit et molli subnectens circulus auro*, of Ascanius.

For the *tonsa corona* and the torque as peculiar to the *lusus*, see Rose 2005, 42 ff., who argues that the torque was perhaps introduced for the *lusus* because of associations with the cult of Cybele and Attis (see on 568 *Atys*). In V’s narrative the Troy game is inextricably linked with the burning of the ships, which in turn connects to Cybele’s intercession for her sacred pines and the magical metamorphosis of the vessels in 9. For Cybele as the first of the deities honored yearly by the aediles’ games (which may be relevant to V’s competition narrative), see T. Wiseman, “Cybele, Virgil and Augustus” in Woodman and West 1984, 117–128.

560 *tres equitum numero turmae ternique vagantur*

“What classical scholars have familiarly called *Dreiheit* ... proves on examination a tricky concept: Virgil’s threes may indeed sometimes evoke ancient ritual and superstition (or the impression thereof), they may be ‘mere’ literary echoes, they may represent a convenient (and powerful) pattern of narrative organization” (Horsfall ad 3.37).

tres ... turmae: Cf. 550; the emphasis here is on the threefold division of the cavalry contingents. Nine is a significant number for the memorial rites (see on 64); odd numbers are said by Servius to be associated with divine sacrifices (96); for Virgilian numerology in general, vid. ad 115. Here, twelve (561 *bis seni*) youths follow each leader, for a total of three groups of thirteen each and thirty-nine horsemen in all; there may be zodiacal associations for the twice-six number (cf. Germanicus, *Arat.* 531 *haec via Solis erit bis senis lucida signis; Laus Pisonis 20 annua bis senis revocabit mensibus astra*). There may also be a reflection here of the tripartite division of both Book 5 and Book 11 (memorial games/requiems; burning of the ships/debate; Palinurus/Camilla); Servius sees a connection with the three centuries of Roman knights. The *magistri* of 562 are not additional horsemen (for a total of forty-two), but are either synonymous with the *ductores* or (likelier) = pedestrian guides (Henry, who takes Epytides as the *magister* for Ascanius’ *turma*).

Servius associates the present threefold division of the cavalry with the original pacification and union of the disparate elements of the early city: “unam [partem] Titiensium a Tito Tatio, duce Sabinorum, iam amico post foedera, alteram Rametum a Romulo, tertiam Lucerum, quorum secundum Livium et nomen et causa in occulto sunt” (with further citation of Varro for the idea that the Luceres were named after the Etruscan Lucumo, who helped Romulus in his war with the Sabines); cf. the speculation that the *lusus* was Etruscan in origin (largely because of its possible depiction on the Tragliatella oinochoe).

equitum turmae: 5× in Livy; 2× in Tacitus; cf. *Bell. Afr.* 29.1.1; the narrative at *Bell. Hisp.* 2.3.3–5; Quintus Curtius Rufus 7.9.10.1–2; Horace’s *quattuor aut pluris aulaeae premuntur in horas, | dum fugiunt equitum turmae peditumque catervae* (*Epist.* 2.1.189–190).

vagantur: Lucretian (*DRN* 2.83; 105; 109; 3.447; 4.792); cf. *G.* 3.539–540 *timidi dammae cervique fugaces | nunc interque canes et circum tecta vagantur*; *A.* 6.886–887 *sic tota passim regione vagantur | aëris in campis latis atque omnia lustrant*; 11.272–274 *et socii amissi petierunt aethera pennis | fluminibusque vagantur aves heu, dira meorum | supplicia*. The horsemen “gallop to and fro” (Anthon); the mounts are “spirited caracoling horses” (Henry, who notes on the verb: “The beautiful term *vagari*, corresponding almost exactly to the German *wandeln*, is simply to go about here and there without aiming at a certain point or destination. It has, I believe, no precise English equivalent, excluding, as it does, the idea of not knowing where one is, included in *wander*; of fickleness, included in *rove*; of eccentricity or going beyond bounds, included in *ramble*; and of indolence or idleness, included in *saunter*.”). For the “dactylic rhythm” (appropriate to the action), cf. Horsfall ad 11.273.

561 **ductores; pueri bis seni quemque secuti**

ductores: Cf. 133, of the captains of the regatta, who also shine in the day’s brightness at the commencement of the race; V. thus connects the opening drama on water with the closing ceremonies, which will have their own explicit marine associations (594–595).

seni: The distributive recurs at 11.133 *bis senos pepigere dies*, of the length of the burial truce; strikingly, V. thus associates the number of boys who follow their leader in each contingent of the *lusus* with the number of days for the halt in military operations to conduct the requiems of the war dead. The Iliadic truce of 24.664–667 was eleven days, with the war to resume on the twelfth; in the narrative of *A.* 11 it is not clear whether the agreed hiatus for the burials has expired when word arrives that the Trojans have resumed operations (11.445–446). See Southern 1998, 49 for the six vultures that were

seen when Octavian entered Rome, and the comparison to the augury that accompanied Romulus' founding of the city.

quemque secuti: For the concept of the *gradus dignitatis* that is marked by how many men follow a leader, vid. Servius ap. 9.160.1.

562 *agmine partito fulgent paribusque magistris.*

agmine partito: The phrase occurs only here (for the meaning of *partire* vid. *OLD* s.v. 2); the three contingents are distinct, even as they function in unison, and notwithstanding a possible division in their own ranks (*partito*). See Williams 1960 on the question of whether we are to imagine three units with spaces between, or each of the turms in double column; the former seems preferable, with the point being the double arrangement of the twelve men (deliberately described as *bis seni*) behind each leader. With *partito* cf. 11.510 *mecum partire laborem* (Turnus to Camilla); 822 *quicum partiri curas* (of Acca, closing a ring); also *A.* 1.194 *et socios partitur in omnis* (Aeneas' sharing of the slain stags); *G.* 1.126–127 *ne signare quidem aut partiri limite campum / fas erat*. Note the *turma duplex* of Suetonius, *Div. Iul.* 39.2 (with Butler and Cary ad loc.).

fulgent: Cf. 554 *lucent*; all the emphasis is on how the young men in their equestrian accoutrements gleam in the bright light of day, and the verb stands forth at midline, with the balance of adjectives and nouns reflecting the poet's description of the equality of the leaders. This is the only appearance of *fulgere* in 5; it appears a relatively high number of times in 11, even excluding two textually vexed passages (6; 188; 202 vs. *ardentibus*; 490; 769; 854 vs. *laetantem*). Cf. *fulgor* at 88 above, and 11.70.

paribusque magistris: An allusion, as Servius notes, to the role of the *magister equitum*, who commanded the cavalry due to the traditional prohibition on the dictator mounting a horse; the Master of the Horse owed his employment to the dictator, and lost his title with the end of dictatorship. In the mock battle of the *lusus Troiae* we see a foreshadowing of not only the Latin war of the Iliadic *A.*, but also of the civil wars of the late Republic; the most famous *magister equitum* for V.'s audience would = Mark Antony. At 568 we shall see a clear association between one of the young riders and a future triumvir; no other definite parallels are drawn, but it is interesting that of the three youthful leaders, only one is not heavily invested with doomed imagery that looks both back to the night Troy fell, and forward to Turnus' attack on the camp (which, significantly, is minus Aeneas and under the effective control of a member of the younger generation). If the suppression of Troy and rise of Italian Rome was foreshadowed in the regatta, foot race, and boxing match, and the death of Pallas during the forthcoming Italian war via

the Acestes arrow portent, then now we can see in the *lusus* a hint of the internecine struggles that await the future Republic. Cf. on 580 *discurrere pares*.

Horsemen, *ductores, magistri*: fourteen men per contingent, with which we might compare the seven youths and seven maidens of Athens doomed to be sent yearly to the Minotaur (cf. 6.21–22 and on 588 ff. below), besides the evocation of the same lore by Entellus' sacrifice of his prize bull in the boxing match.

563 *una acies iuvenum, ducit quam parvus ovantem*

Once again there is momentary suspense: who is leading this first contingent? Each word reveals a detail, but the progress of the revelation is tantalizing. Cf. the allusion to the practice of the *transvectio censoris* at Persius, s. 3.29.

acies iuvenum: The phrase occurs only here; cf. Livy's *haec prima frons in acie florem iuvenum pubescentium ad militiam habebat* (8.8.6.2). The adjective *una* underscores the unified action of the group, despite all the numerical language of division and organization that has described the cavalry formations. For the change of subject from the collective *acies* to the individual leaders as part of an elaborate description that reflects the complex maneuvers of the *lusus*, see Hahn 1930, 84–85.

parvus: An almost pathetic descriptor in the context of the memories evoked by the next line; cf. 569: the fragility of the succession is never far from the poet's mind.

ovantem: For the verb see on 331; there is a hint here of the world of the Roman ovation and triumph (note here Schenk 1984, 328n28). Cf. 12.477–479, where forms of *ovare* and *ostentare* are again used in close sequence (note 567 *ostentans*).

564 *nomen avi referens Priamus, tua clara, Polite,*

V. here closes a ring with the great announcement of the future Roman families he associated with the contestants in the regatta (116–123).

avi: Cf. 550 *ducat avo turmas*. The present passage is echoed at 12.346–348 *parte alia media Eumedes in proelia fertur | antiqua proles bello praeclara Dolonis, | nomine avum referens* (where see Tarrant).

Priamus: Appropriately enough, the leader of the first group is named for the king of the dead Troy; the royal youth has the name of his grandfather (cf. Ascanius/Anchises). For the “double vision” of which the “the young are particularly fitting as objects,” see Jenkyns 1998, 579 ff.

clara: With *progenies* also at Catullus, c. 66.43–44 *ille quoque eversus mons est, quem maximum in oris | progenies Thiae clara supervehitur*; cf. Seneca,

Phaed. 129–130 *nutrix Thesea coniunx, clara progenies Iovis, | nefanda casto pectore exturba ocius*. The first corrector of P has *cara*.

Polite: Vid. F. Caviglia, *EV* IV, 167–169; Horsfall ad 2.526, especially on the apparent transformation of a character of “very minor importance” into a figure of rather greater significance in V’s narrative. Both the boy’s father and his grandfather were slain by Pyrrhus on Troy’s last night (2.526 ff.); despite the cheering of his followers (*ovantem*) and the glorious splendor of the display, the associations of the family of this *ductor* are grim and connected directly with the fall of the old city. See Paschalis 1997, 196 for the city-building connection with *πόλις* and the chromatic associations of white (565 *albis*, etc.) and *Ascanius*. For the form of the vocative cf. M¹P¹R *Polites*; Kühner-Holzweissig I, 370–371.

565 *progenies, auctura Italos; quem Thracius albis*

The opening of a tightly constructed sequence of richly connotative details; the new Priam may be the son and grandson of slain Trojan royals, but *Polites’ progenies* is destined to increase the Italians (i.e., through intermarriage), even as he rides a Thracian mount that jars geographically with the naming of the *Itali*. V. is ambivalent in his distinctions between the three turn leaders; he will note the especially close relationship between Iulus and Atys, even as he acknowledges that Priam’s grandson is about to augment, i.e., increase, the Italians.

auctura: *Augere* occurs in participial form only here in V. (cf. Ps.-V., *Ciris* 201 *augens*). The verb may have its sense of reinforcement or strengthening (*OLD* s.v. 7); there may be a reference to an increase in military force (*OLD* s.v. 4b). There may be a pointed allusion here to the (Catonian) tradition of *Polites’* founding of *Politorium* (vid. Horsfall ad 2.526); whether the father or the son founded the city is blurred/conflated.

Thracius: Cf. 535–536, of Cisseus’ provenance; once again, the poet connects adjacent episodes with shared detail. The Thracian horse reminds us of Polydorus’ deadly place of refuge, in a continuation of the emphasis on the death of Priam’s line, as V. refuses to announce the future glories of the new Trojan refuge in Italy without relentless recourse to the memory of old losses and suffering. The Thracian horse that Priam rides here offers an equestrian image of the death of Troy; the *progenies of Priamus Minor* will indeed augment the Italians, but Trojan *mores* will be suppressed, even as Trojan Polydorus did not escape death in Thrace. For the connection to the horses of the Thracian Rhesus, see Edgeworth 1992, 66–67; for Thrace as a source of horses, see Hyland 1990, 16: “Great importance was placed on the horse in Thracian culture ... white horses being sacrificed to the sun. Votive tablets from Thrace are the only

depictions of Apollo on horseback"; see 12–13 for the main breeds of Roman horses and their uses (Thracians principally for war, in part on account of large size).

The present passage is echoed at 9.49–50 *improvisus adest, maculis quem Thracius albis / portat equus cristaque tegit galea aurea rubra* (where see Hardie, and Dingel), of Turnus' appearance with twenty chosen cavalry companions at the Trojan camp. Turnus spells death for Trojans in battle; there is also a pointed progression from the (Trojan) *progenies auctura Italos* who rides a Thracian steed at the *lusus Troiae* to the Rutulian we meet in Latium.

albis: The opening of a chromatic ascending tricolon that climaxes with the bookended line 567 *alba ... albam*; the poet's attention is firmly fixed here on the future Alba Longa (see further Reed 2007, 156–157 and on 597 below); cf. *A.* 3.390–393 (= 8.43–46), for the *sus alba* with her thirty piglets. For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 66–70. *Albus* recurs at 865 of the *scopulos* (864) that were once white with the bones of the victims of the Sirens; another grim chromatic association occurs at 7.417–418 *albos / crinis*, of the white hair of the crone whose guise Allecto assumes before infecting Turnus with her venom. The "ancient etym." of Alba Longa (vid. Horsfall ad 3.392) is perhaps not far here from the poet's mind.

566 *portat equus bicolor maculis, vestigia primi*

bicolor: See Edgeworth 1992, 35–36; cf. 8.276 *Herculea bicolor cum populus umbra*; these are the only two occurrences of the adjective in *V.* The horse is of varied associations, and so appropriately it is of dual color. The chromatic description of the horse is elegant in its simplicity; cf. the white head, vermilion ears, violet and gray mane, brown front legs (which are said to be lupine, interestingly enough) and red rear legs of Camilla's horse in the *Roman* (4047–4084 Petit; cf. Singerman 1986, 56–58).

maculis: Apart from the echo of the present equestrian scene at 9.49, the only other appearance of the noun in the *A.* = 4.643–644 *maculisque trementis / interfusa genas*, of Dido; cf. *G.* 1.441; 454; 3.56; 389.

vestigia: The noun occurs 3× in 5 and 3× in 11; cf. 331, of Nisus (also in connection with a form of *ovare*); 592 below; the metaphorical use at 11.290 *et in decimum vestigia rettulit annum*; 573–574 *utque pedum primis infans vestigia plantis / institerat*, of the young Camilla; 763 *hac Arruns subit et tacitus vestigia lustrat*, as the Etruscan stalks the tracks of the adult heroine: two occurrences in the equestrian display, and two in the *Camilliad*. For "vestigia with the sense of *pedes*" see Griffiths ad Apuleius, *Met.* 11.17.

primi / 567 ... pedis: The pastern is meant (see Farrell here), or the part of the equine leg extending from the fetlock to the hoof.

567 alba pedis frontemque ostentans arduus albam.

frontem: See Edgeworth 1992, 67 for the possible association with the horse of Diomedes at *Il.* 23.454 ff.

ostentans: As at 521 *ostentans artemque pater arcumque sonantem*, where Acestes displays his archery skill; V. once again verbally links conjoined episodes of his narrative.

arduus: Cf. 278 *arduus attollens*, of the wounded snake in the damaged ship simile; the context here is very different, but the Thracian provenance of the horse clouds the positive image of the proud steed whose color presages the settlement at Alba Longa, even as the proud performance of the three contingents of youth foreshadows the rivalries that spelled doom to the Republic (cf. the metaphorical import of 566 *bicolor*).

Silius imitates this passage at *Pun.* 16.348–349 *patrium frons alba nitebat / insigne et patrio pes omnis concolor albo*. V. may have had in mind Catullus' *lustravit aethera album, sola dura, mare ferum* (c. 63.40); cf. 578 *lustravere* and below on Atys/Attis.

568 alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini,

Atys: Vid. M. Malvolta, *EV* I, 391–392; S. Casali and J. Morgan in *VE* I, 146; Powell 2008, 113 ff.; the jarring juxtaposition of Italians and Thrace at 565 gives way here to a line devoted to the *gens Atia* of Augustus' mother, the second wife of Gaius Octavius, whom he married in 65 (Southern 1998, 1–3; and, for her public funeral, 51–52). Atia was the daughter of the Arician Atius Balbus and Julia, Caesar's sister.

Servius notes here: “propter Atiam dixit, matrem Augusti, de qua Antonius ait *Aricina mater*; vult enim eius etiam maternum esse genus antiquuum.” On this rare citation of Antonian propaganda against Octavian, see U. Tischer, “Interpretationsprämissen im Aeneiskommentar des Servius: Zu Serv. *Aen.* 5,568 und 2,135,” in *Hermes* 134.1 (2006), 89–101; also M. Charlesworth, “Some Fragments of the Propaganda of Mark Antony,” in *CQ* 27.3–4 (1933), 172–177, 173–174; Binder 1971, 88–89; Clausen 2002, 130–131. The Servian evidence is taken from Cicero, *Phil.* 3.15.6–7 *ignobilitatem obicit C. Caesaris filio cuius etiam natura pater, si vita suppeditasset, consul factus esset. ‘Aricina mater.’ Trallianam aut Ephesiam putes dicere*. (Atia is mentioned as having been instrumental in the education of the young Octavian at Tacitus, *Dial.* 28, where see Mayer).

On the Ciceronian evidence see further here Manuwald ad loc.; Powell 2008, 130n46, with reference to Virbius and Aricia (*A.* 7.762); there may be associations here too with the larger issue of conflict between Venus/Dido and Diana/Camilla, with alignment of Octavian's sympathies with the latter pair (vid. Fratantuono 2007, 346 ff.). It is possible that something of the conflict

between Venus and Diana is behind the otherwise seemingly obscure reference at Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 200 *turpiter a Phoebi victa sorore*: “there is no record of Venus’ having suffered a ‘shameful’ defeat at the hands of Diana (let alone a series of defeats (199 *saepe*)); the nearest approach to one is perhaps the loss of Adonis, who transgressed unwittingly against Diana” (Henderson ad loc.).

For Atys *fil. Croesi* of Herodotus 1.34–45, and the connection to Attis, see Reed 2007, 74–75; Croesus’ son was slain by a boar (cf. Ascanius’ wish to encounter such a beast during the hunt at *A.* 4.156–159), as also the more famous Lydian deity; Aeneas’ son will escape a similar aprine fate. In Herodotus Atys is also the father of Lydus and Tyrsenus (1.7; 1.94); the Etruscans will have a central role in the cavalry battle of 11 (Tarchon, Arruns). At Livy 1.3.8 the name = a king of Alba Longa; see above on 547 *Epytiden*, and below on 597 for Ascanius’ girding of the settlement with walls. As often in *V.*, there is no single, neat cipher of a parallel between character name and allusive intertexts, but rather a medley of associations that create a kaleidoscope of interpretive focal points.

On the connection between the possible allusion to Attis here and the repetition of the spotted Thracian horse for Turnus’ mount before he decides to attack Cybele’s sacred pines, see Dyson 2001, 204–205: “The *maculi albi* may provide a hint of the clash between Ida and Alba”; note also Petrini 1997, 93 ff. Catullus’ sources for his Attis poem are largely obscure, but if the neoteric were responsible for offering a *Greek* Attis who travels to the Troad for the ecstatic rites of the goddess, then in *V.*’s association of the Trojan Atys with Octavian we may see a similar, deliberate confusion and blending of ethnicities that reflects something of the problem of explicating Rome’s diverse origins.

569 *parvus Atys pueroque puer dilectus Iulo.*

The threefold repetition of Atys/Atii echoes that of forms of *albus* at 565–567.

puer dilectus: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 10.107 *nunc arbor, puer ante deo dilectus ab illo* (of Cyparissus); Silius, *Pun.* 12.225–227. *Dilectus* is used elsewhere in the *A.* of Sychaeus (1.344) and Iapyx (12.391); cf. the *pineae silva ... dilecta* of 9.85. Significantly, Atys and Iulus are joined together (*pueroque puer*), in contrast to Priamus (faint shades of the doomed triumvir Antony?); the grandson of Priam is a symbol of the dead Troy, while here the lines of Octavian’s mother and his adoptive father (his maternal great-uncle) join in even closer union than they already enjoyed. *V.*’s depiction of Atys (especially *via* the connection of Atys to Attis) is marvelously exploited by Ovid in *Met.* 10, where see Fratantuono 2014.

570 *extremus formaque ante omnis pulcher Iulus*

extremus: Cf. 498 and 544, during the archery contest; 196, during the regatta: neat associations with both the inaugural and the most recent of the other

events of this memorial day. The superlative is also used 4× in 11: 626 *extremam ... harenam*; 701 *haud Ligurum extremus*; 846 *extrema iam in morte*; 865 *atque extrema gementem* (adverbial).

ante omnis: See on 406. Iulus is associated here with Euryalus (cf. 343–344 *tutatur favor Euryalum lacrimaeque decorae | gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus*); almost as soon as the poet links Atys with Iulus, he moves to separate Aeneas' son from all the rest, with the distinction of physical appearance. Ascanius is riding a horse that was a gift from Dido (571–572); later, he will present another Didonian gift to Nisus (9.266), a *crater* that closes a ring with the one that Thracian Cisseus had once offered to Anchises (538); V. here underscores the similarity between Euryalus and Ascanius, both handsome Trojan youths (though perhaps notably the former is seemingly absent from the present *lusus*), though Aeneas' son is described as being superlative (*ante omnis*; cf. too the tone set by *extremus*) in his pulchritude—something that was never said for Euryalus. The question of *pulcher* relates also to Dido, who will return to the narrative in the next line; cf. A. 4.192 (*pulchra* of Dido); 4.266 (*pulchram* of the city Aeneas is building for Dido), and to death (cf. the *pulchra mors* of 9.401 and 11.647); and especially 1.496 *forma pulcherrima Dido*. The point may be to underscore the risk to Iulus (who does not appear at all during the cavalry battle of 11); he might well be as vulnerable as any other young Trojan (the succession theme), were it not for the divine protection that will manifest itself most directly in Apollo's intervention at 9.638 ff.; the salvation of Aeneas' son contrasts effectively with the loss of Nisus and Euryalus earlier in the book. Cf. also 7.477–478 *pulcher | Iulus*, during the fateful hunt that will end with the death of Silvia's stag. Ascanius' exceptional beauty may be a reflection of the tradition that Anchises was similarly outstanding (Faulkner 2008, 9–10). See further Moskalew 1982, 103.

If the three principal horsemen do evoke the triumvirs, then Atys is almost certainly to be associated with Octavian; the question of Iulus is more interesting, especially as he is closely associated before the *lusus* commences both with Euryalus and (especially) Dido. At any rate, of the three youths named before the Troy game, only Atys is devoid of grim imagery of one sort or another.

Iulus surpasses all, and, fittingly, *extremus ... Iulus* thus frames the line.

571 Sidonio est invectus equo, quem candida Dido

All the glory and splendor of the pageantry of the *lusus*, together with the onomastic panegyric of Octavian's family, is shattered in two lines that reintroduce Dido to the narrative for the first time by name since the book's opening verses.

Sidonio: The geographical terms had seemed to stabilize, only now to become more complex with the addition of the dark image of Dido's Phoenicia

and a gift from Carthage's queen; V. moves from mention of *Italos* to *Thracius* to *Latii* to *Sidonio*: one positive note, as it were, followed at once by a darker locale. The gift of a horse from Dido connects the present passage with the fateful hunt of 4.129 ff., especially 157–159, where Ascanius rode among the hunters and hoped to encounter a wild boar or lion. The ominous association of Dido's gifts will recur at 11.72–77 (cf. especially 74–75 *ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido / fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro*), where Aeneas will bury Pallas in one of two robes Dido had given as presents; see further Fratantuono 2004 for the speculation that one of those robes had been meant for Aeneas and the other for Ascanius. The other Elissan present = the *crater* that Iulus offers to Nisus at 9.266 before the night raid. For the scansion *Sidōnio* see Williams 1960; there seems to be no pattern to the different quantities (cf. *Sidōnia* at 9.266 and 11.74, in the other “gift” passages). On the Virgilian use of geographical epithets (in contrast to Homeric practice), see Moskalew 1982, 82.

invectus equo: Cf. Livy 8.9.12.1; Silius, *Pun.* 4.556. *Imvehere* occurs 9× in the *A.* (*semel* in *G.*); cf. 122 *invehitur*, of Sergestus on the Centaur.

candida Dido: For the color (which appears first here in the *A.*) see Edgeworth 1992, 114–116; he considers the question of whether the adjective refers to Dido's light hair (or complexion), a possibly simple or trusting nature, or simply the lovely good looks of the Carthaginian royal. “Those in love are traditionally pale, as are those near death.” Elsewhere in the *A.* *candidus* is used of the lilies frequented by the bees to which the souls yet to be born are compared at 6.708; the *candida / luna* of 8.7–8 as Aeneas nears the Tiber's *ostium*; the portentous sow of 8.82; the goddess Maia at 8.138; the *dea candida* (= Venus) of 8.608; the *candida pectora* of Euryalus as he is slain at 9.432. A striking number of occurrences in 8, then, with darker associations in 5 and 9 alongside the eschatological image of the bees at their lilies. For a positive reading of the force of *candida* of Dido here see M. Ogle, “Vergil's Conception of Dido's Character,” in *CJ* 20.5 (1925), 261–270; note also Heuzé 1985, 231.

572 esse sui dederat monumentum et pignus amoris.

The line is virtually repeated from 538, with a resultant strong connection between the close of the archery contest and the start of the Troy game.

monimentum: V. never reveals anything of the emotional reaction of Aeneas or of anyone else to the presents of Dido at the *lusus*, before the night raid, and during the war requiems; we may be assured that the Trojan assembly remembered the source of the gifts, but the poet leaves it to the reader to reflect on the memory.

pignus amoris: So of Cisseus' gift of a *crater* to Anchises at 538, of which this line is a virtual copy. In the case of Dido, the question is the permanence of the

pignus that was sealed by this horse (which may = the one Ascanius rode at the hunt; Aeneas' son is advancing from hunt to war, just as Camilla will do in 11, though in reality and not mimicry; cf. 7.477, where Ascanius' hunting becomes a *casus belli* under Allecto's influence).

573 *cetera Trinacriis pubes senioris Acestae*

Ascanius is riding on a horse that Dido had presented to the Trojans in Carthage; Priam is on a Thracian steed; V. does not note anything about the mount Atys rides. It appears that the rest of the Trojan youths are on horses that were provided by Acestes; *Trinacriis* presents a textual problem, even if the meaning is nonetheless clear: cf. P¹R; Serv.; Tib. *Trinacrii*; M²P²ω *Trinacriae*. In the assistance the Sicilian king provides here to the Trojans there is a foreshadowing of the help he will extend after the imminent burning of the ships; there is a hint, too, of military aid and alliance.

cetera pubes: Closing a ring with 73–74 *hoc Helymus facit, hoc aevi maturus Acestes, | hoc puer Ascanius, sequitur quos cetera pubes*, of the imitation of Aeneas' girding of his head with myrtle as he approached his father's *tumulus*.

senioris Acestae: The “victor” of the archery portent is mentioned signally as the *lusus* is about to commence; the descriptor reminds the audience of the poet's theme of the interaction of the generations.

574 *fertur equis.*

The third of five half-lines in the book; see on 294. The hemistich may reflect a lack of final revision, but it is interesting that V. specifies that *senior Acestes* supplied the steeds for the rest of the Trojan youth; it is almost as if the poet wished to emphasize the dependence of the exiles on their Sicilian hosts (they need horses, and will soon need help with the refitting of their fleet). The close union of Sicily with the future Rome is also marked by the careful detail. At 595, a second hemistich will close the pair of similes that describe the elaborate action of the youthful equestrians; it is possible that this section of the epic in particular displays a lack of final revision and the poet's *ultima manus*, but also conceivable that certain arguably awkward verses (see on 602) and the two half-lines may reflect how the *lusus* is an exclusively children's event, and, in the case of present hemistich, that the Trojans needed to borrow horses.

fertur equis: Cf. G. 1.513–514 *frustra retinacula tendens | fertur equis aurgia neque audit currus habenas*; A. 1.476 *fertur equis curruque haeret resupinus inani* (of Troilus); 12.477–479 *similis medios Iuturna per hostis | fertur equis rapidoque volans obit omnia curru | iamque hic germanum iamque hic ostentat*

*ovantem / nec conferre manum patitur, volat avia longe. Silius has et praeceps
trepida pendens in verbera planta / impar fertur equis: fumat male concitus axis,
/ ac frena incerto fluitant Discordia curru (Pun. 8.281–283).*

575 **excipiunt plausu pavidos gaudentque tuentes**

excipiunt plausu: Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 6.555, and especially the applause of 148 (as the regatta commenced); 215 (the noise made by the Mnesteus-dove); 338 (after Euryalus wins the foot race); 506 (the dove on the mast); the association with the frightened and startled birds connects to the image of fear that contrasts with the rejoicing of the older generation. Forms of *excipere* occur 2× in 5 (41 *excipit*) and 2× in 11 (517 *excipe*, of Turnus' orders to Camilla; 684 *exceptum*, of the doomed Ornytus).

pavidos: The adjective is not particularly common in V., and this is the only substantive use; cf. 11.406 *vel cum se pavidum contra mea iurgia fingit*, of Turnus' sarcastic address to Drances; elsewhere note *A.* 2.489 *tum pavidae tectis matres*; 685 *nos pavidum trepidare metu* (after the Ascanius portent); 766 *pueri et pavidae ordine matres*; 7.780 *et iuvenem monstros pavidum effudere marinis* (of Hippolytus' horses); 8.349–350 *iam tum religio pavidos terreat agrestis / dira loci*; 592 *stant pavidae in muris matres* (just after Pallas enters like Lucifer); 9.473 *interea pavidam volitans pennata per urbem* (of Rumor's arrival to bring the news of Euryalus' death to his mother); 12.717 *pavidum cessere magistri*. The young men are afraid that they will not perform perfectly in the complicated exercise of the *lusus*; the language connects them, however, most poignantly with the fearful denizens of war-torn cities, and even with the equestrian horror of Hippolytus' grim fate. This sole substantive use of the adjective in V. openly labels the Trojan youth as apprehensive, in contrast to Turnus' assertion that the *senior Drances* is pretending to be afraid of the young Rutulian. Servius glosses *pavidos* as “gloriae cupiditate sollicitos.” There is an effective contrast between the emotions of the equestrian youths and the older spectators. Speijer conjectured *impavidos* here, ultimately on interpretive grounds.

576 **Dardanidae, veterumque agnoscunt ora parentum.**

Dardanidae: For this Trojan name see on 45; on the very cusp of the performance, we are reminded of the image of the old Trojans, especially Priam, even as the language evokes the terrible fear of the night Troy fell.

veterum ... parentum: Also at 2.448 *veterum decora alta parentum*, as Troy labors under its final attack; 39 above, of Acestes' memory of his origins.

agnoscunt: In the faces of the young men, the assembly recognizes such heroes as King Priam. Very different is the use of the same form at *A.* 2.422–423

primi clipeos mentitaque tela | agnoscunt atque ora sono discordia signant; at 678–679 the Trojan women recognize what has happened after the burning of the ships. The form recurs twice in 9 (457 *agnoscunt spolia inter se galeamque nitentem*; 734–735 *agnoscunt faciem invisam atque immania membra | turbati subito Aeneadae*); once in 10 (224 *agnoscunt longe regem lustrantque choreis*, of the ships now turned into mermaids). At 9.471–472 the heads of Nisus and Euryalus will be seen by the besieged Trojans in their camp.

There may be a hint of the tradition of the young dying before the faces of their parents, i.e., *ante ora parentum*; these youths do, after all, presage the young participants in the forthcoming cavalry battle in Book 11, which will constitute the dreadful incarnation and fulfillment of the battle that exists here only in mimicry.

577 *postquam omnem laeti consessum oculosque suorum*

laeti: For the key adjective see on 58; the young men may be nervously apprehensive, but they are also happy in their proud riding: the rejoicing of their parents and older comrades (575 *gaudent*) is infectious, and the poet effectively juxtaposes the two emotions. The present scene finds a grim parallel in the requiems for the war dead (see on 578 *lustrare in equis*); the happiness here will not be permanent.

consessum: The same textual problem as at 290 and 340; M has *cossum* here; P *concessum*; the accepted reading = that of M¹Rω; Tib.; see further Hahn 1930, 238.

suorum: With deliberate emphasis on the pride of the parents in their sons and heirs.

578 *lustrare in equis, signum clamore paratis*

lustrare: The form occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11, where at 190 *lustrare in equis ululatusque ore dedere* it describes the parallel yet very different situation where horsemen reverence Pallas' pyre. For the verb vid. A. Palma in *EV* III, 287–290; *OLD* s.v. 3 “to move over or through ... traverse, roam, scour”; there is a purificatory sense both here and in 11 given the funereal contexts; possibly also a connection to the light imagery of 554 *lucent* and 562 *fulgent*. See Farrell ad loc. for the apparent oddity of how the spectators should logically be the ones engaging in the lustration; V. chooses to emphasize how both parties are viewing each other, and to draw an association with the latter use of the verb amid the catharsis of Pallas' requiem rites. See Sidgwick here for the preposition (*in* rather than *ex*). For the “censorial *lustratio*” see, e.g., Horsfall ad 6.681, who notes that “the term is more properly applied, it appears, to the *lustratio* of the people in the Campus Martius at the conclusion (*lustrum conditum*) of the

censorial quinquennium, a religious ceremony ... and not a review ... the many, varied senses of *l.* are a frequent source of confusion.”

signum clamore: Military language (cf. Livy 3.28.2.3–3.1; 4.18.7.1–2; 6.8.2.3–3.1).

paratis: For the line-end cf. *A.* 4.555; 7.97. The boys may be nervous and overly excited, but their training and discipline are reflected in the detail. See Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 625 *insonuit cum verbere signa magister* for that poet’s combination of the present scene with *V.*’s depiction of the Fury Allecto (*A.* 7.451).

579 Epytides longe dedit insonuitque flagello.

longe: Well out of the path of the horses. If Epytides is one of the *magistri* (562), then he is clearly the most important, as his shout and the crack of his whip signals the entire tripartite assembly to begin its performance; Henry took him to = the *magister* of Iulus’ turm, but it is possible that he is not to be counted among the trainers, who are otherwise left unnamed (*longe* may point to this; the son of Epytus could be standing with Aeneas and Acestes among the relatively distant spectators).

insonuit: The verb is not common in *V.*; it recurs once in 11 (596 *insonuit*, of the descent of Opis to watch for Camilla’s killer). At 2.53 *insonuere* the cavernous horse resounds; at 7.451 *verbera insonuit* Allecto prepares to respond to Turnus; at 7.515 *contremuit nemus et silvae insonuere profundae*, nature hears the Fury’s signal for war. 2×, then, of the infernal instigation of the war in Latium; once of a horse very different from those on display here; once in the sister book, of the goddess who will avenge the death of the Trojan’s great equestrian foe. Epytides is not unlike one of hell’s furious denizens as he gives the signal for the start of the mock war.

flagello: Whips are associated with the Furies (*A.* 6.570, of Tisiphone); the war goddess Bellona with her bloody weaponry (8.703); cf. 7.731; also *G.* 2.299. Servius argues that there is no *flagellum* here *per se*, but rather a “*virga quae sonat in morem flagelli*.”

580 olli discurrere pares atque agmina terni

The description of the actions of the Trojan youths unfolds artfully, detail on detail; each group of twelve riders apparently divides into two groups of six that run apart from each other before wheeling round to face their “foes” and charge, presumably as the *ductores* stand by and watch their men perform the equestrian dance of war. But the picture is not entirely clear; Heyne thought that the force of *terni* was that each turm divided into four groups of three men (“which would complicate the picture needlessly”—Conington, *fortasse recte*,

who also does well to note that V. does not explain much of what the *ductores* are doing, especially if the turms divide and yet remain under the control of one leader for both *chori*).

olli: For the archaism see on 10; its use here invests the game of youth that was performed in Augustus' own day with a solemn flavor of antiquity.

discurrere: 5× in the *A.*, once each in 5 and 11, where at 468 *ilicet in muros tota discurritur urbe* it describes the reaction in Latinus' capital to the resumption of military operations. At 9.164 it is used of the actions of Turnus' men in the siege of the Trojan camp; cf. 12.577 *discurrunt alii ad portas primosque trucidant*; 590 *discurrunt magnisque acuunt stridoribus iras* (the simile of the bees smoked out by the shepherd); *G.* 4.292. The verb exactly captures the spirit of civil war, as the ranks divide and run in different directions before preparing to face each other and fight. See Williams 1960 here for the Virgilian uses of different forms of the third person plural perfect indicative active.

pares: Cf. 562 *paribusque magistris*; the groups of six youths are equal in strength, and the two sides in the mock battle are balanced and in possession of equivalent odds of victory.

581 *diductis solvere choris, rursusque vocati*

diductis ... choris: *Diducere* occurs elsewhere in V. at *A.* 3.419 (the cities of southern Italy and Sicily that are now separated); 720 below, of Aeneas' divided thoughts after Nautes advises him to leave some of the Trojans behind in Sicily: the contexts are rather associated, then, as V. reflects on the ancient geographical split of island from mainland, and the distribution of exiles between Sicily and Latium. Servius glosses *chori* as "acies"; he notes that the horsemen were called back "ictu virgae," though vid. Horsfall ad 11.915 for V.'s reluctance to divulge "profoundly unimportant details."

The other two occurrences of *chorus* in 5 = the "choirs" of marine deities mentioned during the regatta, and in the context of the safe passage of Aeneas' fleet to Italy (240; 823). Here, V. prepares for the comparison of the movement of the Trojan cavalry to dolphins (594–595), even to the forthcoming magical transformation of vessels into sea creatures in 9 that completes the saga of the ships that is soon to commence with Juno's instigation of the burning of the fleet (cf. 10.219 *chorus*, of the mermaids that were once ships; the use of the dolphin image below and at the related 9.119–120, once in an exclusively Trojan setting with the mention of Cybele and the fate of "her" Trojan ships, and the forthcoming, more anachronistically "Roman" scene that describes the "Troy game" of V.'s own day, reveals once again the Virgilian preoccupation with the dual nature of the future Rome, whatever the question of the ultimate suppression of Trojan *mores*). *Chorus* is not a technical term here, as Conington notes;

at 8.287 and 718 it recurs in sacral contexts (and note 6.657–658 *laetumque choro paeana canentis / inter odoratum lauris nemus*, in Elysium), while Diana has her *choros* at 1.499, and Apollo his at 4.145. Wilder contexts = Helen at 6.517, and Tarchon's upbidding of the Trojans for their Bacchic revelry at 11.737. See on 549 above for the possible influence of this passage on Manilius' description of representations of the final battle for Troy at *Ast.* 5.484 ff.; Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 622 *armatos ... choros* for the "kind of dance on horseback, performed to the sound of rhythmical swordblows" of that passage's imitation of V's *lusus*.

rursusque vocati: Cf. 764 *rursus vocat*.

582 *convertere vias infestaque tela tulere*.

convertere vias: The verbal prefix conveys the idea that what the horsemen do, they do together and in perfect unison; with *convertere* cf. 586 *vertunt*, of what the youths do with their *spicula*. For the verb cf. 466 *conversa numina*; it is relatively frequent in 11 (121; 654; 713; 746; 800; cf. the textually vexed 601) and 12 (9×).

infestaque tela: Cf. 691 *infesto fulmine morti*, as Aeneas prays for death in the aftermath of the ship burning; note also 587 *infensi*; Hahn 1930, 160n672. The use of the adjective with *tela* is Catullan (c. 116.4 *tela infesta meum mittere in usque caput*); cf. *Ilias Latina* 561 *pone truces animos infestaque tela coerce*; Serenus, *Lib. Med.* 34.660 *namque oculos infesta pilorum tela lacessunt*. The descriptor is deliberately strong; this is the first real hint in the narrative that the game will have an element of mock combat.

tulere: Two verbs enclose the verse.

583 *inde alios ineunt cursus aliosque recursus*

The picture to this point has been reasonably if not definitively clear; now the poet conveys something of the dazzling nature of the event by a vaguer description that reflects how the speed with which the horsemen execute their maneuvers may well have outpaced the ability of the audience to process exactly what the youths are doing. The Trojan horsemen charge at each other, and they flee back; every maneuver has been carefully practiced and choreographed.

recursus: Elsewhere in V. only at 10.288–290 *multi servare recursus / languentis pelagi et brevibus se credere saltu, / per remos alii*, where it is used, significantly, of the sea—another of the connections that V. draws between the present scene and marine events, just as the cavalry battle in 11 will have affinities with Actium. The point of the charges and retreats is to build excitement in the audience and to sharpen the spirit of the horsemen, especially in what = a play acting of war; they move to attack each other, but withdraw before any blows are struck.

Pliny was influenced by the present passage and its forthcoming comparison to Daedalus' home for the Minotaur at *NH* 36.84.1 (in his general description of labyrinths), where he references the *lusus Troiae* (*quae itinerum ambages occur-susque et recursus inexplicabiles continet, non—ut in pavimentis puerorumve ludicris campestribus videmus, etc.*).

584 *adversi spatii, alternosque orbibus orbes*

adversi spatii: The two sides were opposed to each other, and they had carefully measured exactly how many horse lengths, as it were, they had at their disposal in the recurring *cursus*. Note *adversis* Pω; Tib., perhaps under the influence of the following word, likelier because of confusion over the meaning of the ablative *spatii*; the picture is not precisely clear, but it would be even murkier with *adversis*.

alternos: Forms of the adjective occur 2× in 5 (376) and 2× in 11 (426; 624).

orbibus orbes: Cf. *Laus Pisonis* 181–182 *mobilitate pedum celeres super orbibus orbes / plectis et obliquis fugientem cursibus urges*. V. repeats the present image at 8.447–449 *ingentem clipeum informant, unum omnia contra / tela Latinorum, septenosque orbibus orbes / impediunt*, of the Cyclopes' forging of the arms of Aeneas. There are not only simple charges and retreats, but more complex attempts to wheel and outflank the opposing cavalry; each side seeks both to envelop and to defend against the enemy's identical efforts. The force of *alternos* is the responsiveness of the circles; the emphasis is on how everything is planned out in specific form, so there will be no surprises or accidents (as there would be in a real cavalry engagement). On the Homeric style polyptoton cf. 324 above.

The association of the maneuvers of the *lusus* with the divine arms of Aeneas is inspired by Homer, *Il.* 18.590 ff. (where see Edwards), of the dances depicted on Achilles' shield; there are two types of dance there, one with rows of dancers opposite each other in an arrangement not dissimilar to the cavalry positions here. Homer compares the work of Hephaestus to Daedalus' construction of a dancing floor for Ariadne, in a vision of happy celebration that is haunted all the same by the lore of the labyrinth and the sacrifice of young Athenians.

585 *impediunt pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis;*

impediunt: Cf. 593; besides the imitation of this passage at 8.447–449, the verb is used in V. at 9.385, 10.307 and 553, 11.21, and 12.747.

cient: So at *A.* 1.541 *bella cient*, of Ilioneus' complaint about the Carthaginian reception of the shipwrecked Trojans. The verb has a rich range of uses; at *A.* 2.419 it is used of Nereus' stirring of the seas; at 3.68 *magna supremum voce cietus* of the *conclamatio* ritual at Polydorus' grave; at 3.344–345 of Aeneas'

tears after meeting Andromache; at 4.122 *desuper infundam et tonitru caelum omne ciebo*, of Juno's promise to stir up a storm; at 674 below (in imitation of this passage); at 6.468, again of Aeneas' tears (this time in Dido's presence); at 6.829 of the slaughters Caesar and Pompey will cause in the civil wars; at 7.325 of Juno's summons of Allecto; at 8.354, again of divinely inspired storms; at 9.766 of warriors stirring up martial strife; at 10.198 *ille etiam patriis agmen ciet Ocnus ab oris*; at 12.104, of the *mugitus* the Turnus-bull emits; at 12.158 *aut tu bella cie* (Juno to Juturna); cf. the textually vexed 4.490. Storms and war, then, alongside the resultant tears and lament. For speculation on the possible Ennian origins of the expression, see Horsfall ad 6.828–829 *bellum | ciebant*.

simulacra: Elsewhere in V. at A. 2.172 (of the Palladium); 232 (of the horse); 517 (of the *divum ... simulacra* around which Priam's family takes refuge); 772 (of the *infelix simulacrum* of Creüsa); 674 below (also of the *lusus*); 7.89 *multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris* (of Latinus' visions and dreams). The language is Lucretian (*DRN* 2.41 and 324 *belli simulacra cientes*); see further Fowler ad 2.41, with reference to the question of whether the phrase *belli simulacra* is Ennian. The Virgilian uses connect the present scene to the *dolus*-drama (cf. 590) of the wooden horse and the last night of Troy; the *lusus Troiae* is a reenactment of the final battle for the city, and in the ethnographic context of the A. it leaves the reincarnation of Troy firmly in the hands of a perpetually young generation of actors (cf. 602 *Troiaque nunc pueri*). The uses of *simulacrum* for the shade of Creüsa and Latinus' visions are associated with Aeneas' marital status both in Troy and Italy; V. uses the word in neat balance to describe the farewell image of the old wife in the Troad, and the dreams of the Latin king in the destined new home.

sub armis: For the line-end cf. 261; elsewhere in V. at G. 3.115–117 *frena Pelethronii Lapithae gyrosque dedere | impositi dorso, atque equitem docuere sub armis | insultare solo et gressus glomerare superbos*.

586 et nunc terga fuga nudant, nunc spicula vertunt

nudant: Cf. the imitation of Silius at *Pun.* 17.444–445 *quos ubi nudantis conspexit Hamilcare cretus | terga fuga*. The youths expose their backs in flight as they feign retreat (or, in imitation of a repulsed force, as they mimic equestrian defeat); there may be a hint of Parthian tactics. See further Horsfall ad 6.492 *vertere terga* ("a standard expression of military prose").

spicula vertunt: Each horseman is carrying two cornel spears (557); the basic meaning of the verb is to cause something to turn or to spin, sometimes with the sense of changing a position to face in an implied direction (*OLD* s.v. 10); the point is that in almost Parthian fashion the young men sometimes move to flee, only then to wheel around and brandish their missile weapons, so that the

spatii (584) involve not only the following distances of horses, but also the range of the *hastilia/spicula*, which are no doubt synonymous here; we never learn what, if anything, was done with the quivers, which amount to decoration, though significant: the connection is to, e.g., 11.575 (where see Horsfall), of the *spicula* that = arrow shafts as part of Camilla's weaponry. V. does not say that any weapons were actually launched in this mock battle, only that they were brandished; as in the *Camilliad*, there is a mix of spears and arrows that creates a dazzling array of potential fire from horseback. The noun is properly used of the head of the missile, either spear or arrow (*OLD* s.v. 1); it is somewhat more common (by metonymy) of javelins than of arrows (cf. 7.687 *pars spicula gestat bina manu*, with Horsfall). Here, the poet effectively blends the different uses of the word by the specification of the cornel spears and the quivers.

Servius notes that at 586–587 V. summarizes the three things common to every battle: “fugam, pugnam, pacem.”

587 *infensi, facta pariter nunc pace feruntur.*

infensi: Not dissimilar to the mention of the *infestaque tela* at 582; see further Mackail here: “they are in fact doublets, formed from a verb *fendere*, ‘to push,’ which itself is only extant in the compounds *defendere* ... and *offendere*.” On this display of “proto-Roman battle efficiency” see Smith 2011, 122–123. The adjective is strong, with connotations of savagery and unrelenting fury (*OLD* s.v. 2; 3), and it offers a deliberate contrast to the language of peace that balances the line.

facta ... pace: Cf. Plautus, *Amphit.* 390; Caesar, *BG* 2.29.5.3–4; 3.1.4.3; Ovid, *Fasti* 3.673; *Ep. Pont.* 2.9.46. The retreats offer interludes of peace that contrast with the hostile cavalry charges; there is a balance of warlike assault and playful, artful equestrian display.

pariter: Cf. 553.

feruntur: The boys are carried off, as it were, by the spirit of lighthearted peace and the gallop of horses in retreat.

588 *ut quondam Creta fertur Labyrinthus in alta*

The beginning of the final two (nine and ten) similes of the book, and among the most richly complex of V.'s comparisons: the equestrian movements of the *lusus Troiae* are like the Cretan Labyrinth's winding ways and the swimming of dolphins. The image of Daedalus' trap for the monstrous Minotaur recurs on the walls of Apollo's temple at Cumae (*A.* 6.20 ff.); the main association is with the premature death of the young and the coming of a savior (Theseus; Augustus?) who will end the cycle of youthful destruction. For a sober corrective to some of the more daring flights of interpretive fancy here, see J. Richmond, “Symbolism in Virgil: Skeleton Key or Will-O'-the-Wisp?,” in *G&R* 23.2 (1976),

142–158, 147–148, *contra*, e.g., Cruttwell 1947, 83–97. Connection can be made between the escape from the labyrinth and the difficult effort involved in the ascent from Avernus, but overmuch can be made of the point (though cf. on 591 *inremeabilis*). For emphasis on how the labyrinth image looks back to the wanderings that have brought the Trojans to Sicily (and also the important detail that there is no mention of the famous monster in the present scene), see Hornsby 1970, 53; interestingly, while progress westward has been made over the course of the Odyssean A., when the present sequence ends it will close on a *Trojan* note (602). There is no Minotaur in the present scene, though the monstrous image lurks in the background of any mention of the Cretan trap; associations can be drawn between Arruns/Camilla and Theseus/Minotaur in 11, even if these should not be pressed too far. No dolphins in Claudian's imitation at *Pan.* 621–639, but rather the Meander.

ut quondam: See Horsfall ad 6.492 *ceu quondam*: “used as an indication of an ‘historical’ reference to events in Hom. narrative”; the present instance is an example of the same usage.

fertur: Vid. Norden ad 6.14 *ut fama est* on the “*diffidentia* des Dichters.” “Points to the existence of a learned, Alexandrianising element in the narrative” (Horsfall ad id.).

Creta: See on 285, where the slave woman awarded as a prize for the regatta is identified as Cretan; Crete is “lofty” (*alta*) because of its palaces and citadels. In V.'s mention of the Cretan labyrinth here, especially in light of his later association of the same marvel with the descent to Avernus, there may be reference to A. 3.102 ff., where Anchises erroneously suggests Crete as the destined new home of the Trojans; the long journey of 3 offers another labyrinthine model, and Anchises was the active party in adding Crete to the itinerary.

Labyrinthus: Vid. S. Harrison in *VE* II, 709; also F. Cordano, “Labirinto,” in *EV* III, 82–83; note too the useful material and details at J. Gaisser, “Threads in the Labyrinth: Competing Views and Voices in Catullus 64,” in *AJPh* 116 (1995), 579–616. V.'s description of the famous Cretan peril here and (especially) at 6.26–27 is modeled on Catullus, c. 64.112–115 *inde pedem sospes multa cum laude reflexit | errabunda regens tenui vestigia filo, | ne labyrinthis e flexibus egredientem | tecti frustraretur inobservabilis error*. On certain aspects of the Virgilian reception of Catullus here and associations between Ariadne and Dido as well as Anchises and the labyrinth/underworld vision, see Wigodsky 1972, 128–130. For an argument that the labyrinth represents the creation and imposition of order, see Di Cesare 1974, 83–84. The labyrinthine imagery here connects to the meander pattern on Cloanthus' cloak (251); see further Hardie 2002 in Wiseman 2002, 359n76; once again, V. closely links the opening event and the closing ceremony of the games; in Ganymede's abduction there is a

parallel to the tragedy of lost youth that underlines both the Cretan labyrinth lore (the Athenians Theseus must save) and the premature deaths of heroes in the forthcoming war. There may be a connection between Ascanius as principal turn leader (and teacher of the *lusus*) and Theseus as rescuer of his fellow Athenians; this reading yields interesting analyses in light of the Apollonian injunction that Aeneas' son abstain from further conflict after the death of Numanus Remulus (itself an image of internecine strife; cf. Octavian and the civil wars of the late Republic).

589 *parietibus textum caecis iter ancipitemque*

See Williams 1960 here for how “the line, shorn of its usual rhythm, conveys the strangeness of the maze and gives a foretaste of the effect of line 591.”

parietibus: Elsewhere in V. only at A. 2.442 *haerent parietibus scalae*, of the Greek invasion of Troy. “Blind walls” occur only here; the path (*iter*) through the maze is enveloped, as it were, by walls that can be followed only in the dark and with no clear exit (there is something of the image of a blind person feeling the way to safety). The consonantal *i* probably serves no particular stylistic effect, unless there is a point to expressing the force of *caecis* by syllabic suppression.

textum: Forms of *texere* appear 2× in 5 (593 *texunt*) and 2× in 11 (65 *texunt*, in a funereal context; 326 *texamus*, of ship manufacture). Other participial uses of the verb in V. = A. 2.186, of the wooden horse; 8.625 *non enarrabile textum*, of the shield; cf. G. 2.371. The language may reflect the traditional means by which Ariadne helped Theseus to find his way out of the maze. Knapp notes here: “Vergil has in mind an *iter*, formed of paths between interwoven, interlacing walls. Since such an *iter* would be no true *iter*, *parietibus ... iter* involves oxymoron.”

ancipitem: 7× in the A. (never in E. or G.); cf. 3.47 *ancipiti ... formidine*, of Aeneas' reaction to the Polydorus portent; 4.603 *verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna* (Dido's reflection after the violent thought of offering Ascanius as a feast to his father); 654 below of the *matres*; 7.525 *ancipiti ferro*, of the weapons wielded at the start of the war in Latium; 10.304 *anceps sustentata diu*, of Tarchon's ship; 359 *anceps pugna diu*. There is a moment of suspense before the referent is revealed (590 *dolum*); the *dolus* is *anceps* because it is perilous and hazardous (*OLD* s.v. 8), even “pernicious,” and likely to produce doubt and wavering uncertainty (*OLD* s.v. 11), but also because the outcome of a journey to the labyrinth is always in doubt: one can escape, after all (*OLD* s.v. 7).

590 *mille viis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi*

mille viis: Cf. the thousands said to follow Aeneas at the start of the memorial games (75—a thousand are assigned to escort Pallas' body at 11.61); the thou-

sand colors of the rainbow referenced at 89 during the snake simile (with 609, of Iris' heavenly path); the thousands of casualties of Achilles that Neptune recalls at Venus at 806 (at 11.397 Turnus boasts of the thousand he slew during the battle in the Trojan camp; cf. the thousands of slain Volscians Evander hyperbolically credits to his son at 11.167).

dolum: See on 14 and 342. The labyrinthine maneuvers of the *lusus* are not unlike the elaborate dance of death engaged in by Arruns and (unknown to her) Camilla in 11; if Arruns is on the same side as Camilla, the connections to the present mimicry of civil war are yet stronger, and the presence of *dolus* even more pointed. On the meaning of the term here see Hahn 1930, 206: "Everywhere else in Vergil *dolus* has an abstract significance, save only in two doubtful instances, 2.264 *doli* fabricator, where, just as here, either an abstract or a concrete meaning will do, and 6.29 *dolos* tecti ambagesque, which furnishes an excellent parallel for the present passage."

sequendi: For the line-end cf. *A.* 10.182. The *signa sequendi* may offer a nod to the tradition of Ariadne's assistance to Theseus; there would have been no way for the hero to negotiate the twists and turns of the labyrinth otherwise.

591 *frangeret indepreus et inremeabilis error*:

frangeret: Cf. *Mω falleret*, which is Servius' gloss alongside *deciperet*. The form also occurs at line-opening at 3.525 *frangeret ad saxum*, in a more literal use that describes the Cyclops' gory feast preparations. On Servius' overstatement of the case for Catullan influence here, see G. Goold, "Servius and the Helen Episode," in *HSCPh* 74 (1970), 101–168, 136–137.

indepreus: Only here in *V.*; Statius, *Theb.* 6.564–565 *nesciat egregium decus et vestigia cunctis | indepreus procis*? See further Horsfall ad 6.27 *et inextricabilis error* (with sound reference to the occasionally wild and high flown bibliography on labyrinths, and what they may or may not have meant in antiquity); the ultimate influence on these Virgilian passages = Catullus, c. 64.115 *tecti ... inobservabilis error*.

inremeabilis: Elsewhere in *V.* only at 6.424–425 *occupat Aeneas adytum custode sepulto | evaditque celer ripam inremeabilis undae*, of the Trojan hero as he passes Cerberus. Seneca has *qua spe praecipites actus ad inferos, | audax ire vias inremeabiles, | vidisti Siculae regna Proserpinae* (*HF* 548); Statius *et caligantes animarum examine campos | Taenariae limen petit inremeabile portae* (*Theb.* 1.96); cf. Silius, *Pun.* 5.40–41.

592 *haud alio Teucrum nati vestigia cursu*

Teucrum nati: A reminder of the eminently Trojan nature of this display (even as we are lost in the world of Crete and Athens), and that the performers are the youths of the old city.

vestigia: Cf. the different use at 566–567 *vestigia primi / alba pedis*; here, the horsemen block their opponents, checking the intended tracks of their rivals. The emphasis throughout is on how the choreography of the virtual dance must be rigorously practiced, with attention to the precise arrangement of the maneuvers and exercises, so as to avoid clashes and accidents.

cursu: 2× in the present book of the foot race (67, 291); and 2× of hunting and warfare in the past (253, of Ganymede, and 265, of Demoleos). The line-end here is Ciceronian (*Arat. Phaen.* 34.123 *nam Canis infesta sequitur vestigia cursu*; 34.227–229 *quinque solent stellae, simili ratione notari / non possunt, quia quae faciunt vestigia cursu / non eadem semper spatio protrita teruntur*); cf. Ps.-V., *Ciris* 171 *multum illi incerto trepidant vestigia cursu*; Silius, *Pun.* 7.719; 12.461; also Manilius' *cui caelum campus fuerat, terraeque fretumque / sub pedibus, non ulla tuli vestigia cursus* (*Ast.* 5.99–100).

593 impediunt texuntque fugas et proelia ludo,

impediunt: For the verb see on 585. The riders “impede” the tracks (of their opponents) by means of their labyrinthine maneuvers, even as they weave (*texunt*) their own deceptive retreats (*fugas*) and charges (*proelia*)—but all in sport (*ludo*).

texunt: Cf. on 589; the metaphor from weaving continues (see here Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 623 *textas ... fugas ... recursus*); the horsemen create a web of charges and retreats over the plain.

ludo: The playful nature of the contest may be reflected in the rhyming rhythm of this line and the next. This is the final word of the game proper; there is no resolution of the event, in contrast to every other part of the day's festivities. If the game were meant to be a mimic of the night Troy fell, then there is a consolatory point to the unresolved, abrupt end of the event; ideally no one is supposed to be hurt in the *ludus*, and so not very much can be done beyond the equestrian display. But it is significant that the whole matter ends rather suddenly; we might compare the outcome of the cavalry battle in 11, which will be something of a stalemate after two divine interventions and Turnus' abandonment of his ambush for Aeneas. See further too Horsfall ad 6.643 *contendunt ludo*: “These heavenly sports depicted in plain, sober, conventional language, a brief moment of relaxation for the reader amid the grandeur or majesty of Elysium.”

594 delphinum similes qui per maria umida nando

“Non superfluit una istarum comparacionum, ut dicit quidam, sed merito tot facit ut per laborintum vagos illorum amfractus, per delphines motus illorum innuat” (*Gloss. Anon.*).

delphinum: Dolphins figure in the monstrous mess that is Scylla (*A.* 3.426–427), a neat reference to another image from the regatta; there are dolphins, too, on the shield of Aeneas (8.673–674 *et circum argento clari delphines in orbem / aequora verrebant caudis aestumque secabant*); the ships that are transformed into sea creatures behave like dolphins (9.117–122), where the virginal faces of the new marine deities present a positive contrast to the horror of the Sicilian strait. Cf. *E.* 8.56 *inter delphinas Arion* (note here Propertius, c. 2.26a.17–18 and c. 3.17.25); more generally see further Toynbee 1973, 206–208, especially on Pliny's assertion that the dolphin is the fastest of all creatures; A. Bulloch, "Callimachus' Erysichthon, Homer and Apollonius Rhodius," in *AJPh* 98.2 (1977), 97–123, 101–102 (for notes and bibliography on the extent of Greek knowledge of the marine mammal). On the role of dolphins in navigators' prognostications, cf. Cicero, *De Div.* 2.145.13 *gubernatores cum exsultantis lolligines viderunt aut delphinos se in portum concientes, tempestatem significari putant*. Plutarch records some dolphin lore in his essay on the cleverness of animals (*Mor.* 984ff.). As aforementioned, Pliny (*NH* 9.20) calls the dolphin the swiftest of animals; his description of how they are faster than a javelin and dart out of the water like arrows for respiration after they have spent too long in the depths may owe something to the spirit of the Virgilian games and the present climactic image of the dolphins to which the participants in the equestrian *ludus* are compared.

For the location of the dolphins on the shield of Aeneas between Cato/Catiline and Actium, see Hornsby 1970, 54; they appear there amid images of urban disturbance and civil war, just as the *lusus Troiae* is a mimicry of the internecine strife that would tear the fabric of the Republic. According to Oppian, *Hal.* 1.383ff., the dolphin was sacred to Poseidon because it helped him to find Amphitrite when she was hiding from the god (an obscure story attested elsewhere at Eratosthenes, *Cat.* 31; Hyginus, *De Astron.* 2.17); for Oppian the dolphin is a lord of the sea, like an eagle, lion (cf. Aelian, *De Animal.* 15.17), or serpent, and it is a devourer of most fishes, with a precognitive sense of its impending death and a glory that accompanies even its final moments (*Hal.* 2.533ff.). V's simile does not indicate what the dolphins are doing; they may be imagined to be either hunting or playing. Nelis adduces *Arg.* 4.933–936, of the comparison of the Nereids who help the Argo to dolphins that play happily alongside a vessel; otherwise there is nothing readily identifiable as Apollonian in the sequence of the *lusus*. For the associations of the dolphin with Agrippa see Dio 49.43.2. In 33 B.C. Agrippa added a set of seven dolphins to match the eggs in the Circus Maximus; the marine mammal's appearance here likely links to the work of Octavian's admiral, who was a key figure in the victory at Actium two years later. There is no hint in V. of any association of the dolphin with any

deity in particular; see further Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 30 for the likely later development of the idea that Thetis' chariot, e.g., was drawn by dolphins or porpoises.

Dolphins had some association with Odysseus and his family (the hero's shield was allegedly adorned with a dolphin emblem, a detail credited to Stesichorus and Euphorion [Σ , Tzetzes ad Lycophron, *Alex.* 658]); Telemachus was saved by them in infancy, (so Plutarch, *Mor.* 985 B). For the associations of the dolphin with the conveyance of both the living and the dead, see Lightfoot 2009, 251 (with reference to passages of Plutarch and Euphorion).

similes: "Adjectives of likeness" regularly take the dative, but when used substantively many are also found with the genitive (Gildersleeve 359: "we ne'er shall look upon *his like* again"). It is possible that the comparison to dolphins is meant to evoke something of the image of dolphins exchanging places with terrestrial animals that was a commonplace for expressing impossibility; see further Hornblower ad Herodotus 5.92 α 1 ("The *adynton* or 'when pigs have wings' motif was a favourite in Greek literature of all periods, and no doubt in popular literature as well; see esp. Archil. fr. 122 West lines 7–9 on dolphins changing places with wild beasts ...").

umida: The adjective recurs at 738 *medios Nox umida cursus*; 835 *Nox umida*; note the same phrase at 11.201; the "humid/wet seas" appear only here; the sea's wetness = the ocean spray.

nando: Swimming is referenced otherwise in V. at A. 1.118 *apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto*; 10.210 (as Triton's appearance is described from the point of view of a swimmer); 10.683 *nando* again at line-end, in Turnus' impassioned address to Jupiter after the episode with the Aeneas-phantom; note also G. 1.369; 4.59; 506; Ps.-V., *Culex* 151 (with Seelentag).

595 *Carpathium Libycumque secant.*

Another hemistich, and, perhaps deliberately crafted so, just as V. mentions how the dolphins "cut" the Carpathian and Libyan seas (cf. the tmesis that closes the whole sequence at 603). R completes the present half-verse with *luduntque per undas*, which qualifies as a stop-gap at best (Mackail is more forgiving, Heyne far harsher; Geymonat et al. prints the completion in brackets); the effect that the poet wished to convey here was of the exceedingly swift and sudden movement of the dolphins as they advance across the waters and "cut the seas." The dolphins traverse the same seas that the Trojans saw as they advanced westward from Troy to Sicily. See Sparrow 1931, 34 for the argument that the present simile was perhaps a draft alternative for the labyrinth comparison, or that it was meant for inclusion after 582 (dismissed rightly by Williams ad loc.). For an argument in defense of the addition, see G. Stégen, "Médée a

Corinthe (A propos de *redde crimen*, Sén., *Méd.*, v. 246),” in *Latomus* 30 (1971), 370–373 (cited by Geymonat).

Carpathium: For the label cf. *G.* 4.387 (of the haunt of *caeruleus Proteus: est in Carpathio Neptuni gurgite vates*); *Ps.-V.*, *Ciris* 113; also Propertius, c. 2.5.11; 3.7.12; Horace, c. 1.35.8; 4.5.10; Ovid, *Am.* 2.8.20; 2.15.10; *Met.* 11.249; Statius, *Theb.* 1.182; *Silv.* 3.2.88; *Ach.* 1.136; Juvenal, s. 14.278; Silius, *Pun.* 3.681. See further G. Lacki in *VE I*, 235–236 for the Hellenistic flavor and the Virgilian localization of Proteus rather to the north of his Homeric haunt. Apollonius notes that Karpathos was a stopover for the Argonauts on the way to Crete (4.1635–1637); cf. Homer’s Krapathos at *Il.* 2.676 (with Kirk). For Pliny’s citation of Agrippa’s note on the distance from Karpathos to Cretan Samonium see *NH* 4.60 (with Dilke 1985, 45).

Nunc tibi pro tumulo Carpathium mare est: so Propertius of the shipwrecked Paetus (c. 3.7.12). The elegist’s lament for the man lost at sea cannot be precisely dated, though it may well have preceded *V.’s A.* 5; the themes of the poem have close affinities with the loss of both Palinurus and Misenus in the *Aeneid*.

Libycum: The adjective recurs at 789–790 *ipse mihi nuper Libycis tu testis in undis | quam molem subito excierit*. The geographical label reminds us of Dido so soon after the mention of her gift to Ascanius; cf. also the Libyan bear pelt Acestes wears at 37. Note, too, the much discussed 6.399 *Libyco cursu*, where it seems to be said that the Trojans were en route from North Africa and not Sicily (and see Horsfall here on the question of the use of the geographic adjective to name the source or destination of a journey). There may be significance to the collocation here of Carpathia and Libya, the first associated for *V.* with the shape-shifter Proteus, the second with the fateful Trojan sojourn with Dido. Then, too, these future Roman dolphins have as their watery playground much of the Mediterranean.

secant: For the verb cf. 2; 218; 658. The abrupt action of the dolphins that is signaled by the hemistich anticipates the tmesis of 603 *hac celebrata tenuis*, itself a mark of how Juno’s intervention ends the games in a similarly abrupt fashion.

596 hunc morem cursus atque haec certamina primus

morem: Closing a ring with 556 *omnibus in morem*; the *mos* referenced here = the mode of the labyrinthine equestrian maneuvering, and the very *ludus*, here deliberately defined as *certamina* to recall the *prima ... certamina* of 114 (= the regatta).

haec certamina: Cf. *G.* 4.86–87 *hi motus animorum atque haec certamina tanta | pulveris exigui iactu compressa quiescent*. The phrase here refers to the

lusus in its entirety; the *morem cursus* to the particulars of the maneuvers therein. Cf. 603 *certamina*, as the long sequence draws to a close; the repetition brings to mind the entirety of the games, as *certamina* refers first to the *lusus*, and then to all of the events.

primus: Aeneas' son was the first to teach the rites, which would be transmitted in turn to new generations; V. does not offer any detail on how or why the game originated in Troy, though it has clear affinities with coming of age rituals and other rites of passage. *Certamina ... primus* here echoes 114 *prima ... certamina*, despite the change of case, as V. closes a ring on the memorial athletic events. In this case the coming of age ritual takes on a dark resonance given that it also evokes the death of the city.

597 **Ascanius, Longam muris cum cingeret Albam,**

The line is framed by the hero and the settlement with which he will be inextricably linked.

Longam ... Albam: Cf. A. 1.271 *transferet, et Longam multa vi muniet Albam*; 6.769–770 *Silvius Aeneas, pariter pietate vel armis | egregius, si umquam regnandam acceperit Albam*; 8.47–48 *ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis | Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam*; 9.387–388 *atque locos qui post Albae de nomine dicti | Albani (tum rex stabula alta Latinus habebat)*—the last passage of where Nisus had passed when he fatefully stopped to search for Euryalus (Ascanius had sent the pair off on the night raid, so that the locus reminds us of Aeneas' son in what qualifies as his first leadership role in wartime).

muris ... cingeret: Not a positive image at E. 4.31–33 *pauca tamen suberunt praescae vestigia fraudis, | quae temptare Thetim ratibus, quae cingere muris | oppida, quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcus*; was Alba Longa better off before the Trojans arrived to gird it with walls? For the question of its foundation see on 600; V. focuses here on how Ascanius fortified what may well be considered to have been an existing locale (hence 598 *rettulit ... docuit*, where he hands over the tradition and teaches the aborigines to celebrate the *ludus*); the Albans, in turn, will teach their own what they learned from the Trojan immigrant (600 *suos*).

Cf. here too 9.159–160 *interea vigilum excubiis obsidere portas | cura datur Messapo et moenia cingere flammis*, of the siege of the Trojan camp; Ps.-Seneca, Oct. 400–402 *non bella norant, non tubae fremitus truces, | non arma gentes, cingere assuerant suas | muris nec urbes* (with Ferri). Similar, too, is A. 3.255–257 *sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem | vos dira fames nostraeque iniuria caedis | ambasas subigat malis absumere mensas* (Celaeno's curse, which *Iulus* will declare fulfilled at 7.116–117 in playful (*adludens*) mode).

598 rettulit et priscos docuit celebrare Latinos,

rettulit: Cf. 8.342–343 *hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer asylum / rettulit*; the form recurs 2× in 11 (290; 426). “Innovavit,” says Servius, in the sense of a revival (so Williams); the point is that Aeneas did not see to a reprisal of the *lusus*, but rather that his son handed down what he learned on this day.

docuit: For the Virgilian emphasis here on the language of education, see Syed 2005, 216–217: “Latins here become Roman by learning, even though they are not literally descended from the ancestors whose customs they adopt. The teachability of this cultural practice turns Ascanius into a symbolic ancestor.”

priscos ... Latinos: For the adjective cf. 6.878 *heu prisca fides* (during the Marcellus passage); 7.706 *ecce Sabinorum prisco de sanguine magnum / agmen agens Clausus magnique ipse agminis instar*; 710 *unaque ingens Amiterna cohors prisciue Quirites*; 8.339 *nymphae priscum Carmentis honorem*; 9.79 *prisca fides facto* (of the transformation of the ships); note also *E.* 4.31 *priscae vestigia fraudis*. The question of whether to capitalize *priscos* here did not of course occur to the poet.

The Prisci Latini are noted at Livy 1.3.7 (where see Ogilvie: “The name is not ancient but stems from the Latin settlement of 338, when the need arose to distinguish between the title ‘Latin’ with its juridical implications which then came into force and the earlier ethnic term ‘Latin’”); vid. also Skutsch ad Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 1.19.22 *quam Prisci, casci populi, tenuere Latini* (ap. Varro, *DLL* 7.28): “It can mean the original inhabitants of Latium, before the arrival of the Trojans.”

docuit: Interestingly, the *ludus* Ascanius taught to the native inhabitants of Italy would remain always a game for boys; while this reflects the fact that the rites were conducted with absolute fidelity to the first demonstration in Sicily (itself presumably copied from what was done in Troy proper), there is also the matter of how V. invests in Ascanius the image of the succession, so that he is a figure who must remain somewhat frozen at a certain stage of development. This creative decision allows the poet to endow the present games with a sense, too, of childishness (even if injuries eventually compelled a halt to the rite in Julio-Claudian times); the emphasis throughout is on how the present *certamina* = a mimicry of the future war and the unavoidable tragedy of youthful death in battle that is a concomitant of most any martial struggle. V. does not specify everything that Ascanius did (i.e., found and gird, or simply gird the existing); the native inhabitants, though, were schooled in the game of Troy.

celebrare: Cf. 58 *celebremus*; 306 *celebrata*; the verb occurs 12× in the *A.* (never in *E.* or *G.*), and not at all after Book 8 (during the war books) until the

dramatic announcement of future Roman religious worship of Juno at 12.840
nec gens ulla tuos aeque celebrabit honores.

599 quo puer ipse modo, secum quo Troia pubes,

V. continues his brief and powerful synopsis of the transmission of the *mores* of the Troy game; Ascanius had participated in the *ludus* with his fellow Trojan youths, and he taught the Prisci Latini, and the Albans taught theirs, and then Rome hers.

puer ipse: The Prisci Latini will observe what Ascanius himself did as a boy; the line is heavy with emphasis on the age of the participants (*puer, pubes*).

modo: The *lusus* is treated as if it were akin to a religious liturgy; there is a correct way to mark the game, and Aeneas' son transmitted the rubrics.

secum: The language is subtle; Ascanius was clearly the leader (of leaders, if one will), but what he did on this day, he did together with the rest of the young men of his home city.

Troia pubes: The phrase will recur at 7.520–522 *raptis concurrunt undique telis | indomiti agricolae, nec non et Troia pubes | Ascanio auxilium castris effundit apertis*, significantly in a context of bringing aid to Aeneas' son at the outset of the war; cf. *Ilias Latina* 704–705.

600 Albani docuere suos; hinc maxima porro

suos: Ascanius girded Alba Longa with walls (597), but the phrasing here is interesting; V. may be making a deliberate and special distinction between those whom Ascanius taught (i.e., the Prisci Latini, a term we must consider the poet is using loosely) and those the Albans (i.e., the inhabitants of the city Ascanius allegedly founded, or at least fortified) instructed. We may see a shade here of the conflicting traditions of just how the modern Castel Gandolfo was established (vid. especially B. Boyd in *VE* I, 47); V. follows the Varran story (*DLL* 5.114) of how Alba Longa was the second Trojan settlement in Latium (he does not mention Ascanius, however, for whom we must turn, *inter al.*, to Cato, *Orig.* fr. 13 Chassignet). “This use of *suus* and similar forms dear to V.” (Horsfall ad 6.681).

hinc: Cf. on 604, as the scene changes dramatically; Servius (ad *A.* 1.7) reads *nunc* here, on which Mynors cfs. 7.601–603 *mos erat Hesperio in Latio, quem protinus urbes | Albanæ coluere sacrum, nunc maxima rerum | Roma colit*. The parallel language reflects the prefigurement of the forthcoming war in the *lusus*; in the latter passage, *nunc* has special force as the conflict commences, especially if it contrasts with the vaguer *hinc* here.

maxima: For the superlative with *Roma* (601) cf. Propertius, c. 4.1a.1; V. elsewhere uses it at the aforementioned *A.* 7.601–603 *mos erat Hesperio in Latio*,

quem protinus urbes / Albanae coluere sacrum, nunc maxima rerum / Roma colit. Here the adjective lends an understated but powerful declaration of the supremacy of Rome over Troy et al. See too Horsfall ad 3.703–704, on the *maxima moenia* of Acragas.

porro: Servius notes the “longum intervallum” that intervened before the reception of the game at Rome; the adverb is deliberately used to distance Augustan Rome from these ancient rites: the game thus acquires a more storied antiquity, but it also places the Trojan ceremonies at a safe distance from the poet’s contemporary Rome.

601 *accepit Roma et patrium servavit honorem.*

Roma: The long sequence of the *certamina* draws to a close, fittingly, with the announcement of the name of the destined city, though V. has a different geographical note planned for the very end. In *accepit* we see the Roman willingness to receive and adopt the traditions of others; in the superlative *maxima* that precedes this line we are reminded of how Rome triumphs over Troy. For the idea that V. has climactic episodes of Roman glory at the end of the games, in the *Heldenschau* of 6, in the Gathering of the Clans of 7, the Shield of 8, and in the Nisus/Euryalus *post mortem* commendation of the poet, see W. Camps, “A Second Note on the Structure of the *Aeneid*,” in *CQ* 9.1 (1959), 53–56.

patrium ... honorem: An interesting detail of rich connotations. On the one hand, the phrase in context must refer to the memory of Anchises (cf. 603 *patri*); the point then = that Rome has preserved the association between the Troy game and Ascanius’ grandfather (“Ces jeux institués en l’honneur d’Anchise, l’un de ses ancêtres”—Benoist); on the other, there is more general reference to the whole tradition of Aeneas’ son and his involvement at Alba Longa, and then ultimately the tale of Rome’s founding (mention of which is suppressed here, as V. focuses principally on what Ascanius did).

See Conington here for the question of whether the *honor* refers to the praise accorded to the boys (so Gossrau). There may be a reference, too, to how each successive generation of Romans preserved their fathers’ honor by maintaining the game; the *patrius honor* that is maintained is an exercise of *pietas*. For the phrase cf. Ps.-V., *Ciris* 500–501 *ecce repente velut patrios imitatus honores / puniceam concussit apex in vertice cristam*, with Lyne. “Nel senso di uso tradizionale trasmesso” (Paratore ad loc., who cfs. 8.268–269 *ex illo celebratus honos laetique minores / servavere diem*). Phillipson ad loc. takes *patrium* to refer principally to Aeneas, but the middle figure of the dynastic triad is rather absent from the closing movements of the *lusus*. On the use of “emotionally charged but nonpolitical conceptions like “Rome” and “country”” by the Augustan poets, see White 1993, 166–167.

602 Troiaque nunc pueri, Troianum dicitur agmen.

An odd line (“‘The boys are now called Troy,’ rather an awkward phrase meaning that the performance is called Troy.”—Williams ad loc., who notes correctly that the rhythm of the line does not favor following Ribbeck and Sabbadini in punctuating after *nunc*; cf. 675 below and *agmina Teucrum*). “The editors of the *Aeneid* might have applied their instructions, *ut superflua demerent*, to this line, which is not only superfluous, but very awkwardly worded” (Mackail). It is perhaps unlikely that the verse deliberately reflects something of the halting and even awkward language of *pueri*— but there may be a deliberate underscoring of Troy as the realm of children, in light of the Roman future. *Pueris* may well be worth consideration, as ablative of agent with a passive verb—the boys of the poet’s own day call this Trojan *agmen* “Troy,” that is, the “Troy game.”

For the present verse, ineptly phrased or not, responds emphatically to its predecessor with its mention of *Roma*; here, the dramatic repetition of *Troia*, *Troianum* must be read in light of the revelation of 12.834–836 with *Teucrisubsident* and the *mores* of the future Rome. The boys will be known as “Troy” as they play their game, with the hope, we might add, that they will grow up to become Rome. Just after this dramatic paean to Troy, the tone of the book will change with the episode of the burning of the Trojan fleet; V. painstakingly outlined how what happened on the Sicilian shore today was taught to the Prisci Latini at the time when Ascanius girded Alba Longa with walls (597–598), and how the Albans then taught their own; Rome took it from the *Albani*.

The tradition, in other words, became *Roman* by a process of transference from Aeneas’ son to the aborigines (who may well = the imagined original inhabitants of Alba Longa, if we consider Ascanius to be a fortifier more than a founder), then to the Albans, thence to the Romans. There is an emphasis, then, on how the memory of Troy has been relegated to incarnation by Roman *boys*; the splendid imperial power of the dead city is now a game for *pueri*. The adults participated in the four contests (including even the members of the older generation); now the boys have had their *ludus*—and soon the women will make their own contribution to the rites of this long and variegated day. There is something here, too, of the spirit of the toy Troy at Buthrotum in 3 (another book with strong affinities to 5); the present verse strikingly announces that now Troy is a collection of boys, and that the once ferociously inspiring *agmen* of a Hector is a collection of sometimes frightened (575 *pavidos*) youths: *nunc* is a powerful announcement of what Troy is in V’s own day. “The expression is unusual and Vergilian” (Sidgwick).

For the different receptions of the *lusus* from the Trojan and the Roman points of view, see P. Holt, “Who Understands Vergil’s Prophecies?,” in *CJ* 77.4

(1982), 303–314, 308. Rose 2005, 44 notes that “We tend to forget that no Roman child or adult was ever represented as a Trojan, in either public or private imagery ... Since the ancestors of the Romans wore the same costume as Rome’s enemies, it is not surprising that images of Trojans were kept separate from those of Parthians in the public spaces of imperial Rome, and an equally cautious approach is evident in the early iconography of Aeneas.” Parthian imagery clouds both the *lusus* of 5 and the *Camilliad* of 11, and the associations are by no means clearly delineated between a Roman and an “other”; in the final analysis, the close of the *certamina* for the dead Anchises offers a relegation of the memory of Troy to boys of perhaps eight to fourteen years of age, with the continued life of the city and the recollection of its last night the permanent possession of noble children.

603 *hac celebrata tenus sancto certamina patri.*

hac ... tenus: A curious and abrupt close to the long memorial sequence; “up to this point,” the poet says, were celebrated the contests for the holy father; one of the more dramatic changes of narrative tone in the epic now occurs, as V. moves to the episode of the destruction of the Trojan ships—rather a response to the glorious announcement just made of the endurance of the game called Troy. Conington compares here the last line of the *Iliad*. For the tmesis see Williams 1960 ad loc. (ignorance of which led some scribes to read *haec* here); the division of the word is part of the effect of the strong break the poet marks here; cf the anticipatory action of the dolphins’ cutting of the seas at 595. Mackail argues that this line and the next are “very likely ... two alternative suggestions written in the margin by Virgil for consideration, one below the other, and that the editors, finding them there and neither of them ‘ringed’, put them both in as they were” (lviii). Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 24.804, at the close of important requiem rites.

sancto ... patri: Cf. 80 *sancte parens*; there is a hint of deification, but no overstated reference to Anchises’ divinity. Cf. the post-coital speech of Aphrodite to Anchises in the *Hymn*, where the goddess reveals that old age that will soon come upon her lover, and her own shame among the immortals for having slept with him; the instructional tales she relates = Zeus and Ganymede, and Eos and Tithonus (Faulkner 2008, 253–255). There is preparation here, too, for the epiphany of Anchises in the underworld and his great eschatological revelations; see further below on 722 ff., where the father’s shade visits his son in a dream apparition. Phillipson ad loc. takes the phrase as dative of agent (= Aeneas).

certamina: For the noun see Horsfall ad 11.104 (“first in extant poetry in Cic.”).

The games end, then, with the father, but in an interesting and telling twist, the renewal of the spirit of the father in the younger generation is a rebirth of the Troy that has already fallen, the Troy whose suppression will be definitively revealed in the climactic revelations of the epic's final book. For the games sequence as call to Aeneas to abandon the past and move to the new (Roman) future, see Nelis 2001, 197–198.

604–663 Juno summons Iris to incite the Trojan women to burn the fleet; the rainbow goddess assumes the guise of the mortal Beroë and carries out her mistress' orders. Iris' ruse is recognized by Pyrgo, but the women witness the immortal's epiphany and are inspired to join her in setting fire to the vessels.

The *lusus Troiae* ended on a note of aetiological glory for the old city; the new generation, especially the son of the hero, would celebrate the rites in honor of the consort of Venus in a new home in Italy. Here, the inveterate enemy of Troy returns to the narrative for the first time since the Dido episode; the goddess will respond to the announcement of the future solemn games by instigating the burning of the Trojan fleet. On the ship burning scene and the transformation of Iris into Beroë see further Monaco 1960/1972, 153–162; Kühn 1971, 76–83, 124–126; Basson 1975, 30–33; Thornton 1976, 102 ff.; Holt 1979–1980, 110–121, 111; Schenk 1984, 303 ff.; Wiltshire 1989, 47, 77–78, 107; G. Nugent, “Vergil's Voice of the Women in *Aeneid* V,” in *Arethusa* 25 (1992), 255–292; A. La Penna, “La stanchezza del lungo viaggio (Verg. *Aen.* 5, 604–679),” in *RFIC* 125 (1997), pp. 52–69; Schmit-Neuerburg 1999, 273 ff. (on divine epiphanies); Bouquet 2001, 30–31; C. Merriam, “Storm Warning: Ascanius' Appearances in the *Aeneid*,” in *Latomus* 61.4 (2002), 852–860 (with consideration of how the depiction of the hero worsens as the epic progresses); Smith 2005, 44–48; Fratantuono 2007, 149–151; Reed 2007, 121–122 (for Beroë); Powell 2008, 100; Fratantuono 2013a. The change in tone is sudden (“more pleasures might have been in store for the spectators”—Anderson 1969, 54), and the focus on the fate of the Trojan fleet returns us, with a grim twist, to the spirit of the regatta. For the burning of the ships as part of the fulfillment of the song of Iopas (who sang ad 1.743 *unde imber et ignes* of the origins of storms and fire, two of the destructive elements in V's island book), see Fratantuono 2012, 715n5. On the parallels between Iris/Beroë and Ovid's Juno/Beroë from *Met.* 3, see Ganiban 2010, 106 ff.; also Wheeler 2000, 88 ff. For certain aspects of divine transformation into mortal guise in the *A.*, vid. O'Sullivan 2011, 12 ff. Iris will be associated with Turnus at the start of *A.* 9; here Juno's avatar seeks to “break the truce,” as it were, of the memorial funeral games (cf. the real truce of *A.* 11 and the actions of Aeneas and the Trojans there).

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.52) notes the story that Aeneas left some Trojans behind in Sicily, either because they were weary and tired of the ongoing sea voyages, or because some of the Trojan women had set fire to the fleet, so that those who had sailed to the island on the now ruined vessels would be compelled to remain behind. It is uncertain how much Dionysius' account owes to the present Virgilian episode, though at 1.72 he leaves a more critical record of the tale: Hellanicus, in his history of the priestesses of Argos, is cited for the story that Πῶμη was a Trojan woman who instigated the burning of the ships, and that Damastes of Sigeum left the same account, *contra* Aristotle's (lost) version of how Trojan captive women burned Greek ships after a storm-induced pause near "Latinium." It is of interest that the Trojan woman of at least one tradition associated with the destruction of the ships would give her name to the new city: another ethnographic comment on the progression from one city to the next.

In Plutarch's essay on feminine bravery (*Mor.* 243e ff.), Rome's eponym is once again blamed for the burning (which is located in Italy, near the Tiber mouth); reference is made to how the women subsequently came and kissed their husbands to try to soothe their imminent anger (thus giving rise to the custom of women greeting their relatives with a kiss)—with success. At *Quaest. Rom.* 6 Plutarch repeats the story, this time with mention of how the location of the burning was disputed. Not surprisingly, Caieta was sometimes thought to be the place (for obvious enough etymological reasons; see further Servius ad 7.1; Fordyce, and Horsfall, ad loc.); Caieta, in any case, introduces something of an expansion (not to say reversal) of the pattern of deaths at the ends of books; her loss at the beginning of Book 7 connects to the introduction of Camilla at the end of the same book—the latter is doomed, of course, though in her own way, via her death, she will be the nurse of the future Rome.

For the influence of this scene on the massacre sequence of the Lemnian women at Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.101 ff., see especially Keith 2000, 93 ff.; there are also some affinities with Silius' depiction of Allecto's assumption of the guise of the Saguntine Tiburna at *Pun.* 2.553 ff. (vid. further Vessey 1973, 173 ff.; Küppers 1986, 166 ff.; Hardie 1993, 82). On the place of this scene in the wake of the memorial funeral rites for Anchises, with particular consideration of the ritual exclusion of women there, see Panoussi 2009, 166–173.

604 *hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit.*

A difficult line, of complex and subtle nuances, where every word is loaded with important detail relevant both to the immediate episode and to the outbreak and progress of the war in Italy. *Hinc* introduces a dividing mark in the narrative that comes after the ethnographic pronouncement of Troy's fall in the

symbolic unfolding and progression of 1) the boxing match, 2) the portent of the Acestes arrow shot that foreshadows the forthcoming loss of Pallas and, more generally, 3) the tragedy of the war in Latium, and the omnipresence of the theme of civil strife both in the Iliadic *A.* and, more immediately, the *lusus* (with possible reference to Caesar's death/the arrow shot and the breakdown of the second triumvirate and Actium/the cavalry mock battle). The burning of the ships is the first time that a changed fortune rendered *fides* new. For the possible influence of the present verse on sepulchral inscription (*O Fortuna, fidem quantum mutasti maligne*—Buecheler 442.3), see Tolman 1910, 74–75.

hinc: Another example of V's repetitions in close sequence; cf. 600 *hinc*, of Rome's maintenance of the *lusus* tradition. Here the reference to future time is in quite the opposite circumstance.

Fortuna ... mutata: Caesar has *ita commutata fortuna eos qui in spem potiundorum castrorum venerant* (*BG* 3.6.2.1–2), but the source here is perhaps Cicero's *quisquam est, qui aliorum aerumnam dictis adlevans | non idem, cum fortuna mutata impetum | convertat, clade subita frangatur sua* (*TD* 3.7.1.16; c. fr. 35.3). Cf. Livy 42.5.4.5; Lucan, *BC* 3.21; Seneca's *et trudicationis non tantum deditur signum, sed ipse signum fuerit, parum mutatam ac repositam in priorem locum fortunam suam sentient* (*De Ben.* 5.16.2.5–3.1). See further on 625.

primum: Servius astutely takes the temporal adverb as referring to the deaths of Palinurus and Misenus; Trojan fortune was made new for the first time here after the relative calm and tranquility of the games narrative, though the burning of the fleet would not be the first disaster for Aeneas' men. But the language of the verse taken as a whole points to this particular moment as being the first time that a changed fortune worked out a new *fides*; the ultimate resolution of the ship burning—the decision to found Segesta—is a prefigurement of the ultimate disposition of Trojan affairs in Italy, indeed the fashioning of a new *fides* for the sons of Aeneas.

fidem: See here Basson 1975, 30–33; what will transpire now is no return to some lost Golden Age, but a new working of fortune that will result in a new *fides* between the immortals (and other eternal forces) and the Trojans who will soon to be Roman. For fortune's fickle relationship with trust and surety cf. Sallust, *BC* 16.2.2 *multis modis mala facinora edocebat. ex illis testis signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem fortunas pericula vilia habere*. Here, *fides* refers to what the Trojans have been led to expect from a series of prophecies; from this point on (*hinc*) there will be a series of reversals, of which the burning of the ships is but the first.

novavit: Cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 4.579 *scilicet in piscem sese Cytherea novavit*; Ovid, *Ars* 3.346 *ignotum hoc aliis novavit opus*; *Met.* 4.541; Statius, *Theb.* 10.229; Sil-

ius, *Punica* 14.37. The verb occurs elsewhere in V. at 4.260 *novantem* (of Aeneas overseeing the construction of Dido's city); 4.290 *novandis* (of the Trojan preparations for departure from Carthage); 5.752 *novant* (of the rebuilding of the ships, closing a ring with the present scene); 7.630 *novant* (of the forging of new weapons for the war); 8.189 *meritosque novamus honores* (Evander to Aeneas). The verb is thus used in association with city-building, warfare, peril and rescue; here, V. reverses the pattern of A. 1, where the trouble of the first half of the book was replaced by the relaxed spirit of the reception at Carthage. Fortune made a new treaty: a grim pact for Troy, but rather her first alliance with Rome. The newness, too, will come from the ultimate result of the burning of the ships: the settlement of Segesta. V's epic is one of novelty, but a novelty that is rooted in the haunting remembrance of the past; the novelty of the Roman future is also something of a verse reinvention of ancient history.

605 *dum variis tumulo referunt sollemnia ludis,*

referunt sollemnia: The phrase occurs in the plural only here (for *sollemnis* cf. 53 above); Seneca has *sollemne referens Troici lusus sacrum* (*Troad.* 778) in imitation; cf. Silius' *dona serenato referas sollemnia Phoebo* (*Pun.* 5.181); cf. *sollemnia ludo* at *Praef.* 4 of the *Aenigmata* attributed to Symphosius. V. will parallel this line at 6.380 *et statuent tumulum et tumulo sollemnia mittent* (where see Horsfall) of the promised honors for Palinurus, so that the present scene opens a great ring that centers on the loss of Aeneas' helmsman (whose death has obvious connection to any threat to the fleet; both captain and vessel will be saved, as it were, at the expense of the *gubernator*). Cf. also 8.185 *haec sollemnia nobis* (Evander to the Trojans); 9.626 *ipse tibi ad tua temple feram sollemnia dona* (Ascanius' prayer to Jupiter). In the verbal prefix there is a reminder that these are memorial anniversary games. On the verb see Horsfall ad 3.59: "the technical language of Roman public life."

606 *Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno*

The line is repeated at 9.2, where Juno sends her rainbow avatar to Turnus (who will attempt soon after to burn the Trojan fleet). Book 9 is the opening of the last third of the poem, and so we move from Juno's stirring of Aeolus in 1 to Iris in 5 and 9; in all three instances, the Trojan fleet is the proximate target of the resultant rage, first by wind and then by fire. The present scene is reminiscent of the close of A. 4 (693–705); the recent mention of Dido in the description of Ascanius' mount is followed at once by the recollection of her death agonies. At the close of the epic's first third, then, Aeolus is replaced by Iris as Juno's agent (cf. the more complicated intertext of Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Post.* 14.467 ff.,

where Athena sends Iris to Aeolus to instigate the ruin of the Greek fleet). There is no hint in V. of the tradition that Iris was the mother of Eros by the Zephyr (Alcman, fr. 13; Nonnus, *Dion.* 31.110; 47.341; Plutarch, *Amat.* 20.765E; see here Griffiths ad Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 20.358F), though there may be some point to the disguised Iris and the idea Plutarch records of “the rainbow as resulting from a refraction of vision which gives the impression that what is seen is ‘as though in a cloud.’” Note also Gow ad Theocritus, *Id.* 17.134 (on the question of Iris’ virginity). For Virgilian epiphanies in general see R. Cioffi in *VE* I, 443–445.

On Iris as an “unsympathetic messenger” see Dunbar ad Aristophanes, *Aves* 1196–1261, with reference to her interception and ejection in that play, and her failed role in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (314–323, where see Richardson) to persuade Demeter to moderate her mourning for Persephone.

caelo: And not *Olympo* (4.694); here Juno is in direct conflict with her Olympian spouse, in contrast to when she sent Iris to release Dido.

Saturnia: See here Lyne 1989, 173–177; cf. on 328 above.

Iuno: The first mention of the goddess in the book. As in *A.* 1, action of the queen of the gods will be followed by a colloquy between Venus and an Olympian; the echoes of Book 1 in the present episode (see especially on 608 *antiquum ... dolorem*) in part reflect the epic’s division into thirds, with *A.* 5 as the start of the second act of the tragic trilogy. On various divine minions in the *A.* see N. Petrochilos, “Juno’s and Venus’ Executive Instruments in the *Aeneid*,” in *EEThess* 18 (1979), 383–410.

Fittingly enough, the goddess of the rainbow will instigate a conflagration that will be quenched by a divine rain storm and tempest.

607 *Iliacam ad classem ventosque aspirat eunti,*

Iliacam ... classem: Cf. *A.* 4.46–47 *dis equidem auspicibus reor et Iunone secunda / hunc cursum Iliacas vento tenuisse carinas* (Dido to Anna); 4.537–538 *Iliacas igitur classis atque ultima Teucrum / iussa sequar?*

ventos: With reference to the role of the winds in Juno’s attack on the Trojans in 1; here the angry goddess turns to a different means to delay destiny. There may be a hint that the force of Juno has increased in power from 1; while the winds here are nothing like the tempest that Aeolus had unleashed, the mention of Juno’s windy conveyance of the rainbow may point to the goddess’ increased ability (cf. 4.693 *Iuno omnipotens*). The burning of the ships can be considered one of the first manifestations of Dido’s curse on the Trojans (cf. the fires on the walls of Carthage that opened the book). Cf. 10.36–38 (with Harrison), where Venus complains about Juno’s employment of both minor deities in her harassment of the Trojans.

aspirat: In close proximity to *Fortuna* also at *A.* 2.385 *aspirat primo Fortuna labori*, just before the Coroebus/Cassandra episode. The verb here opens a ring that closes at 764 *creber et aspirans rursus vocat Auster in altum*, before the departure from Sicily. Cf. 8.373 *incipit et dictis divinum aspirat amorem* (Venus with Vulcan); 12.351–352 *illum Tydides alio pro talibus ausis | adfecit pretio nec equis aspirat Achilli* (of Dolon's grandson Eumedes); also 1.694; 7.8; 9.525. The verb is thus associated with divine action as well as weather phenomena, both of which uses are relevant to the epiphany of Iris.

eunti: Also at line-end at 649 *qui vultus vocisque sonus vel gressus eunti*; cf. 777 *prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis*. Note that the object and subject names neatly enclose the verse.

608 multa movens necdum antiquum saturata dolorem.

multa movens: The second of three occurrences of the phrase in *V.*; cf. 3.34 *multa movens animo Nymphas venerabar agrestis*, of Aeneas after the Polydorus portent; 10.890–891 *multa movens animo iam tandem erumpit et inter | bellatoris equi cava tempora conicit hastam*, of Aeneas' attack on Mezentius.

necdum ... dolorem: The reference is to the insatiable anger of Juno from the epic's proem (1.23 ff.), where *Saturnia* was unable to bear her rage at the Trojans; the object of her wrath there was the fleet amid the storm she had provoked through Aeolus, and here she will seek to destroy the ships at the agency of Iris by means of fire. With *antiquum* here cf. 688 *pietas antiqua*; in his note on the present scene Henry comments on *antiquum*, "not merely *ancient*, but, as usual, *ancient and cherished; the grief of her predeliction*."

saturata: The verb is rare in *V.*; it recurs elsewhere in the epic only at 8.213–214 *saturata | armenta*, of Hercules' cattle; cf. *E.* 10.30 and *G.* 1.80. The participle plays on the idea of Juno as *Saturnia*; cf. 781 below, and see further Horsfall ad 7.298.

609 illa viam celerans per mille coloribus arcum

illa: For a moment one is left unaware as to the referent, so closely do Iris and her mistress act together.

celerans: For Iris' swiftness see Faulkner ad *h. Aph.* 137. The verb occurs elsewhere in *V.* at *A.* 1.357 *tum celerare fugam patriaque excedere suadet* (Sychaeus' ghost to Dido); 656 *haec celerans ita ad naves tendebat Achates*, in the aftermath of the mention of another ominous gift (the *velamen* of Helen); 3.666–667 *nos procul inde fugam trepidi incidere funem, | vertimus et proni certantibus aequora remis* (of the departure with Achaemenides); 8.90 *ergo iter inceptum celerant rumore secundo* (of the Trojans after the portent of the sow); 10.249 *inde aliae*

celerant cursus (of the ships now turned into sea creatures); cf. the textually vexed 4.641, of the priestess Dido employs in her dark rites.

M has *celebrans* here (possibly under the influence of 603 *celebrata*), with which Mynors cfs. 4.641 *illa gradum studio celebrabat anili*, where M¹ reads *celerabat*. *Celebrare* occurs also at 58 *celebremus*, and elsewhere *octies* in the A. Both readings here convey the idea of Iris' speed (cf. Camilla); what change came over the scene on the beach, came quickly.

mille: For the indiscriminate use of the numeral to indicate any large number, see e.g. Conway ad 1.499.

coloribus: An ablative of characteristic.

The rich chromatic registers of Iris' rainbow recall the colors of the serpent at Anchises' tomb at 88–89.

610 *nulli visa cito decurrit tramite virgo.*

nulli visa: As a hexameter opening elsewhere only at Juvenal, s. 14.164–166 *merces haec sanguinis atque laboris / nulli visa umquam meritis minor aut ingratae / curta fides patriae*.

cito: Closing a ring that opened at 66 *citae ... classis*, when the first contest of the games was announced. The goddess of the rainbow is swift herself and thus uses a swift path; there is a hint of the evanescence of the phenomenon.

tramite: Elsewhere in the A. at 6.676 *hoc superate iugum, et facili iam tramite sistam* (Musaeus to Aeneas and the Sibyl; see further Horsfall ad loc.); 11.515 *furta paro belli convexo in tramite silvae*; cf. G. 1.108–109 *ecce supercilio clivosi tramitis undam / elicit?* The passages in 5 and 11 are both associated with trickery and deceit (Iris' disguised attempt to instigate the ship burning/Turnus' ambush plan).

virgo: Cf. 240 and 825, of the Panopean virgin who performs a helpful function for navigation; Iris, in contrast, is the rainbow that was associated with storms and tempest (not unlike the Harpies, monstrous personifications of the storm wind).

611 *conspicit ingentem concursum et litora lustrat*

Iris has been sent to the Trojan fleet (607), but the locus is vague enough to leave some suspense as to the point of the goddess' destination, even if the reader were likely to expect and anticipate the burning of the ships from knowledge of the tradition.

ingentem concursum: Most probably (though not certainly) the assembly present for the games; whether the reference is to the men assembled for the games or the Trojan/Sicilian women, the point is that the number of those able to work harm on the fleet is great. *Concursus* is rare in V.; at 1.509–510 *cum*

subito Aeneas concursu accedere magno / *Anthea Sergestumque videt fortemque Cloanthum* it describes Aeneas' companions in Dido's presence; at 6.318 *quid vult concursus ad amnem* the gathering of the souls at Lethe; at 9.454–455 *ingens concursus ad ipsa* / *corpora seminecisque viros* the arrival of the Rutulians in the aftermath of the night raid; at 12.399–400 *magno iuvenum et maerentis Iuli* / *concorso* the response to Aeneas' wounding. The first corrector of M has *consessum*, a perhaps easier reading.

lustrat: Cf. 578 *lustravere*.

612 *desertosque videt portus classemque relictam*.

The poet gives more clarity: the fleet has been left behind during the games, and the harbor is deserted; *concursum* (611) may remind us of the foot race (besides the speed of Juno's messenger), the event that first distracted attention from the ships in port. The present verse parallels 2.28 *desertosque videre locos litusque relictum*, of the Trojan reaction to the ruse by which the Danaans abandoned their camp; once again, trickery is afoot that will spell trouble for *Aeneadae*; isolation often proves ominous in the *A*. (cf. the temple of the deserted Ceres as locus for the exiles from Troy; the tomb of Dercennus where Arruns is slain; 12.863 *quae quondam in bustis aut culminibus desertis*, of the haunt of the Dira-bird; in the present book, Palinurus as solitary sentinel; note also 3.122 *desertaque litora Cretae*).

The line is framed by the powerful adjectives *desertos* and *relictam*; cf. the *sola ... acta* of the following verse, all serving to convey a sense of the lonely and even desolate locale.

613 *at procul in sola secretae Troades acta*

at procul: Cf. ad 35 *at procul ex celso*, of the descent of Acestes from a height to greet the Trojans; elsewhere in V. only at 12.869 *at procul ut Dirae stridorem agnovit et alas*, of Juturna's hearing of the Dira's approach (another baleful scene). Together with *sola* and 612 *desertos*, etc. the language evokes the lonely, indeed effectively abandoned locale where Iris will seek to work Juno's wrath.

Troades: Groups of women in the *A*. are usually depicted as the victims of war; the principal passages are 2.486–490, of the Trojan royal women as they react to the invasion of Priam's palace; 11.481–485, where the Latin *matres* pray to Minerva that she may destroy Aeneas; cf. 11.877–878, of the *matres* after Camilla's death; 891–895, where the *matres* are inspired by the aristeia and death of Camilla to risk their lives in defense of their city. The women of Troy and those of Latinus' capital balance the second and second to last books; the *Troades* here are like those of 11 in their active roles, though Iris/Beroë inspires something very different from Camilla.

acta: Only here in V. (cf. Ps.-V., *Culex* 14). The word imparts a Greek flavor to the scene, perhaps because of the evocation of the Danaan trick at Troy recalled in the preceding verse.

On 613–617 see Laird 1999, 178 ff. For the meter and its incarnation of the heavy mood of the women see Henry ad loc., with reference to a letter of Charles James Fox: “Every foot here is a spondee, except those in the fifth place; and it seems to me to have a wonderful effect.”

The old Troy is dying, in a process that began, in a sense, with the destruction of the city that was narrated in Book 2; the suppression of its *mores* will be announced by Jupiter to Juno in the climactic revelation of Book 12. For how the Trojan *matres* function as a sort of Euripidean chorus in lament over the loss of their home, see J. Zarker, “Vergil’s Trojan and Italian *Matres*,” in *Vergilius* 24 (1978), 15–24 (following Quinn).

614 *amissum Anchisen flebant, cunctaeque profundum*

The Trojan women are seen first as they exercise *pietas* in their own memorial observance of the death of *pater* Anchises; the action of Iris/Beroë is all the more jarring given the properly mournful behavior of the *Troades*. V. provides a moment’s suspense, though, as he prepares to introduce a second aspect of the women’s behavior: weariness at the long sea voyage still ahead. The poet is careful to define the parameters of the impending divine intervention: Juno instigated the burning of the ships through the machinations of her messenger goddess, but the women were already suffering fatigue over the prospect of continued wandering.

flebant: The imperfects here and 615 *aspectabant* are likely frequentative as well as durative; while the games were being performed, the women were mourning and looking at the sea; *aspectabant* is also inchoative: as the women keep up their laments, they begin to look at the sea (they have no spectacles, after all, to distract them).

profundum: Lucan has *semianimes alii vastum subiere profundum / haureruntque suo permixtum sanguine pontum* (*BC* 3.576–577).

615 *pontum aspectabant flentes. heu tot vada fessis*

Anchises is forgotten, and the focus shifts entirely to weariness over how the journey is seemingly far from completion. On this sequence of mourning and regret see especially Heuzé 1985, 531–534. “C’est pourtant cette même mer de Sicile, à la ligne bleuâtre et sereine, que le petit berger de Théocrite ne demande qu’à voir sans cesse et à posséder de ses yeux pour tout bonheur et pour tout empire, assis au pied d’un rocher, ayant son tropeau et celui de sa bergère épars devant lui, et la tenant elle-même contre sa cœur.” (Sainte-Beuve).

pontum: “A lofty, Ennian word for ‘sea’” (Horsfall ad 6.729 *fert ... pontus*).

aspectabant: As aforementioned, the imperfect is likely frequentative/durative; they kept looking toward the sea as they wept.

flentes: Cf. 614 *flebant*; as the women begin to gaze over the expanse of sea, the tears for Anchises mingle with those of sorrow for their own lot; also Horsfall ad 6.177 *festinant flentes*, during the Misenus sequence. On “participial resumptions” see Wills 1996, 311 ff.

heu: An interjection worthy even of the Sibyl (6.150 *heu nescis*, where see Horsfall).

tot vada: Cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 7.221 *perque tot infelix frustra vada venit Iason*.

616 et tantum superesse maris, vox omnibus una;

tantum superesse: Cf. the metaphorical use at Caesar, *BC* 2.31.1.2 *quantum alteri sententiae deesset animi, tantum alteri superesse dicebat*. With *tantum ... maris* cf. Lucan, *BC* 3.538 *ut tantum medii fuerat maris*, at the beginning of the narrative of the naval battle (see Hunink ad loc. for the possible inspiration of the Virgilian ship race on Lucan’s marine melee).

vox ... una: The “one voice” will not last for long. Unlike the men, the women have no obvious leader who can speak for them as a whole; Juno’s divine avatar Iris will serve to provide the *Troades* with a spokeswoman, as it were, for however fleeting and brief a time.

For the possible influence of the present scene on Tennyson’s “but evermore / Most weary seem’d the sea, weary the oar, / Weary the wandering fields of barren foam,” see W. Mustard, “Tennyson and Virgil,” in *AJPh* 20.2 (1899), 186–194, 194.

617 urbem orant, taedet pelagi perferre laborem.

“A half-echo” (Conington) of *A.* 4.451 *mortem orat; taedet caeli convexa tueri*, of Dido’s resolution to commit suicide (where Iris will play a key role in the *dénouement*); see here Clausen 2002, 96n60. The weary Trojan women will not commit suicide, but rather will turn their frustration against a key symbol of the old Troy, the ships we later learn had been fashioned from Cybele’s sacred pines. For the action of the women in this sequence as “fresh challenge to Aeneas’ moral ascendancy,” see Quinn 1968, 156–157. More generally, see further F. Sullivan, “Virgil and the Mystery of Suffering,” in *AJPh* 90.2 (1969), 161–177.

urbem orant: Almost as if the women’s prayer were the single (key) word *urbs*.

perferre: The prefix is key; the women cannot bear carrying through the labor of the Hesperian voyage to its end. For the (Virgilian) line-end cf. 769 *ire volunt*

omnemque fugae perferre laborem; *G.* 2.343 *nec res hunc tenerae possent perferre laborem*; nowhere else in extant verse. “Old standard idiom” (Horsfall ad 3.584 *perferimus*); cf. the different use below at 665 *perfertur*.

laborem: See here Bruck 1993, 37–38.

618 *ergo inter medias sese haud ignara nocendi*

medias: The recurring theme of the midpoint; Iris will now appear in the midst of the women as they mourn and lament. This crowd is very different from that which accompanied Aeneas to the *tumulus* of his father.

haud ignara: The second of two occurrences of the phrase in the book (see above on 284, of the Cretan slave Pholoë); on a subtle level of verbal reminiscence the poet thus links together the end of the regatta and the beginning of the narrative of the destruction of the ships (perhaps including the vessels that so recently starred in the race that commenced the games). Williams cfs. here Juno’s words to the Fury Allecto (7.337–338 *tibi nomina mille, | mille nocendi artes*); for the latter Junonian agent, the sentiment is understandable enough, but the question remains as to why Iris should be described as “scarcely unaware of how to harm” (especially in light of her intervention—also at Juno’s behest—in resolving the death agonies of Dido); the point may well be her association with storms. Cf. the “malignant eyes” of the *matres* at 654. Once again there is a reminiscence of Dido in *haud ignara* (cf. *A.* 4.508). Juno has moved from the employment of Aeolus to that of Iris; soon enough Allecto will continue the escalation of the goddess’ enterprise of countering what she perceives to be the threat of Trojan survival and rebirth to the future health and power of her beloved Carthage.

619 *conicit et faciemque deae vestemque reponit*;

conicit: The prefix is intensive, though there is also a shade of how the goddess is about to encourage a cooperative effort.

faciem ... deae: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 11.321–322 *quae se praeferre Dianae | sustinuit faciemque deae culpavit*.

vestem: What V.’s rainbow goddess puts aside here is not made explicit; V. rarely indulges in details regarding immortal fashion. With Iris’ action here cf. Aeneas’ baring of his shoulders at 685 *umeris abscondere vestem*. The rainbow goddess is much more direct and straightforward in her actions at *Il.* 3.121 ff., where she approaches Helen and urges her to come to the wall and see the spectacle of Trojans and Achaeans.

reponit: For the (Catullan, Lucretian) verb form cf. 12.878 ... *haec pro virginitate reponit*? *G.* 3.75–76 *continuo pectoris generosi pullus in arvis | altius ingreditur et mollia crura reponit*.

620 fit Beroë, Tmarii coniunx longaeva Dorycli.

Beroë: The name of an Oceanid at *G.* 4.341 *Clioque et Beroë soror, Oceanitides ambae*; the marine goddess of the *G.* has been transformed into the mortal masquerade of a goddess associated with storms; cf. also the ultimate fate of Aeneas' ships as mermaids (the name of the sea nymph = "a complete mystery" (Thomas ad loc., who discusses the Callimachean [*h.* 3.42–43, of Artemis' selection of oceanic handmaidens] and Virgilian confluents of forest and ocean deities)). On Beroë see S. Fasce in *EV* I, 501–502; Reed 2007, 121–122; also Powell 2008, 100 (on the use of the guise of an older woman). For the influence of this scene on Juturna's similar intervention at 12.222–228 see Tarrant 2012, 145–146 (citing Nicoll 2001, 191–196). On immortals in human guise in *V.* see Kidder 1937, 33 ff. The present scene is a reworking of Homer, *Il.* 3.121.

Ovid's Beroë (*Met.* 3.273–278) is an Epidaurian nurse (cf. *V.*'s Pyrgo at 645 below) whose guise Juno assumes to cause the destruction of Jupiter's lover Semele. On the Virgilian echoes there see especially L. Prauscello, "Juno's Wrath Again: Some Virgilian Echoes in Ovid, *Met.* 3.253–315," in *CQ* N.S. 58.2 (2008), 565–570; also Wheeler 2000, 88 ff. Semele is of course destroyed by fire. In a memorable sequence, Poseidon leads the Nereids and other sea divinities in a battle against Dionysus and his allies for the hand of the nymph Beroë at Nonnus, *Dion.* 43.253 ff.; it is unlikely that either Virgilian Beroë has any connection to the homonymous daughter of Aphrodite and Adonis.

Henry here compares Hera's taking the form of an Amazon to encourage an attack on Heracles as he sought the belt of Hippolyta (*Ps.-Apoll., Bib.* 2.5.9).

Tmarii: A Tmarus is named at 9.685 (though note the "Marus" of *M.*; see further Hardie ad loc.); Tmaros at *E.* 8.44 (where see Clausen). Tmaros was a mountain in Epirus; *DServ.* identifies it here as a promontory of Thrace (and cf. ad *E.* 8.44). Pliny has *Tomarus* at *NH* 4.6.11, of a mountain near Dodona in Epirus.

longaevi: For the descriptor see on 256;

Dorycli: In Homer, a bastard son of Priam who is slain by Telamonian Ajax (*Il.* 11.489–491; Williams speculates that Beroë may have traveled with Helenus to Buthrotum and married Doryclus there, but the only Homeric figure of that name is quite clearly slain amid Ajax's slaughter). The Homeric detail about Doryclus' status as a νόθος may have appealed to *V.* in his description of the disguised Iris, who masquerades as the true Beroë. For the name see Paschalis 1997, 207, who connects the notion of winning glory with the spear with the spear cast of Laocoön; the present scene also presages the appearance of Allecto to Turnus in the guise of Juno's priestess Calybe (7.415 ff.); note also T. Gargiulo in *EV* II, 132–133. On the connection between the present scene and the assault of Allecto, see Putnam 1965, 88–90.

621 cui genus et quondam nomen natique fuissent,

One verse captures perfectly the ethnographic requiem for the dead city of Troy; the women have been observing their own memorial obsequies for Anchises, and now the disguised goddess will inspire them to incarnate the death of the old Troy through the burning of Aeneas' vessels.

genus ... nomen: Cf. Horace, c. 1.14.13 *iactes et genus et nomen inutile*; *Ilias Latina* 554 *cum Diomede parat nomenque genusque roganti*; Ps.-Tibullus 3.4.61 *a crudele genus nec fidum femina nomen*; elsewhere V. has 10.149 *regem adit et regi memorat nomenque genusque*; 12.225–225 *cui genus a proavis ingens clarumque paternae | nomen erat virtutis*; 515 *nomen Echionium matrisque genus Peridiae*; all these may owe something to Lucretius, *DRN* 5.821 ff.

quondam nomen: The order is reversed in the *schol. Ver.* (ad A. 1.248), probably by a misremembrance.

fuissent: A richly connotative subjunctive; Williams ad loc. takes it to mean that this was the thought in Iris' mind, "the reason why she chose the form of Beroë." But the point is that this was the goddess' reflection on the state of this aged wife of Doryclus; she had a *genus* and a *nomen* once, but no more; presumably her sons died at Troy.

622 ac sic Dardanidum mediam se matribus infert.

ac sic: Only here in V.

Dardanidum: Cf. 644 *Iliadum*. The descriptor carries a strong resonance of the spirit of the old Troy.

mediam: With emphasis once again on the midpoint, this time, appropriately enough, at the very middle of the verse; Iris/Beroë inserts herself amid the mothers of the Dardanidae (the focus is deliberately on the ancient origins of the Trojans that are embodied in their very mothers who are here on the strand—these are the very daughters of Dardanus, and they will form the core of those who remain behind in Sicily).

se ... infert: Cf. 11.742 *concitat et Venulo adversum se turbidus infert* (of Tarchon's attack on Venulus; see Horsfall ad loc. for the textual variants); on idioms of this sort see also Lazzarini ad Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.35 *mediam se misit*.

623 'o miserae, quas non manus' inquit 'Achaica bello

The somewhat halting word order may reflect the deceitful nature of the address, as the disguised goddess searches for her words.

miserae: Cf. 671 *miserae cives*, as Ascanius addresses the women in the aftermath of their incendiary action.

Achaica: The adjective occurs here and at A. 2.461–462 *unde omnis Troiae videri | et Danaum solitae naves et Achaica castra*; the descriptor is another

example of a geographic qualifier used to maintain the high style. Iris directly connects the present situation with the destruction of the actual city of Troy on the fateful night when the Greeks at last enjoyed their victory; once again the poet links the physical and the metaphorical destructions of Priam's city—and the imminent burning of the ships serves to blend the two together in the fiery incarnation of Juno's rage.

624 *traxerit ad letum patriae sub moenibus! o gens*

traxerit: With possible reference to the death and mutilation of Hector, perhaps also to the murder of Astyanax; cf. 634 *Hectoreos amnis*; 786 *traxe*. See Conington here for the possible evocation of the image of dragging away the female captives of war sieges.

letum: Cf. 690 *et tenuis Teucrum res eripe leto*; the word is especially prominent in 11 and 12 (11.172; 818; 830; 846; 872; 12.49; 328; 603; 636; 851; 916 [so P; vs. *telumque* MR]). *Letum* often denotes a violent death, one involving destruction and ruin, sometimes personified (cf. 6.277 *Letumque Labosque*, with Austin).

sub moenibus: Cf. *G.* 4.193; *A.* 1.95–96 *quis ante ora parentum Troiae sub moenibus altis / contigit oppetere*; 3.322–323 *hostilem ad tumulum Troiae sub moenibus altis / iussa mori*; 10.469–470 *Troiae sub moenibus altis / tot gnati cecidere deum*; 12.11–117 *campum ad certamen magnae sub moenibus urbis / dimensi Rutulique viri Teucrique parabant*—an emphasis, then, on the image of death before the walls of Troy, until the final use of the phrase in the last book of the epic.

625 *infelix, cui te exitio Fortuna reservat?*

infelix: One is reminded of Dido; the words of the disguised Iris to the Trojan women are not unlike those of Anna to her doomed sister, and the Phoenician Dido (who had cursed the Aeneadae) was helped by Iris in her death agonies.

exitio: The word appears in the speech of the equally mendacious Sinon (2.130–131 *adsensere omnes et, quae sibi quisque timebat, / unius in miseri exitium conversa tulere*); also *tum magnum exitium*, of the lies regarding the wooden horse; these are the only occurrences of *exitium* in the Odyssean *A.* For the noun in the *A.* see further R. Williams, “Two Passages from the *Aeneid*,” in *CR N.S.* 11.3 (1961), 195–197, with reference to its other occurrences in the poem.

Fortuna: Cf. 604.

reservat: The verb appears elsewhere in *V.* at *A.* 4.368 *nam quid dissimulo aut quae me ad maiora reservo?* (Dido to Aeneas); 8.484 *di capiti ipsius generique reservent* (Evander to Aeneas on Mezentius); 8.574–575 *si numina vestra / incolumem Pallanta mihi, si fata reservant* (Evander to Aeneas). The noun is redolent with the spirit of weariness; the women are asked for what disaster and destruc-

tion they are being preserved by the same Fortune that has kept them alive for so long, especially after the *magnum exitium* of the night Troy fell.

626 septima post Troiae excidium iam vertitur aestas,

septima ... aestas: See above on 85 for the apparent contradiction with Dido's identical chronological reference at 1.755–756 *nam te iam septima portat / omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas*. Servius identified this as one of the “insoluble” (“quaestionem hanc unam esse de insolubilibus”) problems of Virgilian interpretation; Williams argues that the revised poem would have corrected such apparent errors of arithmetic. The possibility exists that Dido is in error in her chronology; perhaps even that the disguised Iris is deliberately replicating the error one might excuse from a weary, aged Beroë (or that the goddess is herself unsure of the detail). The effect of the *septima aestas* “mistake,” however, is to blend together into one requiem rite the death of Anchises at Drepanum and the memorial games on the year's anniversary; it is as if the interlude with Dido never happened, though soon enough V. will employ deliberate verbal reminiscences of the episode to presage the burning of the fleet. If Dyson 1996 is correct about the connection between the *septima aestas* and the temporal extremity of the life of the bees (with reference to death in Carthage and death in Sicily), then we see here something of the apian theme of the westward advance of the Trojan swarm (Fratantuono 2008). The reminiscence of Dido's words comes soon after the mention of the horse she gave to Ascanius; the burning of the ships is also something of a fulfillment of the queen's curse on the Trojans, and reenacts the flames that were glimpsed from the walls of Carthage as Aeneas' vessels sailed off to what they had hoped would be safety and security.

The mention of the *septima aestas* here links the present passage with the appearance of the snake on Anchises' tomb, where apart from the importance of the number seven to the description of the serpent, there was also a comparison to the dazzling chromatic splendor of the rainbow (88–89 *ceu nubibus arcus / mille iacit varios adverso sole colores*; see further Di Cesare 1974, 84; also Putnam 1965, 67; Grassman-Fischer 1966, 78–86). Thus far in the book we have followed the rites and celebrations of the male population at the games; now we have moved to the activity of the women, where what was mere simile and comparison in the epiphany of the mysterious snake has become reality—soon enough to be revealed more clearly as the goddess is caught in her deceit. On the “unmediated intimacy” of divine epiphanies that was lost with the passage of the Golden Age (with reference to the poet), see Feeney 1998, 104 ff.

vertitur aestas: Silius imitates the line-end at *Pun.* 15.526 *decima haec iam vertitur aestas*.

627 cum freta, cum terras omnis, tot inhospita saxa

fretas: Also with *terras* at Tibullus, c. 1.4.21–22 *nec iurare time: Veneris periuria venti / inrita per terras et freta summa ferunt*; Ovid, *Her.* 8.118 *qui freta, qui terras et sua regna quatit*; *Met.* 4.788 *quae freta, quas terras sub se vidisset ab alto*; Seneca, *HO* 1477–1478 *hic tibi emenso freta / terrasque*.

terras omnis: At the same *sed.* at *A.* 1.236 *qui mare, qui terras dicione tenerent*, as Venus makes her complaints to Jupiter.

inhospita saxa: The phrase occurs only here; the adjective appears elsewhere in *V.* at 4.49 *inhospita Syrtis*, as *Dido* describes her straitened geographical situation.

saxa: Cf. the *concava / saxa* (i.e., the caves) where the women will seek refuge and seclusion out of fear and shame at 677–678.

628 sideraque emensae ferimur, dum per mare magnum

emensae: The verb occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 244 *iter emensi* (Venulus on the embassy to Diomedes); elsewhere in *V.* it appears at 7.160 *iter emensi*; 10.772 *atque oculis spatium emensus* (Mezentius of his spear cast at Aeneas); also *G.* 1.450. Cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 2.836–837 *ultimus, emenso qui condit sidera mundo / occasumque tenens summersum despicit orbem*. Phillipson ad loc. takes *sidera* to = “alien skies,” but the point should not be pressed too far; Henry considers *sidera* as “being (as *astra* so often is) the mere equivalent of *caeli*, *skies*, as *Hor. Epist.* 1.11.27: “*caelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.*”

mare magnum: Only here in *V.*; the phrase occurs *quater* in Lucretius (*DRN* 2.553; 3.1029; 5.276; 6.505; 615). “*Magnus* is rare as an epithet at the end of a line when its noun has preceded it” (Conway ad 1.300).

ferimur: The first in an ascending tricolon of passive/deponent verbs that highlight the lot of the seemingly helpless women: they are carried along; they follow; they are turned over amid the waves (i.e., in high waves and even shipwreck).

629 Italiam sequimur fugientem et volvimur undis.

Italiam sequimur: A direct reminiscence of 4.361 *Italiam non sponte sequor*; cf. also 4.381 *i, sequere Italiam*; once again, the *Dido* episode is recalled, just before disaster strikes. The sentiment contrasts effectively with 637 ... *hic quaerite Troiam* below, as the poet makes certain to underscore the essential and key sentiment in the unfolding ethnography of the epic: the relationship between Italy and Troy. A powerful line that sums up well the struggle and exhaustion of the first third of the epic, even as it looks forward to the ethnographic revelations of the last.

fugientem: With pointed reference to the *two* landings in Sicily; Italy receded as the Trojans were driven off course to Africa. There is also a hint that Italy will never be captured, as it were, by Troy. With *sequimur* cf. the contrasting juxtaposition of verb and participle.

volvimur undis: Cf. *A.* 1.100–101; 7.718–719; Ovid, *Met.* 1.570; the image probably borrowed from Lucretius, *DRN* 1.287–288 *molibus incurrit validis cum viribus amnis*, / *dat sonitu magno stragem volvitque sub undis*; do Ennian or Naevian origins lurk?

630 *hic Eryci fines fraterni atque hospes Acestes:*

Cf. *A.* 1.570 *sive Erycis finis regemque optatis Acesten* (Dido to the Trojans); in point of fact there will be a settlement with Acestes; the history of Segesta in the Punic Wars makes Dido's remark all the more poignant.

Eryci: Aeneas' half-brother is of ambivalent associations for the Trojans after his pupil Entellus pummeled Dares; cf. 772 below, where Aeneas will make offerings to his storied sibling.

fines: The term is ultimately aimed at the destined new home in Italy; cf. 6.345–346 *fnisque / venturum Ausonios*. The conjunction indicates that there is not only land, but also, what is more, Acestes as host.

hospes: In marked contrast to the *inhospita saxa* (627).

The verse is redolent with the spirit of the connection between Sicily, Aeneas, and Venus; the contrast, however, is at least in part with the Italy that seems ever to flee from Trojan grasp.

631 *quis prohibet muros iacere et dare civibus urbem?*

The answer to Iris' question is no one; the foundation of Segesta is foreshadowed in the goddess' query. This is the first of three consecutive rhetorical questions of more or less increasing length (cf. 631–634).

prohibet: Cf. 197 *prohibete*; also 6.807 *aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?*

muros iacere: Cf. Sallust, *BI* 76.3.2 *aggerem iacere*; there is an air here of impromptu construction. There is precious little distinction to be made between *murus* and *moenia*; *V.* employs the two terms at comparable rates of frequency. On infinitives after *prohibere* see Horsfall ad 6.606. Knapp observes: "The failure to name Aeneas specifically is psychologically sound; critics are apt to be (actually or apparently) vague."

dare ... urbem: Cf. 2.633 *dant tela locum*, with Horsfall ad loc. (citing *EV* for the verb as = *praebere*).

civibus: Cf. on 671 *cives*.

632 o patria et rapti nequiquam ex hoste penates,

Henry takes the sentiment as an adaptation of Euripides, *Hec.* 893, where the queen addresses Agamemnon about safe passage for a servant to Thrace, but any influence seems slight.

patria ... penates: An effective near frame for the line, as the two great images of the lost city of Troy are named. Cf. the negatives that envelop the following verse, with the name of the city and its (lost) walls at mid-line. The metrical effect of *patria et rapti* neatly enacts the snatching sway of the Penates. *Patria* and *penates* effectively frame the verse; the former was destroyed years before, while the latter was snatched away in vain from the ruins.

nequiquam: Because they have no lasting home; the language underscores the theme of the destruction of Troy, as the crucial adverb dominates at the center of the verse.

633 nullane iam Troiae dicentur moenia? nusquam

iam: Cf. 638 *iam tempus agi res*.

Troiae ... moenia: Cf. 810–811 *cuperem cum vertere ab imo | structa meis manibus periurae moenia Troiae*, of Neptune's reminiscence to Venus.

dicentur: Vid. Nisbet and Hubbard ad Horace, c. 1.21.1; the word may have a shade here of its application to singing and hymnic utterance: there will no longer be any epic songs of Troy. With the sentiment expressed here cf. 737 *et quae dentur moenia disces*.

The line is framed by the strong negatives that express effectively how Troy is truly finished; the emphasis of the verse comes on the idea of the immortalization of the city through poetry (*dicentur*). The effect is particularly powerful in light of how the previous verse was bookended by country and household gods.

634 Hectoreos amnis, Xanthum et Simoenta, videbo?

Hectoreos: See above on 190 *Hectorei socii*; cf. on 624 *traxerit*. Here the adjective underscores Hector's place as the supreme bulwark of Troy; there is also a reminiscence of the pathetic state of the settlement at Buthrotum (3.349ff.). First we heard of *patria* and Penates; then a heavy emphasis on the negative and that which no longer was; now we are reminded of the rivers that are described as belonging to Hector, the greatest hero of the lost city, who died in its defense.

Xanthum: Neptune mentions this river to Venus at 808 below, as he recalls his rescue of Aeneas from Achilles when the latter was clogging Trojan rivers with corpses. Elsewhere the Xanthus is mentioned at 1.473, of the fear that Rhesus' horses would drink the fateful waters; 3.497, of the meager stream at Buthrotum

that represents the mighty Trojan river; 6.88, when the Sibyl warns Aeneas that there will be another Simois and another Xanthus in Latium; 10.60–62 *Xanthum et Simoenta / redde, oro, miseris iterumque revolvere casus / da, pater, Iliacos Teucris* (Venus at the divine council).

635 *quin agite et mecum infaustas exurite puppis.*

Iris had been sent by Juno to assist Dido in her death agonies, and now the rainbow goddess suddenly and dramatically urges an act that would please Dido given her curse against the sons of Aeneas (cf. 4.604–606 *faces in castra tulissem / implessemque foros flammis natumque patremque / cum genere exstinxem*)—a new twist on why the supreme (693 *omnipotens*) goddess was willing to help Dido.

quin agite: Cf. Lucan, *BC* 9.282; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.55; 7.93. V. has it elsewhere only at *E.* 3.52 (where see Clausen) and *G.* 4.329; “a colloquial idiom” that may be a deliberate attempt of the disguised goddess to mimic what she conjectures would = the speech of the Trojan *matres*.

infaustas: The adjective occurs 4× in V.; cf. 7.717 *quosque secans infaustum Allia nomen*; 11.347 *cuius ob auspicium infaustum* (during Drances’ attack on Turnus); 11.589 *tristis ubi infausto committitur omine pugna* (Diana to Opis).

exurite: Cf. 794 *exussit*, of the result of the action Iris urges here.

636 *nam mihi Cassandrae per somnum vatis imago*

Cassandrae: On the ill-fated Trojan prophetess see M. Massenzio, in *EV* I, 690–691. The present passage has affinities with *A.* 2.405–406 *ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra, / lumina, nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas*. Note also 2.246–247 *tunc etiam fatis aperit Cassandra futuris / ora dei iussu non umquam credita Teucris*; 2.343 *venerat insano Cassandrae incensus amore* (of Coroebus); Anchises’ remarks at 3.182–183 *nate, Iliacis exercite fatis, / sola mihi talis casus Cassandra canebat*, etc., on the question of settlement in Crete; 10.67–68 *Italiam petiit fatis auctoribus (esto) / Cassandrae impulsus furiis* (Juno at the divine council, with reference to the episode on Crete).

Cassandra was famously doomed never to be believed for her prophecies; Pyrgo, as it turns out, will recognize the divinity of the false Beroë, but the Trojan women will move to burn the ships all the same (though, as we shall see below, not necessarily because they *believe* the report of the goddess). In any case, Cassandra’s “prophecy,” while imaginary, is also true; Sicily/Segesta will indeed = Troy for many of those who light fires on this day. For how Iris betrays her divinity by expressing credence in Cassandra’s prophecy, see F. Lelièvre, “Two Supernatural Incidents in the *Aeneid*,” in *PVS* 11 (1971–1972), 74–77.

per somnum: On this dream see Bouquet 2001, 30–31; also N. Krevans, “Iliad’s Dream: Ennius, Virgil, and the Mythology of Seduction,” in *HSCPh* 96 (1993), 257–272, 269; more generally on dreams, with some material useful for a study of Virgilian *Träume*, see W. Harris 2009, and Harrison 2013, 133 ff. on the poet’s employment of dreams to keep Aeneas focused on his way. On the use of the singular here cf. Conway ad 1.353 *in somnis*.

vatis: Cassandra’s dream apparition may be assumed to have delivered her admonition in verse (vid. Nisbet and Hubbard ad Horace, c. 1.1.35, with reference to the transformation of the image of the “bard” from superstitious seer to the “ennobled ... poet in his inspired aspect”).

imago: I.e., ἡχώ: “the austere Latin word” (Nisbet and Hubbard ad Horace, c. 1.20.8).

637 *ardentis dare visa faces: ‘hic quaerite Troiam,*

ardentis ... faces: Ciceronian (*Har. Resp.* 39.9; *In Pis.* 26.8; *TD* 5.76.14–15). For the adjective cf. 277, of the serpent in the simile; 456, of Entellus’ driving of Dares across the ring: what was metaphorical is about to take on fiery reality. At 648 *ardentisque notate oculos*, Pyrgo will note the burning eyes of the (incendiary) goddess. “It is not Iris’ disguise that is instrumental in achieving the given agenda; rather the revelation of her divinity is what provokes the women into burning the ships” (S. Harden, “Disguise,” in *VE* I, 375). The first line of the verse highlights the key element of fire.

dare visa: Cf. Cicero, *De Div.* 2.126.13; Livy 1.45.3–5.

hic: The first of three consecutive terse, indeed abrupt phrases (637–638 *hic ... hic ... iam*), which serve to enact verbally the urgency and fiery violence of the scene.

Troiam: Since the departure from the ruined city, “Troy” has, in a key sense, = the ships; Iris is urging the destruction of that which she lamented she would never again see. Iris/Cassandra is essentially calling for the establishment of another “toy Troy” comparable to the settlement at Buthrotum. Cf. 629 *Italiam sequimur*. On the tragic antecedents of this scene, intertexts that relate ultimately to the varied destructions of Troy, see L. Hughes, “Euripidean Vergil and the Smoke of a Distant Fire,” in *Vergilius* 49 (2003), 69–83, with reference to the inspiration of *Hecuba*, *Andromache*, and *Troades* on the Virgilian depiction of the action of the Trojan women in Sicily.

638 *hic domus est’ inquit ‘vobis.’ iam tempus agi res,*

The disguised goddess is correct; Sicily is the home for at least some of the Trojan women. It is possible that the “staccato” (Williams) rhythm here is a reflection of the goddess’ impromptu mendacity; there is no indication that she

has had very much time (if any) to rehearse her speech, and the introduction of Cassandra's dream apparition only serves to make the lies all the more entangled.

iam tempus: It is time for action, and, indeed, has been time for a while now (*iam*); the language is hurried and brusque (vid. further Nisbet and Hubbard ad Horace, c. 1.37.4 *tempus erat*). On the question of whether *agi* here constitutes a play on words with 639 *prodigiis*, see O'Hara 1996, 164.

639 nec tantis mora prodigiis. en quattuor arae

prodigiis: The word is not common in the *A.*; cf. 3.366, of Celaeno's *prodigium*; 6.378–379 *nam tua finitimi, longe lateque per urbis / prodigiis acti caelestibus*, of the Sibyl's assurances to Palinurus; 8.294–295 *tu Cresia mactas / prodigia et vastum Nemeae sub rupe leonem* (of the hymn to Hercules).

en: For the use of the interjection with the nominative (vs. the accusative, “the preferred construction in prose”) see Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 23 ff.

quattuor arae: The four altars, which after a briefly held moment of suspense are revealed to be sacred to Neptune, correspond to the four snow white horses that were a portent and announcement of arrival on Italian soil (3.537–538 *quattuor hic, primum omen, equos in gramine vidi / tondentis campum late, candore nivali*); Neptune was a patron god of horses. The number four has associations with Roman triumphs (also the color white); see further Horsfall ad 3.537. The horse omen presaged the war in Italy; the altars that are despoiled here to provide fuel to burn the Trojan fleet (cf. the god's participation in the destruction of Troy at 2.610–612; also 624–625 *tum vero omne mihi visum considerare in ignis / Ilium et ex imo verti Neptunia Troia*) are metaphorical cult sites for the sacrifices of (just possibly) Palinurus, Misenus, Nisus and Euryalus (cf. above on 353–361, of the shield that had been plundered from a temple of Neptune that was awarded to Nisus after he cheated). See below on 699 for the four ships that are lost to the fire even after the divine intervention of Jupiter; the number of ships that is lost is = to the number that participated in the regatta that metaphorically enacted the journey to Hesperia. Note also the association of the number with Neptune at *G.* 3.113 ff. (the first yoking of four horses by Ericthonius), especially 121–122 *et patriam Epirum referat fortisque Mycenae, / Neptuniquae ipsa deducat origine gentem*.

On the question of why these four altars were erected on the beach, Paolo Beni's 1622 *A.* commentary speculates that Cloanthus ordered them to be set up at once after the regatta in fulfillment of his vow. “Expressió ambigua: el foc dels quatre altars esmentats i alhora, potser, els focs del campament naval troià” (Dolç ad loc.). There may also be a connection to the four altars of *E.* 5.65–66 *en quattuor aras / ecce duas ibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebos*, with possible

associations of Caesar's assassination and the rise of Octavian (see further Coleman ad loc. for speculation on the use of *altaria* of a mortal and *aras* of a god, and for commentary on the view—"already accepted by some in antiquity"—that Daphnis ("at heaven's gate," in Rieu's happy phrase) = the apotheosized Julius). The Virgilian episode of the attempted burning of the Trojan fleet may connect, too, with the (implicit) Augustan response to the Caesarian idea of restoring the imperial capital to Troy. See further E. Ramage, "Augustus' Treatment of Julius Caesar," in *Hist.* 34.2 (1985), 223–245; also T. Hubbard, "Intertextual Hermeneutics in Vergil's Fourth and Fifth Eclogues," in *CJ* 91.1 (1995), 11–23.

Four ships, and now four altars; the context is decidedly grimmer. Cf. Horsfall ad 6.243: "Norden, La Cerda invoke the relatively less fortunate character of the even number ($4 = 2 \times 2$)," with bibliographical references to relevant folkloric work.

640 Neptuno; deus ipse faces animumque ministrat.

Neptuno: For the god see on 14; the appearances of the lord of the sea are heavily concentrated in the first, Odyssean half of the *A.*; in 7–12 the only mentions of the god come in reference to his son Messapus, who is repeatedly identified as the *Neptunia proles* (7.691 ff.; 9.523–524; 10.353–354; 11.128–130; note that the son is, appropriately enough, also an *equum domitor*), and in the dramatic depiction of the combat of the immortals at Actium on the shield (8.698–700 *omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis | contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Minervam | tela tenent*)—a signal appearance of the god in the last book of the epic's second third, and a harking back to the divine action in the destruction of the eastern city of Troy, as Neptune and the other Roman deities cooperate in the ruin of Cleopatra's Egyptian forces. For the god's hostility to the Trojans cf. Homer, *Il.* 14.357 ff.; 21.435 ff.; in Euripides he is their patron (see Lee ad *Troad.* 7; Platnauer ad *IT* 1414–1415).

ministrat: The verb occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 71 *non iam mater alit tellus virisque ministrat* (of the comparison of the dead Pallas to a cut flower). In the force of the verb there is a reminder of how the god assisted in the destruction of Troy (2.610–612).

641 haec memorans prima infensum vi corripit ignem

haec memorans: With reference to what the goddess has just related, but also to the memory of the Neptunian destruction of Troy that was unveiled by Venus to her son. The phrase recurs at 743, in a rather different fire-related connection; also at 10.680 *haec memorans animo nunc huc, nunc fluctuat illuc*, of Turnus after he has been deluded by the Aeneas phantom.

infensum: Cf. 587 *infensi*, during the *lusus Troiae*; the adjective occurs a striking 4× in 11 (122–123 *tum senior semperque odiis et crimine Drances | infensus iuveni Turno*, of another sort of generational conflict); 336 *tum Drances idem infensus*; 859 *infensa tetendit* (of Opis stringing her bow to slay Arruns); 899 *ingruere infensos hostis*, in the report Acca makes to Turnus in the wake of Camilla's death. Elsewhere, it is used at 2.76–77 *et super ipsi Dardanidae infensi poenas cum sanguine poscunt* (in the speech of the lying Sinon); 4.321 *infensi Tyrii* (in the the similar scene where Dido tells Aeneas of how she is so widely hated); 9.793 *cum telis premit infensis* (where the Trojans fighting Turnus in their camp are compared to a crowd that presses on a lion); 12.232 *infensa Etruria Turno* (in the speech of Camers). Here, Iris' firebrand is "hateful" because it seeks the destruction of Troy with what we might call extreme prejudice; what was mimicry in the game of Troy is now already a sort of deadly reality. Servius takes the epithet as transferred from the goddess (who is hateful in part because she is Jupiter's avatar, and in part because of the eventual divine favor that will be shown to the Rome that is born from flames such as these).

vi corripit: The phrase is repeated at 12.93 *validam vi corripit hastam*, of Turnus' seizing of the *Actoris Aurunci spoliū*. Juno will send Iris to Turnus at the very opening of 9 (1–5), where the attack Turnus is encouraged to launch on the Trojan camp will yield to his own decision to try to burn Aeneas' fleet. For the seizing of the fire as a "defilement of normal ritual practice," see Panoussi 2009, 168. For the verb see Norden, pp. 294; 273; 408.

V's depiction of Iris as firebrand and destroyer of the Trojan fleet may owe something to "the well-established image of Helen as Fury" (Horsfall ad A. 6, p. 363; cf. also Fratantuono and Braff 2012).

642 *sublataque procul dextra conixa coruscat*

sublata ... dextra: Imitated by Silius at *Pun.* 12.623; cf. Valerius Maximus 3.2.17.16 (of Scipio Nasica); also Hyginus, *Ast.* 2.6.1.12.

procul: The force of the adverb governs all of the goddess' actions; what she did, she did from afar, with a subtle hint of her divine power, including her ability to hurl a presumably effective firebrand from a distance.

conixa: For the verb see on 264 *conixi*.

coruscat: The verb occurs 6× in the *A.*, *semel* in *G.* (4.73); cf. 8.661–662 *duo quisque Alpina coruscant | gaesa manu*; 10.651–652 *talia vociferans sequitur strictumque coruscat | mucronem* (of Turnus); 12.431 *hinc atque hinc oditque moras hastamque coruscat* (of Iapyx); 887 *Aeneas instat contra telumque coruscat*; 919 *cunctanti telum Aeneas fatale coruscat*: a striking three times in the poem's final book.

643 et iacit. arrectae mentes stupefactaque corda

iacit: The first brand does not seem to do much, despite the force with which the goddess snatched it up to commence the attempted burning; the poet thereby creates an effective picture of the suddenness with which the subsequent actions occur: Pyrgo will intervene, and the women begin their furious, fiery assault on the ships, almost as soon as Iris launches her dramatic attack. Cf. 662 *coniciunt*.

arrectae mentes: Cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.186; Silius, *Pun.* 2.295. Iris' casting of the firebrand is of a piece with Allecto's attacks that instigate the war in Latium; if the *lusus* was a mimicry of (civil) war, then the imminent assault of the Trojan women on their own ships has something of an element of city-sacking (cf. Pyrgo = "tower" as she tries to defend against the siege).

stupefacta: The verb recurs at 7.118–119 *primamque loquentis ab ore | eripuit pater ac stupefactus numine pressit*, of Aeneas' reaction to Ascanius' words in the wake of the fulfillment of Celaeno's prophecy; cf. *E.* 8.3 *stupefactae carmine lynces*; *G.* 4.365 *et ingenti motu stupefactus aquarum*, also above on 406 *stupet*. With the "stupefied hearts" cf. 12.269 *calefactaque corda*, and especially 729 below, of the *fortissima corda* of those who will venture on to Italy. On V's descriptions of the heart and its physical (and emotional) responses, see Heuzé 1985, 14–15.

644 Iliadum. hic una e multis, quae maxima natu,

Iliadum: Cf. *A.* 2.580 *Iliadum turba et Phrygiis comitata ministris* (during the Helen episode); 7.248 *Iliadumque labor vestes* (another hemistich, as Ilioneus describes presents that had once belonged to the Trojan royal family, rulers of a city now destroyed). Cf. 622 *Dardanidum*.

una: Neptune will demand one life for the safe passage of the ships (815); cf. Horace, c. 3.11.13 *una de multis face nuptiali*; Ps.-V., *Ciris* 91 *atque unam ex multis Scyllam non esse puellis*.

maxima natu: Cf. Beroë as *longaeva* (620); the soon to be introduced Pyrgo outranks her younger fellow Trojan: the generational theme. On expressions of age in V. see Conway ad 1.644 *maximus*.

645 Pyrgo, tot Priami natorum regia nutrix:

Pyrgo: "Tower," i.e., an appropriate name for the nurse of so many royal children; it is doubtful the poet intended any reminiscence of the Plautine braggart soldier. On Pyrgo see especially the detailed entry of G. Brugnoli in *EV* IV, 118–119. The nurse's intervention will fail in part because she is the mother of the dead; the city and its sons are no more. Once again, the poet underscores the ethnographic theme, this time with reference to how it will be the aged

Trojan royal nurse who tries to quench the fires from Neptune's altars. For the connection between this nurse and "fire" as well as "Perg"amum, see Smith 2011, 123; for the nurse's revelation of Iris, Feeney 1991, 176. See Servius here for the idea that the speech is not meant to dissuade the women from burning the ships, but rather to persuade them by mention of the divine nature of the speaker.

nutrix: Vid. Nisbet and Hubbard ad Horace, c. 1.22.16: "a *nutrix* was primarily a wet-nurse." The name that evokes images of protective fortifications is joined by another imagine of defense and safe keeping; together the tower and the nurse, as it were, bookend the verse.

646 'non Beroë vobis, non haec Rhoeteia, matres,

Rhoeteia: Cf. 12.456 *talis in adversos ductor Rhoeteius hostis*, of Aeneas (in a passage that underscores his eminently Trojan associations); at 6.505–506 *tunc egomet tumulum Rhoeteo in litore inanem | constitui*, Aeneas addresses the shade of Deiphobus, while at 3.108 *Teucus Rhoeteas primum est advectus in oras*, Anchises argues that Teucer had come from Idaean Crete to the Troad. Rhoeteus is also the name of a victim of Pallas in the complicated battle narrative of 10.399 ff., where Rhoeteus is slain as he flees Teuthras, but by dying manages to give a reprieve to Ilus. For the scansion (here quadrisyllabic, vs. 3.108 trisyllabic) see Keulen ad Seneca, *Troad.* 108.

See further Reed 2007, 5 on how at 10.339 "an Italian named Rhoeteus dies in the place of an Italian named Ilus—both bear names associated with the toponymy of Troy," and on the seemingly conflicting etymologies of Rhoet-(Trojan) and Rut-(Italian). The Arcadian Pallas kills Rhoeteus; Ilus is thus saved: Ilus had been the target of Pallas, but Rhoeteus, who was fleeing his own pursuers, intercepted the missile weapon. His death line helps to secure the etymological play with the Rutulians: *caedit semianimis Rutulorum calcibus arva* (10.404); Trojan and Italian are shading into one in (and indeed by means of) the terrible crucible of what is essentially a civil war in light of the future ethnographic settlement of the new Italy/Rome.

647 est Dorycli coniunx; divini signa decoris

divini: The adjective is repeated below at 711 *est tibi Dardanius divinae stirpis Acestes*, with reference to the river god Crinismus; cf. above on 47, *divini ... parentis*, where Aeneas speaks of his father: a neat balance of uses as we move from Anchises to Acestes, by way of Iris.

decoris: Turnus addresses Iris as the *decus caeli* at 9.18. The word has hymnic, cultic associations (Nisbet and Hubbard ad Horace, c. 1.32.13); cf. Camilla as the *decus Italiae* in Turnus' estimation and appraisal. *Divini signa decoris*

may be a vague reminiscence of Cicero's *conspexit numinis augur, / fausta que signa suae laudis reditusque notavit* (of Marius); Servius notes that the language refers to all the various signs by which the goddess' divinity might be noted.

648 ardentisque notate oculos, qui spiritus illi,

ardentis: Cf. on 637 *ardentis dare visa faces*. The "burning eyes" are of course especially appropriate given the goddess' incendiary actions. Once again, the key word is placed first in the verse.

notate: The verb is rare in V; cf. *A.* 3.515 *sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia caelo* (of Palinurus); 12.174 *summa notant pecudum paterisque altaria libant*, of the treaty rites between Trojans and Latins; also *E.* 3.68; 5.14; *G.* 3.100. See further here H. Rose, "Divine Disguisings," in *The Harvard Theological Review* 49.1 (1956), 63–72.

spiritus: Aeneas notes that he will not be ashamed to remember Elissa, *dum spiritus hos regit artus* (4.336); Anchises speaks of the action of what we might call the breath of life at 6.726 *spiritus intus alit*; at 12.365 *spiritus* is used of the blasts of Boreas. It is not entirely clear what quality or attribute Pyrgo observes here; Williams defined it as the "proud bearing" of the goddess (with citation of Cicero, *De Leg. Agr.* 2.93 *regio spiritu*), in contrast to the Servian explanation of the *divinus odor*. Pyrgo points out Iris' eyes, visage, voice and gait, all of which can be grasped readily by the senses of sight and hearing; it is attractive to add an olfactory element to the revelation of the goddess. At 1.402 ff., Aeneas' disguised mother is revealed by the glow on her rosy neck, the ambrosial odor of her hair, and her divine gait; at 7.445 ff. Allecto reveals herself in all her furious horror to Turnus. Only here in the *A.* is a divinity "caught" in a state of disguise; it is a testament to the rage and madness of the Trojan women (and to Iris' majesty) that Pyrgo's revelation of the goddess' trick does nothing to halt the burning of the ships.

illi: With deictic force, in close coordination with 649 *eunti*, as the disguised goddess' physical demeanor is introduced as evidence.

649 qui vultus vocisque sonus vel gressus eunti.

vocis ... sonus: Ciceronian; (perhaps) surprisingly rare otherwise; the collocation of face and voice is also found in the orator's rhetorical works; cf. Nepos, *Att.* 22.1.1; Livy 36.32.5.3; Quintilian.

gressus: On Virgilian descriptions of perambulation and gait see Heuzé 1985, 436–437.

eunti: Cf. on 554 *euntis*; here used as a sort of dative of the possessor (Phillipson). The present passage is echoed at 10.640 *dat sine mente sonum gressusque*

effingit euntis, where Juno fashions the Aeneas phantom to distract Turnus. For the recognition of the goddess from her stride see Fredrick 2002, 191. The participial form of *ire* at line-end is Lucretian (*DRN* 3.524); cf. 607 above; Grattius, *Cyn.* 433; 4× in Ovid, *Met.*; 7× in Statius, *Theb.*; 1× in his *Ach.*; in general not particularly common in verse.

650 ipsa egomet dudum Beroën digressa reliqui

egomet: Also at *A.* 3.623 (= Achaemenides); 6.505 (= Aeneas to the ghost of Deiphobus). Perhaps with an air of informality (the intensive common in Plautus; also in Horace's *serm.*; frequent enough in Statius; never in Ovid), though the main point (especially in collocation with the intensive *ipsa*) is for Pyrgo to emphasize her empirical, eyewitness knowledge that Iris is not really Beroë.

dudum: Also at *A.* 2.726–727 *et me, quem dudum non ulla interiecta movebant / tela* (Aeneas of his departure from Troy); 10.599–600 *haud talia dudum / dicta dabas; morere et fratrem ne desere frater* (Aeneas to Lucagus). The detail is somewhat curious here; the fact that Pyrgo left Beroë a long time ago does not lend support to her case.

digressa: The verb is not particularly common in *V.*; cf. *A.* 2.718 *me bello e tanto digressum* (of Aeneas); 3.410–411 *ast ubi digressum Siculae te admoverit orae / ventus* (Helenus to Aeneas); 492 *hos ego digrediens lacrimis adfabar obortis* (Aeneas to Helenus and his companions); 715 *hinc me digressum vestris deus appulit oris* (Aeneas to Dido); 4.80 *post ubi digressi*; also *G.* 3.300; *Ps.-V.*, *Culex* 223; 381: most commonly used (fittingly enough) in the book with the most frequent departures.

651 aegram, indignantem tali quod sola careret

aegram: The nurse of so many children is, appropriately enough, identified as the sole companion of the sick Beroë.

indignantem: Cf. on 229; participial forms of the verb occur 1× in 5 and 1× in 11 (831 *vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras*, of Camilla's death; = 12.952, of Turnus'). The other Virgilian occurrences = *A.* 1.55 *illi indignantes* (Aeolus' winds); 2.93 *et casum insontis mecum indignabar amici* (Sinon to the Trojans); 7.770 *tum pater omnipotens ... indignatus* (Jupiter regarding Hippolytus' resurrection); 8.649 *illum indignanti similem* (Porsenna on the shield); 728 *et pontem indignatus Araxes*; also *G.* 2.162: an interesting assortment of ascriptions of indignation.

careret: The form *decies* in Cicero, and perhaps first here in poetry; cf. *Laus Pisonis* 234–235 *quod canit, et sterili tantum cantasset avena / ignotus populis, si Maecenate careret*; Lucan, *BC* 6.580. "The subjunctive is again virtually oblique

as in l. 621, expressing what passed through the mind of the real Beroë" (Phillipson ad loc.).

652 munere nec meritos Anchisae inferret honores.'

munere: With reference to the prize theme from the games; Pyrgo reports that the real Beroë is indignant that she lacks a share in the *munus* of honoring Anchises. *Munus* is often used of offerings to deities (vid. Horsfall ad 6.137); in this book of games, it is applied (not surprisingly) to the prizes presented at the games for the (more or less) deified Anchises.

meritos ... honores: Also in V. at A. 3.118 *sic fatus meritos aris mactavit honores*, of the offerings made to Neptune and Apollo before the departure from Delos to Crete; 3.264 *numina magna vocat meritosque indicit honores*, of the votive sacrifices to avert Celaeno's prophecy; 8.188–189 *saevius hospes Troiane, periculis / servati facimus meritosque novamus honores*. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 13.594; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.702; Silius, *Pun.* 4.736. Cicero has *meritos ... honores* at *Phil.* 7.10.2–3. The phrase continues the subtle theme of Anchises' divinity that has continued through the course of the book's description of the memorial in honor of the death of Aeneas' father; V. ends Pyrgo's brief speech with an effective mention of the honoree of the day's celebrations and rites, just before disaster commences.

653 haec effata.

The fifth of seven unfinished lines in the book; see above on 294. Here, as often, the half-line is effective: what happens now, happens quickly and in close conjunction with what has gone before; Pyrgo's revelation of Iris' divinity does nothing to stop the women from despoiling Neptune's altars for fire and fuel to torch the vessels. Cf. A. 4.499 *haec effata silet, pallor simul occupat ora* (of Dido with Anna); also the related 7.456–457 *sic effata facem iuveni coniecit et atro / lumine fumantis fixit sub pectore taedas*, of a similar yet different sort of (ultimately) Junonian incendiary action. The "unfinished" verse effectively elides into the next, as the women move quickly to act in response both to the incendiary incitements of the disguised goddess and the attempts of the tower-like Pyrgo to forestall the latest expression of madness and fury.

effata: The form also in V. at A. 2.524 (of Creüsa); 4.30; 456; 499 (of Dido); 6.262 (of Deiphobe); 12.601 (of Amata); 885 (of Juturna). Cf. Horsfall ad 6.455 *adfatus ... est*.

654 at matres primo ancipites oculisque malignis

On the reaction of the Trojan women here to Iris/Beroë see Wiltshire 1989, 47, 77–78, 107.

incipites: For the adjective see on 589; once again, V. closely connects neighboring episodes by verbal repetition. Here, the descriptor comes amid a striking two-line meditation on the state of the Trojan women in the wake of Pyrgo's announcement of "Beroë's" divinity; the women are "critically poised" and "wavering" (*OLD* s.v. 5), and in the next verse they will be *ambiguae*, but between the two related words that underscore their hesitation, the poet notes that their eyes are *maligni* (cf. Pyrgo's detail about the disguised goddess' burning eyes at 648). See further Horsfall ad 3.47; there may be a hint in the present passage that the *matres* are indeed profoundly "two-edged" in their intentions and demeanor.

malignis: This strong adjective appears 1× in 5 and 1× in 11 (525 *aditusque maligni*, of the locus of the ambush Turnus sets for Aeneas). Elsewhere it occurs in the haunting description of the journey of Aeneas and the Sibyl into the underworld (6.270–271 *quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna | est iter in silvis*); cf. *G.* 2.179. The description is telling (and cf. *R malignae*); the women view the ships "with malignant eyes," i.e., with eyes that are full of ill-disposition (*OLD* s.v. 3).

655 *ambiguae spectare rates miserum inter amorem*

ambiguae: For the adjective see on 326 above.

spectare: The so-called historic infinitive ("several excellent examples of which occur in Macaulay's *Horatius*"—Phillipson ad loc.) here describes especially vivid and dramatic action, as the women are briefly poised between the wish to remain in Sicily and the desire to advance to Hesperia. The verb occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 200 *ardentis spectant socios*, in a very different context of fire and gazing.

miserum ... amorem: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 14.702–703 *supplex ad limina venit | et modo nutrici miserum confessus amorem* (of Iphis' love for Anaxarete). The love for the "present land" (656) is *miser* in part because it engenders an action as extreme as the burning of the ships; also because of the emotions of weariness and fatigue with the journey that serve to make Sicily so attractive a final haven.

656 *praesentis terrae fatisque vocantia regna,*

praesentis: Cf. 363 *praesens*.

fatis: A difficult word in context, which the poet deliberately locates at the emphatic midpoint of the verse. The *regna* that are calling the women are put forth in contrast to the *praesens terra* (i.e., Acestes' Sicily); the call of those *regna* is in accord with fate. But some Trojans will remain behind in the new settlement of Segesta, and the establishment of that foundation can also be described as "fated."

vocantia: Italy was “fleeing away” at 629 *Italiam sequimur fugientem*, at least according to Iris; here the poet notes that the *regna* (sc. *Italiae*) were calling these women—and the call was heard, however fleetingly, and however in competition with the *amor praesentis terrae*.

On the general theme of the calling of the fates, see Horsfall ad 6.147 *si te fata vocant*, with ample bibliography.

657 cum dea se paribus per caelum sustulit alis

The goddess’ work is done, even before the poet resolves the question of the wavering of the Trojan women. With the departure of the divine rainbow here cf. 861, as winged Sleep leaves Aeneas’ flagship.

dea ... sustulit: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 5.574, of Arethusa as she lifts her head from her deep spring.

paribus ... alis: So of Mercury at 4.252 *hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis*; cf. of Iris at 9.14–15 *dixit, et in caelum paribus se sustulit alis | ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum*, where the present scene is repeated.

caelum sustulit: Naevian (*Bell. Pun.* 24.1 *manusque susum ad caelum sustuli suas rex | Amulius divisque gratulabatur*).

658 ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum.

The line is repeated at 9.15, where the rainbow goddess leaves Turnus (see here Hardie, and Dingel); the Rutulian will recognize the deity, though he will be ignorant of who was responsible for sending the messenger to him (9.18–19 *quis te mihi nubibus actam | detulit in terras?*). *Secuit* rather neatly cuts the line as it enacts the action of the goddess in her flight; there is perhaps a reminiscence in the present passage and at 9.15 of the Iridian cutting of Dido’s lock.

ingentem ... arcum: The phrase both frames the line and neatly closes a ring with the image that opened the whole episode (609 *per mille coloribus arcum*; 611 *conspicit ingentem concursum*); the huge rainbow embraces the entire image of the goddess’ flight, and the noun and adjective neatly enclose the verse.

659 tum vero attonitae monstris actaeque furore

tum vero: See on 172; Henry comments, “Tum vero here, as everywhere else, expresses the production of the full effect ... always simply the production, at last, of that full effect which preceding minor causes had failed to produce—that full effect which was *then indeed* produced.” See further Mandra 1934, 178–179 (= Appendix II) for “The Usage of the Adverb Tum in the Aeneid.”

attonitae monstris: The language echoes the reaction of the Sicilians and Trojans alike to the arrow shot of Acestes (529 *attonitis haesere animis*); cf. 3.172

talibus attonitus visis et voce deorum (of Aeneas' reaction to the dream apparition of the Penates); 4.282 *attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum* (of Aeneas after Mercury's visitation); 6.52–53 *neque enim ante dehiscens / attonitae magna ora domus* (Deiphobe's comments to Aeneas before the descent to Avernus, where see Austin for the "personified" *domus* of the god); 7.580–581 *tum quorum attonitae Baccho nemora avia matres / insultant thiasis*; 814 (of the reaction to Camilla); 12.610 *coniugis attonitus fatis urbisque ruina* (of Latinus in the wake of Amata's suicide); cf. *G.* 2.508; 3.545. What the women saw on the strand was "something outside the norm of nature" (Nisbet and Hubbard ad Horace, c. 1.37.21); they were shaken, and reasonably so.

For *monstris* see on 523 *monstrum*. For the burning of the Trojan fleet as possible evocation of the ruin of the Roman fleet at Drepanum in 249 B.C., see Goldschmidt 2013, 115n43; "The battle was lost due to a famous act of impiety (P. Clodius Pulcher threw the sacred chickens into the sea (Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.7)). Virgil's winner [in the regatta], by contrast, is successful because of his appeal to divine aid (5.232–43)."

furor: Another image of fury, to be connected closely with the allusion to Dido's madness and frenzy from the beginning of the book; there the peril came from water in the matter of the storm that threatened the Trojan fleet, while here it is fire that will endanger the vessels; cf. also 662 *furit*, of the action of the flames.

660 *conclamant, rapiuntque focus penetralibus ignem,*

conclamant: The only two occurrences of the verb in the epic before this passage come at the hemistich 2.233 *numina conclamant*, in the aftermath of Laocoön's death, and at 3.523 *Italiam primus conclamat Achates*, of the first sighting of Hesperia by the Trojans. The verb is usually employed in solemn circumstance; cf. 6.259 *conclamat vates*, of Deiphobe's call for the profane to depart before the descent to the underworld; 7.504 *duros conclamat agrestis*, of Silvia's call for help after the death of her pet stag; 9.35 *primus ab adversa conclamat mole Caicus*, after Turnus' attack on the camp is discovered; 375 *conclamat ab agmine Volcens*, after the notice of Euryalus and Nisus; 425 *conclamat Nisus*, before his suicidal charge; 10.738 *conclamant socii laetum paeana secuti*, of the followers of Mezentius' victim Orodes; 12.426 *conclamat primusque animos accendit in hostem* (of Iapyx). The prefix here is both intensive and cooperative, as the women work as one body to fire the ships.

focus: Hearths appear 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 11.211–212 *maerentes altum cinerem et confusa ruebant / ossa focus*. The emphasis is on the perversion of what should be the association of hearth and home; of course the decision to burn the vessels will lead directly to the establishment of a new home for these

women in Sicily. “The hearths are in adjoining houses” (Knapp)—but Virgil likely did not know or care.

penetralibus: The descriptor deliberately evokes the memory of Priam’s inner sanctum on the night Troy fell; cf. 2.484 *apparent Priami et veterum penetralia regum*; 508 *limina tectorum et medium in penetralibus hostem*; note also 297 *aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem*, of the sacred fire Aeneas seizes in protection after the dream apparition of Hector; 665–667 *ut mediis hostem in penetralibus utque | Ascanium patremque meum iuxtaque Creüsam | alterum in alterius mactatos sanguine cernam?* (Aeneas to Anchises). The adjective recurs at 4.504 *pyra in penetrali sede* (of Dido’s preparations for suicide); 7.59 *laurus erat tecti medio in penetralibus altis*; 9.258–259 *per magnos, Nise, penates | Assaracique larem et canae penetralia Vestae* (Ascanius to Nisus, a passage that owes to the description of Aeneas’ actions at 743–744 below, after the nocturnal visitation of his father); cf. also G. 1.379.

Penetralis is thus most often associated with the horror of Troy’s last night and the invasion of its inner sancta; here, the women seize fire taken from a place that reminds the reader of the very object of foreign invasion and destruction from that fateful night, as the poet reverses the image of plunder and ruin in his description of the Trojan women’s assault on their own home. Ethnographically, especially if we keep in mind the tradition that “Rome” was the woman who instigated the burning, the destruction is not so much of a cherished home as of a dead city that must be razed before the new settlement can be established. Here, the geography of the beachfront altars may be strained somewhat to allow for the repetition of the image of the inner sanctum and its hearth-like fires (though the language does reflect the sacred space that is marked off by the four altars, makeshift or not).

661 *pars spoliant aras, frondem ac virgulta facesque*

spoliant: For the verb see above on 224. The women’s action would ordinarily be a sacrilegious desecration, though here Juno’s own avatar gave the idea for the source of the fuel. There is something of a parallel between this scene and the encouragement that Venus gives her son to attack Latinus’ capital at 12.554 ff. (cf. especially 573 *ferite faces propere foedusque reposcite flammis*); there, Aeneas will be compared to a shepherd who smokes out bees (587–592). Cf. 9.75 *dirupere focos*.

virgulta: Cf. 3.23, of the locus of Polydorus’ *tumulus*; 6.704 *seclusum nemus et virgulta sonantia silvae* (in Elysium); 7.677 *et magno cedunt virgulta fragore* (of the mountains the Centaurs travel); 12.207 *numquam fronde levi fundet virgulta nec umbras* (Latinus during the treaty ratification); 12.521–522 *ac velut immissi diversis partibus ignes | arentem in silvam et virgulta sonantia lauro* (of Aeneas

and Turnus rushing forth in battle—a passage that owes much to the present episode of the burning of the ships and other ethnographic and eschatological scenes in the epic).

662 *coniciunt. furit immisis Volcanus habenis*

coniciunt: The cooperative response to Iris' *iacit* (643); cf. above on 660 *conclamant*, where again the emphasis is on cooperation as well as intensity of action.

Volcanus: As at 9.75–76 *piceum fert fumida lumen / taeda et commixtam Volcanus ad astra favillam*. The god is mentioned 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 439 *factaque Volcani manibus paria induat arma* (Turnus alluding to the arms of Aeneas). "... for, as Vesta is the spirit of the hearth-flame, so Volcanus is in animistic thought the spirit of flame in general; and in most of the instances a semi-animistic sense survives" (Bailey 1935, 121). For the metonymy see Williams' Oxford note here, and especially Harrison ad 10.407–408.

immissis ... habenis: Modal ablative (Knapp ad loc.); the phrase occurs also at Propertius, c. 3.1.13 *quid frustra immissis mecum certatis habenis?*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.687; 5.586; 8.139; Silius, *Pun.* 4.681; 11.399. The metaphor of chariots and horsemanship connects back to the pantomime battle of the equestrian display, and also looks forward to the cavalry engagement of 11; in the personification of fire there is something, too, of the role of the immortals in dismantling Troy. R reads *immensis* here; the phrase does not occur in extant Latin. Cf. here, too, the *effusis imbribus* that Jupiter unleashes at 693.

663 *transtra per et remos et pictas abiete puppis.*

transtra: See on 136. The memorial games for Anchises opened with a ship race; the burning of the vessels closes a nautical ring with a scene of destruction that crowns the ethnographic imagery of the regatta.

per: The anastrophe of the preposition serves to highlight the object of destruction; it is as if the thwarts are already consumed before the poet can describe the action of the fire.

pictas ... puppis: Cf. the imperative of Allecto/Calybe to Turnus, *pictasque exure carinas* (7.431). For painted boats see Fantham ad Ovid, *Fasti* 4.275–276 (also ad 430): "the paint was burnt in with wax." For the ablative *abiete* see Mackail's Appendix A on the "Virgilian Ablative," and Horsfall ad 6.658 *inter odoratum lauris nemus* ("the abl. of an extremely Virgilian type (Mynors) called 'explicative' by Görler (*EV* 2, 268)"); Knapp labels the present use an ablative of material, comparing 1.66 For the use of pitch pine in the construction of the hulls of ships cf. Pliny, *NH* 15.52 ff.

664–679 News of the Trojan women's burning of the ships is brought to Aeneas and the other men who are near Anchises' *tumulus*; Ascanius is the first to rush forth to the fleet and confront the *matres*, who scatter in fear as they recognize Aeneas, his son, and the other Trojans.

664 nuntius Anchisae ad tumulum cuneosque theatri

cuneos: The noun appears 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 137–138 *robora nec cuneis et olentem scindere cedrum / nec plaustris cessant vectare gementibus ornos*, during the preparations for the Trojan and Latin cremations. At 6.181–182 *cuneis et fissile robur / scinditur*, similar language is used of the obsequies for Misenuis; at 7.509–510 *quadrifidam quercum cuneis ut forte coactis / scindebat*, Tyrrhus calls for battle readiness in the wake of the death of Silvia's stag; at 12.457–458 *densi cuneis se quisque coactis / adglomerant*, wedge-like military formations are described. But most parallel to the present scene = 12.574–575 *atque animis pariter certantibus omnes / dant cuneum densaque ad muros mole feruntur*; cf. also 12.268–269 *simul ingens clamor et omnes / turbati cunei calefactaque corda tumultu*. The noun may well evoke the world of contemporary Roman theaters.

665 incensas perfert navis Eumelus, et ipsi

perfert: Cf. 9.692 *perfertur*; also 10.695; the verb both Caesarian and Ciceronian. The key word of the report is, fittingly enough, first in the line.

Eumelus: For the name (= "rich in sheep") see Paschalis 1997, 207–208; the character appears in the Homeric chariot race (*Il.* 23.588); P. draws a connection between the notion of having wealth in livestock and being a good shepherd (i.e., the furious women are like a flock without a *pastor*). There is no indication in V. of how this particular Trojan male managed to learn of the burning of the ships, or why he was in the vicinity of the women (if indeed he was; he may have been the first to notice the smoke, though this is less likely; for the shepherd as isolated figure see P. 1997, 208n116). The Homeric detail that Eumelus (the son of Admetus) was especially skilled in equestrian pursuits, and in possession of exceedingly swift horses (*Il.* 2.763ff., where see Kirk; his two mares were presents from Apollo, and they emerge as the swiftest steeds in the chariot race), may be relevant to the role of the homonymous Virgilian messenger, who can perhaps be imagined to have ridden quickly to Anchises' *tumulus*; the equestrian note and detail would also serve to connect the present sequence to the *lusus*, while the introduction of an unlucky figure from the Homeric chariot race serves also to link the present scene (which will end with the loss of four ships) to the Virgilian regatta. See further V. Koven-Matasy in *VE* I, 459.

666 respiciunt atram in nimbo volitare favillam.

atram: For the color (one of V's favorites, 71× in the *A.*), see Edgeworth 1992, 74–86, and cf. on 2; 19; 512; 693; 721. The black ash here will be quenched by the black tempest of Jupiter (693–694 *atra / tempestas*).

nimbo: The noun is poetic; cf. *A.* 1.51 *nimborum in patriam* (of the abode of Aeolus); *nimbosus Orion* at 1.535; 2.616 *insedit nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva* (of Pallas during the vision of the destruction of Troy); 3.274–275 *mox et Leucatae nimbose cacumina montis / et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo*; 3.586–587 *siderea polus, obscuro sed nubila caelo, / et lunam in nimbo nox intempesta tenebat*; 5.317 above; 8.391–392 *non secus atque olim cum rupta corusco / ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbus* (in the scene where Venus seduces Vulcan into forging the arms for Aeneas); 8.608–609 *at Venus aetherios inter dea candida nimbos / dona ferens aderat*; 10.634 *misit agens hiemem nimbo succincta per auras* (of Juno, before the creation of the phantom Aeneas); 12.415–416 *hoc Venus obscuro faciem circumdata nimbo / detulit* (when Venus procures the ditty to help to cure her son Aeneas' thigh wound). The contexts are thus both solemn and mixed in associations.

volitare: The verb occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 546 *et circumfuso volitabant milite Volsci*, of the threat to the infant Camilla.

favillam: Ash appears elsewhere in the *A.* at 3.573 *interdumque atram prorumpit ad aethera nubem*, of Etna; 6.227 *bibulam lavere favillam*, after the funeral of Misenus; 9.76 *et commixtam Vulcanus ad astra favillam*, of Turnus' attempted burning of the Trojan fleet.

667 primus et Ascanius, cursus ut laetus equestris

primus: The verse connects the present scene closely with the *lusus Troiae*; the leader of the Julian turn there is the first to rush to the *castra* (669) where the fleet is aflame. Appropriately enough, the son is the first to respond to the action of the mothers. With *primus* here cf. on 675 *simul*. This is the first leadership appearance of Ascanius in the epic; he will return to a position of prominence in Book 9 (the first book of the epic's final third), with disastrous consequences.

laetus: The key word of the book (see on 58), here in an especially poignant occurrence, now that the mood has darkened so appreciably. The signal term will recur once more, at 816 *laeta*, where the context is also dark, even if Venus seems rather unconcerned.

equestris: This is the only occurrence of the adjective in V. Knapp prosaically remarks that “Vergil does well to make some one who is on horseback speed to chide the women, and to check their activities.”

668 ducebat, sic acer equo turbata petivit

ducebat: The imperfect has deliberate force; Ascanius was in the midst of his leading the cavalry contingents when he was diverted by the attack on the ships.

turbata: Cf. 11.296–297 *variusque per ora cucurrit | Ausonidum turbata fremor*, of the reaction to Venulus' report of the embassy to Diomedes; the only other use of the form in the *A.* is exactly parallel to the present scene (9.13 *rumpemoras omnis et turbata arripe castra*, of Iris' charge to Turnus), another of the close links between the two books that are joined by the theme of the peril to the Trojan fleet. The language of the description of the disturbed camp may distantly echo that of the historians (especially Caesar).

petivit: Cf. 678 *saxa petunt*, of the women after the arrival of Ascanius and the others.

669 castra, nec exanimis possunt retinere magistri.

The restraining of Ascanius finds its parallel at 9.638ff., where Apollo (in the guise of Butes) warns the youth to abstain from further combat after his slaying of Numanus Remulus; the theme of the Augustan succession returns yet again, as the trainers fear for Ascanius' safety. Tib. reads *exanimem* here, which would work less well with 668 *acer*, and which would also offer a less compelling image than that of the breathless trainers as they struggle to hold back their over eager charge; V. also prefers the form *exanimis* (cf. 6.149 and 161, of Misenus; cf. too 1.484; 9.444 and 451 and 11.51 vs. 10.496 and 841). With the image of the breathless trainers trying to restrain Ascanius cf. the sacrificial *bos* at 499 and the hapless dove at 517; also 805 *exanimata ... agmina* (of the battle lines driven to the Trojan walls by Achilles); 4.672; 11.51; 110. The adjective is thus used most often either of the dead or those threatened with death; in the case of the race to the scene of the burning ships, there is a foreshadowing of the war in Italy and, in particular, the need to keep Ascanius safe from harm (ultimately, out of concern for the succession).

possunt retinere: Ciceronian (*De Leg. Agr.* 1.14.13; *De Orat.* 2.258.4).

670 'quis furor iste novus? quo nunc, quo tenditis' inquit

quis furor: A likely inspiration for Lucan's question at *BC* 1.8; the Trojan women are engaging in something of an act of civil war, though none of the Trojans (or Sicilians) present is aware of the larger ethnographic issues at play. For *quis novus* see Lazzarini ad Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.259.

iste: With its usual pejorative force, perhaps with a hint of contempt that the Trojan women are the sources of the fury; the implication is that their assembly was the last place whence one would have expected such frenzy to arise.

novus: Servius glosses the adjective as “magnus” or “inopinatus”; in part the point is that there have been troubles upon troubles for the Trojans, and the wrecked fleet is but the latest in a long line.

quo nunc, quo: The staccato effect of the monosyllables enacts well the breathless words of the young hero, as he faces the action of the Trojan women with incredulity.

The answer to Ascanius’ questions is Rome.

671 *heu miserae cives? non hostem inimicaque castra*

cives: Cf. 631 *dare civibus urbem*, as Iris urged the women to seek settlement in Sicily; the emphasis throughout is on the question of ascription to a city and citizenship; Ascanius, of course, views the women as Trojan citizens. *Miserae* here closes a ring with 623 *miserae*, as Iris/Beroë addressed the *matres*.

inimicaque castra: Cf. 9.315 *castra inimica petunt* (of Nisus and Euryalus during the night raid); 9.739 *castra inimica vides, nulla hinc exire potestas* (Pandarus to Turnus). Ascanius’ language deliberately encompasses enemies both public (*hostem*) and personal (*inimica*).

672 *Argivum, vestras spes uritis. en, ego vester*

Argivum: Cf. 673 *Ascanius*, a contrasting proper name in initial position.

vestras spes: “Sharp adverbs. asyndeton” (Knapp ad loc.).

uritis: Cf. A. 1.662 *urit atrox Iuno* (Venus to Cupid); 2.37 *subiectisque urere flammis* (Cypys’ advice regarding the wooden horse); 4.68 *uritur infelix Dido*; 7.12–13 *tectisque superbis | urit odoratam nocturna in lumina cedrum* (of Circe).

vester: The enjambment of the name is especially effective, particularly as it is joined with the dramatic removal of the helmet in the next verse. Together with *vestras* all the emphasis is on the shared commonalty (though the women have been separated from the men during the day’s rites and celebrations); Ascanius speaks of a union that has not been demonstrated by the gender segregation of the memorial games, and which is made more complicated by the ethnographic diversity of Trojan, Sicilian, and ultimately Roman realities.

673 *Ascanius!’—galeam ante pedes proiecit inanem,*

galeam: With the helmet here cf. 556 *omnibus in morem tonsa coma pressa corona*; also the helmet for the lots in the archery contest at 490–491.

proiecit: The casting forth of the helmet is a mark of the definitive end of the *lusus*, which was apparently interrupted by the news of the burning of the ships; the imitation of war has been replaced by the all too real fires that usually accompany the sack of cities. There may be something of a gesture of vulnerable surrender, too, as this son of Troy throws his helmet before the feet of

the *matres*. Ascanius' action with the helmet constitutes a gesture of revelation (especially after the dramatic interjectory *en* and the youth's announcement of his identity, which may have been concealed by the helmet; cf. the epiphany of Allecto to Turnus at 7.452 *en ego victa situ, quam veri effeta senectus / arma inter regum falsa formidine ludit*). With Ascanius' action here cf. Aeneas' baring of his shoulders at 685. The revelation of the identity of Aeneas' son connects with the epiphany of Iris; the goddess departed quickly, and now the grandson of the quasi-divine, Greek style hero enjoys his anxious advent.

inanem: The adjective appears 1× in 5 and 1× in 11 (49 *et nunc ille quidem spe multum captus inani*), of Aeneas' thoughts of Evander, where the descriptor appears again in close connection with the notion of hope or expectation (*spes, spe*); cf. the other Virgilian "empty helmet" passage, *G. 1.496 aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes*. On the force of the adjective see Williams 1960 (with reference to the Servian gloss "concavam, sine capite" [which was probably inspired by 677 *concaua*], and the notes of Wagner, Henry, et al.); he wonders if the "clang of the helmet on the ground" is meant to be heard. The point seems to be (at least in part) that in Ascanius' view, the women's attack on the fleet has left the young hero bereft of defense, and bereft of the strength that was invested in the ships. *Inanis* can = "serving no purpose, vain, futile" (*OLD* s.v. 13), and there may be a sense here that the helmet that was a defense during the pantomime has done nothing to defend against this assault (cf. on *ludo* below). "Simply "empty": there seems no reason for giving any other meaning" (Henderson ad loc.).

Ascanius' arrival and intervention here finds a parallel in how Ilioneus and he order the Trojans Idaeus and Actor to remove Euryalus' mother from the scene of the arrival of her son's head at 9.500–502, where the mother's lament is perhaps seen as a threat to tranquil order that must be suppressed.

674 *qua ludo indutus belli simulacra ciebat.*

Cf. 585 *pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis.*

indutus: See above on 264.

ludo: The helmet was part of the costume for the game; the burning of the ships constitutes a more hazardous reality, for which the helmet is useless.

belli ... ciebat: Cf. 6.828–829 *bellum / ciebant*, with Horsfall: "common language," the extant employment of which "does rather suggest an Ennian expression." The imperfect expresses the use of the helmet by the young warrior in the *lusus* that has just been interrupted; Ascanius has had no experience of *bellum* as yet, but only the *simulacra* thereof.

simulacra: Lucretian; all the emphasis of the equestrian game is on how the horse maneuvers presage the war that looms not so distantly in Latium.

675 accelerat simul Aeneas, simul agmina Teucrum.

accelerat: The verb appears elsewhere in V. at 6.630 *acceleremus* (Deiphobe to Aeneas in the underworld); 9.221 *acceleremus* (Euryalus to Nisus); 505 *accelerant ... Volsci*; 12.157 *accelera et fratrem, si quis modus, eripe morti* (Juno to Juturna). Aeneas hastens, as do the other Trojans, but the son arrives first at the scene of the crisis.

simul: In interesting sequence after 667 *primus*; Ascanius was first, even if Aeneas hastened to the scene at the same time. The repetition of the adverb serves only to emphasize the simultaneity of the action, as the leader and his men hurry to the scene of the disaster.

agmina Teucrum: Only here; cf. *Troiana per agmina* (7.144), and especially *Troianum dicitur agmen* at 602 above. Aeneas' men act in unison at the same time as their leader.

676 ast illae diversa metu per litora passim

ast: Introducing a strong contrast with the men who now rush to the scene, but also with the now former madness of the women themselves (cf. 679 *mutatae*); we learn at once that the crazed frenzy that inspired the burning of the ships has abated. "Grand and archaic" (Horsfall ad 6.316 *ast alium*). Cf. 509 above.

diversa ... litora: Cf. Silius, *Pun.* 7.572. For the collocation of *diversa* with *metu* cf. A. 4.163–164 *Dardaniusque nepos Veneris diversa per agros / tecta metu petiere; ruunt de montibus amnes* (just before Aeneas and Dido find the cave; the description of Ascanius as the grandson of Venus has special force given the goddess' wish for her son to be on good terms with the Carthaginian queen). See on 677 for another echo of the prelude to the cave scene; the reminiscences of the Dido episode continue the poet's emphasis on how the burning of the ships is a partial fulfillment of her crazed intentions and curses (especially 4.594 *ferre citi flammis*; cf. Mercury's admonition to Aeneas at 4.566–568 *iam mare turbari trabibus saevasque videbis / conlucere faces, iam fervere litora flammis, / si te attigerit terris Aurora morantem*).

passim: The adverb correlates closely with 677 *furtim*; the women scatter everywhere, and they secretly seek shelter in the forest and caves.

677 diffugiunt, silvasque et sicubi concava furtim

diffugiunt: Cf. 9.756 *diffugiunt versi trepida formidine Troes*; also 2.399–400 *diffugiunt alii ad navis et litora cursu / fida petunt* (the Greeks in the wake of the attack of the disguised Trojans); the future *diffugient* at 4.123 (during the storm that drives Aeneas and Dido to the fateful cave); also 10.804 *omnis campis diffugit arator* (of the ploughman's reaction to the storm that describes Aeneas' advance over the battlefield).

sicubi: Only here in the *A.*; cf. *G.* 3.332–333.

concava: Elsewhere in *V.* only at *G.* 4.49–50 *aut ubi odor caeni gravis aut ubi concava pulsu / saxa sonant vocisque offensa resultat imago*. Cf. also Ovid, *Her.* 10.22 *reddebant nomen concava saxa tuum* (Ariadne to Theseus); Silius, *Pun.* 5.432; 6.326. See Williams 1960 ad loc. for the cave imagery.

furtim: The adverb is old (Ennius; Lucilius; Plautus); both Lucretian and Catullan; and a favorite of Tibullus and Horace. Elsewhere in *V.* note *G.* 2.304; *A.* 2.18; 258; 3.50; 9.546; 11.765 (of Arruns in his stalking of Camilla; 1× in 5, 1× in 11).

678 *saxa petunt; piget incepti lucisque, suosque*

saxa: Cf. the *inhospita saxa* of 627. As an object of *petunt* cf. Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 179 *ecce, petunt rupes praeruptaque saxa capellae*.

piget: The impersonal verb appears elsewhere at *A.* 4.335 *nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae* (Aeneas to Dido); 7.233 *nec Troiam Ausonios gremio excepisse pigebit* (Latinus to Ilioneus); cf. *G.* 1.177. But the sentiment expressed in this verse is most evocative of 4.451 *taedet caeli convexa tueri* (of Dido). For the verb with *incepti* cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 3.175; with *lucis*, Silius, *Pun.* 7.226. “There is no zeugma in *piget* as the verb often has the same force of *poenitet*” (Henderson ad loc.).

incepti: Echoed at 714 *pertaesum magni incepti*.

suosque: See Williams 1960 for the jarring rhythm of the line-end, which serves to emphasize the point of how these women (however destined they may be for a home in Sicily, the intermediary site between Troy and Rome) are still Trojan; they recognize “their own,” and the change that comes over them (679 *mutatae*) has nothing to do with ethnography, and all to do with the departure of the goddess. Sicily had been a place of danger in *A.* 3 (principally as the locus of the Cyclopes; for the perhaps Euripidean tradition see O’Sullivan and Collard ad *Cyc.* 20); the island is not presented in 5 as an especially perilous home for the Trojan exiles who will remain here—the Odyssean world of 3 with its mythological wonders and hazards is being transformed into a Roman province.

679 *mutatae agnoscunt excussaue pectore Iuno est.*

agnoscunt: Very different from the use of the same form at 576 above, during the *lusus*; cf. 2.243, as the Greeks realize that the Trojans are wearing false arms.

excussaue pectore: Cf. 6.77 ff., of the reception of Phoebus by Deiphobe. The sequence ends, fittingly enough, with the goddess who was responsible for the whole episode. The (passive) language is interesting; the goddess Iris

had chosen to leave the scene once the damage had been done, and here Juno is “shaken out” by the women—but she, too, has no further use for the *matres*.

Participial forms of *excutere* occur 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 615 *excussus Aconteus*.

Servius raises the subtle point here that the *furor* has not left the women, only the *furoris causa*. With *pectore Iuno est* cf. 701 below, as Aeneas is consumed with worry about the aftermath of this incendiary episode.

680–699 The fact that the women regain their composure does nothing to help the situation with the burning ships; the collective effort of man and water is unable to put out the flames. Aeneas begins to tear his clothes and to call on the gods in supplication; he prays that the omnipotent Jupiter might either spare the ships from the fire, or that lightning might strike him down on the spot. The prayer is scarcely finished when a tremendous storm bursts forth in answer; the rains come and quench the flames, and all but four ships are saved from destruction.

If the rebellion of the women occurred at the Tiber mouth in some version of the tradition, then the force of 684 *nec ... flumina prosunt* takes on special meaning; the waters, in any case (Sicilian or Italian), will not assist in quenching the fires that are destroying the Trojan past.

680 sed non idcirco flamma atque incendia vires

The synaloephic effects of the verse effectively enact the force of the flame as it persistently laps at the fleet with destructive force. The present scene is a counterpoint to the threat to the Trojan ships in the storm of *A. 1*; the first book of the second third of the epic balances the first book of the first third in the matter of the peril to the vessels; cf. how the first book of the last third, *A. 9*, will also have a sequence where Aeneas’ fleet is endangered.

idcirco: I.e., because Juno has been shaken out from the hearts of the women; nature has a force all her own, and the fire rages on all the same. The word occurs only here in the *A.* (2× in the *G.*, 1.231; 3.445); not particularly common in poetry. The point may in part be to remind us of the dark change in mood after the sequence of the games (cf. *circus* as locus for athletic contests).

incendia: 4× in connection with the fall of Troy (1.566; 2.329; 569; 706); cf. 8.259 *incendia vana vomentem* (of Cacus); 9.71 and 77 (of Turnus’ attempt to burn the ships); 10.406 (in the simile that compares the allied effort that Pallas inspires to a shepherd burning brush). The ships are threatened by the flame, and, what is more (*atque*), by the burning force thereof.

681 indomitas posuere; udo sub robore vivit

indomitas: The adjective occurs also at *A.* 2.440 *sic Martem indomitum*; 594 *nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras?* (Venus to Aeneas); 7.521 *indomiti agricolae*; 8.728 *indomitique Dahae*; cf. *G.* 3.174; *Ps.-V., Ciris* 118.

posuere: Very different from the forthcoming uses of the same form at 8.53 *deligere locum et posuere in montibus urbem*; also 335.

udo: Cf. 357; the humorous image of the soiled Nisus has been replaced with the picture of the fire that lives even under the moist wood. *V.* here effectively combines the images of destruction by water and by fire, the twin perils of the Trojans during their Sicilian sojourn.

682 stuppa vomens tardum fumum, lentusque carinas

stuppa: Only here in *V.* (cf. *Ps.-V., Mor.* 11 *stuppas*); the relatively rare word for “coarse flax or hemp, tow” (*OLD*) invests the passage with a level of nautical detail that realistically underscores the thoroughness of the fire’s action. *V.* borrowed the term from Lucretius (*DRN* 6.880; 896; 899); cf. Persius, *s.* 5.135.

vomens: The verb occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. the gory 668–669 *sanguinis ille vomens rivus cadit atque cruentam | mandit humum*, of Camilla’s victim Clytius.

tardum: This and the next adjective emphasize the thoroughness of the destructive force of the smoke and fire; it is slow and yet alive and reasonably well as it continues its work of ruining the vessels. This is one of the half dozen uses of the adjective and forms of the related verb in the present book of the epic—a striking number relative to the other occurrences in the poem; cf. 154; 280; 395; 431; 453.

lentus: Vid. Nisbet and Hubbard ad Horace, *c.* 1.13.8; the emphasis is on the prolonged, lingering nature of the fire’s effects. *Lentus ... vapor* occurs also at Seneca, *HO* 1222–1223 *ardet felle siccato iecur | totumque lentus sanguinem avexit vapor*.

683 est vapor et toto descendit corpore pestis,

est: The verb is not common in the *A.*; cf. 4.66 *est mollis flamma medullas* (of Dido); 12.801 *ne te tantus edit tacitam dolor* (Jupiter to Juno); *edendi* at 7.113; 8.184; 9.63; also *G.* 3.506 *edebat*.

vapor: Cf. 698; elsewhere in *V.* only at 7.466 *volat vapor ater ad auras* (in the simile of the boiling water). The noun can encompass the perils of both smoke and heat.

toto ... corpore: Cf. *A.* 3.175 *tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor*; 4.253 *hinc toto praeceps se corpore ad undas*; 6.494 *atque hic Priamiden laniatum corpore toto*; 7.459 *perfundit toto proruptus corpore sudor*; 783–784 *ipse inter*

primos praestanti corpore Turnus / vertitur arma tenens et toto vertice supra est; 9.410 *dixerat et toto conixus corpore ferrum* (of Nisus); 812–813 *tum toto corpore sudor / liquitur*; 10.127 *fert ingens toto conixus corpore saxum*; 11.87 *sternitur et toto proiectus corpore terrae*; 313 *toto certatum est corpore regni*; 828–829 *tum frigida toto / paulatim exsolvit se corpore*; 12.728–729 *emicat hic impune putans et corpore toto / alte sublato consurgit Turnus in ense*; 919–921 *cunctanti telum Aeneas fatale coruscat, / sortitus fortunam oculis, et corpore toto / eminus intorquet*. “The ships [are] compared to individuals seized with disease” (Phillipson ad loc.); Tacitus is fond of the same sort of imagery to describe the spread of rebellious and mutinous feelings, e.g., among soldiers. Knapp classifies the ablative as either of extent of space or of route—but the two possibilities are not mutually exclusive.

pestis: Repeated for emphasis at 699, and used of fire also at 9.540 *in partem quae peste caret*; elsewhere in V. the word is applied to the monstrous Celaeno (3.215), the Cyclops (3.620), Allecto (7.505 *pestis enim tacitis latet aspera silvis*), and the Dirae (12.845; 865, two uses for the twin horrors); Arruns refers to Camilla as a *pestis* (11.792); also of Dido’s feelings for Aeneas (1.712 *pesti devota futurae*; 4.90 *ac tali persensit peste teneri*); cf. 6.736–737 *nec funditus omnes / corporeae excedunt pestes*; 10.55–56 *quid pestem evadere belli / iuvit* (Venus at the divine council). 3× of fire, then, and here in language that anticipates the Fury Allecto’s actions in 7. With *toto ... corpore* here cf. the action of Jupiter’s storm at 695 *ruit aethere toto*.

The verse is neatly framed by a verb that describes how the *vapor* devours the vessels, and a noun that describes the total effect of the crisis that is occasioned by the flame and smoke.

684 *nec vires heroum infusaque flumina prosunt.*

heroum: See on 289.

vires ... prosunt: Imitated by Ovid at *Met.* 1.305–306; cf. 12.501–502. With the strength of heroes cf. Propertius, c. 1.14.17 *illa potest magnas heroum infringere vires*. The *vires* of the heroes are no match for the *vires* of the flames (680).

infusaque flumina: Hyperbolic language, as befitting the action of heroes (this is a likelier interpretation than merely taking the noun of river-water, a conceivable but less vivid reading). The present scene echoes *A.* 4.250 *nix umeros infusa tegit, tum flumina mento*, of Atlas. Homer’s Achilles famously did battle with a river; here even the cooperative force of warriors and waters is of no help. For the participle see also Horsfall ad 6.726 *infusa per artus*, a passage that uses the language of liquid pervasiveness to rather different ends.

685 tum pius Aeneas umeris abscindere vestem

pius: For the signal descriptor see on 26; Aeneas is *pius* here in part because he seeks the aid of the immortals, and with proper ritual posture (686); Williams 1960 connects it to Aeneas' responsibility for his men. The adjective also sounds a note of anticipation: this prayer will be answered affirmatively. Cf. 688 *pietas*. It is not clear if the rending of garments is a natural enough action of one who is *pius*.

umeris: With reference to the shoulders that bore his father at 2.721 ff., especially in the context of *pietas*.

abscindere: Elsewhere in V. at A. 3.417–418 *venit medio vi pontus et undis / Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit*; 4.590 *flaventisque abscissa comas* (of Dido); cf. G. 2.23. Only of Aeneas and Dido, then, in the sense of rending clothes or hair; with Aeneas' gesture here cf. Ascanius' doffing of his helmet at 673. The relatively uncommon verb is vexed in the manuscript tradition; cf. M *excindere*; R *abscidere*. Tearing of the clothes is of course permitted to the epic hero; "ritual self-disfigurement in lamentation" (Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 322 ff.) would be out of place in the present context. On the tearing of the vesture here see H. Levy, "Rending the Garments as a Sign of Grief," in *The Classical Weekly* 41.5 (1947), 71–75.

vestem: One of the relatively rare references to clothing in the epic; on some interesting aspects of the topic, see here especially R. Starr, "Aeneas as the Flamen Dialis? Vergil's *Aeneid* and the Servian Exegetical Tradition," in *Vergilius* 43 (1997), 63–70. Useful for overall commentary on the topic = Lersch 1843, 241–248.

686 auxilioque vocare deos et tendere palmas

auxilio vocare: Also at Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.67.4: "predic. dat. ... first extended to *uocare* by Virg. *Aen.* 5.686; again in T. at 12.45.1" (Martin and Woodman ad loc.). With the calling on the gods for aid and succor cf. E. 1.36 *mirabar quid maesta deos, Amarylli, vocares*. There is a hint of pathos on Aeneas' calling on the immortals for help in light of the forthcoming machinations of Venus and Neptune that will culminate in the loss of Palinurus.

tendere palmas: For the gesture see on 233, of Cloanthus' prayer posture; Heuzé 1985, 627. As early as Servius (cf. ad 685) there is reference to critical comment on the possibility of Aeneas' overreaction to the disaster suffered here. There may be an element of *hysteron proteron* too; the gods who are the object of both prayer and palms are placed at the midpoint of the verse. See further W. Anderson, "The Suppliant's Voice and Gesture in Vergil's *Aeneid*," in *ICS* 18 (1993), 165–177.

687 *Iuppiter omnipotens, si nondum exosus ad unum*

omnipotens: Cf. 4.693, of Juno as she sent Iris to free Dido from her death agonies; the prayer language also serves to signal the salvation Aeneas will enjoy from the supreme god. The burning and rescue of the ships offers something of an anticipation of the climactic colloquy between Jupiter and Juno (and cf. Iris' intervention as Junonian minion with Juturna's in 12); Troy's suppression is assured, but the ships (save four) can still be saved. Cf. the identical addresses to the god at 2.689 (in the wake of the Ascanius portent); 4.206 (Iarbas' prayer); 9.625 (Ascanius before the slaying of Numanus Remulus): all the invocations are affirmatively answered. *Iuppiter omnipotens* = Catullan (c. 64.171); 1× in Statius, never in Ovid.

exosus: The verb occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 436 *non adeo has exosa manus Victoria fugit* (Turnus' speech at the war council); elsewhere in V. at 12.517 *et iuvenem exosum nequiquam bella Menoeten*; 12.818 *et nunc cedo equidem pugnasque exosa relinquo* (Juno to Jupiter).

ad unum: The phrase is pointed; the *unum pro multis* will be Palinurus. V.'s depiction of Aeneas' prayer prepares the reader for the imminent transition to the final, dramatic movement of the book; Neptune will indeed demand a sacrifice of one life to ensure the salvation of the many, and his demand resonates with Aeneas' conditional statement about whether the gods hate the Trojans right down to the last man.

688 *Troianos, si quid pietas antiqua labores*

pietas antiqua: Cf. Livy 27.9.11.3–12.1 *si ulla pietas, si memoria antiquae patriae esset*. *Antiqua* is in strong opposition to 608 *multa movens necdum antiquum saturata dolorem*. The adjective occurs 4× in 11: 253 *antiqui Ausonii*; 316 *est antiquus ager Tusco mihi proximus amni*; 540 *Priverno antiqua Metabus cum excedere urbe*; 850–851 *regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere bustum | antiqui Laurentis opacaque ilice tectum*: always of geographic sites in Italy. The present verse is redolent with the spirit of Trojan *pietas* and the traditions of the escape from the burning city with father and son; *Troianos* and *labores* coordinate well as book-ends to the line, with *pietas* prominently placed at midpoint. For the immortal possession of *pietas* in contrast with human exercise and implementation of the virtue, see Conway ad 1.603 *pios*. The *pietas* here follows exactly on the note of Aeneas as *pius*.

labores: For the noun with *humanos* cf. Silius, *Pun.* 13.519–520. The Trojans and their labors frame the line, with the *pietas* that would seem to mark them at the center of the verse.

689 respicit humanos, da flammam evadere classi

humanos: The adjective is not common in V.; cf. *A.* 1.542 *si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma* (Ilioneus to Dido); 10.152–153 *humanis quae sit fiducia rebus / admonet* (of Tarchon with Aeneas); 12.427 *non haec humanis opibus* (Iapyx on Aeneas' gravely serious arrow wound); cf. *G.* 1.198; 4.470; *Ps.-V., Ciris* 198. The descriptor here offers a contrast between the works of men and the deeds of immortals (as seen in the actions of both Juno and Jupiter in the present scene).

da: “Standard prayer language” (Horsfall ad 6.66).

flammam: The noun is emphatically placed after the imperative; in a sense, Aeneas is asking not only for the fleet to evade the flame, but also for a different sort of flame from the omnipotent sky god; cf. 691–692, of the hero's alternate wish that he might be struck by lightning. For the imitation of Greek usage (the aorist imperative δός + infinitive in prayers), see J. Penney, “Archaism and Innovation in Poetic Syntax,” in Adams and Mayer 1999, 249–268, 256.

690 nunc, pater, et tenuis Teucrum res eripe leto.

pater: Cf. 700 *pater*, of Aeneas after the supreme god extinguishes the fire. Jupiter is viewed as father and protector; for the special prerogative of the sky god over rain and tempest, see Diggle ad Theophrastus, *Char.* 14.12.

tenuis: Cf. 740 *dixerat et tenuis fugit ceu fumus in auras*, of the departure of Anchises' ghost. For the adjective with *res* cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 4.85–86 *effigias quoque debent mittere tenuis / res quaeque*; Horace, *Serm.* 2.4.8–9 *quo pacto cuncta tenerem / utpote res tenuis, tenui sermone peractas*. It is possible that a medical metaphor lurks in the expression (i.e., the Trojans are viewed as sick and in need of healing); the adjective is rather common in Celsus.

eripe leto: Also at line-end at Silius, *Pun.* 10.57 *si spatium fatis, et, dum datur, eripe leto*. *Letum* is a poetic word for death, with connotations of violence (see further on 624 above). With *leto* here cf. 691 *morti*, with vertical juxtaposition of death at line-end.

691 vel tu, quod superest, infesto fulmine morti,

quod superest: Cf. 796 *quod superest, oro, liceat dare tuta per undas* (Venus to Neptune; V. again prepares for a forthcoming episode by verbal associations); elsewhere in the *A* at 9.157–158 *quod superest, laeti bene gestis corpora rebus / procurate, viri, et pugnam sperare parati*; 11.14–15 *maxima res effecta, viri; timor omnis abesto, / quod superest* (Aeneas in the wake of the death of Mezentius). There are but two possibilities for the meaning of the clause (see here Page/Farrell): 1) all that is left would be to destroy us; 2) destroy that which remains of us (i.e., after the loss of the vessels). The latter interpretation might distantly

presage the eschatological doctrine soon to be unveiled, which is introduced by the imminent dream apparition of Anchises; in either case the words carry a heavy tone of weariness and despair. The language here is Lucretian (cf., e.g., *DRN* 5.772).

infesto ... morti: For the adjective cf. 582. *Fulmen* is the weapon of Jupiter *par excellence*; Aeneas' sword is like lightning after he obeys the god's injunction to leave Carthage (4.579–580); cf. how Nisus runs faster than lightning (319); his sword will be similarly described when he slays Volcens at 441–442. Aeneas himself is compared to lightning at 12.654 (cf. 919–923, also how Octavian strikes like lightning at *G.* 4.560–561); also Mnesteus as he fights Turnus (9.812), whose shield flashes lightning, when he enjoys what is arguably his most powerful moment, in the Trojan camp where he wreaks havoc (9.731–733). Here the hero invites his being slain as if he were on the losing side of a gigantomachy. Lightning in *V.* is rarely merely sign of bad weather (*G.* 1.370). With *morti* as dative of direction cf. 2.85 and 2.398, both times in other grim circumstances.

692 *si mereor, demitte tuaque hic obrue dextra.*'

si mereor: Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 3.834.

demitte: So *R.*, vs. *MP*ω *dimitte*; for the confusion of the prefix see on 29.

obruere: The verb occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 161–162 *Troum socia arma secutum / obruerent Rutuli*; the imperative is used elsewhere at 1.69 *incute vim ventis submersasque obrue puppis* (Juno to Aeolus; cf. 6.335–336 *quos simul a Troia ventosa per aequora vectos / obruit Auster*, of the victims of the resultant storm). At 2.410–411 *telis / nostrorum obruimur* Aeneas and his men are under assault from their own comrades; cf. 424 *ilicet obruimur numero*; 10.808 *sic obrutus undique telis*. Of the action of storms, then, and of being overwhelmed with weapons, both of which images combine here in Aeneas' request that the storm god might strike him down. The scansion of *tuaque hic* may enact the image of the god striking down the mortal by a sudden bolt of lightning.

693 *vix haec ediderat cum effusis imbris atris*

vix haec ediderat: Also at *Ps.-V.*, *Ciris* 283. With Jupiter's (verbally) silent action here cf. the loquacious Neptune of the quelling of the storm of 1.

effusis imbris: In response to the *immisis ... habenis* of Vulcan's fire at 662.

effusis ... imbris: Lucan imitates the image at *BC* 3.69–70 *cum medium nubes Borea cogente sub axem / effusis magnum Libye tulit imbris annum*.

atra: Here, the black tempest is a positive omen in light of the rescue of the ships (see Edgeworth 1992, 30); the language, however, recalls the storm of 10 ff., as the poet prepares for the climactic episode of the book: the loss of Palinurus

(cf. on 700 *casu concussus acerbo*). The dark storm here leads to the black night of 721. The stormclouds burst, and the resultant heavy downpour is expressed well by the enjambed verse.

694 *tempestas sine more furit tonitruque tremescunt*

tempestas: Cf. 772 ff., where Aeneas makes offerings to the *Tempestates*; the *atra* / *tempestas* is imitated by Silius at *Pun.* 7.723–724. “An elemental storm; unlike the elemental confusion of the storm incited by Juno in book one, this disturbance, caused by Jupiter, works to the profit of the Trojans.” (Hardie 1986, 325). It is interesting that while there is no real question as to the Jovian source of the tempest here, the god remains silent and is not explicitly identified until the dream apparition of Anchises’ shade reveals the full story at 726–727; cf. the Junonian fury with her windy minion in 1, and see further G. Lacki in *VE* III, 1249.

sine more furit: Also at 7.377 *immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem*, of Amata under the influence of Allecto; cf. Lucan, *BC* 10.413. “Unrestrainedly” (Phillipson); the storm rages without control, though of course Jupiter is in charge of the whole affair. See Henry’s curious note on the storm’s alleged lack of manners: “*without manners, without decency, therefore rudely, recklessly, outrageously.*” Servius’ “*sine exemplo*” may well be right; Henderson prefers to construe as *sine modo* (and both senses may well be present).

tonitru: Thunder is relatively rarely mentioned in the *A.*; cf. 4.122 *desuper infundam et tonitru caelum omne ciebo* (Juno to Venus before the cave scene); 8.391–392 *non secus atque olim tonitru cum rupta corusco | ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbus* (Vulcan’s reaction to Venus’ embrace).

tremescunt: The verb occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 403 *nunc et Myrmidonum proceres Phrygia arma tremescunt*; elsewhere in *V.* at 3.648 *vocemque tremesco* (Achaemenides of the Cyclops); 12.916 *letumque instare tremescit* (of Turnus). For the inchoative suffix cf. 697 *madescent*. The verb is Lucretian (*DRN* 6.548); the present tense occurs 1× in Manilius; 2× in Ovid; 3× in Seneca’s tragedies; 8× in Statius.

The alliterative effects of the line convey the action of the sudden tempest and its bursts of thunder (in particular) and lightning.

695 *ardua terrarum et campi; ruit aethere toto*

ardua terrarum: The periphrasis for mountains (so Servius) appears only here in extant Latin; there may be a hint of the Jovian victory in the gigantomachy, especially with the evocation of Enceladus at 697 *semusta*. Phillipson calls this “a strained phrase indicating the rising country as opposed to the shore.” The distinction is between places high and low; note *M campis* and other (lesser)

manuscript mayhem, with resultant orthographical debate. With the partitive genitive after a neuter substantive cf. 1.384 *Libyae deserta*; 1.422 *strata viarum*; 2.332 *angusta viarum*; 2.725 *opaca viarum*; 6.633 *opaca viarum*, and see Distler 1966, 345. For the adjective cf. 428 and 831.

aethere toto: A fitting locus for Jupiter's action, as the rainstorm seems to engulf and subsume the entire heavenly air. The description is Lucretian (*DRN* 5.398); cf. 2.113; Ovid, *Met.* 2.595. *Ruit*, as usual, has connotations of destructive force, though here the victim of the ruin will be the fire that Juno helped to kindle.

696 *turbidus imber aqua densisque nigerrimus Austris*,

turbidus imber: The phrase occurs also at 12.685, where it is used in a simile that compares Turnus' rush over the battlefield to a raging storm. The present passage was inspired by Lucretius, *DRN* 1.285–287 *nec validi possunt pontes venientis aquae / vim subitam tolerare: ita magno turbidus imbri / molibus incurrit validis cum viribus amnis*; cf. 6.673 *at nimis est ingens incendi turbidus ardor*. "Lit. 'murky with water,' referring to the appearance of heavy, lashing rain; 'the somber rain-flood.'"—Phillipson ad loc. With *imber ruit* cf. 12.824 *ingruit imber* (of a rain of weapons), and especially 685 *cum ruit avulsum vento, seu turbidus imber* (of a storm from a mountain height). "The shower all murky with rain and very black with cloudy southern winds" (Henderson ad loc.). " 'Murky with water,' referring to the appearance of heavy, lashing rain; 'the sombre rain-flood'" (Phillipson).

nigerrimus: For the color see above on 516; this is the only use of the superlative in the *A.* (cf. *G.* 3.278 *nigerrimus Auster*; elsewhere in poetry it occurs only at Catullus, c. 17.16).

Austris: Cf. 764 *creber et adspirans rursus vocat Auster in altum*, as the fleet prepares for departure, just before the Palinurus episode (cf. 6.336 *obruit Auster*, of those who died in the shipwreck of *A.* 1; also the simile of the storm that describes the Trojan assault on Turnus at 9.670–671 *cum Iuppiter horridus Austris / torquet aquosam hiemem et caelo cava nubila rumpit*). For "the association of the south wind with rain" see Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 541 *madefecerat Auster*. Elsewhere in *V.* note 1.51 *nimborum in patriam, loca feta furentibus Austris*; 1.536 *procacibus Austris* (during Ilioneus' recollection of the storm); 2.111 *interclusit hiems et terruit Auster euntis* (Sinon's account of Greek travails); 304–305 *in segetem veluti cum flamma furentibus Austris / incidit* (of the simile that describes the destruction on the night Troy fell); 3.61 *et dare classibus Austros* (of the Trojan desire to leave Thrace); 356–357 *aurae / vela vocant tumidoque inflator carbasus Austro*; 481 *et fando surgentis demoror Austros* (Helenus to Anchises). Of mixed associations, then (both of storm and of safe travel); the

present use neatly blends the two ideas, as the Jovian tempest both quenches the fire and reminds the reader of the storm with which the book opened, as the poet prepares for the eerie coda of the Palinurus episode.

697 *implenturque super puppes, semusta madescent*

super: A subtle hint of the destructive power of water; cf. the storm with which the book opened and the forthcoming loss of Palinurus (who will survive his unexpected watery journey—as befits the master helmsman—only to die on arrival in Italy); see Williams 1960 for the different shades of meaning (the storm comes from above, after all, even as it fills the ships to overflowing). It is probably better to take *super* as = *desuper*, rather than as simply “besides.”

semusta: The adjective appears 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 200–201 *ardentis spectant socios semustaque servant / busta*, of the Trojan funerals; elsewhere in V. only at A. 3.578–579 *fama est Enceladi semustum fulmine corpus / urgeri mole hac* (with connection to the lightning imagery of the present scene). The burning of the ships is a precursor to the fires that will mark the requiems of 11.

madescent: The verb occurs only here in V. (who may have coined it; see Williams 1960 for other such “ingressive” possible neologisms); the inchoative coordinates with 694 *tremescunt*. With the wet wood here cf. 681 *udo sub robore*; Servius notes that the verb can encompass the two ideas of “aut umectantur, aut resolvuntur in cinerem.” Cf. *Ilias Latina* 482 *sanguine manat humus, campi sudore madescent*; Lucan, *BC* 4.84–85 *fractoque madescent / saxa gelu* (with Asso); Seneca, *Phaed.* 383 *tepidum madescent imbre percussae nives*.

698 *robora, restinctus donec vapor omnis et omnes*

robora: Perhaps with a conscious and somewhat ironic reminiscence of Catullus, c. 64.4 *cum lecti iuvenes, Argivae robora pubis*, where the noun has a very different sense (cf. the clear Catullan imitation at 8.518). The present passage owes much to G. 1.175 *et suspensa focus explorat robora fumus*; cf. A. 4.399, for another Virgilian use of the noun in a nautical context.

restinctus: *Restinguere* appears elsewhere in V. at A. 2.686 *et sanctos restinguere fontibus ignes* (of the reaction to the portent of Ascanius’ flaming head); E. 5.47; cf. Ps.-V., *Ciris* 344 (with Lyne).

vapor omnis: Lucretian (*DRN* 4.90; 5.383); cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 1.831–832 *quia non una specie dispergitur omnis / aridior terrae vapor et compenditur igni*. Cf. 683.

699 *quattuor amissis servatae a peste carinae.*

quattuor: For the number, which = that of the altars to Neptune, see above on 639–640; the ruined vessels are sacrificial offerings to the god, and also correspond to the four ships that sailed in the regatta. One of those ships was

seriously damaged and limped back to port; Palinurus, for his part, will survive his being cast overboard by Somnus, only to face death once he arrives “safely” on land in Italy.

servatae: Cf. 283 *servatam ob navem* (of Sergestus’ Centaur).

700–718 Aeneas is deeply troubled by the ruin of four of his vessels; he is uncertain whether or not he should remain and settle in Sicily. The aged Nautes, a pupil of the goddess Pallas, urges him to allow some of his companions to stay behind with Acestes while the rest of the Trojans proceed on to Italy. See further Henry 1989, 83 ff., with reference to Heinze’s view that the present speech marks the decisive juncture in Aeneas’ journey (the Trojan hero, however, will not be persuaded by Nautes’ address); Ross 2007, 14–15 on “Virgil’s repetition of the Homeric formulae of doubt ... No Homeric hero, even Odysseus, was ever so conflicted.” For general analysis here see especially Hunt 1973, 32 ff.; on the failure of Nautes to persuade Aeneas, with consideration of the similar failure of his brother Iapyx to cure Aeneas’ thigh wound in 12, see W. Nicoll, “The Death of Turnus,” in *CQ* N.S. 51.1 (2001), 190–200. We might cf. the briefly glimpsed relationship of Aeneas and Palinurus that opens the book, as helmsman advises captain; the storm from the opening of the book presented less of a chance for tortured reflection than the present circumstance.

700 at pater Aeneas casu concussus acerbo

pater: In deliberate sequence after 690 *pater*; *pius Aeneas* requested Jupiter’s help in quenching the flames, and now, with the crisis averted, the Trojan hero can resume his status as father of his people. For how Aeneas does not acknowledge anything of his son’s involvement in the response to the disaster on the beach, see Lyne 1987, 154–155.

casu ... acerbo: Catullan (c. 68A.1); cf. Silius, *Pun.* 6.207 *ingemuit casus iuvenum miseratus acerbos*. The force of the adjective is on the disaster being just the latest in a long series, though Book 5’s sister 11 will present a rather more serious example of *acerbitas*.

casu ... concussus: The phrase will recur at 864 *multa gemens casuque animum concussus amici*, of Aeneas’ reaction to the loss of Palinurus (which is thus already being verbally presaged). On the vast problem of Aeneas’ mental and emotional state, see as a start J. Schafer, “Emotions,” in *VE* III, 418–420, who discusses the question of “Aeneas ... as a kind of (imperfect) Stoic, struggling to suppress his passions in order to meet the demands of reason and fulfill his responsibilities” (419). Consideration of the related problem of the poet’s relationship to Epicureanism yields interesting commentary on the implications of Aeneas as a Stoic, especially as an imperfect one.

acerbo: Cf. on 49; 462. The adjective occurs 3× in 5 and 3× in 11 (28; 587; 823, in all three instances of the premature death of the young in battle); here the descriptor signals the imminent loss of the helmsman Palinurus, who serves as a prefiguring of Pallas; the loss of the one *P ... s* at the end of 5 heralds the burial of another at the start of 11.

Rather different is the Aeneas of Philostratus, *Heroicus* 38, who is acknowledged as less impressive a fighter than Hector, but as the most intelligent of the Trojans, a man who felt no fear in the face of adversity. Philostratus' Aeneas is credited as looking less cheerful than Hector, but calmer; one wordless glance from Aeneas was said to have been enough to rally men back into battle formation.

701 nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas

Something of a repetition of the sentiment of *A.* 4.285 *atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc* (of Aeneas' thoughts before approaching Dido); cf. also 4.363 *huc illuc volvens oculos totumque pererrat* (of Dido with Aeneas) and 5.408 *huc illuc vinclorum immensa volumina versat* (of Aeneas with his half-brother's *caestus*). Aeneas is similarly troubled at 8.20 *atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc*; cf. Hercules on his approach to Cacus' lair at 8.229 *accessum lustrans huc ora ferebat et illuc*. Turnus is uncertain of what to do in the aftermath of his encounter with the Aeneas phantom at 10.680 *haec memorans animo nunc huc, nunc fluctuat illuc*; in battle scenes the idea is appropriated for the grisly 9.755 *huc caput atque illuc umero ex utroque pendit*; 12.764, of Aeneas and Turnus. On the heavy spondees that enact Aeneas' weighty thoughts, see Norden ad 6.156 ff.

curas: Cf. on 720 *curas*, closing a ring after the Nautes episode. With *pectore* cf. 679 above, as Juno is shaken out, as it were, from the hearts of the Trojan women.

702 mutabat versans, Siculise resideret arvis

mutabat: The force of the imperfect is frequentative; Aeneas kept changing his mind as he pondered the alternatives.

versans: Cf. 408; 460 (in the boxing match); parallel here = 11.550–551 *omnia secum / versanti*, of Metabus' consideration of what to do at the Amasenus; see further Horsfall ad loc., with reference to *EV* (and *OLD* s.v. 1b).

resideret: For the verb cf. 180 (of Menoetes seeking safety on the fateful *meta* of the race) and 290 (of Aeneas' seat at the foot race).

On the alleged Ennian influence on 701–702, see the skeptical Wigodsky 1972, 121.

Siculis ... arvis: Imitated by Lucan at *BC* 6.814; Silius (*Pun.* 2.429). With the

proper adjective cf. 703 *Italas*, where again the geographical descriptor comes at mid-verse.

703 *oblitus fatorum, Italsne capesseret oras.*

oblitus fatorum: Cf. on 334 *non ille oblitus amorum*, of Nisus; also 174 *oblitus decorisque sui sociumque salutis* (of Gyas); the two other passages remind us of the foot race and the regatta, both of which were invested in ethnographic associations. The effect of the elision over the caesura is to enact metrically the identity of Italy as the *fata* for the Trojans. See further below on 725; cf. 82–83; also the key passage 10.108–110 *Tros Rutulusne fuit, nullo discrimine habeo, / seu fatis Italum castra obsidione tenentur / sive errore malo Troiae monitisque sinistris*. The sentiment is reminiscent of the Dido episode.

capesseret: 8× in the *A.* (never in the *E.* or *G.*); cf. 1.77 *mihi iussa capessere fas est* (Aeolus to Juno); 3.234–235 *sociis tunc arma capessant / edico* (Aeneas in the face of the Harpies' assault); 4.346 *Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes*; 9.366 *excedunt castris et tuta capessunt* (Nisus and Euryalus); 11.324–325 *sin alios finis aliamque capessere gentem / est animus*; 466 *pars aditus urbis firment turrisque capessant*. 2×, then, of the settlement in Italy.

704 *tum senior Nautes, unum Tritonia Pallas*

Nautes: A “sailor,” and of the older generation; our only knowledge of this character (who appears nowhere else) comes from Servius, who records that Varro (in his work *de fam. Troian.*; fr. 3 Cornell, *ex Servio ad A.* 2.166; and see Cornell *ad loc.* for the question of fragment attribution and whether Varro treated the story in his *Antiquitates*) wrote about the Nautii (on the possible gentile onomastics here see Saunders 1940, 543); the Virgilian eponym brought the Palladium to Rome (see here especially L. Polverini in *EV III*, 669–670). The Servian evidence would seem to indicate that Nautes must be considered to be a Trojan; V., however, does not specify where he came from or when he did so (though note 719 *amici*). For Nautes as *senior* see Hardie 2012, 137n33. Mount Eryx is some seven hundred and fifty meters high, and thus a suitable landmark for ancient sailors; there may be some connection to the urging of the Minervan sailor to allow at least some Trojans to settle in Sicily. For the possible borrowing of the name from the Ναυτεύς of *Od.* 8.112 (Garvie *silet ad loc.*), see Cairns 1989, 230. The Servian tradition preserves the idea that the Nautii (and not the Julii) were in charge of the rites of Minerva; this may have some relevance to the depiction of the Virgilian Camilla, who has Minervan associations. See further Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 6.69.1, for the account of Nautes as priest of Athena Polias; in terms of the parallelism between the sister books 5 and 11, Nautes stands in striking contrast to Drances; the former successfully persuades

Aeneas, while the latter fails in his (disingenuous) efforts to mollify Turnus. This “sailor” will urge that some potential travelers be left behind; cf. the possible etymological significance of Palinurus’ name.

In a certain sense, Nautes is a sort of dream interpreter in advance; his advice will be confirmed by the forthcoming dream apparition of Anchises.

Tritonia: For the goddess see on 284; the present appellation occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 483, of the address of the Latin *matres* to the goddess for the defense of Latinus’ capital; elsewhere in V. at 2.171 (of the Palladium); 2.615 (of Pallas’ watch with Juno over the fallen city). Here, the goddess is the teacher of the aged counselor who urges the settlement of Segesta; we might note the eminently Greek name for the student of the pro-Argive goddess. In the end, Nautes’ eminently reasonable suggestion will not satisfy Aeneas, who will remain deeply troubled (720). A subtle precursor, too, of the imminent arrival of the helpful marine Tritons.

For the possible Ciceronian influence on 704–705, see Wigodsky 1972, 109–110; Goldberg 1995, 167–169.

705 quem docuit multaque insignem reddidit arte—

quem docuit: A neat reversal of 1.740–741 *cithara crinitus Iopas / personat aurata, docuit quem maximus Atlas*. On divine instruction see especially Clausen 1987, 108–110.

multa ... arte: Recalling 270 *cum saevo e scopulo multa vix arte revulsus*, of Sergestus; also Arruns’ stalking of Camilla at 11.760–761 *velocem iaculo et multa prior arte Camillam / circuit*: once again, a common phrase appears in the sister books. Here, the skill connects to sailing, one might imagine (cf. Sergestus), as well as prognostication and reasoning ability (though not much in the way of mystery or divining is needed to solve the present crux; see further on 706–707).

insignem: Cf. above on 310 (of the horse offered as the first prize for the foot race); 367 (of the helmet offered as the consolation award for the boxing match); Euryalus is *forma insignis* (295); 4× also in 11 (89, of Aethon; 291, of Hector and Aeneas; 334, *insignia nostri* [in Latinus’ speech]); 769 (of Chloereus).

706 haec responsa dabat, vel quae portenderet ira

On the “disruptive parenthesis” see G. Williams 1968, 731–732: “The combination of parenthesis and anacolouthon gives weight to the character of Nautes and to the explanation of his divine knowledge equally, and without pompous emphasis.” Aeneas will not be moved to action, however, by Pallas’ spokesman.

haec: Almost certainly of the goddess, who speaks through her prophet. This reading is more difficult, but better, than *hac*.

responsa dabat: Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 3.340; *Fasti* 4.651; Horsfall ad 6.672 *atque huic responsum ... ita reddidit*. The imperfect is frequentative.

portenderet: The verb occurs 4× in the *A.*; cf. 3.184 *nunc repeto haec generi portendere debita nostro* (of Anchises' address); 7.80 *sed populo magnum portendere bellum*; 256–257 *portendi generum paribusque in regna vocari | auspiciis*. With the “consecutive” subjunctives Phillipson cfs. 29 *optem*; 291 *velint*.

ira: For the anger of the gods cf. 3.215 *ira deum* (of Celaeno); 8.40–41 *tumor omnis et irae | concessere deum*; 11.233 *admonet ira deum tumulique ante ora recentes*: 1× in 5 and 1× in 11. Note the vertical juxtaposition of the balancing of *ira* here with 707 *ordo*.

707 magna deum vel quae fatorum posceret ordo;

fatorum ... ordo: Imitated by Manilius at *Ast.* 1.118–119 *et quoniam caelo descendit carmen ab alto | et venit in terras fatorum conditus ordo*. One wonders where so great a prophet as Nautes has been thus far in the epic; he will disappear after this scene.

The two sides of the Minervan coin here encompass the totality of the epic problem; there is the question of what is fated (*posceret*), and what the anger of the gods portends (*portenderet*); in the reconciliation of Juno, the question is left unanswered as to whether or not the suppression of Trojan *mores* in the future settlement of Rome was fated and thus immutable (in other words, did the *ira* of Juno accomplish something great?). The anger of the gods referred to here has most immediate reference to the Junonian-inspired burning of the ships; on the macro-level, the fate of Trojan identity is at stake. In the end, the most important question may be one of knowledge; ignorance of the future can allow for the illusion of free will. Nautes' knowledge is weighty and solemn in comparison to the problem at hand; he responds here with nothing about what the anger of the immortals portends, or with very much more than we already knew (i.e., that some Trojans could stay behind at intervening steps on the path to Hesperia).

708 isque his Aenean solatus vocibus inquit:

isque: See Conte's apparatus here; the demonstrative is not otiose in light of the parenthetical detail about the goddess.

solatus: Cf. 41 *excipit ac fessos opibus solatur amicis* (of Acestes, another *senior*).

vocibus: Its use in same *sed.* = Lucretian; cf. the same form at *A.* 1.64; 3.314; 4.304; 447; 6.499; 7.420; 9.83; 11.274; 730 (a variety of positions and senses).

inquit: The first of six occurrences in the *A.*; cf. 10.101 (Jupiter at the divine council); 860 (Mezentius to his horse Rhaebes); 11.242 (Venulus to the Latin

war council); 301 (Latinus to the same); 12.10 (Turnus to Latinus); this is the only time where the speaker is neither a god nor an Italian/ally. The archaic flavor of the verb is a mark of the goddess' voice that speaks through her mentee. Cf. 1.581 *Aenean compellat Achates*; 4.304 *Aenean compellat*; 10.873 *Aenean magna ter voce vocavit*; 11.232–233 *Aenean / admonet*. There is likely no hint of comic diction; the verb is also a favorite of Livy.

709 'nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur;

nate dea: See on 383; the sentiments of the verse as a whole are appropriately deferential and pious, as befitting a student of Pallas Athena.

fata trahunt: Cf. Lucan, *BC* 2.287 *sed quo fata trahunt virtus secura sequetur*; Ps.-Seneca, *Oct.* 182; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3.717.

retrahunt: Elsewhere in *V.* only at 10.307 *impediunt retrahitque pedes simul unda relabens*, in the aftermath of the beaching of Tarchon's ship.

sequamur: Closing a ring with 22–23 above; Nautes is, after all, a “sailor,” and so his advice echoes the sentiments of the earlier scene of the Trojans on water. Cf. 3.114 *ergo agite et divum ducunt qua iussa sequamur*.

710 quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.

superanda ... fortuna: Closing a ring with 22 *superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur*. In both passages, one of Aeneas' men expresses something of a commonplace sentiment regarding fortune.

ferendo: The only use of the gerund of *ferre* in *V.* “Every fortune must be conquered by enduring it”: for the sentiment, cf. on 604 and 625 *Fortuna*; the opening two verses of Nautes' address constitute a pair of commonplace platitudes, however true or praiseworthy the sentiments; for the Stoic ideas that lurk here, see Williams 1960 ad loc. (though the ideas are bland enough to resist ready identification with any particular school of philosophy). The prodelision at line-end neatly illustrates the action of the gerund.

“The old lie, and no less a lie at the present day than in the time of Virgil. The victory which we have over fortune by patience is the kind of victory the thief has at the gallows.”—Henry ad loc. Cf. the notes of Kallendorf 1999, 34–35 on a rather different sort of reception of the sentiment. Knapp comments: “To this day resignation is an Italian trait, embodied in the cry *pazienza*.” See further here the observations of Pöschl 1977, 37–38.

711 est tibi Dardanius divinae stirpis Acestes:

A masterpiece of rhetoric, as Nautes announces his verdict; Acestes is only here described as *Dardanius*, and deliberately so: the old prophet soothes Aeneas by closely associating the Sicilian monarch with the ancient origins of Troy, and

he increases the comfort of the sentiment by emphasizing the king's divine lineage, besides the careful wording that underscores how Aeneas is the one in possession of this signal stroke of good fortune. Acestes might as well be Trojan; therefore those Trojans who stay behind in Sicily have indeed found a new home after the destruction of their capital.

est tibi: Not Lucretian, perhaps surprisingly; cf. Propertius, c. 1.20.5 *est tibi non infra specie, non nomine dispar*; c. 3.20.7 *est tibi forma potens, sunt castae Palladis artes*; Ps.-Tib., c. 3.7.29 *est tibi, qui possit magnis se accingere rebus*.

divinae stirpis: 3× in Livy; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2.633–634 *semifer interea divinae stirpis alumno | laetus erat mixtoque oneri gaudebat honore*. The reference to the divine lineage may have significance in the general context of the question of the divinity of Anchises and the divine honors to be paid to the father of Aeneas. The importance of Acestes would have increased appreciably in the wake of the portent of the flaming arrow.

712 hunc cape consiliis socium et coniunge volentem,

hunc: Cf. the parallel phrasing of 714 *huic*.

cape consiliis: The choice of words is interesting; Nautes urges Aeneas to take Acestes as an ally (*socium*) for his plans: what exactly is referred to by *consilia* is left unspecified. Cf. on 728. For the noun see below on 749. The dative is likely of interest; “with personification, to help your plan, so to speak” (Knapp ad loc.).

coniunge: As at *A.* 1.514–515 *avidī coniungere dextrās | ardebant* (of Aeneas and Achates); elsewhere in *V.* at 8.130 *quodque a stirpe fores geminis coniunctus Atridis*; 133 *coniunxere tibi et fatis egere volentem*; 163–164 *mihi mens iuvenali ardebat amore | compellare virum et dextrae coniungere dextram*; 10.105–106 *quandoquidem Ausonios coniungi foedere Teucris | haud licitum* (Jupiter to the divine council, with a foreshadowing of the final ethnographic settlement); 653 *forte ratis celsi coniuncta crepidine saxi* (the vessel of Osinius, where the phantom Aeneas hides).

volentem: With emphasis on how Acestes would willingly agree to the Trojan colony. Cf. 750 *populumque volentem*.

713 huic trade amissis superant qui navibus et quos

Servius notes here that young people will join the new settlement, in addition to the aged (715 *longaevosque senes*); the first designation that Nautes suggests = those who sailed on the now wrecked ships.

trade: The imperative of immediacy; cf. Plautus, *Asin.* 689 *O Libane, mi patrone, mi trade istuc*; cf. *Dirae* 63–64 *si minus haec, Neptune, tuas infundimus auris, | Battare, fluminibus tu nostros trade dolores*; Manilius, *Astron.* 3.423–

424 *quodque his exsuperat demptis id ducito in aequas / sex partes, sextamque ardentem trade Leoni*: the form is rare in poetry.

amissis ... navibus: Caesarian (*BG* 4.31.3,2–3; 5.11.2.2); also Livian and Tacitean. The present scene recalls *A.* 1.251–252 *navibus infandum amissis unius ob iram / prodimur* (Venus to Jupiter).

714 **pertaesum magni incepti rerum tuarum est;**

pertaesum: Cf. 617 *taedet pelagi perferre laborem*; also 678 *piget incepti lucisque*, where *inceptum* has a very different sense; *A.* 4.18, where the intensive form of the impersonal is used with reference to Dido; the close of Book 5 has a very different sort of problem of departure and question of willingness to leave than its predecessor. The verb is regularly used with the genitive of that which produces the emotional excitement (Roby 1328, who compares 11.126 *iustitiaene prius mirer, belline laborum* as an example of a “mere Graecism”).

magni incepti: Cf. 11.469–470 *concilium ipse pater et magna incepta Latinus / deserit*, another of the many correspondences between the sister books.

rerumque tuarum: Nautes’ speech is polite, and this is the closest he comes to saying anything that could remotely be considered antagonistic to Aeneas; the readiness with which the Trojan *matres* set fire to the ships, divine visitation or not, is proof enough of the existing sentiment of weariness—and of the seriousness of the problem. Interestingly, Nautes first highlights the case of those who are fatigued by the grand (and personal?) concepts of the *magnum inceptum* and the *res Aeneae*, before turning to the plight of those who are tired because of age and the long sea voyage (715), as well as of the weak and fearful (716).

715 **longaevosque senes ac fessas aequore matres**

longaevosque senes: Imitated at Ovid, *Her.* 5.40. For the adjective see on 256 *longaevi*.

fessas ... matres: The women with whom the whole episode of the ship burning opened are mentioned last in the proposed ascription of citizens for the new settlement. Cf. 717 *fessi*, a deliberate repetition that emphasizes the extreme fatigue. On the *matres* as a tragic chorus see J. Zarker, “Vergil’s Trojan and Italian *matres*,” in *Vergilius* 24 (1978), 15–24, with consideration of the question of the place of epic heroism in Augustan Rome. Cf. 717; the emphasis is once again on how exhausted some of the Trojan exiles are with the length and travails of the journey. There may be a hint of the matter of the suppression of Trojan *mores* in the leaving behind of the *matres*; Aeneas will marry Lavinia, and we may presume that the women of Italy will intermarry with the Trojan exiles in the fashioning of a new order in Latium.

716 et quidquid tecum invalidum metuensque pericli est

quidquid: The neuter is all inclusive, perhaps brusquely and dismissively so (see Conington here, *pace* Williams). “The neuter is perhaps here used contemptuously” (Henderson *ad loc.*).

invalidum: Also at 6.113–114 *atque omnis pelagique minas caelique ferebat, / invalidus, viris ultra sortemque senectae* (of Anchises, in marked contrast to the *matres* who fired the ships); 12.132–133 *invalidique senes turris ac tecta domorum / obsedere* (of the defenders of Latinus’ capital); 261–262 *quos improbus advena bello / territat invalidas ut aves* (as Tolumnius interprets the portent of the eagle and the swan); also *G.* 3.189; 4.498. The meter perhaps enacts the dependence of that which is *invalidum* on help from a leader.

metuens: Cf. 11.47, of Evander’s fear as he sent Pallas off to war; the verb is not particularly common in the *A.* (11×).

717 delige, et his habeant terris sine moenia fessi;

The word order is deliberately choppy, almost as if Nautes were hesitant to utter the words.

delige: For the verb cf. on 191 *delegi*. Another imperative, as Nautes gives his advice without pretense or long explanation.

moenia: Rather different, of course, from the *altae moenia Romae*—but *moenia* nonetheless. The delayed placement of the polite imperative *sine* expresses well the hesitancy of the admonition (or, perhaps better, the suggestion, however brisk); the decision to leave some Trojans in Sicily does mark the establishment of what will be the future *Roman* hegemony over the island (*contra* Carthage)—but it also represents something of a failure of the mission to bring all the exiles home to Hesperia.

fessi: Cf. 845 *fessoque oculos*, as Sleep tries to convince Palinurus to give way to rest; 715 above. The Trojan *matres* are tired of the voyage and ready for rest; the helmsman Palinurus will soon enough be depicted as valiantly resisting the urge to succumb to the power of slumber.

718 urbem appellabunt permisso nomine Acestam.’

urbem ... Acestam: The destined new establishment frames the line; on the “etymological signpost” see O’Hara 1996, 165. Henderson notes Cicero, *Verr.* 5.35, where the foundation of Segesta is cited. There would seem to be no hint of *V.* of any etymological connection (false or otherwise) between Acesta/Segesta and *seges* (cf. Pliny, *NH* 18.8, with the Budé notes *ad loc.*).

permissio nomine: The phrase occurs only here in extant Latin; if Acestes (or, for that matter, Aeneas) gives permission, the settlement will be named after the king (and not, by implication, Aeneas; hence the soothing descriptor

Dardanius at 711). The language is diplomatically ambiguous. “Your name being given up (in favour of his)” (Phillipson ad loc.). On Virgilian “places ... that acquire their historical names for mythological reasons” see N. Horsfall, “Virgil and the Poetry of Explanations,” in *Greece & Rome* 38 (1991), 203–211.

719–745 Aeneas remains troubled in the wake of Nautes’ suggestion; that night, the shade of his father visits him in a dream apparition (at the behest of Jupiter) to encourage assent to the idea of settlement in Segesta. The forthcoming war in Latium is forecast, together with an imperative that the son should travel to Avernus to visit his father in Elysium; the role of the Sibyl in conducting the hero to the realm of the dead is announced for the first time since the speech of Helenus at 3.441ff. The Anchises shade departs before Aeneas can embrace his father’s ghost; at once the Trojan hero makes offerings to venerate the gods of his ancestors. On the parallelism between the present scene and the appearance of the snake on Anchises’ *tumulus* at 83–90, see Horsfall 1995, 141.

The present scene is in some sense the fulfillment of the invocation to Anchises’ shade that preceded the games in his memory; the happy calm and repose of the games had been replaced by the stress and crisis of the burning of the ships—but worse troubles and more serious hazards remain for the Trojan *heros*.

719 *talibus incensus dictis senioris amici*

incensus: So of Coroebus at 2.343 *venerat insano Cassandrae incensus amore*; also of Euryalus at 9.342–343 *incensus et ipse / perfurit*: hardly calm and sedate comparisons. Aeneas is set aflame in part, no doubt, by the idea that anyone would be weary (indeed, thoroughly so—the prefix at 714 *pertaesum* has meaning) of *his affairs* (*rerumque tuarum*). The verb connects closely, too, with the ship-burning that engendered the present dilemma; fire imagery will soon enough give way to water, as Aeneas takes his leave of the island. Ad 2.343 Horsfall notes that the verb is “specially well suited to Troy’s sinking into the flames,” a detail that may have particular relevance here, too, in the light of the fire that threatened the fleet—itsself in a very real sense a second destruction of Troy.

senioris: It is difficult to discern any precise significance of the descriptor here; we are likely not meant to feel the “pathetic” quality that that the adjective carries at 2.509 *senior*, of Priam (where see Horsfall, and Austin ad loc.); here the comparative does rather associate Nautes with Anchises, and carries perhaps a hint of criticism for the younger generation—though Aeneas, of course, is not so young either at this point. But in relative consideration of years, the

point remains valid. Nautes, is, too, reminiscent of Acestes. Anchises' shade will end the problem, of course; we have come very far from the conflict between father and son at 2.652, where see Horsfall's perceptive note ad *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."). There are significant affinities between the departure from Sicily and that from Troy; Anchises had wanted to stay in the doomed city, while in the forthcoming scene, his shade will advise that Aeneas follow the sage counsel of the other *senior*, Nautes.

"This is the only occasion in the poem where Aeneas is admonished by a mortal, and his response is again to worry rather than to take thought and act." (Mack 1978, 65).

720 **tum vero in curas animum diducitur omnis;**

tum vero: See on 172.

curas: To be taken closely with 701 *curas*; the language expresses an even greater state of uncertainty and unease. Cf. *G.* 3.123–124 *his animadversis instant sub tempus et omnis/ impendunt curas denso distendere pingui*; Manilius, *Ast.* 5.162–163 *atque agilem officio mentem curasque per omnis | inde lassato properantia corda vigore*.

animum: "Graeca figura" (Servius); the so-called accusative of respect = the *diff. lect.* preserved also in Probus (253.17), *contra* the capital evidence of *animo* (MPRω); Conte notes "accusativum agnosce 'mediopassivum,' quo Graecus sermo frequentissime utitur; de hoc usu perdiligenter disseruit E. Courtney <<CJ>> 99, 2007, 425–431." Cf. 740, where the *animus* is fixed and determined.

diducitur: For the verb see on the very different use at 581 *diductis*, during the Troy game. Manilius has the same line-end at *Ast.* 2.697 *rursus bis senis numerus diducitur omnis*. R reads *deducitur* (also Servius); the prefixes are frequently confused in the manuscripts.

Knapp remarks here: "Aeneas' hesitancy ... is like his despair in i.92–101. In spite of all the prophecies that have bidden him go on to Italy, and have assured him of his self arrival there ... Aeneas has not as yet firm faith in his destiny. He is still an imperfect Aeneas, not yet fully fitted for his great task in Italy."

721 **et Nox atra polum bigis subvecta tenebat.**

et: The conjunction has occasioned question as to what exactly is being coordinated (with resultant effect on the punctuation of 720). There is a careful progression in the order of tenses from 719 *incensus* to *diducitur* to *tenebat*; first

Aeneas was inflamed by Nautes' words, then his spirit was divided among all manner of stresses and anxieties, and while he was in this state, Night was holding the pole.

Nox: In contrast to the rainbow goddess; see above on 11. Night is the mother of the Eumenides (6.250); also Allecto (7.331); the twin Dirae, and Megaera (12.845–847; 860); Night can also stand for death (10.746; 12.310; *G.* 1.468). “La Noche, al igual que el Sol (véase *Aen.* V 105), se desplaza pro el cielo en su carro tirado por caballos negros, con las estrellas siguiendo su estela: Eur., fr. 114K; *Ion* 1150–1151; Theoc. II 166; Enn., *Sc.* 96–97 Jocelyn (*Andrómaca*): (*sacra Nox*) *quae cava caeli | signitinentibus conficis bigis*” (García et al. ad loc.). The present passage may presage 6.866 *sed nox atra*, of how “not only the gloomy brow and downcast gaze, but the very mark of death [is] already upon him” (Horsfall on the shade of Marcellus in the *Heldenschau*). For Night as a goddess cf. Aeschylus, fr. 69 Sommerstein.

atra: Cf. the tempest at 693–694.

polum: It is a common conceit that the morning light moves the moist shadows of the night from the pole; cf. *A.* 3.588–589 *postera iamque dies primo surgebat Eoo | umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram* (after a stormy night); 4.6–7 *postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras | umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram*; 4.351–353 *me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris | nox operit terras | admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago* (a passage to which the present scene owes much); Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 606; Silius, *Pun.* 3.168.

bigis: See Horsfall ad 7.26 for the association of the moon's chariot with two horses, in contrast to the sun's *quadriga*. Aurora is *quadrigata* at 6.535–536 (in the underworld; see Austin ad loc.), but *bigata* at 7.25–26; we might note that at 6.641 *V.* notes that Elysium knows its own sun and its own *sidera*. On the depictions of the chariot and/or horses of Night in Latin verse see Fordyce ad Catullus, c. 61.110 ff.; Murgatroyd ad Tibullus, c. 2.1.87; Antolín on Ps.-Tibullus, c. 3.4.17–18 (where *Nox* has four horses), the last especially on how the depictions of *Nox* and *Aurora* eventually became highflown: “chronological periphrases-often based on mythology-are a common motif among the neoterics ... and enjoy great popularity as a rhetorical device in epic ... they degenerated into a clichéd and highly mannered motif among the poets of the empire.” For comparison with the night described at 835–836, and the descent and address of *Somnus*, see Hardie 1998, 106–107.

subvecta: The (rare) verb occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 478 *subvehitur magna matrum regina caterva*, of Amata's arrival with Lavinia at the temple of Pallas; also 8.58 *subvectus* (Tiberinus to Aeneas).

722 *visa dehinc caelo facies delapsa parentis*

The games in a sense reach their climax here, as the shade of the man in whose honor they were celebrated at last appears; one could not have anticipated the reason for the quasi-divine visitation, and there is, perhaps significantly, no mention in the brief compass of the dream apparition of anything having to do with the rites at the *tumulus* or the memorial funeral games.

dehinc: 8× in the *A.*; see Williams here and ad 721 for the question of connection from *et* to *dehinc* (but overmuch can be made of the question of likely revision). Here the conjunction coordinates with *delapsa* and neatly echoes the language of descent. “In *Hor.Epd.* and *Liv.*; apparently, though, absent from high poetry before *Aen.*” (Horsfall ad 6.678).

facies: Cf. on 357, of Nisus’ face smeared with dirt from his fall, and 619, of Iris’ putting aside her divine visage; 6.575 *facies quae* (with Horsfall).

delapsa: For the verb see on 518; the *facies* descends like the slain dove—not a positive association.

parentis: At last, we meet the object of so much veneration throughout the course of the games and the preliminary rites at the *tumulus*; the present dream epiphany is a precursor to the great eschatological revelation of the encounter between father and son in Elysium. With the *facies parentis* cf. Ovid, *Her.* 8.98 *nec facies nobis nota parentis erat*. The present passage is echoed at 768 *visa maris facies*.

caelo ... delapsa: Elsewhere in *V.* only of Juno at 7.620–621 *tum regina deum caelo delapsa morantis / impulit ipse manu portas*; Anchises’ shade will announce the forthcoming war in Italy in his dream visitation here. For the phrase cf. also Ovid, *Her.* 18.65; Lucan, *BC* 9.475; Seneca, *Phoen.* 431.

Servius ad 6.284 cites the present passage as an example of a *verum somnium* that comes from the *caelum*, as opposed to a *vanum* “ab inferis” (and see here Horsfall ad 6.283–284 *Somnia / vana*). In his commentary on the present line, S. notes the possibility that *caelo* refers to Jupiter’s commissioning of the dream apparition, or that *animae* inhabit the *caelum*, while *simulacra* dwell in the underworld; the commentator also observes that *visa* could signal an “errorem ... somnii.” Here, potential philosophical and theological mayhem can be avoided by recourse to the Jovian explanation: it was not sufficient, it would seem, for the sky god to send a sudden tempest (nor for Pallas’ student to offer his advice); the god must also, it would seem, send a dream vision from a source Aeneas is certain to reverence. Cf. 727 *caelo*.

On Aeneas’ “broken exchanges” see D. Feeney, “The Taciturnity of Aeneas,” in *CQ* 33 (1983), 204–219 (reprinted in both Harrison 1990 and Hardie 1999).

723 *Anchisae subito talis effundere voces:*

The ghostly Anchises balances the serpentine *genius* from earlier in the book; the figure of the dead father of Aeneas provides another association between 5 and 3. For commentary useful to a consideration of the relationship of this dream apparition to the appearance of Anchises in the underworld, see E. Kraggerud, “Notes on Anchises’ Speech in Vergil’s *Aeneid*, Book VI,” in Asztalos et al. 1995, pp. 59–71. Bernardus Silvestris connects this dream visitation with the imminent death of Palinurus; in his allegorical vision, Palinurus is the helmsman of Aeneas’ desires, and Anchises is sent from God to lead Aeneas to a new reality.

subito: Cf. 170; 213; 790. “‘Subito’ not with ‘delapsa’ but with ‘effundere,’ as its position shows. The two really come to the same thing, the words being heard at the instant when the appearance is seen.”—Conington ad loc. The suddenness increases the magical aspect of the mystery; what Aeneas heard, he heard suddenly, before he could even react to the spectral visage of his sire.

talis effundere voces: Cf. on 482 *talis effundere pectore voces*; also 780, where Venus addresses Neptune. “The verb itself greatly to V.’s taste, 45×” (Horsfall ad 2.651 *effusi lacrimis*).

724 *‘nate, mihi vita quondam, dum vita manebat,*

nate: Used at 2.289 and 619 in addresses of Venus to Aeneas; cf. 3.182; 311; 7.124; all with Horsfall (“The opening word sets a primarily affectionate tone”). Significantly, it is Anchises and not Venus who responds to the immediate crises in the wake of the burning of the ships; the intervention of Venus will be reserved for the Palinurus episode—with problematic outcome that parallels the action of the goddess in concert with Juno in the matter of Dido, thus closing a great ring.

dum vita manebat: This proviso clause recurs 2× in the epic: 6.608 *hic, quibus invisī fratres, dum vita manebat* (in Tartarus); 661 *quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat* (in Elysium): the apparition of Anchises prepares the way for the visit to Elysium. For the phrase cf. Statius, *Theb.* 6.166–167 *illa tibi genetrix semper dum vita manebat | nunc ego*. “Apparently a Virgilian invention; Hoogma, 275f. collects twenty-five epigraphic imitations.” (Horsfall ad 6.661). For a catalogue of “the encouraging prophecy, generally a call from inaction to action, often with the omission of or hidden reference to the death of one individual or other discouraging material,” see O’Hara 1990, 56–57.

The address of Anchises’ shade here is modeled on Catullus, c. 64.215 *nate mihi longa iucundior unice vita*, of Aegeus to Theseus before the latter’s departure for Crete; there may be a connection with the Cretan lore of 588 ff. and the decoration on the doors of Apollo’s temple at 6.20 ff.

725 care magis, nate Iliacis exercite fatis,

See further here Carcopino 1968, 382–383.

care: Cf. 747 *cari ... parentis*. “The adj. often used by V. of kinsmen (forbears/descendants)” (Horsfall ad 6.682; cf. his note ad 11.550 *caro oneri*, of the infant Camilla). The parallelism between 5 and 11 here centers on the relationship of the father and child, i.e., Anchises and Aeneas, Metabus and Camilla.

Iliacis exercite fatis: The salutation is repeated from 3.182–183 *tum memorat, 'nate, Iliacis exercite fatis, | sola mihi talis casus Cassandra canebat* (also of Anchises). Cf. Venus' state at 779 *exercita curis*, as she approaches Neptune. On the possibly different imports of meaning between Anchises' two uses of the appellation, see Jenkyns 1998, 437–438. With the “Ilian fates” here cf. 703 *oblitus fatorum, Italisne capesseret oras*; also 82–83 *non licuit finis Italos fatalique arva | nec tecum Ausonium, quicumque est, quaerere Thybrim*. The “Ilian fates” refer ultimately to the suppression of Trojan *mores* that is announced in Jupiter's speech in 12; Aeneas the Trojan *dux* is subject to the consequences of that fated final fall, as it were, of his native city and its way of life. *Iliacis* is hauntingly close to forms of *Italus*, at least in light of the final ethnographic disposition of affairs in the future Rome. On the present passage note the classic treatment of C. Bowra, “Aeneas and the Stoic Ideal,” in *Greece & Rome* 3 (1933–1934), pp. 8–21 (reprinted in both Harrison 1990 and Hardie 1999). The verb has great resonance in light of the final revelations of the fate of Ilium; there is something of Aeneas as puppet in the description of his father (both living, in Book 3, and now dead).

726 imperio Iovis huc venio, qui classibus ignem

imperio Iovis: Echoed at 784 *nec Iovis imperio fatisque infracta quiescit*. The powerful phrase invests the opening of the verse with a suitably dramatic flair, as the ghost of the father comes at the behest of the supreme god. The relative clause makes explicit who it who was responsible for the quenching of the fire that had imperiled the Trojan vessels.

huc venio: Cf. Plautus, *Amphit.* 19–20 *Iovis iussu venio, nomen Mercurio est mihi. | pater huc me misit ad vos oratum meus* (see Christenson ad loc. for the possible evocation of the language of judicial advocacy); 368–369 *etenim ille, cuius huc iussu venio, Iuppiter | non minus quam vostrum quivis formidat malum*; 867 *nunc huc honoris vestri venio gratia*; also Accian; 1× in Persius; nowhere else in epic.

classibus: “Poetical dat. of recipient, instead of the usual preposition and case; cp. Ecl. vii. 47 *solstitium pecori defendite*” (Papillon and Haigh ad loc.). “A dative, not an ablative” (Henderson). Phillipson ad loc. interprets it as a dative of disadvantage, comparing line 451 above.

727 depulit, et caelo tandem miseratus ab alto est.

depulit: Almost a technical term in the epic for the rescue of the ships; cf. 9.78 *tantos ratibus quis depulit ignes*; 109 *admonuit ratibus sacris depellere taedas*; at 328 *sed non augurio potuit depellere pestem* it refers to Rhamnes' failure to foresee his doom in the night raid.

caelo: Whence the *facies parentis* came down (722); the language closely connects the dream vision with the rescue of the ships. See Conington here for the possible connection between the use of the conventional phrase and the nature of the sky-sent deliverance.

tandem: "Employed as often for strong emotive effect" (Horsfall ad 6.687); "The adverb typical of Virgilian narrative" (*Idem* ad 6.2).

miseratus: Securing the reminiscence of the archery contest; cf. 509 *miserandus*, of Mnestheus.

alto est: Also a line-end at Horace, *Epist.* 1.18.87. The mention of the *caelum altum* is a reminder of the great gulf that separates the world of the immortals from human travails (a recurring theme of the epic).

728 consiliis pare quae nunc pulcherrima Nautes

consiliis: Cf. 749 *haud mora consiliis*.

pare: The verb occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 242 *et Venulus dicto parens ita farier inquit*.

pulcherrima: The superlative of this adjective occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 852, of Opis; here it might seem a strange descriptor for the advice the goddess' prophet had dispensed. There may be a subtle comment here on the attraction of Trojans to that which is (superficially) beautiful (and, of course, any sort of advice that is connected to a goddess can be considered "most beautiful" by a transference of the immortal's own loveliness). See further on 570 *pulcher*; the form *pulcherrima* in V. is also associated with Dido (1.496; 4.60); also Venus (4.227; 12.554).

729 dat senior; lectos iuvenes, fortissima corda,

dat: Cf. 730 *defer*; the language is deliberately short and choppy, as plans are supernaturally discussed for the Sicilian settlement and the conveyance of the braver hearts among the Trojan exiles to the forthcoming war in Italy.

senior: Nautes' counsel is to be heeded in part because he is older; he is of the same generation as Aeneas' father and can thus substitute as a father figure for the Trojan leader; his onomastic identity as "sailor" adds to his reliability and credibility as a counselor on the question of the departure from Sicily.

lectos iuvenes: Echoing Catullus, c. 64.78 *electos iuvenes simul et decus innuptarum*, of the sacrificial offerings for the Minotaur. *Iuvenes* contrasts effectively with *senior*.

fortissima corda: Only here; the superlative language is a rhetorical device to soothe and persuade Aeneas. Cf. the *stupefacta corda* of 643; Acestes' address to Entellus as *heroum quondam fortissime frustra* (389); Aeneas' address to his fellow Trojan warriors at 2.348–349 *iuvenes, fortissima frustra | pectora* (with possible implicit comparison between the war at Troy and the forthcoming struggle in Latium, both of which spell the end of Trojan *mores*). *Fortissima corda* serves to offer a rationale for why the *iuvenes* are to be *lectos*.

730 *defer in Italiam. gens dura atque aspera cultu*

defer: The imperative appears also at 4.226, as Jupiter orders Mercury to warn Aeneas off from Carthage; the form is rare in verse of all genres and periods.

gens ... aspera cultu: Curtius has *Mardorum erat gens confinibus Hyrcaniae, cultu vitae aspera* (6.5.11.2). This passage is echoed at 11.316–319 (especially at 318–319 *Aurunci Rutulique serunt, et vomere duros | exercent collis atque horum asperrima pascent*; see further Jenkyns 1998, 571–572; also Schenk 1984, 315: “Hier tritt als weiter Charakterisierung *asper* noch hinzu, das sich bei den Hauptgegnern des Aeneas Turnus, Mezentius, Camilla so wie auch Iuno winderfindet”). On these proverbial traits of the Latins see Canali 1976, 13.

731 *debellanda tibi Latio est. Ditis tamen ante*

debellanda: A key verb in the poet's eschatological revelation; the only other occurrence comes at 6.853 *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* (vid. further Schenk 1984, 319–320). At 7.651, Lausus is described as an *equum domitor debellatorque ferarum*; the noun appears nowhere else in V. The present passage is the first announcement of the great injunctions the father imparts to his son in Avernus; a fierce and stubborn race in Latium must be beaten down in war. See Williams 1960 here on the question of consistency with 3.441 ff. (especially 458 ff.), where the Sibyl is identified as the one who will tell Aeneas about the wars to be fought in Italy. But 6.86 ff. accord with Helenus' prophecy, and there is no reason why Anchises' shade cannot also mention the forthcoming battles, especially as vaguely as he does here. “Aen. visits his father out of paternal *pietas* and in Elysium is briefed on national *pietas*” (Horsfall ad 6.670); see further Horsfall ad 6.890 *bella ... memorat*. The personal pronoun emphasizes the particular task of *Aeneas*, the Trojan *dux*, apart from his men.

Ditis: The name of the underworld lord is a contraction of *Dives pater*; despite his exceptional wealth his realm is empty because it is the domain of ghosts (6.269). The name is sometimes applied to the infernal regions in general (*G.* 4.467; *A.* 6.127; 541; 7.568; 8.667; 12.199). This is the second mention of the god in the epic; cf. 4.702, where Iris bears a lock of Dido's hair to Dis.

732 infernas accede domos et Averna per alta

infernas ... domos: The adjective, and the ominous destination it portends, first occurs in the epic at 3.386 *inferni que lacus* (during Helenus' address); cf. 6.106 *inferni ianua regis*; 138 *Iunoni infernae dictus sacer*; 7.325 *infernisque ciet tenebris*; 770–771 *ab umbris | infernis*; 8.244 *infernas reseret sedes*; 12.199 *vimque deum infernam et duri sacraria Ditis*.

Averna: For the fabled underworld locus see especially Austin ad 6.126 (with reference to the question of when it refers to the lake and when it simply stands for lower regions in general). Cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 6.738–739 *nunc age, Averna tibi quae sint loca cumque lacusque, | expediam*; 818–819 *sic et Averna loca alitibus summittere debent | mortiferam vim*; *A.* 3.441–442 *huc ubi delatus Cumaeam accesseris urbem | divinosque lacus et Averna sonantia silvis* (with Horsfall). Horace has *spargens Avernalis aquas* (*ep.* 5.26). *Alta* has connotations here of both the depth and the breadth of the underworld regions.

733 congressus pete, nate, meos. non me impia namque

congressus: For the noun in a different sense cf. 12.514; note 809 *congressum Aeneas*; forms of the related verb/noun occur 2× in 5 and 2× in 11 (631; 720). “Very rare indeed in poetry ... found only once elsewhere in Classical times ... common enough in prose, and perhaps had tended to acquire a somewhat formal sense” (Williams 1960 ad loc.).

impia: Also of Dido, in her own estimation (4.596 *infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangent*; cf. 4.496, where she applies the same descriptor to Aeneas); of Tartarus again (6.543); those who followed “impious arms” (6.612–613; cf. Latinus' *arma impia sumpsi* at 12.31). *Furor* is also *impius* (1.294); so also Dido's brother Pygmalion (1.349); Diomedes, in the judgment of Sinon (2.163); Fama (4.298). See further Horsfall ad 6.543 (“To the place accrue the vices of its inhabitants”).

namque: “Virgil does not often end a line with a colourless word of this kind” (Williams). It is almost as if Anchises' shade must pause before the utterance of the dread name in the emphatic first position of the next verse; the rare rhythm highlights the mention of the underworld's hell. Elsewhere, a Virgilian final *namque* occurs only at 7.122, where see Horsfall.

734 Tartara habent, tristes umbrae, sed amoena piorum

Tartara: The darkest and bleakest region of the lower world, in marked contrast to the brightly lit Elysium; it is where Rhadamanthus sits in judgment (6.566) over the doomed souls of the wicked (6.543; 8.667). *Tartarus* is mentioned 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; it is a destination of those slain by heroes (397; cf. 8.563; 12.14). Aeneas mentions the locale at 12.205, when he swears that the truce between

the Trojans and the Latins will remain firm, even should heaven collapse into hell (a harbinger of the alliance's inevitable failure).

habent: Cf. 6.566 *habet durissima regna* (with Horsfall's note).

tristes umbrae: Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 12.91. Tib. read *tristesve* here (so also r, = Paris. Latin. 7926), which would allow for a division of the underworld into three realms, with the "sad shades" = the denizens of the limbo between Tartarus and Elysium, that middle ground that serves as the abode of those who suffer the bleak existence of the unremembered dead (at least the notorious sinners have the grim consolation their infamy imparts). V. is not providing a clear (let alone orthodox) cartography here for the underworld, but the conjunction is attractive, and may well be the true reading.

amoena: The adjective appears elsewhere in V. at 6.638 *amoena virecta* (in Elysium; see further Horsfall ad loc.); 7.30 *hunc inter fluvio Tiberinus amoeno*; 9.680 *sive Padi ripis Athesim seu propter amoenum*: Elysium, and Italy. Here the descriptor coordinates nicely with *Tartara* to give the line a surprise effect as we move from the darkest region of the lower world to the bright light of the Isles of the Blest.

735 *concilia Elysiumque colo. huc casta Sibylla*

concilia: Cf. 75 *ille e concilio multis cum milibus ibat*; the grim *concilium horrendum* of the Cyclopes (3.679); Minos' judgmental *concilium* (6.433); the divine council of 10.2; the Latin war council (11.234; 304; 460; 469); the councils of kings mentioned at 2.89. Most relevant here, though, may be the *concilia* of G. 1.25 that are connected to the future deification of Augustus. "C. of the gods, of the Achaeans, of the Dead, of the Latins" (Horsfall ad 3.679 *concilium horrendum*).

colo: Cf. 63 *et quos colit hospes Aestes*, another instance of verbal repetition from the opening scenes of the book. The hiatus after the verb serves to emphasize the dramatic announcement of the home of Anchises' shade; this is one of some forty instances of the phenomenon in the epic.

casta Sibylla: Cf. Silius, *Pun.* 13.444; Martial, *ep.* 14.114.2. Proserpina is also chaste (6.402 *casta licet patruī servet Proserpina limen*), in part to avoid the incestuous image of the niece with her uncle, but also to highlight the childless state of the union (hence the sterile cow Aeneas offers to the goddess at 6.251, a detail borrowed from *Od.* 10.522, where the sacrifice is to the shades, not Persephone). The adjective has associations with (Roman?) religious practice (3.409 *hac casti maneant in religione nepotes*; 6.661 *quique sacerdotes casti*; 7.71 *castis adolet dum altaria taedis*; 8.665–666 *castae / matres*; cf. the image of the *castum ... cubile* of 8.412, the prohibition on the *castus* from entering Tartarus at 6.563).

736 nigrarum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet.

Cf. Grattius, *Cyn.* 168 *ille tibi et pecudum multo cum sanguine crescet.*

nigrarum: For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 138–141 (with reference to the Homeric and Lucretian antecedents for sacrifices related to the underworld).

multo ... sanguine: The language is tragic (Accius); also Lucretian (*DRN* 4.1236; 5.1201; 1421; 6.1285). Elsewhere in V. the phrase is used of the deaths of both Polites and Priam (2.532; 551; 662); of the vision of the forthcoming war in Italy (6.87); also at 11.421–422 *sin et Troianis cum multo gloria venit | sanguine sunt illis sua funera*. Cf. 9.456 *caede locum et pleno spumantis sanguine rivos*.

The sacrifices announced here are fulfilled at 6.243 ff., where first four black bullocks are offered (*quattuor hic primum nigrantis terga iuvencos*), with direct reference both chromatically and numerically to the present scenes. Hecate is called on first (247 *voce vocans Hecaten*), before a lamb is offered to Night (the mother of the Eumenides) and the *magna soror*, and a *sterilis vacca* for the queen of the dead; for the identity of the *magna soror* (likely = Juno, possibly = Diana), see Fratantuono 2012c.

737 tum genus omne tuum et quae dentur moenia disces.

genus omne tuum: I.e., the vision of the *Heldenschau*; cf. Ovid, *Ibis* 582 *intereat tecum sic genus omne tuum*.

dentur moenia: Cf. 633 *dicentur moenia*. The *genus* is closely linked with the *moenia*; the future Romans are defined most especially by the existence of their city. There is a hint, too, of the spirit of the opening verses of the epic.

disces: For the verb cf. 222 *discentem*. The didactic verb crowns the line, as the shade of Anchises prepares his son (and the audience) for the great revelations of the next book. The second person verb coordinates closely with the possessive adjective *tuum*; the emphasis of the father is on the personal implications of the future Roman destiny for his son.

738 iamque vale; torquet medios Nox umida cursus

iamque vale: So of the nocturnal departures of the shadowy Creüsa to Aeneas at 2.789 *iamque vale et nati serva communis amorem*; Eurydice at *G.* 4.497 *iamque vale: feror ingenti circumdata nocte*: not a positive pair of associations for the ghostly valediction here. There is probably no echo here of Catullus, c. 101.

torquet ... cursus: Cf. Rumor as she travels to Iarbas at 4.196 *protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban*; also Lucan, *BC* 10.290. Below at 831–832 *torquent | detorquentque* the Trojan fleet will shake out the sails before the winds. But the expression is noteworthy for its (strictly speaking) inexactitude; “(1) *torquet currum* would be more exact; (2) though the words ought, in themselves, to denote midnight, it is clear from 739 that they refer rather to time near

the dawn" (Knapp ad loc.). It is perhaps overly subtle to imply that there is deliberate falsehood afoot here, but the whole scene does have affinities with the more dramatic problem of the not dissimilar situation at the end of the sixth *Aeneid*.

medios ... cursus: Cf. Manilius, *Ast.* 2.783; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.3, and especially 835, where it is nearly midnight when Sleep appears to the doomed helmsman. See also Horsfall ad 3.624 for the force of the adjective as indicating "right/deep" rather than strictly spatial (or, for that matter, temporal) midpoints.

Nox umida: Also at 835, before the loss of Palinurus; cf. 2.8 (before the last night of Troy); 3.198 (also before a Palinurus episode); 11.201 (during the Trojan requiems)—a careful sequence of grim nights for Troy.

739 *et me saevus equis Oriens adflavit anhelis.*'

saevus: Geymonat (following Ribbeck and Sabbadini) prefer *saevos* here, which may well be the true reading of P, which seems to be corrected here (and *saevos* certainly = the reading of m, the Monacensis); the archaic nominative would arguably work well with the solemn context of the end of the dream vision of the storied Trojan hero, now a resident in Elysium and soon to be declaimer of the eschatological mysteries of purgation and reincarnation in the Virgilian underworld. Interestingly, Marius Plotius Sacerdos read *Foebus* here.

Oriens: The personified rising of the sun, i.e., daybreak/dawn; cf. 42–43 *cum primo stellas Oriente fugarat | clara dies*. The coming of day is *saevus* because it forces the separation of father and son; cf. *G.* 1.249–250 *aut redit a nobis Aurora diemque reducit, | nosque ubi primus equis Oriens adflavit anhelis | illic sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper*. We would probably do well to capitalize *Oriens* here; V. often makes subtle connections between the forces of nature, as it were, and the immortal gods whose power directs their celestial motions—and whose actions are oftentimes central to the action of his heroic epic.

adflavit: Elsewhere in the *A.* the verb is used at 1.591 *adflarat*, of Venus' divine beautification of Aeneas; 2.648–649 *ex quo me divum pater atque hominum rex | fulminis adflavit ventis et contigit igni* (Anchises to his son); 6.50 *adflata est numine quando* (of Deiphobe).

anhelis: Of celestial horses also at Manilius, *Ast.* 2.796; Ovid, *Met.* 4.633–634; Statius, *Ach.* 1.690–691; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2.75; cf. the *pectus anhelum* of the Sibyl (6.48); 12.790 *adsistunt contra certamine Martis anhelis*.

Gellius (*NA* 3.2.15.2) cites 738–739 as evidence for the Roman division of the hours of the day. The first dawn of *A.* 5 = 42–43; games are planned for the ninth

day (after the rites for Anchises). That new dawn, the second specified in the book, comes at 104–105. During the ensuing long narrative of the games and the burning of the ships there is no temporal marker. At 721, Night descends on what could be considered the long and variegated single day of the games, a day that ended grimly in fire and despair. Here, the coming of Dawn—the third named morning of the book—is announced as Anchises' shade prepares to depart. Nine days of feasting will follow (762), and the loss of Palinurus will come on the night of the Trojans' sailing to Italy. In some sense the nine days of feasting are a reversal of the evocation of the nine days of funereal remembrance for Anchises near the opening of the book; here, the nine days will come before the loss of the sacrificial victim Palinurus, whose death will be demanded by Neptune. There may well be a hint of the notion that true dreams came after midnight.

Three named dawns, then, a pattern that will be followed in 11 (cf. 1; 182–183; 210 *tertia lux*). After the third dawn of 11 there is no mention of the rising or setting of the sun until the closing verses 913–915, when the sun sets on the long day of the cavalry battle; see further Fratantuono ad 11.1.

Henderson (et al.) compares *Hamlet* 1.5: “But soft! Methinks I scent the morning air. Brief let me be ... Fare thee well at once. The glow-worm shows the matin to be near, and ‘gins to pale his ineffectual fire. Adieu, adieu, adieu; remember me.”

740 *dixerat et tenuis fugit ceu fumus in auras.*

tenuis: Cf. the description of the Acestes arrow shot (526–527 *tenuisque recessit / consumpta in ventos*).

fumus: A reminder of the ship burning (682). The present passage is modeled on *G.* 4.499–500 *dixit et ex oculis subito, ceu fumus in auras | commixtus tenuis* (of Eurydice); cf. *A.* 12.591–592 *tum murmure caeco | intus saxa sonant, vacuas it fumus ad auras* (in the simile of the shepherd smoking out bees, a key ethnographic scene). The image is ultimately Lucretian (*DRN* 3.436 *et nebula ac fumus quoniam discedit in auras*; 456 *ceu fumus, in altas aëris auras*). “Epicurus is said to have held that at death souls were scattered like smoke, but the image was old, both literary (Hom. *Il.* 23.100: the apparition of Patroclus disappears ‘like smoke’) and popular (Plat. *Phaed.* 70a.)” (Kenney ad 3.456). On how Aeneas rekindles the fire immediately after the vanishing of the *facies* into the *fumus* (743–745), and for consideration of the connections between the present, brief comparison and the scene of the departure of Creüsa's shade at 2.792–794, see Hornsby 1970, 45–46: “Only in book XII will it become clear how serious an importance must be attached to so evanescent a thing as speech.”

741 Aeneas ‘quo deinde ruis? quo proripis?’ inquit,

quo deinde ruis: Cf. Hecuba’s similar question to Priam at 2.520; Aeneas asks Lausus *quo moriture ruis* at 10.811. See Horsfall ad 2.520 for the question of whether such anaphoric utterances as these constitute colloquial speech (= “no proof”). As Donatus notes ad 12.313, “aliud est ire aut tendere, aliud ruere: ruere est inconsulte aliud adgredi.” The repeated questions of this and the next verse serve to convey something of Aeneas’ frustration—another recurring motif of the epic, especially in the context of its dreamlike and related supernaturally charged manifestations and epiphanies. “The language is much condensed” (Knapp ad loc.).

proripis: Elsewhere in V. at *E.* 3.19; cf. *A.* 10.796 (with Harrison). An old word (Accius), it is rare in the verse of all periods (1× in Horace; 2× in Ovid). For the ellipsis of the accusative cf. 1.104; 1.402; 2.235.

742 ‘quem fugis? aut quis te nostris complexibus arcet?’

complexibus: Cf. the embrace of the false Ascanius at 1.715 *ille ubi complexu Aeneae*; the terrible related vision of 4.616 *complexu avulsus Iuli*; the ghastly 8.488 *complexu in misero* (of Mezentius’ tortures); 582 *complexu teneo* (Evander to Pallas): not a positive set of associations. On the attempted gesture here see E. Belfiore, “*Ter frustra comprehensa*: Embraces in the *Aeneid*,” in *TAPA* 129 (1984), 263–279; also K. Shannon in *VE* I, 417, with reference to C. Segal, “Vanishing Shades: Virgil and Homeric Repetitions,” in *Eranos* 72 (1974), 34–52, 43–44: “Achilles’ attempt to embrace the shade of Patroclus in Homer (*Iliad* 23.99–102) provides yet another parallel for Aeneas’ attempt to embrace Anchises’ shade (*A.* 5.742), both single rather than triple attempted embraces.”

arcet: So of Charon at 6.316 *ast alios longe summotos arcet harena*; cf. 8.73 *accipite Aenean et tandem arcete periclis* (also in a river context).

743 haec memorans cinerem et sopitos suscitāt ignis,

haec memorans: For the line opening cf. 641, in a very different incendiary context.

sopitos: With an eye to the Palinurus narrative; cf. *A.* 1.680 *hunc ego sopitum somno* (Venus on Ascanius); 10.642 *aut quae sopitos deludunt somnia sensus*.

suscitat: For the verb see on 454; the present passage will be echoed at 8.410 *cinerem et sopitos suscitāt ignes* (Vulcan as he rises to work on the shield; cf. 8.542–543 *et primum Herculeis sopitas ignibus aras / excitat*); the usual meaning in the *A.* is to rouse someone to martial anger. The sibilant alliteration helps to convey something of the sleepy nature of the embers.

744 Pergameumque Larem et canae penetralia Vestae

See here C. Phillips, "A Note on Vergil's *Aeneid* 5, 744," in *Hermes* 104 (1976), 247–249.

Pergameum: Cf. the settlement of Pergamea in Crete (3.133); the *arces Pergameae* of 3.109–110; the *Pergameae ruinae* of 3.476; the *Pergamea gens* of 6.63. On the inherent tension here between the old Troy and the future Rome, see Jenkyns 1998, 427–428.

Larem: Reverenced by Aeneas also at 8.541–543; called to witness by Ascanius at the related 9.258–260 *per magnos, Nise, penates | Assaracique larem et canae penetralia Vestae* (where see Hardie, and Dingel); cf. *G.* 3.344. Noun and adjective combine to give a fitting image of a Trojan Rome in Sicily, the intermediary stop between the two realms. Here there is perhaps some trace of the idea that the Lar was a ghost; Anchises is a visitor from the (Trojan) past, but in the next book he will speak of the Roman future—Sicily and the sojourn there is the midpoint between the old and the new.

penetralia: See on 660.

canae: Servius notes that the descriptor may refer to the white ash of the hearth fire in the goddess' hair. For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 118–119. The only occurrence in the *A.* of *canus* that does not occur in some connection with Vesta = 8.672 *fluctu ... cano*, of the marine locus of Actium (which Edgeworth associates with possible Ennian and Catullan precedents; the point may be to effect a play on the chromatic connotations of Leucas).

Vestae: The goddess of the hearth is featured prominently in Jupiter's vision at 1.292–293 *cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum frater Quirinus | iura dabunt*; cf. 2.296–297 *sic ait et manibus vittas Vestemque potentem | aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem* (of Hector's shade); 2.567–568 *cum limina Vestae | servantem* (of Helen); also *G.* 1.498; 4.384. "We know nothing of her place at Troy" (Horsfall ad 2.567). "The more usual coupling, even in State contexts, is with the other household gods, the Lar and the Penates ... Vesta's divinity, too, like that of the Penates had its 'faded' aspect and her name is occasionally used as a synonym for 'fire' or 'the hearth.'" (Bailey 1935, 96). "In *G.*, Virgil invokes mother Vesta as guardian of the Tiber and Palatine, praying that she and other native gods will not prevent Octavian from helping their stricken generation" (V. Warrior in *VE* III, 1335).

745 farre pio et plena supplex veneratur acerra.

farre: Spelt appears elsewhere in the *A.* only at 4.402–403 *ac velut ingentem formicae farris acervum | cum populant hiemis memores tectoque reponunt*; cf. *G.* 1.73; 101; 185; 219; 3.127.

veneratur: The verb appears 9× in the *A.* (4× in the *G.*), thrice in relatively

quick succession in the early movements of the Trojan wanderings (3.34; 79; 84); cf. 3.697 *iussi numina magna loci veneramur* (in Sicily); also 3.460 *venerata sacerdos* (of the Sibyl); 7.597 *votisque deos venerabere seris* (Latinus to Turnus, to be taken closely with 12.220 *suppliciter venerans demisso lumine Turnus*); 9.276 *venerande puer* (Ascanius to Euryalus).

acerra: Only here in V.; the (maple) box is probably full of incense (Williams cfs. Horace, 3.8.2–3 *acerra turis / plena*, where see Nisbet and Rudd).

“Apparet itaque farre pio cum sale, id est mola salsa, vel ture talia lustrata esse portenta. Quapropter Aeneas, postquam in somniis Anchises ipsi apparuit multasque calamitates indixit” (Lersch 1843, 182).

746–761 Aeneas at once informs Acestes of the nocturnal vision and its import; arrangements are made for the establishment of what will be Segesta. A temple is erected to Venus Idalia on the heights of Mount Eryx, while a priest and a sacred precinct are decreed for Anchises.

The present brief sequence highlights the most important result of the Junonian intervention to burn the ships: the foundation of a recognizably Roman colony, complete with forum and senate (cf. the different case with the establishments of *A. 3*; the tradition that “Rome” instigated the burning).

746 extemplo socios primumque accersit Acesten

extemplo: An old word (see Skutsch ad Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 14.377 *verrunt extemplo placidum mare*), and cf. 426 above. The adverb introduces Aeneas at 1.92 *extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra*. The emphasis is on immediacy; see e.g. Horsfall ad 6.210.

accersit: So MR ω , vs. *arcessit* P; Tib.; there is a similar confusion at 6.119 *si potuit manis accersere coniugis Orpheus* (where OLD s.v. 1c offers the definition “to being back from the dead; to invoke (a god)” citing this passage and Persius, s. 2.45 *Mercurium ... accersis fibra*); for the verb in V. cf. also 10.11 *ne arcessite*; also *G. 4.224*. *Accersere* can have military associations (cf. the Jovian injunction not to summon the hour of battle at the divine council); there is not necessarily a brusque, let alone rude tone here, though after *extemplo* there may well be a rushed atmosphere of excitement in the wake of the dream vision with its divine command. “*Arcessit*: others read *accersit*, the latter said to be the fashionable way of pronouncing the word in Vergil’s day” (Henderson ad loc.).

primum ... Acesten: As at 451 *it clamor caelo primusque accurrit Acestes*. Servius glosses the descriptor here as “principem”; we may see a hint of the *princeps* Augustus in the image.

747 et Iovis imperium et cari praecepta parentis

Iovis imperium: Echoing the ghost's words at 726; Aeneas increases the authority of the sentiments by placing the god's name before the reference to his father. The *parens* is of course Anchises, but the framing word order helps to secure an echo of the idea that Jupiter is the father, too. Cf. the *imperium magnum* of 6.812 (and 11.47), with Horsfall on both passages.

cari: Cf. 725 *care*. For the adjective with *parens* cf. *A.* 1.646 *omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis*.

praecepta parentis: An echo of Catullus, c. 64.159 *saeva quod horrebas prisca praecepta parentis*. Cf. the *praecepta Sibyllae* (6.236). The noun "elevated by V. from histor. prose, letters." (Horsfall ad loc.).

748 edocet et quae nunc animo sententia constat.

edocet: The verb recurs at 8.13 *edoceat*, of Venulus' mission to Diomedes; 10.152 *edocet*, of Aeneas' report to Tarchon.

animo: Cf. the divided mind of 720. With *animo sententia* cf. *A.* 1.582 *nate dea, quae nunc animo sententia surgit*, of Achates' announcement to Aeneas that everything in Carthage seems safe; 9.191 *quid dubitem et quae nunc animo sententia surgat* (Nisus to Euryalus).

sententia: Something of a colorless word, one might well think; this is Aeneas' considered judgment in the wake of the Jovian cloudburst and the dream apparition of his father, not to mention the advice of Nautes. Few decisions in the *A.* are taken after quite so much confirmation.

constet: The verb occurs elsewhere in V. only at *A.* 3.518 *postquam cuncta videt caelo constare sereno*, of Palinurus as he stargazes.

The school commentary of Knapp perceptively notes the continuing emphasis not only on Aeneas' obedience to revealed divine will, but also on his dilatory nature, "slow as he is to reach a decision either on the basis of his own reflection and his own knowledge ... or on the basis of advice, however good, given to him."

749 haud mora consiliis, nec iussa recusat Acestes:

haud mora: Cf. 723 *subito*, of the appearance of Anchises' ghost; 746 *extemplo*. What happens now, happens quickly, as V. moves with relative haste to the final movement of the book. See further Horsfall ad 7.746.

consiliis: The dative/ablative plural is Ennian (*Ann.* fr. 7.213 Skutsch), but not terribly common otherwise in verse (Caesarian; Ciceronian, especially in the speeches); this is the third of its three occurrences in the present book (cf. 712; 728); 1× in 11 (339, appropriately enough in an oratical context); otherwise nowhere in V. The *C. Actiacum* has *consiliis nox apta ducum, lux aptior armis* (col. 8.6); 3× in Horace's odes.

iussa: Not a reference to any superiority of Aeneas over Acestes, but rather to the Jovian source of the orders. With the present scene cf. Anna's response to Dido's orders at the powerfully ominous hemistich 4.503 *ergo iussa parat*; also 6.40–41; 12.877.

recusat: For the verb see on 406.

750 *transcribunt urbi matres populumque volentem*

transcribunt: Elsewhere in *V.* only at 7.422 *et tua Dardaniis transcribe sceptrā colonis* (Allecto/Calybe to Turnus). The plural is deliberate; the ascription is a joint action of Aeneas and Acestes. Servius notes the technical association of the verb with the establishment of Roman colonies, though Bryce observes *ad loc.* that “persons transferred from one city to another were said *transcribi*, but colonists were said *adscribi*”; the pedantic distinction is unimportant to the poet.

volentem: Cf. 712, of Acestes; the inspiration for these passages may = *G.* 4.561–562, of the willing peoples over whom Augustus is said to reign.

This verse (with the initial verb changed to the singular) is the penultimate decastich in the *Argumenta Aeneidis*.

751 *deponunt, animos nil magnae laudis egentes.*

deponunt: It is possible (as Servius notes) to take *animos* as the object of this verb, though in its other use at the start of a hexameter (12.564), it must be taken with what precedes. Cf. also 6.632 *nos ... deponere*, with Horsfall *ad loc.*

magnae laudis: Cf. 9.197 *obstipuit magno laudum percussus amore* (of Euryalus).

egentes: The verb is used at *A.* 1.384 *ipse ignotus egens Libyae deserta peragro* (Aeneas to his disguised mother); 2.521–522 *non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis / tempus eget* (Hecuba to Priam); 4.373 *eiectum litore, egentem* (Dido of Aeneas); 7.197–198 *quae causa rates aut cuius egentis / litus ad Ausonium tot per vada caerula vexit* (Latinus to the Trojans); 11.27 *quem non virtutis egentem* (Aeneas of the dead Pallas); 343 *rem nulli obscuram nostrae nec vocis egentem* (Drances at the war council). For the possible Ennian influence here, see Wigodsky 1972, 54.

“It seems a common thing in languages to modify the simple negative.” (Henderson *ad loc.*).

752 *ipsi transtra novant flammisque ambesa reponunt*

Nautes had raised the suggestion of leaving behind the crews of the four lost vessels (713); presumably not all of the Trojans from those vessels would have wanted to remain in Sicily. There is in one sense no need to replace the four

lost ships; other vessels had been damaged, which here are repaired and refurbished.

novant: For the verb see on 604; V. closes a ring here with the renewal of the ships that were damaged by fire; looming over the entire scene is the establishment of the settlement that Aeneas will call Troy (756), even if no one else follows his example. The present passage is imitated by Silius at *Pun.* 6.352–354 *aut silvis stringent remos, aut abiete secta | transtra novant. his intortos aptare rudentis, | his studium erecto componere carbasa malo*. The Latin permits us to imagine either that the benches are fashioned anew, or that the old ones are repaired.

ambesa: The rare verb occurs elsewhere in V. at *A.* 3.257 *ambesas subigat malis absumere mensas* (of the portent of the eating of the tables, which was associated with the girding of a new city with walls); cf. 785 *exedissee*. On food imagery see below on 800 *Saturnius*; the fire had seemed unquenchable until the Jovian rain extinguished its power; soon enough the insatiable anger of Neptune will demand a blood sacrifice to ensure a safe voyage to Italy. See further Horsfall ad 3.209–269 (introductory note on the Harpies episode: “We might suspect that V. is trying out, or anticipating various motifs: Misenus and Palinurus, in sequence here as they will be in death, hunt and feast with bk. 1 in mind (after a rehearsal storm, perhaps), hunting with dire consequences here and as Asc. will find in Bk. 7; Celaeno, even, with Allecto to come. But that is to speculate.)”

753 *robora navigiis, aptant remosque rudentisque,*

navigiis: Only here in the *A.*; cf. *G.* 2.107; 443.

aptant: The verb occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 8 *aptat rorantis sanguine cristas*, of the grisly adornment of the Mezentius *tropaeum*.

For oars and rope together cf. Horace, *ep.* 10.506 *niger rudentis Euris inverso mari | fractosque remos differat*; also Ovid, *Met.* 11.474–475. The present hypermetric line (one of but twenty-one in the poet) rather reverses the image of the last (422), where Entellus was baring his mighty frame for the boxing match; there may also a sense here of the great hustle and bustle of men and equipment as the fleet eagerly prepares for departure.

754 *exigui numero, sed bello vivida virtus.*

exigui: The adjective appears 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 62–63 *solacia luctus | exigua ingentis*, of the rites for Pallas. There is no indication anywhere in V. of how many exiles departed from Troy with Aeneas, and no detail concerning just how many stayed behind in Sicily, save this note that not so many traveled to Italy after all.

bello: A subtle hint of the forthcoming war of which Anchises' ghost warned (731).

vivida virtus: The alliteration expresses the liveliness of the vigor and courage; significantly, in another example of the close connection between the sister books, the phrase appears elsewhere only in 11, where at 386–387 *possit quid vivida virtus / experiare licet* it is used of Turnus in his address to Drances; the phrase probably owes something to Lucretius' *vivida vis animi pervicit* (*DRN* 1.72). “Virtus’ forms rather a bold apposition to ‘exigui numero;’ but there is a similar one in 11.338” —Conington ad loc., following Forbiger on the parallel.

755 *interea Aeneas urbem designat aratro*

designat: Only here and at 7.157–158 *ipse humili designat moenia fossa / moli-turque locum*, of Aeneas' first settlement in Latium. For the marking out of a new town with the plough Servius cites Cato's *Orig.*; cf. the disguised Venus' description to Aeneas of the original foundation of Carthage at 1.366–368. The signal term *urbem* appears fittingly at midline; there had been other settlements in the long westward voyage of the Trojan exiles, but this is the first one that would seem to be established without ill omen and false confidence that this is Hesperia; the solemn progression from Jovian storm to senior admonition (Nautes) to dream apparition of the father whose ghost broods over the entire book may well serve to underscore the importance and significance of the establishment of this *urbs*, especially in light of the history of the Punic Wars (and cf. Dido and the curse of Carthage' revenge that also looms large over this island book).

aratro: Ploughs appear twice in the context of the outbreak of war in Latium (7.539; 635); cf. 9.435–436 *purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro / languescit moriens*, in the simile that describes the death of Euryalus. In the image of the plough we see the Augustan fantasy of the pristine, idyllic, rustic splendor of early Italy. Aeneas provides the new settlement with a *pomerium*, as it were (see further Henderson ad loc.).

756 *sortiturque domos; hoc Ilium et haec loca Troiam*

sortitur: A word of solemn and venerable associations; at 3.375–376 *sic fata deum rex / sortitur* it is used by Helenus of Aeneas' travel under “greater auspices” (*maioribus auspiciis*).

Ilium ... Troiam: An interesting response to Nautes' recommendation at 718 that the settlement be named after Acestes; the ghost of Anchises gave no explicit instruction on the matter, only an admonition that Nautes be heeded (728–729). In point of fact, the colony described here would = Segesta; Aeneas'

order (757 *iubet*) that it be called “Ilium” and “Troy” would not be followed. For an argument that Aeneas calls the new settlement after these old names because the settlers “require the comfort of illusions,” see Cairns 1989, 118. See Williams 1960 here for the synaloepha at *Ilium et*; as he notes (with Austin ad 4.684), it occurs 8×, 7× with *et* (once with *in*), all in the first half of the epic; at 9.285 and 11.245, *Ilia tellus* is used. The cretic name cannot fit the hexameter without such a synaloepha, which is nonetheless very rare in V; the striking number of examples with *Ilium* may represent a metrical enactment of the suppression of Troy, with any archaizing diction contributing to the sense of the passing of the old. For now, we remain somewhat far from the site of the future Rome, and the names of the home for those who will not arrive in Latium are fittingly those from the soon to be definitively dead past. There is also a shade of the idea that Aeneas is unaware of the larger forces at work in the poem; Segesta will be Segesta, not Ilium or Troy. The memory of Buthrotum, too, is very much present; as in Book 3, so in 5 there is a final home for Trojan exiles here, and it is a pitiful reinvention, truth be told, of Priam’s great city.

757 esse iubet. gaudet regno Troianus Acestes

esse iubet: Cf. 552 *iubet esse*.

gaudet regno: Seneca has *quisquamne regno gaudet?* (*Oed.* 6). Farrell notes that here “Acestes’ settlement is for the first time called a ‘kingdom’”; *regnum* refers both to the realm that the Sicilian already ruled, as well as to the new addition/eponymous foundation; Segesta is the only locale in the *A.* whose founding is the direct result of a Jovian order.

Troianus: Cf. 711 *Dardanius ... Acestes*. Servius notes here that Acestes rejoices because the settlement is named after him, which is true enough except in the command V. records that Aeneas gave regarding the names Ilium and Troy. Acestes is Trojan here, too, in part to express something of the idea of the Trojan past being left behind in Sicily, as (ideally) Aeneas and his men advance to a Roman future.

758 indicitque forum et patribus dat iura vocatis.

Significantly, Acestes invests the site (which will, after all, eventually at least bear his name) with implicitly *Roman* associations, i.e., a forum and a senate; the Trojan monarch rejoices in his kingdom (which has just been expanded, albeit with the weaker and less heroic representatives, we might say, of the Trojan exiles), but the new settlement is eminently Roman, and will not, after all, bear the names Aeneas bestows on this day. It may be interesting that it is *Acestes* and not Aeneas who is responsible for these eminently Roman features of the new city.

indicit: The verb occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 737 *aut ubi curva choros indixit tibia Bacchi*; elsewhere only at A. 1.632 *simul divum templis indicit honorem*; 3.264 *numina magna vocat meritosque indicit honores* (Anchises in the wake of the attack of the Harpies); 7.468 *indicit primis iuvenum et iubet arma parari* (Turnus at the start of the war); 616–617 *hoc et tum Aeneadis indicere bella Latinus | more iubebatur*.

forum: One of two mentions of a *forum* in the epic; cf. 8.360–361 *passimque armenta videbant | Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis*; also G. 2.502. The senate of Rome may well be anticipated or foreshadowed in this scene.

patribus ... vocatis: The phrase occurs once elsewhere in V, at 11.379–380 *tum cum bella manus poscunt, patribusque vocatis | primus ades* (Turnus to Drances).

dat iura: Like Augustus at G. 4.561–562 *fulminat Euphraten bello victorque volentis | per populos dat iura viamque adfectat Olympo*. Foley perceptively notes ad loc. that the senate here is imperial, not republican; Acestes gives the laws, and the fathers who have been summoned forth in his presence receive them.

On the “exultant rhythm” of 758–769 see Knight 1939/1950, 63ff., and cf. below ad 864.

759 *tum vicina astris Erycino in litore sedes*

The details of the shrine for Venus and the cult for Anchises come as something of a surprise close for the sequence; for the temple see above on 24; Gow ad Theocritus, *Id.* 15.100 ff., where Golgi and Idalium are mentioned together (Catullus *seq.* at c. 36.12; 64.96, where see Fordyce); Nisbet and Hubbard ad Horace, c. 1.2.33 *Erycina*. It is conceivable that one of the points of emphasis in V. is that Eryx represents the western extent of Venus’ cultic realm, with Idalium (in the center of Cyprus) more or less at the other end. At Thucydides 6.46.3 the cunning of the Egestans in the face of Athenian envoys is described, with reference to the temple of Erycine Aphrodite that the locals use to create the impression that there was abundant wealth in the vicinity. See also Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.43.5 (with Martin and Woodman), for the story of how Segestan emissaries appealed successfully to Tiberius for funds to reconstruct the temple in A.D. 25 (see N-H ad Hor. c. 1.2.33 for the legend of how the shrine had reportedly collapsed on the night of the first Christmas). There is no hint in V. of the ritual practice of prostitution at the site, which had, in any case, ended by the poet’s own time. See Platner and Ashby 1929, 551–552; Steinby 2000 for the temples to Venus Erycina in Rome (one outside the Colline Gate that had been vowed by L. Porcius Licinus during the war with the Ligurians in 184; the other on the Capitoline that had been vowed by Q. Fabius Maximus after the

disaster at Trasimene). On the introduction of the Sicilian cult into Rome vid. Orlin 2010, 71ff.; also Orlin 2002, 102; see McGinn 2003, 25 for the sending of *meretrices* to the rites *extra portam Collinam*, “while respectable women worshiped the goddess on the Capitoline in connection with the festival of the Vinalia Priora. The cult had been imported from Sicily and “cleaned up” in its manifestation on the Capitoline. The other version of the cult was set up outside the *pomerium*, as was the rule for *peregrina sancta*, and perhaps retained something of its non-Roman flavor.” It should be noted that there is no ancient evidence, however, for the *peregrina sancta*. For the significance of V.’s account of the Erycine dedication (in contrast, e.g., to the Diodoran), see Goldschmidt 2013, 120.

vicina: The adjective occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 299 *vicinaeque fremunt ripae crepitantibus undis*; it is used in 3 twice of the Hesperian destination (382 *vicinos ... portus*); 500 *vicinaque Thybridis arva*; note also 3.506 *provehimur pelage vicina Ceraunia iuxta*.

760 *fundatur Veneri Idaliae, tumuloque sacerdos*

fundatur: Not a particularly common verb in V.; cf. 4.260, of Aeneas as he works on the construction of the wrong city; 6.4 *fundabat*, of the fateful anchoring of the ships on the Italian coast; 810–811 *primam qui legibus urbem / fundabit* (of Numa in the *Heldenschau*); 7.410 *Acrisionaeis Danae fundasse colonis* (of the settlement of Ardea); 8.478–479 *haud procul hinc saxo incolitur fundata vetusto / urbis Agyllinae sedes*. Erycine Venus was in origin a Punic deity (see especially here Orlin 2002, 99; McDonnell 2006, 215n33); in the aetiological progression of A. 5 we see her transference to Roman patronage.

Idaliae: Cf. 10.51–52 *atque Cythera / Idaliaeque domus*; 1.681, 693 and 720. Idalium was an inland town of Cyprus; V. may have borrowed the locale from Catullus (c. 36.12; 61.17; 64.96); Propertius has it twice; Ovid thrice (see further Lazzarini ad Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.225). The other Virgilian uses appear in the context of the machinations of Venus and Cupid to ensure the love affair of Aeneas and Dido. Note that parallel proper mountain-adjectives come in parallel positions in successive lines.

sacerdos: 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 768, of Chloereus, who was either a priest of Cybele for a long time, or who had once been a priest (*olim* is ambiguous).

761 *ac lucus late sacer additur Anchiseo.*

See Williams 1960 for the question of whether the present line hints at the deification of Caesar, with Aeneas as allegory for Antony’s *flamen*. Any such allegorical representations of Roman history will become only more complicated as the epic proceeds.

lucus ... sacer: So also of the site at Caere where Aeneas will receive the shield (8.597–598 *est ingens gelidum lucus prope Caeritis amnem, | religione patrum late sacer*). *Late* emphasizes the size of the sacred precinct. There is also a reminiscence of the Idalian groves where Venus hid Ascanius at 1.692–693 *et fotum gremio dea tollit in altos | Idaliae lucos*. “On the Lat. Terminology of extra-urban sanctuaries (normally, *lucus*), vd. N. on 7.778, after F. Castagnoli” (Horsfall ad 3.302).

additur: On the question of the possible echo of 6.528 *comes additus una* see Horsfall ad loc.

Anchiseo: On the scansion see Conway ad 1.617 *Dardanio Anchisae* (“Greek words scanned with a Greek license of hiatus ... also for the spondaic ending with a Greek word”). In this case the spondaic line closes the section of the narrative on a fittingly solemn note; the spondee also emphasizes the name of the new recipient of divine honors.

762–777 Nine days are spent in solemn, ritualized feasting; the wind and sea seem ready for the departure from Sicily. Those who had so recently lashed out in frustrated weariness at the idea of continued travel now beg to be allowed to accompany their fellow Trojans to Italy. Aeneas consoles them before entrusting their future to Acestes; three bullocks are sacrificed to Eryx, and a lamb to the Tempests, before the order is given to set sail for Latium; as his flagship is cast off into the deep, Aeneas offers libations of entrails and wine to the gods of the sea. For this second *nundinum* of the book, with reference to chronological reasons why V. takes the time to describe this work-filled pause in the Trojan journey (= so as to allow the arrival to occur in March), see Mandra 1934, 163–164. For the division of the entire book into a twenty-one day period (which has appeal as a schema allowing division into the key numbers three and seven), see *ibid.*, 162–164. In some sense the nine days spent in feasting here offers something of a *Henkersmahlzeit* for Palinurus, something of a memorial funeral rite in reverse.

762 iamque dies epulata novem gens omnis, et aris

dies ... novem: See on 64; V. here closes a great ring that opened with the nine day period before the commencement of the memorial games; those games were focused on Anchises, while now a nine day period will come before the loss of the helmsman Palinurus (and cf. how the two losses respectively close Books 3 and 5).

epulata: The verb also occurs at *A.* 3.224 *exstruimusque toros dapibusque epulamur opimis*, just before the appearance of the Harpies; 4.206–207 *cui nunc Marusia pictis | gens epulata toris* (Iarbas’ speech to Jupiter); 4.602 *Ascanium*

patriisque epulandum ponere mensis (the raving Dido): not a positive set of parallels.

gens omnis: An important ethnographic designation; Trojans and Sicilians are viewed as one.

aris: Most probably of Venus and Anchises.

763 **factus honos: placidi straverunt aequora venti,**

honos: On the archaic noun and the concept in general see on 50; the point of the reference here (especially soon after 754 *vivida virtus*) may be to third century payments of vows to Honos and Virtus; see here McDonnell 2006, 213 ff.; for Marcellus' temple to the two personified divinities, see Plutarch, *Mor.* 318E; also 266F–267A for why sacrifices were allegedly made to Honos with uncovered heads. Any such connections to the deities would be fitting in light of the aftermath of Dido's curse (cf., too, the opening scene of the book) and its apparent partial fulfillment in the attempted burning of the fleet. It may be significant that the 17 July feast of Honos came two days after the worship of the Roman cavalry patrons Castor and Pollux, in whose honor the *transvectio equitum* was held (McDonnell 2006, 215; cf. the *lusus Troiae*).

placidi ... venti: Cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.422. Palinurus will note to Somnus/Phorbas that he does not trust the seemingly peaceful surface of the sea at 848 *salis placidi vultum*. The waves are placid and calm here; cf. on Neptune's action at 820 ff. Cf. the *domos placidas* in Elysium (6.705), where "the adj. summarizes the life of the heroes as so far described; even their exercise of arms is no more than gently reminiscent" (Horsfall ad loc.). On "the calming effect of the wind when it begins to blow from the direction contrary to that from which it raised the sea" see Conway ad 1.66 (with reference to Henry).

straverunt: Cf. the sacrifices after Actium that are depicted on the shield (8.719 *ante aras terram caesi stravere iuveni*); also 8.562 *stravi* (of Evander's deeds in battle); 9.517 *quae stravit Rutulos*; 10.311 *stravitque Latinos*; 12.944 *straverat* (of Turnus' killing of Pallas): the language serves to presage the sacrificial loss of Palinurus.

On the possible influence of Bacchylides 13.129–130 on this verse, see E. Prodi in *VE* I, 165.

764 **creber at adspirans rursus vocat Auster in altum.**

creber: Enallage; for the adjective see on 199, and cf. *A.* 1.85–86 *una Eurisque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis / Africus*. On the Virgilian attribution of certain characteristics to the winds, see D. Possanza, "Winds," in *VE* III, 1386–1389.

adspirans: Not necessarily a positive image, in light of 606 *ventosque adspirat eunti*, of Juno's sending of Iris.

rursus vocat: Cf. 5.581 *rursusque vocati*. Horace has *rursusque eripe turpi / colla iugo liber* (*Serm.* 2.7.91–92). The language of being “called back” recurs (of resurrection) at 7.767–768 *ad sidera rursus / revocatum*, of Virbius.

in altum: On the precise meaning see Conway ad 1.34.

765 *exoritur procurva ingens per litora fletus*,

exoritur: Cf. *A.* 2.313 *exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum* (on Troy’s last night); 3.128 *nauticus exoritur vario certamine clamor* (before the landing in Crete); 12.583 *exoritur trepidos inter discordia civis*; 756–757 *tum vero exoritur clamor ripaeque lacusque / responsant circa*; also the dread 4.625 *exoriare*. The verb and its subject neatly enclose the line.

procurva: *V.* may have introduced this adjective to the language; it occurs elsewhere only at *G.* 2.421 *procurvam exspectant falcem rastrosque tenacis*; Statius, *Theb.* 6.852 *callidus et celsum procurvat Agyllea Tydeus*.

fletus: So of the lachrymose shade of Hector (2.271); the weeping that Andromache elicits from the Trojans (3.345); Achaemenides’ tears on seeing humans (3.599); the manifold crying of 4.369 and (especially) 437–439; the emotion of Aeneas in the presence of his father’s shade at 6.699. The tremendous cry dominates the line: its action comes first; its quality at mid-verse; its definition at the close.

766 *complexi inter se noctemque diemque morantur*.

complexi: For the verb see on 31 *complectitur*, and cf. 742 *compexibus*; *complecti* occurs 2× in 5 and 2× in 11, with balance between appearances early and late in the books. At 11.46 *cum me complexus euntem* it is used of Aeneas as he left Evander; at 743 *complectitur hostem* of Tarchon’s assault on Venulus (finite and participial forms are thus used in reverse sequence in the sister books).

noctem diemque morantur: Perhaps with the implication that a day and a night are spent in long farewell; cf. the speed (828 *ocius*) with which Aeneas finally orders the fleet to prepare for departure.

767 *ipsae iam matres, ipsi, quibus aspera quondam*

ipsae ... ipsi: The repeated intensives convey a sense of the surprise: the very women who had set fire to the ships now wish to board them for Italy. For the idea that the “moral lapse” of these women “leads to their exclusion from the future Roman race, when they are left in Sicily against their will,” see Cairns 1989, 228: but Sicily will, after all, be a key part of the future Rome. In the case of the mothers, the intensive adjective in the first *sedes* serves also to remind us that these are, after all, the same women who not so very long ago were madly setting fire to the ships at the behest of Juno’s avatar Iris.

quondam: Once, i.e., before the moment came for an actual departure and *de facto* abandonment in Sicily of a portion of the Trojan community. The conjunction, as often, is redolent with a spirit of pathos.

768 *visa maris facies et non tolerabile numen,*

visa ... facies: As at 722, of the ghostly apparition of Anchises.

tolerabile: The adjective occurs only here in V; cf. Ps.-V., *Culex* 379. The *numen* = Neptune, the *quondam* destroyer of Troy; the poet is preparing for the dramatic appearance of the god in colloquy with Venus. Servius observes ad A. 6.560 “*scelerum facies species, ut supra ‘visa maris facies et non tolerabile numen.’*”

numen: So P ω ; the aforementioned Serv. citation; Tib.; vs. *nomen* M; *caelum* R. The reference to the “divine power” accords better with the Neptunian imagery that broods over the book; Williams prefers *nomen* (“in the sense ‘the very mention of it,’” [i.e., the sea]); *caelum* is just possible (especially as the source of tempests). Mackail prints *nomen*, and explains *caelum* as a possible gloss on *numen* (or a reminiscence of 4.53 *non tractabile caelum*): “*nomen* is more in keeping with the tone of the passage.”

769 *ire volunt omnemque fugae perferre laborem.*

For the line-end cf. 617; the *fugae ... laborem* recalls 3.159–160 *tu moenia magnis / magna para longumque fugae ne linque laborem* (the apparition of the Penates in Crete); Caesar has *cum laborem aut belli aut fugae ferre non posset* (BG 6.31.5.3).

ire volunt: Cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1.271–272 *ire per altum / magna mente volunt*.

fugae: An interesting word in context; *fuga* need not mean anything more than departure, but cf. the only other Virgilian use of *fugae ... laborem* at 3.160–161 *magna para longumque fugae ne linque laborem. / mutandae sedes* (the Penates on the need to leave Crete); Caesar has *Catuvolcus rex dimidiae partis Eburonum, qui una cum Ambiorige consilium inierat, aetate iam confectus, cum laborem aut belli aut fugae ferre non potest* (BG 6.31.5.3), a passage that may have inspired the present scene.

laborem: See here Bruck 1993, 38–39. For the line-end cf. on 617 above; the two passages are closely associated.

770 *quos bonus Aeneas dictis solatur amicis*

bonus: Cf. the similar description of the good sport Eurytion at 541. The adjective is used elsewhere of Aeneas only at 11.106–107 *quos bonus Aeneas haud aspernanda precantis / prosequitur venia*, where the Trojan hero responds to the Latin emissaries in the matter of the burial truce.

dictis ... amicis: Also in V. at A. 2.147 (Priam to Sinon); 8.126 (Aeneas to Evander); 10.466 *tum genitor natum dictis adfatur amicis* (Jupiter to Hercules); cf. Statius, *Theb.* 3.294; *Ach.* 1.79; Silius, *Pun.* 8.210. V. here closes a ring with 41 *excipit, ac fessos opibus solatur amicis*, where Acestes welcomed his Trojan guests; here the tired and weary are handed over to the permanent care of the host.

771 et consanguineo lacrimans commendat Acestae.

lacrimans: On crying in V. see especially Heuzé 1985, 527–531.

consanguineo: An element of the consolation; the Trojans are staying with relatives, however distant. This is the first occurrence of the adjective in V.; at 6.278 it refers to Sleep, the brother of Death (*tum consanguineus Leti Sopor*—a neat introduction here, then, of the Palinurus episode); at 7.366 *et consanguineo totiens data dextera Turno*, Amata upbraids Latinus; at 12.40 *consanguinei Rutuli*, Latinus makes something of a subtle admission of the legitimacy of his wife's point; cf. the related noun in Sinon's speech at 2.86.

commendat: The verb is also used at A. 2.293 *sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penates* (Hector's ghost to Aeneas); 747–748 *Ascanium Anchisenque patrem Teucrosque penatis | commendo sociis et curva valle recondo*; the two passages from Troy's last night show an interesting shift from Hector's admonition to Aeneas' decision to rush back into Troy in search of Creüsa; here, in something of a repetition of the latter act, Aeneas hands over his comrades to Acestes (and with the *curva vallis* outside Troy cf. the *procurva litora* of 765).

772 tres Eryci vitulos et Tempestatibus agnam

vitulos: The offering here to Eryx recalls Entellus' sacrifice at 477–484; Aeneas will rather outdo the Sicilian's one bull, which was offered specifically *pro morte Daretis*.

Tempestatibus: For the temple near the Camenian Gate see Littlewood ad Ovid, *Fasti* 6.193; cf. Cicero, *DND* 3.51 *quod si nubes rettuleris in deos, referendae certe erunt tempestates, quae populi Romani ritibus consecratae sunt*. On the contemporary cult see Watson ad Horace, *ep.* 10.24.

agnam: One of two ewes in the A., both doomed; cf. 6.249 (of Aeneas' offering to the mother of the Eumenides); note E. 3.6. A lamb (along with a libidinous goat) is also offered to the Tempests at Horace, *Ep.* 10.23–24 (where see Mankin, and Lindsay); storms are the recipient of the offerings, not the seasons of the year *per se*.

It is unclear why sacrifices are made here explicitly to Eryx and the Tempests before the ropes are loosened; at 775–776 the libations that are poured into the

sea constitute a general gift to the divine denizens of the deep; the point may be that offerings are being made to recognizably Roman deities in the case of the Tempestates at least. The poet does not make clear whether or not the rituals that Aeneas performs here would have been sufficient to ensure safe passage of the fleet to Italy. It is possible that in part Neptune demands a human sacrifice because he was displeased with the lack of specific mention of his name and status here; as we have seen, the god has a list of reasons for potential ill toward the Trojans. *Four* animals are sacrificed here, with connection to the four Neptunian altars and the four lost ships. On the present sacrifice scene see further Carcopino 1968, 608–610.

773 caedere deinde iubet solvique ex ordine funem.

caedere: The verb occurs 2× in 5 and 2× in 11; cf. on 96 above; 11.82 *caeso sparsurus sanguine flammas* (of the human sacrifices planned for Pallas' requiem); 167 *caesis Volscorum milibus ante*. Here the verb serves to close a ring on the sacrifices that were offered at Anchises' *tumulus* before the games; in 11 the offerings will be transformed into casualties associated with the doomed young Arcadian.

deinde: Here of strict chronological, sequential performance of actions; cf. 6.812 with Horsfall: "an inessential filler, otherwise avoided by V. in such contexts."

solvi ... funem: Juvenal echoes this scene at s. 14.292 *occurrunt nubes et fulgura: 'solvite funem.'*

ex ordine: Most probably of the departure of the vessels in turn (i.e., Servius' second explanation), rather than with reference to the liturgical precision of the sacrificial rites.

774 ipse caput tonsae foliis evinctus olivae

Aeneas' olive crown recalls the similar adornment of the victorious captains in the regatta at 309–310. On the appearance of the olive in sacred rites, see Reesen ad Ovid, *Her.* 11.69 *frondibus*.

For the "unusually large number of places where Virgil uses a line or group of lines which occur elsewhere in his works in the same or almost the same form," see Williams 1960 ad 8–11. The effect of the self-referential style of composition is to draw together related strands from throughout the epic into a tightly constructed narrative, indeed a veritable microcosm; the first book of the epic's second third will end with a sequence that owes something to the storm that introduced the first book of the first third—but here the god of the sea will ensure that the waves are calm, even if yet again a sailor's life must be sacrificed.

evinctus: Cf. 494 above, of another olive crown.

775 stans procul in prora pateram tenet, extaque salsos

Cf. the promised libations of Cloanthus for the marine deities at 237–238; there was no explicit fulfillment of those offerings, which may provide a context for the imminent demand of Neptune for a human sacrifice to ensure the safe passage of the Trojan fleet to Italy.

procul in prora: A possible inspiration for Silius' *pelagoque micebant / captiva arma procul celsa fulgentia prora* (*Pun.* 485–486). *Procul* likely expresses the status of Aeneas as he stands apart from his men; less likely (however possible) is a reference to relative distance from the land.

pateram: As at 91 and 98 above.

salsos: Also with *fluctus* at 182; 237–238; nowhere else in extant verse.

776 proicit in fluctus ac vina liquentia fundit.

Almost an exact repetition of 238 *proiciam in fluctus et vina liquentia fundam*. Cf. 859, of a rather deadlier action; the poet thereby connects the offerings of Cloanthus and Aeneas with Somnus' direct agency in the sacrificial offering of Palinurus. The repetition creates a neat rounding off effect, as a rather different sort of naval expedition sets sail, and one that will be marred by a deadlier outcome than the casting overboard of Menoetes.

Plutarch records the story that Aeneas made an offering of wine to Aphrodite after he learned that Mezentius had promised his Etruscans the libations he intended to seize from the Trojans after defeating them in battle (*Quaest. Rom.* 275E); the alternate version is also related, namely that excessive drunkenness was frowned upon, and so quantities of alcohol would be poured out to the immortals (cf. Homer's intoxicated Elpenor as model for Palinurus).

Homer's Elpenor's was lulled to sleep by intoxication from wine (*Odyssey* 10.555); there is likely no reminiscence of that drunkenness in the detail about the wine libation here, in the prelude to the Palinurus episode.

778 certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt;

The order of the last two verses of this section is vexed; the printed sequence = that of Paefγ (followed by Ribbeck; Mynors; Conte; Geymonat), *contra* MRω; Tib. (followed by Sabbadini and Goelzer); the situation is not helped by the fact that both lines are repetitions from elsewhere in the epic ("The couplet in Five is either a pastiche or quarry for *tibicines*"—Edgeworth 1992, 202). The action described here has occasioned significant critical comment; H.-C. Günther proposed deleting 777 ("Zwei Binneninterpolationen im Zehntem Buch der *Aeneis* und das Problem der Konkordanzinterpolation," in *Hermes* 124.2 [1996], 205–219); Reeve (*ap.* Goold) preferred cutting the present verse. Mynors sums up the problem well: "sed remis utitur nemo dum spirat ventus."

The present verse = *A.* 3.290, just after the Actian games are first celebrated.

certatim: In something of a renewal of the spirit of the regatta, which was invested with ethnographic significance; four ships were lost in the burning of the fleet, and the result was the establishment of what Aeneas thinks is Ilium/Troy, but which the reader knows is Roman Segesta. Cf. 11.209, of the competing pyres; 486, of Turnus as he vigorously arms for battle; 7.472; 585; the metaphorical farmers who compete to chop down the tree of Troy at 2.628; the happier/more auspicious circumstances of 7.146 *certatim instaurant epulas*; 8.179; 436. “In quella gara (*certatim*) e in quelle foga (*feriunt e verrunt*), al di là di ogni spiegazione topica, v'è la gioia di riprendere la rotta” (Canali 1976, 14–15).

feriunt: Cf. 140 *ferit aethera clamor*.

verrunt: As at *A.* 3.208 *adnixi torquent spumas et caerula verrunt*. On the possible Ennian influence here see Wigodsky 1972, 49–50; Goldschmidt 2013, 202 (on *A.* 3.208 *adnixi torquent spumas et caerula verrunt*, where see Horsfall).

777 *prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis.*

The verse is repeated from *A.* 3.130, just before the fateful landing in Crete and the settlement of Pergamea: rather a grim association. The order 778, 777 allows a neat change of emotion; spirits were high after the visit to the future site of Octavian's victory, while the second verse recalls the doom of the Cretan plague. See Williams 1960, xxv for the question of whether there is inconsistency between the present scene and 820 ff., where Neptune calms what are apparently stormy waters. But there is no indication of how far out to sea the fleet had sailed between the two passages.

prosequitur: The verb occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 106–107 *quos bonus Aeneas haud aspernanda precantis | prosequitur venia et verbis haec insuper addit*; cf. also 2.107 *prosequitur pavitans et ficto pectore fatur* (of Sinon); 6.476 *prosequitur lacrimans longe et miseratur euntem* (Aeneas with the shade of Dido); 898 *prosequitur dictis portaque emittit eburna* (Anchises' shade at the *Somni portae*); 9.310 *prosequitur votis* (of the sending of Nisus and Euryalus on the night mission); 12.72–73 *ne me lacrimis neve omine tanto | prosequere in duri certamina Martis euntem*; cf. *G.* 3.340. Often in conjunction with a participial form of *ire*; occasionally in moments of especially solemn and ominous circumstance.

779–826 Venus approaches her uncle Neptune in concern for the safe passage of Aeneas' vessels on the last leg of the journey to Italy. The lord of the sea recalls the favor he has shown to Aeneas in the past, especially in rescuing him from Achilles at Troy; he agrees to see to the calming of the waves, though at the price of one life. See here especially Wlosok 1967, 112–113. Cf. the Pyrrha ode, too, with W. Sweet, “An Offering to Neptune and Venus (Horace, *Ode* 1.5): A

Study of Poetical Ambiguity,” in *CB* 58 (1981), 22–24 (on the ambiguity of the *potenti maris deo* of the close of the poem), especially 11–12 *nescius aurae / fallacis* (with which cf. 850 below); it is possible to draw connections between the progress in Horace from fire to water (and the interaction thereof) and the Virgilian sequences of ship burning + Palinurus.

“In Homer the emphasis is sometimes on Zeus as the protector of justice, but often simply on the pleasure the gods take in the spectacle of human warfare, while remaining unaffected by the sufferings it entails on the mortal plane. In Latin epic, however, the gods show a keener interest in the welfare of humanity” (Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 102 *ab aethere cernit*).

“This celestial interlude separates in V’s way ... scenes of critical moment on the human stage and itself provides a calmer, far-reaching introduction for the incidents that follow” (Conway ad 1.223–304).

Euripides’ *Hippolytus* also presents something of a cooperation between Aphrodite and Poseidon in the matter of the destruction of the title character; there is no obvious or clear influence of the play on the Palinurus sequence.

779 at Venus interea Neptunum exercita curis

at Venus: The conjunction introduces a new twist in the narrative; Venus has not appeared in the epic since her exchange with Juno before the disastrous love affair of Dido and Aeneas (4.90–128); Neptune has not had a cameo since his intervention in the storm sequence of 1.124 ff.; Venus had also revealed his part in the destruction of Troy at 2.610–612. The last “encounter” between the niece and her uncle, then, was in the context of the ruin of Aeneas’ city; here they meet for an extended colloquy in the wake of the establishment of the settlement Aeneas calls *Ilium* and *Troia*, but which will actually be known as Segesta. See Farrell ad loc. (with citations from Putnam 1965 and Leigh 2010) on the view that Aeneas’ *pietas* is deliberately contrasted here with the actions of Venus and her uncle.

Neptunum: Neptune will play a part in the death of Palinurus in his demand for the loss of one life so that Trojan ships may sail; Apollo will assist in Arruns’ destruction of Camilla in the sister book 11: the two gods responsible for the building of the walls of Troy (see further Austin and Olson ad Aristophanes, *Thes.* 109–110); the ethnographic theme of the death of Troy is part of the reason for the paired actions of the two immortals in the “penultimate books” of the epic.

interea: Cf. on 1 and 755; “Venus’ interview with Neptune must be understood to take place during the preparations for founding Segesta” (G. Williams 1983, 80n21).

exercita: Cf. 725 *exercite fatis*; the mother and the son are alike.

780 adloquitur talisque effundit pectore questus:

adloquitur: Cf. 6.341 *sic prior adloquitur* (with Horsfall on “familiar formulaic language”), and 466 *quod te adloquor* (with the same commentary: “14× in *Aen*; standard Latin from Naev. and Enn. on.”).

questus: Cf. *A.* 4.553 *tantos illa suo rumpebat pectore questus* (of Dido); 7.501–502 *questuque cruentus | atque imploranti similis tectum omne replebat* (of Silvia’s stag); 9.479–480 *non illa pericli | telorumque memor, caelum dehinc questibus implet* (of Euryalus’ mother). Lucan has *et tacito mutos volvunt in pectore questus* (*BC* 1.247); cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4.117 *ingemit ac tales evolvit pectore questus*.

talis ... questus: The force of the adjective may be that what follows offers something of a *précis* of the impassioned arguments of the aggrieved goddess. In *talisque effundit* there is something of a metrical enactment of the pouring forth of complaints and laments by the anxious immortal.

781 Iunonis gravis ira neque exsaturabile pectus

gravis: Of the anger of the goddess, but also shading into being a descriptor for Juno herself. Williams notes that the first word out of Venus’ mouth is the name of her rival.

exsaturabile: The adjective occurs only here in extant Latin, and may be a Virgilian coinage; cf. 7.298 *odiis aut exsaturata quievi* (Juno of her own actions). The Saturnian theme is quietly maintained (*satur*). The metrical effect of *neque exsaturabile* expresses well the seemingly insatiable, all-consuming force of the indignant and aggrieved Juno. Cf. 608 above.

pectus: Cf. 679, where the Trojan women “shake out” the goddess from their hearts; the repetition of 780 *pectore*, 781 *pectus* (and cf. 701) helps to underscore the depth of the emotions (both positive and negative, nervous and enraged) that are held in light of the imminent Trojan departure for Italy.

On the construction of 781–784, see Hahn 1930, 48.

782 cogunt me, Neptune, preces descendere in omnis;

preces: Cf. on 234, of Cloanthus’ invocation of the marine deities, where, perhaps significantly, Neptune was not specifically named; the noun appears 2× in 5 and 2× in 11 (*vota precesque meae*, of Evander; 229 *non magnas valuisse preces*, of the appeal to Diomedes).

descendere: So of the action of the fiery *pestis* at 683; the infinitive occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11 (451 *Tyrrhenamque manum totis descendere campis*). Conington cfs. Caesar, *BC* 1.9 *ad omnia se descendere paratum*; the *Bellum Africum* has *postquam nulla condicione cogere adversarios poterat, ut in aequum locum descenderent legionumque periculum facerent* (79.1.1–2). For the poetic use of

the infinitive where in prose there would normally be a subordinate clause with *ut* or *ne* see Distler 1966, 357, with numerous Virgilian parallels.

783 *quam nec longa dies pietas nec mitigat ulla,*

longa dies: A significant parallel to 6.745–726 *donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe / concretam exemit labem*, as the poet prepares for the great eschatological revelations that Anchises will unveil in Elysium. The goddess Juno is presented here as if she were a soul in need of purification; no Stoic purgatory seems able to cleanse the furious divinity of her anger and rage on account of the continued survival of the Trojans. The *longa dies* also reminds the audience of the lengthy journey from Troy westward.

pietas: The word is closely associated with Aeneas, but *pietas* does imply a mutual, reciprocal relationship between men and gods: the implication is that in Venus' estimation, Juno has not behaved appropriately in light of Aeneas' actions.

mitigat: The verb occurs only here in V.

784 *nec Iovis imperio fatisque infracta quiescit.*

Iovis imperio: Cf. 726; the goddess echoes the words of the ghost of her *quondam* lover. "The command of Jove and the will of destiny are naturally combined, tending as they do in the same way, and as naturally distinguished" (Conington ad loc.).

fatisque: The enclitic once again poses a textual crux (cf. essentially the same problem at 326); the printed reading = that of MPRaeft; and is followed by Ribbeck, Mynors, and Conte; Geymonat prefers the reading of Fωγ (Tib. offers the former *in lemm.* and the latter *in interpretatione*). The meaning is not so very different with either conjunction. But here there is perhaps mild interest in the association of Jupiter and the Fates; one is ultimately reminded of the important revelations at the reconciliation of Juno in 12 and the problem of what Jupiter knows at any given time in the epic narrative and, more importantly, what is open to alteration or change (this depends ultimately on the problem of knowledge and the possibility for the illusion of free will and freedom of action in the absence of full knowledge of the decrees of destiny).

infracta: The adjective is also used by Juno in her address to Allecto (7.332–333 *ne noster honos infractave cedat / fama loco*); cf. 9.499 *torpent infractae ad proelia vires* (of the Trojans in the wake of the deaths of Nisus and Euryalus); 10.731 *tundit humum exspirans infractaque tela cruentat* (of the death of Acron); 12.1 *Turnus ut infractos adverso Marte Latinos*; 387 *saevit et infracta luctatur harundine telum* (of the arrow that seriously wounded Aeneas). "*Infracta* is the

particip. of *infringere* and means “broken down,” i.e., yielding—the adj. *infractus* would signify “unbroken,” “unsubdued” (Bryce ad loc.).

785 non media de gente Phrygum exedisce nefandis

media de gente: “The city is conceived as the heart in the body, but the figure is confused by the reference to the inhabitants of the city as ashes and bones” (Burton ad loc., perceptively). The theme of the midpoint returns yet again.

Phrygum: The genitive also occurs at 11.145; the name is used both neutrally and negatively of the Trojans (cf. 9.599; 617, amid Turnus’ taunts).

exedisce: Continuing the meal imagery of 752 *ambesas* (and, more distantly, Celaeno’s prophecy about eating and girding cities with walls); the verb occurs elsewhere in the epic only at 8.418–419 *quam subter specus et Cyclopum exesa caminis / antra Aetnaea tonant*. On the metaphor from the language of eating and consumption see Lyne 1989, 174–176, with reference to the *satur* that lies at the heart of *Saturnian* appellations, especially of Juno and Neptune; vid. also O’Hara 1996, 165. But the verb is not without difficulties; *eripuisse* would be easier.

nefandis: Achaemenides speaks of the *gens nefanda* of the Cyclopes (3.653); Dido of the *nefandus vir* Aeneas (4.497–498); cf. the *Veneris monumenta nefandae* of 6.26 (= the Minotaur); 12.572 *hoc caput, o cives, haec belli summa nefandi* (Aeneas before his attempted burning of Latinus’ capital). Sinon refers to the *enses nefandi* he escaped (2.155); Ilioneus speaks of the gods as *memores fandi atque nefandi* (1.453).

786 urbem odiis satis nec poenam traxe per omnem

poenam ... omnem: More common in the plural (cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 5.117–118 *proptereaque putes ritu par esse Gigantum / pendere eos poenas immani pro scelere omnis*); Ciceronian in both numbers.

traxe: Williams 1960 speculates that there is a possible reminiscence here of the dragging of Hector, or at least of the image of captives behind chariots; it is probably overly imaginative to see in the syncopated infinitive an enactment of the gory result of such savagery, but Venus’ frustration in light of Juno’s behavior knows no limit. With the syncopated (so to speak) perfect cf. especially 4.606 *cum genere extinxem memet super ipsa dedissem*, and see Conway ad 1.201 *accestis* (“an old and simpler (but not contracted) form”). This verb form seems to be found here only in classical Latin.

787 reliquias Troiae: cineres atque ossa peremptae

reliquias Troiae: “The leavings of Troy” are at least still alive, in contrast to the ashes and bones Juno is also accused of pursuing; it is better to take the phrase

with what precedes, rather than placing a full stop after 786 *omnem*. Venus' language echoes 1.598 (and 3.87) *reliquias Danaum*. On the larger issues at play here see especially J. Smolenaars, "Troje' in Vergilius' *Aeneis*: De constructie van de Trojaanse herkomst van het imperium romanum," in *Hermeneus* 74 (2002), 299–311.

cineres atque ossa: Venus accuses Juno of pursuing even the ashes and bones of the dead Troy. The reference here is in part to the obscure tradition that is alluded to at 4.427 *nec patris Anchisae cineres manisve revelli*, where Dido notes that she did not take part in the swearing of an oath at Aulis for the utter destruction of Troy, and she did not disturb the ashes of Anchises; Servius notes that Varro recorded a tradition that Diomedes had violated the grave (see further Austin ad loc., with some consideration of alternate theories). Part of the point here is to link back to the opening of the book and the description of Anchises' *tumulus*; in Venus' frenzied state she may even consider the burning of the ships as posing a threat to the grave site of Aeneas' father.

788 *insequitur. causas tanti sciat illa furoris.*

insequitur: For the verb see on 321; there, the Arcadian Salius was pursuing the Trojan Nisus, as here the goddess presses on after the remnants of the city.

sciat: Likely sarcastic, and perhaps with a hint of a borrowing from comic idiom; elsewhere the form is relatively rare in verse (1× in Lucretius; the *G.*; 2× in Horace).

causas ... furoris: The reference to the theological problem of 1.11 *tantaene animis caelestibus irae* connects the opening of the poem's first book (cf. the reference to storm and tempest that follows at once) and the close of the first of its second third; Venus is not interested in the reasons for Juno's anger, only that the harassment of the Trojans cease. Seneca borrows the phrase 2× (*Dial.* 3.18.6.2; *Ep.* 94.17.3–4).

789 *ipse mihi nuper Libycis tu testis in undis*

nuper: The first of three occurrences of the adverb in the *A.*; at 9.594 it is used in connection to Numanus Remulus' marital link with Turnus, but the parallel to the present scene = 6.338 *qui Libyco nuper cursu, dum sidera servat*, of Palinurus' shade. The shared language connects to the two scenes; there will be no additional storm, but the Trojan helmsman will be lost all the same. At first, the reference might seem to be to the storm with which the book opened (the blame for which is left unspecified); as the details emerge (cf. 791 *Aeoliis*), it becomes clear that the complaint is focused on the storm from the opening of Book 1 (once again, we are wrapping back to the opening of the first book of the epic). The "Libyan waves" refer vaguely to the waters

off Carthage; a problem of interpretation arises from the reference to the *Libyco ... cursu* to describe Palinurus' sailing from Sicily to Italy. The detail warrants commentary, though the solution may lie simply in considering the Sicilian interlude as expiation for the death of Dido (see here Nelis 2001, 209), and, ultimately, the lasting effects of the African sojourn, which are arguably more important than the events in Sicily. Williams concludes that Palinurus originally died in the storm of 1.81 ff. (he speculates that the unnamed pilot of Orontes' vessel may = the famous helmsman; *contra* = G. Thaniel, "Eccē ... *Palinurus*," in *AClass* 15 [1972], 149–152). Neither Nettleship nor Page are concerned with the matter.

Libycis: See on 595 *Libycum*. The aforementioned *Libyco cursu* "inconsistency" from Book 6 may well depend on a reminiscence of this passage; see further O'Hara 2007, 77, 95, 141.

testis: Elsewhere in the *A.* at 9.288–289 *nox et tua testis / dextra* (Euryalus to Nisus); 12.176 *esto nunc Sol testis* (Aeneas at the Latin treaty ratification). Cf. Neptune's *Xanthum Simoentaque testor* (803).

790 **quam molem subito excierit: maria omnia caelo**

molem subito: Curtius 8.2.24.4 *excitatam molem subito cernentes* may be a reminiscence; cf. Silius, *Pun.* 6.228–230 *contortos orbis dextro corpore totam / extendit molem subitoque propinquus in ora / lato distantum spatio venit*. *Subito* depends on perspective and point of view; from that of the Trojans, the storm came up quickly, while for Juno, there was first a visit to Aeolus, etc.

excierit: For the verb see on 107.

maria omnia: Cf. 1.32 *errabant acti fatis maria omnia circum*; 524 *Troes te miseri, ventis maria omnia vecti*; 6.112 *ille meum comitatus iter maria omnia mecum* (Aeneas on Anchises); not surprisingly the phrase is of particular connection in *V.*, then, to the long journey of the Trojan exiles. The meter may somewhat enact the action of the mixing of all the seas with the sky.

On the general sentiments here cf. Conway ad 1.133.

791 **miscuit Aeoliis nequiquam freta procellis,**

miscuit: With a hint that Juno has disturbed the proper division of the world between the immortals.

Aeoliis: The adjective appears elsewhere in *V.* at 8.416 and 454, both times in association with Lipare and the locus of Vulcan's workshop.

freta: Cf. on 430 *fretus*; here the point is to play on the meaning of *fretum* = sea.

procellis: Also at line-end at *G.* 3.259; *A.* 1.85. The word occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11, where at nearly the same line as here (798) it describes the fate of half of

Arruns' prayer (*inque Notos vocem vertere procellae*). The singular occurs 1× in 1 and 1× in 7 (1.102 and 7.594).

792 in regnis hoc ausa tuis.

The penultimate unfinished line of 5. Here, the excited, frustrated state of the goddess may account for the abrupt, unfinished verse. Venus speaks as if she were fully aware of her uncle's irritation at Aeolus' intrusion on his prerogatives (1.124 ff.; "in the *Aeneid* it is a god's prerogative to know the words of another without being present when they are uttered"—Hight 1972, 274). On V's delineation of the specific realms of divine oversight, see Cairns 1989, 27–28. *Hoc* comes with dramatic force ("here by itself a heavy syllable ... an uncommon usage" (Knapp ad loc.)), as the goddess seeks to emphasize the deed that will be described at once as a *scelus*. *Tuis* is emphatic.

ausa: Cf. 7.300 *ausa sequi* (also of Juno); 9.217 (of Euryalus' mother); Horace's *ausa et iacentem visere regiam / voltu sereno* (of Cleopatra).

793 per scelus ecce etiam Troianis matribus actis

After a moment's pause in her breathless rendition of the events before the Carthaginian sojourn, the goddess moves on to the recent past (significantly, there is no mention of the agreement between the two rivals in the matter of Aeneas and Dido before the fateful storm during the hunt). The word order expresses something of Venus' agitated state (cf. also the need to supply *Aenean* as an object for 794 *subegit*); in *scelus / exussit* there may be a foreshadowing of 6.742 *infectum eluitur scelus aut exuritur igni*, of the purgation of souls.

per scelus: Prominently highlighted at the start of the line, and most naturally taken of the "crime" of the attempted destruction of the fleet; see Henry ad loc. for a typically vigorous argument that the *scelus* is that of Juno and not that of the *matres*.

ecce: On Virgilian "deixis" see Horsfall ad 6.337. *Ecce etiam* is rare (Petronian, which should not interest overmuch the bright young Virgilian in search of paper topics); there may be a hint of comic diction here. The tone is one of indignance; the goddess is indulging, too, in an overdramatic rendition of events as she wheedles her uncle.

794 exussit foede puppis et classe subegit

exussit: For the verb see on 635 *exurite*; Venus echoes the same word that Iris/Beroë had used to instigate the burning of the ships. In both passages the prefix likely has intensive force; Juno's avatar wanted to ensure a thorough destruction, and Venus wants to describe the disaster in the strongest possible language.

foede: The adverb occurs elsewhere in V. only at 10.498, with reference to the Danaids' infamous nuptial murders; cf. Turnus' address to Drances as *foedis-sime* (11.392, with Fratantuono ad loc.).

subegit: Cf. 7.213–214 *nec fluctibus actos / atra subegit hiems vestris succedere terris*; also 8.112–113 *iuvenes, quae causa subegit / ignotas temptare vias*? The verb here may carry a sense of how the fire has worked its way deep into the lost ships and compelled Aeneas to leave behind companions by the exertion of pressure from below, as it were; see further Horsfall ad 6.302.

795 *amissa socios ignotae linquere terrae.*

ignotae: Rhetorical exaggeration, though true enough if one considers, e.g., the ultimate fate of Troy; the adjective occurs 18× in the *A.*, 2× in the present book and 4× in 11. Venus unwittingly anticipates the last verse of the present book *ignota ... in harena*, of Palinurus' fate in the estimation of Aeneas (and see ad loc. for the parallel with Arruns' unknown resting place at 11.866 *obliti ignoto camporum in pulvere linquunt*). *Terra ignota* recurs at 9.485–486 *terra ignota canibus data praeda Latinis / alitibusque iaces*; Tibullus has *ignotis ... terris* at c. 1.3.3 and 1.3.39. The larger concern is with the lasting *name* and identity of lands (cf., too, the epigrammatic reference to Caieta at the very start of the Iliadic *Aeneid*); the only land that matters, in a sense, is now Hesperia, though even *its* precise identity is a question that bedevils the Trojans on their journey (especially in *A.* 3). A sad line, then, with a strongly pathetic opening in *amissa*; the implications of the verse go far beyond the immediate situation.

linquere terrae: Cf. *A.* 3.60–61 *scelerata excedere terra, / linqui pollutum hospitium et dare classibus Austros*; 10.193 *linquentem terras et sidera voce sequentem*. The verb and its compound *re-* “common in V. and well-suited to the simple movements of epic narrative” (Horsfall ad 6.678).

796 *quod superest, oro, liceat dare tuta per undas*

quod superest: For the (Lucretian) phrase see on 691.

oro: The form may carry a hint of the spirit of Ciceronian oratory; Horace has it once each in his odes and epodes, and four times in the satires; elsewhere in V. cf. 2.143; 4.319; 431; 435; 6.76; 106; 364; 8.577; 9.284; 290; 10.61; 903; 905; 11.442 (1× each in the sister books); 12.60; 680; 933; cf. 7× in Ovid's *Met.*; never in Propertius; once only in Ps.-Tib. The idiom of comedy is here elevated to the service of moments of deeply felt emotional register in high epic; perhaps surprisingly, the form is not so common in elegy.

liceat dare: Also at Plautus, *Miles* 71 *ut tuo non liceat dare operam negotio*; Terence, *Eunuchus* 466–467 *quaeso hercle ut liceat, pace quod fiat tua, / dare huic quae volumus, convenire et conloqui*; cf. Seneca, *Medea* 551–552 *suprema*

certe liceat abeuntem loqui | mandata, liceat ultimum amplexum dare. The language has a deliberately polite, indeed legalistic air. For the similar use of *liceat* by a pleading Venus, see Harrison ad 10.46–47.

tuta: Only here with *vela*.

797 vela tibi, liceat Laurentem attingere Thybrim.

tibi: The so-called ethical dative; here with an intimacy that reflects both the relationship between divine niece and uncle, and of the god with the sea.

Laurentem ... Thybris: Appropriately enough given her interlocutor, the goddess identifies a body of water as the destined arrival point. For the geographical descriptor see especially N. Horsfall, “Laurentes,” in *EV* III, 141–144; also his “The *Aeneid* and the Social Structure of Primitive Italy,” in *Ath.* 78 (1990), 523–527. In V. the name is applied to Latinus’ settlers, who were so called after a palace laurel (7.59–63, a likely correct etymology) on the citadel that he either founded or refounded (7.63)—we might note that his mother and grandfather, however, are already Laurentine (7.47; 171)! Latinus’ city is quite anonymous in V.; vid. Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.45, 53–54, 63 for the nonexistent Laurentum, a city that probably owes more to ignorance of genitives plural in *-um* than urban reality (though admittedly the name is a convenient one for the Latin capital in the A.) At 12.240 (where see Tarrant), Laurentines are distinct from Latins, perhaps with reference to those who are now hostile to Latinus. The equestrian combat of 11 is framed with Laurentine markers (78; 909). The Rutulian Turnus is himself *Laurentinus* at 7.650; the hero of the Latin cause is named after the citadel whence Latinus rules (even if not over every Latin!), and Laurentine (not even Rutulian!) Turnus cannot aspire to marry the Lavinia who is destined for a foreign husband. In the end the absence of a name for the Laurentine city in V. allows one to focus on the more important city of Rome.

798 si concessa peto, si dant ea moenia Parcae.’

concessa: The verb occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 11.111 *equidem et vivis concedere vellem* (of Aeneas to the Latin emissaries).

ea moenia: An interesting expansion of the mention of the Laurentine Tiber; the demonstrative refers back to the walls Jupiter had mentioned at 1.263–264 *bellum ingens geret Italia populosque feroces | contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet*; the supreme god did not mention the Tiber in his speech. “‘*Ea moenia*’ has to be explained from the previous knowledge of Neptune, as no city has been mentioned” (Conington ad loc., with comparison of 3.100 *quae sint ea moenia quaerunt*).

Parcae: Elsewhere in V. at A. 1.22 *sic volvere Parcas*; 3.379–380 *prohibent nam cetera Parcae | scire Helenum farique vetat Saturnia Iuno*; 9.107–108 *ergo aderat*

promissa dies et tempora Parcae / debita complebant (of the magical transformation of the ships into sea creatures); 10.419–420 *iniecere manum Parcae telisque sacrarunt / Evandri* (of Halaesus' fate); 814–815 *extremaque Lauso / Parcae fila legunt*; 12.147–148 *qua visa est Fortuna pati Parcaeque sinebant / cedere res Latio*; 150 *Parcarumque dies et vis inimica propinquat* (Juno to Juturna); cf. *E.* 4.47.

799 **tum Saturnius haec domitor maris edidit alti:**

Saturnius: See on 328, and cf. 606 *Saturnia Iuno*: the adjective has grim associations in context. *A.* 1 had a speech delivered by Jupiter to Venus as a climax of its opening movements; now, in the first book of the epic's second third, we find another Olympian address to Venus, this time as the book's action begins to wind down. The adjective is used of Jupiter only at 4.371–372 *iam iam nec maxima Iuno / nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis*, in Dido's attack on Aeneas' behavior. On certain aspects of the appellation see Paschalis 1997, 200–201; also Lyne 1989, 176–177 (with reference to the poet's emphasis on the uniqueness of the application of the appellation by means of the unusual rhythm of 800, where there is no caesura in the second foot despite the diaeresis after it; see further Williams ad loc.). "It must here be sinister in tone ... Neptune is just about to act in a sinister, arguably self-satisfying way, requiring the death of the blameless Palinurus."

domitor: Elsewhere in *V.* of Picus, the *equum domitor* (7.189); of Lausus, also an equestrian master (7.561); again of Messapus, the horse taming son of the god (7.691; cf. 9.523; 12.128; 12.550): always in association with horses, then, except for the present passage that references the god who had connection with the animal all the same—and never of any other deity.

800 **'fas omne est, Cytherea, meis te fidere regnis,**

fas omnes: Not an auspicious opening to Neptune's speech; the phrase occurs elsewhere in *V.* only at *A.* 3.55 *fas omne abrumpit: Polydorum obtruncat*, of the murder whose description comes so near the opening of a book that has many affinities with 5; here, near the close of the present sequence, the death of another P-s Trojan is presaged. *Fas* occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 180–181 *non vitae gaudia quaero, / nec fas, sed gnato manis perferre sub imos*, at the close of Evander's lament over the body of Pallas (who has affinities with Palinurus). Cf. 197 *nefas*, in a context far less serious than the present discussion that will lead to death.

Cytherea: So of Venus also at *A.* 1.257 *parce metu, Cytherea*; also 1.657 and 4.128 (both in contexts of Venusian trickery); 8.523 and 615 (in connection with the epiphany of the shield). In a sense the present speech offers something of the dark side of the great and expansive vision of Roman glory that Jupiter

revealed to his daughter in 1; the god of the sea (in whose realm, after all, the decisive engagement at Actium was fought) will speak of safe passage, but also sacrificial loss. The god of the sea deliberately addresses his daughter with an island-based appellation that is appropriate and fitting to his marine domain. The modern Kythira is one of the Ionian islands, and is located off the Laconian coast; it is possible that references to “his” island may have flattered Gaius Julius Eurycles, the son of Lachares who joined Octavian after personal enmities with Antony were incurred on account of the latter’s execution of Lachares for piracy.

meis ... regnis: With specific reference to 792 above.

fidere: For the verb see on 69 and 378.

801 unde genus ducis. merui quoque; saepe furores

genus ... ducis: Elsewhere in V. at 6.834 *tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo*, of Caesar (see Austin ad loc.). The association of Venus with the sea is not mentioned during the storm narrative of Book 1. Vid. Horsfall ad 6.834 *genus qui ducis Olympo* for the “unsurprisingly, lofty and archaic phrasing.”

merui: Cf. 355, of Nisus’ argument for a prize after the foot race; at 4.317 of Dido to Aeneas. The only other occurrence of the form in V. = 12.931, of Turnus. The verb choice continues the theme of prizes and merit from the games sequence; Neptune deserves Venus’ trust because of his deeds on behalf of her son and his men. On the “absolute use” of the verb see Horsfall ad 6.664.

furores: For the noun with *compressi* cf. Cicero, *De Off.* 2.59.1 *omnes P. Clodii conatus furoresque compressit*.

802 compressi et rabiem tantam caelique marisque.

compressi: The verb occurs elsewhere in V. at A. 2.73–74 *quo gemitu conversi animi compressus et omnis / impetus* (during the Sinon episode); 6.389 *iam istinc et comprime gressum* (Charon to Aeneas); 8.184 *postquam exempta fames et amor compressus edendi*; also G. 4.87. On the geographical spread of Neptune’s *précis* of his actions see Hardie 1986, 319.

rabiem: At A. 1.200, of Scylla; at 2.357 *exegit caecos rabies*, of the hunger of wolves; at 6.49 *rabie fera corda tument*, of the Sibyl; at 7.479 *hic subitam canibus rabiem Cocytia virgo*, of the rabidity with which Allecto infects Ascanius’ hunting hounds; at 9.64 *ex longo rabies*, again of a wolf. The *rabies caeli marisque* occurs only here; Juvenal speaks of the *rabies ventorum* (s. 12.225). No clear canine association here of the *rabies* that is virtually a synonym for *furores*; cf. Horsfall ad 2.357: “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 ...”

Still, the image of Scylla does likely lurk, especially in light of the recent use of her name for a vessel in the regatta.

803 *nec minor in terris, Xanthum Simoentaque testor,*

The language subtly evokes something of the rivalry between the divine brothers; well enough that storms strike and lash the sea from the heavens (802 *caeli*), but the god of the sea also attests here to his intervention on land. The sea god swears, appropriately enough, by bodies of water. For the plural earth in conjunction with singular sky and sea see Horsfall ad 6.869.

Simoenta: Rather a different context from the mention of the same river at 5.261, where Aeneas' victory over Demoleos was recalled; cf. 634, as Iris/Beroë laments that she may never again see the waters of the Troad. The god is of course swearing by the same sort of rivers that are pathetically marked in the matter of the establishment of such "toy Toys" as the one at Buthrotum.

testor: The form is relatively rare in poetry, especially before the Silver Age; 1× each in Plautus and Terence; *semel* in Lucretius and Lucan respectively too; also Ovid, *Met.* and *Fasti*; more common in Statius; Valerius; Silius; something of a favorite, note, of Seneca in his tragedies. Cf. *A.* 2.155; 432; 3.599 (also at line-end); 4.357; 492; 9.429 (also at line-end); 11.559 (line-end; 1× each in the sister books); 12.201 (line-end).

804 *Aeneae mihi cura tui: cum Troia Achilles*

Achilles: The greatest of Greek heroes appears among the pictures in Dido's temple in honor of Juno (1.458; 468; 475; 484); not surprisingly, he is one of the subjects Dido asks Aeneas to address at her banquet (1.752), though in fact we hear nothing of the son of Peleus (who is of course already dead by the time Aeneas' story begins shortly before Troy's last night) beyond the brief *hic saevus tendebat Achilles* (2.29) in the description of the abandoned strand and the baleful allusion to the *exuvias ... Achilli* that the ghost of Hector is not wearing at 2.275 (cf. 6.168); note the passing allusions in Aeneas' long story at 2.197; 476; 540–541; 3.87; also 1.30; 6.839; 10.581; the problematic 11.404 (where see Horsfall, and Fratantuono); the story of Eumedes' boasting about the chariot of Achilles at 12.346–352; also 12.545. The Sibyl predicts that another Achilles has been born in Latium (6.89 *alius Latio iam partus Achilles*), with reference to Turnus; the Rutulian, for his part, notes that he will go against Aeneas, *vel magnum praestet Achillem* (11.438); in the closing lines of the epic the wrath of Achilles from *Il.* 1.1 will be reborn in Aeneas. Hero and geographical descriptor of his foes effectively blend into one, as the Greek's destruction of the defensive forces of the fabled eastern city is dramatically recalled.

The closely associated *mihi* and *tum* emphasize the connection between uncle and niece.

805 exanimata sequens impingeret agmina muris,

exanimata: The verb occurs only here in V.; the poet may have borrowed it from Ennian tragic vocabulary (Fr. 111a Jocelyn *quid sic extra te aedis exanimatam eliminat?*, of *Medea exul*; see further the ed. ad loc.), and from Lucretius, *DRN* 6.1256–1257 *exanimis pueris super exanimata parentum / corpora*; it is frequent in comedy. For the meaning see further Mackail ad loc. (= a combination of “to put out of breath” and “to put out of one’s wits”).

impingeret: Another Virgilian *hapax*; Statius imitates this passage at *Theb.* 7.28 *oculus impingit Tyriis Danaa agmina muris*. The sense is to strike or to collide against something with violence (*OLD* s.v. 2); the image is of a vivid pinning of the breathless, exhausted battle lines against the walls.

806 milia multa daret leto, gementque repleti

milia multa: Cf. *G.* 4.472–473 *umbrae ibant tenues simulacraque luce carentum, / quam multa in foliis avium se milia condunt, / Vesper ubi aut hibernus agit de montibus imber*.

daret leto: For the possible Ennian influence here, and the use of what may constitute ritual language, see Wigodsky 1972, 46–47. “The phrase was a common one at Rome, it being the custom to announce a public funeral” (Conington ad loc., with citation of Festus s.v. Quiris).

gement: As Aeneas will groan at 869, on the discovery of the loss of Palinurus, with which cf. 11.865 *gementem*, of Arruns (who has affinities with both Aeneas and his helmsman). See Conington here on *Il.* 21.218–220, where Xanthus makes the same complaint.

repleti: The verb is not common in V.; cf. *A.* 2.679; 4.189; 7.502; 11.140; 380, all with reference to speech or sound; cf. *G.* 2.235 *scrobibus ... repletis*. For the topos of the river that is so crowded with corpses that it cannot move, see especially Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 208 ff. The enjambment reflects the weariness of the rivers that are overloaded with corpses.

807 amnes nec reperire viam atque evolvere posset

reperire viam: Repeated at 9.195–196 *tumulo videor reperire sub illo / posse viam ad muros et moenia Pallantea* (Nisus to Euryalus); the verb is not particularly common in the epic.

atque: “And, what is more ...”: we both move from the general to the specific, and return to the rivers Neptune called to witness (803), as the god continues his *curriculum vitae* of favor shown to the son of Venus.

evolvere: Once else in the *A.*; cf. 9.528 *et mecum ingentis oras evoluite belli* (the poet's address to Calliope before Turnus' aristeia). The language here is also echoed at 10.60–61 *Xanthum et Simoenta / redde, oro, miseris iterumque revolvere casus*. The elision somewhat enacts the idea of the mingling of the waters of the river with those of the sea.

808 in mare se Xanthus, Pelidae tunc ego forti

Xanthus: Cf. 634. The present reminiscence of Neptune's rescue of Aeneas prepares for the rather opposite vision of 6.88–89 *non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra / defuerint; alius Latio iam partus Achilles*, of the Sibyl's vision of the rebirth of the *Iliad* in Italy. Cf. also the close of Venus' speech at the divine council, just before Juno interrupts at midline: 10.60–62 *Xanthum et Simoenta / redde, oro, miseris iterumque revolvere casus / da, pater, Iliacos Teucris*. Neptune's recollection, despite its dark context, is one of positive import in the sense of Aeneas' having been saved from death; for Xanthus without Simois in another reasonably happy moment, cf. 4.142–143 *qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta / deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo*; darker is the vision of the Xanthus at Buthrotum (3.497); also the picture in Dido's temple of Diomedes' bloody work in the night raid *prius quam / pabula gustassent Troiae Xanthumque bibissent* (1.472–473, of the horses of Rhesus).

Pelidae: The patronymic is used elsewhere in *V.* at *A.* 2.263; 548; 12.350.

809 congressum Aenean nec dis nec viribus aequis

congressum: Cf. 733 *congressus pete, nate, meos*. With the collocation of *dis* and *viribus* cf. 6.393–394 *Thesea Pirithoumque, / dis quamquam geniti atque invicti viribus essent*.

viribus aequis: The theme of the unfair fight, with clear indication that Aeneas was no match for Achilles. The phrase recurs 2×, both times in 10 (the book of the poem's ultimate unfairly matched pair); at 10.357 it describes the equal strength of the winds; at 10.431 the clashing of the forces of Lausus and Pallas (who would have been fair opponents in single combat). Neptune's language here "is diplomatically adapted from Poseidon's description of Achilles spoken as a warning to Aeneas in *Il.* 20.334" (Highet 1972, 264). On the "modal-adversative" ablative absolute see Hahn 1930, 149; 152–153.

810 nube cava rapui, cuperem cum vertere ab imo

For the seeming inconsistency of the Neptunian rescue of Aeneas, with reference to the same problem at *Il.* 20.290–352, see O'Hara 2007, 13: "the Aeneas episode gives the story of Troy, in a sense, two endings: the dominant plot ...

to the end of Troy, and a much less prominent one in which Aeneas inherits power, and something of Troy lives on." The subjunctive is likely concessive here.

nube cava: With special reference and appeal to Venus, who used just the same trick of concealment for Aeneas and Achates in Carthage (1.516 *dissimulant et nube cava speculantur amicti*); Juno does something of the same thing in the matter of the phantom Aeneas at 10.636 *tum dea nube cava tenuem sine viribus umbram*. The phrase also occurs 1× in the sister book 11, where at 593 *post ego nube cava miserandae corpus et arma* it describes Diana's plans for the slain Camilla. The image of the "hollow cloud" is Lucretian (*DRN* 6.271–273 *quippe etenim supra docui permulta vaporis / semina habere cavas nubes et multa necessest / concipere ex solis radiis ardoreque eorum*).

cuperem: Something of a surprise is added to the long description of Neptune's rescue of Aeneas. Now, rather close to the end of this ethnographic book, the sea god alludes to his desire to destroy the city that was mendacious to him in the matter of payment for its walls (*Il.* 21.446 ff.; cf. Horace, c. 3.3.21, with Nisbet and Rudd). Eerily, the tone of the speech begins to change, as Neptune—a key divinity in the destruction of Venus' beloved city—begins to speak of death and hell. The language is somewhat politely respectful of Venus (or, from a different perspective, rather mendacious); Neptune was not only desirous of destroying Priam's city, but actually responsible for its ruin.

vertere ab imo: Only here. Servius compares 2.610–611 *Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti / fundamenta quatit ...*

811 *structa meis manibus periurae moenia Troiae.*

structa ... moenia: Cf. the *templa ... structa* of *A.* 3.84; Ovid's *Ilion adspicies firmataque turribus altis / moenia, Phoebae structa canora lyrae* (*Her.* 16.181–182); *Met.* 6.573; Statius, *Theb.* 10.876–877 *et quid tam egregium prosternere moenia molli / structa lyra?*

periurae: Elsewhere in *V.* only at 2.191 *talibus insidiis periurique arte Sinonis*, just before the declaration that the liar's mendacity did more to harm Troy than even Achilles had accomplished. Ovid imitated this passage at *Met.* 11.214–215 *poscit equos tantique operis mercede negata / bis periura capit superatae moenia Troiae*. "No god in the *Aeneid* has what can be called a definitely moral reason for opposing Troy. The only candidate I suppose is Neptune, angered (5.811) by 'periura Troia.' But whereas the anger of Horace's Juno at Laomedon's fraud and perjury may and indeed must be moral (*Odes* 3.3), Neptune's motive is complicated by materialism and self-interest: for Laomedon's fraud had cheated him personally of his 'merces.'" (Lyne 1987, 98–99).

812 nunc quoque mens eadem perstat mihi; pelle timores.

A verse of subtle ingenuity and deliciously ambiguous phrasing; in the general context, of course one takes the line to refer to the salvation of Aeneas, but it comes in the immediate wake of the god's seemingly insensitive reference to his desire to destroy Troy (a wish that Venus herself saw fulfilled when she unveiled the immortal action to her son on the night the city fell).

mens eadem: Cf. Horace, c. 4.10.7 *quae mens est hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit*; *Epist.* 1.1.4 *non eadem est aetas, non mens*; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6.463 *mens mihi non eadem Iovis atque adversa voluntas*; Juvenal, s. 5.1 *si te propositi nondum putet atque eadem est mens*.

perstat: Elsewhere in V. only at 2.650 *talia perstabat memorans fixusque manebat*, of Anchises on Troy's last night.

pelle timores: "Virgil's deities react kindly to patient and dispassionate analysis; perhaps more than any other aspect of the epic, they turn to clay, or lead, or concrete in the hands of those who approach them with convictions or preconceptions or with a single 'global' theory" (Horsfall 1995, 143). Venus is hardly calm and collected in her appeal to her uncle; his response, while on the one hand granting her what she asks, on the other will demand a blood price as toll for the journey. With the imperative cf. 2.784 *lacrimas dilectae pelle Creüsae*. *Timor* appears 12× in the A.; with the present use cf. 11.14 *timor omnis abest* (Aeneas in the wake of death of Mezentius). The singular is attested here (FMc; cf. 1.202, 450, 6.352, the personified use at 9.719), and may be correct; the plural appears nowhere else in V.

813 tutus, quos optas, portus accedet Averni.

An interesting line (where the slow, spondaic rhythm serves to create a deliberate emphasis), which Servius chose to punctuate with a full stop after *accedet* on the grounds that Venus did not ask for her son to enter Avernus, but rather to reach the Laurentine Tiber (797). Servius then proceeds to argue that the *unus* of 814 = Misenus, and the *unum* of 815 Palinurus, though with his preferred punctuation the reverse would be better (or, for that matter, taking Servius' punctuation with *unus/unum* both = Palinurus). In point of fact, the Trojans land at Cumae (i.e., the *portus Averni*), exactly as Neptune promises here (cf. 6.1–2, which according to Servius were relocated from V.'s original placement of them as the closing verses of 5). From mention of the destruction of Troy, Neptune moves to underworld references that presage the loss of Aeneas' helmsman.

quos optas: Not true, it would seem, in light of the goddess' mention of the Tiber; the word order, too, leaves *Averni* as something of a deliberate surprise; taken in close sequence, the first and last words of the verse also serve to create

a jarring effect. The second singular present of the verb occurs also at 7.260 *dabitur, Troiane, quod optas* (Latinus to Aeneas); the unattested *quod optas* (taken closely with *tutus*) would be the easier reading here (cf. 10.279 *quod votis optastis adest*). There is something of a reference here to the visit of Aeneas to his father that was last mentioned at 733 (which will also be conducted safely). One wonders if there is significance to the god's mention of the perjured Trojans just before his own subtle substitution of Avernus for the Tiber.

814 unus erit tantum amissum quem gurgite quaeres;

This can refer only to the Palinurus narrative that will close the book; Venus, of course, will not be the one to seek out the casualty. See here O'Hara 1990, 22 ff.; Farrell ad loc. for the possible imitation of Ennius, *Ann. fr.* 54–55 Skutsch *unus erit quem tu tolles in caerulea caeli | templa* (of the divinized Romulus), which may point to a dramatic contrast between the helmsman and the apotheosized Roman ruler; there is also, however, the attractive association of the first casualty in Italy and the first Roman monarch (though 868 *rexit*, of Aeneas after the loss of Palinurus, has no likely connection to the regal period). On the much discussed question of the apparent contradiction of 6.341 *quis ... deorum (et ff.)*, see Horsfall ad loc.; in point of fact Palinurus *does* reach Italy in safety (6.344, etc., *ponto incolumem*), only to be slain almost immediately on arrival as a new Protesilaus.

amissum: Cf. 614 *amissum Anchisen flebant*; 699 *quattuor amissis* (of the lost ships); 519 *amissa ... palma* (of Acestes' apparently lost chance for victory); and especially 853 *nusquam amittebat oculos* (of Palinurus on deck); 867 *amisso ... magistro* (when Aeneas senses the ship is bereft of its helmsman).

quaeres: Tib. reads *quaeret* here (preferred too by Ribbeck; Deuticke), perhaps because of how the goddess will not actually do what Neptune here predicts she will; but it is difficult to countenance the sudden change of subject to Aeneas.

gurgite: In marked contrast to how Misenus is found *in litore sicco* (6.162).

815 unum pro multis dabitur caput.'

The repetition of the singular numerical adjective is powerful and deliberate; it both underscores the imminent loss and prepares for the confusion in *A.* 6 over who exactly must be buried (Palinurus; Misenus). Here the unfinished line, the last in the book, serves to announce and to highlight the narrative that will end the book, even as it enacts the abrupt end of life it signals. On the sacrifice theme here see Scafoglio 2010, 52 ff. For the "strong pause at the bucolic diaeresis, as sometimes to underscore a dramatic moment" (Horsfall ad 6.30), see Williams ad loc.

pro multis: Palinurus will be a sacrifice for the many. Historically, some 150 Roman ships were lost in a storm during the First Punic War in 253 B.C. not far from the locus of V.'s Palinurus episode (Polybius 1.69.6, where see Walbank; Appian, *BC* 5.98–99; Velleius Paterculus 2.79.3, with Woodman); Octavian lost a sizable fleet in 36 in the same vicinity, some twelve miles to the southeast of Velia (cf. Horace, c. 3.4.25–28, with Nisbet and Rudd: “the disaster must have coloured the story of the drowning of Palinurus”; for Velia’s locus and topography see McKay 1970, 245 ff.). Octavian had left Puteoli on 1 July, only to seek refuge two days later at Velia from a storm; defeat and near disaster at Tauromenium still awaited him. “Sextus however failed to capitalise on their disarray, content merely to call himself ‘son of Neptune’” (Woodman ad Velleius 2.79.3, citing Appian, *BC* 5.100). Note, too, the similar naval disaster that befell Octavian near *Scyllaeum* in 38 (Appian, *BC* 5.88–90; Dio 48.48.1–4); for Velleius’ possible conflation of the two tempests into one storm of 36, see Woodman ad 2.79.4. For the connection between the death of Palinurus and civil war (the “twinning” theme; cf. Aeneas/Turnus and Romulus/Remus), see Morgan 1998 in Stahl 1998, 175–198, 186. For Sextus Pompey, the Horatian *Neptunius dux*, see Perret ad 5.849; Watson (and Mankin) ad *Ep.* 9.7–8; the image of the historical figure some might call a republican outlaw and persistent thorn in the side of the triumvirs is evoked by the marine god who demands death as the price of a safe journey from Sicilian waters. Henderson cfs. *Jonah* 1.12: “Take me up and cast me forth into the sea: so shall the sea become calm unto you.”

The present scene inspired Dante, *Inferno* 5.1063–1066; see further Quinones 1994, 39–40. For the later tradition of Palinurus as an image of a soul in purgatory, see Kallendorf 2015, 72–73.

816 his ubi laeta permulsit pectora dictis,

See further here V. Casadio, “Verg. *Aen.* V 816 ss.,” in *MCr* 23–24 (1988–1989), 305–306.

laeta: The last occurrence of the key word of the book, and in a most inappropriate context, given that the goddess should not be pleased either with the mention of the destruction of Troy by the god whose help she has sought, or (especially) with the heavy emphasis on the imminent loss of an as yet unidentified Trojan (who in context must be considered a proxy sacrifice for Aeneas, who would have died at the hands of Achilles). Servius notes that the adjective = a “perpetuum epitheton” for Venus, but its use here is not otiose. For the “untrammled pleasure” of the goddess see Boyle 1986, 104n35, with consideration of the question of whether the goddess’ demeanor and attitude changes through the course of the epic. Phillipson ad loc. takes the adjective to be proleptic (so also Knapp), but there is no indication of Venus’ response to the loss

of the helmsman, or of Misenus, for that matter. See further D. Wiltshire 2012, 173 ff. Rather, Venus is prematurely happy, and that is precisely Virgil's point as he prepares for the Palinurus coda.

permulsit: The verb occurs only here in V.; the prefix expresses how successfully Neptune soothed his nervous niece. Cf. 1.153 *ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet*; 1.197 *et dictis maerentia pectora mulcet*.

pectora dictis: The line-end is borrowed from Lucretius, *DRN* 6.24; cf. Statius, *Theb.* 3.381; Valerius, *Arg.* 5.533.

817 *iungit equos auro genitor, spumantiaque addit*

equos: The equestrian god of the sea yokes his horses to prepare for a repetition of his quelling of the seas near the opening of Book 1 (124 ff.); the difference here is that there is no mention of an existing tempest, and the poet leaves it unclear as to whether or not there would have been a storm in the absence of the god's action (but note 821 *fugiunt vasto aethere nimbi*). With *iungit equos* cf. *A.* 1.568 *nec tam aversus equos Tyria sol iungit ab urbe*; 7.724 *iungit Halaesus equos*; cf. of Night at Tibullus, c. 2.1.87; Ovid, *Ars* 3.180 *roscida luciferos cum dea iungit equos* (with Gibson); Martial's *exarsitque dies, et hora lassos | interiungit equos meridiana* (*ep.* 3.67.6–7).

auro: On the color imagery here see Edgeworth 1992, 96–106; if E. is correct that we are to imagine the present action of the god as occurring underwater, as in the Homeric parallel with its detail of the god's palace at *Il.* 13.20 ff. (though note 819 *per summa ... aequora* below), then there may be a deliberate contrast with his prior action in calming the seas, where V. made clear that he had lifted his head above the water and was subsequently riding the waves. For the ablative cf. the gold of the regatta captains at 132; the gilded sheen of the Anchises-serpent at 87; also the gold of the prizes at 312 and 366. "In Homer, Poseidon is clad in gold, his whip and the manes of the horses are gold" (Henderson ad loc.). The Latin permits us to imagine that the gold is either ablative or dative, though it is perhaps likely the latter (of the chariot). Here, as often, the language may be deliberately impressionistic: the poet wants the gleam of gold to dominate the image.

genitor: On the force of the appellation here see Carcopino 1968, 533: "*genitor* n' indique plus la paternité, mais seulement la majesté qu' elle implique."

spumantia: Also with *frena* (818) at 4.134–135 *ostroque insignis et auro | stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit*, of Dido's horse before the hunt and fateful storm: an ominous association. Cf. Ovid, *Am.* 2.9b.29–30; Silius, *Pun.* 10.318; 12.254–255; 12.681. Edgeworth imagines that *spumantia* may refer to bubbles rising up to the surface as the god prepares to emerge in his chariot, but the epithet refers most appositely to the eager, scarcely controllable vigor of Neptune's horses. On Virgilian foam see Horsfall's note ad 6.881.

818 frena feris manibusque omnis effundit habenas.

feris: The description of Neptune's horses has occasioned critical comment; best is to assume that the "wild animal" reference reflects the high spirits of the steeds as the chariot rides the waves. The fricative alliteration brings to life something of the ferocity of the god's horses. Henderson perceptively notes that the same descriptor is applied to the wooden horse at 2.51.

omnis effundit habenas: So of Aeneas at 12.499 *irarumque omnis effundit habenas*; Juvenal has *dat libertatem et totas effundite habenas | curriculo* (s. 14.230–231), where see Courtney. Ovid inverts this image of the pacification of the sea at *Met.* 1.278–282 in his description of the commencement of the flood (*vires effundite vestras; totas immittite habenas*). The verb is particularly appropriately chosen for the immediate marine context, as the close of the first book of the epic's second third enjoys a scene of Neptunian glory that balances the similar episode from the opening of Book 1.

819 caeruleo per summa levis volat aequora curru;

For the influence of this sequence on Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Post.* 91ff., see Gärtner 2005, 94ff.

caeruleo: For the color see on 10 and 87. The adjective and the noun neatly enclose the line.

summa ... aequora: Cf. Palinurus' *prospexi Italiam summa sublimis ab unda* (6.357); also *G.* 3.194–195 *tum vocet, ac per aperta volans ceu liber habenis | aequora vix summa vestigia ponat harena*. For the line-end cf. *Ilias Latina* 476; Silius, *Pun.* 2.172; 3.410; note also the slight modification at *A.* 12.524 *dant sonitum spumosi amnes et in aequora currunt*, in the comparison of Aeneas and Turnus at war to raging rivers, and Valerius, *Arg.* 6.104–104 *molem belli lateque ferentem | undique falcatos deserta per aequora currus*.

volat aequora: As at 4.254–255 *circum | piscosos scopulos humilis volat aequora iuxta* (of Mercury); cf. *G.* 3.200–201; Ovid, *Met.* 11.790.

820 subsidunt undae tumidumque sub axe tonanti

subsidunt: Cf. the same verb in the future at 12.836 *subsident Teucrici*, the climactic, ethnographic revelation of Jupiter's address to Juno in the final divine scene of the epic. Here, at almost the same line number, and in the same *sedes*, the poet describes the reaction of the waves to the calming ride of the god responsible (as he just reminded us) for the destruction of Troy. These are the only two occurrences of the finite verb in V; there is one participial use: 10.491–493 *substitit Aeneas et se collegit in arma | poplite subsidens*, of (Trojan) Aeneas as he ducks down in the face of the attack of (Neptunian) Messapus. Cf. the ten Etruscan vessels that come for the aid of Troy at 10.214 *subsidio Troiae*; the "wrong"

sword of Turnus that breaks at 12.731ff., *ni fuga subsidio subeat* (733). On the action of the god here to help Aeneas and not merely to put down “supernatural insubordination,” see Hardie 1986, 299–300 (and, for the “supernatural motif of control of the storm,” 202ff.).

tumidum: The adjective occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 393 *tumidum ... Thybrim*, as Turnus describes the Tiber swollen with blood.

axe tonanti: *Axis* occurs only here in the *A.* of an actual chariot axis, though it is possible (as Williams 1960 notes ad loc.) that here, as elsewhere in the epic, the meaning = sky or heaven. *Tonans* may have special reference to Jupiter; if the *axis* = Neptune’s car, then the god is enjoying something of a Jovian prerogative; if = the sky, then there is tacit support from Jove for his marine brother’s action. The present scene owes much to the depiction of Poseidon near the opening of *Il.* 13 (10ff.), where the god is angry at his brother in the wake of Hector’s assault on the Greek fleet. In Homer the god assumes the form of Calchas to stir on the Aiantes; cf. *Iris/Beroë* and the instigation of the burning of the ships.

821 *sternitur aequor aquis, fugiunt vasto aethere nimbi.*

A powerful line of forceful description, as the various attendant deities and supernatural powers of the god are about to be introduced.

sternitur aequor aquis: Imitated at 8.89 *sterneret aequor aquis*, of the Tiber as it lessens its swell for Aeneas. See Farrell ad loc. for the possible prolepsis (*aequor* as level plain); also the question of *aquis* = dative of reference or ablative of place where (conceivably also an ablative of respect), a problem V. likely did not face. If a choice must be made, the dative might be best; “a smooth surface is laid for the waters” (Henderson ad loc.). For *sternere* of sleep, see Horsfall ad 3.509 *sternimur* (“commoner in *A.* of sprawling in death”); the verb may just possibly presage the Palinurus narrative, where sleep and death rather mingle into one image.

vasto aethere: Cf. Lucan, *BC* 3.540 *innumerae vasto miscentur in aethere voces*. *Nimbi* = stormclouds; the ether is vast, and the god’s action cleanses the heavens, as it were, of the bane of tempest. There is likely no hint of any intrusion, however, on Jupiter’s realm.

822 *tum variae comitum facies, immania cete,*

At 239–242, a smaller contingent of marine deities heard Cloanthus’ general prayer to the gods of the deep; Neptune’s retinue, is more impressive (fittingly enough), and opens with a reference to sea monsters. Pliny (*NH* 36.26) describes a sculpture group of Scopas in the Flaminian circus that describes V.’s scene: *Neptunus ipse et Thetis atque Achilles, Nereides supra delphinos et cete aut*

hippocampus sedentes, item Tritones chorusque Phorci et pistrices ac multa alia marina, omnia eiusdem manu, praeclarum opus, etiam si totius vitae esset. See further here S. Kyriakidis, “Aeneid V 822–826: A Vergilian Catalogue,” in *Eikasmos* 11 (2000), pp. 269–276. The present passage may have inspired the similar miniature catalogue of minor sea creatures at Ps.-V., *Ciris* 391–399, where the marine deities marvel at the passage of Megarean Scylla as she is dragged over the sea by Minos’ flagship (see further Lyne ad loc.).

variae ... facies: Seneca has *ignium multae variaeque facies sunt* (*Nat. Quaest.* 1.1.2.1).

immania: Cf. 6.576 *immanis* (of the Hydra), with Horsfall’s note (“surprisingly, not a standard adj. for mythological monsters”; also his note ad 6.77 for the adjective “in the sense of ‘horribilis, terribilis’”).

cete: The only occurrence of the (Greek) noun in V.; we may be reminded of the monstrous ships of the regatta. Cf. Horsfall ad 6.729 (with delightful reflection on “unnerving Venetian *zuppa di pesce*”).

823 et senior Glauci chorus Inoque Palaemon

senior ... chorus: A fitting detail for this book of the generations. “*Senior* is an epithet applied towards almost all the sea gods” (Bryce ad loc.).

Glauci: An anticipation of 6.36 *Deiphobe Glauci*; as Austin does well to ask ad loc., V. does not identify the Sibyl’s mother, which leaves room for speculation between Circe (who in V’s localization is somewhere halfway between Cumae and the Tiber) and Scylla; the former will be mentioned near the opening of 7 (10 ff.); the latter has been prominently featured in the present book. The story of the fisherman/merman survives most extensively in Ovid’s elaborate narrative at *Met.* 13.898 ff. (where see Hopkinson); in Ovid’s account (perhaps his own invention; Hyginus, *Fab.* 199 is derivative), Glaucus enjoys something of an Orphic-style rebirth after his observation of the rejuvenative power of a virginal grassy field; after consuming the magical fodder and joining his former catch of fish in the sea, he is welcomed by marine deities who beg Ocean and Tethys to make him immortal: the gods assent (13.951–953 *ego lustror ab illis, | et purgante nefas noviens mihi carmine dicto | pectora fluminibus iubeor supponere centum*). The appearance of Glaucus prepares for the introduction of Circe at the opening of 7; on his *chorus* Servius notes “cuius chorum ideo senem dicit, quia et ipse senex fuerat; aut certe propter spumarum colorem, sicut paene omnes dii finguntur esse maris.”

Inos: This is the only appearance of Ino and her son Palaemon in the A.; the latter name appears as the judge of *E.* 3. There may be a foreshadowing of the loss of Palinurus overboard in the mention of the mother and her son (who were forced to throw themselves off a cliff); this may explain the use

of the Greek name of the son in place of the Roman harbor god with whom he was conflated (cf. on 241 *Portunus*). Ino is promised eternal life with her son Melicertes by Hermes as a reward for her nursing of Dionysus at Nonnus, *Dion.* 9.59ff. The earliest extant reference to the story = *Od.* 5.333–335; cf. Pindar, *Ol.* 2.30; *Pyth.* 11.2; known to Callimachus, at least in some details. Euripides' *Ino* is of uncertain date and equally uncertain content (judging from the scanty remains); at *Med.* 1284ff., the tragedian follows a version where Ino kills her two sons before leaping into the sea (a narrative of obvious relevance to his immediate context). The sources are collected with analysis particular to comparison of Ovid's version and Nonnus' at Otis 1966, 373–374 (= 1970, 401–403); most convenient = Gantz 1993, 176–180, 478; note also Larson 1995, 123–125. See Harder ad Callimachus, *Aetia* fr. 91 for the scanty remains of the story there: “no indications that Callimachus' story included Melicertes' transformation into the heros Palaemon.” V. has Melicertes at *G.* 1.437, a line that Gellius notes was inspired by Parthenius (*NA* 13.27.1–2).

Palaemon: First named in extant Latin at Plautus, *Rudens* 160 *o Palaemon, sancte Neptuni comes* (where see Sonnenschein); cf. the mention of the (divine) mother and son at Euripides, *IT* 270 (with Cropp). “A very strange name to find in this context” = Clausen ad *E.* 3.50, where Palaemon = a convenient judge of the contest between Menalcas and Damoetas (Coleman notes the absence of the name from Theocritus or elsewhere in Virgilian pastoral); see further Clausen ad loc. for the story of how Remmius Palaemon, a *grammaticus* fired by both Tiberius and Claudius, thought that V. was presaging his own arrival on the academic scene. In any case, both Ino and *Palaemon* ended up cast into the sea, in presage of Palinurus: first Glaucus is mentioned (with evocation of both Scylla and Circe), then two figures whose mortal fates prefigure the helmsman's.

824 Tritonesque citi Phorcique exercitus omnis;

Tritones: Only here in the plural in V., and indeed in all of pre-argentine verse (cf. the *armigeri Tritones* of Statius, *Ach.* 1.55); Triton is one of the deities who assists Neptune in the quelling of the storm at 1.144 (a “subaltern role,” Horsfall observes ad 6.173); here, as with the appearance of Glaucus, there is a foreshadowing of the underworld book, where the god reappears as the alleged agent of the death of Misenus (6.173), who is identified as a son of Aeolus (6.164), so that the god's action can be seen as revenge for the wind storm. At 10.207–212, the “Triton” is the flagship of Aeneas' ally Aulestes, where the poet effectively blurs any distinction between the prow ornament of the vessel and the god himself (see further Harrison ad loc.; it is possible that we are meant to see in the Triton a type of Augustus' flagship at Actium). Triton (singular)

and the Nereids are in attendance for the Actian victory at Propertius, c. 4.6 (where see Hutchinson). With *citi* of the Tritons cf. Silius, *Pun.* 14.372–374 *per vacuum late cantu resonante profundum, | quis excitus aequore Triton | expavit tortae certantia murmura conchae*. Triton(s)'s presence here prepares for the loss of Misenus, a casualty of the god at 6.162 ff. "Attendants of the sea-gods; they are represented as having the body of a man terminating in a dolphin's tail" (Burton ad loc.); cf. the dolphin imagery of the *lusus*. Plutarch says that the trident, Amphitrite, and the Tritons were all so named because Poseidon had been allotted lordship over the third realm (*De Iside* 381F, where see Griffiths).

Phorci: For the sea god and master of seals see above on 240. There is no hint here of the (later?) tradition of how his progeny consisted of great monsters of mythology (Scylla, the Gorgons, the Graiae); Homer has him as the grandfather of the Cyclopes (*Od.* 1.72).

exercitus omnis: Military language (Caesar; Livy; Tacitus); elsewhere in V. at A. 2.415 *et gemini Atridae Dolopumque exercitus omnis*; 9.25–26 *iamque omnis campis exercitus ibat apertis | dives equum*; 11.171 *Tyrrhenum exercitus omnis*; 598 *Etruscique duces equitumque exercitus omnis*; 12.122–123 *hinc Troius omnis | Tyrrhenusque ruit variis exercitus armis*. Valerius has it of the "army of Amores" (*Arg.* 6.457); there may be a playful hint of an army of seals here; cf. G. 4.394–395 *quippe ita Neptuno visum est, immania cuius | armenta et turpis pascit sub gurgite phocas*. "Exercitus, like *cohors* in 241, seems to mean simply 'a multitude'" (Bryce ad loc.).

Ribbeck identified a lacuna after this verse, on account of the apparent absence of any specific detail as to the *right*-side coterie (cf. 825 *laeva*); see further Conte's apparatus ("at nihil deest, nam *laeva tenet* idem valet ac 'dextrum latus praebet,' ut reverentia significetur").

825 *laeva tenet Thetis et Melite Panopeaque virgo*,

laeva tenet: See on 382, with reference to the lucky left in Roman religion (and, as was the case there, we are not yet in Hesperia). There is variation of the number of the verb in the tradition (cf. P *tenent*); the singular is better to highlight Thetis. For the presence of the Nereids in propemptika see Hardie 1983, 160; for the Statian reception at *Silv.* 3.2.13–20, Gibson 2006 in Nauta et al. 2006, 177–178. The Nereids are associated with dolphins in art, and there may be a reminiscence here of the delphinic movements of the Trojan youth in the *lusus*; see further E. Csapo, "The Dolphins of Dionysus," in Csapo and Miller 2003, 69–98 (with consideration of dolphins and Nereids as symbolic expressions of choral dance).

Thetis: The mother of Achilles, and therefore an ominous goddess for the calming of the seas before the Trojan departure; this is the only appearance of

the greatest of the Nereids in the *A.* (cf. *E.* 4.32, where the goddess = the sea, amid a general atmosphere of reflection on the deeds of great heroes). On a more positive note, there may be a reminiscence of Thetis' assistance to the Argonauts as they approach the Planctae (*Arg.* 4.930 ff.).

Melite: The only appearance of this Nereid in *V.*; she appears in the great catalogue of her sisters at *Theog.* 247 (where see West); as an Oceanid (with whom the Nereids are often confused) at *h. Dem.* 419 (where see Richardson; it is unlikely that *V.* intended any association with the Attic heroine Melite who was loved by Heracles, or with Persephone as Melitodes and her priests as Melissae, though ancient audiences were likely more sensitive to such connections than modern; here she almost certainly conveys a sense of "honeyed" loveliness).

Panopeaque virgo: See above on 240.

Plutarch relates (*Mor.* 163.20) the planned sacrifice of a virgin to Amphitrite and the Nereids, and of a bull to Poseidon (cf. Entellus' offering), when mariners setting out to establish a colony in Lesbos reached the Μεσόγειον or "Midland" reef; the maiden was eventually saved by the intervention of her lover.

826 Nisaeë Spioque Thaliaque Cymodoceque.

This verse was probably interpolated at *G.* 4.338; it is in imitation of *Il.* 18.39–40, where the Nereids appear alongside Thetis as they respond to the cry of Achilles in the wake of the death of Patroclus (for the *contaminatio* of the source material here see Farrell 1991, 94–95). The reminiscence of that dramatic scene of mourning provides another dark association for the present sequence of the calming of the sea; the poet continues to presage the loss of Palinurus (who in some ways is a precursor of Pallas, the Patroclus of the *A.*), and the last detail before he turns to the eerie sequence of the helmsman's nocturnal encounter with Sleep is an evocation of the lament of Achilles and the response of his mother and her sisters. Sannazaro imitated this passage at *E.* 1.84 ff., where see Putnam. For the Homeric style "name-verse," see Harrison ad 10.123.

Nisaeë: Or Nesaee? The latter (a patroness of islands) is a Nereid at Homer, *Il.* 18.40–41, where she appears together with Cymothoe, both of whom are also named together by Propertius (c. 2.26a.15–16); cf. *Theog.* 249.

Spio: The Nereid of sea caverns; borrowed here from *Theog.* 245.

Thalia: One of the Nereids that gather with Thetis to mourn with her over the loss of Patroclus and the impending death of Achilles (*Il.* 18.39; cf. Quintus' account of the attendance of the same to mourn the actual loss at *Post.* 3.580 ff.); a homonym of a Grace and of the (eventual) Muse of Comedy, for the latter of which cf. *Ps.-V., Culex* 1 *gracili modulante Thalia*; Horace, c. 4.6.25 *doctor argutae fidicen Thaliae*; Ovid, *Her.* 15.84 *Clioque et curvae scita Thalia lyrae*; *Trist.* 4.10.56

notaque non tarde facta Thalia mea est; 5.9.31 *inclusa Thalia*; Statius, *Silv.* 2.1.116 (“St. seems to be the first to attribute the province of Comedy to Thalia”—Van Dam ad loc.) and 5.3.98 *lasciva Thalia*; 9× in Martial.

Cymodoce: “She who receives the waves”; Silius calls her the *Nympharum maxima natu* / *Italidum* (*Pun.* 7.428–429); cf. *Il.* 18.39 and *Theog.* 252 (where she is credited with the ability to calm stormy waters and to restrain the blasts of the winds with ease). “Cymodocea” appears as the *fandi doctissima* of the Trojan ships once they are turned into mermaids (10.225; see Harrison for the “evident basing” of the name).

827–871 The fleet sets sails from Sicily, and Aeneas is in a state of relative joy and relief (despite his anxieties) as the vessels depart for Italy. The helmsman Palinurus keeps his watch on the deck of his master’s flagship, awake through the night in watchful vigil for any disturbance at sea. The god Somnus appears in the guise of Phorbas, and urges the *gubernator* to relax his sentinel watch and to succumb to sleep; Palinurus will have none of it, and expresses incredulosity that anyone would expect him to trust the seemingly calm face of the sea. After the repeated blandishments fail to persuade the helmsman to indulge in slumber, Somnus shakes his branch with its Lethaeian water and Stygian power over Palinurus’ head, and after sleep has come upon the sailor at last, the god casts the Trojan seaman into the deep, rudder and all. The fleet, meanwhile, proceeds safely along, unafraid, all in accordance with the promise of Neptune; the rock of the Sirens is safely skirted. Aeneas senses that his vessel is sailing without a *magister*; after seeing the abandoned helm, he takes control of the ship and laments that Palinurus trusted the sea too much, and that he will now lie unburied on some unknown shore.

The penultimate book of V’s *Odyssey* draws to a haunting, eerie close with the great narrative of the casting overboard by Sleep of Aeneas’ helmsman Palinurus (also named at Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 1.53.2). The main Homeric intertext is the loss of Elpenor (*Od.* 10.550–560; 11.51–80); his death occurred at the house of Circe, who will be introduced to the Virgilian narrative in the wake of the sojourn to the underworld (see Fratantuono 2009b for the chiasmic arrangement of the doomed Palinurus/Caieta on either side of A. 6 as precursors of Pallas/Camilla; and, for the losses of Palinurus, Misenus, and Caieta, Buchheit 1963, 173–176); Helenus names the island of Aeaeian Circe as a locale whose hazards the Trojans must endure before arriving in Italy (3.385–386), with no mention of the Sirens who will be referenced at 864 below; Palinurus can be read as a sacrifice to the Sirens, and Caieta to Circe. Elpenor is the first ghost Odysseus encounters in the underworld (*Od.* 11.51); Palinurus’ will be the first Aeneas meets in his own visit to Avernus (6.337 ff.). Elpenor also

has affinities with V's Misenus; the Homeric detail about E.'s less than brilliant intellect is reflected in V's 6.172 *demens, et cantu vocat in certamina divos*; cf. also the oar that marks Misenus' grave (A. 6.233) and the one destined to mark Elpenor's (*Od.* 11.77–78; 12.14–15). On the Homeric intertexts (Elpenor and also, perhaps, Menelaus' helmsman Phrontis at *Od.* 3.278–283) see I. Ciccarelli, "I modelli del Palinuro virgiliano," in *BStudLat* 35.2 (2005), 479–494.

In Homer Elpenor is explicitly identified as the youngest of the companions of Odysseus (*Odyssey* 10.552); no such age association for Virgil's Palinurus, though the tragedy of youth will soon enough unfold in earnest in the war in Italy.

On the Palinurus episode (and possible associations between Aeneas' helmsman and the Protesilaus of cyclic lore), see Horsfall's introductory notes ad 6.337–383 (*inter alia* for his important survey of the evidence and analysis of the likely influence of Naevius); Fratantuono 2012a, with extensive bibliography; and from that list (with additions) note especially E. Greco in *EV* III, 936–939; Cartault 1926, 393–401; Perret 1942, 101–120; Buchheit 1963, 31, 105, 175; T. Smerdel, "La scena tragica di Palinuro," in *ZAnt* 15 (1965–1966), 359–364; Kühn 1971, 28, 91; Monaco 1960/1972, 175–186; F. Solmsen, "The World of the Dead in Book 6 of the *Aeneid*," in *CPh* 67.1 (1972), 31–41; Di Cesare 1974, 89–93; E. Christmann, "Der Tod des Aeneas und die Pforten des Schlafes," in *Studien zum antiken Epos* (1976), 251–279; W. Nicoll, "The Sacrifice of Palinurus," in *CQ* N.S. 38.2 (1976), 459–472; Thornton 1976, 73–74; Pötscher 1977, 132–133; A. Barchiesi, "Palinuro e Caieta: Due 'epigrammi' virgiliani (*Aen.* V, 870 sg.; VII, 1–4)" in *Maia* 31 (1979), 3–11; J. Ambrose, "The Etymology and Genealogy of Palinurus," in *AJPh* 101.4 (1980), 449–457; Berres 1982, 250–281; G. Williams 1983, 76, 264–265, 278, 281–282; F. Brenk, "*Unum pro multis caput*: Myth, History, and Symbolic Imagery in Vergil's Palinurus Incident," in *Latomus* 43 (1984), 776–801; G. Cretia, "Un schéma narratif archaïque dans l'*Enéide*," in *StudClass* 22 (1984), 41–43 (with consideration of connections between the present scene and 12.406–476); Heuzé 1985, 393 ff.; T. Kinsey, "The Death of Palinurus," in *PP* 40 (1985), 379–380 (against the idea of contradictions between the narratives here and at 6.337–362); F. Brenk, "Palinurus and Polites: Shades of Shades (Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.337–383)," in *Latomus* 46 (1987), 571–574; Pomathios 1987, 115 ff., 179, 191, 194–195, 203, 238, 282, 290, 307, 322, 341–342, 345, 348, 351; F. Brenk, "Wind and Waves, Sacrifice and Treachery: Diodorus, Appian, and the Death of Palinurus in Vergil," in *Aevum* 62 (1988), 69–80; G. Laudizzi, "Palinuro (Verg. *Aen.* V, 827 ss; VI, 337 ss)," in *Maia* 40 (1988), 57–73; Mellinghoff-Bourgerie 1990, 44, 48, 98, 106, 137–138, 145, 161, 215; O'Hara 1990, 16–24; Horsfall 1991, 100 ff.; G. Cretia, "La triple initiation d'Enée," in *StudClass* 28–30 (1992–1994), 39–47; Hardie 1993, 4, 11, 19, 32–33; Quint 1993, 105–106; D. Sansone, "Virgil, *Aeneid* V.835–836," in *CQ*

N.S. 44.2 (1996), 429–433; A. Setaioli, “Palinuro: Genesi di un personaggio poetico,” in *BStudLat* 27.1 (1997), 56–81; Putnam 1998, 95, 241; T. Köves-Zulauf, “Die Steuermänner in Gesamtrahmen der Aeneis: Leucaspis, Menoetes, Palinurus,” in *ACD* 34–35 (1998–1999), 303–325; J. Farrell, “*Aeneid* 5: Poetry and Parenthood,” in Perkell 1999, 96–110; Keith 2000, 48; Dyson 2001, 15–16, 51n2, 62, 67–71, 73–88, 94, 96, 109, 232–233; Nelis 2001, 205–209; Adler 2003, 137–241; M. Dinter, “Epic and Epigram: Minor Heroes in Virgil’s *Aeneid*,” in *CQ* 55.1 (2005), 33–36; Smith 2005, 33–36; Fratantuono 2007, 155 ff.; Reed 2007, 62, 186; E. Castro, “Interaction and Episodic Coherence in Book 5 of the *Aeneid*,” in *Hermes* 138.1 (2010), 92–108 (with reference to the question of the place of the Palinurus episode in the original plan of the epic); M. Tueller, “Palinurus and Polydorus: Two Epigrammatic Passages in Vergil’s *Aeneid*,” in *Latomus* 69.2 (2010), 344–358; Syson 2013, 84–88 (a provocative reading of the Palinuran underworld passage). For the helmsman as “professional ... nominally second-in-command ... [who] had effective charge,” see Diggle ad Theophrastus, *Char.* 22.5. On the history and archaeology of Capo Palinuro (“helmsman to place”; cf. Pomponius Mela 2.69), see especially A. McKay, “Aeneas’ Landfalls in Hesperia,” in *G&R* 14.1 (1967), 3–11, with reference to the pre-Roman remains at the site and the notorious shipwreck hazard in its environs.

The alleged inconsistencies between the Palinurus scenes of 5 and 6 are discussed comprehensively by Horsfall ad 337–383.2: “Certain it is only that the versions would never have coexisted after a final revision.” The actual problems between the two passages are perhaps somewhat exaggerated, especially if one does not take account of the narrative differences between the poetic voice of 5 and the shade of the lost helmsman of 6; note also that one of the principal complaints—the seeming dismissal of the Somnus narrative at 6.384 *nec me seus aequore mersit* is not remotely a problem if the *deus* = Apollo, who was not, after all, responsible for the loss of the sailor (as indeed he could not be, given his patronage over the Actian victory).

The Palinurus episode stands parallel to the Arruns narrative that comes near the end of 11; the two men stand forth as rare examples of direct acts of divine intervention that lead to death. Arruns is something of a doublet of Aeneas (who never meets Camilla); Palinurus also dies as a proxy for his master. Both men die after conversations between divinities (Venus-Neptune, Diana-Opis); both meet their doom in lonely locales through the agency of immortals. The death of Palinurus was as unannounced as that of Anchises at the end of the sister book 3; the shades of the two men will frame the underworld vision. Aeneas meets the ghost of Palinurus at 6.337 ff.; on the motif of the “restless ghost” in classical literature see especially D. Ogen, “Eucrates and Demainete: Lucian, *Philopseudes* 27–8,” in *CQ* N.S. 54.2 (2004), 484–493, 486.

At Homer, *Il.* 14.197 ff., Hera describes to Aphrodite her plan to visit Ocean and Tethys to unite them anew in love; the queen of the gods visits Sleep and urges him to lull Zeus to slumber. Sleep recalls how he suffered grievously the last time he tried just that, when Heracles went off to sack Troy; Zeus hurled the god from the heavens, and Night rescued him. At 352 ff., Sleep visits Poseidon to urge him to stir the Danaans to attack the Trojans once Zeus is distracted by union with Hera. All of these precursor passages point to divine action against the Trojans, and, more pointedly, to the *de facto* cooperation of Hera and Poseidon in aiding the Greeks against Priam's city. For the possible influence of Odysseus' swim to Phaeacia on V's Palinurus, see Horsfall ad 6.337–3831a, with reference to the possible “thistly” (cf. *paliurus* of “spiny shrubs”) connotations of the name and botanically onomastic response to Homer's simile of the “*akanthos*-tufts.”

At *Met.* 14.77 ff. (where see Myers ad loc.; Fratantuono 2011, 403 ff.), Ovid details events in his *A.* from the landing in Carthage and so on, with a brief mention of the Sirens *before* Palinurus is lost; in his response to V's narrative, the helmsman merely falls asleep and goes overboard, with none of the mystery and eerie atmosphere of his predecessor's account. After the strange interlude of the simian Cercopians at Pithecusae (who were transformed by Jupiter because of their deceitful ways—cf. the themes of falsehood and trickery in both the *Odyssey* and the *A.*, especially the Virgilian *Somni portae*), Ovid returns to the Sirens (101 ff.) with mention of Parthenope, named after a Siren whose body washed up on shore, and the *tumulus* of Misenus, perhaps in learned allusion to the conflicting traditions whereby he was now a companion of Odysseus, now of Aeneas. For the importance of Parthenope to the end of the *G.*, see especially M. Korenjak, “Parthenope und Parthenias: Zur Sphragis der *Georgica*,” in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 48.2 (1995), 201–202. In the case of V's Palinurus, the helmsman has his epic song, as it were, precisely because of his death; he is remembered because of his loss. On certain aspects of dream imagery, nighttime visions and sleep in V., see Casali 2010 in Scioli and Walde 2010.

Elsewhere in Latin literature, “Palinurus” appears as the servant of Phaedromus in Plautus' *Curculio* (see here S. Papaioannou, “What's In a Name? The Real Identity of Palinurus in Plautus' *Curculio*,” in *CJ* 104.2 [2008–2009], 111–122; Plautus' character also makes a rather sudden departure from the narrative); note also the micturational pun of Martial, *ep.* 3.78 *minxisti currente semel, Pauline, carina. | meiere vis iterum? iam Palinurus eris*, on which see R. Prior, “Going Around Hungry: Topography and Poetics in Martial 2.14,” in *AJPh* 117.1 (1996), 121–144, and C. Williams ad *ep.* 2.14.2–4; B. Mulligan, “Bad Scorpion: Cacemphaton and Poetics in Martial's Ligurinus Cycle,” in *CW* 106.3 (2013), 365–395. For the possible influence of Palinurus on Apuleius, see L. Graverini, “Memorie

virgiliane nelle <<Metamorfosi>> di Apuleio: il racconto di Telifrone (II 19–30) et l'assalto dei coloni ai servi fuggitivi (VIII 16–18)," in *Maia* 50.1 (1998), 123–145; for a similar Petronian borrowing, see V. Patimo, "Il *gubernator* di Lica et il Palinuro virgiliano: un *exemplum* di degradazione satirica," in *Aufidus* 16.48 (2002), 45–58. For the Valerian *hommage* to Virgil's Somnus/Palinurus in the scene of Medea and the lulling of the dragon, see Lazzarini ad *Arg.* 8.75–78. On the intertext between V. and Horace, c. 1.28 see the 2014 *Maia* article of L. Fratantuono and C. Susalla, "Drowned Doublets: Virgil's Doomed Sailors and the Archytas Ode of Horace" (66.1, 84–96). Ovid uses Palinurus as an example of a faithful friend who would not be expected to abandon one's charge at *Trist* 5.6.7 *fluctibus in mediis navem, Palinure, relinquis?*

Juvenal's s. 12 displays many debts to the Virgilian Palinurus narrative in its account of the storm at sea that befalls one "Catullus" and the subsequent abandonment of a vessel and eventual landing in Italy, complete with mention of Alba Longa and obvious echoes of the *Aeneid* (especially at 70–74); cf. also the shipwreck imagery of s. 14.287 ff. (and see further Uden 2015, 187–194; the forthcoming article of Fratantuono, "*Laetis Phrygibus Mirabile Sumen*: Juvenal's Twelfth Satire and the Reinvention of Epic," in *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale*). Tacitus' narrative of the attempted murder of Agrippina by means of a collapsible boat at *Ann.* 14.5–6 owes something to the spirit of the tale of the hazard and ultimate fate of V.'s Palinurus; there, the helmsman Crepereius is immediately killed when the weighted canopy collapses over him, but the emperor's mother manages to swim to shore (and not so far from the locus of the present scene).

On one example of the reception of Palinurus in Renaissance France, see C. Noirot-Maguire, "At the Helm, Second in Command: Du Bellay and *La mort de Palinure*," in Usher and Fernbach 2012, 189–212 (with consideration of why the poet chose to produce a version of the Palinurus episode from Book 5 for insertion amid a collection of otherwise original pieces); cf. also Usher 2014, 4113, 56, 58. Commentary on the appearances of Palinurus in 5 and 6, with an eye to an important aspect of the reception, = C. Perkill, "Irony in the Underworlds of Dante and Virgil: Readings of Francesca and Palinurus," in *MD* 52 (2004), 127–142. M. Hanne, "Ungaretti's *La Terra Promessa* and the *Aeneid*," in *Italica* 50.1 (1973), 3–25, considers the influence of Dido and Palinurus on an Italian modernist poet. For the Palinuran inspiration for the Buonconte scene in *Purg.* 5.88–129, see especially A. Carter, "An Unrecognized Virgilian Passage in Dante," in *Italica* 21.4 (1944), 149–153; also C. Cioffi, "Fame, Prayer, and Politics: Virgil's Palinurus in *Purgatorio* V and VI," in *Dante Studies* 110 (1992), 179–200. The significance of V.'s helmsman to Dante's larger underworld program is a focus of C. Perkill, "Irony in the Underworld of Dante and Virgil:

Readings of Francesca and Palinurus,” in *MD* 52 (2004), 127–1252. Fulgentius saw in the Palinurus-Episode the farewell of Aeneas to the perils of hallucination (cf. Tunison 1890, 71–72). There is something of Charon in Palinurus, too, in that he serves as the ferryman into the underworld; his death comes as a proxy sacrifice for Aeneas—an underworld boatman who gives up his life so that his passengers may live.

Books 4 and 5 both wind down with Trojan departures that are followed by the death or destruction of a significant character; Books 2, 3, 4 and 5 all draw to a close with a significant death; cf. the climactic vision of the shade of Marcellus near the end of 6; the introduction of the doomed Camilla in 7; the deaths of Mezentius, Camilla, and Turnus in 10–12.

827 *hic patris Aeneae suspensam blanda vicissim*

hic: “Pro tunc” (*Gloss. Anon.*).

blanda: The second of two occurrences of the adjective in the *A.*; at 1.670–671 *nunc Phoenissa tenet Dido blandisque moratur / vocibus*, Aeneas is ensnared by Dido’s attractive and tempting blandishments. *V.* does not specify the provenance of the *blanda gaudia* that deceive Aeneas’ mind. With the *blanda / gaudia* (and their effect on Aeneas’ *mens*) here cf. 6.278 *mala mentis / Gaudia* at the entrance to the underworld, which are mentioned right after *Letus* and *Sopor*.

suspensam: Like Dido at 4.9 *Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent*, where the Carthaginian queen was terrified by visions between sleeping and waking that find a parallel in Palinurus’ encounter with Somnus.

The psychology of these verses is subtle; *blanda gaudia* tempt Aeneas’ anxious mind (cf. the soothing message by which Somnus will try to lull Palinurus to slumber), and the conflicting emotions the Trojan hero experiences recur back and forth in turn (*vicissim*). Aeneas is *pater* here as he leaves Sicily and the bones of Anchises, and prepares to lead his force to Hesperia; there is a hint of poignant loss as the father is about to lose a quasi-son.

vicissim: 6× in the *A.*, 1× each in the sister books 5 and 11; cf. 123, of Drances’ response to Aeneas. “Quia contristabatur de sociis relictis apud Acesten” (*Gloss. Anon.*).

828 *gaudia pertemptant mentem; iubet ocium omnis*

gaudia: On the sort of false joys that are “attested in comedy, Cic., elegy,” see Horsfall ad 6.513 *falsa inter gaudia*.

pertemptant: The second of three appearances of the verb in the *A.*; at 1.502 *Latoniae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus*, the parenthetical aside describes the response of the goddess’ mother in the comparison of Dido to Diana with her retinue; at 7.355 *pertemptat sensus atque ossibus implicat ignem*, it

is used of Allecto's venom: more associations with Dido, and additional grim parallels for Aeneas' mood as the fleet sets sail. With this line cf. the verses of Petronius, *Sat.* 128.78 *mox ubi fugerunt elusam gaudia mentem / veraque forma redit*, in a Circean atmosphere. These two lines, then (827–828) contain heavy reminiscences of the Dido episode from *A.* 1; the parallel is baleful in context, given the forthcoming, indeed imminent Palinurus episode. The spirit of Dido presided darkly over the opening of the book, and it returns here near the end as a subtle harbinger of the next loss Aeneas must endure. *Mens* here refers to Aeneas' intentions as to future actions.

ocius: "Pretty quickly," as it were; cf. Harrison ad 10.786–788. There is a hurried atmosphere here, partly one of excitement at the commencement of the nearness of the Italian arrival, but perhaps also with a sense of wanting to leave the place that was marred by the burning of the ships (cf. the departures in 3). Cf. the swift Tritons of 824.

829 *attolli malos, intendi bracchia velis.*

attolli malos: A reminiscence of 487–488 *malum de nave Seresti / erigit*, of the setting for the archery contest; that competition ended in a portent that can be connected with the death of Pallas, of whom Palinurus is a precursor. The connection to the earlier episode helps to explain the apparent difficulty as to whether or not the masts have to be raised again (cf. Servius' "id est vela per malorum volubilitatem levare: nam cum navigaret iam, non dubium quod olim erexerant arbores.").

bracchia: "The sailyards." There seems to be no particular significance to whether or not they are called *bracchia* or *antennae*.

velis: So P ω ; Tib., *contra* MR *remis*; the commentators speculate that the variant was occasioned by a reminiscence of 136 *intentaque bracchia remis*, and/or a misunderstanding of the meaning of *bracchia* here.

830 *una omnes fecere pedem pariterque sinistros,*

una omnes: Cf. 8.104–105 *una omnes iuvenum primi pauperque senatus / tura dabant*; 869–870 *una omnes ruere ac totum spumare reductis / convulsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor* (of Actium). The emphasis on the singularity of action (*una* repeated) echoes Neptune's demand for one life (814 *unus*; 815 *unus*).

fecere pedem: "Id est 'podiam,' hoc est, funem quo tenditur velum" (Servius). They "worked the sheet"; the sheet was a rope attached to the corner of the sail so as to keep it in position" (Phillipson ad loc.).

The best explanation for what is happening here and in the following lines is perhaps that given by Anthon in his school edition, which deserves to be

quoted in full: “830 *Una omnes fecere pedem*. “They all tacked together.” The *pedes* were the ropes attached to the two lower corners of a square sail. They ran from the ends of the sail to the sides of the vessel towards the stern, where they were fastened with rings, attached to the outer side of the bulwarks. When the wind was directly astern, the vessel was said “*currere utroque pedes*” but when she had to keep tacking, she was said “*currere uno pede*,” or “*facere pedem*,” the term *pes*, in the singular, being then applied to that one of the two ropes which is drawn in when the vessel tacks. *Pariterque sinistros*, &c. “And at one and the same time they let go the sheets on the left, now again on the right”. More literally, “they loosened the left sails, now the right.” As the vessel tacked, the sail, of course, must fill, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, and while one sheet would be kept taught, the other would be loosened so as to allow the sail to swing around. 831 *Una ardua torquent*, &c. “Together they turn and turn back the lofty end of the sailyards.” The ends of the square Sail-yards were called *cornua*, probably because horns were anciently attached to them. These turn as the sail fills on different sides.”

831 *nunc dextros solvere sinus; una ardua torquent*

solvere sinus: I.e., “reefing,” the maneuver by which the area of the sail that is vulnerable to a high wind is reduced. The wise sailor reefs before it is necessary; for an ancient vessel without benefit of anemometer and weather forecast, the action is essential as the winds are tested. The opposite action = *legere sinus*, as Henderson notes here.

una ardua: The metrical pattern helps to express the oneness of the action of the sailors. For the adjective cf. Ennius’ *nam maximo saltu superavit gravidus armatis equus / qui suo partu ardua perdat Pergama* (Alexander fr. 73 Jocelyn); the metaphorical use at Lucretius, *DRN* 1.659 *ardua dum metuunt, amittunt vera viai*; 5× in the *G.*; *A.* 3.271 (of Neritos); 665 (of the sides of the Cyclops); 4.246 (of the sides of Atlas); 428 and 695 above; 6.515 (of Pergamum, in a passage indebted to the aforementioned tragic verses of Ennius); 7.161 (of the lofty *tecta* of the Latins); 512 (also with *tecta*); 562 (of the *supera* Allecto leaves); 8.221 *ardua montis*; 417 (of Lipare); 11.513 *ardua montis*; 12.745 *ardua moenia*; 892 (of the *astra*). The present passage has rather weighty associations with other uses of the form in the epic; metaphorical as well as physical implications may be at play.

torquent: For the verb see on 276.

832 *cornua detorquentque; ferunt sua flamina classem.*

cornua: The “yard-ends” or “leeches,” i.e., the extremities or outermost tips of the yard on the mast (where the sails are mounted and set—the *brachia* of 829).

detorquentque: For the verb see on 165; it is used at 11.765 *hac iuvenis furtim celeris detorquet habenas*, of Arruns' stalking of Camilla; the poet will draw connections between the deaths of both Palinurus and the stealthy Etruscan. The sailors turn and turn back (*torquent, detorquent*) the "lofty end of the sailyards" (Anthon); the yard consisted of timber that hung on a mast, to which a sail could be bent.

sua flamina: "Its own breezes," with direct connection to Neptune's promise; the fleet has exactly the right wind to set sail for Italy. The helmsman is already without need of a job, though he is as yet unaware of his unemployment. Cf. Somnus' note at 843 *ferunt ipsa aequora classem*. *Flamen* occurs twice elsewhere in the epic, both times in divine contexts: 4.240–241 *aurea, quae sublimem alis sive aequora supra / seu terram rapido pariter cum flamine portant* (of Mercury's travel); 10.97–98 *ceu flamina prima cum deprensa fremunt silvis et caeca volutant* (of the simile describing the godly mutterings at the council of the gods). "Every time they tack, again they all get the right breeze" (K. Maurer *per litt.*). Anthon translates here as "favouring gales," which gives a lovely though not strictly accurate sense—though cf. Henderson *ad loc.*, with citation of Horace, *Ep.* 9.30 *aut ille centum nobilem Cretam urbibus ventis irutus non suis*.

833 princeps ante omnis densum Palinurus agebat

princeps ante omnis: For the signal distinction *princeps* see on 160, where it described Gyas just before he hurled his helmsman Menoetes overboard; Palinurus is the *gubernator* of Aeneas' flagship, and so he is first before all as he mans the helm of the vessel; soon enough he will be alone on deck. Isolation is not a healthy state for Virgilian mortals; cf. Turnus' lonely pursuit of the phantom Aeneas at 10.633 ff., and especially Arruns before he is slain by Opis at 11.849 ff. For *ante omnis* see on 406.

densum: In implicit contrast to Palinurus' position at the lead; there are many vessels that crowd the harbor as they move out in formation, but Aeneas' helmsman alone leads them all. For the adjective cf. 459 and 696 *densis*; parallel to the present scene = 11.834–835 *incurrunt densi simul omnis copia Teucrum / Tyrrhenique duces Evandrique Arcades alae*, of the raging of the cavalry battle after the death of Camilla.

Palinurus: "His few appearances are accompanied by undulant passages of "dactylic sea-music"" (Hunt 1973, 42).

agebat: *Figura etymologica* with 834 *agmen*.

834 agmen; ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi.

ad hunc: I.e., Palinurus as much as the *cursum*; the language almost permits helmsman and course to shade into one.

contendere: Cf. 291 *contendere cursu* and 370 *contendere contra*, of the invitation to participate in the foot race and Dares' sparring with Paris; *A.* 1.157–158 *defessi Aeneadae quae proxima litora cursu / contendunt petere*. With the line-end here cf. *Ilias Latina* 9 *quis deus hos ira tristi contendere iussit? Contendere cursum* is old (Plautus, *Cist.* 534 *sed quis hic est qui recta platea cursum huc contendit suom?*) and Caesarian; cf. Lucretius, *DRN* 6.27–28 *tramite parvo / qua possemus ad id recto contendere cursu*.

835 iamque fere mediam caeli Nox umida metam

Dum medium silentium tenerent omnia, et Nox in suo cursu: it was almost midnight when Sleep visited Palinurus. The helmsman had risen from sleep at exactly the same time at 3.512 *necdum orbem medium Nox Horis acta subibat* just before the first, temporary landing in Italy after the Trojan fleet crossed over from the Ceraunian ridge. There is no indication of exactly when the fleet set sail from Sicily; one can reasonably posit several hours between the action of 834 and 835. Significantly, however, V. does not note here that Palinurus rose from sleep; neither does he make clear that the Trojans did not opt for a night sail (perhaps to take advantage of what seemed to be favorable winds and calm seas). If Palinurus had rested (as in *A.* 3), then Sleep's attack is all the more aggressive; if he had stayed awake for several hours, then rational explanations of the god's appearance might seem more persuasive. If it is true that the end of *A.* 6 and the vision of the *Somni portae* comes just before midnight, then both books end at the same hour; in any case, in an important sense Sleep (probably to be capitalized in the description of the *Somni portae*!) closes 5 and 6, though in very different fashions. Appropriately, *mediam* comes at the midpoint of the verse.

Nox umida: See above on 738; cf. the *maria umida* of 594; the adjective is especially appropriate as a marker of time in nautical contexts.

metam: A subtle reminiscence of the *meta* of the regatta. Cf. Apuleius, *Met.* 10.266.7–9 *nam et ultimam diei metam curriculum solis deflexerat et vespertinae me quieti traditum dulcis somnus oppresserat*, with Zimmerman ad loc. (who also draws comparison to *A.* 11.913 ff.; the sister books 5 and 11 both end similarly in terms of the quiet descent of night—though the circumstances are of course vastly different).

It was also just before midnight when Palinurus rose to gaze at the stars on the short trip from Acroceraunia to Italy (3.512 *necdum orbem medium Nox Horis acta subibat*).

836 contigerat, placida laxabant membra quiete

contigerat: Cf. 17–18, where Palinurus pledges to Aeneas that he would not expect to touch Italy amid the tempest that opens the book, even if Jupiter

should give his assurance; 509 *contingere*, where Mnestheus is not able to touch the dove with his shaft, but instead strikes the rope and gives the bird a moment of freedom before its death.

placida ... quiete: Lucretian (*DRN* 1.463 *semotum ab rerum motu placidaque quiete*); cf. Atacine Varro's *omnia noctis erant placida composita quiete* (c. 8.2); elsewhere V. has *at Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem | inrigat* (1.691); *haerent infixi pectore vultus | verbaque nec placidam membris dat cura quietem* (4.4–5); *mens agitat mihi, nec placida contenta quiete est* (Nisus to Euryalus). For the possible Furian influence here see Wigodsky 1972, 99; Reed 2007, 61 on Atacine Varro's *desierant latrare canes urbesque silebant; | omnia noctis erant placida composita quiete* (*Argonautae* fr. 8 Morel/10 Courtney). On *placida quies* see also Petrini 1997, 39 (with consideration of the other occurrences of the collocation in V.). *Quies* here carries likely connotations of and associations with the quiet of death; see further Horsfall ad 7.598 *parta quies*.

laxabant: Also at 857, as sleep comes over Palinurus; in somnolent contexts the verb appears elsewhere in V. at 9.255 *laxabant curas*, of the rest of the animal kingdom while the Trojan leaders are in anxious worry before the meeting with Nisus and Euryalus; there may be a play here, too, on its nautical use (cf. *A.* 3.267 *excussosque iubet laxare rudentis*). The tense might indicate that the sailors had only just now begun to loosen their limbs in sleep; cf. *laxarant* ω (*praeter bnrt*), and note Servius ad 837 *sub remis fusi*: “id est, requierant paululum, sic remos tenentes.” Again, we have no clear indication of what time the fleet set sail, only the imprecise calculation of how long it may have taken to reach V.'s localization of the rock of the Sirens (see further on 864).

Seneca may have imitated the present passage at *Phaed.* 520–521 *certior somnus premit | segura duro membra laxantem toro*.

837 *sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautae*,

sub remis: “Still abiding by the oars, but unemployed, as the favourable breeze rendered rowing unnecessary” (Bryce ad loc.).

fusi ... nautae: Imitated by Silius at *Pun.* 3.57 *et fusi transtris expectant aequora nautae*, in rather a different sense.

sedilia: Elsewhere in V. at 8.176 *gramineo ... sedili*; also 1.167 *vivoque sedilia saxo*; *G.* 4.340 *vitreisque sedilibus*. In *dura* there is a hint that the sleep could not have been comfortable, but also a subtle hint that the exhaustion is so great (and possibly the relief of being so near the end of the journey) that rest came easily all the same. “‘Dura’ is a touch of late civilization which we should scarcely have found in Hom.”—Conington ad loc. The adjective also contrasts with the light (*levis*) nature of the god of slumber who is about to descend on the deck of the Trojan flagship: the god lightly and gently glided down, as it

were, from the ethereal heights—and he offers a respite from the hard and uncomfortable seats of the ship.

838 *cum levis aetheriis delapsus Somnus ab astris*

levis: Both in his coming and his going (Servius); the epiphany of the god was sudden and yet gentle, unexpected and yet perfectly natural. The beginning of Palinurus' conquest by Sleep; there seems no reason to fault the helmsman for his succumbing to slumber (the action of the god is presented clearly enough as a violent act when the sailor refuses to give in to his natural enough desire for rest); much has been made of the alleged inconsistency with the "fault-free" (Horsfall) description of 6.338–339, but the narrative coherence is clear enough. "Adjective for adverb" (Horsfall ad 6.17 *levis*, with citation of *EV* III, 198, et al.). Appropriately enough, Sleep descends lightly from the ethereal heights, in a glide that mimics the descent of a mortal into slumber (including the sleep of death).

aetheriis: In contrast to the *aëra* the god moves at 839. Somnus descends from the ethereal stars; cf. 853 *nusquam amittebat oculosque sub astra tenebat*: Palinurus has his eyes fixed on the *astra*, but he did not see the descent of the nimble god.

delapsus: The descent of Sleep is described in language that evokes the fall of the transfixed dove of the archery contest; cf. 517–518 *decidit exanimis vitamque reliquit in astris | aetheriis fixamque refert delapsa sagittam*. In 11 the coming of Opis to oversee the equestrian battle and watch for the vengeance on Camilla's killer is similarly presented (595–596 *at illa levis caeli delapsa per auras | insonuit*). Some Carolingian manuscripts read *dilapsus* here, with the common confusion of the prefix. For the possible Ciceronian influence on *delapsus ... ab astris* (*Alcyones* 1), see Wigodsky 1972, 111–112; cf. Ovid's adaptation of V's Somnus narrative in his Ceyx and Alcyone story in *Met.* 11, where the intertextual links between the two stories form but one of many close correspondences between Ovid's 11 and V's 5 and 11. "The verb standard Latin" (Horsfall ad 2.376).

Somnus: On V's characterization of Sleep see especially L. Deschamps, "Le rôle du dieu Sommeil dans l'épisode de Palinure de l'*Enéide*," in *Euphrosyne* N.S. 25 (1997), 261–271. Ovid has a lengthy account at *Met.* 11.586 ff. of Juno's sending of Iris to Sleep so that he may send a dream image of Ceyx to Alcyone. Ovid's Somnus has an abode near the land of the Cimmerians, a nod to *Od.* 11.14–19, where the same locale is the site of the start of Odysseus' *katabasis*. In V. Sleep appears with his brother Death at the entrance to the underworld (6.278–279 *tum consanguineus Leti Sopor et mala mentis | Gaudia*); close by is the great elm where the *vana Somnia* make their home (283–284). In Homer, Dreams

live at the edge of the River Ocean, near the Gates of the Sun (*Il.* 24.12); in Hesiod (*Theog.* 211 ff.) they appear in Tartarus (and cf. the Hesiodic description of the dwelling of Sleep and Death at *Theog.* 758–760, where see West). For the Ovidian *hommage* to the fifth *A.* in *Met.* 11 (fittingly enough), see Fratantuono 2011, 323 ff. Significantly, Ovid ends his 11 with the story of Aesacus and Hesperia, itself an ethnographic meditation on the death of Troy and the birth of Rome. There may be some reminiscence in V.'s depiction of Sleep of the Sophoclean hymn to Hypnos at *Phil.* 827–832, where the god is both a bane and a boon (see further Schein ad loc.). On epic personifications such as V.'s Sleep see D. Lowe, "Personification Allegory in the *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," in *Mnem.* 61 (2008), 414–435.

For the genitive *Somni* (or *somni*) of 6.893 see especially Horsfall (with comparison of *Od.* 19.893, of dreams).

With the *Somnus* of *A.* 5 cf. the description of Mercury at 4.242–244 (with Pease). The closing of Palinurus' eyes in sleep, and indeed the helmsman's devoted wakefulness, is very different from the image of sleeplessness on account of passionate love from *A.* 4.529–531 (of Dido); on the (elegiac) topos and connections to funerary epigram, see D. Kiss, "Non somnus claudit ocellos: An Epigraphic Echo of Catullus?," in *BStudLat* 44.1 (2014), 184–186.

839 aëra dimovit tenebrosum et dispulit umbras,

dimovit: The verb occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 210 *tertia lux gelidam caelo dimoverat umbram*, after the requiems; elsewhere in V. at *A.* 3.589 *umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram*; 9.645 *spirantis dimovet auras* (Apollo as he seeks out Ascanius). The prefix coheres closely with *dispulit*, as Sleep spreads the misty air in different directions, and ultimately seeks to dissolve limbs in slumber. Ruaeus argues that the expression indicates either the fact that the god is, after all, flying, or that he actually cuts the air (not mutually exclusive enterprises), or that *Somnus* is deliberately inaugurating a *clarior serenitas* to add to the likelihood that Palinurus will succumb to the *fraus*.

tenebrosum: With underworld associations; cf. 6.107 *tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso*. The adjective is relatively rare (1× in a fr. of Ciceronian prose; 3× in Ovid, *Met.*; once in Lucan; 4× in Statius, *Theb.*; 1× each in Valerius and Silius).

dispulit: Cf. *A.* 1.511–512 *ater quos aequore turbo | dispulerat* (after Aeneas sees Sergestus, Cloanthus, and the rest); 537–538 *perque invia saxa | dispulit* (Ilioneus of the action of Orion during the storm); here the description of the dispelling of shadows adds to the grim associations of Sleep and Death, normal slumber and the eternal repose of the grave. Servius notes that "semper deos ambit nimbus."

840 te, Palinure, petens, tibi somnia tristia portans

A candidate for the eeriest line in V.

Palinure: The last of the four apostrophe addresses of this book; the others = Cluentius (123); Pandarus (495); Polites (564); only Palinurus will merit an ascending tricolon of three apostrophes: 843 (Sleep as speaker); 871 (Aeneas). Williams argues ad loc. that the non-Palinuran apostrophes “do not aim at any marked effect”; we might note that the addressees do not offer the most positive of quartets. On Virgilian apostrophes in general see above on 50; also Horsfall ad 6.30 *Icare*, with consideration of the possible allusions of certain of these passages to Augustus and Marcellus. On “la patetica apostrofe” see Reed ad Ovid, *Met.* 10.162 *te quoque* (of the doomed Hyacinthus).

somnia tristia: “A vague phrase of foreboding” (Williams); the most extended discussion = Steiner 1952, 78 ff. The phrase appears only here in extant Latin; Servius makes a distinction between *somnus*, *somnia*, *insomnia*. We have entered a dream world, even if a waking nightmare; the god’s epiphany to Palinurus will come in the false form of Phorbas (cf. Iris/Beroë), the second divine disguise of the book. Apart from the *Somni portae* sequence that closes 6, the only appearance of *somnia* in the *A.* = 10.641–642 *morte obita qualis fama est volitare figuras / aut quae sopitos deludunt somnia sensus*, of the description/comparison of the phantom Aeneas. See further F. de Ruyt, “Note de vocabulaire virgilien: *Somnia et insomnia*,” in *Latomus* 5 (1946), 245–248. For *tristis* see on 7 and 411.

Servius has a note here that has had a significant influence on later criticism: “et sciendum in maius celebrari Palinuri mortem more poetico, quem dormientem in undas cecidisse constat missum.” The question is whether or not V. wrote a dramatic description of what is essentially one man’s falling asleep while on duty; are we to imagine the active hand of a god in the narrative or not? See further on 859 *proiecit* and the question of whether a man who falls asleep can manage to wrench the tiller from the prow as he tumbles overboard.

The appearance of *Somnus* here is not dissimilar to poetic descriptions of the advent of his brother Death; cf. the close of the *Copa* (38 *Mors aurem vellens, ‘vivite,’ ait, ‘venio’*), with Franzoi’s collection of parallels ad loc.: “L’immagine della morte incombente sul destino umano è rappresentata bene sul versante iconografico: nei mosaici pompeiani ... nelle celebri coppe di Boscoreale, decorate con l’immagine di uno scheletro.”

841 insonti; puppique deus consedit in alta

insonti: An emphatic position for a key word; Palinurus is innocent of what will befall him (which is especially relevant given the question of whether or not he has merely fallen asleep on duty). See further above on 350; the word

has associations with Dido that are introduced by its use at 6.435 to describe either all suicides or some special subclass thereof (vid. Austin ad loc.); the present scene and the underworld use are the only times V. uses the adjective in his narrator's voice. On Palinurus' innocence note Boyle 1986, 161–162, with particular reference to the underworld encounter with his shade.

deus: A key word, and dramatically placed; “*deus* suggests the final result; before a god a mortal like Palinurus is powerless. The word thus adds to the pathos of the passage” (Knapp ad loc.).

consedit: For the verb see on 388 above; it appears 3× in 5 (cf. 136 *considunt*) and 3× in 11 (323; 457; 915). The present use is modeled on 3.245 *una in praecelsa consedit rupe Celaeno*, of the similarly ominous perch of the Harpy before she makes her curse against the Trojans. The lofty deck here closes a ring with 12, as Palinurus faced the rather different hazard of the storm that imperiled Aeneas' fleet in the wake of the departure from Carthage.

842 Phorbanti similis funditque has ore loquelas:

Phorbanti: Phorbas appears only here in the *A.* (vid. G. Garbugino in *EV* II, 558); Ruaeus observes that many men have the name in mythology: in Homer there is a homonymous Trojan (*Il.* 14.490) who = the father of Ilioneus; he is loved beyond all the Trojans by Hermes (the trickster god *par excellence*); there may be a hint, too, of the story of Hermes with the watcher Argus. In Homer, Phorbas' son Ilioneus is a casualty of Penelos; he is gruesomely decapitated and his head reviled before his fellow Trojans (cf. the *post mortem* desecration of Nisus and Euryalus). Another (this time Greek) Phorbas appears at *Il.* 9.665, a Lesbian who is identified as the father of Diomedes, a woman with whom Achilles sleeps during the visit from Phoenix; Patroclus and Iphis (captured at Scyros) are nearby while the hero rests with her. The seemingly obscure reference may allude to the relationship between Aeneas and Pallas and the sacrificial role of the latter and Palinurus in the *A.*; the Trojan Phorbas lost his only son. “Some sailor on the ship” (Page); Nettleship notes that V.'s Phorbas can claim qualification to steer the vessel (846), but these are the words of a god, after all. No Phorbas in Apollonius (though he is identified as the father of Tiphys at Hyginus, *Fab.* 14 [cf. Apollonius, *Arg.* 1.105; 2.854, where he is the son of Hagnas]); Paschalis 1997, 203–204 connects the name with the image of “giving pasture or food”; cf. the evocation of the Harpies and the curse of the eating of the tables. *E.* 4.34–35 speaks of the coming of the second Tiphys in the Golden Age, and the second Argo. Apollonius' Tiphys also dies near an entrance to the underworld (*Arg.* 2.720–751). The Phorbas of Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 1.24 seems to have no connection to the Virgilian homonym.

Phorbas appears in Ovid as a bandit whose brigandage on the road to Delphi make it necessary for Ceyx to visit the oracle of Apollo at Claros (*Met.* 11.414; see Bömer, and Hill ad loc. for the scanty remains of the lore); the point of the name is to highlight the *hommage* to A. 5 in *Met.* 11 (Fratantuono 2011, 319). At *Met.* 12.316–326, the Centaur Aphidas has had too much to drink; Phorbas will slay him with the sarcastic observation *cum Styge vina bibes* (322)—a neat reminiscence of Homer’s Elpenor and V’s Phorbas. Another Phorbas (the son of Syenian Metion) appears briefly at *Met.* 5.74–78, during the Ovidian *Perseid* (as one of Phineus’ supporters). In Seneca’s *Oed.* Phorbas is the shepherd responsible both for the king’s salvation from abandonment and for the revelation of Oedipus’ true parentage (see further Boyle ad loc.); cf. the servant of Antigone at Statius, *Theb.* 7.253. There may be a connection between V’s Phorbas and the homonymous father of Dexithea who is recorded as being the mother of Romulus and Remus by Aeneas (Plutarch, *Rom.* 2.2), with relevance to the ethnographic themes of the book. On Palinurus as virtual twin of Aeneas, with comparison to Romulus and Remus, see Braund 2002, 73–74. On the inspiration for the Virgilian character, see also H. Mørland, “*Phorbanti similis* (*Aen.* V, 842),” in *SO* 46 (1971), 131–134 (with consideration of the possible influence of the *h. hom.* to Apollo, 21; cf. the idea that Somnus/the Sirens “feed” Palinurus a song of sorts—that of his death, which will grant him poetic immortality—even as traditionally the Sirens were said to feed on flesh, in a manner not dissimilar to Sleep’s action in subduing the limbs). The Sirens were also associated with divine mourning (so the evidence of Attic gravestones; cf. Euripides, *Andromeda* fr. 116 Collard and Cropp, with the eds.’ note ad loc.; also *Helena* 167 (with Allan); Sophocles, fr. 852 Lloyd-Jones). Euripides, fr. 911 Collard-Cropp speaks of the winged sandals of the Sirens, a possible reference to the psychopompic role that is normally associated with Hermes/Mercury (cf. too Camilla in this regard).

There is also a likely connection between V’s Phorbas and Phorbantia in the Aegates Islands; see further Brenk 1999, 76–77 (with citations) for the lore of the propitiatory offerings to Phorbas at the commencement of the navigation season (“Octavian’s ships in 36 BC managed to round the promontory, only to be demolished on the harbor side when the wind changed. This mood is reflected somewhat in Vergil’s Palinuran death by water.”). Palinurus will become a Phorbas figure in that he will be shipwrecked (at least after a fashion) ... but unlike his Rhodian precursor, he will not be saved, and the mendacious god Somnus thus assumes the guise of the *rescued* Phorbas, who can enjoy safe and secure ease after surviving his brush with a watery death.

For the action of Sleep as an example of a type of possession by an evil spirit, see Thornton 1976, 73–74.

ore: For the contrast of “explicit speech with thought” see Conway ad 1.614.

loquelas: The noun appears only here in V; the diminutive underscores the soothing effect Somnus/Phorbas’ words are supposed to have on Palinurus. See Farrell ad loc. for the possible connection with Venus (by way of an echo of Lucretius, *DRN* 1.39, on which see Wigodsky 1972, 134); Neptune demanded a sacrifice, but there is no indication that Venus was required or even expected to be the agent of the death. V. balances the genders of Olympian and divine executioner: the masculine Neptune/Somnus of 5, the feminine Diana/Opis of 11; the respective victims (Palinurus, Arruns) are both male.

On certain aspects of the reception of Virgilian expressions of speech, see Pelttari 2014, 134–136.

843 *Iaside Palinure, ferunt ipsa aequora classem,*

Iaside: The second of two proper names associated with Palinurus’ loss, and the second of three apostrophes of the helmsman. Iasius is mentioned elsewhere in V. at *A.* 3.167–168 *hinc Dardanus ortus / Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum*, of Hesperia as the original home of the Trojan ancestors; further, the doctor Iapyx (who will fail to heal Aeneas’ wound) is another son of Iasius (12.392). Cf. Germanicus, *Arat.* 184–185 *Iasides etiam caelum cum coniuge Cepheus / ascendit totaque domo*; Statius, *Theb.* 1.541; 2.254; 6.914.

ferunt ipsa aequora: Cf. 832 *ferunt sua flamina classem*. Sleep emphasizes first that the very sea is conveying the fleet, which accords with the Neptunian origins of the divine visitor. M has *sua flamina*, by probable diplography from 832. Lucan has *nam priva procellis / aequora rapta ferunt* (*BC* 5.612–613).

“The death of Palinurus, lovely in its softness and calm, has also a patterned rhythmic structure ... There is a released movement, and two alternations, divided by two homodynamed verses. The units of pattern are all separated, not blended this time. The development of one or more released movements into one or more alternations, so that alternation gives a mitigated finality to the passage, is sufficiently frequent to be called characteristic of Vergil” (Knight 1939/1950, 71).

844 *aequatae spirant aerae, datur hora quieti.*

aequatae: The parallel = 4.587 *vidit et aequatis classem procedere velis*, of the moment where Dido beholds the departure of the Trojan fleet; once again, we link back to the dramatic incidents of Carthage that preceded the Sicilian sojourn and have clouded so much of the action of the book. The breezes were steady as the divinely conveyed fleet sets sail for Italy. The participial form of the verb is Catullan (c. 22.8) and Lucretian (*DRN* 5.590).

spirant aerae: Cf. 7.8–9 *aspirant aerae in noctem nec candida cursus / luna negat*, just before the mention of Circe's haunts. Petronius has *iam Phasidos unda / orbata est avibus, mutoque in litore tantum / solae desertis adspirant frondibus aerae* (*Sat.* 119.1.38).

datur hora: Also at Catullus, c. 62.30 *quid datur a divis felici optatius hora*; cf. Ovid, *Trist.* 1.3.68 *in lucro est quae datur hora mihi*. For *quies* cf. 857, when quiet begins to take hold of Palinurus' limbs; the noun may again carry haunting connotations of the approach of what is nothing less than Palinurus' doom. Henderson notes ad loc. that the Latin permits a meaning of an hour is given to rest; the hour is given to rest; or the hour is given to others to rest.

845 *pone caput fessosque oculos furare labori.*

fessosque ... oculos: Cf. Ps.-Seneca, *Oct.* 117 *et fessa fletu lumina oppressit sopor*; Statius, *Theb.* 5.502–504 *ille graves oculos languentiaque ora comanti / mergit humo fessusque diu puerilibus actis / labitur in somnos, presa manus haeret in herba*. See further Mandra 1934, 174–177 (= Appendix I) on “The Usage of the Adjective Fessus in the Aeneid.”

furare: Elsewhere in V. only at 7.282–283 *illorum de gente patri quos daedala Circe / supposita de matre nothos furata creavit*—another link to the Circean allusions of A. 7. For the line-end cf. Statius, *Sily.* 4.4.28–29 *exue curis / pectus et assiduo temet furare labori* (with Coleman).

labori: See here Bruck 1993, 108–109, with consideration of Servius' note that the helmsman's *labor* consisted primarily in observation of the stars.

846 *ipse ego paulisper pro te tua munera inibo.*

ipse: Cf. 861 below; the poet may be emphasizing the personhood of Somnus, in that he presents his god as a real being in mortal guise; the idea that V's Palinurus episode is merely a poetic description of a tired man as he drifts off into sleep runs counter to the violent nature of the god's act, and, one might argue, to the telling detail that the helmsman goes overboard with his tiller.

paulisper: Only here in V.; in context “Phorbas” is offering to give Palinurus the chance to rest for a bit (like the men at the oars); see further below on 864 for the divine concern with bypassing the Sirens' rock.

tua munera: With a hint of the prize theme that has dominated this book of competitions. There is a blandishing quality to the collocation *te tua*; Somnus is trying to flatter Palinurus. Cf. Horace's *parva / munera* in the Archytas ode (c. 1.28.3–4), which has numerous thematic affinities with V's Palinurus episode, on which see G. Petrone, “Rivisitando l'ode di Archita (Hor. *Carm.* 1.28),” in *Pan* 2 (1974), 55–65.

inibo: The form occurs 3× in comedy (Plautus, *Cist.* 628; *Epid.* 441; Terence, *Eun.* 557); nowhere else. Cf. Lazzarini ad Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.77–78 *servabo / nemus* “Per l’idea della funzione vicaria offerta a chi, vittima di incantesimo, sta per sprofondare nel sonno.”

847 *cui vix attollens Palinurus lumina fatur*:

A carefully worded blend of 1) the helmsman remaining fixated on his duties and 2) Sleep already casting his soporific spell. Valerius imitates this passage at *Arg.* 7.436 *haeret et attollens vix tandem lumina fatur*; cf. also Ovid’s *ad lumina lumen / attollens pariter cum caelo vidit amantem* (*Met.* 10.293–294; Statius, *Theb.* 3.142). With the *lumina* here cf. 856 *natantia lumina solvit*. See further also F. Offermann, “Vergil, *Aeneis* V, 847 und die Palinurusepisode,” in *Hermes* 99 (1971), 164–173.

attollens ... fatur: With the collocation cf. Silius, *Pun.* 14.176–177 *sic fatur et ultro / attollit vitae quae aequat munera vitae*. The present passage may owe something to Theophrastus, *Char.* 25.2 (where see Diggle ad loc.). For *lumina* of eyes vid. Horsfall ad 6.862 *deiecto lumina voltu*: “l. thus common in Lucr.; also Cat.”

848 *‘mene salis placidi vultum fluctusque quietos*

The source for the verse = *DRN* 6.73–74 *sed quia tute tibi placida cum pace quietos / constitutes magnos irarum volvere fluctus*; Lucretian metaphor has become Virgilian reality. For the sneering, contemptuous effect of the question and its affinity with the poet’s use of interrogation in martial contexts, see Fratantuono, “Questions,” in *VE* III, 1061.

salis placidi vultum: With reference to Neptune’s visage at *A.* 1.127 *prospiciens summa placidum caput extulit unda*; cf. the *placida membra* of Palinurus’ sleeping mates (836), and especially 763 *placidi straverunt aequora venti*. The seas were peaceful when the Trojans set sail from Sicily; any disturbance that Neptune quelled (cf. 820 ff.) was either out on the open sea, or a sudden tempest of the sort greatly feared by ancient mariners. Cf. also 6.705 *Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatat amnem*, in Elysium. On the use of *vultus* here (= “outward appearance”) see Hunink on Lucan, *BC* 3.72.

fluctusque quietos: Also at line-end at Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.405. The passage is inspired by Lucretius, *DRN* 6.73–74 *sed quia tute placida cum pace quietos / constitues magnos irarum volvere fluctus*.

849 *ignorare iubes? mene huic confidere monstro?*

ignorare: The verb appears elsewhere in *V.* at 7.202–203 *neve ignorete Latinos / Saturni gentem haud vinclo nec legibus aequam*; and, significantly, 12.420–421

Iapyx / ignorans, where Palinurus' brother is unable to cure Aeneas' wound. The theme of unknowing will recur powerfully at the end of this book, and at the close of 8, the final book of the epic's second third, where Aeneas is unaware of the significance of the artwork on his divine shield.

confidere: Palinurus refuses to do just that which Neptune urged on Venus (800 *fas omne est ... meis te fidere regnis*); cf. 870. As it turns out, the sea will not destroy the master helmsman; Palinurus will be slain once he reaches what would seem to be the safe haven of Italian soil.

monstro: With reference back both to the monstrous images of the regatta, and to the portent of the archery contest; the poet here also rings back to the opening of the book, when Palinurus was confronted with a tempest he could not successfully navigate. See here also Canali 1976, 11–12. In a terrifying sense the monsters of the regatta here come to life for the hapless helmsman.

850 Aenean credam (quid enim?) fallacibus auris

Aenean credam: With reference to the theme of Palinurus as a proxy sacrifice for Aeneas. The slow long syllables emphasize the helmsman's pronouncement of the beloved name of his master.

quid enim: Cf. the parenthetical 12.798 *quid enim sine te Iuturna valeret*, as Jupiter addresses Juno; here the expression is rather compressed, as Palinurus raises an indignant rhetorical question. On such "concise connections with relative pronouns" see Dyck 2013, 19.

fallacibus auris: The adjective occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 717, of the lying son of Aunus; at 6.343 *fallax haud ante repertus*, it appears in Aeneas' complaint to the shade of Palinurus that Apollo had not foretold the loss of the helmsman; elsewhere in the *A.* only at 9.392 *fallacis silvae*, when Nisus frantically searches for the lost Euryalus. Apollo scatters part of Arruns' prayer into the breezes (11.795 *partem volucris dispersit in auras*). The phrase also connects to the Pyrrha ode, with which the end of *A.* 5 has many affinities (see below on 870); cf. c. 1.5.11–12 *nescius aurae / fallacis*. It makes little difference whether *fallacibus auris* is taken with what precedes (as punctuated here) or with what follows; the former affords more balance to Palinurus' remonstrations with Somnus.

851 et caeli totiens deceptus fraude sereni?

et: See Sigdwick here for the construction (Virgilian overelaboration, in his estimation); best may be to construe as an adverb, "even as I have been deceived so many times," etc. "It may be plausibly suggested that the sentence is deliberately left incomplete, the words dying off on Palinurus' tongue as he succumbs to the sleepy influence which in l. 847 he is barely resisting"—Mackail ad loc.

Emending to *sic* (if possible) would solve the problem, though Palinurus is rather indignant here and may well be tripping over his words, as it were.

caeli: Vs. *caelo* Pcy; Serv.; Tib.; the difference in meaning is not very great, and the question may hinge on whether one is troubled more by how to construe *et* than by *sereni* in the sense of *serenitatis*. Cf. Seneca, *HO* 1569–1570 *loca quae sereni | deprimes caeli*.

totiens: Also in a context of deceit at 1.407–408 *quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis | ludis imaginibus*, where Aeneas complains of Venus' tricks; otherwise 1× in 2,4,6,7,10 and 11, and 2× in 12, often of battle deaths.

fraude: Also at *A.* 4.674 *me fraude petebas?* (Dido to Anna); 6.609 *fraus innexa client* (of the crimes of the guilty in Tartarus); 9.428 *mea fraus omnis* (Nisus to the Rutulians); 10.72–73 *quis deus in fraudem, quae dura potentia nostra | egit?* (Juno the divine council). It appears 2× in 11 (a book much concerned with trickery and deceit): 522 *accommoda fraudi* (of the locus of Turnus' planned ambush to counter Aeneas' intended surprise infantry attack on the city); 708 *iam nosces ventosa ferat cui gloria fraudem* (the trickster Ligurian to Camilla).

sereni: Cf. 870; the use of the adjective with reference to the seemingly serene sky and sea in the Palinurus episode closes a ring with 104–105 *expectata dies aderat nonamque serena | Auroram*. The present passage may owe something to Lucretius, *DRN* 2.1100–1101 *nubibus ut tenebras faciat caelique serena | concutiat sonitu*; also 4.212–213 *extemplo caelo stellante serena | sidera respondent in aqua radiantia mundi*; 6.99 *nec fit enim sonitus caeli de parte serena*; 247 *nam caelo nulla sereno*; cf. *G.* 1.260; 487; *A.* 3.518 *postquam cuncta videt caelo constare sereno* (also of Palinurus); 8.528 *arma inter nubem caeli in regione serena*; 9.630–631 *audii et caeli genitor de parte serena | intonuit laevum*.

852 *talia dicta dabat, clavumque adfixus et haerens*

dabat: To be construed closely with the imperfects *amittebat* and *tenebat* (853); the force of the tense is probably frequentative and durative, not inchoative. *P* reads *dictabat* here; the verb is not found elsewhere in *V*.

clavum: See on 177. The tiller comes at midpoint in the verse, as the object of the helmsman's strong grip; his hands are fixed on the *clavus*, while his eyes never leave the skies.

adfixus: Also at 8.196–197, of the grisly image of the severed heads on display at Cacus' dwelling; 9.536 *adfixit*, of the fire Turnus hurls at the Trojan camp; 9.579 (of a fatal arrow wound, though note *infixa* MRω; Tib.); and especially 10.160–161 *Pallasque sinistro | adfixus lateri iam quaerit sidera*, of the young Arcadian with Aeneas on deck. At 6.469 (where see Horsfall), Dido will keep her gaze fixed on the ground (*fixos oculos*), away from Aeneas; here the Trojan helmsman remains steadfast at the *clavus*, at least until Somnus (or *somnus*!)

wins; for “the sleepy steersman who loses his *clavus*” at *Proverbs* 23.34 Vulgate, see Horsfall ad 6.337–383 2b.

haerens: Cf. 539 *haesere*, of the reaction to the arrow portent; the verb occurs a relatively frequent 6× in 11.

On the force of *et* here, see Hahn 1930, 67n295; 116n463.

853 *nusquam amittebat oculosque sub astra tenebat.*

V. takes pains to emphasize Palinurus’ adherence to his sentinel task; the lengthening in arsis of *amittebāt* may metrically enact how the helmsman refused to give up his grip on the tiller. On certain folkloric aspects of Palinurus’ resistance to Sleep here see G. Cretia, “Virgile et le folklore roumain,” in *StudClass* 34–36 (1998–2000), 45–57.

nusquam: “You might expect *nunquam*, but as that which takes place *no-where* does not take place at all, *nusquam* is sometimes used for *nunquam*, the idea of time being exchanged for that of place” (Bryce ad loc.).

amittebāt: With the lengthening of the last syllable in arsis cf. 284; 521; also 12.722; *E.* 1.39; in contrast to Plautus and Ennius, V. never lengthens this final syllable in *thesis* (cf. Papillon and Haigh 1892, liv). The imperfect here may have inceptive force; never did Palinurus even begin to send away the tiller.

oculos ... tenebat: One of three occurrences of the phrase in the *A.*, all grim in context; cf. 1.482 *diva solo fixos oculos avera tenebat*, of the Palladium, and the related 6.469 *illa solo fixos oculos avera tenebat*, of the shade of Dido.

sub astra: Cf. 25 *si modo rite memor servata remetior astra*; the locus of the tower at 2.460–461, as Aeneas draws near to Priam’s inner sanctum. Here V. closes the ring that opened during the tempest where the stars could not be seen; now the helmsman has his eyes fixed on the heavenly lights he can see full well, though to no avail. Palinurus was also fixed on the stars at 3.515–518, during the one night’s sail across the Adriatic before the first sighting of Italian soil; that episode of stargazing has affinities with the subject matter of the song of Iopas (cf. 3.516 and 1.744); Iopas sang of the origins of rain and fire (1.743 *unde imber et ignes*), the two destructive elemental forces in *A.* 5. The stars of the present sailing are not delineated as were those of the first approach to Italy.

astra ... tenebat: Cf. Lucan, *BC* 4.525–527 *nec segnīs vergere ponto | tunc erat astra polus; nam sol Ledaea tenebat | sidera*, with Asso, and Esposito. The imperfect is durative and perhaps frequentative: Palinurus is navigating by the stars, and he keeps his eyes fixed on them as he checks constantly for familiar and reassuring celestial signs.

854 ecce deus ramum Lethaeo rore madentem

ecce deus: Cf. 6.46 *deus, ecce deus*; V. continues to anticipate his underworld narrative.

ramum: The noun appears 2× in 5 and 2× in 11; cf. 71 above, of the ritual preparations before the games; 11.5, of the oak shorn of its branches (= the Mezentius *tropaeum*); 332, of the wreathed emissaries of the Latins. But the principal association here is with the Golden Bough that is first mentioned at 6.136–137 *latet arbore opaca | aureus et foliis et lento vimine ramus*; V. continues to prepare the way for his underworld eschatology; see further C. Segal, “*Aeternum per saecula nomen*: The Golden Bough and the Tragedy of History,” in *Arion* 4 (1965), 617–657. See Conington ad loc. for comparison of this passage to Medea’s lulling of the dragon at Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 4.156ff.; Lazzarini ad Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.84 *Lethaei ... rami*.

Lethaeo: The adjective also appears at 6.705 *Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatat amnem* (Horsfall ad loc.: “It seems unlikely that V. deliberately avoided simple *Lethe*, good enough for Ovid, frequently”); 714 *Lethaei ad fluminis undam*; 749 *Lethaeum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno*. There may be a connection between the Lethaean dew that Somnus sprinkles over Palinurus’ head and the seeming narrative inconsistencies of the encounter with his shade; the helmsman may not have perfect recollection of what happened after this point. For the “dew” see below on 855; for more general remarks on the consistency question, vid. Friedrich 1982, 71–101. Horsfall ad 6.705 discusses the sources of *Lethe* as a plain (Theognis; Aristophanes) vs. as a river (Plato). The action of Somnus here has some affinities with that of the psychomp Mercury (who may be the seemingly mysterious god of 6.749; see Horsfall ad loc., however, for caution in the matter of such “studied anonymity”). See further the forthcoming article of L. Fratantuono, “*Lethaeum ad fluvium*: Mercury in the *Aeneid*.”

madentem: Elsewhere in the *A.* at 4.216 *crinemque madentem* (of Aeneas; cf. 12.100 *murraque madentis*); 9.334 *terra torique madent* (during the night raid; cf. 12.691 *sanguine terra madet*). 5×, then, twice of Aeneas’ hair as his enemies mock him, and twice of the wetting of the earth with blood. “No doubt the natural moisture of the body in sleep, esp. in warm climates, first suggested the image” (Conway ad 1.691–692 *per membra quietem inrigat*).

Ronsard imitated 854–855 in the third sonnet of his *Derniers Vers: Donne-moy tes presens en ces jours que la Brume | Fait les plus courts de l’an, ou, de ton rameau teint | Dans le ruisseau d’Oubly dessus mon front espreint, | Endors mes pauvres yeux, mes gouttes et mon rhume*.

855 *vique soporatum Stygia super utraque quassat*

Stygia: For V. the Styx is the principal underworld river; by synecdoche it can = the lower world (*G.* 3.551; *A.* 3.215; 4.638; 699; 6.154; 252; 7.476; 773). Its waters are twice called *inamabilis* (*G.* 4.479; *A.* 6.438), with possible reference both to the contrast between terrestrial and infernal rivers, and to the idea that Stygian water does not mingle with that of other streams. Here the adjective underscores the helmsman's doom; he will sleep the sleep of death, though not by the drowning Aeneas and the reader might reasonably suspect. On *vique soporatum Stygia* Servius notes "morte plenum." The allusion to the underworld river has special import for Palinurus, given that he will not be able to cross the Styx in 6: the helmsman will not have the ability to navigate the river of death. "*Stygia*: fa pendant al precedente *Lethaeo*, indicando i fiumi infernali. Ma se il *Lethaeus ros* specifica la sonnolenza infusa in Palinuro, la *vis Stygia* presuppone il potere letale, rovinoso che esala dalla mortifera palude, e allude quindi più chiaramente al destino di morte che incombe ormai sul nocchiero" (Paratore ad loc.). No geographical precision for the provenance of the god's deadly force; vid. Horsfall ad 6.134 *Stygios ... lacus*, not so distant from the present scene.

soporatum: The verb also occurs at 6.420 *soporatam ... offam*, of the drugged morsel that pacifies Cerberus. "No illustration has been quoted of this supposed soporific effect of the waters of Styx. Perhaps the poet, having mentioned Lethe, added Styx, to show that this was not an ordinary sleep, but a baleful and fatal one" (Conington ad loc.). Vegio interpreted this scene allegorically to indicate that Palinurus had fallen asleep as a type of self-indulgence (Brinton 1930, 28–29).

quassat: Elsewhere of the shaking of a spear (12.94; cf. 9.521–522 *quassabat Etruscam / pinum*); also of the stormtossed Trojan ships (1.551; 4.53; 9.91); 2× in maddened contexts (6.587, of Salmoneus; 7.292, of Amata). Here there may be a deliberate evocation of the storms that had previously threatened the fleet; this time, only one man will face the hazards of the deep. Cf. 11.767 *et certam quatit improbus hastam*, of Arruns as he stalks Camilla. On the verb in V. see further Horsfall ad 6.587 *lampada quassans*.

Sleep's action here is not dissimilar to the purificatory rite at 6.230 *spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivae*, during the Misenus requiem; dew is mentioned elsewhere in the *A.* only at 12.339–340 *spargit ungula rores / sanguineos*, as Turnus drives on his chariot in battle; never true dew, then, but standing in for either water or blood. "*Ros* is ... used in Latin to designate pure, fresh water used in rituals" (Boedeker 1984 64n25); see also Fantham ad Ovid, *Fasti* 4.778.

856 tempora, cunctantique natantia lumina solvit.

cunctanti: A key adjective. The form recurs at 12.919 *cunctancti telum Aeneas fatale coruscat*, of Turnus; the accusative appears of the Golden Bough (6.211), and 2× of Aeneas (with Dido at 4.390; with Turnus at 12.940; cf. Vulcan at 8.388). See further Boyle 1986, 120n69, with consideration of the “exigencies of empire.” Palinurus’ delay is familiar enough as the action of someone struggling against sleep, but in context it serves to continue the emphasis on how valiantly the helmsman is resisting the god’s attack. On the use of forms of *cunctantus* with animate objects and beings, see J. D’Arms, “Vergil’s *Cunctantem (Ramum): Aeneid* 6.211,” in *CJ* 59.6 (1964), pp. 265–268.

natantia: Rather more serious a “swim” than that of Menoetes at 5.181 *natantem*; this helmsman will not survive his own emergence from the sea to the apparent safety of land. The current passage is modeled on *G.* 4.496 *conditque natantia lumina somnus*, of the second death of Eurydice; if Palinurus had indeed died on the “first” leg of the journey in another version of the lore, then the poet may be indulging here in a subtle bit of black humor (especially if his account is especially original). The descriptor is rather proleptic, since the helmsman will soon be swimming for his life; Peerlkamp’s *luctantia* loses the effect. On “l’immagine degli occhi vacillanti è spesso legata alla morte ... o al sonno,” see Lazzarini ad Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8.164 *errantes ... genae*, and on 8.85 *luctantia lumina*. On all evocations of Eurydice, one should remember the tradition of Aeneas’ wife preserved at *Cypria* fr. 28 West.

lumina solvit: Also of the death of Halaesus’ father (10.418 *ut senior leo canentina lumina solvit*); “the relaxing of the eyelids in sleep or death” (Harrison ad loc.). For *lumina* = “eyes” see Harrison ad 10.446–447: “first in the poetry of Lucretius and Catullus, imitating the Homeric use of φάεα.” The eyes that could scarcely turn their gaze from stars to god at 847 are here closed by Sleep’s magic and soporific spell.

857 vix primos inopina quies laxaverat artus,

See further here P. Perotti, “Alia Vergiliana,” in *Latinitas* 35 (1987), 83–100, with consideration *inter al.* of the death of Palinurus; the foot race; and the deaths of Camilla and Turnus.

primos: Perhaps with something of the sense of a transferred epithet, with reference to the first hint of sleep; there is also the sense that slumber comes to the body little by little, and so logically it strikes the extremities first. See further Conte 2007, 110, with consideration of the framed structure of the verse (in which the unexpected quiet is highlighted by its position at midline). Statius imitates the phrase at *Theb.* 12.429–430 *primos ut contigit artus | ignis edax*. “The first sleep is deepest” (Hijmans et al. ad Apuleius, *Met.* 4.18).

inopina: Also at 6.103–104 *non ulla laborum, / o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit* (Aeneas to Deiphobe); 8.476–477 *quam fors inopina salutem / ostentat* (Evander to Aeneas). The adjective appears only here with *quies*.

quies: As at 844 *hora datur quieti*.

laxaverat: For the verb see above on 836. “*Et, que, cum*, after *vix* with plupf. are used to show an effect almost simultaneous with the cause” (Henderson ad loc.).

858 *et super incumbens cum puppis parte revulsa*

incubens: Cf. on 15 *incumbere* and 325 *incubens*; the participle recurs with *super* at 10.727, of the Mezentius-lion; Lucan has *tum super incumbens pallentia volnera lambens / ore venena trahens et siccat dentibus artus*, during his catalogue of herpetological horror. For *incumbere* “immediately preceded by *super*,” see Reeson ad Ovid, *Her.* 11.59–64, of Macareus’ appearance to Canace. The participle carries a sinister tone, as the god broods over the hapless helmsman.

revulsa: Cf. on 270 *revulsus*, as Sergestus returns to shore with his damaged vessel. Ovid has *insequitur Cyclops partemque e monte revulsam / mittit* (*Met.* 13.882).

On the connection of the detail of the lost tiller to *Od.* 8.557–563 (they have no rudders on their vessels), see M. Dyson, “Palinurus and his Rudder: Vergil, *Aeneid* 5.858–9,” in *Antichthon* 24 (1990), 70–78.

859 *cumque gubernaclo liquidas proiecit in undas*

gubernaclo: On the absence of the “normal anaptyxis” see Horsfall ad 6.349 *gubernaculum*.

proiecit: Sleep hurls Palinurus overboard, after having ripped off the tiller with its helmsman (the language emphasizes how the *gubernator* refused even in sleep to let go of the hardware); the present scene is the nocturnal counterpart of the diurnal loss of Menoetes amid the very different circumstances of the regatta. Aeneas had thrown libations into the sea (776 *proiecit*); the god’s action is something of a direct response to that apparently incomplete offering. This is particularly noteworthy in light of the connection between the victim’s status as helmsman and the role of the prophet in a community, on which see Lovatt 2013, 141 (who compares the Argonautic losses of the prophet Idmon and the helmsman Tiphys in Apollonius [on which see van der Schurr 2014 in Augoustakis 2014, 95–112], and the Statian death of the prophet Amphiarus). The helmsman here becomes, in effect, a human rudder, and the ship—under divine protection for a short while—is near its destination and has no need of its tiller.

liquidas ... undas: For the adjective see on 217 and 525, and for its use with *undas* cf. Catullus, c. 64.2 *dicuntur liquidas Neptuni nasse per undas*; Ovid, *Met.* 1.95; 1.369–370; 4.380; 13.535. The arrow portent of Acestes, which may presage the losses of Pallas and, too, Palinurus, appeared *liquidis in nubibus*; here the helmsman is lost in the liquid water of another realm of the cosmos. In contrast, the Mnestheus-dove wings its “liquid way” (217 *liquidum iter*) through the sky as it glides along. The adjective may serve to convey the idea that the waters were especially clear and calm.

The present verse = 160 of the centonic *Hippodamia*, where it is applied to the ill-fated Myrtilus; see further McGill 2005, 28–29.

860 *praecipitem ac socios nequiquam saepe vocantem*;

The soporific spell is broken as soon as Palinurus hits the water.

praecipitem: Cf. on 144 *praecipites*, of the eager chariot racers in the simile; 175 *praecipitem*, as Menoetes is hurled overboard in foreshadowing of the present scene; 456 *praecipitem*, as Dares is knocked here and there across the arena. See further Horsfall ad 6.594 *praecipitemque ... adegit*.

saepe vocantem: See on 864 for the possible connection of the Sirens to the detail about Palinurus’ fruitless crying out for help; V. notes that Aeneas senses that the ship has lost its *magister*, but there is no indication that anyone heard the helmsman’s cries. M has *voce vocantem* (the eds. cf. 12.638); there is certainly greater pathos to the image of the frequent cries. Did the crashing of water against the rocks serve also to muffle the sound of Palinurus’ cries and thus impede the rescue of the sacrificial victim? Cf., too, Sergestus and his crying in vain for help at the *meta* (221 *Sergestum brevibusque vadis frustra que vocantem*). Palinurus frames the line as he goes overboard and at once begins to call on his companions in vain: the balancing adjective and participle neatly enclose the verse.

861 *ipse volans tenuis se sustulit ales ad auras*.

The god’s work is done, and he flies aloft into the wispy breezes, just as Anchises’ ghost did at 740 *dixerat et tenuis fugit ceu fumus in auras* (and note P; Tib. *in* for MPR *ad*). With the departure of Sleep cf. 657 *cum dea se paribus per caelum sustulit alis* (as Iris leaves after instigating the burning of the ships). *Tenuis ... auras* is Lucretian (*DRN* 1.1087); elsewhere in V. cf. *G.* 4.499–500, of the second loss of Eurydice; *A.* 2.791, of the departure of Creüsa’s shade; Manilius has *proximus in tenuis descendit spiritus auras* (*Ast.* 1.152) and *ut liquor exhalet tenuis atque evomat auras | aëraque ex ipso ducentem semina pascat* (*Ast.* 1.157).

ales: The detail is inspired by Homer, *Il.* 14.290ff., where Sleep transforms himself into a singing bird that is known as a *χαλκίς* to the immortals and a

κύμνδις to humans; the exact avian taxonomy is not specified (“certainly one of the larger predators, perhaps the hawk owl”—Willcock); “a kind of owl familiar in Ionia, with an Anatolian name. Ida harbored many raptors ... but a bird sleepy by day certainly suits Sleep best” (Janko ad loc.). On the κύμνδις Dunbar notes ad Aristophanes, *Av.* 1181 that the bird “is unknown, despite Rogers’ confident identification ... as Eagle Owl (*Bubo bubo*) ... Ar. may have met this bird only in Homer.” Camilla is compared to a raptor (11.721–724); cf. the departure of Opis after her slaying of Arruns (11.867 *Opis ad aetherium pennis aufertur Olympum*), where the avenging nymph’s destination may indicate something of divine approbation for her action beyond Diana’s injunction. The influence of Apollonius, *Arg.* 4.896–898 likely also lurks here. V’s paramount consideration may be the attractive association of the avian Sirens with the winged god; Somnus rather takes the place of the Homeric Sirens as he seeks to lull Palinurus to rest. Once again, V. provides no chance for precise ornithological delineation, but ample opportunity for the curious to consider avian candidates.

The image of the safe evading of *scopuli* here may have inspired Florus’ account at *Atticus* 10 of the man who manages to escape the troubles of a period of civil and internecine strife without harm.

862 currit iter tutum non setius aequore classis

currit iter: Cf. 135 *quorum aequora curru*, of Cloanthus’ prayer. Manilius has *et nunc per scopulos, nunc campis labitur amnis, | et, faciens iter aut quaerens, curritve reditve* (*Ast.* 4.423–424). With the *iter tutum* cf. Horace, c. 3.16.7 *fore enim tutum iter et patens*; the phrase several times in Livy and once in Seneca’s tragedies; never in Ovid’s corpus apart from the ps.-Ovidian *Nux*. The accusative is of effect; cf. Antoine 1882, 42.

non setius: Elsewhere in the *A.* only at 9.441 *instat non setius*, of Nisus as he slays Volcens before succumbing to his own end. Plautus has *nihilo setius* (*Capt.* 417); Terence *nihilo setius* (*And.* 507); the former phrase is also Caesarian. Lucretius has *hoc setius* (*DRN* 6.315); cf. also *G.* 2.277 *nec setius*; 3.367 *non setius*; *A.* 7.781 *haud setius*. Atalanta is described as seeming to fly by at the start of her day at the races “no tardier than a Scythian arrow” (*Met.* 10.589–590 *quae quamquam Scythica non setius ire sagitta | Aonio visa est iuveni*).

863 promissisque patris Neptuni interrita fertur.

promissis: Cf. *A.* 2.160 *tu modo promissis maneat* (Hector’s shade to Aeneas); the promises of Pallas to Evander that are poignantly recalled at 11.45 and 152; the especially prominent *sua nunc promissa reposci* of Turnus at 12.2.

patris: In marked contrast to 827 *patris Aeneae*, when the sequence opened; in this moment, Neptune is supreme, and he is the protective father of the fleet; cf. on 867 *pater*. Jupiter is nowhere.

interrita: “At first sight [*interrita*] suggests the meaning of ‘not terrified’ by Neptune’s promises” (Mackail ad loc.); this may be exactly the point: the ships are not terrified by the sea god’s promise that one life, namely that of their chief helmsman, must be sacrificed for the good of all; the plural *promissis* may be a poeticism, or it may have relevance to the *two* main points of the god’s assurance to his divine niece: Aeneas will reach Italy in safety, but one man must die. In a neat touch, *exterritus* occurs at 11.806, of Arruns as he flees after the death of Camilla in a confused state of fear and dazed relief at what he has accomplished, as well as an adrenaline-induced rush to escape the scene of his crime. See Powell 2008, 259 ff. for the association of Octavian with divine power over the sea at *G.* 1.27, the Horatian description of Sextus Pompey as the *Neptunius dux* (*ep.* 9.7 ff., where see Mankin, and Watson—Pompey’s son had boasted that he was the god’s son). Aeneas’ vessels are thus not afraid of Neptune’s promises about sacrificial death (Aeneas and his son, after all, are certainly safe).

864 iamque adeo scopulos Sirenum advecta subibat,

A creepy surprise to close the book on an especially haunting, eerie note. Sleep had to work quickly so as to ensure that Palinurus could be cast overboard as a quasi-offering to the Sirens; the helmsman will not of course seek safety on their rocky outcropping (probably = the modern Li Galli in the Bay of Naples, a three-peaked eminence that separates the bay from the Gulf of Salerno and that would prove difficult for a sea tossed climber to scale; on the vexed question see especially E. de Saint-Denis, “Où situer les écueils des Sirènes et la chute de Palinure?,” in *LEC* 38 [1938], 472–491; cf. *Barrington* 44F4), but rather he will reach the coast (cf. Menoetes’ situation during the regatta). Ruaeus elegantly describes the questions at hand: “Duo quaerenda: quae *Sirenes*, qui earum *scopuli*. 1. *Sirenes* monstra fuerunt; Acheloi fluvii et Calliopes aut Melpomenes Musae, filiae tres, *Parthenope*, *Leucosia*, *Ligea*. Varie specie pinguntur: superiore quidem corporis parte feminae: inferiore vero gallinae, aut passerres, aut pisces. Harum una voce, altera tibiis, tertia lyra canebat. His deliciis nautas praeternavigantes in naufragium pelliciebant ad scopulos ... 2. Sedes earum collocatur ad Surrentinum Italiae promontorium, in mare Tyrrhenum prominens, inter agrum Campanum et Picentinum, sinumque Puteolanum et Paestanum ...” See further here Horsfall ad 6.337–383.2i: “an irreproachably precise identification ... 5.864–6 might seem to suggest that V. thinks a fleet could sail from Lucanian waters to Capri in part of a single night. Sixty miles?”

iamque adeo: Cf. 268, after the regatta; 1× in 8 (585) and 1× in 11 (487; see Horsfall for bibliography); also at the start of the Helen episode (2.567). The phrase is Lucretian (*DRN* 2.1150–1151): *iamque adeo fracta est aetas effetaque tellus / vix animalia parva creat*. See further Scafoglio 2010, 62n112.

scopulos: See on 124 and 169 for the *scopuli* of the regatta; the comparison is the answer to the note of Papillon and Haigh (“Virgil introduces the new idea of *scopulos*, as if the danger was that of shipwreck; and omits all mention of the characteristic feature in the Homeric story—the Sirens’ song”). If the Sirens are imagined to be dead, the hazard of crashing on their rocks would of course remain; the romanticized peril of the Sirens likely had its origin, of course, in an all too natural danger.

Sirenum: The Sirens appear only here in *V.* (vid. here F. Sallusto in *EV* IV, 891–893, with consideration of the Servian commentary on the allegedly meretricious nature of the so-called noonday demons, a variety of succubus, even); see Nelis 2001, 205–209 for the patterning of this scene on Apollonius’ account of the loss of the Argonaut Butes, who is saved, fittingly enough, by Aphrodite Erycina (*Arg.* 4.903–919; the Trojans and Argonauts traverse the same general route in different directions). The Homeric model is Odysseus’ successful evading of the musical peril (*Od.* 12.39–54; 158–200); in Homer there is a calm sea, while in *V.* Neptune may be the cause of the sound of water crashing on (likely their) rock that may obscure the irresistible sound of their voices (cf. on 866; note also the brief allusion at Alcman, fr. 30 Davies). The combination of the details of Palinurus’ being put to sleep and of the Sirens’ haunt may refer to traditions of nocturnal visitations of succubi; for a less dramatic version of the same lore cf. Pliny, *NH* 20.68 (on the use of crushed seeds of cultivated lettuce in wine in averting such *phantasmata*; also 20.143; 214).

The tradition of Sirenic death is post-Homeric and not necessarily to be inferred from *V.*’s brief account (though Aeneas is not warned of them by Helenus or anyone else); cf. here Lycophron, *Alex.* 712–737; Hyginus, *Fab.* 141. Two in Homer and three in later poetry; *V.* does not specify their number.

See further G. Gresseth, “The Homeric Sirens,” in *TAPA* 101 (1970), 203–218: “They are patterned closely to the Sphinxes, Harpies, Gorgons, Graiae, and Dreams ... The Greeks imagined the personified dream as a bird- or wraith-like being that came at night to warn or deliver a message.” On the bird associations see especially Pollard 1977, 188–191, with reference *inter al.* to Plato’s mention of the Sirens at the end of the *Republic* (10.617B); note also Dale, and Allan, on Euripides, *Helena* 167ff. The *tristia somnia* (840) that Sleep brought to Palinurus connect to the Sirens whose rock the fleet now approaches in the aftermath of the loss of the helmsman. There may be a deliberate contrast, too, between the threat to the fleet from the *matres* with their attempted arson,

and the Sirens who were traditionally virgins, “albeit dangerous ones, whose sexuality is used to destroy men” (Allan ad Euripides, *Helena* 167–169). See also Plutarch, *Mor.* 745E, with commentary on the Platonic Sirens in particular and the notion of the Muses of Death. Note also the notes of Boyle ad Seneca, *Medea* 355–360.

The passage by the Sirens’ rock closes a ring with the storm scene that first introduced Palinurus to the epic (3.192–208); there, the helmsman appeared just before the encounter with the Harpies in the Strophades. For an argument that the gods metaphorically protect Aeneas from the Sirens as Dido seeks to persuade him to stay in Carthage, see J. Burbridge, “Dido, Anna, and the Sirens: Vergil, *Aeneid* 4, 437 ff.,” in *MD* 62 (2009), 105–128. It is possible that V. reverses the Homeric image of an encounter with the demonic women at high noon; see further M. Davies, “The Sirens at Mid-Day,” in *Prometheus* 31.3 (2005), 225–228. On the view that *A.* 3.556 *audimus longe fractasque ad litora voces* (where Anchises announces the proximity of Charybdis and Palinurus turns the prow hard to the left) constitutes a reference to the death of the Sirens, vid. S. Kyriakidis, “*Fractas ad litora voces: Aen.* 3.556,” in *REA* 103.3–4 (2001), 481–484.

“Syren interpretatur attractio et sunt Syrenes monstra maris que cantu attrahentes naves faciunt periclitari. Secundum veritatem perscrutantibus sunt quedam saxa in mari Sciciliensi ubi unda repercuciens sonum emittit et frangit naves” (*Gloss. Anon.*).

advecta: Not necessarily of direct divine conveyance; cf. 1.558 *unde huc advecti, regemque petamus Acesten*; note also 8.11 *advectum Aenean*, of the report that Turnus sends to Diomedes of Aeneas’ arrival in Latium; 3.108; 8.135; 10.655.

subibat: The fleet was approaching the Sirens’ crag when Aeneas realized that there was no helmsman at the tiller; V. takes care to make sure that his Odysseus is awake, as it were, for the transit by the marine peril (see below on 866 for the possible crash of the waves that rouses Aeneas from rest).

For how the rhythm of the present passage is almost opposite to that of 6.305–312, see Knight 1939/1950, 65–66.

865 *difficilis quondam multorumque ossibus albos*

quondam: A somewhat difficult conjunction to construe in context; the sense can be a reference to a future point in time (*OLD* s.v. 2, with citation of *A.* 6.876); it can also describe that which occurs “at times,” usually in similes (*OLD* s.v. 3). Most often, though, it is used merely to contrast the present moment with the past, occasionally (but by no means exclusively) the rather distant past. Note here R. Mandra, “The Sirens in the Palinurus Episode,” in *LEC* (1938), 168–182, for the argument that *quondam* here describes an action that occurs repeatedly, with identification of the Sirenic island as Ustica. “The force of *quondam* is

‘from of old’: there is no antithesis to the *tum* of the next line”—Mackail ad loc. The conjunction looks back to the Homeric *Odyssey* (cf. the opening scene of Book 7); the Sirens’ rocks were notoriously difficult for Odysseus to traverse.

ossibus: For the ring of bones that closes here cf. on 31. Homer mentions the rotting flesh of their victims; the Virgilian mention of the bones links back to Anchises’ remains (or, if one wishes to imagine that the Sirens are dead, then the sole detail the poet offers on their victims’ remains emphasizes how long it has been since they had visitors to their lair).

albos: For the color see Edgeworth 1992, 66–70, and cf. on 565–567. The Harpy Celaeno had uttered a curse that would prove to be harmless; the detail here about the Sirens will come to life, as it were, in Italy, when Latinus complains to Turnus that the fields are white with bones (12.36 *campique ... ossibus albert*, where what is here a descriptive adjective becomes an active verb).

The Spanish Renaissance poet Góngora has: *he visto blanquéando las arenas / de tantos nunca sepultados huessos, | que el mar de amor tubieron por seguro; | que de él no fio; si sus flujos gruesos | con el timón, o con la voz no enfrenas | ô dulce Arión, ô dulce Palynuro* (*Sonetos* 80.9–14), on which see R. Grismer, “Classical Allusions in the Poetic Works of Góngora,” in *Hispania* 30.4 (1947), 496–504.

866 (*tum rauca adsiduo longe sale saxa sonabant*),

This line is usually given as a parenthetical aside; the matter of punctuation (a problem more for us than for V.) is also a potential exercise for the critics (cf. Mackail’s full stop after 865, with Williams’ criticism ad loc.). Why does V. note here that the rocks were resounding with the loud crash of constant waves of water breaking on the crags? What is the exact force of *longe*? *Tum* introduces an antithesis with *quondam*; the Sirens’ rock is dangerous, but the danger is auditory; the crashing of waves on the rock drowns out the beautiful, melodic sound of the deadly temptresses. *Longe* may be a clue to what might well be Neptunian intervention here, as the god sends wave after wave against the *scopuli* to muffle the song from the rocks (taking *longe* closely with *adsiduo ... sale*, which the word order might suggest); there is then no Siren song *per se*, but Somnus’ wheedling, blandishing words are of a piece with the legendary vocal charm of the deadly bird women. Did the loud crash of the waves contribute to Aeneas’ being roused from sleep? In any case, in both Homer and Apollonius the hazard of the Sirens is followed by the peril of Scylla and Charybdis (see here Nelis 2001, 208); the Greek journeys are in the opposite direction, and in V. the twin threat at the straits of Messina has already been referenced, both in A. 3 and, more relevantly to the present scene, during the regatta. The verb *sonabant* that closes the line reminds us of the melodic nature of the Sirenic

peril; music has the power to influence the mind in powerful ways (cf. the especially effective charm of Orpheus on the underworld deities in the opening sequence of Ovid's *Met.* 10).

longe: On the matter of just how far the adverb is to be taken, cf. Horsfall ad 6.476 *prosequitur longe lacrimis*: “Unanswerable, of course, but the general issue might be significant.”

rauca: Just as at 9.124–125 *cunctatur et amnis / rauca sonans revocatque pedem Tiberinus ab alto*, of the reaction of nature to the portent of the transformation of the Trojan fleet into sea creatures. *Rauca* here is adverbial, but there may be a hint of the noise from the *saxa*, which = the song of the Sirens; the adjective is often used of birds and of musical instruments, though always with a connotation of harsh utterance that does not fit the image of the Sirens' attractive, alluring voices—but the doom of those who stop to listen may help ease the difficulty.

Note, too, that the line expresses the “hissing” (Phillipson ad loc., who takes the *rauca ... saxa* close together of the rocks that are “hoarse” as they react to the water that lashes them) alliteration that may well be associated with the seductive verbal charm of the Sirens.

There is likely no evocation of Neptune/Poseidon in his role as lord of earthquakes—but cf. Aeschylus, fr. 402 Sommerstein (with the editor's notes ad loc.).

adsiduo: Significantly, the word will recur at the opening of 7 (after the dream interlude, as it were, of the sojourn to the underworld) at 12 *adsiduo resonat cantu*, of the singing of Circe (which will also prove to be harmless to the Trojans as they travel past her shores).

Tib. notes here: “quam evidens iam periculum fuit, cum iam ipsorum scopulorum sonus auris Troianorum mentemque tangebatur”—but the real danger may have been what the sound obscured.

867 *cum pater amisso fluitantem errare magistro*

With the *cum-inversum* construction cf. 1.36–37.

pater: The transference of paternity over the fleet from Neptune (863) to Aeneas is signaled by the return of the descriptor from 827 *patris Aeneae* after its brief usurpation by the god.

amisso ... magistro: Cf. Catullus, c. 68B.80 *doctast amisso Laodamia viro*, and Fratantuono 2012 on the Virgilian fashioning of Palinurus, the *princeps ante omnis*, on Catullus' Protesilaus. On the *topos* of the loss of the helmsman see Dewar ad Claudian, *Pan.* 138 *orba gubernaculis*: “storms, literal or metaphorical, regularly deprive ships of either their helmsman or the helm by which they steer.”

fluitantem: The verb occurs elsewhere in V. at 10.306 *fluitantia transtra*, of pieces of the wreck from Tarchon's grounded ship. The loud sound of the water crashing on the rocks may have alerted Aeneas to the danger of coming too close to the *scopulos*; cf. Gyas' situation with Menoetes, where the captain foolishly wanted to steer too close to the *meta*. Servius notes that "naturale enim est ut fluctuet navis sine gubernatore." The verb can describe uncertain or unsteady drifting (*OLD* s.v. 4); the point may be that the fleet is now in need of steerage, and that it is in dangerous waters near the Sirens' rock—but the sound of the waves that the god has providentially arranged protect the ears of Aeneas as he senses the ship's potential peril minus its navigator.

errare: For the verb see on 435 *errat*. The text makes clear here (and especially at 868 *ratem ... rexit*) that the ship is now bereft of a *magister*, human or divine, and that Aeneas had sensed that the vessel was beginning to drift and was rushing to steer it (back?) on course.

868 *sensit, et ipse ratem nocturnis rexit in undis,*

ipse: Yet another use of the intensive in this short sequence, as Aeneas now takes over the work that Neptune had promised to manage, and that Palinurus had struggled in vain to oversee in the face of Somnus' assault. The image Virgil presents here may hint at the *princeps* as (imperial) helmsman, rather in the way Trajan is depicted on his column.

nocturnis: The adjective occurs 1× in 5 and 1× in 11; cf. 736 *nocturnaue bella*, of the nightly revels for which Tarchon upbraids his Etruscans. A. 6, too, will end with a night scene as Aeneas and the Sibyl exit Avernus; the military operations of A. 11 will draw to a close with the coming of night. Cf. Dido's banquet in 1; the night Troy fell in 2; the end of the feasting and storytelling in 3.

rexit in undis: Almost as if he were the lord of the sea. Servius cfs. 10.218 *ipse sedens clavumque regit velisque ministrat*, of Aeneas just before he is visited by Cymodocea and the other mermaids (the absence of the helmsman there is subtly felt); rather a reversal of how in 5 the Nereids had done their work before Aeneas was forced to take control of his flagship. See Farrell ad loc. for the connection of Aeneas' action here with what Gyas did after he cast Menoetes overboard (176–177); Williams 1960 for consideration of the cavil against the steering of a ship minus a rudder/tiller. For an argument that Aeneas' behavior at the close of this book offers a display of his *pietas*, see Mackie 1988, 125–126. On the question of the helmsman's knowledge and Aeneas' skill, see Schauer 2007, 204 ff.

869 multa gemens casuque animum concussus amici:

gemens: Cf. on 406 *gement*; on Aeneas' mourning for his lost friend, Heuzé 1985, 524–527. *Multa gemens* occurs elsewhere in V. at 1.465, as Aeneas sees the disturbing images on the walls of Dido's temple at Carthage (= scenes of Trojan defeat); 4.395, of Aeneas as he regretfully carries out the divine orders to leave Dido; 12.886, of Juturna as she finally departs the scene of her brother's imminent end; cf. G. 3.226. The two occurrences in the epic that precede this passage, then, refer both to the end of Troy and to the departure from Dido, emotionally intense subjects that resonate throughout the present book. For connections between the present scene of mourning and the laments for Pallas in Book 11, see especially Pöschl 1977, 61.

casuque ... amici: Closing a ring on 700 *at pater Aeneas casu concussus acerbo*; here the adjective that has associations with the premature death of the young has found a sad incarnation in *amici* of the lost Palinurus; cf. *Ilias Latina* 372 *Atrides casu concussus amici*. With the state of Aeneas' *animus* here cf. 720 *tum vero in curas animum diducitur omnis*. Servius connects the present passage with A. 1.221–222 *nunc Amyci casum gemit et crudelia secum / fata Lyci*. For the sacrifice of Palinurus as a fulfillment of Dido's curse, see Hunt 1973, 42–45, with reference to Cyril Connolly's Virgilian parody *The Unquiet Grave*, on which see S. Döpp, "Te, Palinure, petens: Vergilrezeption in Palinurus' *The Unquiet Grave*," in Burkard et al. 2010, 403–442.

animum: Cf. Negri 1984, 120, 294–295, 306.

concussus: Cf. 700 above, where Aeneas is struck by the disaster of the loss of the ships; the present passage closes a ring with the loss of the chief helmsman of the fleet; also the parallel 9.498 *hoc fletu concussi animi*; 11.451–452 *extemplo turbati animi concussaue vulgi / pectora*; 12.411 (of Venus); 468 (of Juturna). The verb is poetic and old (Ennius; Accius; also Catullan and Lucretian), and elsewhere in V. it is applied to the forces and elements of nature (cf. G. 3.150–151 *furit mugitibus aether / concussus silvaeque et sicci ripa Tanagri*; A. 2.628–629 *eruere agricolae certatim, illa usque minatur / et tremefacta comam concusso vertice nutat*; 4.443–444 *et altae / consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes*; 5.205 *concussae cautes*); cf. Catullus, c. 64.205–206 *quo motu tellus atque horrida contremuerunt / aequora concussitque micantia sidera mundus*; Propertius, c. 3.13.52–54 *dum petit intonsi Pythia regna dei: / at mox laurigero concussus vertice diras / Gallica Parnasus sparsit in arma nives*. Twice it is associated with the shock inflicted on a city: 4.666 (of Dido's Carthage); 12.594 (of Latinus' capital).

870 'o nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno,

On the epigrammatic epitaph here see Lattimore 1962, 199–202; A. Barchiesi, "Palinuro e Caieta: Due epigrammi virgiliani (*Aen.* V, 870 sqq.; VII, 1–4)," in *Maia*

31 (1979), 3–11; J. Bruss, “Famous Last Words: *Aeneid* 5, 870–871 and the Hellenistic Cenotaphic Epigrams,” in *Latomus* 64 (2005), 325–335; M. Dinter, “Epic and Epigram: Minor Heroes in Virgil’s *Aeneid*,” in *CQ* N.S. 55.1 (2005), 153–169; Holzberg 2008, 220–221; also the useful material in Gutzwiller 1998 on Hellenistic shipwreck epigrams. For the similar use of the language of sepulchral epigram at the opening of *A.* 7, see Horsfall ad loc. (and cf. Fratantuono 2009b on the arrangement of Palinurus and Caieta in connection to the Virgilian depiction of Pallas and Camilla). For *o* followed by a participle, with reference more generally to apostrophe practice in Latin epic, see M. Clarke, “Lucretius 3.1–3,” in *CQ* N.S. 27.2 (1977), 354–355.

The fifth ode of Horace’s first book also closes with an adaptation of the shipwreck epigram tradition (see further M. Hoppin, “New Perspectives on Horace, *Odes* 1.5,” in *AJPh* 105.1 [1984], 54–68); the relative dates of the Horatian lyric and the close of *A.* 5 cannot be determined with certainty, but the coincidence is striking and may reflect deliberate patterning. The poet-narrator of c. 1.5 attests that he survived his near ruin at sea and offered his clothes to the powerful god of the deep; Palinurus, in contrast, will not live to tell his tale except as a shade in the underworld. The Pyrrha ode, too, like *A.* 5 shows a progression from fire to water in the onomastic play on the title character’s name and the escape from the watery peril with which the poem ends; the perhaps deliberate ambiguity over the identity of the god of the poem’s close (Neptune? Venus?—see further Nisbet and Hubbard and W. Waterhouse, “The Unnamed God of the Pyrrha Ode,” in *CW* 80.5 [1987], 369–370; also E. Fredericksmeier, “Horace, *Odes* 5.16: God or Goddess?,” in *CPh* 67.2 [1972], 124–126) may also be connected to the role of both deities in the Palinurus episode. The theme of the “farewell to love” may have special appropriateness, too, in this book that opened in the wake of the suicide of Dido and the storm Palinurus was unable to navigate as the Trojan fleet set sail from Carthage.

nimum: Parallel to the lament of Opis for Camilla at 11.841–842 *heu nimum, virgo, nimum crudele luisti | supplicium, Teucros conata lacesere bello*, where the poet doubles the adverb for its second appearance in an address to a lost victim. “The language of regretful criticism” (Horsfall ad 6.816); the adverb appears near the end of both 5 and 6. Ad 6.189 *heu nimum* Horsfall notes the relative rarity of the adverb in *V.*, and the possibility of “some sort of neoteric origin.”

confise: With reference to 800 *meis te fidere regno* (Neptune to Venus); 849 *mene huic confidere regno* (Palinurus to Somnus). “Hoc est quod supra Palinurus excusat” (Servius ad loc.). Knapp notes that Aeneas assumes the worst of his friend because he is all too “mortal-like.”

sereno: See on 851; “The adj. used also of spring, winter and the heavens in general” (Horsfall ad 6.707); the present scene harks back to *A.* 3.518 *postquam cuncta videt caelo constare sereno*, of Palinurus in a very different circumstance.

871 *nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena.*’

nudus: The great altar in Priam’s inner sanctum is *nudoque sub aetheris axe* (2.512) before the death scene of the king (“Just why this should *nuditas* be significant?”—Horsfall ad loc.; the answer may lie in the likely fate of the monarch’s corpse). Pyracmon is *nudus membra* at 8.425 (the easier to work on Vulcan’s projects); Turnus’ temples are bare before he dons his helmet (11.489), while Herminius’ head and shoulders are bare in battle (642–643). Note also the naked Luperici of 8.663; the bare knee of the disguised Venus of 1.320; the bare left feet of the warriors at 7.689 (where see Horsfall); the “naked swords” of 9.548, 11.711 and 12.306. With the address to the naked figure cf. *Priapea* 16.8. Palinurus has, in a sense, suffered something reasonably akin to the fate that Dido had wished on Aeneas (*A.* 4.381ff.; cf., too, the fate of Sergestus’ ship).

ignota: Cf. 6.359–361 *ni gens crudelis madida cum veste gravatum | prestantemque uncis manibus capita aspera montis | ferro invasisset praedamque ignara putasset* (especially with reference to 8.730 *rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet*, of Aeneas with the shield he cannot read, as it were, for all his rejoicing); Menoetes had climbed to safety on the rocky offshore *meta* that represented the future Rome, only to return (safely) to harbor; Palinurus will be slain on arrival in Italy, a land that does not know him (and, significantly, it will be Italians who carry out the Neptunian sacrifice). At 794–795 *et classe subegit | amissa socios ignotae linquere terrae*, Venus describes the actions that Aeneas was compelled to take in the wake of the burning of the ships, with linguistic anticipation of Palinurus’ ultimate fate (which will be met in Italy, not Sicily). With *ignota ... harena* cf. Propertius, c. 3.16.29 *aut humer ignotae cumulis vallatus harenae*. The ethnographic theme thus in a sense closes the book; Palinurus will die unaware of the future Italy, let alone what it means to be Roman; see further Horsfall ad 11.866 *ignoto ... pulvere*. For the doomed helmsman, a “favouring wind” would have taken *Palinurus back* to Sicily, i.e., away from the mainland where he will meet his death. See Henry ad loc. for the definition of *ignota* as “not visited, unfrequented ... where the dead body may lie unseen and without anyone knowing it is there.” Lucan imitated the present passage at *BC* 7.866–868 *ac, velut impatiens hominum vel solis iniqui | limite vel glacie, nuda atque ignota iaceres, | si non prima nefas belli sed sola tulisses*. “The Romans, living in an expanded and more cosmopolitan world, seem not to have felt this [Greek] urge of local patriotism so strongly” (Lattimore 1962, 201). Yet in the Palinurus

and Misenus narratives, place and the localization of loss are at the heart of the poet's delineation of the new Trojan home and the price for reception there.

iacebis: The future of this verb appears elsewhere in V. only of the portentous sow (*A.* 3.391; 8.44). Cf. the fate of Priam at 2.557–558 *iacet ingens litore truncus*, etc.; vid. further Heuzé 1985, 192. Palinurus will be the first Trojan victim of the Italy whose fate will supplant that of Priam's city; we learn in 6 that Italy will remember the name of the Protesilaus of the reborn *Iliad*. On V.'s concern with the fates of the dead, especially their burial and continued remembrance, see Bailey 1935, 144–147. *A.* 5 opens and closes with implicit concern about the effect of certain signal and key deaths (Dido's, Palinurus') on the Trojans; see further Syson 2013, index s.v. "death, as source of pollution." See also here L. Fulkerson, "Patterns of Death in the *Aeneid*," in *SCI* 27 (2008), 17–33.

harena: Perhaps not the last word of the book (on this controversy see further below)—but perhaps with a hint of the arena at the close of *il libro dei ludi*.

Servius notes ad loc. that Varius and Tucca wished for the book to end here ("sciendum sane Tuccam et Varium hunc finem quinti esse voluisse"), and consequently that they transferred the last two Virgilian lines to the opening of 6; the two verses are thus restored here by Bothe, and Ribbeck, following the example of "Probus et alii" (*teste Servio* ad 6.1–2); see further R. Thomas, "Book Divisions," in *VE* I, 199. There is not only something more powerful about ending the book with the apostrophe to the lost helmsman, but also a neat effect in rounding off the book that had opened with the name of Aeneas with the name of the sacrificial victim who dies in his place, though the fact remains that the poet may have wished for a different ending, and one that does accord rather well with the close of 6. Conte (following Nettleship) cfs. *Il.* 7.1 and *Od.* 13.1 (but note *A.* 3.716–718). See Conington ad loc. on how we only learn for certain that Aeneas is the one speaking when we come to 6.1 *sic fatur lacrimans* (V. did, after all, apparently intend for 6.1–2 to appear at the end of 5!), and Horsfall ad 6.1 for the bibliography and the problem of "*reclame*" that sometimes appear on rolls at the start of new books.

So ends the fifth book of the *A.*, the penultimate of the Virgilian *Odyssey*. On arrival in Sicily, Aeneas and his Trojans celebrated memorial games that provided a dimly glimpsed mirror image of the future that would soon unfold on arrival in Hesperia: 1) the ethnographic advance from Troy to Rome that was symbolized by the regatta with its rounding of the *meta*; 2) the definitive foreshadowing and quasi-announcement of the death of the old city of Priam in the events of the foot race and the boxing match; and 3) in the archery contest and the equestrian splendor of the *lusus Troiae* the wars—eminently civil—which would soon enough become a seemingly defining characteristic of the new Rome. Now, lastly, in the eerie circumstances of the sacrificial loss of

Palinurus, the helmsman whose death was demanded by divine injunction and executed by native inhabitants of the Italy whose coast the master navigator would indeed reach, there is a foreshadowing ultimately of 4) the death of Caesar, whose killing in an act of civil assassination would make possible an Augustan dawn for Rome. A microcosm, then, of something of the action of the entire epic, as the second to last book of the poet's *Odyssey* paves the way for the penultimate of his *Iliad*.

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